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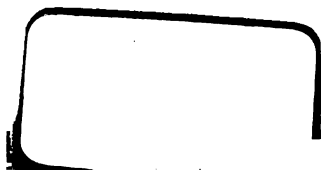
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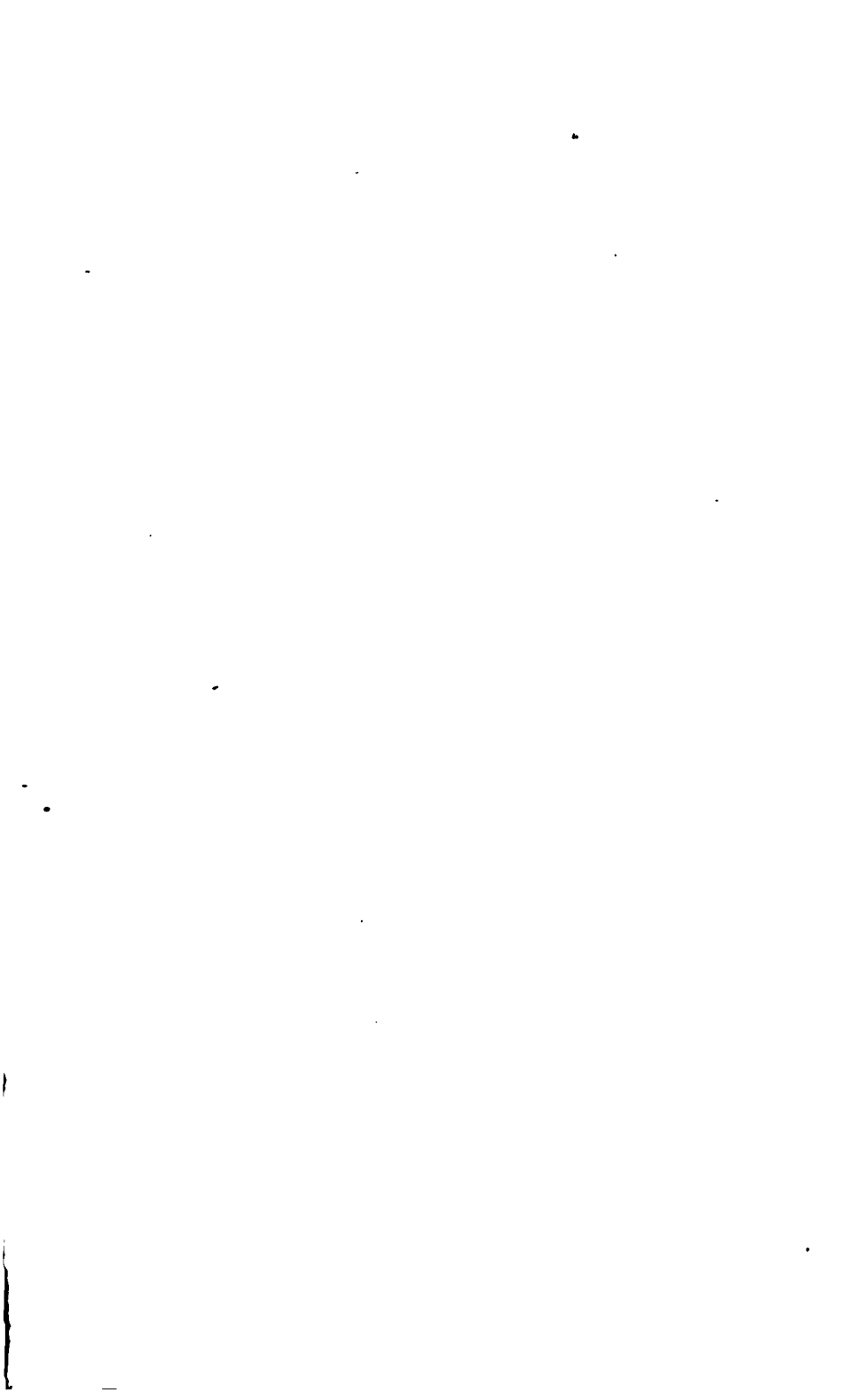
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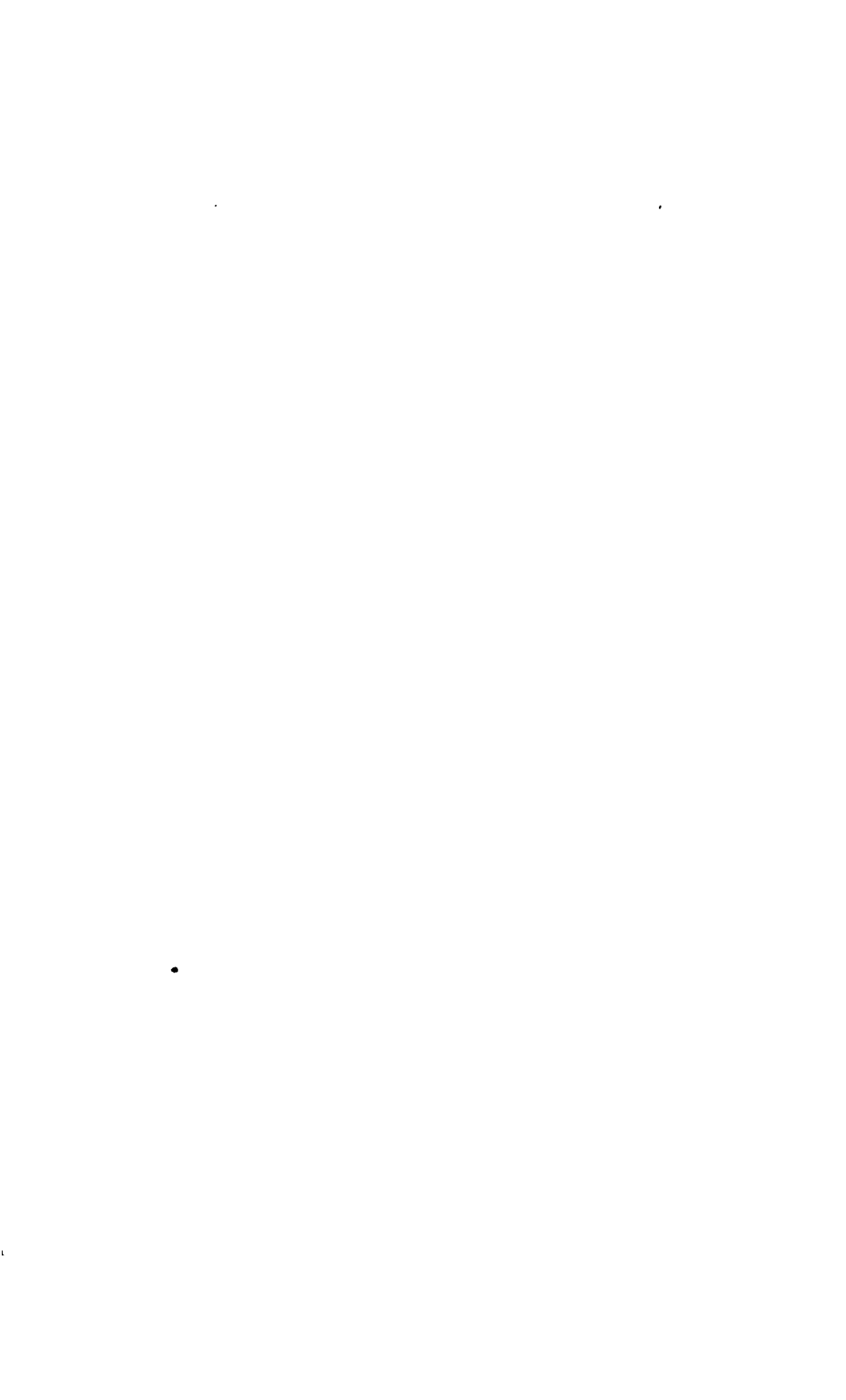


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**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**GREGORY THE SEVENTH.**





**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**GREGORY THE SEVENTH.**

**LONDON :**  
**GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,**  
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THE  
LIFE AND PONTIFICATE  
OF  
GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

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BY  
JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN, M.A.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1840.

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TO THE  
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS  
OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE  
OF THE YEARS WHICH HE SPENT THERE,  
AND OF THE BENEFITS  
THENCE RESULTING TO HIM IN AFTER-LIFE,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES  
ARE, WITH ALL FEELINGS OF RESPECT AND REGARD,

INSCRIBED, BY

THE AUTHOR.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN the introductory chapter of the following work, will be found a short list of the principal authorities from which the statements in the subsequent narrative have been taken. But,—as it has been thought desirable to furnish the reader with a fuller catalogue, in explanation of the references,—such a catalogue, containing the names of all the principal authors and compilers referred to,—except those whose names are familiar to every one,—has been given in No. I. of the Appendix at the end of the Second Volume.

No. II. of that Appendix contains a table showing the dates of Easter, and other moveable periods of solemn observance in the Church, during the pontifi-



cates of Gregory VII. and his immediate predecessor. Information on this point may, it is thought, sometimes aid the reader in forming an accurate idea of the chronology of the events recorded.

It may be as well to allude here to the apology made in a subsequent note (Vol. I. p. 89) for some apparent inconsistency with regard to the forms of proper names,—whether of persons or of places,—such as the use, in some appellatives, of their Latin or ancient form, and in others, of an Italian or modern one. Such an inconsistency, in treating of an epoch which holds a middle place between ancient and modern times, the author has found it impossible entirely to avoid.

To allude to another matter of detail. It should have been explained in a note to p. 57 of Vol. I., that the spurious “Decretals of Isidore” there spoken of, cannot in strictness be said to have been published by their forger under the name of Isidore of Seville, as they were simply headed with the name “Isidorus Mercator,” the latter word being, probably, an erratum for “Peccator.” But it was on the supposed authority of the Spanish Prelate that they obtained their general acceptation in the Church.

The author cannot conclude this advertisement without availing himself of the opportunity of recording his

obligation to his friend, the Rev. David Lewis, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, for his kind assistance in the work of superintending the passage of these sheets through the press: a task, which, without that assistance, the author, from the state of his health, could scarcely, at the present moment, have undertaken.

*Feast of All Saints, 1840.*



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## ERRATA IN VOL. I.

- Page 10, line 33, 34, for *corruption* read *corruption*.  
 — 17, Note 1, for *Scafnaburgensis* read *Schafnaburgensis*; and in several references at the foot of the pages, for *Scafnab* read *Schafnab*.  
 — 52, line 18, for *Dionius* read *Dionysius*.  
 — 62, — 6, after *dignity*; insert *and*.  
 — 90, — 11, for *ante-imperial* read *anti-imperial*.  
 — 93, — 23, for *legantine* read *legatine*.  
 — 114, — 21, for *inherited* to read *inherited*.  
 — 120, — 8, for *dentified* read *identified*.  
 — 207, — 21, for *Fontaeto* read *Fontaneto*.  
 — 370, — 11, for *the proper* read *a proper*.  
 — 372, — 22, for *Wezelin*, Archbishop, read *Wezelin*, or *Werner*, Archbishop.

L I F E  
OF  
G R E G O R Y VII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Reformation of the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century, however necessary, however beneficial, was a sudden and convulsive change; nor is it any disparagement to its leading principles or essential character to say, that, as such a change, it could not fail to be attended by a variety of incidental evils. One, and that perhaps not the least important, of these, its undesirable but unavoidable consequences, has been the disposition which it has induced among us to disregard our connection, as churchmen, with the past. Though old truths were, during the era of the Reformation, preserved, old associations and habits received a violent shock from the rapidity of its progress; and it has, in consequence, come to bear to our eyes the appearance of a much more fundamental change than, in itself, it really was. With the times antecedent to that great event, we now seem practically to imagine that we have little or no religious concern: our inter-

est in the annals of our Church commences with the reign of Henry VIII. ; and the notion generally entertained of her character and position during many centuries before that monarch's accession, is compounded of a broad and general impression of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, and of a vague belief that all these evils, in all their fulness, were dominant in our island from an epoch virtually immemorial. Though we still speak of Cranmer, of Ridley, of Latimer, as Reformers of our Church, the general tone which we use with respect to them rather accords with the supposition that they were her founders : we conceive them to have composed, rather than to have remodelled, our ritual and liturgy ; to have discovered, rather than to have purified, the Faith which we profess. And hence it has come to pass, that of all departments of historical inquiry, none has been of late more generally disregarded by us, than that which would lead to an acquaintance with the varying fortunes of the Church Catholic and her defenders, in England or elsewhere, during the long lapse of time between the age of the primitive Church and that of the divines of Edward and Elizabeth. That this interval was one of perpetual struggle, difficulty, and anxiety to the Church, even the most superficial acquaintance with the secular annals of Christendom would suffice to inform us. But, accustomed as we are to the unfounded notion of our English Church's recent origin, we omit to keep in mind the fact, that she, as a branch of the Church universal, is in some degree involved in the fortunes of that divinely founded institution throughout the world ; and that it was our cause, no less than their own, which the champions of the Church have in all successive ages defended against the ever-renewed

and ever-varying assaults of her adversaries. We therefore feel but little interest in contests with which, as we imagine, we have no personal concern; and cannot realize to ourselves the fact that the Reformation, as far as it may be regarded as a struggle between ancient truth and modern error, was itself but the fruit of those earlier struggles which we slight, and of those labours which we depreciate; inasmuch as our Anglican Fathers could never have been called to the high office of defending the Faith and purifying the Church, had not both the one and the other been preserved and handed down to them by the successful efforts of those who, in various times and under various circumstances, had fought the great battle before them.

It is an undeniable, though melancholy, fact, that in the case of some of these, the Church's earlier champions, the faith revealed was overlaid with tenets of human invention. These tenets, however, will upon examination be found to have been all additions to the Christian Creed; not one of the great verities of which was positively lost during even the darkest periods which the Church has been permitted to experience. Those verities therefore might be, and indeed were, continually asserted and maintained against the influence of that evil heart of unbelief which has in all ages supplied men with a temptation to deny them. And if, more favoured in this respect than our distant ancestors, we be permitted to contemplate such truths free from their once prevalent admixture of degrading error, we are not on that account released from a heavy debt of gratitude to those who, under circumstances less propitious than ours, stood forth in the protection of our highest interests, ages before it was given to us to see the light.

With regard to the agents in our English Reformation, it forms, of a surety, an item by no means unimportant in the amount of our obligation to them, that they did not that which we seem habitually to acknowledge that they did, and even to laud them for doing. They did not attempt to found a new Church;—a word which should hardly be spoken. They did not, tempted as they were to do so, remove their countrymen from those limits of the holy Church Catholic which the Protestants of various parts of Europe were unhappily led, by a seeming necessity, to overstep. The Anglican Church, as left by her Reformers, continued in the enjoyment of her old constitution, under the guidance of her old line of consecrated governors; as also, though these are minor points, in the possession of most of her old endowments, and in the enjoyment of her old privileges in the state. She did not alter a single letter of the Creeds which had ever formed the summaries of her Faith. She disclaimed, in the strongest terms, all intention of either separating herself from the other members of the Church Catholic, or discarding that Church's accredited and authoritative teaching. She continued to follow, as her guides in the interpretation of Scripture, the "ancient Fathers and catholic Bishops<sup>1</sup>," honouring in them the general voice of primitive antiquity, and revering, as the clearest accents of that voice, those four general Councils, which her ancient founder or remodeller, Gregory the Great, had taught her to consider as pre-eminently the landmarks of catholic belief<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Liber Canon. Discip. Eccles. Anglic. A. D. 1571 Canon de Concionatoribus.

<sup>2</sup> Sicut sancti Evangelii quatuor libros, sic quatuor concilia

Nor did she, by any act of hers, separate herself from the communion of the Roman patriarch, even when she disclaimed the unauthorized domination which he had learnt to claim over her. However strong the language in which she expressed her sentiments with regard to the doctrinal corruptions which he then espoused, the actual schism between her and the Roman Church,—their present state of outward separation,—dates only from the bull by which, in

*suscipere et venerari me fateor. Nicænum scilicet, in quo perversum Arii dogma destruitur: Constantinopolitanum quoque, in quo Eunomii et Macedonii error convincitur: Ephesinum etiam primum, in quo Nestorii impietas judicatur: Chalcedonense vero, in quo Eutychis, Dioscorique pravitas reprobatur; totâ devotione complector, integerrimâ approbatione custodio: quia in his, velut in quadrato lapide, sanctæ fidei structura consurgit, et cujuslibet vitæ atque actionis existat, quisquis eorum soliditatem non tenet, etiam si lapis esse cernitur, tamen extra ædificium jacet.—S. Gregor. Mag. Ep. i. 25.*

Such was the reverence paid to these Councils by St. Gregory. As an evidence of the honour in which they were held by the English Church after the Reformation, may be cited the following passage from Hooker: "Wherefore not without good consideration the very law itself hath provided 'that judges ecclesiastical, appointed under the king's commission, shall not adjudge for heresy any thing but that which hath been so adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general Councils, or by some other general council wherein the same hath been declared heresy by the express words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be termed heresy by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in the convocation.' By which words of the law who doth not plainly see, how that in one branch of proceeding by virtue of the king's supreme authority, the credit which those four general Councils have throughout all Churches evermore had, was judged by the makers of the foresaid act a just cause wherefore they should be mentioned in that case as a requisite part of the rule wherewith dominion was to be limited?"—*Hooker, Eccl. Pol.* book viii. ch ii. § 17.

the year 1569, Pope Pius V. declared our Queen Elizabeth excommunicated and deposed.

Then it was that, as though the English prelates thus denounced had lost their spiritual prerogatives, the agents of Rome called into being that party or sect among ourselves whom she now admits to her communion because she has taught them to throw off the authority of their legitimate pastors, the governors, by succession, of our ancient Church<sup>1</sup>.

To that party we, in oblivion of these things, are in the habit of ascribing an antiquity above that of our communion; as though they, and not we, were the spiritual descendants of the time-honoured Catholic Church of elder England; as though they, and not we, were to be considered as included in the glorious fellowship of the wise and good, the heroic and the saintly, whose names adorned that Church's annals in her Saxon or her Norman day; or as though it were their high privilege, rather than ours, to sympathize with the general fortunes, in all times and countries, of the Church universal.

With regard to our Western, or Latin, branch of that Catholic institution, the Roman bishops, and the churchmen connected with their see, occupying, as they have ever done, a most prominent position of eccle-

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. All the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570 that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself and fell off from the Catholic Church of England.—Vid. *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, t. ii. p. 455, and the authorities there quoted.

siastical influence, fill a proportionably important place in the record of ecclesiastical conflicts. Under their conduct it was that some of the most momentous contests between the Church and the world have been fought and gained. We, however, have so long accustomed ourselves to contemplate these pontiffs and their school through the single medium of the Reformation, that it is with some difficulty we can imagine them to have occupied, at any former period, a position different from that which they held at that eventful moment. But it should be recollected that the popery of the sixteenth century was, in the guise which it then assumed, an innovation. Many of its component corruptions had, it is true, by that time long flourished at Rome, as at other places within the Church's pale: but it was only at Trent, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, that they were incorporated by Rome into a Creed, or made articles of Faith, in such a sense as that the reception of them became an indispensable requisite for admission into the privileges of Church communion. Such corruptions, however prevalent they may have been during preceding ages, were in those ages progressive, and not fixed evils; and the common notion is therefore most unfair, which carries back, so to say, and applies the character of the papacy as it developed itself at the Reformation, to the papacy as it existed centuries before that event.

The subjects of our Reformers' censure, be it recollected, were protested against by them, as innovations as well as corruptions. "I am accused," said Archbishop Cranmer, "for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture,



and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion<sup>1</sup>." And with regard to one of the principal features of the system against which that prelate protested, the withholding of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue from the laity; such a practice, we have it upon his own authority, was opposed to what had been the uniform usage of the Anglican Church down to about a century before his own time<sup>2</sup>.

It must be admitted, that of the erroneous doctrines then prevalent, some might claim a far earlier origin; but, before the sixteenth century, these for the most part existed rather as opinions current in the Church, than as articles formally adopted under her sanction. And, even with regard to those which had become the most intimately incorporated into the then existing system of things, the reception of them vaguely, and as matters unquestioned and uninquied into, betokened a very different feeling, and must have had a very

<sup>1</sup> *Jenkyns' Cranmer*, vol. iv. pp. 126, 7.

<sup>2</sup> "If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago" (*i. e.* before A. D. 1540) "since the Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue in this realm; and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue, whereof there remaineth yet diverse copies found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manners of writing and speaking, that few men now be able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old, and out of common usage, by cause folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."  
—*Jenkyns' Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 105.

different effect on the character, from an adoption of them in form and system, after discussion, and in avowed opposition to the public assertion of their contradicting verities.

But even had this been otherwise, the fact were unimportant to our present purpose. Even linked as it is to the Tridentine creed, the papacy may, and unquestionably does, bear, together with our Church, its witness to those great articles of the Faith which are enunciated in our common creeds; with us it still raises its voice in testimony against the heresies condemned by those four Catholic Councils above alluded to, which the whole body of the faithful unites to revere. Such testimony, even if it stood alone, it still might bear; and there would therefore be no manifest absurdity in the notion of its having stood forth in defence of the truth in former ages, even though it could be proved to have been then laden with the whole burden of its later errors. The disputant who defends the Catholic doctrine of the blessed Trinity against the Socinian, is unquestionably fighting the eternal battle of truth against falsehood, in whatever erroneous notion or heresy, other than that of Socinus, both the disputants may be conceived to agree. Were we indeed to recognise in the character of champions of the truth, or of reformers of the Church, none but teachers whose doctrine and habitual practice were in no single point tainted with error, few indeed would be the number of those whom, since the epoch of accredited inspiration, it would be open to us to dignify with such honourable titles.

Placed as the Church is in the world, her treasures are entrusted to earthen vessels; and her battles here are not carried on, like that of Michael and the Dra-

gon, between unsullied purity on the one side and unmitigated evil on the other; but, between those who, sinful and erring as they may be in many points, have the grace to hold fast the great truths which in their time come peculiarly into question, and those by whom, graced as they may be with some virtuous qualities, the same important verities are unhappily assailed.

These few remarks have been thought necessary at the outset of a narration, which, in representing a Pope in the light in which his own writings and those of his best-informed contemporaries represent him, will depict him as a witness for the truth delivered to the Church's care, and a reformer of the abuses of his time. Without some such preface as the above, a portraiture of him in colours like these might seem to intimate an intention on the part of his biographer to justify, in its completeness, the system which he asserted, or at least to explain away and extenuate those great errors and perversions by which his creed, and the general creed of his time, was corrupted and defiled. Let therefore such an intention be here, once for all, distinctly disclaimed. No one, indeed, can thoroughly and impartially investigate the records of his age, without deeply grieving to see how universally the foul weeds which had then sprung up in the Church's vineyard had entwined themselves around its proper plants, to stunt and to disfigure them,—how in the case of Gregory VII. and of his contemporary school of Churchmen, the assertion of the highest principles of faith was distorted by their amalgamation with misconceived dogmas and erroneous inventions,—and how, in defending religion, these high-principled men also became the defenders of a variety of growing and formidable corruptions. But these corruptions, it will be seen, were far from being the direct

object of the great struggle which it was their lot to carry on. Professing a corrupted theology, they defended it, not against a purer system or a reformed creed, but against dangers which threatened the destruction of Christianity itself. Whatever might have been their doctrinal errors, such errors were the tenets of their adversaries as well as of themselves; and were, in effect, entirely beside the main purport or bearing of the contest which will form the most prominent subject of the following pages. In preserving and invigorating the Church's constitution, they undoubtedly also preserved and cherished those seeds of evil which, modified as it had been by human interference, that constitution then contained; and thus became, in a sense, indirectly responsible for their subsequent extensive and fatal germination. But, if so, it was only as he who preserves a diseased man from a violent and external danger may be said to be the cause of the disease afterwards reaching a fatal termination. Of course, such a preserver would render the patient a more complete service if he could also eradicate the seeds of malady; but if he have not the power, or be not in a position, to do this, it does not follow that his exertions should on this account be thought of no value, or, which would be still more absurd, censured for their indirect, unexpected, and distant consequences; in forgetfulness of those which were more direct, intended, and immediate.

Nor can it be denied that the same unhappy cause which thus perniciously affected the permanent results of their energetic labours, must have also exerted an injurious effect upon their personal characters, lowering the loftiness of Christian principle, and injuring the delicacy of Christian feeling. Doctrinal errors ever

produce corresponding errors in habits of thinking and acting; and the professor of a corrupted theology, strenuous as may be his efforts and pure his desires, in vain attempts to reach the moral exaltation of him to whom it is permitted to make similar efforts under the guidance of a clearer light. We shall, accordingly, as we proceed in the contemplation of our subject, be often pained by seeing the noblest sentiments debased by their intermixture with motives of conduct of a very opposite character; the exertions of the most expansive benevolence contaminated by an alloy of low ambition; the most heavenward aspirations mingled with aims of a more base and earthly kind. In the papal schools of the middle ages we may find devotion, zeal, charity; but we should not look to them for that completeness, that holy consistency, of character which was the ornament of earlier and purer times. If their records bear, as they do, the unquestionable impress of Christian principle, they often, alas! as clearly indicate a prevalence of corruption inseparable from a degraded theology.

To some persons, the very notion of a combination, in the same schools, of high Christian principle, and of corruptions so gross as were those of Rome, even in their nascent state, may appear absurd; we have however, it should be recollected, as much evidence for the existence of the one, as for the influence of the others, during the period in question; and if, therefore, this circumstance appear to present us with an incredible inconsistency, it were quite as just, and far more charitable, to believe in the good which is borne witness to, and to doubt of the asserted evil. But, in truth, the impressions of persons thus imagining may perhaps be found, on consideration, to arise from a disposition,

natural to us all, to view the errors of a remote age with a horror relatively, though not absolutely, exaggerated, because those errors not only find no countenance from the peculiar tendencies and habits of thought of our own time, but are, on the contrary, in many cases, diametrically opposed to them; while the errors of our own time and society, being, as they must needs be, but exaggerations of prevalent views and imaginations, and harmonizing in some measure with the general tone and character of religious feeling around us, would fail to strike us with any thing like a similar abhorrence, even though they should in themselves be to the full as inconsistent with the integrity of the truth revealed. But could we suppose the high-minded Pontiff of the eleventh century to contemplate, with the feelings of his own time, the religious notions and practices of ours, what might he not think of the almost total abandonment of the Christian duty of fasting? What of the almost universal neglect, for six days out of every seven, of public worship, in all former ages recognised as a daily duty? What of the contempt shown to the Church's authority, as well by the non-observance of her solemn seasons of humiliation or rejoicing, as by the formation of a host of irregular religious societies, half-within and half-without her pale? or what of the tenet, now notoriously prevalent among us, that those whom the Church has duly admitted to holy baptism may not trust that they were therein admitted to the grace of regeneration; but that persons who, after the reception of that holy Sacrament, have abandoned themselves to the grossest sin, have reason to hope for a subsequent admission to the fulness of that spiritual blessing?

The age of Gregory VII. cannot, assuredly, be

charged with generally sanctioning or approving any corruptions of doctrine or of practice more opposed than these to the teaching of the Church Catholic, or to the testimony of Scripture. While, therefore, we habitually admit, as we do, the notion that persons who have fallen into these later errors may notwithstanding be animated by a sincere reverence for Christianity; by a zeal true, though it be not according to knowledge, for the Church's cause; by a reverential attachment to her Almighty founder; and by an overflowing charity, thence derived, toward the world which He redeemed; we cannot in fairness refuse to admit that the same hallowed dispositions might at another period consist with the adoption of errors of an opposite kind. All contrary as they seem, the errors of our Fathers may sometimes, even by our limited powers of observation, be traced to the same source with our own. It may, for instance, have been the same imperfection of belief, the same inadequate conception of the real nature and fulness of Christian privileges, which made men in the middle ages receive with unhesitating credence a host of miraculous narrations of the most childish kind, and which, at a later epoch, has taught them to yearn for palpable impressions of Regeneration, or for positive demonstrable tokens of the Almighty's operation on their souls<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of course it is not meant to be asserted that during the middle ages the arm of the Almighty was never visibly outstretched in miracle. I will frankly avow my belief that the contrary is the truth. And still less, I should hope, will the above sentence be construed into a presumptuous limitation of the unseen ways of God's Providence in His present dealings with the soul. But to look habitually, and by system, for such manifestations of His power, of either kind, seems to betoken an imperfect comprehension

Gregory VII., then, and the Churchmen of his school, will in the following pages be generally represented in the light, which a careful study of all the contemporary sources of information accessible to me has induced me to believe the true one; in the light, that is, of sincere though imperfect Christians; of men who, trained in a corrupt school of theology, could not acquire that purity of motive or consistency of practice which they might under more favourable circumstances have attained; but who, at the same time, devoted themselves, through life, to the service of God and to what they considered the best interests of mankind; and who, while thus acting, became the favoured instruments of Heaven in reforming the Church and in warding off from Christianity one of the most fearful dangers to which she has ever been permitted to be exposed.

The following chapters will however put the reader in a condition to form, on these points, his opinions for himself; nor will it be necessary to trouble him with any further observations of a prefatory kind, except for the purpose of briefly explaining to him the arrangement of the work, and the reasons for which that arrangement has been adopted.

To furnish him with an adequate idea of the position of the papacy, and of the condition of the Western Church in general at the period of Gregory's appearance on the scene, it was needful to give, in the first place, a comprehensive sketch of the early fortunes of the Roman see, and of the rise of its primates to their monarchical supremacy. And to this is devoted the

of the truth "The just shall live by faith." And, in point of fact, a considerable proportion of the legends of the middle ages, like the "experiences" of our own time, do unquestionably seem to merit the designation of childish narrations.



first of the four books into which the work has been divided. The second and third books contain the annals of Gregory's life, divided into the two divisions which naturally suggest themselves; the periods anterior to and subsequent to his elevation to the papal chair. And as his main business during his life was the conduct of a great contest of principle, which, in dying, he left unfinished, it has been thought expedient, in a fourth and final book, to bring the record of that contest summarily to its conclusion.

The authorities upon which the facts are narrated are mostly given at the bottom of the pages. They are too numerous to be specified here. Most important among them are the epistles which have come down to us from the pen of Gregory himself<sup>1</sup>. From these, copious extracts will be found in the following pages. In translating them, I have aimed rather at giving the sense than a literal version of each sentence quoted; and though, as the reader will find, long passages in the Pontiff's correspondence have been frequently abridged, I have assuredly in no single instance intentionally suppressed any paragraph on the ground of its connection with the errors of the papal school. Among other principal sources of information, I may mention, for Gregory's personal history, Bonizo bishop of Sutri<sup>2</sup>, and Paul of Bernried<sup>3</sup>, his apologists, and Benno<sup>4</sup> his assail-

<sup>1</sup> And which are to be found in the collections of Councils: for example, in Harduin's, t. vi. pt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonizonis Sutriensis Episcopi liber ad amicum*. Vid. *Oefelii Scriptores rerum Boicarum*, t. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Pauli Bernriedensis Vita Gregorii VII.* Vid. *Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. iii. pt. i.; or *Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, sæcul. vi. pt. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Bennonis Vita Hildebrandi*. Vid. *Goldasti Apologia pro Henrico IV.*

ant; for the affairs of the empire during his life-time, Lambert of Aschaffenburg<sup>1</sup>, Siegbert of Gemblours<sup>2</sup>, the Abbots of Auersberg<sup>3</sup>, the anonymous author styled *Annalista Saxo*<sup>4</sup>, and the chronicler of the Saxon war, known by the name of Bruno<sup>5</sup>; for the adventures of the Normans, their own historians, William of Apulia<sup>6</sup>, and Geoffrey of Malaterra<sup>7</sup>; for the affairs of Milan, the Milanese authors Landulf<sup>8</sup> and Arnulf<sup>9</sup>; and for the general annals of the Church, the collections of Councils by Harduin, Mansi, &c. I have, of course, systematically availed myself of the assistance of more recent historical compilers; among whom may be named Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*), Schröckh (*Kirchliche Geschichte*), Gieseler (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), and Voicht, the author of a *Life of Gregory* published in Germany in 1815. But these have been only used to lead me to sources of information of an earlier date; and no fact whatever is stated in the following work, at least with reference to its principal subject, which I have not found recorded in contemporary, or nearly contemporary, annalists of his life and times, whose veracity

<sup>1</sup> Lambertus Scaffenburgensis, de rebus gestis Germanorum. Vid. Pistorii *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, t. i. edit. Struvii.

<sup>2</sup> Siegeberti Gemblacensis Cœnobitæ Chronographia. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicon Urspergense*. (Argentorati, 1609. Fol.)

<sup>4</sup> *Annalista Saxo*, ab initio Regni Francorum usque ad annum 1139 res gestas enarrans. Vid. Eccardi *Corpus Historicum medii ævi*, t. i.

<sup>5</sup> Brunonis de Bello Saxonico historia. Vid. Freheri *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, t. i.

<sup>6</sup> Gulielmus Appulus, de rebus Normanorum. Vid. Muratori, *R. I. Script.* t. v.

<sup>7</sup> Gaufridi Malaterræ historia Sicula. Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Landulphi senioris historia Mediolanensis. Muratori, t. iv.—Landulphi junioris hist. Med. Muratori, t. v.

<sup>9</sup> Arnulphi Mediolanensis Gesta Mediolanensium. Muratori, t. iv.

seemed liable to no suspicion. Where those annalists have been found to differ from each other on points of very little importance ; such, for instance, as the precise day of the month on which a battle had been fought ; I have sometimes adopted the statement of him who appeared most likely, from his position or circumstances, to be accurately informed upon the subject, without troubling the reader with a comparison of authorities, or a discussion of the difference. On greater points, where a discrepancy has appeared between the statements of different parties, and the truth has seemed to be doubtful between them, I have, I believe invariably, while giving in the text that which appeared most probable, acquainted the reader with the opposite version in the margin.

Though it was, of course, my wish to be as exact in my references as possible ; yet, as many of the historians used as authorities are, in the strict sense of the word, annalists,—recording the events of each year by itself in a separate period or paragraph ; it has seemed sufficient, in citing them, to give their names, as an intimation that the passage referred to in each case is in that paragraph of their works which is headed with the date of the year treated of in the text. Where, therefore, the date of the year, in such references, is given, it is in many cases because the writer cited describes an occurrence as happening in a different year from that to which other authorities have induced me to assign it.

On the subject of dates it may be well also to observe, that, in the times of which the following pages treat, various fashions of dating prevailed ;—some beginning the year with the Feast of the Nativity,—some with the Incarnation, (Lady-day)—some with

the commencement of the year of the Imperial or Constantinian Indiction<sup>1</sup> on the 24th of September, and others on other days. But for the sake of clearness, the years spoken of in this narrative have always been considered as beginning with our present New Year's-day, the Feast of the Circumcision.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. i. p. xiv.



# LIFE

OF

## GREGORY VII.

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### BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

TESTIMONY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY TO THE EQUALITY OF THE APOSTLES IN SPIRITUAL RANK AND AUTHORITY—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IN EARLY TIMES TENDED TO INVEST THE SEE OF ROME WITH A PRE-EMINENCE OF HONOUR—IMPORTANT SERVICE PERFORMED BY THE BISHOPS OF THAT SEE IN MAINTAINING AND EXTENDING THE FAITH—THEIR POSITION AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF EMPIRE TO CONSTANTINOPLE—GRADUAL INCREASE OF CORRUPTIONS—CONTESTS CAUSED BY THE PRACTICE OF IMAGE-WORSHIP—CONTENTION ON THIS POINT BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE GRECIAN EMPERORS—COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE FORMER AND THE CARLOVINGIAN PRINCES—CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE—INFLUENCE OF THAT MONARCH'S SYSTEM UPON THE HIERARCHY—SPURIOUS DECRETALS OF ISIDORE—CAUSES OF THEIR GENERAL RECEPTION—THEIR EFFECT IN CONSOLIDATING THE PAPAL POWER—DONATIO CONSTANTINI—PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

A MULTITUDE of witnesses, among the early Christian writers, have borne testimony to the conviction of the Church in their time that the sacred rank of all the Apostles was essentially the same; that the chosen twelve were endowed by their Divine Master with an equal fellowship of honour and power<sup>1</sup>; being all in

<sup>1</sup> Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi honoris et potestatis.—Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccles.

common entrusted with the spiritual charge of the world<sup>1</sup>: that what was said in the way of commission to St. Peter was said in effect to the others also<sup>2</sup>; and that however the zeal and energy of the son of Jonas may have rendered him in some sort a leader and guide of his brethren, yet that in the naked matter of apostolic privilege, St. James, St. John, and others, were, like St. Paul, not a whit behind the chiefest of the apostles<sup>3</sup>.

The bishop, therefore, who, when that "glorious company" had been called to its rest, was found occupying the episcopal chair in which St. Peter's last years of labour had been spent, had no ground, from this circumstance, for claiming a supremacy, as of Divine right, over his brethren of the hierarchy, as though he were of an order different from and higher than theirs. But yet a variety of causes, commencing their operation from the dawn of Christianity, and continuing during the lapse of many centuries in activity, concurred in vesting the Roman prelate with a certain degree of pre-eminence in dignity over those associated with him in the government of the universal Church. From the first, amid the deep and general veneration for episcopacy which pervaded primitive times, special honours were attributed to the churches which contained the thrones in which Apostles themselves had sat, and which may be said to have formed the primary fulfil-

<sup>1</sup> πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Chrysost. Hom. de Lect. Script.

<sup>2</sup> Quod Petro dicitur, cæteris apostolis dicitur.—Ambros. in Ps. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes et Jacobus quia plus cæteris petierunt, non impetraverunt; et tamen non est dignitas eorum imminuta, quia reliquis apostolis æquales fuerunt.—Hieronym. adv. Jovin. l. i.

ment of our Lord's promise to the destined rulers of His Church, recorded in St. Matt. xix. 28. There, from time to time, according to Tertullian, were read aloud the very letters which they had written, echoing the voice and imaging the person of each of them<sup>1</sup>; there, for a time, were to be found their friends and pupils, who had habitually drunk in the sacred lessons of truth from their lips, and whose authority, in matters of doctrine, was therefore but one degree removed from that of accredited inspiration; and there, even after that generation of saints had been removed to its rest, might be supposed to linger, in the traditions which it had handed down, the most precious relics of oral apostolic lore. The prelates, therefore, who occupied sees thus distinguished, were regarded as being witnesses to the faith once delivered to the saints, in an ampler sense than their spiritual brethren, the general members of the episcopal body. To them reference was continually made, in cases of doubt or difficulty, by the bishops who presided over less distinguished cities; and in their decisions was recognised an authority proportionate to the admitted superiority of their means of information.

To such distinction Rome had, as need scarcely be shown, a peculiar claim. "How happy," says the Father last quoted, Tertullian, "How happy is that church where Apostles poured forth their whole doctrine with their blood;—where Peter was likened in suffering to his Lord; where Paul was crowned with the martyrdom of John the Baptist; and whence John the Apostle, having been plunged without injury into boiling

<sup>1</sup> Apud quos ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque.—Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret. c. xxxvi.



“oil, was exiled to his island<sup>1</sup>.” And while the East, in Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, and the like, possessed a variety of sees which had been either originally presided over by an Apostle, or honoured by his inspired epistolary communications, Rome stood alone in apostolic honours amid the cities of the western, or Latin, portion of the empire. The city, too, which formed the political centre of the world, could scarce fail, when Christianity had spread itself over that world, to become its religious centre also. The Church has ever adapted, and in fact could not well do otherwise than adapt, her geographical and statistical arrangements to those of the civil world around her<sup>2</sup>. The size and importance of the imperial city would of themselves invest its pastoral superior with a certain pre-eminence over his brethren in other places. And the character of a metropolis,—as the general centre of communication with outlying provinces,—as the spot through which, if not from which, information of all kinds finds its way to the diversified portions of a great empire,—must have materially contributed to the same end. As the Church extended herself through the rude and distant regions of the west, it was in most cases from Rome that the bishops who founded her new sees would receive their orders and their mission; and to them, when these spiritual settlers in the waste stood in need of guidance or control, the Roman Patriarch could speak in the tone of parental as well as of apostolical authority. They were bound to him

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> The apostolic seats, indeed, were naturally fixed, for the most part, in cities of the greatest name and consideration. Vide Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. disciplin. pt. i. lib. i. c. iii. § 2, 3.

by a tie similar to that which now connects our colonial prelates with the successor of our English Austin; at the same time that they felt, in common with the whole of Christendom, the abstract right to their veneration possessed by the see which had been founded and originally governed by St. Peter.

In the combination of causes thus tending to the exaltation of one particular see, we may perhaps venture to trace, as though partially manifested to us, the generally invisible guidance of His Almighty hand who ever directs and disposes all things to the good of His Church below. The part assigned to Rome in the history of the world,—her rise, progress, and duration,—is a marvellous dispensation of Providence, to be contemplated with reverence and awe. She was raised up, we know, to prepare the way for that kingdom “made without hands,” which was to succeed her; and of which, subduing as she did all kings, and uniting all territories into one, she became herself the mysterious type and prefiguration. She was the earthly agent by whose ministrations, in the crucifixion of our Lord, that better kingdom was developed. By her obliteration of the feuds between different nations, through their enforced submission to one common government, she providentially smoothed the way for the feet, “beautiful upon the mountains,” of those who bore to all lands the tidings of salvation. Why may we not then be permitted to imagine that she was yet further a predestined instrument of good in the Divine hand, in preserving, through the pre-eminent authority which we know to have been enjoyed by her bishop, the often hazarded unity of the nascent Church? The supposition implies not the slightest approval of the errors or usurpation to which the papacy has, in these later

days, unhappily committed itself. He who in His Divine teaching set forth the Apostle Peter as the type of unity in the Episcopate, may be thought to have ordained that Apostle's see to be the agent in preserving such unity during the first struggles of His religion, without being supposed to give His high sanction to the exaggerated pretensions or doctrinal aberrations of the same see in subsequent ages. Nor, if a servant of the Great Master have, alas ! been induced, while his Lord tarried, to forget his duty towards his fellow-servants,—to tyrannize and to domineer,—are we thence entitled to infer that he was not called, in the first instance, to a distinguished station of rule over the spiritual household.

To appreciate, in any degree, the services rendered in early times to the cause of catholic unity and catholic truth, by the see thus dignified, we should refer to the history of the great Arian controversy in the fourth century. The providence of God, by removing the seat of empire, just as that controversy broke out, to a new capital, left the ancient metropolis comparatively free from the pressure of imperial authority ; and enabled her pastor, when heresy, under the influence of the sovereign, reigned triumphant at Constantinople, to act with energy and independence as the assertor of the faith,—the great bulwark of the Church,—against the universal domination of error. Julius, who sat in the chair of St. Peter from 337 to 352, was the friend and host of the persecuted and banished Athanasius<sup>1</sup> ; and Liberius, his successor, when threatened, at Milan, with exile by the Arian emperor Constantius, in the event of his refusing to subscribe the decrees of an

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi *Breviarium Gestorum Pontificum Roman.* t. i. p. 48.

heretical council, gave this dignified reply: "I have already taken leave of my brethren at Rome; the laws of the Church are dearer to me than is my home in that city<sup>1</sup>." When in exile, it is true, this latter pontiff faltered in his constancy, and obtained his recall by unjustifiable concessions; but when restored to his see, he returned to the support of the Catholic cause; he condemned the heretical council of Rimini<sup>2</sup>, and thus handed on the testimony of Rome to the truth, unimpaired, to the hands of his successor, Damasus, by whom it was unflinchingly maintained, until the time of trial was past, the general enemy was subdued, and the Nicene creed, ratified and enlarged at Constantinople<sup>3</sup>, was recognised as the orthodox symbol of reunited Christendom.

By a line of conduct so honourable, the Roman bishops could not fail to strengthen and consolidate the moral authority which they had previously enjoyed; and though the Eastern Fathers, assembled in the following century at Chalcedon<sup>4</sup>, ventured to treat the spiritual priority of Rome as having arisen merely from her political supremacy<sup>5</sup>, and to enact the recognition of a similar dignity in their own metropolis; yet the pro-

<sup>1</sup> "Fratribus meis qui sunt Romæ jam valedixi. Potiores mihi sunt leges ecclesiasticæ quam domicilium Romæ."—Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 16. Vid. F. Pagi, t. i. p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> F. Pagi, t. i. p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 381.

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 451.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Concil. Chalced. can. xxviii.—a canon which, as is remarked by Thomassinus, "ut a vero non dissideat, ita sumendum est, quod ea denique fuit ratio quæ Petrum illexit Romam, ut ibi apostolicam figeret cathedram, fontemque cœlestis doctrinæ, facile inde in omnes orbis partes dimanaturæ." Thomassin. vetus et nova Eccl. discip. pt. i. lib. i. c. x. § 13.

test of the Roman representatives against the measure, seems to have been very generally responded to by the judgment and the feelings of mankind. In the diadem of Constantine, the city which that sovereign had founded might exhibit a rival distinction to the laurel wreath of Cæsar; but she could not exhibit the pastoral seats in which Apostles had sat, or point to the tombs beneath which their ashes reposed;—she could not claim the spiritual parentage of Christian communities diffused throughout the habitable world; nor could she, even from the recent origin of her metropolitan existence, display an unbroken line of pastors who had borne the high character of witnesses for the truth.

Under these circumstances, it need not surprise us to find the writers of these early times speaking of the Roman see in the language of unqualified veneration; looking to its occupants as to their natural guides and commanders in the strife which they were ever waging against the error and heresy around them; and expressing themselves as though agreement in doctrine with that central point implied agreement with the wise and good of all ages,—with the general body of Catholic Christendom.

This need not, it has been said, surprise us—far less need it grieve us. Rome, which had once already brought Christianity to our British shores in her train, became, at the close of the sixth century, once more our spiritual parent. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, in whom our language and our English name teach us to recognise the main stock of our mingled race, were by the active benevolence of Pope Gregory, justly styled the Great, converted from the worship of their northern idols to the service of the One true God. By that great

benefactor of our country, the Church, which had been driven as a fugitive into the wild and mountainous parts of our island, was made once more to cover the land, and established here upon her present basis, under the government of those two metropolitan sees which continue to preside over her. And it is through their spiritual descent from this Roman bishop and his predecessors, that our Primates and their suffragans derive their clearest<sup>1</sup> title to govern the Church of Christ in England at this very day. It is not, therefore, for us to look with jealousy or distaste upon the ancient glories of our nursing-mother in the faith. It is not for us to seek to pare away expressions, or to reduce to their minimum of meaning the glowing testimonies of antiquity to that mother's purity and honour. She, it is true, has since abandoned us; and, because we refuse to bow down before the idols whom she has in these later times set up, refuses to recognise us as her children. We, however, have not separated from her; we have formed ourselves into no new sect or party, but by God's blessing continue within the pale of that catholic community to which she first admitted us. Nor can her recent tyranny prevent our eyes from reverting to the shining indications of her pristine

<sup>1</sup> Their clearest, not their only one. There can be little doubt that through the intermingling of the British and Saxon Churches, the title derived through Augustine, has long been blended with one deduced from the earlier prelates of our island. "We stand," says Mr. Palmer, "on the ground of prescriptive and immemorial possession, not merely from the times of Patrick and Augustine, but from those more remote ages when the bishops and priests that were our predecessors, attended the councils of Arles and of Nice, when Tertullian and Origen bore witness that the fame of our Christianity had extended to Africa and the East."—*Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ*, t. ii. p. 251.

worth; or our hearts from burning within us, as we gaze, with emotions of exalted pleasure akin to those with which an affectionate and duteous child delights to survey the cherished mementos of parental excellence.

The western empire, before the time of Gregory the Great, had come to its termination; and the imperial city, after bending for sixty years under the yoke of barbarian masters, was delivered by the arms of the Grecian generals, Belisarius and Narses, and became the capital of a distant appanage to the empire of Constantinople. The political cause, therefore, of the Roman Patriarch's dignity was no more; or existed but in the recollections which continued to throw a moral majesty around the scene of ancient greatness. But that dignity had, as we have seen, other sources of support, other principles of permanence; and the pastoral seat of St. Peter was not, therefore, crushed under the ruins of the throne of Cæsar. Of the barbarous tribes who in those confused times settled themselves in the different kingdoms of western Europe, some, having been already half-converted, embraced in its completeness the religious faith which they found in those countries, without an effort or struggle; and imbibed, with that faith, the generally prevalent reverence for the first bishop of the West. And as these rude nations fell off from the faith of the Church, as from a system too exalted for them, into the impieties of Arianism, the active zeal of the Roman prelates raised up, in new proselytes to the Catholic Creed, new subjects to their patriarchal control. While the great heresy reigned triumphant in many parts of Italy and Spain, Germany, like England, was converted from idolatry to catholicism by missionaries directly despatched and accredited by

Rome; Boniface becoming in the eighth century an apostle to the Teutonic tribes of the continent, as Austin had been to those in our own island at the conclusion of the sixth.

But the Roman see was not, during these dark and convulsive periods, as successful in preserving that purity of faith which had once distinguished her, as she was in maintaining her station of pre-eminence among the Churches of the West. It is always antecedently probable that the history of the Church, if considered with reference to a period of considerable length, will be found to be a record of her declension. The light which illumines her is, as it were, flung over her from a past period, that of her nativity; and waxes fainter and fainter as that period fades into the dim perspective of time. Such an image will at least represent the gradual change which took place in her condition during the early centuries of Christianity. We in these latter times can scarcely image to ourselves the fulness of spiritual knowledge enjoyed by those who were admitted into the Church, while the Apostles were her living governors; who heard the mysteries of the faith set forth in copious discourses by these infallible instructors; and who were taught to realize to themselves the great events connected with our Redemption, by personal communication with those who had seen and handled the Word of life. And vain it were to expect that the Church, in her transition from a period so blessed to that in which the last of these special advantages, preserved as they were for some time by traditions, had disappeared, could have maintained in their fulness the high devotion and the heavenly-mindedness which had characterized her radiant prime. Her external condition, too, became, as time went on,



more favourable to her extension than to her purity. Instead of being put apart by the world, and purified by the fires of persecution, she was incorporated, if we may so say, into that world, and tempted by the inducements which it held forth of authority and power.

Even without, therefore, adverting to the troubles consequent on the downfall of the empire and on the barbarian wars;—troubles which, by investing with an overpowering interest the affairs of this world, could not but in some degree divert men's minds from the contemplation of that which is to come; we should have no reason to expect that any portion of the Church in the eighth century could exhibit, either in faith or spiritual light, the undiminished splendour of earlier times.

And the Roman bishops, while participating in the general declension which may thus be accounted for, were thrown, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, into a position peculiarly unfavourable to the maintenance of certain great principles of Christian faith and practice. For then, tempted as they ever were by the authority which they enjoyed,—an authority which could only, perhaps, be wielded by human hands for unmixed good in ages of strong faith and clear knowledge,—to assume the character of kingly rulers over their spiritual brethren; they were placed, with relation to their temporal sovereigns, in circumstances peculiarly adapted to deaden in their minds those impressions of religious loyalty which had so strongly characterized their predecessors and the primitive Church throughout the world. The Goths, whose expulsion from Rome has been already adverted to, were succeeded in Italy by the Lombards, who, pouring their swarms across the Alps, in the year of our

Lord 568, soon mastered a very considerable portion of its territory. Rome, however, escaped subjection to their dominion. Though the powerful kingdom which they set up extended almost to her gates, the imperial city continued to form a portion of the eastern empire. But the same causes which had prevented the Greek monarchs from arresting the general progress of the Lombard arms, operated to prevent their wielding the powers of government with a vigorous arm in those parts of Italy which yet acknowledged their control. And amid the weakness and distractions of their declining empire, the care of the public safety and administration of the civil government at Rome fell in a great measure, as though by a sort of necessity, into the hands of the spiritual pastors of the place. It was to them, distinguished as they often were by virtues, and ready as was ever the appeal to them in moments of difficulty or danger, that the people learned to look more hopefully for counsel and protection, than to sovereigns whom they knew but by name, and who seemed to be alike powerless to control their subjects and to awe their enemies. Distant as she was from the seat of Grecian empire, and almost isolated amid the settlements of northern barbarians, Rome became, to a certain extent, an independent state, and her bishop, in a corresponding degree, a virtual sovereign; his power, as opposed to that of their nominal ruler, being endeared to the people by the interest felt by Latins in those questions of discipline and observance, which, now that the intercourse between the East and West was less constant, began to distinguish these two great divisions of the Church from each other. Some of these questions may perhaps be regarded as in themselves of little moment; yet even these assume a melancholy import-

ance when contemplated as the first symptoms and manifestations of a disregard of the great truth, that the Church's right to the full enjoyment of her privileges is contingent upon her preservation of unity among her members. But during the seventh and eighth centuries, her declension from the palmy state of her apostolic days had become even more strikingly displayed by the formidable corruptions of practice in which her two great divisions agreed, than by any of the minor points about which they differed and disputed. From the use, natural in the first instance, of images, and other representations of sacred persons and things in Christian Churches, as ornaments, as helps to memory, or as instruments of instruction,—there gradually grew up, in the East, an idolatrous worship of these venerable symbols; a worship which, though at first alien to the less excitable imagination of the West, ultimately took root there also; and engrafted itself so firmly into the habits of universal Christendom, that when a Grecian emperor, Leo the Isaurian, in 726, attempted to put down this unjustifiable practice, Constantinople and Rome were both furious at his proceedings. And though he and succeeding emperors for a while carried their point in their own metropolis, yet with regard to Rome their efforts were by no means equally successful. Gregory II. defended the cause of image-worship,—a practice which Gregory the Great had pointedly condemned,—with such zeal, that Leo, provoked by it to the utmost, decreed his deposition, and endeavoured alike by force and treachery to seize or to destroy him<sup>1</sup>. But against the snares and conspiracies of the emperor, Gregory's extreme watchfulness kept him in

security ; and against open assaults he defended himself by methods more consonant with the character of a sovereign than with that of a Christian prelate. The Italians, inflamed by his addresses, rose in arms in support of his cause. At Ravenna, the Exarch, or imperial governor, was slain in a tumult <sup>1</sup> in 728; and though Gregory II. breathed his last in 730, the course of his policy was triumphantly maintained by his successor Gregory III. By this pontiff, in a council holden in 732, a sentence of excommunication was past, in which the emperor was virtually involved; all being declared excommunicate who should destroy, remove, insult, or ridicule the sacred images <sup>2</sup>. And Leo's fleet, sent in 733 against Ravenna, was encountered in the mouths of the Po by the flotilla of that rebellious city, and after an obstinate conflict, was forced to retreat with considerable loss <sup>3</sup>. The papal cause triumphed, and it seems to have been owing entirely to the moderation or prudence of the pontifical counsels, that the Greek emperors were allowed from this time forth to retain any vestige of their power over the Roman territory. But it was not the wish of the Roman bishop to separate entirely from the eastern empire; he therefore repressed the ardour of his enthusiastic partizans, who were anxious to elect a new sovereign. An Exarch was permitted to reside, a nominal viceroy, in Ravenna; and the shadows of Greek connexion and Greek dominion continued to linger over the papal city till obliterated by the closer ties established with Rome, the more real sovereignty acquired over it, by Charlemagne, the destined resuscitator of the western empire.

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. in vit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Muratori, Annali d'Italia, ad an.

It was in 741 that, alarmed by the hostile movements of the Lombard king, who was naturally desirous to take all advantage in his power of the struggle between the emperor and his subjects, Gregory III. sending into France the first papal envoys who had visited the country since it had received that name, implored the aid of the powerful Charles Martel<sup>1</sup>, who held, as mayor of the palace, the substance of that sovereignty which was nominally enjoyed by a Merovingian king. Thus was laid the foundation of an alliance, fraught, as the event was subsequently to prove, with consequences the most momentous to the interests of the papacy and of the universal Church. And from what has now been said, a general idea may be formed of the position in which the papal power stood, and of the principles by which it was animated at an epoch so critical. It has been seen that, amid the general declension of the Church, Rome herself had not escaped contamination; that the apostolic light which had lingered for a while in the footsteps of St. Peter and St. Paul had not sufficed to prevent her from falling into one of the grossest corruptions of practice,—image-worship,—by which the Church has at any period been disfigured; and that her prelates, having been for some time in circumstances calculated to diminish their reverence alike for the apostolical character of their brother bishops throughout the world and for the divinely-sanctioned claim to their obedience of their secular sovereign, were thus already in a state of gradual training for that systematic trampling on the

<sup>1</sup> Anastas.—Gregor. III. Ep. ad Carol. Martel. Cod. Carolin. I. and II.—Annales Veteres Francorum, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 888.

just privileges of both, which formed the sum and substance of their future usurpation. But though the seed was thus sown, much time, much culture, and the combination of many favouring circumstances were yet required to bring the evil plant to its subsequent state of portentous maturity.

Charles Martel, though he received with much reverence the messengers of Rome, was unwilling or unable to take any active step in consequence of their appeal. But an intercourse between his family and the see of St. Peter having thus begun, his son Pepin, when desirous of taking the crown from the head of the Merovingian Childeric, and reigning in name as well as in reality,—a desire which the general voice of the nation was prepared to sanction,—thought that an additional security would accrue to his new title if an approval of the measure could be obtained from the first bishop of the western world. Zachary, the successor of the Gregories, was therefore consulted on the subject; and he, anxious to conciliate the family whose support formed his only hope of preservation from subjection to the Lombards, replied in general terms, that for the preservation of order it was fitting that the name of king should accompany the power<sup>1</sup>. Fortified by this decision, Pepin, in 752, procured his formal election to the throne of the Franks. Zachary died in the same year; but his successor, Stephen II. reduced to the extremity of distress by the continuance of the Lombard hostilities, and having in vain implored the exertions of Greece to avert the impending ruin, resolved to cross the Alps, and to appeal in person to the gratitude of the warrior to whom Rome had just

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, *Breviar. Gest. Pontif. Roman.* t. i. p. 297.

rendered so signal a service <sup>1</sup>. The pontiff and the new king of the Franks met, accordingly, at Pontyon, in January 754. Pepin, who must have felt that in doing homage to the patriarch of the West he was confirming his own kingly title, alighted from his horse, bowed down before his guest to the earth, and then walked some time by his side, performing the functions of a simple squire <sup>2</sup>. But on the morrow, in a more private interview with the king, Stephen fell in his turn upon his knees, and with prayers and tears <sup>3</sup> besought Pepin to lead his intrepid warriors across the Alps to the discomfiture of the Lombards, and to the deliverance of the apostolic city. Pepin pledged himself by a solemn oath to grant the request; and leading his Franks into Italy, he so far humbled the Lombard king Astolphus, as to induce him not only to restore all the territories which he had wrested from the Roman province, but to enlarge that province by further cessions <sup>4</sup>, while Pepin himself, who had during these transactions been crowned king of the Franks by Stephen <sup>5</sup> at St. Denis, assumed the office of perpetual guardian of Rome, with the title of patrician; a title by the subordinate character of which the imperial supremacy of Greece was tacitly recognized. But when fresh movements of the Lombards, after Pepin's death, brought his son Charlemagne into Italy, completely to overthrow, in 774, the Lombard

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. Vid. F. Pagi, Breviar. t. i. pp. 299, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Anastas. in vita Stephan. II.

<sup>3</sup> Intus oratorium pariter considentes mox idem beatissimus Papa regem lacrymabiliter deprecatus est.—Anastas.—Annales Veteres Francorum, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 890.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Reginonis Monachi, ap. Struv. Rerum German. Scriptor. t. i.—Annales Veteres Francorum.

<sup>5</sup> Chron. Reginon.—Anastas.—Annal. Vet. Franc.

kingdom, and to found in its stead the Carlovingian kingdom of Italy<sup>1</sup>, that prince exercised, not only within the proper limits of that kingdom, but even in the papal city itself, such ample powers of sovereignty, as were utterly incompatible with the continued recognition of imperial authority in any other quarter. And at length that authority, as well in regard of Rome as of the West in general, became formally vested in himself. Without any public preparation, the Pope Leo III., as Charlemagne, on Christmas-day 800, rose from his devotions before the altar of St. Peter's, placed on his head a precious diadem; and the air was instantly rent by the joyous shouts of the populace, in honour of "Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans<sup>2</sup>."

The Roman bishops, could they have ordered things according to their will, would probably have preferred the qualified humiliation of the Lombards, to the total destruction of their monarchy; would rather have profited by aid afforded to them by the kings of the Franks from a distance, than have seen those princes within their walls, their protectors but their masters. As it was, in escaping from the continued pressure of difficulty and danger, they had lost that virtual independence of power which they had so long enjoyed,—they had exchanged a nominal sovereign for a real one. The new emperor was, however, of necessity, a friend to the apostolic see. From the authority of that see it was that his house had derived its original claim to

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin

<sup>2</sup> Eginhardi Annales de gestis Caroli Mag.—Annales Laurissenses ad an. 801.—Chron. Regin.—Annales veteres Franc., ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 907.



royal honours, as well as he himself his title to the imperial name. He had already shown, on a splendid scale, his zeal for the extension of the Church and his munificence in endowing her. And as the great bulk of his dominions lay beyond the Alps, it was probable that his engagements there would prevent his spending any considerable portion of his reign in Italy, or exercising over the papal city the strict control of a resident sovereign. Intelligent friends to the papal power might therefore, even in what they could perceive at the moment, see much to encourage them as to the results, yet hidden in futurity, of the change which had now occurred: though it would have required the eye of a prophet to foresee that one principal result of the northern sovereign's exaltation would be the establishment of the Roman bishops on a yet higher pinnacle of monarchical power.

By increasing and consolidating the temporal greatness of the pontiff, Charlemagne endeavoured to establish in Italy a power devoted to his interest, and sufficient to overpower all attempts against the continuance of his dominion in that country. He, therefore, considerably enlarged the limits of the Roman territory, of which the Popes were to be the possessors, in the same dependent relation to himself in which they had formerly stood to the Byzantine Cæsars. Aware of the deference paid, in most parts of his empire, to the papal name, he on various occasions promulgated his enactments as resulting from the suggestion or counsel of the apostolic see. And when, acting as he did as the converter, as well as the conqueror, of the outlying portions of his empire, it became necessary to establish bishoprics in the territories added by his means to the Church, he procured, and professed to act upon, the

sanction of the pontiff to the measure<sup>1</sup>; thus extending, in some directions, the papal pre-eminence beyond the ancient limits of the Roman world.

But the greatest boon, in a temporal sense, conferred by him upon the successors of St. Peter, was unquestionably his acceptance of the imperial crown at their hands<sup>2</sup>. His coronation in itself ratified, as it were, and proved, in the eyes of the nations of the West, the claim of the Roman bishop to an universal supremacy. And such a ratification was, during the existence and reign of the Carlovingian princes, repeatedly renewed. Pope Stephen IV. placed, at Rheims, in 816, the imperial crown on the head of Louis, Charlemagne's son and successor<sup>3</sup>. Pascal I. performed, at Rome, the same office for the son of Louis, Lothaire<sup>4</sup>. Louis II., the son of Lothaire, received the diadem from the hands of Leo IV. in 850<sup>5</sup>; and subsequently, in a letter addressed to the Grecian emperor, Basilius the Macedonian, spoke of his having been elevated to the high dignity which he enjoyed, under heaven, by the unction and imposition of pontifical hands<sup>6</sup>; and of his ancestor having received the im-

<sup>1</sup> In his foundation, for instance, of the see of Bremen, Charlemagne describes the first bishop as appointed "summi et universalis Papæ Hadriani præcepto, necnon Moguntiacensis Episcopi Lullonis omniumque qui adfuerunt pontificum consilio."—Adam Bremens. Hist. lib. i. c. 10. ap. Lindenbrog. Scriptor. Rer. German. Septent.

<sup>2</sup> "Inde," says Cantelius, "consecrandi Imperatoris consuetudo manavit in Oriente, et perpetua certaue lex fuit, ut is unus imperator et esset et diceretur qui a Romano Pontifice Imperii accepisset insignia." Cantelius, Metropol. Urb. Histor. pt. i. Diss. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Annales Bertin. ad ann.—Eginhardi Annal.—Vid. Ermoldi Nigelli Poem. ap. Murator. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Annal. Bertin. ad an.

<sup>5</sup> Annal. Bertin.

<sup>6</sup> "Ad unctionem et sacrationem quâ per summi pontificis manus

perial title "by God's sanction, and the judgment of the Church," expressed by a similar ceremony<sup>1</sup>.

The spiritual dignity of the Roman prelate, thus brilliantly illustrated, not only maintained its ground, but received accessions of consequence at a time in which the progress of events was tending to degrade the episcopal body in general from the high place of respect which in earlier ages it had filled. The Church, in the transalpine dominions of Charlemagne, bore a character materially modified by the rudeness of her semi-barbarous members; and the efforts of that monarch, exerted toward her refinement, promoted at the same time her secularization. His own idea of her nature and essence seems to have been influenced by the impressions natural to a temporal and military monarch. The pope, as we have seen, he treated in several acts of government as his official adviser or chancellor; and his bishops, whom he endowed with ample territories, became his barons,—his counsellors and ministers at home, and the governors of his provinces abroad<sup>2</sup>.

Their positions in the new bishoprics partook, indeed, in some measure, of the military character; as it

*impositionem divinitus sumus ad hoc culmen proveci, aspicientes.*" Anonymi Salernitani Chronicon, ap. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scriptt.* t. ii. pt. ii. p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> "Dei nutu, et Ecclesiæ judicio, summique Pontificis per impositionem," &c. *ib.* p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Which he thought it expedient to entrust to them for two reasons: first, because he believed that persons in holy orders would be less likely than laymen to violate their oaths of fidelity; and secondly, because, if the subjects entrusted to them should revolt, they might use the spiritual arms of the Church, as well as the temporal means of the state, to reduce them to obedience. *Vid. Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum*, l. v.

was to them that the sovereign looked to repress the rebellions of his recently acquired subjects, as well as to resist the incursions of barbarous hordes from the wastes beyond the limits of his territory. And even those prelates who had been fixed in stations apparently less likely to bring them into immediate contact with military operations, became, soon after the great monarch's death, of necessity involved in the general movement, military as well as civil, which ensued from the interminable feuds of his degenerate descendants. The spiritual dignitaries, therefore, of the whole Carolingian empire were placed in a false and uneclesiastical position<sup>1</sup>: and this circumstance, viewed in connection with the general rudeness of their age, and with the gross views and habits natural to nations just reclaimed, and that in the mass, from idolatry, will in great measure enable us to understand the deplorable account given of the Western Church in the ninth century by the writers of the time.

In forming our estimate of the character of the clerical body at any given epoch, we should, it is true, probably deceive ourselves, did we omit to take into calculation the effect of that feeling of hostility to the Church, her ordinances, and her ministers, which is, unhappily, too intimately interwoven with our corrupt nature, not to manifest itself in some measure in the annals of each succeeding generation. Of that holy institution we are sure, in the pages of the contemporary historians of any age, to hear the worst. Her enemies will not fail to blazon forth, with exaggeration

<sup>1</sup> Thereby placing, of course, the sovereign in a position as irregular. We find Charlemagne styled by a writer of the ninth century, "Episcopus episcoporum." Monach. Sangallens. de gestis Caroli M. libri duo, in Canisii Lectt. Antiq. t. ii. pt. iii. p. 67.

tions, every error and every corruption which may give a plea for their animosity toward her, and tend to lower her in the general estimation of mankind. And, with views very different, her best and truest friends will often use language tending in some degree to a similar result; and will breathe forth their grief and indignation against her defiling sins in a tone calculated to impress those who feel less warmly on the subject, with an exaggerated idea of the evils which form the themes of their reprehension. But, making every allowance for such causes of error in the case before us, we can easily conceive, when the spiritual and unearthly powers confided by the great Head of the universal Church to His bishops, were systematically vested in the same hands with the more tangible authority of municipal governors, magistrates, and military leaders, that the community, ever more inclined to walk, in the language of Scripture, by sight rather than by faith, would learn mainly to fix their attention upon the latter of these two discordant characters thus unnaturally united; and either to forget the bishop in the count, the pastor and the apostle in the prefect and the warrior; or else, as far as episcopacy preserved a substantive essence in their eyes, to degrade it in their thoughts, by assimilating it to offices created by merely secular power, supported by merely tangible means, and exercising a merely political authority.

And this diversion, so to call it, of the episcopate from its original destination brought about, as a matter of course, the introduction into the episcopal body of persons by no means qualified for sacerdotal pre-eminence. In theory, the right of election to vacant bishoprics was recognised by Charlemagne and his descendants as existing, according to ancient and

canonical practice, in the clergy and people of the diocese<sup>1</sup>. But the founder of the Carlovingian dynasty was on several occasions induced, either by peculiar circumstances, or by the ambition and intrigues of those about him, to exercise a more than merely influential or confirmatory authority on such occasions<sup>2</sup>. And though his son and successor, Louis the Debonair, professed his respect for the Church's elective privileges in the same terms with his father<sup>3</sup>, he frequently placed persons selected by himself in the sacred office by virtual nomination. We find the prelates assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, addressing this emperor in terms which imply that the responsibility for the result of episcopal elections, and consequently that the power of directing them, was habitually recognised as resting with himself<sup>4</sup>. And subsequent princes of the Carlovingian house exercised on such occasions the privileges of monarchical control with a yet more unsparing hand. Whatever, indeed, might have been thought of the Christian liberty of the Church in the selection of her spiritual pastors, the sovereign had unquestionably a plausible right to dictate in the nomination of those to whom he was to look for the maintenance of order, the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, in the different districts of

<sup>1</sup> *Sacrorum Canonum non ignari, ut in Dei nomine sancta Ecclesia suo liberius potiretur honore, ad sensum ordini ecclesiastico præbuius; ut scilicet episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria dicecesi eligantur.*—*Capitular. Car. Mag. anno 803.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Monach. Sangallens. et Thomassin. pt. ii. lib. ii. c. xxi. § viii.*

<sup>3</sup> *Capitular. ann. 816. ap. Baluz. t. i. p. 564.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hard. t. iv. p. 13. c. 9.*

his empire. The transfer of elective power from the hands of the Church herself to those of the temporal sovereign, may be regarded as a natural and necessary accompaniment to the process of her internal secularization.

And while thus becoming dominant in episcopal elections, the monarchs naturally exerted with still less of scruple their arbitrary power in cases of nomination to the rich abbeys, which through the liberality exercised or encouraged by their race were now rising to importance in their dominions; cases in which ancient usage and canon law were less directly opposed to their authoritative intervention. Abbacies, as well as sees, were consequently bestowed by them from such motives as usually influence princes in the distribution of places of honour and responsibility of a secular kind. They sometimes selected those who had rendered them services of a political or personal kind, or whose talents fitted them to superintend the sovereign's interest in the seats of their spiritual jurisdiction; sometimes they made from their favourites, their companions in sport, or their parasites, a yet more unworthy choice; and sometimes, forgetful of the holy nature of the things with which they presumed to traffic, they ventured to make ecclesiastical stations and dignities the subjects of bargain and sale; conferring a vacant benefice on the individual who either paid down the largest sum for it into their coffers, or who promised the most ample contributions from its future proceeds.

No sooner, indeed, had the munificence of Charlemagne rendered offices in the Church objects of eager desire to the worldly and the covetous, than the crime which, from the unhappy man who first attempted to

purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit, has received the appellation of Simony, began to spread through the western empire to a fearful extent; and it became customary to purchase with gold, as well admittance into every rank of the sacred ministry, as the pastoral mission implied in the appointment to stations of ecclesiastical superintendence and responsibility. As early as 829, the prelates assembled in council at Paris found it necessary to urge Louis the Debonair to use all his influence in extirpating "this heresy so detestable, this pest so hateful to God," from the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>. The synod of Meaux, in 845, renewed the warning<sup>2</sup>. And Leo IV., in or about 847, denounced it in an epistle to the Bishops of Brittany as a crime condemned by many councils<sup>3</sup>. But it was difficult to impress the enormity of the practice upon an age which had become accustomed to see not only ecclesiastical offices, but holy orders themselves, bestowed on grounds the most frivolous or unworthy. The nobles, in those times, continually procured the ordination of their younger sons or relatives, for the sole purpose of qualifying them for the acceptance of lucrative benefices; giving them, while they did so, the same military training and secular habits with the rest of the family. Others procured the admission to the priesthood of dependants whom they intended to retain in subordinate stations in their household. "Such," says the high-principled Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in the time of Louis the Debonair, "is the disgrace of our times, a disgrace to be deplored with the whole fountain of our tears, that there is scarcely one to be found

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. iv. c. ii. p. 1302.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1490.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. t. v. p. 1.



“ who aspires to any degree of honour or temporal distinction who has not his domestic priest ; and this, not that he may obey him, but that he may command his obedience alike in things lawful and things unlawful ; in things human, and things divine ; so that these chaplains are constantly to be found serving the tables, mixing the strained wine, leading out the dogs, man-aging the ladies’ horses, or looking after the lands <sup>1</sup>.” And because it was of course impossible, however they might have desired it, to obtain, for stations so degrading, respectable members of the sacerdotal body ; “ for what good clergyman,” continues the indignant prelate just quoted, “ could bear to defile his character and life with men like these ?” they selected, without the slightest reference either to knowledge or principle, those whom they thought most likely to perform satisfactorily the various domestic offices above enumerated, and then called on Agobard himself, or his brother prelates, to admit, as a matter of course, the “ clerklings<sup>2</sup>,” as they contemptuously styled them, to holy orders ; a request with which the regulations of the empire, though no human enactments could in truth be binding in such a matter, compelled the insulted bishops to comply <sup>3</sup>.

Aware of these facts, we need not be surprised to find, in the enactments of various synods of the time,

<sup>1</sup> Ita ut plerique inveniantur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent, aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos, quibus feminæ sedent, regant, aut agellos provideant.—Agobard. de Privilegio et jure Sacerdotii, § xi.

<sup>2</sup> Clericionem.—Agob. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Capitular. lib. i. c. xc. et lib. v. c. clxxviii.—Hincmari Capitula, anno 874. c. v.

the evidences of a state of things, in relation to the sacred ministry, most irregular and disgraceful. The bishops, for instance, assembled at Paris in 829, complained that many of their brethren in the ministry were so occupied by the pursuit of gain, and by their entanglement in various worldly avocations, that they suffered many infants, in the districts subject to their charge, to die without the blessing of Baptism<sup>1</sup>. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, found it necessary to prohibit extortion and intemperance in the episcopal order, and to speak of several members of that order as living away from their dioceses, to the neglect alike of the performance of divine service, of preaching, of the care of their flocks, and of that hospitality which became the episcopal station<sup>2</sup>. The synod of Pavia, in 850, prohibited to the clergy the practice of sumptuous banquets, and the use of dogs and hawks<sup>3</sup>. And that distinguished prelate, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, judged it expedient to issue a decree against the pawning, by his clergy, of the chalice or paten of the Eucharist, the covering of the altar, or the sacerdotal robe<sup>4</sup>. But enactments like these, impaired as had become the constitution of the Western Church, and crippled as were her proper and essential powers, seem rather to have been put forth as protests against the advance of corruption, than with any sanguine expectation of materially interfering with its general progress.

The theory of papal supremacy, when presented to churchmen in connexion with a state of things like

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. iv. pp. 1305, and 1315-16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1392, et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. t. v. p. 25. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 393.

this, could scarce fail to commend itself to many, through the hope, which it encouraged, that the primate who, by the Carlovingian system, was brought into sensible contact with the whole western world, might, by his paramount authority, be successful in crushing many evils, too great to succumb to the efforts of minor authorities. Rome, fallen as she was from apostolic purity, was yet undoubtedly exempt from that grossness of corruption, which prevailed in the semi-civilized and semi-Christianized North. Favoured, too, by the circumstances which we have mentioned, she had maintained a degree of independence, which no other branch of the Church, toward the middle of the ninth century, could boast. The "summus pontifex et universalis Papa," as Pascal I. was styled by Louis the Debonair, was, though a subject, in some sense a powerful ally to the imperial throne. His influence was essential to the peace and security of a branch of the western empire, which, while most important, was at the same time distant from the main seat of the Carlovingian strength and resources. Louis therefore, and his immediate successors, the emperors or kings of Italy, though they asserted over the papal city the general rights of sovereignty, and attempted systematically to maintain the ancient imperial prerogative of presiding over pontifical elections, were yet forced on many occasions to temporize, or even to acquiesce in the violation of their mandates. Stephen IV. and Pascal I., the two pontiffs elected next after the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, were both chosen and consecrated without awaiting the imperial fiat; and though a subsequent pontiff, by the imperial direction, passed a decree which rendered necessary the presence of a representative of the sovereign at the elective cere-

mony, yet the enactment was repeatedly broken through. Such, indeed, was usually the critical state of the papal city during a vacancy of the holy see, that the immediate election of a new pontiff was often a matter of indispensable necessity, even to the civil security of the place. Leo IV., one of the most virtuous popes of the age, was thus hastily elected, in 847, that Rome might be the better protected against the assault of the Saracens, who were then in considerable force in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>. Pontiffs so chosen paid, it is true, all subsequent homage to the imperial dignity, and explained, as though anomalous, the circumstances of their elevation. But the occurrence of such events, explained as they might be, tended of course to confirm, while it illustrated, the comparative independence of pontifical election from monarchical control. The divisions, too, and consequent weakness, of the Carolingian sovereigns, when the extended territories of the empire were divided among them, brought forward the Roman bishops into new relations toward the sovereigns of the West. Louis the Debonair being at variance with his sons, Gregory IV., in 833, crossed the Alps, and arrived at the scene of action in the character of a mediator. The jealousy of the German prelates resented his interference, and the attempt was unsuccessful. But the misconduct of the princes whom the pontiff had come to befriend, their relentless cruelty to their conquered father, and the miseries which accrued to their subjects as the fruit of their unnatural rebellion, might well induce a prevalent wish that the papal voice had been more influential; a prevalent

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. and F. Pagi Breviarium Gest. Rom. Pontif. t. i. p. 365.

desire to behold something more than a mere form in the ceremony by which the successor of St. Peter was made to appear a superior arbitrator between princes contending for a crown.

Aware of this tendency in the public mind, we shall the more readily understand the fact, otherwise inexplicable, that, toward the middle of the ninth century, the theory of papal supremacy, already existing, if we may so say, in its great but yet unconnected elements, received definite outlines and a systematic consolidation, by the promulgation, and almost undisputed reception, in the Western Church, of a series of forgeries of the most extraordinary kind.

Various collections of the canons, the written law of the Church, had at different periods been made. The compilation of this kind in authority at Rome at the commencement of the Carlovingian era was that of Dionysius Exiguus; which was, indeed, generally revered throughout the western world; but in some countries the collection had been enlarged by the incorporation into it of the acts of local councils and other matters of detail, from records extant in various places. Such was the case in Spain, where a collection of canons existed in a form thus enlarged; which, being dignified by the name of the celebrated Isidore of Seville, was known, by name at least, to the various Churches of Europe, and esteemed, it would seem justly, as an ample and authentic collection of the records of Christian antiquity. But at the period spoken of,—toward the middle of the ninth century,—spurious exemplars of this collection made their appearance in Germany and other parts of the Carlovingian territory; exemplars which contained, in addition to the mass of authentic matter for which the collection was renowned,

a variety of letters, decrees, and other documents, professedly the work of bishops of Rome, from the very earliest periods of the Church's history ; but in truth the forgeries of the author, whoever he may have been, of the collection in its altered form. Not to mention the palpable anachronisms with which they are fraught ; the citation, for instance, of texts from translations composed subsequently to their ostensible date ; their language, and the spirit which they breathe, is throughout adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they were made public, and not to those of their imaginary origin. The primitive fathers are made to use expressions which did not become current till long after their epoch, and to direct their censures to crimes and evils which, familiar as they were in the ninth century, were undreaded, because unknown, in the earlier ages of the Church's existence. The spurious series is throughout consistent with itself, and the scope of the whole is the assertion of the Church's independence from every species of secular dominion or jurisdiction. As against the laity, the episcopal office is magnified ; a bishop, it is declared, is not to be condemned, whatever his offence, by any earthly tribunal ; the sheep are not even to bring an accusation against the shepherd, but to leave the work of correction, if correction be necessary, to his ecclesiastical superior ; and this superior is throughout declared to be the Roman pontiff, who is styled in a number of the documents " the bishop of the holy and universal Church <sup>1</sup>," and to whom alone is attributed the power of judging and punishing episcopal offenders ; though this power,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Stephani 1 Ep. i. ap. Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 143, et Pontiani Ep. 2, ibid. t. i. p. 117.

in the case of inferior members of the sacred order, is recognised in the provincial metropolitans<sup>1</sup>. In general, too, it is to the pope that all causes of any importance are to be referred<sup>2</sup>. His sanction is requisite for the session of every council, and his fiat alone gives authority to its decrees<sup>3</sup>. The apostolic see of Rome is the head and hinge of all churches; and as the door is directed by the hinge, so by the authority of that see, according to the Lord's disposal, all churches are governed<sup>4</sup>.

Such being the nature of the forgery, it might at first sight appear to have been concocted at Rome, and for Roman purposes. But such does not seem to be the case: the researches of the learned into this curious point have generally led them to the conclusion, that the collection in question was first made public, between the years 830 and 850, at Mentz<sup>5</sup>; a deacon of which city, Benedict by name, lies under strong suspicion of having either perpetrated the deception, or wittingly assisted in its extension; and that, it would seem, for purposes to which the exaltation of the

<sup>1</sup> Eleutherii Ep. ap. Harduin. t. i. pp. 101, 102, et Marcelli Decreta, *ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Marcelli Dec. ut sup.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Epist. Afrorum ad Damasum, et Damasi rescriptum ad Afros c. ii. ap. Harduin. t. i. pp. 763, 764.

<sup>4</sup> Sicut cardine ostium regitur, sic hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiæ, Domino disponente, reguntur. Anacleti Ep. 3. Hard. t. i. p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> One of the documents contains passages from the acts of a synod which was holden at Paris in 829; this therefore is the earliest possible period of the forgery; and on the other hand, in 857, it had acquired sufficient notoriety to be cited, as we shall shortly see, in a public document.

Roman see was but subsidiary and subordinate. The documents may indeed be regarded as embodying the prevalent wishes of the Germanic Churches at the period in question; wishes in which the compiler, whether he were Benedict or any other ecclesiastic, may naturally be supposed to have participated. Bishops, in those semi-barbarous realms, were exposed to violences of all kinds from tyrannic and unprincipled nobles and rulers; to whom their wealth formed a tempting prize, and who, in that era of imperfect justice, found little difficulty in alleging legal excuses for their spoliation. Under such circumstances they found it difficult, either to maintain their station of dignity in the public estimation, or to exert with any semblance of independence, their episcopal authority; and from these evils, they could by no other means be so effectually protected, as by a public recognition of the doctrine, that they were responsible for their conduct to ecclesiastical superiors alone.

Yet a complete subjection to their respective metropolitans might seem to them fraught with dangers scarcely less to be deprecated. These most dignified members of the episcopal order were, of the whole body, the most exposed to the influence of kings and nobles, and to the manifold corruptions of the time; not to mention that they were frequently advanced to their archiepiscopal dignity, on account of their experienced or expected subserviency to the views of secular dignitaries. The unchecked dominion of these over their suffragans might therefore have proved, to the latter, a secular tyranny under another name; a tyranny more galling than the direct exertion of despotic authority, inasmuch as, being less open to suspicion, it might be more unsparingly exerted. In connexion, therefore,



with the teaching which declared their exemption from direct secular jurisdiction, the bishops of Germany and Gaul were glad to receive a doctrine which enabled them to set in opposition, when necessary, to their legitimate ecclesiastical superiors, the paramount authority of a Roman pontiff. They willingly learned to believe that it was as that pontiff's deputies and representatives alone that archbishops wielded the metropolitan prerogative; that their decrees in matters of Church government emanated in effect from him, and were reversible at his pleasure; and that even in the exercise of their most important right, that of episcopal consecration, they acted with authority derivative from the great source of all ecclesiastical power, the œcumenical see of St. Peter.

Under this state of feeling in the Church, the system set forth in detail in the spurious decretals of Isidore had been, as we have seen, for some time tending to its accomplishment in practice, when first that celebrated collection appeared. The immediate effect of the forgery was, therefore, rather to sanction and consolidate relations already existing between the different orders in the Christian hierarchy, than to introduce new ones; and though the work, having been once received, undoubtedly did much toward handing down in its completeness the system of papal monarchy to subsequent ages, it derived its own weight, at the epoch of its origin, from the tendency which already existed in that system to perfect and extend itself. In the forgeries of the German deacon, divines found authorities, apparently of the most indisputable kind, in support of points which they were eagerly desirous to establish. They found themselves enabled to assert their liberties, and to denounce the crimes of their

contemporaries, in what professed to be the authentic voice of catholic antiquity; and, under these circumstances, they were not likely to scrutinize, with an eye of critical suspicion, the collection presented to them with the outward semblance of genuineness, and with the sanction of a venerable name. The altered "Decretals of Isidore" obtained, consequently, undisputed acceptance in the Western Church. Even the sagacious Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, the most distinguished Gallic churchman of the ninth century, though he disputed, with regard to some points, their authority, did not advance any doubt of their authenticity<sup>1</sup>. And thus it came to pass, that, through the successful fraud of a German ecclesiastic, the papal supremacy, or rather monarchy, was established on a new and durable basis; that sovereignty of the Roman patriarch, which till then might be said to depend, for its continued recognition, upon the indistinct impressions, the mutable feelings, habits, and circumstances of each succeeding generation, receiving the solidity and permanence of a system visibly sanctioned by antiquity, illustrated by a long list of precedents, and defined with the accuracy of a written law.

In a more detailed history of the times now treated of, many subordinate causes and principles would demand their share of notice, as having co-operated in bringing out the great change thus accomplished in the transference of supreme spiritual power from the hands of the collective hierarchy of the West to those of one single, king-like, prelate: and even in the cursory account which we are now giving, it seems necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hincmari opusc. adv. Hincm. Laudun. c. 24. Opp. t. ii. p. 471.

advert to one of these secondary agents in the revolution;—the spirit of monasticism. For monastic bodies seem, in the adjustment of the question between what may be styled episcopal aristocracy and pontifical monarchy, to have played a part somewhat similar to that filled in the struggles, of rather a later date, between secular kings and the baronial vassals, by the municipal corporations of Europe. The policy of these last perpetually led them to add weight to the power of the crown, from a fear of the more obnoxious tyranny of petty oligarchs. And it need not surprise us to find a line of conduct parallel to theirs adopted, with reference to the hierarchy, by the monastic brotherhoods; opposed as such a line must seem to all primitive views of the Church's polity.

For all institutions emanating from man have some besetting evil tendency or other; and that of religious societies, even when free, in their original constitution, from the sin of violating the Church's discipline, is, unquestionably, to throw that discipline into the back-ground; as though the bonds of union, thus humanly contrived, obscured to the minds of men the idea of that more sacred union,—our fellowship with each other as members of the one Church Catholic,—which Heaven has appointed for us. And it is probably, in part, to this cause,—though something must undoubtedly be ascribed to the general misconduct of the prelacy,—that we are to trace that opposition to episcopal power which generally, and as a rule, distinguished the monastic policy. The inmates of convents were habitually afraid and jealous of all control which the bishops of their respective districts, as such, might exercise over them or their concerns. In a variety of ways, they systematically laboured to procure for themselves an exemption from

the jurisdiction of these, their legitimate superiors; and they were consequently ever ready to enter into a connection with a distant authority;—as was, in most cases, that of the Roman patriarch,—which held out to them any prospect of an emancipation from it.

The mention of the above singular forgery can scarcely fail to remind the learned reader of another,—nearly, as it should seem, of the same date,—the celebrated “Donatio Constantini;” by which it was made to appear, that the popes were possessed of the rights of sovereignty over Rome, in virtue of a deed of gift from the first Christian emperor. The history of this second fabrication does not seem to come, equally with that of the decretals, within the scope of a narration intended to describe the growth of the Roman bishop’s spiritual supremacy. Yet the spiritual government, if not the spiritual power, of the pontiffs, was materially modified by the influence of the supposititious “donation,” which tended to assimilate yet more to an earthly royalty a power in itself too royal,—too like that of a secular monarchy,—to harmonize with the true character or spirit of the Church.

The origin of the fabricated decretals is not, it has been said already, traceable in any manner to the Roman see. Nor does it seem to have been by popes or their dependants, that the spurious documents thus promulged were first appealed to as authoritative. We find the Carolingian monarch, Charles the Bald, quoting them, in a letter addressed by him to the counts and bishops of his kingdom, in 857<sup>1</sup>, while the first recorded instance of an appeal to them on the part

<sup>1</sup> Synod. Carisiac. ap. Hard. t. v. p. 118.

of a Roman bishop occurred in 865, in the time of Nicholas I.<sup>1</sup>; the history of whose pontificate forms a striking illustration of the system of papal preponderance which their contents recognised and confirmed. Of that pontiff, who ascended the apostolic chair in 858, we read that he, first among the Roman bishops, was crowned in a kingly manner<sup>2</sup>, having placed around the long single-pointed mitre of his predecessors that golden circlet which formed the recognised emblem of sovereignty. The emperor Louis II., instead of resenting this innovation, honoured the ceremonies with his presence; and when, during his stay at Rome, he encountered the new pope in the street, he alighted from his horse and led that of the pontiff for the distance of a bow-shot<sup>3</sup>. This emperor's acknowledgment of the derivation of his own power from the papal authority has been already mentioned; and his conduct on other occasions was consistent with the recog-

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ad universos episcopos Galliæ, Harduin. t. v. p. 590.

<sup>2</sup> Coronatur . . . urbs exultat, clerus lætatur, senatus et populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur. Anastas. in Vita.—Regno de more insignitus, mitrâ turbinatâ, scilicet cum coronâ. Mos ille coronandi Rom. Pontifices antiquissimus erat, licet ante Nic. I. nullum ejusmodi coronationis nobis occurrerit exemplum. F. Pagi, Breviar. t. ii. p. 29.

Nic. I. anno circiter 860, circulum aureum civilis potestatis insigne mitræ addidisse perhibetur; eadem tamen quæ prius erat servata mitræ figura est, mitræ quæ nunc ab episcopis adhiberi solet longe absimilis: hæc enim bifida, et duos in apices distracta; illa vero oblonga erat, et in acumen desinens; cujus usus ad Bonifacium usque VIII. a quo . . . circulo aureo alter item additus anno 1300, cui Urbanus V., anno 1365, tertium etiam imposuit.—Cantelius, Metropol. urbium hist. pt. ii. Diss. ii. But the date of these additions is not perfectly clear. See a note to book iii. cap. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Anastas. in vita Nic. I.

dition. John, Archbishop of Ravenna, whom Nicholas, as exalted above all metropolitans, had summoned to answer charges which had been brought against him before the papal tribunal, refused to obey the summons. And when the pontiff, upon this, pronounced him excommunicate, the archbishop, eager to maintain the dignity of his see, which was esteemed second to none in Italy but Rome itself, presented himself before Louis at Pavia, and besought him to command the abrogation of the sentence. But the monarch, declining to take any such step, directed him to lay aside his pride and to humble himself before "that great pope," "to whom," said Louis, "we and the whole Church bow, and show him all duty and obedience<sup>1</sup>." And so prevalent, in the minds of all, had now become the idea of a legitimate supremacy in the successor of St. Peter, that the people of Pavia not only shrunk from receiving the second prelate of Italy into their houses, but were reluctant to hold, even in the way of buying and selling, any intercourse with his attendants<sup>2</sup>. And being thus strong at home, in the support of his sovereign and of public feeling, Nicholas ventured to interfere with the concerns of other countries, in a commanding tone. Lothaire, king of the territory, since styled from him Lotharingia, or Lorraine, had put away, after much ill treatment of her, his wife Teutberga, and married another, named Waldrada, in her stead. And his influence with the ecclesiastical authorities of his own country had been sufficient to procure their official sanction to this disgraceful conduct. But Nicholas, rendered indignant by the accounts which reached him

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. in vita Nic. I. ap. Muratori, t. iii. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

of these foul transactions, brought into action against the profligate king and his prelates the whole weight of the papal power. By the threat of excommunication, he compelled Lothaire to put Waldrada away, and to restore the injured and repudiated Teutberga to her queenly dignity<sup>1</sup>; at the same time enforced the deposition of Thietgaud and Gunthar, the archbishops respectively of Treves and Cologne, who had been mainly instrumental to the accomplishment of their sovereign's guilty design<sup>2</sup>. And during these events, he humbled, in another way, the powerful Hincmar of Rheims himself, by compelling him to restore to the clerical station certain persons whom that prelate had deposed as uncanonically ordained, and to re-establish in his diocese Rothad, bishop of Soissons, who had appealed to Rome against the decree of the Rhemish archbishop and his synod, which deprived him of it<sup>3</sup>.

“Nicholas ruled,” says an ancient chronicler<sup>4</sup>, “over kings and tyrants, and, as though lord of the world, exceeded them in authority.” The account is exaggerated; but, written as it was within half a century after the demise of Nicholas, it may be taken as indicating the general feeling of the time, with respect to the position which he assumed and maintained in Europe; and shows to how great an extent he was considered to have illustrated and enforced the system embodied in the decretals of Isidore. That system, from his time, became the received theory of ecclesiastical govern-

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 571 et seqq. Chron. Regin.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 577. De Marca, de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, l. vii. c. xxiii. et xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarum autoritate præfuit.—Chron. Regin. apud Pistor. t. i. p. 70.

ment in the Latin Church; and, though the weakness of the successors of Nicholas, or the difficulties in which, at various periods, they were involved, were destined, for some time longer, to prevent its coming into settled and permanent operation; so that his pontificate may rather be regarded as a momentary type, or fore-shadowing, than as the actual commencement, of the great ecclesiastical empire of the middle ages; yet the recognition of that empire thenceforth, in theory at least, was general; and its non-realization, in any subsequent instance or epoch, may be regarded as an exception to an admitted and respected rule<sup>1</sup>.

We have thus traced some of the principal steps by which the constitution of the western Church was in effect converted for a time into a monarchy; the power which the great Founder of the Church had bequeathed to the episcopal body throughout the world devolving, as far as the Latin nations were concerned, upon one king-like prelate in the seat of ancient empire. It is a prevalent but most erroneous notion, that this his elevation resulted from an over-strained,—a too exclusive,—adherence to the old Catholic impressions of primitive Christianity; to what, in short, often bear among us the designation of high Church principles; whereas, in truth, the direct contrary was the case. It was in opposition to those principles, or in a forgetful-

<sup>1</sup> We find the archbishop of Mentz and the collective hierarchy of Germany thus expressing themselves in 895, in the 30th canon of the council of Tribur:—*In memoriam beati Petri Apostoli, honoremus sanctam Romanam et Apostolicam sedem: ut quæ nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat magistra ecclesiasticæ rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, ut licet vix ferendum ab illâ sanctâ sede imponatur jugum, conferamus, et piâ devotione toleremus.*—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 448.



ness of them, that the novelty of papal monarchy arose; it was on the ruins of the ancient and authorized ecclesiastical polity,—on the general degradation of the prelacy of Western Europe,—that was based the kingly throne of the successors to St. Peter. The pontiffs thus exalted did not so much claim new privileges for themselves, as deprive their episcopal brethren of privileges originally common to the hierarchy. Even the titles by which these autocratical prelates, in the plenitude of their power, delighted to style themselves, “*Summus Sacerdos*,” “*Pontifex Maximus*,” “*Vicarius Christi*,” “*Papa*” itself, had, nearer to the primitive times, been the honourable appellations of every bishop; as “*Sedes Apostolica*” had been the designation of every bishop’s throne<sup>1</sup>. The ascription of these titles, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Bingham Origin. Ecclesiast. bk. ii. cap. ii. and Thomassin. pt. i. lib. i. cap. iv. § 2. 5. As for “*Vicarius Christi*,” strangely as the title is now sometimes spoken of, it simply conveyed, as originally applied, a recognition of the great truth that all authority given to men on earth is but the derivative and representative of His who is exalted above all authority and principality and power in heaven. As such it was, in the earlier part of the middle ages, currently applied, not only to bishops, the peculiar representatives of superhuman power, but even to secular princes. “*Vicarii Christi*” was the style assumed by the prelates assembled at Thionville in 884 (Harduin, t. iv. p. 1466) and unhesitatingly applied to his episcopal hearers by the Monk Abbo of St. Germain des Près, in a sermon preached about the beginning of the 10th century (Abbonis sermo ii. ap D’Achery, Spicileg. t. i. p. 337). At Meaux, in 845, the bishops spoke of themselves by the equipollent designation “*Vicars of God*” (Harduin, t. iv. p. 1500). As late as 1024, Aribo archbishop of Mentz is described by a rhyming biographer of the Emperor Conrad the Salic as saying to that prince “*ad summam dignitatem pervenisti, Vicarius es Christi*” (Wippo de vita Chunradi Salici. Pistor. Script. t. iii. p. 466). And the sovereign of England is declared to be “*Vicarius summi Regis*” in article xiv. of the ecclesiastical

to the pope, only gave to the terms a new force, because that ascription became exclusive; because, that is, the bishops in general were stripped of honours to which their claims were as well founded as those of their Roman brother; who became, by the change, not so strictly universal, as sole, bishop<sup>1</sup>. The degradation of the collective hierarchy, as involved in such a relative exaltation of one of its members, was seen and resisted by one not likely to entertain unreasonable or exaggerated views of the dangers to be expected from Roman aggrandizement, the truly great and good pope Gregory I. "I beseech your holiness," said this pontiff to the patriarch of Alexandria, who had addressed him, contrary to his previously expressed desire, by the title of 'Papa Universalis,' "to do so no more; for that "is taken from you which is bestowed, in an unreasonable degree, upon another . . . . I do not reckon that "to be honour, in which I see their due honour taken "from my brethren. For my honour is the honour "of the Universal Church—the solid strength of my "brethren; I then am truly honoured, when the proper "share of honour is assigned to each and to all. But, "if your holiness styles me 'universal Pope,' you re-

laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by William I. (Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 988.) Since the Reformation the title in question has been of right claimed again for our English prelates. Vid. Bingham, l. c. § 10. "We," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "are ambassadors and legates for Christ; Christ's vicars, not the pope's delegates . . . and therefore it is a strange usurpation that the pope "arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to "him with all the bishops of Christendom."—Dissuasive from Popery, c. i. § 10.

<sup>1</sup> "Ecclesie catholice episcopus," a style frequently adopted by the pontiffs in latter times, was consequently an accurate statement of their supposed character.

“nounce that dignity for yourself which you ascribe universally to me. But let this be done no more. . . . My predecessors have endeavoured, by cherishing the honour of all members of the priesthood throughout the world, to preserve their own in the sight of the Almighty<sup>1</sup>.”

And even at a much more mature stage of the growth of papal pretension, in the eleventh century itself, we find the pontiff Leo IX., in an epistle to the Grecian Patriarch Michael Cerularius, repeating the assertion, made by Gregory in the above epistle, that his predecessor and namesake, Leo the Great, to whom the title of œcumenical patriarch had been offered by the Council of Chalcedon<sup>2</sup>, had repudiated the proud appellation, by the ascription of which to one prelate an affront would be offered to the equal dignity of all<sup>3</sup>.

But such a statement, in the later Leo's mouth, expressed the sentiments of past times, rather than of his own. As time went on, as circumstances tended more and more toward such a concentration of the privileges of the hierarchy in the occupant of one individual see, the due rights of ordinary prelates were forgotten alike by the Roman patriarchs and by the episcopal body in the West. Had the bishops in general been animated by truly Catholic principles, they could never, assuredly, have acquiesced in, or rather have aided to bring about, the surrender, into a brother pre-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Mag. Ep. viii. 30. Vid. Joann. Diacon. in vita Gregorii, lib. iv. c. 58, et Thomassin. pt. i. lib. i. cap. xi. § 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Thomassin. vet. et nov. Eccl. discipl. pt. i. lib. i. cap. xi. 32.

<sup>3</sup> “Superbum refutavit vocabulum penitus, quo videbatur par dignitas subtrahi cunctis per orbem præsulibus, dum uni ex toto arrogaretur.”—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 932.

late's hand, of their inherent and independent powers. But we may not harshly judge them. The Church's immediate advantage and security appeared to point out to them the change. Oppressed and endangered in their respective countries, they saw in Rome the only ally to whom they could efficiently appeal; in the admission of her supremacy, the only principle by which they could secure either freedom for the ordinary discharge of their episcopal duties, or opportunities of advancing the plans which they might form of ecclesiastical improvement or renovation. And, thus tempted, we need not marvel if they too generally forgot the high, the imperative, duty of clinging at all times to the divinely appointed order of things under which the Church commenced her existence; of maintaining under all circumstances, and at all hazards, that indispensable key-stone of her spiritual fabric, her ancient apostolical polity.

The Roman bishops themselves, had they been untainted with the general grossness of perception of the age, would have resisted the accomplishment of this unauthorized mutation in the Church's constitution, as strenuously as Gregory the Great had opposed himself to its theory. But the early purity of the faith was, as we have seen, obscured: both at Rome and elsewhere, the fine gold had become dim; and the external form, the outward fabric, so to call it, of the holy Church, therefore underwent, in men's eyes, a modification, analogous to that of the eternal, and in themselves unalterable, doctrines which she internally enshrined. In the world without her, feudalism was now the dominant tendency of the day; the leading political phenomenon of the ages which succeeded that of Carolingian sovereignty was the rise and growth of that

great system, the strength and stability of which consisted in its classifying and compacting to each other the different ranks and orders, by a succession of gradations, so as to give to each individual a definite place in society; a definite relation, though it might be through many intervening links, to the throne. Monarchy, under that system, began to assume a new aspect, and to rest on a basis far firmer than before; acting, if we may so say, on the whole of society; and resembling in its elevation, not the capital of the slender and solitary column, but the apex of the solid and substantial pyramid. And the Church, in proportion as her real nature and character is imperfectly understood, is ever exposed to the temptation of modifying in some degree her constitution by that of the political world around her. Even irrespectively, therefore, of all causes previously alluded to, it grew, in great measure, out of the natural course and progress of events, that in such a period of political transition, the patriarchal pre-eminence of the Roman prelate should gradually come to be confounded by his brethren with the authority of a spiritual lord paramount; and that the aristocracy, if it may be so styled, by which the Church was originally governed, should thus in effect give place to a monarchy, as to a system more accordant with the character assumed by the secular governments of the nations.

We sometimes hear this papal empire spoken of as though it had been the direct, the originating, cause of all those strange corruptions of doctrine and practice which during any portion of the middle ages arose to acceptance in the Church. But a very brief inquiry will suffice to convince us of the fallacy of this view of things, or to prove to us that those corruptions derived, for the most part, their origin from other sources.

Image-worship, for instance, the most extraordinary, perhaps, of all the errors into which the Church has at any time been permitted to fall, was, as we have seen, a product of the warm and excitable imagination of the East. Purgatory was first treated of, in a tangible way, by the great Augustine, bishop of the African city of Hippo. And Transubstantiation, first set forth in form in the writings of a monk of Corbie, near Amiens, was, as the reader will learn during the course of this narration, only definitively adopted by the papal see, when it had been forced on a reluctant pontiff by the clamour of a council, which appeared to embody the popular feeling of the West. And though, as in the instance, already cited, of image-worship, the popes often took a prominent part in the defence of these errors, when they had once arisen and diffused themselves; yet it was as the representatives of public feeling, as the supporters of notions which had become general, that they did so. It was in allying themselves, as their new position often forced them to do, with the popular party, that they allied themselves with the popular corruptions. And however, therefore, we may censure them for having thus suffered themselves to be guided by the dictates of low secular policy rather than of strict uncompromising principle, it would be unreasonable, on this account, to condemn either them or their authority, for the actual origination of the corruptions thus laid to their charge.

That there existed a sort of mysterious sympathy between the system of errors which, collectively taken, may be styled doctrinal popery, and the solitary elevation of the Roman patriarch's throne, may not be denied. But it were a more correct view of this connexion to regard the two as derived from one com-

mon source, than to consider the one as having been directly instrumental in the production of the other. As the temper of the times waxed gross, as the vision of spiritual religion faded before men's eyes, both Christianity and the Christian Church became to their regards, if the expression may be allowed, materialized; and the conversion of the unearthly system of the apostolic polity into a more worldly, a more tangible, scheme of monarchy, is to be traced to mental habits and modes of thought, very nearly allied to those which moulded a reverential and mysterious feeling toward the saints departed, into a systematic invocation of them; and which degraded the holy and ineffable mystery of the real presence in the Eucharist, into the more definite and intelligible miracle of Transubstantiation.

It was the cry of the favoured subjects of God's elder dispensation, "We will have a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations<sup>1</sup>." And the papacy, rising, as has now been described, to solitary dominion, may be regarded as a striking antitype and correspondence, under the new state of things, to the kingdom of Saul and his successors, under the old. Like that kingdom, the papal autocracy presented itself as an unauthorized innovation,—a wilful, human modification of a divine and heaven-appointed polity. Like that, it tended to divide, by permanent distinctions, those who had been ordained to form but one people, and, as brethren, to dwell together in unity. And like that, alas! it ultimately led the way to a Babylonish thralldom. But, unhallowed as had been its origin, the Israelitish monarchy became, we know,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. viii. 19, 20.

the scene of God's most striking providences, the stage allotted to His prophets, and the channel through which He deigned to bring about a partial fulfilment, even of those predictions of national blessing, which the sin of His people withheld them from realizing to the full. David reigned as the man after His own heart; the splendid majesty of his son was permitted to adumbrate that of the "greater than Solomon," who was to come. An angel descended from heaven, and the sun receded in his course, to preserve or to comfort Hezekiah; and Josiah was called by name, centuries before his birth, to the high service of extirpating the idolatries of Bethel.

In like manner the papacy, when it had monopolized to itself, by whatever means, the whole governing power and representative authority of the Western Church, was permitted, as we shall shortly see, to become, in the hands of Heaven, a favoured instrument of good. And whatever we may think of its present position or recent conduct, it were most unjust, most unreasonable, on this account, to slur over the glories attendant on its earlier day. It was, in effect, the realization of that spiritual autocracy of which, as has been observed, the pontificate of Nicholas I. was rather a foreshadowing than an illustration, which at last imposed an effectual check on the portentous abuses of the Church, already described; on that profligacy, simony, and worldliness of the clergy, and consequent depravity of the laity committed to their charge, which rendered the period antecedent to such a realization, most truly, the dark age of Christian history. To the papal power, more especially as wielded by him whose eventful life will form the principal subject of the following pages, is due, what may with justice be called the Reformation of the



eleventh century. But this is an anticipation;—before approaching the history of that memorable period, it will be necessary to continue the melancholy annals of ages, during which the evils above-mentioned continued to flourish, both at Rome and elsewhere, in unchecked and baleful luxuriance.

## BOOK I.—CHAPTER II.

EXTINCTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN LINE—CORRUPTION OF THE TIMES FOLLOWING THAT EVENT—DISGRACEFUL HISTORY OF THE ROMAN SEE—OTHO THE GREAT—EVENTS WHICH LED TO HIS INTERFERENCE WITH THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY—HIS REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE—POSITION ASSUMED BY HIM WITH REFERENCE TO THE PAPACY—HIS DEATH—CONNECTIONS OF OTHO II. AND OTHO III. WITH ROME—EXTINCTION OF THE SAXON IMPERIAL LINE—CONTINUED DEPRAVITY OF THE TIMES—MORAL DEGRADATION OF THE PAPACY—CAUSES OF ITS CONTINUED INFLUENCE OVER THE GENERAL CHURCH—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THIS INFLUENCE—HENRY II. CHOSEN EMPEROR—HIS INTERCOURSE WITH ROME—HIS DEATH—ELECTION OF CONRAD THE SALIC, FIRST EMPEROR OF THE FRANCONIAN LINE—HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY INSTRUMENTAL IN PREPARING THE WAY FOR THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

THE imbecility of Charlemagne's descendants, and the discords which incessantly raged among them, brought the glories of their house to a speedy termination. Charles le Gros, the sixth and last emperor of their family, was, in 887, contemptuously expelled from the throne<sup>1</sup>. And the imperial title, after being for some little time longer a subject of dispute between contending princes of Italy and Germany, and becoming in succession the prize of such as could obtain a momentary advantage over their rivals, fell itself, on the death of Berengarius, in 924<sup>2</sup>, into disuse; the nations of the West resuming the character of independent and

<sup>1</sup> Hermanni Contracti Chronicon, ad ann.—Muratori, Annali d'Italia.

<sup>2</sup> Muratori.

unconnected principalities or kingdoms. But the idea of Roman spiritual supremacy, consolidated as that supremacy had now become, and accordant as it was with the habits and demands of the age, did not fade from men's minds with the disappearance of the secular polity in connexion with which it had grown to maturity. Nor did even the profligacy or violence which, in the following period of confusion, disgraced the Roman bishops,—though fatal to their moral influence in Rome itself,—suffice to eradicate those impressions of the plenitude and extent of papal authority, which had now been made on distant nations. The era which followed the extinction of the Carlovingian line is confessedly the most gloomy and disgraceful in the Church's annals<sup>1</sup>; and the then recognised seat of supreme ecclesiastical authority fully participated in the general darkness and corruption. The imperial power having become extinct, Rome, which owed allegiance directly to that power, and formed no part of what was styled the kingdom of Italy, became an independent state; but her pontiffs soon found that

<sup>1</sup> *Novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate, ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate, plumbeum, atque inopiâ scriptorum appellari consuevit, obscurum.*—Baronii Annales, ad an. 900.

*Iniquitates nostræ multiplicatæ sunt super caput, et delicta nostra creverunt usque ad cœlos. Fornicatio et adulterium, sacrilegium et homicidium inundârunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit . . . contemptis edictis episcopalibus, unusquisque, quod vult, agit: potentior viribus infirmiolem opprimit: et sunt homines sicut pisces maris, qui ab invicem passim devorantur . . . Hinc est quod videmus per totum mundum rapinas pauperum, deprædationes rerum ecclesiasticarum . . . Omnis pæne ordo, omnis status ecclesiæ confusus ac temeratus est.*—Adlocutio Herivei Archiepisc. ad Concil. Trosleianum A. D. 909. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 505, 506.

they had only exchanged their subjection to a single and distant sovereign for a slavery to many nearer tyrants. The lawless and licentious nobles of the neighbourhood became the virtual masters of the papal city; which they impoverished by their rapacity, and desolated by their factions. The pontifical elections were brought completely under their control; on the occurrence of a vacancy, the dominant party of the day introduced a creature of its own to the papal chair, who was, generally, soon driven from it by the fall of his supporters and the exaltation of an opposite faction. Popes, during this disgraceful period, were repeatedly seen to condemn the acts, and to deny the title of their predecessors. One,—Stephen VI., consecrated in 896<sup>1</sup>,—actually dragged the body of an obnoxious predecessor, —Formosus, consecrated in 891<sup>2</sup>,—from the grave; and after subjecting it to a mock trial for usurpation of the papal see, pronounced it guilty, and directed, that, after the amputation of the head and of three fingers, it should be thrown into the Tiber<sup>3</sup>. Stephen was soon himself deposed, and strangled in prison; and by a subsequent pontiff,—Theodore II., in 898,—the body of Formosus, found by some fishers, was solemnly reinterred, his acts declared valid, and the expelled clergy, whom he had ordained, restored to their benefices<sup>4</sup>. And at length, as if to complete the disgrace of the once honoured apostolic see, the power of selecting the Patriarchs of the West fell into the hands of the intriguing and licentious Theodora, and of her equally unprincipled daughters,

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi Breviarium Gest. Pontificum.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>4</sup> F. Pagi Breviar.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 487.

Theodora and Marozia<sup>1</sup>. These unhappy women, the members of a patrician family at Rome, by their arts and beauty, obtained an unbounded influence over the aristocratic tyrants of the city. One of the Theodoras appointed a lover<sup>2</sup>, and Marozia nominated a son<sup>3</sup>, to the apostolic see. And when another son of the latter, Alberic, kindled to indignation by the insolence of her third husband, Hugo king of Italy<sup>4</sup>, deprived her of her power, it was only to assume to himself, together with the civil government of the city, the power which she had enjoyed of nominating pontiffs at her will. He maintained his authority, in this as well as other respects, till his death, which occurred in 954<sup>5</sup>; and then bequeathed it, undiminished, to his son Octavian, a youth who, though only seventeen years of age, had already been admitted to holy orders<sup>6</sup>. On the death, in 955<sup>7</sup>, of Agapetus II., the last ecclesiastic nominated, under the domination of Alberic, to the papal throne, the young ruler, or his partizans, thought it advisable, that, instead of selecting another dependent pontiff, he should conso-

<sup>1</sup> Cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutabantur sedes et dabantur episcopatus.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>2</sup> John X. 914. F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>3</sup> John XI. 931. Luitpr. lib. ii. c. xiii.—F. Pagi Breviar.—but see Muratori's remark on the subject in his *Annali d'Italia*, an. 931.

<sup>4</sup> Albericus . . . matris hortatu aquam ad abluendas Hugonis manus infudit, sed cum non tam admodum scitè præbuisset, Hugo correctionis gratiâ ei alapam impegit, quâ contumeliâ Albericus provocatus, Romanos ad defectionem impulit.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>5</sup> Chronic. Farfens. ap. Murator. *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Flodoard. in *Chron.* ad an. 954.

<sup>7</sup> Mansi; according to others, in 956. Vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 451.

lidate his influence and power, by being himself elevated to the apostolic chair; which he accordingly was, and assumed in his new character the designation of John XII.<sup>1</sup>, though he continued to style himself by the name of Octavian in matters of secular business<sup>2</sup>.

During the administration of the pontiff chosen under these evil auspices, originated that second and more lasting connexion of the papal power with transalpine sovereignty, which resulted from the revival of the imperial dignity in the person of Otho the great. And it will be necessary to bring the origin of that connexion before the reader at some little length; on account of the light which its history is calculated to throw on the position occupied by the papacy, in relation to the empire, during many subsequent ages.

Otho, a prince of the Saxon line, succeeded his father, Henry the Fowler, upon the German throne, in 936<sup>3</sup>. The kingdom of Italy, which, from the downfall of the Carlovingian power, had been the alternate prey of despotic tyranny and anarchical disorganization, was at that period groaning under the oppression of Hugo of Provence, already mentioned as the third husband of the infamous Marozia. The last-named prince directed his policy to the systematic abasement of all that was exalted or powerful in his kingdom. His half-brother, Lambert Marquis of Tuscany<sup>4</sup>, and his nephew, Anscar, Marquis of Spoleto<sup>5</sup>, became themselves the vic-

<sup>1</sup> Being, it seems, the first by whom a new name was adopted on elevation to the pontificate.—F. Pagi, *Breviar. t. i. p. 452.*

<sup>2</sup> Muratori, *Annali d'Italia ad an. 956.*

<sup>3</sup> Herman. *Contract.*—Chron. Reginon.

<sup>4</sup> Luitprand, lib. iii. c. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 2 et 3. Lambert was the son of Bertha of Lor-

that the confounded Berengarius<sup>1</sup> durst not meet him in the field; and establishing himself, without opposition, in Pavia, there solemnized his nuptials with Adelaide, and declared himself king of Italy<sup>2</sup>. Nor, though he was shortly summoned back across the Alps by domestic troubles, did Berengarius even then feel himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by arms. He therefore followed Otho, as a suppliant, into Germany, and threw himself before the feet of that sovereign and of his queen, the injured Adelaide, imploring their forgiveness<sup>3</sup>. And Otho, influenced, we may suppose, alike by policy and generosity, consented that Berengarius and Adalbert should retain their regal title and power, on their agreeing to hold the Italian kingdom as a fief, under the paramount sovereignty of his own, and on their binding themselves, by the oaths and ceremonies usual on such occasions, to feudal subjection<sup>4</sup>.

When, therefore, eight years afterwards, Berengarius and his son, by a course of tyranny and oppression, had worn out the patience of their subjects<sup>5</sup>, and, by their injuries or their menaces, had excited the indignation of the Roman see, it was to the German sovereign, that the eyes, as well of the pontiff, as of the aggrieved Lombards, were naturally turned for redress and deliverance. It is not clear what the particular evils were

<sup>1</sup> His Berengarius compertis, obstupefactus,  
Non bellum movit regi, non obvius exit,  
Sed se servandum castello protinus apto  
Intulit, in tutis posito firmisque locellis.

Hrosvitha Carm. de vita Oddonis.

<sup>2</sup> Chronicon Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Ditmar. Episc. Merseb.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Regin.

<sup>5</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6.

which John XII. at that moment, either suffered or dreaded from the Italian tyrants; evils, the immediate pressure of which, blinded his eyes to the consequences likely to result to his own irregular authority, from the subjection of Italy to a powerful and determined sovereign; but certain it is, that his legates, despatched in the course of the year 960 into Germany, presented themselves before Otho, with the most urgent entreaties, that for the love of God, and of His apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, he would be pleased to rescue the Roman Church from the ferocity of the two Italian sovereigns, and to restore her to her pristine liberty<sup>1</sup>. And these envoys met, in the German court, with several distinguished persons from various parts of Italy, who had come on a like errand with themselves<sup>2</sup>. Walpert, archbishop of Milan, had with difficulty escaped thither, to complain of his unjust expulsion from his metropolitan see, and of the appointment of an intruder in his room. And Gualdo, bishop of Como, had also his tale to relate, of injury and insult inflicted by the tyrants, and by the queen of Berengarius, the imperious Willa. Otho was not deaf to this general call; and his second expedition into Italy, undertaken under these auspices, was as successful as had been the former one. Berengarius, powerless as before to resist him, and now hopeless of compromise or pardon, fled at his approach. A Milanese diet declared Otho duly elected king of Italy; and in the metropolitan church of that city, the celebrated iron crown was placed upon his head, by the hands of the restored Archbishop Walpert<sup>3</sup>. But a solemnity still more august awaited the German sove-

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi.—Landulph. senior, in Mediolan. Hist. lib. ii. c. 16.



reign at Rome ; for there, on the feast of the Purification, A. D. 962, he received, from the hands of Pope John, the imperial diadem of Charlemagne, and thus became the second renovator of the Western Empire<sup>1</sup>.

This turn of events brought the supreme monarchical and ecclesiastical powers once more into immediate contact with each other ; and to cursory observers it might appear that the new emperor stood, with relation to the pontiff, in a position precisely similar to that once occupied by the son of Pepin. The coronation of Otho was, like that of Charlemagne, the recognition and ratification of a spiritual monarchy, vested in the apostolic see. Like Charlemagne, too, Otho showed himself desirous to secure, by his exertions, and extend, by his liberality, the temporal power and possessions of the successors of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>. But the papacy, widely as had spread its renown, and extended as were now the limits of its admitted jurisdiction, had become, through the crimes and follies of its more recent occupants, debilitated at home. When closely confronted, it was found to have lost the moral strength which it had possessed in earlier days ; and, under this alteration in circumstances, motives similar to those which had rendered Charlemagne its deferential friend, induced, or rather compelled, Otho to take upon himself the character of its authoritative patron and controller.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scafnab.—Sigeob. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> The "Diploma Ottonis Imperatoris," edited by Baronius, and said to be preserved, written in letters of gold, in the castle of St. Angelo, (vid. Hard. Concil. t. vi. pt. i. p. 623,)—a document by which the emperor confirms to the Roman see, among a variety of other privileges, the full dominion of the papal city, and of the territories of the Church around it,—is in all probability a production of much later times.

Elected as had been John XII., at the age of 18, to the papal chair, and appointed, as he had been, to that chair, merely for the purpose of strengthening his secular influence, it need not surprise us to find that he disgraced his high dignity by a licentious and profligate life. On Otho's appearance in Rome, he seems to have seen the necessity of checking, at least, the public indulgence of his vices; but the new-made emperor had no sooner quitted the papal city, than he resumed the shamelessness of his career. The Lateran palace was disgraced by becoming a receptacle for courtezans; and decent females were terrified from pilgrimages to the threshold of the apostles, by the reports which were spread abroad of the lawless impurity and violence of their representative and successor<sup>1</sup>.

The fame of these transactions could not fail to reach the imperial ear. The emperor was reminded, too, from various quarters, how nearly it concerned him, now that he had become the head of the western world, to maintain the decency and respectability of the Latin Church, and to put an end to the scandals daily brought upon her by the disgraceful excesses of her spiritual head.

Hints were also thrown out, that John, jealous of the superior authority which he had himself put into Otho's hands, had entered into a correspondence with the dethroned Adalbert, inimical to the emperor's interest.

<sup>1</sup> Quod si cuncta taceant, Lateranense palatium, sanctorum quondam hospitium, nunc prostibulum meretricum, non silebit amicam conjugem Stephanæ patris concubinæ sororem. Testis omnium gentium, præter Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, quum nonnullas ante dies hunc audierint conjuges, viduas, virgines oppressisse.—Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 6.

But to these Otho paid no regard; and when the reports of trusty persons, sent by him to Rome for the purpose, convinced him that the accounts which he had received of John's general conduct were by no means exaggerated, "Puer est,—he is but a boy," said the considerate prince; "the example of good men, aided by fair reproof and kind persuasion, will yet extricate him from these evil ways; and we shall then say with the prophet, 'This change is from the right hand of the Most High!'" He despatched, accordingly, some nobles of his court, with a message of mild admonition to the youthful pontiff; and proceeded himself to blockade the fortress of St. Leo<sup>2</sup>, in Umbria, where Berengarius had entrenched himself with some of his remaining followers<sup>3</sup>. John, in answer to his message, despatched his chief secretary Leo, and another noble Roman, to the emperor, with promises of amendment; but he showed, even then, his spleen at Otho's admonition, by objecting to him, as a violation of the rights of the apostolic see, the siege of St. Leo, a fortress within its territory. "I have pledged myself," said Otho, in reply to this futile charge, "to restore the patrimony of St. Peter entire to his successors; and how am I to fulfil the pledge if I do not subject it to my power, by the complete conquest of the enemy, by whom a portion of it is still occupied?"

But the insincerity of John's conduct was shortly demonstrated by irrefragable proof. Otho heard that Adalbert, having landed by papal invitation at Civita Vecchia, had entered Rome in a triumphal manner, and been received by the pontiff with the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin. the place is called by Luitprand. Mons Feretratus.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin.

honours<sup>1</sup>. Summary measures now became necessary, and Otho moved at once upon Rome. John, after some vain preparations for resistance, fled at his approach: the emperor was received by the Romans with shouts and gratulations as their deliverer from an odious tyranny; and availed himself of this feeling in his favour to demand from the clergy and people an oath that they would thenceforward elect no pontiff without the sanction of himself or of the king Otho, his son. Then, at the entreaty of both prelates and people, he summoned a council, which met, in November 963, in the Basilica of St. Peter; and by which, after it had been twice adjourned, to give John an opportunity to attend, that pontiff was on the 4th of December formally and unanimously deposed; Leo, his chief secretary and late ambassador, being, under the auspices of Otho, elected in his room<sup>2</sup>.

Leo's character was unimpeachable; but, when chosen to this high ecclesiastical dignity, he was a layman,—a circumstance which naturally scandalized many, while it was taken up by many more as an ostensible cause for the discontent with which, proud of the liberties of their city, they beheld a pope elected by the virtual nomination of a German sovereign. The partizans of John availed themselves of this prevalent feeling, to excite a tumult in Rome, which broke out on the 3rd of January, 964<sup>3</sup>, and which was only appeased by Otho with much difficulty and bloodshed. And the emperor, subsequently to this event, had

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Gotf. Viterb. Pantheon ap. Struv. t. ii.—Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 627.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin. Contin. Luitprand.

scarcely left the papal city, to complete the overthrow of Berengarius and Adalbert, when the deposed pontiff once more made his appearance in Rome: his partizans prevailed over their antagonists; and Leo, stripped of every thing which he possessed, esteemed himself fortunate in escaping with life to the camp of his patron<sup>1</sup>. John now, in his turn, called a council, which met on the 26th of February, 964<sup>2</sup>, and which did not hesitate to declare Leo's election illegal,—to degrade from their stations those ecclesiastics who had taken part in it,—and to annul the acts of the imperial nominee's ephemeral reign.

Otho was naturally incensed at this gross violation, on the part of the Romans, of the compact into which they had so recently entered with him. And his wrath was converted into fury when he heard of the mutilations and other cruelties with which John revenged himself on the principal persons who had favoured his rival<sup>3</sup>. But before he could bring his army before the walls of Rome, Providence delivered the Church from the tyrant who disgraced her; and John was carried off, on the 14th of May, either by a rapid illness, or by the consequences of a blow or wound received in the prosecution of his intrigues<sup>4</sup>. The public feeling, however, of animosity toward Otho, by which John in his latter days had been supported, did not expire with him. The Romans, on his death, instead of recognising Leo, and inviting his return, elected,

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Chron. Regin. Gotf. Viterb.

<sup>2</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Chron. Regin.

<sup>4</sup> *Dum se cujusdam viri uxore oblectaret, in temporibus adeo a diabolo est percussus, ut intra dierum octo spatium eodem sit vulnere mortuus.*—Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 11.

as John's successor, a cardinal deacon of the Roman Church, who ascended the apostolic chair under the name of Benedict V.<sup>1</sup> But the party who thus acted were powerless to resist the imperial arms: Otho entered Rome, at the head of his forces, on the 23rd of June; and there summoned a council, at which Leo presided on the pontifical throne; while Benedict, appearing before him as a criminal, was compelled to strip himself of his robe of state, and to resign his crosier into the hands of his rival; by whom it was instantly broken into pieces<sup>2</sup>.

There were many who felt that this ceremony did not remove the original defect of Leo's title; and indeed, papal writers of a comparatively recent date maintain that this council, like the former one, holden by Otho in Rome, was a pretended one,—in ecclesiastical language, a conciliabule; and that on this occasion, it was the true pope who appeared as the criminal, and the pretender who sat as his judge. The malcontents, however, were now too well convinced of Otho's superiority of force to attempt any further outbreak. The emperor, crossing the Alps early in the year 965, took Benedict with him, and confided the exiled pontiff to the charge of the archbishop of Hamburg, by whom he was treated with all honour and courtesy. Nor did Leo long survive his patron's departure. He breathed his last, on the 17th of March, 965; on which the Romans, humbled by experience, despatched an embassy to their German sovereign, and entreated him to point out, according to his good pleasure, an occupant for the chair of St. Peter. It is

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 637.—Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.

said, indeed, that the message was accompanied by an intimation that no new nominee could be so acceptable to his Roman subjects as would be the exiled Benedict; and that Otho was about to accede to the request. But this intention, if indeed it existed, was frustrated by Benedict's death<sup>1</sup>; and, on the return of the Roman envoys to the papal city, accompanied by the bishops of Spire and Cremona on the part of Otho, the election took place in favour of John, bishop of Narni<sup>2</sup>, who thus became John XIII.; a pope, during whose pontificate, the relation of dependence, which the papacy had now assumed toward the imperial power, was yet further illustrated and confirmed. Viewing himself as the imperial nominee and representative, the new pontiff was induced to treat the principal personages at Rome with a haughtiness, which excited general disgust. The citizens rose against him in arms, and compelled him first to barricade himself in the castle of St. Angelo, and then to fly the city: nor was he restored to the apostolic chair, till Otho came once more at the head of an army to Rome, and punished with a severity amounting to cruelty the principal agents in the insurrection<sup>3</sup>. John XIII. then held the see undisturbed till his death, which occurred in Sept. 972. The emperor, on that event, sanctioned the election of a Roman by birth, who was promoted to the papal chair under the name of Benedict VI., and whose exaltation only preceded by a few months the death of his imperial patron, as Otho breathed his last on the 7th of May, 973<sup>4</sup>.

The above brief account of this monarch's intercourse

<sup>1</sup> Adam. Bremens. Hist. c. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Siegb. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scaffab.

with the papacy, will suffice to illustrate the difference, already alluded to, between his position and that of Charlemagne, with relation to the great ecclesiastical power of the West; to show how that great power, extended and consolidated as was now its empire abroad, was becoming dependent for its security, if not for its existence, on the secular authority at home. And the relation, thus established, between the imperial crown and the tiara, was maintained without any material modification, during the reigns of Otho's son and grandson, Otho II. and Otho III. The first Otho had not long breathed his last, when the ever-turbulent Romans arose against the last pontiff of that emperor's nomination, imprisoned and murdered him; electing in his room a profligate cardinal deacon, who assumed the name of Boniface VII.<sup>1</sup> But this wretched man, in the short space of one month, disgusted those who had procured his elevation; and, after plundering the treasury and basilica of St. Peter of all that he could conveniently carry away with him, he fled to Constantinople<sup>2</sup>. And Otho II., by sanctioning the election of Benedict VII.<sup>3</sup>, a member of the great family of the counts of Tusculum<sup>4</sup>, arrayed a large party among the Roman aristocracy on his side; and so far succeeded in maintaining the imperial authority, that, on Benedict's death, in 983, he procured the election, as pontiff, of his imperial Arch-chancellor, John XIV.<sup>5</sup> But Otho II. himself

<sup>1</sup> Herm. Contr.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> According to some writers, the intruder Boniface was in the first instance succeeded by a pope named Donus; but the chronology of the period is obscure.—Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. and vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> Or "Tuscoli." It is difficult, sometimes, in treating of these middle ages, to decide whether a proper name is to be given, with the greatest correctness, in its Latin, or Italian, form.

<sup>5</sup> F. Pagi Breviar.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Herman. Contract.



died in the December of the same year<sup>1</sup>; and, in the March following, his unhappy nominee was dragged, by the Roman populace, from the papal throne to a dungeon; while the infamous Boniface, returning from Constantinople, became once more the master of Rome, and maintained himself there for seven months; at the end of which period he died<sup>2</sup>. The deposed John had been previously murdered in his prison; but another pontiff of the same name was nominated in his room in 985<sup>3</sup>. He, like his successor, Gregory V., was driven, during his pontificate, into exile<sup>4</sup> by the ante-imperial party, and only restored by the arms or influence of the German court. In the time, indeed, of the latter of these pontiffs, the animosity of the Romans to the emperors and their nominees had reached such a pitch of exacerbation, that it was proposed by a powerful party among them, headed by an intriguing noble named Crescentius, to recognise once more the paramount lordship of the Grecian empire over the papal city, and abjure for ever the supremacy of the German Cæsars. In furtherance of these plans, Gregory V. was declared deposed, and a Greek prelate (John XVI.) elected by the factious to the apostolic see<sup>5</sup>. But Otho III., then advancing to man's estate, espoused with zeal the cause of the exiled pontiff, who was his near relation. Accom-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Scaf. nab.—Ditmar Chronic.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> The account of John XVth's flight into Tuscany from the turbulence of Crescentius, is given by Baronius; but F. Pagi (Breviar. t. i. p. 469) professes himself unable to find it in any writer earlier than Werner Rolwink, who wrote in the 15th century. Vid. Pistor. Rer. Germ. SS. t. ii. p. 536. Hermannus Contractus says of him, that "Clericos suos parvipendens, odio ipsis est habitus."

<sup>5</sup> Annales Hildeshemens. Ditmar Chron.

panied by Gregory, he made a forcible entry into Rome in 998. The Grecian intruder, seized in his flight, was treated by the relentless Gregory with cruelties and indignities too horrible to mention<sup>1</sup>; and Crescentius, having defended himself for some time in the castle of St. Angelo, was at length compelled to surrender, and was beheaded by the emperor's command<sup>2</sup>.

On Gregory's death, in the following year (999), Otho procured the nomination of his tutor, Sylvester II., a person who, under the name of Gerbert, had much distinguished himself in the paths of literature; and whose researches in physical science had procured him, with the vulgar, the reputation of a magician<sup>3</sup>. This pontiff, consequently, it was who filled the papal chair when the tenth century closed upon the world; an event almost immediately succeeded by the extinction of the male line of the great Otho, in the death of his grandson Otho III., who breathed his last in January, 1002<sup>4</sup>.

The general darkness and corruption of the period which had thus reached its termination have been already adverted to. The abuses of the century preceding continued unreformed; the moral degradation of the clergy had produced a general contempt of church ordinances alike in themselves and in their flocks. The clerical body of Italy, says an indignant bishop<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Linguam cum oculis et naribus amisit. Ditmar.—Ab imperatore cæcatus et truncatus deponetur. Annales Hildesh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ditmar.—Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan.—Annales Hildesh.*

<sup>3</sup> *Willielm. Malmesburiens. de gestis regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10.—Ditmar.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sigeb. Gemblac.—Herman. Contract.—Ditmar.*

<sup>5</sup> *Volumen perpendiculorum Ratherii Veronensis, vel visus cujusdam appensi cum aliis multis in ligno latronis. D'Acher. Spicileg. t. i. p. 345. 355;—Itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis, Ibid. t. i. p. 379—384.*

of this gloomy time, had sunk so far into habits of self-indulgence and dissipation, as to be no otherwise distinguishable than by the shaving of the head and crown, by some slight peculiarities of vestment, and by the negligent performance of certain rites in the Church, from the profane laity around them<sup>1</sup>. And these latter were but too naturally induced to make light of those menaces of the Divine wrath, which they perceived to be, even among those to whom they were entrusted, the subjects of habitual contempt<sup>2</sup>. Nor could the populace in general attach in their thoughts much importance to the censures of the Church, when wielded by those who, if Church canons had indeed any force, were themselves evidently excommunicate<sup>3</sup>.

And the pontiffs, struggling under the shadow of the imperial power for security at home, were not able, even had they been willing, to direct their energies to the accomplishment of any great or systematic reformation abroad. It does, indeed, at first sight, appear a singular circumstance, that the theory of their supremacy should have maintained itself in undiminished acceptation during this long period of their moral and

<sup>1</sup> Unde ad tantam consuetudo, et majorum eos exempla jam olim impulerunt impudentiam, ut solummodo barbriasio, et verticis cum aliquantulâ vestium dissimilitudine, et quod in Ecclesiâ cum negligentia agunt non parva, unde tamen affectant magis placere mundo quam Deo, a ritu distare eos videas laico.—D'Acher. t. i. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> At cum nos videant ridendo ea quoque legere sæpe, et tam obstinatè adversùm talia, tamquam audacter resistere, et rebellionem contrà Deum publicâ obdurari, si illi talia non curant mirumne alicui potest videri?—ib. p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Unde et excommunicationes nostras cum absolutionibus parvi ducunt, quia quantum intelligere possunt, et nos a sanctis Canonibus excommunicatos cognoscunt, et ligatum neminem ligare vel absolvere posse arbitrio proprio comprehendunt.—ib.

political weakness. The same causes, however, by which that theory had been mainly brought out, continued to operate in upholding it. A variety of motives, good or bad, still concurred in leading many ranks and classes to look with satisfaction to the existence of a central and generally controlling ecclesiastical monarchy. And the metropolitans themselves, who might be supposed to feel themselves the most immediately humbled by the introduction of such a monarchy into the system, were still often induced to ally themselves with it as the readiest mode of obtaining a preponderance over rivals in hierarchical dignity. We find Dietrich, Archbishop of Treves, soliciting and obtaining from John XIII., in 969, for himself and his successors, that precedence among the archbishops of Germany, which was now recognised as connected with the privilege of representing, as a legate, the pontifical power<sup>1</sup>; though the claim to such precedence, when advanced on similar grounds in the preceding century by the son of Charlemagne, Drogo, Archbishop of Metz, had been received with such dissatisfaction, that that prelate, for the sake of peace, was induced to relinquish it<sup>2</sup>.

The legantine system had gradually grown up, from the necessity experienced by the pontiffs, during the reign of the divided Carlovingian sovereigns, of almost constantly maintaining, at the court of each of these princes, with whom they were in some respects so closely connected, a confidential representative. Such a representative, when his office became systematically acknowledged, participated, of course, to some ex-

<sup>1</sup> Harzheim. Concil. German. t. ii. p. 648.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Epistle of Sergius II. appointing Drogo his legate. Hard. t. iv. p. 1463, et seqq. and the proceedings of the Council of Verneuil. Hard. t. iv. p. 1472.

tent, in the dignity ascribed by the public voice to his principal. And when the theory of the false Isidore had fully developed itself, the powers which the legate, in the papal name, asserted his right to wield, were such as to prevent any thing like the free exertion of metropolitan authority in any other hands than his own. It was his business, according to the papal view, to summon, at pleasure, to councils the general prelacy of the regions which were entrusted to his charge; to preside over them, notwithstanding the presence of the national primates,—to sanction new laws,—to demand the censure of the synod upon such as had offended, and in the event of the synod's disagreeing with him, to appeal to Rome,—to remove even metropolitans, if contumaciously disobedient, from their office;—and to forward the decrees of all councils to Rome, in order that, if approved of, they might be sanctioned; and, if otherwise, annulled, by the supreme authority of the successor of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>.

These extraordinary prerogatives were, it is true, but slowly, and to the last but imperfectly, acknowledged by the nations. But by the end of the tenth century their general tenor was so far understood and admitted, that not only did many primates, like Dietrich, eagerly barter their own independent character for one which implied a continual dependence upon Rome; but even a secular king, Stephen of Hungary, conceived that he strengthened his authority over his newly-converted subjects, by obtaining from Sylvester II. the permission to combine his regal title with that of legate of the apostolic see<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cantelius de Metrop. Urbium hist. pt. i. diss. iv. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Bonfinii Rerum Hungaric. decad. ii. lib. i. p. 119;—Cantel. in loc. citat.

With regard, indeed, to the papal connexion with temporal sovereigns, it may be remarked, that the restoration of the empire by Otho not only displayed the pontiffs once more to the world, in the ceremony of coronation, as the bestowers of the imperial dignity, but tended to countenance the feeling, then growing, in the public mind, which ultimately led men to regard the papal see as the legitimate disposer of all the thrones and dignities of earth. The feudal ideas which were now spreading themselves over Europe accustomed mankind to a gradation of authorities arising in progressive stages above each other; each in its place commanding that below it and obeying that above it. The small landholder held his property under a lord who was in some sense his immediate sovereign; that lord again was in his turn the vassal to a greater baron; the baron owed a species of allegiance to the duke or margrave of the province; and it was this last dignitary alone who owed the undivided duties of a subject to the crown. To minds familiar with this state of things, the exaltation of one throne in Western Europe to pre-eminent dignity, would seem,—even independently of recollections of the past,—like the exaltation of its occupant to a kind of paramount lordship over other sovereigns; a vague and shadowy suzerainty, but one which harmonized too well with the ecclesiastical supremacy already ascribed by the Western Church to one paramount head, not to find a place, in the current creed of the day, by its side. And, when this had become the case, the pope, in placing the diadem upon the imperial brow, appeared to the general apprehension as the dispenser, not of one monarchy alone, but of the united sovereignties,—the collective dignities,—of Western Europe, represented by their head.

Under these circumstances, we find that the powerful Hugh Capet, founder of the dynasty which has ruled France from his days to our own, having procured, through his prelates, the deposition of a Rhemish archbishop, was so anxious to conciliate John XV. and to procure his sanction to the measure, that, in an epistle to the pontiff, in which he assured him that no step had been taken in violation of his apostolic prerogative, the king offered to proceed to Grenoble, and, if John would agree to meet him there, to receive him with all honour, and to submit the case in question to his authoritative decision <sup>1</sup>.

During the same pontificate it is, that the first recorded instance occurs, of the practice, afterwards so frequent, of canonization by the authority of a pope and council of the Roman province. John XV., in 993, added to the saintly calendar the name of Ulrich bishop of Augsburg, who had died in 973 <sup>2</sup>, thus acting, as he expressed it, "by the authority of the blessed Peter, prince of Apostles," and exerting a new species of prerogative, as the one visible head of the community of the faithful, the "bishop of the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church <sup>3</sup>."

And though, notwithstanding the humble tone assumed by Hugh Capet, John was not, it should seem, able to settle to his entire satisfaction the business of the Rhemish archbishop, on which that monarch had addressed him; yet the general deference of France to the papal authority was strikingly displayed in the following pontificate of Gregory V. Robert, the son and

<sup>1</sup> Nihil nos contra apostolatam vestrum egisse scimus.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 730.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 727.

successor of Hugh on the Gallic throne, had married Bertha, daughter of Conrad king of Burgundy; his union with whom was uncanonical, both on the ground of consanguinity, and because Robert had contracted what the Church considered a spiritual relationship with Bertha, by having undertaken the office of godfather to one of her children by her former husband. Incensed by this gross violation of ecclesiastical discipline, Gregory, when restored to Rome by the arms of Otho III. in 998, ventured, in council, to declare this royal marriage void; to command the parties who had contracted it to separate from each other; and to declare the archbishop of Tours, who had celebrated the illegal ceremony, as well as all the bishops who had countenanced it by their presence, excluded from the communion of the Church, until they should have made fitting satisfaction to the apostolic see<sup>1</sup>. The haughty prince at first defied the pontiff and disobeyed his sentence; but when Gregory declared him excommunicate, and his kingdom under an interdict<sup>2</sup>,—the first instance of such a measure in France,—the scene was soon changed. The astonished Robert beheld himself deserted by all, and his court converted into a solitude. Two faithful domestics alone remained near him, to minister to his wants; and even these, avoiding his touch as infected, threw every plate and vessel out of which he had eaten or drunk, into the fire<sup>3</sup>. Under these circumstances the king felt that he had no course left but submission; he dismissed Bertha from his arms, and obtained, by his humiliation, the pardon of the apostolic see.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 756.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Franc. Fragm. ex veteri exemplari Floriacensi, apud Duchesne, t. iv. p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Damiani lib. ii. ep. xv. ad Desiderium.



In the attainment of a result so important to the power of that see, Gregory V. was, no doubt, materially aided by the indignant feeling, which the king's conduct, opposed as it was to recognised and respected laws, had excited in the minds of his subjects. He was, moreover, encouraged to strike the blow by the countenance and support of his patron Otho III., who was present at his Roman council, and approved of its decrees. And when we take this last circumstance into consideration, the proceeding, viewed as a whole, may be thought to indicate alike the maturity of the system, which concentrated the general Church's power of discipline in one pontiff's hands, and the danger, to which that system had now given birth, that such a pontiff himself might be made, by circumstances, the creature of a secular sovereign, and thus in effect transfer the whole spiritual government of the Church, into hands which bore no apostolical commission to administer it.

Upon the death, however, of Otho III., and the extinction, in his person, of the imperial Saxon line, that danger might seem, for a while, to disappear. The nobles of Germany, on that event, elected to their vacant throne a Bavarian prince, Henry II.<sup>1</sup> But, though they intended that this election should virtually confer the Italian and imperial crowns, as well as that of their own country, the Italians, discontented with their vassalage to a foreign people, conceived that the juncture presented a favourable opportunity for the recovery of their national independence. They selected, consequently, as their king, one Ardoin, marquis of Ivrea; and, though their nominee was not able to stand in the field against Henry, when the latter advanced to Pavia,

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract

and there received the iron crown<sup>1</sup>—15th May, 1004,—from the hands of the archbishop of Milan; yet, as the German monarch was soon recalled across the Alps, and detained some years on their northern side, by difficulties arising from the novelty of his regal power, Ardoin was enabled to maintain, during that time, a precarious dominion in northern Italy. Rome was therefore severed, for a season, from all direct communication with the German sovereigns. But the papacy, long used to lean for support on their imperial sceptre, had now, if we may so speak, no substantive power of its own. The aristocratic and democratic factions, whom the authority of the Othos had often failed to keep down, now that this authority was removed, were controlled by their mutual rivalry alone. Sylvester II. died in 1003, the year following that of the last Otho's decease; and the three following popes, John XVI.,—June 1003,—John XVII.,—Dec. 1003,—and Sergius IV.,—1009,—were the creatures and nominees of such nobles or popular leaders, as could obtain in turn a momentary preponderance in the distracted city. Benedict VIII., the successor of Sergius, was elected in 1012, through the influence of the family of the counts of Tusculum, with which he was connected,—a family which, as it was pre-eminent in power among the Roman aristocracy, had already exercised on many occasions a preponderating influence over the papal elections, and now attained the power, which it for some time maintained, of virtual nomination. The Romans, it is true, indignant at its domination, and disliking its nominee, rose against Benedict in the year following that of his election, and compelled him to fly from the city;

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.

while a more popular ecclesiastic, Gregory by name, was installed in his room. But Henry II., having surmounted his difficulties in Germany, was now prepared to move once more into Italy. Applied to by the fugitive Benedict for assistance, he gladly embraced the opportunity of strengthening his interest at Rome, by the alliance of a party, so powerful there as was the house of Tusculum. Triumphant over his rival Ardoin, he appeared with his army before Rome, where he found all opposition fall before him, and received the imperial crown, from the hands of the pontiff whom he had restored, on the 14th of February 1014<sup>1</sup>. And, as Ardoin, shortly after this event, was induced by ill health to retire into a monastery, Henry's title continued undisputed in Italy during the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the general repugnance of the Italians to a German master. As, however, he was compelled to pass the greater part of his reign to the northward of the Alps, his authority, in his southern kingdom, was but imperfectly obeyed; and, in Rome itself, he was only strong in the power of his aristocratic allies, the chiefs of the family of Tusculum. With pontifical elections he had no opportunity, subsequently to his coronation, of interfering, as he and Benedict VIII. died within a few days of each other, in July 1024<sup>2</sup>. On the death of the latter, the partizans of the Tusculan family, secured, by the vacancy of the imperial throne, from monarchical interference, and superior to opposition from any other quarter, procured the election of the deceased pontiff's brother, who already bore the titles of duke and senator of Rome, and who assumed, as

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract. Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

pope, the name of John XVIII.<sup>1</sup> The election is said to have been compassed by bribery and other unjustifiable means; a statement, which the character of the family in question, and of the object of their choice, renders too probable. John, as may be inferred from the nature of his former titles, was a layman to the day of his papal consecration<sup>2</sup>; and so little did he, after that event, regard either the obligations of his new character, or the dignity of the see over which he had been chosen to preside, that he expressed his readiness, in consideration of a large sum of money to be remitted to him by the Greek Emperor Basil, to recognise the right of the Grecian Patriarch to the title of œcumenic, or universal, bishop; a title against which, from the time of its assumption by their Eastern brethren, the popes had not ceased to protest; and which they could not, indeed, have admitted, without acquiescing in the degradation of their own see to a secondary and dependent rank in the hierarchy of the Church. But the fame of this disgraceful transaction had no sooner been bruited abroad, than the universal burst of indignation, which it excited among the churchmen of the West, prevented the profligate pontiff from putting his design in execution<sup>3</sup>.

The Germans, upon the death of Henry II., who left no issue, elected, as their sovereign, Conrad, surnamed

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract. This pontiff is also styled John XVIII. by Harduin, but there is some uncertainty respecting his proper numeral designation. F. Pagi reckons him John XIX. and Baronius John XX.

<sup>2</sup> *Largitione pecuniæ, repentè ex laicali ordine neophytus constitutus præsul. . . . ex laico, (nefas dictu,) est transformatus in Papam.* Vid. Baron. Annal. ad ann. et Glaber Rodulph.

<sup>3</sup> Hugo Flaviniac.

the Salic, duke of Franconia, a prince of illustrious descent, but small possessions<sup>1</sup>. He ascended the throne as Conrad II.<sup>2</sup>, and became the progenitor of that line of sovereigns which filled the imperial throne during one of the most momentous periods in the annals of the Church and of the world. For, though a powerful party in Italy, impatient of German rule, had upon Henry II.'s decease, offered their crown in the first place to Robert, king of France, and then to William, duke of Aquitain, yet these princes both shrunk from the precarious dignity; and the malcontents were forced to acquiesce in the councils of those of their countrymen who had deputed to the German court, Heribert, the powerful archbishop of Milan, with the proffer of their crown<sup>3</sup>. Conrad, as a newly elected sovereign, was surrounded with difficulties in his own country. He contrived, however, to lead an army across the Alps in 1026; he received, in the spring of that year, the Italian crown, at Milan; and at Easter, in the year following, that of the empire was placed, by John XVIII., upon his head, in the presence of the great Canute, king of England and Denmark<sup>4</sup>, and of Rudolf, king of Burgundy, with the former of which sovereigns Conrad concluded a treaty for the marriage of his son

<sup>1</sup> Wippo de vita Chunradi Salici. Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Of Germany. As sovereign of Italy, he was Conrad I. It may be as well to mention here, that throughout this work the German sovereigns are spoken of by the numerical designations which they bore in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> Wippo de vita Chunradi.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Cnutonis Epistola ad Anglos, ap. Willielm. Malmesburiens. de Gestis Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 11.—Herman. Contract.—Wippo.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 845.—Otton. Frising. Episc. Chronic. l. iv. c. 29.

Henry, afterwards Henry III., with the Danish prince's daughter Cunelind.

Conrad the Salic was a prince possessed of great abilities, and of peculiar tact in the science of government. The smallness of his hereditary possessions made it difficult for him to support the dignity of his crown; and the spirit of disorder, which prevailed during his reign to a frightful extent, taxed, to the utmost, his prudence and his energies. But, by a consistency of plan, and by a happy mixture of firmness and conciliation in conducting the struggles in which he was engaged, Conrad surmounted the obstacles before him; he secured, in spite of powerful opponents, the establishment of his family on the throne; and, if he was not able to appease in his own time, those troubles which had arisen from the weakness or mismanagement of former governments, he laid the foundation for a more orderly organization of society, by his labours in systematizing and perfecting that feudal code, which had now become, as it were, the common law of his empire, but which received through him the precision and clearness of statutory legislation<sup>1</sup>.

The causes in which the system of fiefs originated, it is not necessary here to discuss. Whatever these may have been, it is evident that such a system could not long exist without undergoing a considerable modification of its original spirit and character. The bond of kindred, or the moral ties of gratitude or affection, which in its origin had bound individual grantors and grantees of land to each other, had of course a tendency to grow

<sup>1</sup> "Erat itaque Conradus iste armis strenuus, consilio providus, sapientiâ florens, peritus et jure civili et in religione Christianâ devotus."—Gotf. Viterb. ap. Pistor. Rerum Germ. SS. t. ii. p. 331.

feebler and feebler with each succeeding generation. Superiors, therefore, as time went on, were sometimes induced to treat their inferiors in feudal relationship with a severity and oppression unknown in the infancy of that connexion. And while the system was traditional and unsettled, the lord might, if he so pleased, tyrannize over his vassal, by demanding of him unreasonable and extraordinary services, and, if these were refused, deprive him of his fief at will. But to the growth of these evils, Conrad the Salic strenuously opposed himself. Through his regulations, first in Italy, and then elsewhere, fiefs of the ordinary kind were recognised as descending from father to son; the services to be rendered by their holders were defined, and regulated according to the precedents of the past; and the lord was prohibited from either demanding more, or expelling his vassal from his land, without a kind of legal process and conviction of guilt. These arrangements were productive both of security to the subject, and of authority to the crown. The empire, under them, assumed a more regular constitutional organization; the antagonist powers, if we may so call them, of society, were brought into a species of contact with each other, conducive to their general equilibrium; and Conrad thus, though he died, in 1039<sup>1</sup>, in the midst of wars and discord, bequeathed to his son, Henry III., the foundations of an authority, more solid than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors upon the German throne.

The Church, like the estates of secular society, acquired security for her possessions under Conrad's sway: he saw, in the baronial importance of her prelates and

<sup>1</sup> HERMANN. Contract.—Lamb. Scaf. nab.—Wippo.—Sigeib. Gemblac.

abbots, a counterpoise to the formidable power of his unruly secular aristocracy; and he therefore willingly enriched them, by distributing among them the lands which during his reign, through the attainder of their holders, became forfeited to his crown. But it was, unfortunately, too exclusively as a political body, that he contemplated the holy institution; and amid the straits to which he was reduced by the smallness of his revenues, he was induced so far to forget the sacredness of the pastoral mission, as habitually to receive pecuniary presents of considerable value from those whom he selected for vacant sees or abbeys, thus sanctioning and extending, by his example, the baleful practice of that unhallowed traffic by which the Church had been so long polluted, and which the enactments of councils, and the indignant denunciations of individual prelates, had in vain sought to put down, from the days of Charlemagne to his own.

The policy, therefore, of this able monarch, tended not only to strengthen and consolidate the feudal system in general, and the power of the feudal monarch in particular, but also to incorporate, or,—if the expression may be allowed,—to melt, the Church into that system, so as to render her an essential and inseparable portion of it,—to subject her to all its laws,—and to associate her in all its destinies;—a process rendered the more easy of accomplishment, by that forgetfulness of her real nature and spiritual prerogatives which was induced in men's minds by the constant spectacle of an unholy traffic in her sacred offices. And in succeeding to his father's power, Henry III., as though by necessity, succeeded also to the task of working out these tendencies in practice, and of completing and filling up the shadowy outlines which Conrad had imperfectly traced.



It is, consequently, by the accession of the former of these princes to power, that a definite form may be considered to have been given to that great contest which will form the principal subject of the following pages. The whole history, indeed, of the imperial Franconian line is that of one long struggle between the Western Church, as represented by the papacy, and the principle of a feudal classification of society, which, as maintained by Conrad and his descendants, threatened to reduce her to the state of a merely human and subordinate institution. On the importance and results of that contest it were premature here to dilate. Its general nature has been thus briefly alluded to, in order that, as the narration proceeds, it may be seen to what the course of events from this time was tending, and what was the bearing of each occurrence, on the development of that approaching crisis, which was destined definitively to fix the position of the Church in feudal Europe.

## BOOK I.—CHAPTER III.

CONSECRATION OF BENEDICT IX.—HIS PROFLIGACY—HIS SALE OF THE PAPACY TO GREGORY VI.—ELECTION, BY AN OPPOSITE PARTY, OF A PRELATE WHO ASSUMES THE NAME OF SYLVESTER III.—BENEDICT RENEWS HIS CLAIMS—GENERAL SCANDAL EXCITED BY THESE PROCEEDINGS—HENRY III. MARCHES INTO ITALY, DEPOSES OR EXPELS THE RIVAL PRETENDERS, AND NOMINATES CLEMENT II. TO THE PAPAL CHAIR—CORONATION OF HENRY, AS EMPEROR, BY THE PONTIFF THUS CHOSEN—COUNCIL OF CLEMENT II. AGAINST SIMONY—HENRY RETURNS TO GERMANY.

WITH the internal affairs of Rome, or of her Church, Conrad the Salic, engaged as he was in other parts of his empire, had little opportunity directly to interfere. And his son Henry was, for several years after his accession, too much occupied in Germany, to cross the Alps in quest of the imperial diadem. The imperious and licentious house of Tusculum, therefore, continued to control both the city and the papacy with an arbitrary sway. And upon the death of John XVIII., in 1033, so little regard did his brother, the head of that potent family, deem it necessary to pay to appearances, that he directed the election and consecration of his son Theophylact<sup>1</sup>; a boy not more, according to some authorities, than ten or twelve years old<sup>2</sup>. The unhappy youth was consecrated under the name of Benedict IX.

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Puer ferme decennis.—Glaber ap. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 500. Ordinat<sup>us</sup> quidam puer annorum circiter duodecim contra jus, fasque, quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit,

and soon exemplified the unfitness of the selection by the giddy and precipitous manner in which, as soon as his years admitted it, he plunged into every species of debauchery and crime. The disgust excited by his proceedings grew at length too general to be controlled by the interest or authority of his family; and the Romans, in 1038, drove the young pope from his see. The emperor Conrad, however, was then in Italy, and still anxious for the maintenance of friendly relations between the Tusculan house and himself. He therefore marched upon Rome, a city which he had not visited since the period of his coronation; and Benedict was restored. But the unfortunate man failed to profit by the warning thus given him, continuing to disgrace his pontificate with every species of crime<sup>1</sup>, and familiarizing himself, it is said, even with adultery and murder<sup>2</sup>. And at length, as if determined to outrage public feeling to the utmost, he had the madness to think of marrying his first-cousin, the daughter of a nobleman named Gerard de Saxo. The father, when the project was communicated to him, at once declared it impracticable, except upon the condition that Benedict would, in the first instance, resign the popedom; in which event Gerard hoped that the power of papal nomination might be wrested from the Tusculan family, and fall into the hands of himself and the party among

quam ætas aut sanctitas. Ibid. But respecting this extreme youth, or rather childhood, of Benedict IX. when appointed, there seems to exist some doubt. There is, unhappily, none with respect to the infamy of his subsequent conduct.

<sup>1</sup> Cujus vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre.—Victor III. dialog.

<sup>2</sup> Post multa turpia adulteria et homicidia manibus suis perpetrata, postremo &c.—Bonizo, ap. Cæfel. t. ii. p. 801.

the nobles to which he belonged. But in this he was disappointed. Benedict, intent on accomplishing his marriage, was prepared to relinquish his dignity; but instead of abandoning it to the faction of his intended father-in-law, he entered into communication with the archpriest of Rome by name John Gratianus, who expressed himself ready to give him a large sum if he would declare himself unworthy of the pontificate, and abdicate it. Gratianus was a man who, in those bad times, was considered more than ordinarily religious<sup>1</sup>: he had lived free from the gross vices by which the clergy were too generally disgraced; but he had availed himself of the high repute which this circumstance had procured him, to amass sufficient money for the scheme which he now attempted,—a scheme which, if we give him credit for purity of intention, betokens unquestionably the grossest ignorance of the limits of sacerdotal duty. This was, to exalt himself to the papacy, and, in so doing, to assert, in opposition to the aristocracy, the long dormant right of the Roman clergy and people to a free election of their spiritual pastor. He persuaded Benedict, therefore, not indeed to resign professedly in his favour, but to resign at a time in which, having employed the remainder of his treasure in purchasing the support of influential Romans, he was tolerably sure of being elected to succeed him. This took place accordingly; and Benedict, in 1044, having received the stipulated price<sup>2</sup>, consecrated with his own hands his successor, by the name of Gregory VI.

<sup>1</sup> Qui tunc magni meriti putabatur.—Bonizo, l. c. Qui tunc in urbe religiosior cæteris clericis videbatur.—Victor III. dial. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Quia, voluptati deditus, ut Epicurus magis quam ut pontifex vivere malebat.—Victor III. dial.

But Gerard and his party, indignant at this frustration of their hopes, refused to acknowledge the transaction; and on the assumption that the papal chair was vacant, nominated to it John, bishop of Sabina, who gave them a considerable sum for his elevation, and who assumed the name of Sylvester III.<sup>1</sup> The power, however, of the house of Tusculum was still formidable. Benedict, finding his intended spouse withheld from him, and not feeling himself bound in honour by his bargain with Gratianus, after an absence of three months, re-appeared in Rome and asserted his former pretensions. But though he succeeded in occupying the Lateran palace, he was not able to drive either of his competitors entirely out of the city. The world, therefore, beheld for some time the shameful spectacle of three self-styled Popes, opposed to each other, living at the same time in different palaces, and officiating at different altars of the papal city: Benedict performing the sacred functions of his office in the Lateran; Gregory in St. Peter's; and Sylvester in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The degradation of the once honoured chair of the Apostle had now reached its climax. The scandal of these proceedings excited a general cry of indignation; and as the corruption and disorganization of all classes of Roman society seemed to preclude the possibility of any reform originating at home, the eyes of many were wistfully turned towards Germany, as the only quarter from which a remedy for these dreadful evils could be looked for.<sup>2</sup>

Averse as the Romans usually, and naturally, were to Teutonic control, the name of the young and energetic Henry III., who now filled his father Conrad's throne,

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

became familiar in their mouths as that of a desired and expected deliverer; and in a rhythmical saying which passed from mouth to mouth, he was implored to come, and, as the vicegerent of the Almighty, to annul the unnatural union which connected three husbands with a single bride <sup>1</sup>.

But the monarch thus appealed to was occupied by wars with revolted nobles or neighbouring nations, and unable, during the year 1045, to attempt an expedition into Italy. The factions, therefore, continued to rage in the distracted city of St. Peter; and though that of Gregory, after some little time, seemed to preponderate over its antagonists, yet its chief found himself compelled to propitiate his rival Benedict by permitting him to retain that portion of the papal revenues which was derived from England <sup>2</sup>. And through this circumstance, as well as the further diminution of the income of the see which resulted from the opposition of Sylvester, and the general results of the struggle, Gregory found his pecuniary resources miserably inadequate to the preservation either of dignity in his government or of order in the city <sup>3</sup>. No pilgrim could now approach the apostolic

<sup>1</sup> *Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis,  
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,  
Solve connubium triforme dubium.*

*Vid. Annalista Saxo ad ann.*

<sup>2</sup> *Otto Frisingens. vi. c. 32.* This historian, not a contemporary one, is evidently in error in describing the Archpriest John and Gregory VI. as different persons.—*Vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 504.*

<sup>3</sup> *Præter pauca oppida vicina, et oblationes fidelium, pene nihil haberet, quo se sustentaret.*—*Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. ii. c. 13.*

threshold without fear of falling into the hands of the robbers and murderers who infested the city and its neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>; and Gregory, to subdue and chastise them, found it necessary, not only to maintain a standing body of troops, but repeatedly to put himself at their head, and to proceed in person to the capture or the slaughter of these outrageous offenders. He first expelled them from the sacred limits of St. Peter's; then carried his arms further, and cleared the neighbouring towns and roads from their marauding bands<sup>2</sup>. And when the incongruity of these warlike proceedings with the sacred duties of the pontifical office raised an outcry against him, his partizans met it by the singular expedient of supplying him with a coadjutor, in the person of Laurence, Archbishop of Amalfi; a prelate who for his assertion and enforcement of ecclesiastical prerogative and discipline, had been banished from his archbishopric<sup>3</sup>, by Guaimar, prince of the city. Laurence, it was agreed, should officiate for the pontiff in the offices of the Church, and should carry on the general business of the papal government, while his principal might still devote himself to his active, but unpriestly, labours in the armed enforcement of public tranquillity. Such an arrangement, as Gregory was an unlettered man, probably suited him better than would have done a partition of duties of an opposite kind. While, by the nomination of the archbishop, those of Gregory's partizans who were anxious for a reform of

<sup>1</sup> *In medio foro sicarii vagabantur . . . Super ipsa corpora apostolorum et martyrum, supra sacra altaria, gladii nudabantur, et oblationes accedentium vix dum appositæ de manibus abripiabantur.*—Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Ughelli *Italia Sacra*, t. vii. p. 195. edit. Colet.

the Church, secured the services of a strict and able prelate toward the accomplishment of their designs<sup>1</sup>.

For unlettered as he was, and unworthy as had been the mode of his exaltation, Gregory VI. seems to have been supported against his rivals by whatever of high feeling or catholic principle yet existed in the papal city. A school was now growing up, at Rome and elsewhere, of men who, disgusted with the outrageous corruptions of the Church, pined for her reformation; and who, at the same time, felt that such reformation, to be essential and permanent, must be connected with her liberation from the thralldom in which she had long been held to regal or aristocratical power. The supreme functions of her internal government having become,—as though by the general consent of the collective episcopacy of the West,—entrusted to the pope, they saw that the vigour of her administration must be crippled throughout, if the pontiff continued either the dependent nominee of a German monarch, or the creature of a Tusculan count. They beheld the spirit of feudalism gradually drawing the hierarchies of the different nations of Europe more and more into its system, and confounding their spiritual character with the secularities around them. And they could not but regard, under existing circumstances, the interference of Henry, as an event likely to consolidate that system, by subjecting the papacy to a thralldom more complete than it had at any preceding period experienced.

When, therefore, Gregory VI., under the most un-

<sup>1</sup> Laurentius, Amalfitanæ sedis archiepiscopus, qui potens in litteris ac biglossus, Græcè noverat et Latinè, et, quod longè præstantius est, laudabilis vitæ claritate pollebat.—Petr. Damian. in vita S. Odilonis.



propitious circumstances, had succeeded in restoring the appearance, if not the substance, of a canonical election by the Roman clergy and people, he had drawn these reformers, by a strong attraction, to his side; as in the success of his cause had become involved a practical illustration of their leading principle. His competitors they were, on all accounts, anxious to oppose; and when, as we have mentioned, they had put the virtual administration of the Church into the hands of Laurence, whom they trusted and revered, they willingly forgot the errors, the ignorance, and the simplicity, of her nominal governor, and endeavoured to persuade themselves that his pontificate would prove a distinguished era of ecclesiastical reform<sup>1</sup>.

They were, however, soon awakened from the dream in which they thus hastily indulged. Henry III., having at length satisfactorily arranged his northern affairs, prepared, in the autumn of 1046, for an expedition into Italy.

This prince, who was then in the very prime of life, having been born in 1016, had inherited to the energy and abilities, as well as the sceptre, of his father Conrad: and while he was actuated by the same general principles of rectitude by which that father had been characterized, he was able, in one respect, to resist a temptation, to which Conrad, from the difficulties of his position, had been induced to yield. In no single instance is the fame of Henry III. obscured by the disgrace of simony. To that unholy practice, the young monarch, from the beginning of his reign, displayed a determined opposition; while the energy of his character, and the strength of his devotional feelings,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani lib. i. ep. i.

naturally induced him to rejoice in being called to the part of a reformer of the Church. Like his contemporaries, he was impressed with the idea that the episcopal power of that Church was by divine appointment mainly concentrated in the Roman see; and he therefore felt that he could undertake no holier task, than the liberation of that see, from the factions which tyrannized over, and the corruptions which polluted it.

But unfortunately, alike for the permanence of his improvements, and for the future destinies of his own imperial house, Henry undertook this task,—a feudal monarch,—with a mind thoroughly imbued with the feudalizing system of his father and of the day. His own sovereign power was that which events around him were conducing to render the sole independent, substantive, authority in the political constitution of society. All grades and orders of civil dignity were, at the moment, systematically ranging themselves in relations of definite subordination around the steps of the imperial throne, and deriving from those relations a principle of strength and permanency unknown to them before. And the Church afforded, in her outward circumstances, no indication, that the formation of such relations would not, in her case, be equally beneficial. On the contrary, the principle of feudalism, the strong and prevailing principle of the day, seemed, at first sight, to hold out to her the only means of immediately and efficiently coping with the dangers and difficulties which beset her. And, this being the case, the sovereign was of all men the least likely to open his eyes to the evils probable in future to result from an undue exertion, in this direction, of the regal prerogative.

Henry set out, therefore, with the purpose,—it would

be scarcely fair to say, the intention,—of making the Church's spiritual governors independent of every other external authority, by binding them in close dependence on the authority of his central throne. Conscious of his good intentions, and confident in his power, he deemed that he should thus secure moral weight to their authority, and energy to their efforts, for carrying into effect the reformation which he desired; and, as he was prepared scrupulously to avoid all violation of the outward forms and decencies of ecclesiastical independence,—as he showed, by his consistent practice, a deep reverence for the majesty of the Church and of her ministers',—he probably little understood the real nature of the precedent which he was setting;—little dreamed, that, by his measures for the remedy of temporary evils, he was founding a system of a permanent nature,—a system, by which the Church which he revered would ere long have been depressed from her original state of substantive existence, into that of a mere creature and organ of the secular ruler; and by which, therefore, had it been destined to receive consolidation, she would have been subjected to a more galling, as well as a more lasting, degradation, than the vices or follies of her pastors, or their controllers, had ever as yet brought upon her.

Those who, as we shall find in the sequel, protested against that system, and resisted its accomplishment, did so as asserters of pontifical, rather than of episcopal, prerogative. But, however unauthorized the steps by which the Roman Patriarch had become the sole representative of apostolic power in the West, he was, *de facto*, such a representative at the epoch in question;

<sup>1</sup> Henricus III. nunquam insignia regalia sibi præsumpsit imponere, nisi clam confessionis ac pœnitentiæ verberum insuper satisfactione, licentiam a quolibet sacerdotum suppliciter mereretur.—*Annonis vita*, c. vi. in *vita SS. a Surio*, t. vi.

and might consequently, as against an external and intruding power, fight with honour its battles, and assert with truth its rights. The power of the papacy, with all its defects, was, as should be recollected, itself episcopal. The internal government of the Church was not, by the Roman Patriarch's elevation, taken out of that sacred body in which the Redeemer had placed it, however irregularly within that body it had come to be distributed; and therefore the churchmen of the day, in contending against its menaced transference from the papal chair to the imperial throne, may unquestionably be considered as witnessing,—in a manner,—to the truth, and asserting the legitimate privileges of the Catholic Church. But their real position will be best explained by a continuance of the narration.

Henry III. was received in northern Italy by the powerful and magnificent Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany<sup>1</sup>, with a splendour which dazzled and surprised him. In Pavia, he held, on the 25th of October, a council<sup>2</sup>, which was attended by nine-and-thirty of the most distinguished bishops of Germany, Italy, Burgundy, and France; with whom he conferred on the

<sup>1</sup> Boniface was son to Tedaldo, Count of Modena, Reggio, Mantua, and other places, and had been enfeoffed with the duchy and marquisate of Tuscany by Conrad the Salic. When Henry III., on his Italian expedition, arrived at Mantua, Albert, the Viscount, or deputy, of Boniface in that city, presented him with an hundred horses, and two hundred birds of chace,—a present, which naturally impressed the monarch with a high idea of the magnificence of a noble, whose dependents were thus wealthy. Henry subsequently invited Albert to dine at the royal table; but the Viscount excused himself, saying, that even his own master had never honoured him with such an invitation; nor was it till he had received permission from Boniface to do so, that he obeyed the royal summons.—Vid. Domnizo.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

state of the pontificate, with a view to the deposition of all its existing claimants. But the prelates declared that a bishop, and much more a pope, could not be condemned unheard; and Henry therefore invited Gregory VI. to join him in northern Italy. This simple and ignorant man<sup>1</sup>, trusting in what he considered the purity of his intentions, and in the feeling which existed in the papal city in his favour, unhesitatingly set out for the imperial court; and, presenting himself before Henry at Piacenza, was received by the king with all honour and distinction<sup>2</sup>. Thence he proceeded, with the monarch and his train, to Sutri, a town about thirty miles to the north of Rome; where Henry, again halting, summoned a council around him<sup>3</sup>, at which Gregory, as pope, took the presiding seat. His late competitor Benedict having retired and abandoned his claim, no step, with regard to him, was thought necessary; but Sylvester was condemned to be deprived of his episcopal and sacerdotal rank, and to be confined for the remainder of his life within the walls of a monastery<sup>4</sup>. And, this having been done, Gregory hoped that he should himself be recognised as the unquestioned occupant of the papal chair.

But the designs of the monarch were far different; he intended the removal of all from power in Rome who had connected themselves with the disgraceful history of the last two years. A difficulty, however, stood in his way: the principles of the false Isidore were now universally admitted; and according to these, the pope, being himself the supreme judge of bishops and all other ecclesiastical digni-

<sup>1</sup> *Erat enim idiota et miræ simplicitatis.*—Vid. Bonizo, p. 801.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract. Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Bonizo.

taries, could not be judged by them; and Henry was therefore obliged to use some management in compassing his object. Under his auspices, before the council of Sutri dissolved itself, the following scene took place:—His bishops, the cases of Gregory's rivals having been disposed of, requested the pontiff to state, for their information, the circumstances of his own election to the papal office; and when they had thus drawn from him an admission of the unholy traffic by which that transaction had been accomplished, they brought before him the impropriety of his conduct in a manner so glaring, that the confounded pontiff at length exclaimed, "I call God to witness that, in doing what I did, I hoped to obtain the forgiveness of my sins and the grace of God. But now that I see the snare into which the enemy has entrapped me, tell me what I must do?" The bishops having thus obtained their point, replied, "Judge thyself—condemn thyself with thy own mouth,—better will it be for thee to live, like the holy Peter, poor in this world and to be blest in another, than like the magician Simon, whose example misled thee, to shine in riches here, and to receive hereafter the sentence of condemnation<sup>1</sup>." And the penitent Gregory, in obedience to the suggestion, spoke as follows:—"I, Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, pronounce that, on account of the shameful trafficking, the heretical simony, which took place at my election, I am deprived of the Roman see. Do you agree," he concluded, "to this?" "We acquiesce," was the reply, "in your decision<sup>2</sup>;" and the ex-pope at once divested himself of the insignia of pontifical authority<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Victor iii. Dial. lib. iii.

His path being thus cleared before him, Henry proceeded to Rome. The resignation of Gregory, which his partizans with some reason considered as a forced one, excited in their minds a strong feeling of discontent. They had recognised him as a pope, in form at least, legitimately elected ; to him, as such, they had pledged themselves by oaths of obedience ; and in the principle with which they identified his cause, they saw, as they imagined, the only instrument which might avail to save the Church from the impending danger of an unqualified thralldom.

Those, however, to whom thoughts like these suggested themselves, were but few ; and the cause with which they connected themselves was disgraced by too many foul stains, to permit them to hope for any general sympathy. Nor, however universal their feelings might have been, did there exist, in their long corrupted and degraded city, sufficient strength for any demonstration in opposition to the German sovereign's power. Henry, therefore, entered Rome, unopposed, on the 23rd of December 1046. On the day following, he assembled around him, in the Church of St. Peter, in addition to the prelates who had formed his council at Sutri, the clergy and the other most influential personages of Rome ; and bade them proceed, in his presence, to the election of a pontiff. This task, his audience, as he probably intended and expected, declined, and begged him to accept, with the dignity of Patrician of Rome<sup>1</sup>, the office of selecting their future

<sup>1</sup> The title of Patrician was originally given to the emperor's deputy and representative who resided in the papal city. But during the unquiet times of which we have been treating, the dignity became in great measure an independent one, and was seized at different periods by powerful nobles of Rome for the sake of its privileges,

pastor. He, upon this, assumed the green mantle, the golden circlet, and the ring, which designated the dignity in question; and then taking the hand of Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who had accompanied him from Germany, he led him up to the papal chair, and placed him there to receive the general homage of the assembly<sup>1</sup>.

It was alleged, as a reason for this elevation of a foreigner to the Roman see, that the papal city contained at the time no persons worthy to fill that exalted station<sup>2</sup>. But, however this might have been, Henry was of course glad to seize any pretext for confirming his control over the Romans, by the nomination, to the pontificate, of a friend and countryman of his own.

The pontiff, thus selected, was enthroned on the following day, the Feast of the Nativity, under the name of Clement II.; and immediately afterwards exercised, for the first time, the power with which he had been invested, by placing the imperial diadem upon the head of his patron; crowning at the same time, as empress, Henry's second consort, Agnes, the daughter of William, Count of Poitiers<sup>3</sup>.

Early in the following January<sup>4</sup>, Clement held, in

one of which was the right of presiding over pontifical elections. And the expedient of investing the emperor himself with this, apparently secondary, dignity seems to have been adopted on various occasions, as a mode of protecting the city from the oppressions of such petty tyrants as might otherwise usurp it.

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Benzonis Panegyric. in Henr. III. lib. vii. c. ii. p. 1062, in Menckenii Script. Rerum Germ.

<sup>2</sup> Victor iii. dialog.—Leo Ostiens. in Chronic. Casinens.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.—Annalista Saxo.—Glaber. Rodolph. l. v. c. i.—Chronograph. Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Circa nonas Januarias. Vid. Clementis II. liter. Synodic. ap. Hard. t. vi pt. i. p. 923.



Henry's presence, a council, in which the emperor declared his determination to extirpate the detestable sin of simony by every means in his power. The acts of this assembly, bearing on the general question of reformation of manners, no longer exist in an official shape, but we learn the tenor of one of its decrees from contemporary authority; namely, that every person who had been admitted to orders by a simoniacal prelate, whom he knew to be such at the time of his ordination, should be prevented from exercising the duties of his ecclesiastical station, until he should have atoned for his offence by a penance of forty days<sup>1</sup>. And with the view of preventing, for the future, the exercise of this unhallowed traffic in the highest quarter, and of rendering impracticable those nefarious bargains and sales of the papacy which his age had too often witnessed, and of which the notorious venality of the Romans rendered the recurrence too probable, Henry exacted, and received from them, the solemn pledge, that the elections should be placed for the future under his entire control, and that no one should presume to nominate a pastor to the apostolic see, without the previous sanction of the imperial<sup>2</sup>, or, as it should perhaps be said, of the patrician, authority<sup>3</sup>. And having thus shown himself the enemy of ecclesiastical abuses, and settled, as he hoped, the government of the Church

<sup>1</sup> Damian. Opusc. vi. c. 35, and Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 925. Bonizo, p. 802.

<sup>2</sup> Ut ad ejus nutum sancta Romana Ecclesia nunc ordinetur, ac præter ejus auctoritatem apostolicæ sedi nemo prorsus eligat sacerdotem.—Damian. Opusc. vi. c. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Henricus imperator, factus est patricius Romanorum, a quibus accepit in electione super ordinando pontifice principatum.—Damian. in Concil. Osbor. ap. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1123.

on a safe and permanent footing, he quitted the papal city, and having in the first place attended to some matters which required his attention in southern Italy, returned across the Alps to his native country; carrying with him into banishment the deposed Gregory VI., together, it would seem, with some of his more active supporters<sup>1</sup>.

This last measure may be considered indicative of a consciousness, on Henry's part, that a party, possessed of some weight in Rome, had been offended by his recent demeanour, and was yet disposed to assert the deprived pontiff's cause. But what the strength of that party really was, the monarch, in all probability, was far from perceiving. With the supporters of Gregory VI., as we have seen, were blended those who, while yearning for the Church's general reformation, felt that such a reformation was only to be effected, in connection with her permanent liberation from the secular thralldom, which had so long oppressed, and so often degraded her.

This party, if so we may style those who were yet scarcely beginning to feel their union in the maintenance of the same great principles, seems now to have had its representatives spread over Western Europe; embracing in its fellowship several of the most learned, the most devoted, the most pure, among the Churchmen of the day. But its apparent force, as a party, even in its centre, the papal city, was, as yet, but small. The

<sup>1</sup> Some writers of a comparatively recent date, *e. g.* Baronius and the Pagis,—state that Clement II. also accompanied Henry III. to Germany, and cite a passage of Leo Ostiensis, which is probably a corrupt reading, as it is not found in Muratori's edition of Leo. The statement—an extremely improbable one in itself,—rests on no other contemporary authority; but is, indeed, at variance with the assertions of some of the most accurate chroniclers of the time.

great majority of well-disposed men, naturally delighted at their liberation from such scenes as those which they had recently witnessed, and from the tyranny of such factions as those of Benedict and Sylvester, were disposed to hail with acclamations every step of the reforming monarch's career; nor saw in that career the assertion of any principle fraught with danger to the future welfare of either Church or state. And Henry himself, it is probable, did no more than concur in opinion with these, in regarding the men, whom he might perceive to be thus discontented, as theoretic speculators, better acquainted with books than with men, and vainly aiming, in human things, at a state of ideal perfection. The monarch could not understand the ties of sympathy which united these learned, pure, and thoughtful men, with those whom similar studies, similar contemplations, and similar purity of life, were leading in other countries to the adoption of similar sentiments. And still less could he appreciate the power which their principles, when appealed to in hours of trial, might exert over the hearts and affections of mankind. He returned, therefore, to his German territories, with the gratifying consciousness of having performed a great public duty; and without, of course, in the least imagining, that in the measure which he had, to all appearance, so triumphantly and satisfactorily accomplished, he had laid the foundations of a struggle, which was to be the unceasing occupation of his descendants, and to stamp with a fearful and mysterious character the continuous destinies of his imperial line.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

A.D. CIRC. 1020—A.D. 1052.

ORIGIN AND EARLY YEARS OF HILDEBRAND—HIS RESIDENCE AT CLUNI—APPEARANCE AT THE COURT OF HENRY III. AND RETURN TO ROME—HIS ATTACHMENT TO GREGORY VI., AND JOURNEY WITH THAT PONTIFF, WHEN DEPOSED, INTO GERMANY—HENRY'S COUNCIL IN THAT COUNTRY—DEATH OF CLEMENT II.—INTRUSION OF BENEDICT—APPOINTMENT AND DEATH OF DAMASUS II.—ELECTION OF LEO IX.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH HILDEBRAND, JOURNEY TO ROME, AND RE-ELECTION THERE—SYSTEMATIC COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION—CONTEST BETWEEN HENRY III. AND GODFREY OF LOBBAIN—SUBMISSION OF THE LATTER—COUNCIL OF RHEIMS—OF SIPONTO—OF MANTUA—PERSONAL HABITS OF LEO.

It is at the epoch of the council of Sutri, that we find the name of Hildebrand,—the well-known appellation of Gregory VII. antecedently to his pontifical election—first mentioned in connexion with the public history of the Church and of the empire. Of his earlier years, so little is known with any degree of certainty, that it seemed expedient to bring that little before the reader, in the shape of a digression appendant to the main thread of our history, rather than as a formal commencement of the history itself. From its briefness, such a digression will not materially interfere with the continuity of the narration: and it is, in truth, so exclusively as a Churchman that Hildebrand has become known to posterity; so completely identified is his recorded career with the annals of the Roman Church during the more active

period of his life-time ; that the summary, which has now been given, of the prior fortunes of that Church, appeared fitter to serve as a general introduction to the detail of his achievements, than would have been that notice of his birth, boyhood, and youth, with which the work of a biographer would more regularly have commenced.

The date of his birth is unrecorded ; but, from the indications afforded by different passages of his history, it would seem probable that that event took place between the years 1010 and 1020. Nor is it quite clear, either where he first saw the light, or from what parents he derived his origin. But the most probable account of these points seems to be that, which designates, as his birth-place, the town of Soana, on the southern borders of Tuscany ; and which ascribes to his father the name of Bonizo<sup>1</sup>, and the humble occupation of a carpenter<sup>2</sup>. And, even if this statement should be, in its detail, inaccurate, we seem to have no good grounds for doubting that the main impression which it conveys is correct ; and that the parentage of Hildebrand was mean and undistinguished ; though some of his historians, ashamed of this meanness of extraction,

<sup>1</sup> So Pandulphus Pisanus. Paul of Bernried has it Bonico, and the Cardinal de Aragoniâ, Bonato, or Bonito. The same Cardinal describes him as "patriâ Suanensis;" Pandulphus Pisanus and Paulus Langius say, "natione Tuscus;" but Hugo Flaviniacensis declares that he was born of Roman parents at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Addunt vero ista de fabri filio, quòd cùm puer luderet ad pedes patris ligna dolantis ; ex rejectaneis segmentis, cùm nesciret literas, casu elementa illa formarit, ex quibus simul conjunctis, illud Davidicum exprimeretur oraculum, "Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare;" quo significaretur, manum pueri ductante numine, ejus fore amplissimam in mundo auctoritatem.—Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1073. Vid. Mabillon. Præfat. in P. Bernried. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. t. iii. pt. i.

After some time, Hildebrand set out on his return to Rome; and having, either at Cluni, or previously to the commencement of his travels, assumed in form the monastic character<sup>1</sup> and habit, he is said to have appeared, on his way into Italy, at the court of Henry III., in the character of a preacher; moving the monarch, after he had attended to his eloquence, to exclaim, that he had never heard a man preach with such boldness the word of God<sup>2</sup>. But the zeal and the strictness of principle, which had been matured at Cluni, excited sentiments less favourable toward Hildebrand, among the lax and self-indulgent churchmen of Rome, when he once more took up his residence there. He found, says Paul of Bernried, that a prophet has no honour in his own country; and was led, according to the same historian, to determine on quitting once more the unworthy city, and seeking, in other climes, more congenial associates. But he had no sooner begun to put this intention in practice, than doubts appear to have arisen in his mind, of the propriety of the measure. He might well feel, that, in leaving Rome, he was deserting the spot in which heaven had imposed on him the duty of bearing testimony against the wickedness of the times. And when he had arrived at Acquapendente,—thoughts like these embodying themselves in the visions of his sleeping hours,—he imagined that St. Peter, on three successive nights, approached his

<sup>1</sup> These are not to be confounded with holy orders. “Monks, in their first original, were generally laymen.” Bingham, i. bk. vii. c. 2. Nor, however common the practice of uniting the clerical and monachal characters subsequently became, was it incumbent on monks to be ordained till the time of Clement V. an. 1311. Ib.

<sup>2</sup> Paul. Bernried. c. x., but the fact must be regarded as doubtful.

bed, and commanded his return to the appointed sphere of his duty; a command to which,—when the triple occurrence of the dream had impressed him with the belief that it was something more than an ordinary creation of the imagination,—he lost no time in exhibiting all dutiful obedience<sup>1</sup>.

We subsequently hear of him as the supporter and friend of the unfortunate Gregory VI., whose deposition has just been narrated. The appointment, already mentioned, of his relative, or preceptor, Laurence, to act as Gregory's coadjutor, was, in all probability, the immediate cause of this connexion. But if the mind of Hildebrand had already grasped, in any degree, those principles, to the defence of which his subsequent life was perseveringly devoted, the form of Gregory's election must have strongly biassed him, as it did other Churchmen, in favour of that well-meaning but misguided pontiff's cause. After the council of Sutri, Hildebrand, like his master, accompanied Henry on his return into Germany, it would seem by constraint<sup>2</sup>; and we may well suppose that the monarch, aware, as well of his abilities, as of his adherence to Gregory's party, would be loth to sanction his continued residence at Rome. Having crossed the Alps, he sought—though not, it appears, until after Gregory's decease—his former abode of Cluni; where the respect which

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Bernried. c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> His own expression is "*invitus ultra montes cum domino papâ Gregorio abii.*"—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1590. But this may refer to a reluctance to acquiesce in the state of things which necessitated the pope to undertake the journey. According to Bonizo, Hildebrand went "*volens erga dominum suum exhibere reverentiam,*" &c. Vid. *Otonis Frisingensis episc. Chronicon*, l. vi. c. xxxii.

he enjoyed among the inmates of the monastery, procured his speedy elevation to the dignity of its Prior<sup>1</sup>; and where he was permitted to enjoy another brief interval of retirement and uninterrupted devotion, before the course of events called him, as we shall hereafter see, to active and unintermitting labours in the papal city.

Henry—for we now resume the thread of our public history—on his return to Germany, lost no time in manifesting his intention to persevere in the good work on which he had entered, of purifying the Church from her abuses. Summoning around him, during the summer of 1047, the prelates of his country<sup>2</sup>, he thus spoke: “It is with sorrow that I address you, ye that stand in Christ’s stead over the Church which He purchased with His blood. For, as it was out of the free grace of God the Father, that He was given unto us, and born of the Blessed Virgin, so did He enjoin His Apostles, ‘Freely ye have received, freely give.’ But ye, corrupted by avarice, are under a curse, because ye give and take in barter for the holy treasures which ye dispense: and even my father, for whose soul I am most anxious<sup>3</sup>, was in his lifetime too much led away by this accursed covetousness. He, among you, who feels himself sullied by

<sup>1</sup> At Cluni, under the abbot, there were two priors—a prior major and a prior claustralis—the latter being a kind of deputy of the former, and representing him in his absence. Vid. *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, ap. D’Acher. *Spicileg. t. i.* p. 686, 687. Hildebrand was, probably, only prior claustralis.

<sup>2</sup> Probably at Spires. Glaber Rodolphus, the chronicler of this council, does not fix the scene of it; but Hermannus Contractus, speaking of Henry’s visit, in this year, to Spires, says generally, “Ibi colloquium cum regni principibus habuit.”

<sup>3</sup> De cujus animæ periculo valde pertimesco.—Glaber Rodolph.



“ this sin, should, according to the letter of the canon, “ be forthwith deprived of the ecclesiastical office,— “ whatever it be,—which he may hold. For this,—this “ is the fearful sin which brings down judicial calami- “ ties upon our suffering people; this it is which Hea- “ ven scourges among us by famine, by epidemic dis- “ eases, and by the sword.”

The prelates around him, too generally conscious of a participation in the guilt which he denounced, shrunk within themselves; and, aware as well of his determination of character, as of his plenitude of power, trembled for the issue. Great therefore was their relief, however overpowering their shame, when, in answer to their acknowledgment of guilt, and supplication for clemency, the monarch thus continued: “ Go “ hence, employ that well which you have ill obtained; “ and forget not, in your prayers, to implore mercy “ for the soul of my father, as of one involved in like “ criminality with yourselves.” He then dismissed them, demanding, previously to their departure, their assent to a decree which enacted that no office or station in the Church should thenceforth be made the subject of purchase or sale, and that whosoever should attempt the practice of such nefarious traffic should be deprived of any office which he might have attained, and be visited with the anathema of the Church. While, with regard to his own future conduct, the emperor, in the presence of the council, solemnly pledged himself as follows: “ As God has freely, of his mere mercy, “ bestowed upon me the crown of the empire, so will I “ give freely and without price all things that pertain “ unto His religion <sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Glaber Rodolph. v. 5. Vid. Baron. and Mansi Concil. t. xix. p. 627.

Had the life of Clement II. been prolonged, he would doubtless have continued to labour as an active coadjutor in forwarding the plans of his energetic patron. But the life of this estimable pontiff terminated on the 9th of October, 1047<sup>1</sup>. And the notorious dislike of the Romans to a German pope, viewed in connexion with the events by which Clement's death was immediately succeeded, gave rise to a suspicion that poison had been employed to shorten his existence. For he had scarcely breathed his last, when the Tusculan faction arose once more in arms, and summoning their wretched creature Benedict IX. from his retirement, seated the unhappy man once more upon the throne of St. Peter; a position in which he was enabled, by the swords of his partizans, to maintain himself during several months<sup>2</sup>: while the evils and disorders to which Henry flattered himself that he had put an effectual stop, began to reign anew.

Many, therefore, of those who had the most indignantly murmured at the complete subjection of the Church to an imperial master, were driven, by these sad circumstances, once more to entreat that master to become the arbiter of her fate. The secret wish of some of the clergy seems to have been, that Henry should virtually annul the decision of Sutri, by restoring to Rome the yet living pontiff, whom they considered to have been uncanonically deposed. But this wish they durst not express, and the suggestion conveyed to the emperor, as the general wish of the Roman clerical

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Leo Ostiens.—Abb. Ursperg.—The inscription on Clement's tomb in Bamberg Cathedral gives the 10th as the day of his decease, but this inscription appears to be modern, though the tomb itself is probably the original one. Vid. Landgraf's *Dom zu Bamberg*. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

body, was, that he should nominate Halinard, the pious and learned archbishop of Lyons, to the vacant apostolic chair<sup>1</sup>.

Henry, truly anxious to make a good selection, would probably have attended to the intimation; but Halinard, averse to the exaltation intended for him, kept perseveringly aloof from his court<sup>2</sup>; and the monarch, thus compelled to look elsewhere, fixed his choice, after much deliberation, on Poppo, bishop of Brixen. The nomination took place at Christmas, 1047; but it was not till the following summer—17th July 1048—that the pontiff elect was led by Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany, to Rome; and there,—the intruder Benedict flying before him,—was installed in his high office, under the name of Damasus II.<sup>3</sup>

Previously to making this selection, Henry had written to request the advice of the leading prelates of his realm on the momentous occasion. But the only answer received by him, which embodied the feeling of discontent, just adverted to, against the proceedings of Sutri, seems to have been that of the firm and high-minded Wazo, bishop of Liege. “Consider,” replied that prelate to the royal inquiry, “whether it be not the guidance of Heaven, by which the seat of a pope, uncanonically deprived, has been reserved for him; when you see him still live, while the person whom your command had installed in his room is no more. My advice, therefore, since you have deigned to ask

<sup>1</sup> Diligebant enim eum valde Romani propter facundiam oris sui et affabilitatem sermonis.—Chron. S. Benigni, in D'Acher. Spicileg. t. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> Patritiali tyrannide dedit eis ex latere suo quendam episcopum, virum omni superbiâ plenum. Bonizo, p. 803.—Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scafnab.—Sigeib. Gemblac.

“ it, is, that your highness should not place another  
“ intruder in the chair of a yet living pontiff; for  
“ neither do laws human nor laws divine allow,—and this  
“ the Fathers unanimously testify,—that a pope should  
“ be judged by any but God alone. I protest, before  
“ God, and by the oath which I, an unworthy priest, have  
“ taken before you, that I can think of no advice more  
“ true, more sound, to give you in this matter <sup>1</sup>.”

This message was naturally kept back from the emperor, by those about him, as long as possible, nor did it reach his ears until his decision in favour of Poppo had been virtually made; when the only result which it produced was, that it induced Henry to treat Wazo with an unwonted and unmerited coldness, during the few remaining months of that respected prelate's life. Wazo died in July, 1048, and the ex-pontiff, whose cause he had advocated did not, it would seem, long, if at all, survive him. For, though the circumstance just narrated proves Gregory VI. to have survived the nomination of Damasus, yet his death is stated to have followed, at no long interval, his deposition and removal to Germany <sup>2</sup>.

But Henry had scarcely received the tidings of the installation of the second pope whom he had given to the chair of St. Peter, when they were succeeded by the intelligence that the newly-enthroned pontiff was no more. Damasus II. closed his earthly career on the 8th of August; within the brief space of three or four weeks from his formal assumption of the duties of his office <sup>3</sup>; and the rapidity with which the one event

<sup>1</sup> Alexandri Gesta Episcoporum Leodiens. c. 62. ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. ampliss. t. iv. p. 902.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo.—Herman. Contract.—Leo Ostiens.

succeeded the other, could not but tend to corroborate the suspicions already current respecting the decease of Clement, as well as to give rise to similar ones on the present occasion<sup>1</sup>. Henry, therefore, on undertaking again the arduous task of worthily filling the apostolic see, had a new difficulty to contend with, in addition to all those which had formerly perplexed him. He found, among the German prelates, whom he first sounded on the subject, a general reluctance to accept a dignity, which appeared to be fraught with such mysterious danger<sup>2</sup>. He therefore turned his thoughts to the bishops beyond the Rhine; and, with the view of making a selection in that quarter, he summoned a council, to be holden in their neighbourhood, at Worms, for the Christmas of 1048.

Halinard of Lyons, it seems, yet continued to avoid the imperial court,—or Henry could scarce have failed to compel him to assume the pontifical name;—and, under these circumstances, when the council met, the unanimous voice of the dignitaries assembled, proclaimed that Bruno, bishop of Toul, was the fittest person to fill the papal chair. Bruno was a native of Alsace, and nearly connected by blood with Henry himself<sup>3</sup>. His character was mild and unambitious, his devotion fervent, his manners courteous and popular; and he was possessed, if not of commanding talents, at least of considerable energy and activity of character. He was far from either expecting or desiring his own elevation. When it was first announced to him, he requested three days to

<sup>1</sup> Hunc Pontificem (Damasum II.) veneno a Benedicto IX. propinato extinctum asserit Benno, Pagi, Breviar.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.

consider of his acceptance or rejection of the proffered dignity; and at the end of that period, in the hope of being still permitted to decline it, he made before the assembly a humble confession of his faults, and thus endeavoured to impress them with a conviction of his unworthiness to occupy the throne of St. Peter. But his efforts were vain: the assembly overruled his objections; the envoys from Rome who were present, were urgent in their entreaties to him; and he found himself compelled to assume, on the spot, the style and honours of a pontiff<sup>1</sup>.

The time had now arrived, in which Hildebrand was destined to connect himself more closely than he had yet done, with the leading transactions of his time; and to take his first overt step toward the practical realization of that theory to which he, and those who thought with him, so ardently clung. Bruno knew and respected his zeal and his ability; and, as he happened to be at Worms during the session of the council, the newly-chosen pontiff sent for him, and requested him to be the companion of his intended journey to Rome. "I cannot," said Hildebrand, "accompany you;" and, when pressed to declare the reason of this, probably unexpected, refusal, he said, "Because you go to occupy the government of the Roman Church, not in virtue of a regular and canonical institution to it, but as appointed to it by secular and kingly power<sup>2</sup>." This led

<sup>1</sup> Vita S. Leonis Papæ a Wiberto Archidiacono, l. ii. c. 2. p. 291. ap. Muratori, SS. Rer. Ital. t. iii. pt. i.;—S. Leonis Papæ IX. vita a S. Brunone Signiensi Episcopo, Murat. t. iii. pt. ii. p. 347, et seqq.—Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno, in vita S. Leonis; but other authors give other scenes of the dialogue in question. Otho Frisingensis describes it as taking place at Cluni, and Bonizo in Bezançon. Wibert describes Leo, as

to a discussion, in which Bruno, gentle and candid by nature<sup>1</sup>, and already, perhaps, inclined in his heart to favour the principles which Hildebrand now advocated before him, permitted himself to be convinced, that the legitimate electors to the see of St. Peter, were the Roman clergy and the people; and he prepared to shape his course accordingly. Returning to Toul, to make the necessary preparations, and to take a farewell of his diocese, he set out thence in a style very different from that which had usually been adopted by the nominees of Teutonic sovereigns<sup>2</sup> in their inaugural journeys to the papal city. Instead of the rich pontifical attire which they were wont, from the day of their nomination, to assume, he clothed himself in the simple habit of a pilgrim<sup>3</sup>; thus publicly testifying to the world, that notwithstanding the act of the German Henry and his council, he considered that his real election was yet to come. Leaving Toul on the third day from the festival of Christmas, he halted, on his way, at the monastery of Cluni, and from hence, if not from Toul itself, was accompanied by Hildebrand, in his unostentatious progress to the papal city. At that city, bare-footed, and clad in the humble guise which he had thus assumed, Bruno arrived in the early part of February 1049<sup>4</sup>; and, as he found the clergy and people assembled, and uttering hymns of thanksgiving and shouts of joy in honour of his arrival<sup>5</sup>, he at once addressed them, and having announced to them the mode of his election in Germany, entreated them fully and freely to declare

from the first accepting his dignity on condition of the assent of the Roman clergy and people.

<sup>1</sup> Ut erat naturâ simplex atque mitissimus.—Bruno in vita.

<sup>2</sup> Contra omnium apostolicorum morem. Wibert. l. ii. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo, p. 804.

<sup>4</sup> Wibert. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Wibert.

their sentiments on the subject. Their election, he said, was of paramount authority to every other; and, if what had been done beyond the Alps, did not meet with their general approval, he was ready to return—a pilgrim as he had come,—and to shake off the burden of a responsibility, which he had only upon compulsion undertaken<sup>1</sup>. His discourse was responded to by an unanimous shout of approval; and Bruno, installed without delay in his high office, assumed thenceforward the name of Leo IX.<sup>2</sup>

From this event may be dated the regular, systematic, commencement of that important reformation, the history of which will mainly occupy the following pages. The pontificate of Clement II. had been too short to produce any effect, of a permanent nature, on the tone of feeling and habits of the time. We have seen that, on his decease, the scenes of anarchy and infamy, by which the papal city had been previously contaminated, had been enacted anew; and that Damasus II., when at length nominated to the vacant apostolic throne, expired almost in the moment of his occupying it. The great work, therefore, was yet to be done: we may believe the account of Leo's biographer, when he says, that at the epoch of that pontiff's accession, "the world lay in wickedness, holiness had disappeared, justice had perished, and truth had been buried, Simon Magus lording it over the Church, whose bishops and priests were given to luxury and fornication<sup>3</sup>:" and we may understand the feeling with which the

<sup>1</sup> Wibert. Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Anselmi Monachi Eccl. S. Remigii Remens. dedicationis hist., ap. Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedict. Sæc. vi. pt. i. p. 627.—Gotfr. Viterb. Chronic. pt. xvii.—Sigebl. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Vita S. Leonis IX. a Brunon. Signiens. Episcopo.



new pontiff's contemporaries seem to have regarded his assumption of the papal dignity, as the commencement of a new epoch, an era of blessings to the Church<sup>1</sup>;—a feeling which, in the spirit of their times, they embodied in the legend, that, in his progress toward Rome, his nocturnal musings were cheered by the harmonies of angelic choirs, who, in unearthly strains, proclaimed that the thoughts of the Almighty were now thoughts of peace toward His afflicted people<sup>2</sup>.

Had the pontiffs, whom Henry previously nominated, been permitted to exert a more durable influence over the Church's fortunes, it is probable, that any reformation which they, under the monarch's auspices, might have accomplished, would have borne a far less searching and decided character than that which was now destined, under Leo and his ecclesiastical advisers, to commence its operation. The emperor, in the innate honesty of his heart, and in his undissembled reverence for things sacred, hated the infamous practice of simony with a determined hatred; but there were features in his character which could not but disqualify him for the office of cleansing the Church from pollutions of another kind, or indeed from acting at all, in the highest sense of the word, as a reformer of the Church. With all his good and noble qualities, Henry was not adorned by the grace of personal purity<sup>3</sup>; nor did it by any means

<sup>1</sup> Leo, qui quemadmodum scriptum est, cœpit invocare nomen Domini . . . a quo omnia ecclesiastica studia renovata ac restaurata; novaque lux mundo visa est exoriri. Victor III. dialog. l. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.—Wibert.—Chronograph. Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Erat affabilitate gratissimus, ac liberalitate perspicuus, atque humilitatis gratiâ præditus . . . universis circumcirca existebat amabilis . . . Tamen, proh pudor! unum in eo nimium erat reprehensibile, quod incontinentiâ carnis luxuriæ infamabatur. Glaber Rodolph. v. c. i.

comport with his disposition, while himself indulging in forbidden pleasures, to take an active part in the repression of a similar licence in others. It was not, therefore, to him, energetic as he was in other respects, that the Church could look with any hope for her deliverance from evils which, more detestable than simony itself, were at the same time even more widely prevalent, if possible, around her contaminated altars.

The papal reformers, however, more comprehensive in their views, as well as more pure in their lives, were prepared to assail simony and impurity side by side; and their mode of warfare against the latter of these two rank offences was, as is well known, an appeal to, and attempted enforcement of, those canons of the Church, in their time generally recognised as authoritative, but as generally disobeyed, which made a life of virgin purity incumbent on all members of the sacred ministry.

The question of the abstract propriety of these stringent regulations, or of the enforcement of clerical celibacy in general, is one far too broad and important to admit of discussion here. The reader is, therefore, referred to other sources of information for satisfaction on this head, and for the particulars of such early events in Church history,—the passing, for instance, of the canon of Nice, or the part attributed to Paphnutius, in the council of that city,—as bear upon this momentous subject. It will suffice for the present purpose to remark, that, during the two centuries which intervened between the election of Nicholas I. and the period of which we are treating, the Latin Church's adoption of the principle that celibacy was incumbent on her clergy, had been recognised by a number of decrees, and illustrated by a variety of events. Direct con-

demnations of the practice of clerical marriage will, for instance, be found in the reply of Nicholas I. to the queries of the Bulgarians, about A. D. 860<sup>1</sup>,—in the acts of the synod of Worms, A. D. 868<sup>2</sup>,—in the epistle of Leo VII. about A. D. 938, to the Gauls and Germans<sup>3</sup>,—in the decrees of Augsburg, A. D. 952<sup>4</sup>,—in the address of Benedict VIII. to the synod of Pavia<sup>5</sup>, about A. D. 1020,—and in the canons subsequently enacted by the same assembly<sup>6</sup>. With the view of guarding against violations of such precepts, a variety of later synods repeated and enforced the prohibitory canon of Nice, against the admission, by priests, of any females, other than their nearest relatives, to dwell in their houses. Even this exception was disapproved of by Hincmar of Rheims, who cited against it a saying of St. Augustine, which had been quoted by St. Gregory the Great<sup>7</sup>; and it was abrogated by the councils of Mentz and Metz, in 888<sup>8</sup>; not, as it appears, before it had been in certain cases most fearfully abused<sup>9</sup>. A similar course was adopted by the council of Nantes, about A. D. 895<sup>10</sup>. The difference of opinion between the Greek and Latin Churches on this point, elicited from the celebrated Ratramnus, better known by the name of Bertram, an essay, in which the views of the latter are illustrated and maintained<sup>11</sup>; and before his time, Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, whose canons were published about A. D. 750, had gone so far

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 739.

<sup>3</sup> Id. t. vi. pt. i. p. 579.

<sup>4</sup> Id. t. vi. pt. i. p. 617.

<sup>5</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 803.

<sup>6</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 813.

<sup>7</sup> Id. t. v. p. 397.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.* pp. 406. 491.

<sup>9</sup> Id.

<sup>10</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 457.

<sup>11</sup> *Contra Græcorum opposita Romanam Ecclesiam infamantium*, t. iv. c. 6. in D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 103.

as to direct the clergy,—as prohibited from marriage themselves,—to abstain from presenting themselves at the marriage-feasts of others<sup>1</sup>.

Justified, or not, as the Latin Church may have been in thus perseveringly opposing the combination of the sacerdotal with the marital character, we may perhaps, —in the stringency and formality of the above canons,—in the substitution of positive prohibition and denunciation for the tone of half-expressed,—half-hinted,—inducement and encouragement, in which celibacy is recommended in holy writ,—trace another symptom of that tendency to harden,—to systematize,—to corporealize,—the sacred dogmas and mysteries of Revelation, which has been already adverted to, as characterizing the temper of the middle ages; and as operative, during those ages, in modifying to the eyes of men, as well the fabric of the holy Church herself, as the deposit of eternal truth committed to her care. And, if so, it was not, of course, probable that men whose minds, like those of the papal reformers, were attuned by education to this prevailing tone of religious feeling, should see any error in canons which, while harmonizing with that feeling, presented them with the most promising means of putting an end to a state of things which filled them with the most just, the most natural, indignation. For the battle which, in fact, they undertook against their less strict contemporaries, was, unquestionably that of purity against impurity, of holiness against corruption. It might be thought that the general neglect of the restrictive ordinances in question, by enabling the

<sup>1</sup> *Regula Canonicorum Chrodogangi*, in D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 579.

clergy to contract the engagements of marriage, would have prevented their plunging to any extent into the grossness of debauchery. But this, the dark, the damning, records of the time show not to have been the case. The priest who had habituated himself to trample upon one precept bearing the impress of the Church's authority, had passed the great moral barrier which separates the systematically, though imperfectly, dutiful, from the habitually godless and profane: the consistency of his character was marred; and his progress to the worst excesses of vice was, perhaps, accomplished by an easier transition than had been his first bold step from obedience to its opposite. The infamies prevalent among the clergy of the time, as denounced by Damiani and others, are to be alluded to, not detailed. Such pollutions might, it is conceivable, have been better combated, had the reformers of the eleventh century, instead of enforcing to the utmost the strict tenor of the Latin decrees, removed the married clergyman from his position of fellowship with every class of the licentious and profane, by adopting the less rigid code of the Greek or other branches of the Church Catholic. But a line like this, circumstanced as they were, can scarcely be said to have been open to their adoption. Seizing the means in their power, they set themselves to achieve,—and did achieve,—a most important reformation; and we may not think lightly, either of their principles or of their labours, because that reformation was imperfect.

Established at Rome, Leo lost no time in testifying his respect and gratitude to Hildebrand, his adviser and friend, whom he admitted to the order of sub-deacon<sup>1</sup> in the Roman Church, and whom he placed

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.

over the important church and monastery of St. Paul<sup>1</sup>. The situation was a most honourable one: by connecting its occupier with the second great apostolic founder of the Roman Church, it invested him with a character second, in some respects, to that of the pope alone. But it was also, at the moment of which we speak, surrounded with the most fearful difficulties.

The estates of this holy institution had been stripped of every thing valuable, by the predatory bands infesting the Campagna—the offices of devotion were systematically neglected—the house of prayer was defiled by the sheep and cattle who found their way in and out through its broken doors<sup>2</sup>; and the monks, contrary to all monastic rule, were attended in their refectory by women<sup>3</sup>. Hildebrand, however, in the ardour of his soul, devoted himself to the accomplishment of an immediate reformation. Burning with zeal, he seemed to see, in dreams, the great Apostle of the Gentiles himself, engaged in the work of cleansing the dishonoured sanctuary, and calling upon him earnestly for aid in the operation<sup>4</sup>. And so actively did he, in his waking hours, labour in this good cause, that the evils, which he confronted, gradually disappeared before his exertions. The affairs of the monastery were restored to order, and the brethren were recalled to habits of strictness and purity, suitable to the vows which they had taken. And so strong, in after-life,

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried. c. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Such profanation of holy buildings was not unparalleled at the time. In some capitula of an author who seems to have flourished about this period, though his name and station is not known, it is said, "Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fœnum congeri."—Vid. Mansi, t. xix. p. 705.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Bernried. c. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

was Hildebrand's attachment to them,—so great was his confidence in the efficacy of their united prayers,—that if, at any time, he felt himself sinking under the troubles and embarrassments which beset him, he would send for them, and inquire what sinful action had been committed among them, which closed the ear of Heaven to the petitions, which he knew that their community ever offered in his favour<sup>1</sup>.

The conduct of Leo, in the matter of his election, could scarcely be acceptable to the imperial patron, by whom he had been originally nominated. Henry, however, was, in all probability, but imperfectly acquainted with its details; and as he was, at any rate, incapable of appreciating the importance of the principle which it asserted and exemplified, he may naturally have seen, in the pilgrimage and apparent non-recognition, by his nominee, of the validity of his appointment, nothing more than further demonstrations of that diffidence and humility, with which Bruno had, at the first, striven to resist his contemplated elevation. Henry knew, besides, the new pontiff, in the character of an attached friend and relative, and would not, therefore, be disposed to regard the details of his demeanour with a jealous eye. And the monarch's attention was, during the winter of 1048-49, powerfully attracted in other quarters, by the wars and troubles which afflicted and menaced his empire. For Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, surnamed the Bearded, whom he had some years before refused to enfeoff with more than a moiety of the territories held by that noble's father, the

<sup>1</sup> Tam singularem cœpit habere fiduciam super opitulationibus precum illorum, ut, si quando non liberaretur ab adversitatibus, certissimum ei signum fieret, alicujus delicti impedimentum esse inter eos: quo præsentiae ipsius examinatione correcto, solito cursu liberationem ejus acceleratam ferret oratio. Paul Bernried. c. xiv.

late Duke<sup>1</sup>, had been thus rendered the determined enemy of the imperial house; and now, undismayed by the ill success of a former struggle, had taken up arms anew; and as this disaffected noble had procured the alliance of Baldwin count of Flanders and Dietrich count of Holland, his revolt presented, at this juncture, an appearance so formidable, that it seemed to require Henry's most energetic efforts to encounter and suppress it<sup>2</sup>. Nor could the monarch fail to be gratified by the consistent manner in which Leo, when once installed in his seat, proceeded to promote those measures of ecclesiastical reformation toward which his own efforts had been already so strenuously directed. The new pontiff had found himself, at first, surrounded by financial difficulties of a serious kind. The rapacity of some of his worthless predecessors had so plundered the Apostolic see, that he could for a time obtain no income for his maintenance; and he even appears to have thought of raising money by the sale of his vestments, and flying to his northern diocese, when some seasonable presents from Benevento diverted him from the design<sup>3</sup>. Leo presided at a council, holden at Rome, on the 11th of April 1049, which was numerously attended by the bishops of Italy; and to these he, in the fervour of his zeal, announced his intention of declaring void all ordinations made by prelates tainted with simoniacal

<sup>1</sup> Gothelo, surnamed the Great, had enjoyed the duchy of upper, as well as that of lower, Lorraine; but this union of two fiefs, generally divided, appeared to the emperor to invest a subject with too formidable power; and though Godfrey, for some time before his father's death, had acted as his general assistant in the government of both, he was only invested, on that event, with the duchy of lower Lorraine, upper Lorraine being given to his brother Gothelo, surnamed "le Faineant."—Vid. Art de vérifier les dates.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Wibert. in vita S. Leonis, lib. ii. c. iii.



practice. But against this a general cry arose from the sacerdotal order. It was affirmed, and probably with reason, that, were such a decree enacted, the Churches, so widely had the evil spread itself, would be deprived of persons to perform the necessary services, while the laity would be driven to despair, by being bereft of the offices and consolations of the ministry. And Leo was therefore obliged to content himself with a re-enactment of the decree passed on the subject by Clement two years before<sup>1</sup>. He then left Rome on a journey northwards, and after holding, during Whitsun-week, another council at Pavia<sup>2</sup>, he proceeded into Germany: anxious alike to forward in that country the work of ecclesiastical reformation, and to appease the troubles by which its civil relations were distracted. Appearing in Henry's court, he found that monarch actively engaged in preparations for the subjugation of his disobedient vassal, Godfrey of Lorraine; and, upon the emperor's request, Leo pronounced against that rebellious noble the censures of the Church. By this step, the spirit of Godfrey was subdued: he was smitten, too, with penitence, in consequence of the burning of the cathedral of Verdun, during the storming of that city by his soldiers; an event which, happening under such circumstances, he imputed to himself as a crime. And thus humbled, and pressed on every side by Henry's arms, he was soon reduced to seek the pardon of his offended sovereign; and for that purpose, to implore the effectual mediation of Leo<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Damiani Opusc. vi. c. 35.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 991.—Wibert. in vita S. Leonis, lib. ii. c. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 991.

<sup>3</sup> Propter componendum statum ecclesiarum, et pacem Galliis reddendam. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigeib. Gemblac.—Alexandri Gesta Episcoporum. Leodiens. cap. 1.—Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1046.

While this affair was pending, the pontiff, having been requested, by the clerical authorities of Rheims, to consecrate the Church of St. Remigius in that city, availed himself of the opportunity, to announce his intention of holding a council there, for the purpose of a general inquiry into the condition and abuses of the Church of Gaul. And the transactions which followed that announcement strikingly show the moral power then possessed by the papacy, even in kingdoms with which it was not immediately connected. Several of the French prelates and nobles took alarm at the declaration of Leo's intention, and represented to their king, Henry I., the danger which would result to his authority, as well as to their own, from his permitting the Pope to visit, for such a purpose, the cities of France at his pleasure. And when the pope, in opposition to the king's suggestions, showed himself determined to put his intention in practice, the monarch was afraid, in any more direct way, to thwart it, than by summoning his bishops and nobles to attend him on an expedition against some insubordinate vassals in another direction, and thus attempting to diminish, as far as he might, the number of prelates at the council<sup>1</sup>. Leo found, however, twenty bishops, about fifty abbots, and a number of other ecclesiastics, prepared to receive him, when he took his seat in form in the synod of Rheims<sup>2</sup>. But these dignitaries seem to have attended rather for the purpose of submitting their own lives and characters to the pontiff's investigation, than of aiding him with their counsel, or pronouncing sentence upon others. The transactions were carried on by the single authority of Leo himself, in whom the assembly recognized "the sole primate and apostolic

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 996.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1009.

governor of the universal Church<sup>1</sup>." His officer, a deacon of the Church of Rome, opened the proceedings, by declaring the subjects on account of which the council had been convened—namely, simony; the unlawful interference of laymen with things spiritual; unlawful marriages; the infringement of the nuptial vow; the dereliction, by monks and clergymen, of their engagements; the part taken by the latter in secular warfare<sup>2</sup>; several incipient heresies; and the prevalence of crimes of the most odious nature. And then the prelates,—the German primate, the archbishop of Treves,—being included in their number,—were called on by the same officer, under pain of the anathema of apostolical authority, to make a solemn declaration, in presence of the assembly, that they had obtained by no simoniacal traffic the sees which they respectively filled. The German archbishop, and most of the other prelates, complied with the demand; while those who hesitated to do so were questioned as criminals, and, upon an inquiry being made into their conduct, were deposed, or otherwise punished, as Leo himself thought proper to decide. The council continued three days in session, and then broke up, after enacting twelve canons, directed toward the restoration of church discipline and the purification of ecclesiastical manners.

Leo then, revisiting the imperial court, presided, together with the emperor, over a council, holden at Mentz<sup>3</sup>; and there procured the adoption of several regulations, similar in spirit to those of Rheims, against the sin of simony; together, with others tending to

<sup>1</sup> Quod solus Romanæ sedis pontifex, universalis ecclesiæ primas esset et apostolicus. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1003.

<sup>2</sup> De clericis mundiali militiæ studentibus. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1002.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1009. Lamb. Schafnab.

the enforcement of those long-neglected canons of the Church, which made celibacy imperative upon the clergy. It seems to have been in this assembly that the humbled Godfrey of Lorraine threw himself at the emperor's feet, and received a personal pardon, though his territories, now in Henry's power, were naturally retained by the victorious monarch. The council being dissolved, Leo set out on his return to Italy, accompanied—probably at Henry's wish—by the pardoned duke and his younger brother Frederic<sup>1</sup>. In the latter, the pope found talents and virtues, which highly prepossessed him in the young noble's favour; and Frederic, having been admitted to holy orders, was shortly appointed archdeacon and chancellor of Rome. In Italy, Leo continued during the next few years to labour with the same activity which had distinguished the commencement of his career, while, by the mission of Hildebrand, as his legate, into France<sup>2</sup>, he endeavoured to continue, in that country, the good work which the council of Rheims had begun. In the spring of 1050, the pontiff held a council at Siponto, and there deposed two archbishops on the ground of simony<sup>3</sup>. Further measures against this unhallowed traffic, and against clerical licentiousness, were taken by him in a council at Rome in 1051<sup>4</sup>. And in 1052, summoning a council at Mantua, he attempted to carry the strictness of his reforms into northern Italy. But the populace, incited by the lax and corrupt clergy of the place, assailed his domestics, while they waited at the door of the church in which the assembly was convened; and when he himself, in consequence of the tumult, came forth, it was but to behold the scene of outrage continued, while stones

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Berengar. de sacrâ cœnâ adv. Lanfranc. edit. Vischer. p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1027.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

and other missiles, aimed at those who had caught hold of his robes for security, flew thickly about his person<sup>1</sup>. He was compelled to close the meeting in disorder; and though he presided, the following day, in greater peace, over the assembly, he did not venture, under these critical circumstances, to enforce his measures of reform with the customary rigour.

The personal habits of Leo, while he thus actively laboured in the cause of reformation, were of the most ascetic nature; his life formed a consistent course of abstinence and self-denial; and the hours of sleep were systematically abridged by his devotions: for, when at Rome, it was his wont, thrice in the week, to walk bare-foot at midnight from the palace of the Lateran to the church of St. Peter—from one extremity, that is, of Rome to the other—accompanied by two or three only of his clergy, for the purposes of praise and prayer<sup>2</sup>: a spectacle, which might well strike those with astonishment, who were accustomed to the scenes of infamy and riot, by which the palace in question, and the papal city in general, had been disgraced under the licentious pontiffs of the preceding age. But circumstances arose, not long after the events which have been above narrated, which induced this pure and holy pontiff to turn his attention to undertakings of a very different description, and to exhibit himself in the unwonted character of a military leader. And as the causes which led to his campaign had been long in progress, while that campaign itself, though short, was fraught with consequences the most important to the papacy and to the Church, the subject may be thought to deserve consideration in a separate chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1029.

<sup>2</sup> Wibert. S. Leonis vita. Victor III. Dial. iii. Leo Ostiens.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER II.

A. D. CIRC. 900 TO A. D. 1054.

SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS IN NEUSTRIA—POSITION OF SOUTHERN ITALY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—DEFENCE OF SALERNO, BY NORMAN FILORIMS, AGAINST THE SARACENS—NORMANS INVITED, BY QUAIMAR, PRINCE OF THAT PLACE, INTO ITALY—GROWTH OF THEIR POWER THERE—THEIR VIOLENCE AND CRUELTY—LEO'S JOURNEY INTO GERMANY TO SOLICIT AID AGAINST THEM—HIS RETURN AND MILITARY EXPEDITION AGAINST THEM—BATTLE OF CIVITELLA—HIS CAPTURE—HIS TREATY WITH THEM—HIS DEATH.

A NEW power,—that of the Normans<sup>1</sup>,—had, since the commencement of the eleventh century, rapidly arisen to consequence in southern Italy,—a power which the occupants of the holy see could scarce fail to regard, at the period of which we are treating, with the most serious apprehensions. This warlike and enterprising race, having, by naval expeditions from their native Denmark or Scandinavia, long ravaged the northern coasts and territories of France, obtained at length, about the year 900, a permanent settlement in that country, and gave their name to the fertile province previously known by the appellation of Neustria. And the century which followed this settlement, beheld,

<sup>1</sup> Vide, for the general history of the settlement of this people in Italy, Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*; Sismondi, *Hist. des Républiques Italiennes*; Giannone, *Ist. del Regno di Napoli*.

as might naturally have been expected, considerable changes among them. Settled amidst a French population, they gradually adopted the language, and embraced the religion, of the country; though both the one and the other underwent, it seems, a considerable modification in their hands. They preserved, however, through these mutations, the bold energetic spirit which had originally distinguished them, and which, as they extended their influence, stamped its impress so deeply on the general chivalry of Europe. Nor did they, in the process of refinement, entirely lose a less amiable feature of the character which had originally belonged to them,—the wiliness, which seems a constant characteristic of nations in the savage state<sup>1</sup>; insomuch that the leaders under whom they ultimately spread themselves over Europe, were for the most part as famed for their deep-laid schemes and crafty policy, as for their heroic achievements and personal daring.

The awe-inspiring character of their new faith, aided perhaps by the splendour then incorporated into its ritual, produced a strong impression on the fervent temperament of the Norman race. But contemplating that faith with gross and carnal eyes, they sought to give, as it were, visibility to its unseen truths, tangibility to its spiritual essence, by connecting it, as far as they could, with objects and places yet visible and tangible. They became assiduous pilgrims to the scene of the Redeemer's ministry, and of the other great events recorded in holy writ, as well as to all those spots which

<sup>1</sup> *Gens militiæ assueta, et sine bello vivere nescia, in hostem impigre procurrare; et ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecuniâ corrumpere.* Willhelm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii. p. 57. ed. Savil.

legends then current indicated as having been distinguished by subsequent manifestations of supernatural power. And Italy, when this practice became frequent among them, was visited by them in numbers; both as containing within itself many scenes of reputed holiness, and as lying on the direct way to the yet holier regions of Palestine.

Southern Italy,—that portion of the country which now forms the kingdom of Naples,—was suffering, at the commencement of the eleventh century, from a state of confusion even more disastrous than that which we have described as afflicting the northern provinces. The emperors of Greece, from whom the bulk of their Italian territories had been wrested by the conquering arms of the Lombard kings, had, by degrees, on the extinction of that formidable monarchy, resumed some portion of their former power; and Bari, the capital of their south-Italian domains, was the residence of a viceroy, styled the Catapan; a title, from the corruption of which, the province which they last possessed is known, even now, by the name of the Capitanate. The rest of the district which we are considering was subject to petty dukes or princes, surviving representatives of the once irresistible Lombard power; or else appertained to large and commercial towns, which possessed republican or aristocratic governments of their own. The African coast, and even Sicily, was still subject to the Saracen yoke; and the Italian princes, in their frequent feuds with each other, were often tempted, forgetting the difference of faith, to request the aid of these formidable neighbours, in the adjustment of their quarrels. To such requests, the Saracens were ever ready to accede: they were found, however, in most cases, to fight more for themselves than for their allies;



and those had often the most cause to regret their intervention, who had themselves invoked it. By the close of the tenth century, the power and energy of this martial people had materially declined; though they were still the objects of general dread to the effeminate inhabitants of Apulia and Calabria; as they still, from time to time, made descents upon the coast of those provinces, fortified strong-holds, occupied passes, and laid cities under military contribution. But the land thus distracted between the mutual animosities and opposing rule of three races, the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Saracens, was now to be visited by a fourth, before whose energy and whose fortunes all the three alike were destined to succumb.

In or about the year 1002, a petty flotilla appeared before Salerno, and a body of Saracens, landing under the walls of the place, demanded, with the customary menaces, a pecuniary contribution. Guaimar III., prince of Salerno, and his timid subjects, felt that they had no course to adopt but submission; and their surprise was great, when about forty pilgrims from a distant land, who happened to be at the moment within their walls, requested of the prince arms, horses, and permission to chastise these insolent marauders. The request was readily complied with: the pilgrim warriors, accoutred in haste, galloped eagerly forth through the gates of Salerno; the Saracens, confounded and dismayed, fled tumultuously from the onset of this unexpected foe; and esteemed themselves happy when their retreating barks bore them out of reach of the sword of the victorious Normans<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens.

The delighted Guaimar would willingly have been prodigal in his bounty toward his gallant deliverers; but he experienced a second surprise, when the costly presents which he laid before them, were firmly, though courteously, rejected. "For the love of God, and of the Christian faith," said the chivalrous pilgrims, "we have done what we have done; and we may neither accept of wages for such service, nor delay our return to our homes." They departed accordingly; but not unaccompanied. Guaimar sent with them, to their native land, envoys, laden with presents, such as might best tempt the countrymen of these hardy and disinterested warriors, to enlist in his service. Specimens of southern fruits, superb vestments, golden bits, and magnificent horse-trappings<sup>1</sup>, attracted and dazzled the eyes of the population of Normandy, and produced on the enterprising youth of the province their natural effect. Encouraged by the glowing description given by their friends of the sunny clime which they had visited, and of the opportunities, there offered, of enterprise and honour, swarms of northern warriors crossed the Alps: they were readily and honourably welcomed by Guaimar and other princes of southern Italy; and engaged, under one banner or another, in most of the intestine quarrels which at that period distracted the country<sup>2</sup>. The principal band of these warlike colo-

<sup>1</sup> Citrina per eos poma, amygdala quoque et inauratas nuces, ac pallia regia, et equorum phaleras auro argentoque distinctas illuc dirigens, ad hujusmodi gignentem humum illos non modo invitabat, verum attrahebat.—Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

Vincit pecunia passim,  
Nunc hoc nunc illo contempto, plus tribuenti  
Semper adhærebant; servire libentius illi  
Omnes gaudebant, a quo plus accipiebant.

Gul. Appul.

nists, subsequently to the death of Guaimar III., passed from the service of his son Guaimar IV. into that of the Greek emperor Michael, surnamed the Paphlagonian; and served with honour under his standards in an expedition undertaken against the Saracens of Sicily. But, upon their return to the main-land of Italy, dissatisfied with their new masters, and incited by Ardoïn, a Lombard chief, who had a personal quarrel with the Grecian governor, they declared war, in their own name, against the Eastern empire; and, with Ardoïn at their head, endeavoured to effect the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy. Two campaigns, those of 1042 and 1043, sufficed to make them masters of Apulia. Melfi, near the Ofanto, became the central point, or capital, of their states; and was in the first instance governed by the joint authority of the Lombard Ardoïn, and of William of Hauteville, surnamed Iron-arm, their native leader. Twelve important towns, Siponto, Ascoli, Venosa, Lavello, Monopoli, Trani, Canne, Monte Peloso, Trivento, Acerenza, Sant'Angelo, and Minervino, became in a little time the respective appanages of as many counts, who participated with the rulers of Melfi in the exercise of the general powers of government; and who thus gave to the first rude constitution of the Normans in Italy the character of a military oligarchical republic. But as the principal cement of this hastily formed government was the conviction of their subjects, that such an organization presented the most promising mode of gratifying their cupidity, and of protecting themselves from the retaliation of those whose possessions they had plundered; these rulers found themselves unable, even if they were desirous, to prevent the continuance of a system of violence and marauding, which rendered the name of

Norman a terror to Italy. The precepts of their new religion, and the awe inspired by the superstitions with which it was in their minds connected, became alike powerless to allay in the northern warriors the thirst for gain; and many a consecrated pile and holy spot, which had witnessed their devotions, when they came as pilgrims and worshippers, was subsequently profaned, by their appearance as bandits and despoilers.

The tidings of these sacrilegious acts soon reached, of course, the ears of Leo IX. And when he saw that the insulters of the Church were also the ruthless oppressors of their fellow-creatures,—when he beheld the southern gates of Rome daily thronged by the wretched inhabitants of Apulia, who, destitute, blinded, and horribly mutilated, were seeking a refuge from further tyranny behind the sheltering walls of the papal city<sup>1</sup>, the pitying pontiff yielded himself entirely to the impulses of his benevolent nature; and,—without, perhaps, a due consideration of the measure—formed the plan of leading an army in person against these barbarous intruders, and expelling them from all those possessions of the Roman Church which they had presumed to occupy.

Intent upon this project he, in 1052, crossed the Alps once more, with the view of soliciting assistance from the Emperor in its execution<sup>2</sup>, and arrived at a moment in which that monarch was actively engaged in warlike operations on the borders of Hungary. Henry seemed,

<sup>1</sup> Multi ex Apuliæ finibus veniebant, oculis effossis, naribus abscissis, manibus pedibusque truncatis, ac Normannorum crudelitate miserabiliter querentes. Unde factum est, ut vir mitissimus, pietate et misericordiâ plenus . . . compatiens . . . illius gentis superbiam conaretur humiliare.—Bruno in vita S. Leonis.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

notwithstanding, at first well disposed to accede to the pontiff's wishes; but circumstances made it difficult to detach any large body of troops on so distant an errand; and Leo, after attending, during some months, the progress of the imperial court, set out, in the early spring of 1053, for Italy, accompanied only by about 500 German warriors<sup>1</sup>, under the command of an officer named Werner; even this scanty force being in great measure composed of volunteers. But when once more in Rome, he issued a general invitation to the natives of Italy to range themselves under the sacred banner of St. Peter; and a motley multitude, consisting chiefly of Apulians, Campanians, and inhabitants of Ancona, responded to the call. Some were animated by a natural feeling of animosity toward the oppressors of their country; some heard a summons from Heaven in the voice of its minister, and marched to the field under emotions similar to those which, in the following

<sup>1</sup> Less than 700, says Gulielmus Appulus, who thus proceeds to describe their nation:—

— hæc gens animosa feroces

Fert animos, sed equos adeo non ducere cauta,  
 Ictibus illorum, quam lancea, plus valet ensis :  
 Nam nec equus docte manibus giratur eorum,  
 Nec validos ictus dat lancea, præminet ensis :  
 Sunt etenim longi specialiter et peracuti  
 Illorum gladii, percussum a vertice corpus  
 Scindere sæpe solent, et firmo stant pede, postquam  
 Deponuntur equis, potius certando perire  
 Quam dare terga volunt, magis hoc sunt Marte timendi,  
 Quam dum sunt equites : tanta est audacia gentis,  
 Italiæ populo qui se sociaverat illis.  
 Germani comites præsumt Transmundus et Atto  
 Et Burrellinâ generata propagine proles.

Gul. Appul. historic. Poema de gestis Normannorum,  
 l. ii. ap. Murator. SS. Rerum Ital. t. v. p. 260.

age, inflamed the bosoms of crusaders; while others, of a different description, were either lured to the campaign by ordinary hopes of plunder, or led to imagine that their service in such a cause might in some degree extenuate, in the eye of Heaven, the criminality of their previous career.

Opinions widely different from each other have been entertained respecting the propriety of Leo's conduct in this matter<sup>1</sup>. Whether Hildebrand,—trusted and deferred to as he constantly was by the pontiff,—took any active part on the occasion, is not clearly known. His participation in the project is invidiously urged against him by his embittered adversary, Benno; but the statement appears to be unsupported by other contemporaneous authority; and the work of Benno is filled with so many palpable calumnies against Hildebrand, that nothing in the nature of an accusation can be worthy of credit which rests upon his evidence alone. It is, however, undeniable, that Hildebrand, when exalted to the papal chair, himself entertained, as we shall subsequently see, a somewhat similar project. But it is also a fact, that his friend, and the principal organ of the party, so to call it, with which he at the time was acting,—the celebrated Peter Damiani,—has left on record his protest against the assumption, by the successor of St. Peter, of that earthly sword, the use of which had been, by our Lord Himself, forbidden to the Apostle<sup>2</sup>.

Such a proceeding, against a professedly Christian people, might justly at that epoch have been styled unprecedented. Familiar to the age as was the sight of

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Baron. Annal. ad an. 1053, n. 10 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Damiani, l. iv. ep. 9, et Baron. l. c.

ordinary bishops accompanying their retainers to the field, it was long since the spectacle had been exhibited, of an army avowedly led to combat by the acknowledged Father of the Christian world; and, though John X. had, it is true, somewhat more than a century before Leo's time, conducted his forces to the field, it was against Mahometans that he engaged in battle on the Garigliano<sup>1</sup>; and, not to mention the former decrees of prelates and councils upon the subject, one of the twelve canons of Leo's own council of Rheims expressly forbade the participation of the clergy in secular warfare<sup>2</sup>. But the compassionate pontiff was, in all probability, too strongly influenced by his feelings to reflect on the sanction, which—in appearance, at least—he was giving to a practice so recently condemned; nor did he, it seems, at all calculate upon the effusion of blood; but hoped, by the force which he reckoned on arraying in the field, to reduce the enemy to immediate submission<sup>3</sup>.

It was on the 18th of June, 1053<sup>4</sup>, that Leo's troops confronted those of the enemy near the town of Civitella. The Normans, when aware of his intentions, had made all preparations in their power to ward off the coming blow. William Iron-arm was no more; but his brothers, Humphrey and Robert,—the latter of

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 916. Luitpr. lib. ii. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ne quis clericorum arma militaria gestaret, aut mundanæ militiæ deserviret. Concil. Remens. canon vi. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1007.

<sup>3</sup> Non ut cujusquam Northmannorum seu aliquorum hominum interitum optarem, aut mortem tractarem, sed ut saltem humano terrore respiscerent, qui divina judicia minime formidant. Leonis IX. epist. ad Constantinum Monomachum. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 959.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.

whom, subsequently surnamed Guiscard, had recently arrived in Apulia with a considerable reinforcement to the Norman forces,—succeeded to the command of his intrepid warriors; and Richard, count of Aversa, the chief of a smaller, but independent, Norman colony in Italy, brought all the force which he could muster to the defence of the common cause. But the Normans were dispirited: rumour had magnified among them the scale of the papal preparations, and they were awed by the sacred character of him in whom, even while he was their enemy, they recognized their spiritual parent. The heralds, therefore, who approached Leo while he was yet within the walls of Civitella, assumed an humble tone<sup>1</sup>; they deprecated his hostility, and informed him, that the Norman princes, though they declined to abandon possessions which they had won, were ready to hold their conquests thenceforward by his grant, and to do suit and service for them to him, as to their lord paramount<sup>2</sup>. But the tall, bulky, Germans, by whom the pontiff was surrounded, smiled in scorn when they beheld the diminutive though active forms of their adversaries<sup>3</sup>; and Leo, inspired by their confidence, as well as by his conviction of the goodness of his cause, rejected the overtures of the Norman leaders, and demanded the total abandonment of the lands which they had recently usurped from St. Peter<sup>4</sup>. This the Normans declined to concede, and therefore, feel-

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Teutonici, quia cæsaries et forma decoros  
Fecerat egregiè proceri corporis illos,  
Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora  
Esse videbantur, nec eorum nuntia curant.

Gul. Appul. p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Gul. Appul. l. c.



ing that no other alternative lay before them, they gave the signal for battle, before Leo had issued from the gates of Civitella. The result of the action which now took place, falsified alike the confident anticipations of the one party, and the desponding auguries of the other. The impetuous charge of the Norman chivalry at once unmanned the timid Italians who composed the bulk of Leo's army; and who fled in every possible direction. Werner and his German band met the shock with the calm courage of their country; but the Normans, unresisted elsewhere, turned their flanks, and hemmed them in on every side; until this gallant troop, contending valiantly to the last, covered with their corpses the ground which they had occupied. But for their resistance,—so sudden was the flight, so rapid the dispersion, of Leo's army<sup>1</sup>,—the business of the day might seem rather to deserve the name of a slaughter than of a battle<sup>2</sup>.

The conquering chiefs pushed on without delay, through the streets of Civitella, into the presence of Leo<sup>3</sup>. But they no sooner beheld the venerable pontiff,

<sup>1</sup> *Occulto Dei judicio; sive quia tantum sacerdotem spiritalis potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat; sive quod nefarios homines quam multos ad se, ob impunitatem scelerum, vel quæstum avarum confluentes, contra itidem scelestos expugnandos secum ducebat; sive divinâ justitiâ alias, quas ipsa novit, ob causas nostros plectente.* Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> The carnage, according to Godfrey of Viterbo, who dedicated his history to Urban III., was so great, that a pile, composed of the bones of the slain, was even in his time pointed out to strangers by natives of the country. Gotf. Viterb. ap. Pistor. t. ii. p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> According to some accounts, Leo was without the city during the battle, and when, after its termination, he sought refuge within its walls, he was repulsed from it by the citizens, from their fear of his victorious enemies. Vid. Gaufrid. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. i. c. 14.

than, exchanging the fierceness of the warrior for the subdued tone of the penitent, they fell at his feet, and in abasement and tears besought the absolution and the blessing of their vanquished enemy<sup>1</sup>. Moved by this conduct, and induced by the exigency of his position, Leo revoked the sentence of anathema which he had pronounced against them ; and they then escorted him with all reverence and honour to the city of Benevento<sup>2</sup>. Here the humbled pontiff remained nine months, during which time, at the request of his captors, he consented to grant them, in the name of St. Peter, the investiture of all their conquests, made or to be made, in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily ; which they were thenceforward to hold as fiefs of the holy see<sup>3</sup>. By this turn of events, his defeat and captivity became productive of results more favourable to the papal power, than would in all probability have attended the most brilliant victory which could have been reaped by his arms on the plains of Civitella. Leo and his successors acquired a claim to the services of the Norman chiefs, as of rightful vassals ; and the power was recognized in them of conferring the investiture,—as lords paramount,—of extensive domains, which had not previously been in any manner subject to their sway : nor was it to be feared that the Normans would hastily throw off the connexion thus entered into ; as the same causes which had induced them to form it, would continue to operate in inclining them to uphold it. Their

<sup>1</sup> Gul. Appul.—*Mutatis animis, in ejus sunt conversi obsequelam : cujus osculantes vestigia, sibi immeritam deposcebant indulgentiam.* Wibert. in vita S. L. lib. ii. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Gaufr. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. i. c. 14. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. t. v.

crafty chiefs clearly saw the advantage of basing their right to their territories on a title more solid than that of conquest, and of linking their claim to the obedience of their subjects, with the duty of the latter toward the representatives of St. Peter.

Another result of the campaign must, if he were fully aware of it, have been still more gratifying than the above, to a pontiff of the humane disposition of Leo. For the Norman chiefs, who continued, during his stay at Benevento, to exhibit toward him every possible token of respect, were influenced by his persuasions, or by the reverence with which his character inspired them, to abate much of the brutality which had hitherto disgraced their proceedings. And the altered position in which, by Leo's instrumentality, they were now placed, had doubtless of itself a humanizing influence upon their minds. In obtaining the rank, they in some measure adopted the manners, of legitimate sovereigns; and in the dignified characteristics of settled power, were rapidly, though gradually, merged the turbulence and ferocity of the unrecognized invader.

But, notwithstanding these encouraging circumstances, we may well conceive that the unfortunate Leo felt humbled to the dust by the unexpected failure of his long-projected enterprise. His ardent temperament had encouraged him too confidently to anticipate a blessing on his exertions; and the same disposition now led him to trace the displeasure of Heaven in his calamity. While at Benevento, he employed all his hours, except those engaged in negotiation or other necessary business, in religious meditation, in prayer, and in exercises of ascetic devotion. Though his health was declining, a carpet on the bare earth was his ordinary couch, a stone his pillow, and a hair shirt his

garment next the skin. Under such austerities, aided as they were in their effect by the sorrows and anxieties of his mind, his constitution gradually sank; and when he at length left Benevento, and returned, in March 1054, to the papal city, it was only to breathe his last there on the 19th of the following April<sup>1</sup>, after having committed to his beloved friend Hildebrand the provisional government of the Roman Church, until a new pontiff should be appointed to the apostolic see<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> De obitu S. Leonis Papæ, ex codice Beneventano, ap. Mabillon. Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedict. sæc. vi. pt. ii. p. 78.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—The 16th of April is the day named in the Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus. Chronographus Saxo names the 18th.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1054 TO A. D. 1056.

PAPAL MISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE—MARRIAGE OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE WITH BEATRICE OF TUSCANY—PROCEEDINGS AT ROME IN CONSEQUENCE OF LEO'S DEATH—ELECTION OF VICTOR II.—MARCH OF HENRY III. INTO ITALY—CONDUCT OF BEATRICE—FLIGHT OF GODFREY—HENRY'S RETURN TO GERMANY—HILDEBRAND'S LEGATION TO FRANCE—ARRANGEMENT THERE OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN HENRY AND THE KING OF CASTILE—HENRY'S INTERVIEW WITH THE FRENCH KING—VICTOR'S VISIT TO GERMANY—HENRY'S TROUBLES, DECLINE, AND DEATH.

It may be necessary, for the purpose of enabling the reader more fully to comprehend the position of the papacy in following years, to state that, shortly before his death, Leo had despatched Frederic of Lorraine and other legates to Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. The Greek patriarch, Michael Cerularius, had for some time publicly impugned the papal claim to supremacy, and also spoken in censure of various rites and practices of the Latin Church. And Leo, after asserting the one, and defending the others, by letters, was induced at length to despatch these envoys, with the commission to reprehend the patriarch in person, and generally to assert the rights of Rome in the eastern capital. The patriarch, however, persisted in refusing either to retract

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.—Annalista Saxo.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebo. Gemblac.—Leonis Epist. ad Michael. Constantinopol. Patriarch. ap. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 927.—Wibert. in vita S. Leonis.—Chronograph. Saxo.

what he had advanced, or to recognize the superior dignity of his Roman brother; and the legates at length took the decided step of publicly laying a scroll, containing the sentence of his excommunication, upon the high altar of St. Sophia<sup>1</sup>; after which, leaving Constantinople, they shook off,—in imitation of apostolic practice,—the dust from their feet, against the contumacious city<sup>2</sup>. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, anxious to avert a lasting breach, sent after them, and at his request they turned back from Selymbria<sup>3</sup>. But their return was, through the opposition of the patriarch or of his clergy, only productive of agitation and tumult: after some little time they finally departed from Constantinople<sup>4</sup>; and this unhappy event may be termed the consummation of that great and lamentable schism, which had been long preparing, and which has divided the Churches of the East and of the West, from that hour to this present day.

A sudden turn, during the progress of these events, occurred in the fortunes of Frederic's brother Godfrey. By a marriage with Beatrice, the widow of the rich Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany—a lady who, contrary to the usual custom of the time, continued to rule the possessions of her deceased husband—the exiled duke of Lorraine became at once one of the most powerful princes of northern Italy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. et Commemorat. brev. rerum a legatis apostolicæ sedis Constantinopoli gest. ap. Hard. t. vi. p. 967.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Beatrice was daughter to Frederic II., who had preceded Godfrey's father Gothelo in the duchy of Upper Lorraine, and had been left on her parent's

On the death, therefore, of Leo, the papal city was no longer so completely under Henry's control as it had been when that pontiff was elected. An inveterate, and now potent, enemy to the imperial house, occupied its approaches in Tuscany. In the south, the papal chair, by whomsoever filled, might call, in an emergency, upon the willing services of most formidable vassals. And the form of Leo's election, had recalled to the memories of those Romans, who needed such reminding, their ancient privileges in the free election of their pontiff.

It behoved the monarch, then, to move with caution toward the appointment of Leo's successor, and to regard, in his selection, the maintenance of his own authority in Italy, as well as the respectability of the papal chair. The nomination of a prelate unacceptable to the Roman authorities, under existing circumstances, might seriously endanger the one as well as the other.

To Hildebrand, standing, as he did, high in the esteem of his countrymen, and entrusted as he was with the temporary charge of the Church by the departed pontiff, many eyes were in the first instance naturally turned as to that pontiff's most fitting successor; and his friends, taking advantage of this impression, were eager at once to elect him to the apostolic

death, under the latter prince's guardianship. Her life-enjoyment, as a widow, of her husband's fiefs, is imagined by M. de St. Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique*) to have been the result of some special arrangement entered into on her marriage—an arrangement in which the emperor may have concurred as a compensation for any claims which she might have on her father's duchy. Beatrice was first-cousin to Henry III., her mother Matilda having been sister to Conrad's empress, Gisela of Swabia.

throne<sup>1</sup>. But Hildebrand resisted the proposal<sup>2</sup>, and prevailed on them rather to send him as their envoy to the imperial court, with powers to select the prelate whom he might deem fittest for the exigencies of the time, and to demand of the emperor that person, in their name, as the future pontiff.

Shrinking from the weighty responsibility of pontifical dignity himself, he perhaps saw no other person, in the long corrupt church of Italy, possessed of the talents, disposition, and character, which were required for the office. And the power of the factions which were still fomented in Rome, by the counts of Tusculum and other licentious nobles, whose strong-holds environed the city, might well convince him that no pope could yet maintain there with success the apostolic dignity who was not supported,—and known to be so,—by the full weight of the imperial authority. He set out, therefore, for Germany; and,—either with the secret concurrence of his leading friends at Rome, or of his own sole motion,—announced to Henry that the Roman clergy and people requested of him, as their new pope, Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt<sup>3</sup>, the emperor's attached friend and counsellor, and one who had, as such, shown himself of late a formidable opponent to the principles recently brought forward by the papal school. The step, with whomsoever it may have originated, displayed a singular depth of policy, and a most accurate appreciation of character. Henry, though most reluctant to lose this faithful friend,—though, with the view of inducing Hildebrand to make another choice, he sug-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 804. See the epistle of Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, quoted below, in book iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Vix multis lacrymis et supplicationibus.* Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens. in Chron. Cassin. l. ii. c. lxxxix. Herman. Contract.



gested the names of various other persons as fit to fill the vacant office,—could not, nevertheless, reject the proposal in terms so decisive as he might have done, had the name of one less friendly to him,—less notoriously devoted to his interests,—been submitted to his approval. And he must, at the same time, have felt a strong inducement to place, on the throne of St. Peter, a prelate, who had ever shown himself devoted to the imperial interests; together with a satisfaction that the wishes of the Roman clergy and people should have centred in one so personally acceptable to himself.

The firmness, consequently, of Hildebrand, at length prevailed. Henry's reluctance gave way; and Gebhard, who seems himself to have been as averse as was his sovereign to his exaltation<sup>1</sup>, was induced to acquiesce in it. Unfriendly as he had hitherto been to the papal policy, he possessed,—as his intelligent proposer no doubt was aware,—principles and a character, which could scarcely fail to lead him, when placed in his new situation, and surrounded by new associations, to a line of conduct more suitable to the views of the Roman conclave, than to those of his imperial master. And as his talents were considerable, while his name was universally respected, his nomination at once put into the chair of Leo an able successor, and deprived the opposite, or imperial, interest, of him who had been till then among the ablest of its champions and defenders.

The nomination of Gebhard took place, it seems, at Mentz<sup>2</sup>, late in the autumn of 1054; and though Henry, in acceding to that measure, doubted not that he was placing a firm friend over the metropolis of Italy, he

<sup>1</sup> *Invito licet imperatore, invito etiam eodem ipso episcopo. Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 89.*

<sup>2</sup> *Herman. Contract. Continuat.*

felt that his now jeopardized authority in that country could only be successfully maintained by his own immediate presence there. Having, therefore, settled the affairs of Germany in comparative tranquillity, and having procured, in that country, the election and coronation of his infant son Henry<sup>1</sup>, as his future successor, he crossed the Alps in the spring of 1055<sup>2</sup>, at the head of a considerable force, and in the company of the pontiff. From Verona, where the king halted in April, he sent Gebhard forward to Rome, where the latter, after being elected in due canonical form, was consecrated on Maundy Thursday—April 13—by the name of Victor II.<sup>3</sup>

The emperor had previously instructed all influential nobles and princes of Italy, by letters, to keep a watchful eye upon the proceedings of Godfrey, whom he spoke of as a public enemy; and it was now no secret that the principal motive of his appearance in Italy was the wish to humble the noble, thus powerful once more. Godfrey, alarmed by his demonstrations, sent envoys to assure him of the innocence of his intentions, and of his continued fealty. “Nothing,” he bade them say, “was farther than rebellion from his thoughts—on the contrary, he was ready to brave every thing for the welfare of the emperor and of the state. Exiled as he

<sup>1</sup> Born 11th Nov. 1051, Lamb. Schafnab. An oath of fealty to him had been exacted by his father from the nobles of the empire in the Christmas following his birth. Id.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Id fuit in Victoris II. electione singulare quod unius Hildebrandi suffragio Romanam sedem adeptus est. Id enim Hildebrandi in ecclesiam meritis ab universo clero datum est, ut quem ex imperatoris consensu elegisset, ejus rata esset electio. Cantelius, metropolitan. urb. hist. pt. ii. dissert. iv.

“ had been from his country, and deprived of his paternal possessions, the wealth of his wife formed the sole means of his support: nor had he formed that connexion but with the princess’s own free and solemnly expressed consent<sup>1</sup> ;” and, though Godfrey was too wary to put himself into the power of his displeased sovereign, he permitted Beatrice herself, accompanied by her young daughter Matilda, to appear and plead her cause before him. Nearly connected as she was, by blood, with himself, Henry would scarce admit her into his presence, or listen to her story; she persevered, however, boldly in her justification; she had done, she said, nothing, but what the law of all nations allowed her to do. Bereft of her husband, she had sought another master for his vacant house, and, herself a free woman, had married a free man, without fraud or sinister machination. Henry was still unappeased, and though, aware of Godfrey’s talents and power, and fearful of his calling the formidable Normans to his aid, he was constrained to declare the prince innocent of any violation of the imperial laws, he nevertheless commanded the detention of Beatrice in his court; partly because, as he gave out, she had surrendered herself as a hostage; and partly because he considered her to have committed a grave offence, in marrying, without his consent, a man who had been declared a public enemy<sup>2</sup>. This sufficiently convinced Godfrey of the continued unfriendliness of Henry’s intentions towards himself; and finding that the monarch was constantly extending his negotiations among the Lombard nobles, for the purpose of compassing his ruin, he resolved on thwarting these in

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Chronograph. Saxo.

what, his politic genius taught him, would prove the most effectual manner.

Crossing the Alps in secret, he suddenly reappeared in his native Lorraine; and finding his old ally, Baldwin of Flanders, still ready to espouse his cause, he commenced, in company with that chief, the siege of Antwerp. From before this place, the appearance of imperial reinforcements obliged them to retire; but, foiled as they thus were, their revolt continued to present an appearance so formidable, that Henry felt himself compelled, after some little time, reluctantly to abandon his Italian schemes, and to attend to the security of his northern dominions. He recrossed the Alps, in the winter of 1055, bearing with him Beatrice and her daughter in honourable captivity<sup>1</sup>. Taking his road through Switzerland, he halted for the festival of Christmas at Zurich, and there arranged the future marriage of his son, then five years old, with Bertha, daughter of Otho, the Margrave of Susa<sup>2</sup>. The Easter of 1056 was spent by the monarch in the episcopal city of Paderborn<sup>3</sup>; and shortly after that season he established himself again in Goslar.

During his stay in Italy, he had found time to hold, in concert with Pope Victor, a council at Florence, in which a decree was passed against the alienation of Church property, and various matters were discussed relating to discipline and doctrine<sup>4</sup>. The new pontiff, already in some sort a disciplinarian, soon showed, as Hildebrand had anticipated, his readiness to advance, in the reformation of abuses, upon the broad principles which characterized the papal school<sup>5</sup>. And though Vic-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 804.      <sup>2</sup> Berthold. Const.      <sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039.—Damiani ep. lib. iv. 12.—Bonizo, p. 804.

<sup>5</sup> Studium æterioris disciplinæ et decretorum Leonis IX. observantia hostes nonnullos fecit Victori Papæ.—Pagi Breviar.

tor is said never to have entirely forgiven Hildebrand his pertinacity in the matter of his election,—and indeed to have looked, from that time, with dislike upon monks in general,—he felt the necessity of treating a person so distinguished, with the deference to which his talents and character entitled him, and sent him back as legate to France, armed with all the necessary powers to contend against the abuses which, notwithstanding Leo's efforts in that country, were still fearfully prevalent in the Gallican Church. And Hildebrand's success in this contest must needs have been great, since chronicles of the time describe it as attended with miracle. An archbishop, it is said, who had been on good grounds accused before him of simoniacal traffic, had contrived to bribe the principal evidences against him to silence, and then, presenting himself with a bold front before the legate, demanded to be confronted with his accusers. "Believest thou," said Hildebrand, "the Holy Spirit to be of one substance and Deity with the Father and with the Son?" "I do," answered the archbishop. "Then," rejoined Hildebrand, "say before us, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.'" The suspected prelate attempted to comply; but when he had said "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son," his voice failed him, and notwithstanding all his efforts, he found it impossible to recite the remainder of the doxology<sup>1</sup>. In distress and confusion, he threw himself before the legate, con-

<sup>1</sup> "Credisne, o Episcopo, Spiritum Sanctum unius cum Patre et Filio esse substantiæ et Deitatis?" Quo respondente, "Credo," "Dic," inquit, "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto." . . . . "Gloria Patri et Filio" dicebat; sed Spiritum Sanctum nominare minime valebat.—Paul Bernried. c. xvii.—Pet. Damian. Opusc. xix. cap. iv.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039.—Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.—Bonizo, p. 805.

fessed his guilt, and received with patience the sentence of his deposition. And so striking was the example, that no less than forty-five bishops, and twenty-seven other dignitaries<sup>1</sup> or governors of Churches, came forward to confess the guilty mode by which they had obtained their benefices, and retired from stations in which they felt that they had no valid claim to remain<sup>2</sup>. Other records of this time describe Hildebrand as gifted with an intuitive power to read in men's bosoms the thoughts which they concealed<sup>3</sup>, and to detect,—when those around him were tried by any peculiar temptation—the hidden presence of the tempter. Such narratives,—whatever may be thought of them in themselves—unquestionably prove the searching nature of the legate's investigations, as well as the general awe and veneration inspired by his character<sup>4</sup>.

One event, which occurred during his stay in France, is memorable, both because it illustrated, in a remarkable manner, that yet unrealized system of papal supremacy which future years were to develop, and because it exhibited Henry III., the lordly controller of the papacy, in a situation, relatively to that power, very different from that which he had been wont to occupy. Ferdinand, since styled the Great, the warlike and powerful monarch, who had united under his sway the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon, became so far flushed with success, as to think of assuming, if not the imperial title, at least such ensigns and characteristics of imperial dignity, as were inconsistent with the re-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039. Eighteen bishops, according to Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Victor. III. dialog. lib. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Bernried. cap. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Id. cap. 19.

ceived theory, that the Emperor of the Romans stood single and pre-eminent, among the sovereigns of the Western world.

And Henry, naturally eager to maintain his privileges, saw a mode more expedient than warfare for preserving them inviolate, in a reference of the matter to the Roman pontiff. By Victor it was directed, that the question should be inquired into and decided by a council, holden under his legate, at Tours. Thither, accordingly, did Henry's envoys proceed, to plead their master's cause; and thus the world beheld the setter-up and puller-down of popes, the despotic controller of the city and see of St. Peter, recognizing, in the successor of that Apostle, an arbiter and a judge, even of his right and title to the loftiest prerogatives of his crown. To Henry's own eyes, secure as he probably was of a favourable decision, this recognition seemed a mere form,—an empty show,—such as had been his apparent acceptance of the imperial dignity, from the hands of his own nominee, Clement II. Whatever necessity he might sometimes feel himself under, during this latter portion of his reign, of acting, toward the Roman authorities, in the tone of compromise, rather than in the language of uncontrolled sovereignty, he doubtless considered such necessity to be but of a temporary nature; and saw not, in the apparently trivial and momentary obstacles which embarrassed his motions, the precursors and symptoms of a great moral revolution already in progress of developement. He hesitated not, therefore, to do homage to the semblance of power, in hands which he never expected would compass its reality.

The decision of the council, against Ferdinand's pretensions, was communicated to that monarch by proper

envoys, and his submission to it was required under the authority of the papal name: and the Spanish prince, acting upon the advice of the assembled prelates and nobles of his realm, not only abandoned, in obedience to the mandate, the pretensions which derogated from the imperial dignity, but would, it seems, have sacrificed to his fear of Henry, or of the pope, the original independence of his country, by acknowledging the emperor his lord paramount, had not Roderic Diaz, the celebrated Cid, by the firmness of his counsels, and by the authority of his name, diverted him from the measure<sup>1</sup>. No less respect, however, was shown to the papal authority, by the Spanish, than by the German, sovereign. Envoys from Ferdinand waited upon the legate to represent their master's case before him, and, through their negotiations, the matter was amicably arranged. But though this affair was thus peacefully closed, the subsequent months of Henry's life were full of troubles. Continually harassed by the anxieties occasioned to him by Godfrey's movements in Lorraine, he was, in the year 1056, engaged in an angry correspondence with the French king, with whom he had, by appointment, a personal interview, at a place named Ivoy<sup>2</sup>, in the territory of Treves. The result of the meeting was so unsatisfactory, and words, during the discussion, ran so high between the hostile monarchs, that the emperor at length closed the proceedings, by calling upon the French sovereign to meet him in single combat on the morrow. The latter could not openly decline

<sup>1</sup> Mariana. *Historia general de España*, lib. ix. c. 5.—Vid. Baron. ad an. 1055, et F. Pagi, *Breviar. t. i. p. 528*.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert of Aschaffenburg calls it Civois: his annotator (in *Pistorii Scriptt.*) says that it is called, in German, Ipsch; in French, Ivoy; "in Trevirorum finibus."



the challenge, but privately departed from the scene of the conference during the intervening night; and Henry, frustrated in his purpose, returned to Goslar<sup>1</sup>.

Here he was, after some little time, visited by Pope Victor, whose presence he had requested, and who at his desire had relinquished for a while his reforming labours in Italy<sup>2</sup>. The pontiff arrived at Goslar in time to celebrate there the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin,—the 8th of September,—and was received by his imperial master and friend with the most magnificent hospitality<sup>3</sup>. But Henry was found, by his former counsellor, feeble in health, and depressed in spirits; and it was, probably, on this account, that the court moved, almost immediately after the festival, from Goslar, to the castle of Botfeld, in the Harz. Henry here endeavoured to recruit his spirits, and reanimate his drooping frame, by partaking largely of the pleasures of the chase, to which he had ever been addicted. But the aspect of affairs continued to darken around him: tidings arrived that the numerous army which he had sent against the Luticians, a savage horde on the borders of Saxony, had been defeated with terrible loss<sup>4</sup>. Bohemia and other parts of his empire were in a critical, or disorderly, state. He had recently been

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> By his activity in these, Victor exposed himself to a constant and harassing opposition from that anti-papal party, to which he himself had formerly belonged. When suffering from it, he was wont to say. "This falls on me deservedly. Paul must feel what Saul has done. The lamb must bear what the wolf once inflicted." Leo Ostiens.—F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebert Gemblac.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Herman. Contract. Continuât.—Chronograph. Saxo.

deprived, by death, of several nobles, to whose talents and loyalty he had looked as to the most solid pillars of his throne: and the drought of the past summer had produced an unusual prevalence of distress and mortality in his dominions<sup>1</sup>. This accumulation of evils aggravated, if it did not entirely cause, a malady, which attacked him at Botfeld, and which speedily overcame his exhausted powers. Becoming aware of his approaching end, he bewailed, with a contrition apparently the most sincere, the sins and follies of his by-gone life; he directed compensation to be made to all whom he conceived himself to have aggrieved, and requested the forgiveness and prayers of all whom he might in ignorance have wronged. He pointed out his young son, already crowned, as his appointed successor, and commended him to the watchful care of his mother, the Empress Agnes, and of the father of the Church: and then, while Victor and many other distinguished persons stood beside his bed, he breathed his last; dying on the 5th of October 1056, in the 40th year of his age. His remains were borne to his native province of Franconia, and there interred beneath the massy, and yet incomplete, vaults of Spires Cathedral, on his birthday, the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.*

“*Ad templum Spiræ dormit, quod struxerat idem.*”

*Domnizo.*

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1056 TO A.D. 1059.

ADJUSTMENT, BY VICTOR II., OF THE AFFAIRS OF GERMANY—APPOINTMENT OF FREDERIC OF LORRAINE, AS ABBOT OF MONTE CASSINO—DEATH OF VICTOR—ELECTION OF FREDERIC AS STEPHEN IX.—NOMINATION OF DAMIANI TO THE BISHOPRIC OF OSTIA—SCHEMES OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE—DEATH OF STEPHEN—IRREGULAR ELECTION OF JOHN, BISHOP OF VELLETRI—POSITION OF THE IMPERIAL COURT—TROUBLES IN GERMANY—ELECTION OF NICHOLAS II.

ON the death of Henry III., the evil tendencies of the system which, with regard to the Church's government, he had espoused, would have fatally displayed themselves; had not that system received an effectual check, from the movements of the new Roman ecclesiastical school. It would have been seen, on how frail a basis the honour and security of the Church would have been placed, had she indeed been bowed to that state of complete subjection to the genius of feudalism, in which the deceased monarch's policy had constantly tended to place her. The beneficial energy of Henry's government,—the rectitude of its administration,—depended upon his own personal qualities, and by consequence upon his continued existence. And had not the papacy, during the later years of his reign, recovered a sort of substantive being, the Church, which it represented, would have been exposed, upon his death, to all the evils attendant on the uncontrolled autocracy of an infant, whose disposition was as yet unformed, and whose training, in the possession of sovereignty, was not likely to be efficient in giving

a favourable bias to his disposition, or in disciplining his mind. It will be seen, even as the case really stood, of how formidable a nature the Church's perils, at this juncture, were ; and how severe a struggle it cost her, under her papal governors, to withstand the energies of that power which Henry III. had established over her ; and which was wielded, after his decease, in a manner very different from any in which that well-intentioned monarch would ever himself have dreamed of wielding it.

The presence of Pope Victor, at the critical moment of Henry's death, was a circumstance most important to the tranquillity of Germany, and to the stability of the youthful successor's throne. For the seeds of discord and confusion were widely scattered throughout the empire. The haughty nobles, whose power the emperor had abridged, and whose pride he had humbled, by the resolute assertion of his kingly prerogatives, saw, in his death, the opportunity of recovering the licentious independence which they had formerly enjoyed. And the Saxon chiefs, while participating in this general feeling, viewed with a peculiar spleen the dominion of the Franconian princes, upon a throne which had previously been occupied by a Saxon line ; and to which they persuaded themselves that their province had a kind of special right. The reign, too, of a woman,—and such of course would the child Henry's virtually be, while he continued under the guardianship of his mother<sup>1</sup>,—was a new thing in Germany ; and one which the haughty spirit of the Germans inclined them to think derogatory to their manly honour. While the gentleness and conciliatory disposition of the amiable Agnes,—qualities which would in

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

almost any other station have won for her the love of all around her,—were, in a sovereign, too apt to be ascribed to weakness or timidity, and to give encouragement to presumptuous disobedience.

The authority, however, of Victor, commanded general deference. The young sovereign was unhesitatingly acknowledged as king of Germany, the discontented murmurs of the nobles were, for the moment, suppressed, and the principal enemy of the imperial house, Godfrey of Lorraine, was by the papal mediation reconciled to it. Godfrey appeared, with his ally Baldwin, before a council holden, in December 1056, at Cologne<sup>1</sup>, and did homage to his new sovereign; and then, receiving again his wife Beatrice, who had been so long detained from him, he returned to the superintendence of his Italian territories, and to the formation of new schemes, for the extension of his influence and the consolidation of his power.

Having arranged this important business, and adjusted, as best he might, the other matters of difficulty in Germany<sup>2</sup>, Victor took leave of the imperial Agnes, and returned, in the spring of 1057, to Rome, in which city he presided over a council, holden on the 18th of April<sup>3</sup>. He bore with him, it appears, full authority to act in the young Henry's name in the administration of the imperial<sup>4</sup> government to the southward of the Alps;

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1041.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Marian. Scot.

<sup>2</sup> *Compositis mediocriter, prout tunc copia erat, regni negotiis.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—Marian. Scot.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Stephani IX. Papæ Epistol. ad Pandulph. Marsican. episc.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1052.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid confusion, this epithet is throughout this work applied to the government, family, &c., of the German monarchs. But it is not, on all occasions, strictly correct. As successor to his father,

and it was, probably, business connected with this commission, which induced him, shortly after the day just named, to move to Florence, for the purpose of intercourse with Godfrey. Hildebrand either accompanied him thither, or met him there; and Frederic, Godfrey's brother, also presented himself before him in that city. This prince, on his return from his eastern embassy, had found his patron Leo dead, and himself in immediate danger from Henry's hostility<sup>1</sup>; for that emperor, jealous of all Godfrey's relatives, had given orders for his apprehension. But Frederic put himself in security against any proceeding of that kind, by flying to the powerful and celebrated abbey of Monte Cassino, and there solemnly devoting himself to a monastic life<sup>2</sup>.

The office of abbot became subsequently vacant; and the talents and virtues of Frederic—together with, it may be, the influence of his birth and connexions—induced the monks to nominate him to that dignity<sup>3</sup>; and he now proceeded to Florence, as well to procure from the papal authority the confirmation of this election<sup>4</sup>, as to urge Victor to direct the censures of the Church against Thrasimond, Count of Chieti, who had plundered him of the costly presents which he had brought from Constantinople, and who also withheld from the brotherhood of Monte Cassino certain lands to which they were entitled.

The pontiff readily confirmed the new abbot's election, and as readily pronounced against Thrasimond the sentence of excommunication—a sentence by which that

Henry IV. could claim no higher title than that of king; that of emperor, implying a coronation, by the pope, at Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigeib. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Ut supr.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Id. c. 96.

lawless noble was soon brought to submission: and then, anxious either to show his high esteem for Frederic, or to secure the continued alliance of his able and powerful brother, Victor nominated him to an office in the Roman Church, by creating him cardinal presbyter of St. Chrysogonus<sup>1</sup>.

Late in July, Frederic quitted the pontiff's presence, and, instead of taking up at once his residence in his monastery, proceeded in the first instance to Rome, to initiate himself there in the duties of this new station. Nor had he again left the papal city<sup>2</sup> for Monte Cassino, when the unexpected intelligence arrived that Victor was no more, having breathed his last at Florence, on the 28th of July<sup>3</sup>. A clamour instantly arose for the immediate appointment of a successor. The feeling which Hildebrand had with difficulty thwarted on the last occasion, had since that period been gradually increasing in intensity; and, to those who did not participate in it, the fear of the licentious nobles of the Campagna, who were now no longer held in check by the name of Henry III., and from whom some attempt upon St. Peter's chair might hourly be expected, would present a powerful argument for the necessity of a speedy election. A man, therefore, of Frederic's high character being on the spot, the Romans resorted to him for advice, and pressed him to suggest the name of a future pontiff. Frederic mentioned in succession five names, the first four being those of Italian bishops, the fifth that of Hildebrand, who though still but a subdeacon, had long exercised in Rome an authority far more extensive than properly

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

belonged to that comparatively humble station. But none of these suggestions were approved. Hildebrand, though a strong party in Rome now recognized him as their leader, was too strict in his habits and unbending in his manners, to be a popular favourite. He was, besides, in Tuscany, and though the idea was for a moment entertained of waiting for his arrival<sup>1</sup>, a conviction of the dangers of delay outweighed with the Romans all other considerations; and losing at length their patience, they clamorously exclaimed that their adviser should be himself their pastor<sup>2</sup>. Seizing the surprised and reluctant Frederic, they led, or rather dragged him, to the Lateran Church, and there enthroned him; hailing him, in honour of the papal saint to whom the day was dedicated, by the name of Stephen IX.: and on the following day (August 3) the consecration took place, with all customary forms, in the basilica of St. Peter<sup>3</sup>.

Sudden as was the event, the election taking place on the fifth day after Victor's death, no time was afforded to the Romans for the careful balance of contending difficulties, or the formation of deep-laid schemes of policy. But we can scarcely doubt that the clamourers on this occasion were, to a certain extent, the instruments of more skilful and practised politicians: for there was evidently no person whom the assertors of papal independence could at the moment have more eligibly selected than Stephen IX., for the illustration of their principles and the furtherance of

<sup>1</sup> *Fuere tamen qui Hildebrandum adhuc apud Tusciam. . . expectandum dicerent.* Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 96.—Herm. Contract.—Marian. Scot.—Sieg. Gemblac.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens.



their views. Thoroughly imbued with their spirit, he could scarce fail to continue in the course of his immediate predecessors; while his acknowledged talents and character were such as must give weight to his exertions. Connected as he was with Godfrey, now the powerful, or rather formidable, ally of the empire, the empress and her counsellors could scarcely, even if so inclined, venture to go the length of gainsaying the election. And the name of the Tuscan prince would form a support to his power against the violence of Campanian nobles, as efficient as had been the imperial authority, and yet not capable, like that authority, of being perverted to the work of riveting on the Church the fetters of an obnoxious vassalage to the state.

Peaceably seated, under these circumstances, on the papal throne, Stephen lost no time in giving proofs of his sincerity in the cause of ecclesiastical reformation, in which, though feeble in health, he laboured with a determined assiduity, and with a monastic rigour<sup>1</sup>. It was by him that, according to a contemporary author, Hildebrand was admitted to deacon's orders, and declared archdeacon of Rome<sup>2</sup>; though other accounts would fix this transaction either in a foregoing or following pontificate<sup>3</sup>. Unquestionably, however, Hil-

<sup>1</sup> Maxime pro conjugii clericorum ac sacerdotum, nec non et consanguineorum copulationibus destruendis, nimio zelo decertans. Leo Ost. c. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 805, followed by the Cardinal de Aragon.

<sup>3</sup> According to Paul of Bernried. c. xv. it was Leo IX. by whom Hildebrand was thus exalted; but Hugo Flaviniacensis, in *Chronico Virdunensi*, ascribes the act to Nicholas II.; and Leo Ostiensis speaks of him as a subdeacon in the latter part of Stephen's pontificate, but as archdeacon on the death of that pontiff's successor, and Damiani (writing to Nicholas II.) of his being Victor's legate in Gaul, dum

debrand was honoured by him with every mark of confidence and esteem. And Peter Damiani, already mentioned as a distinguished personage among the churchmen with whom Hildebrand was principally connected, was by Stephen, early in 1058, preferred to the bishopric of Ostia<sup>1</sup>.

Damiani was a man of sincere and deep devotion, of extraordinary talents, and of a monastic austerity. He was of too ardent a temperament to be uniformly judicious in his proceedings; and his faith was of a description which led him to receive, without question, a host of legends of the most absurd description. But there shone forth in him a singleness and purity of character, which, in connexion with his abilities, procured him the universal respect and admiration of his contemporaries. And though, in pushing to the extreme the notions of the age, he must be admitted to have played no unimportant part in forwarding the progress of doctrinal corruptions; yet his name—when the nature of his position is fairly taken into the account,—can scarce be thought undeserving of the veneration of posterity. His exaltation, in this instance, was resisted by him with all his might. He

*adhuc subdiaconatus fungeretur officio.* Damiani Opusc. xix. c. iv. "Though archdeacons in these last ages of the Church have usually been of the order of presbyters, yet anciently they were no more than deacons." Bingham, l. ii. c. 21. § 1. And such appears to have been the case with Hildebrand, who was not ordained presbyter until he had been elected pope. "The office of archdeacon," according to the author just quoted, l. c. § 3, was "always a place of great honour and reputation, for he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; and next to the bishop, the eyes of the whole Church were fixed upon him."

<sup>1</sup> Vita B. Petri Damiani per Joannem Monachum, c. xiv.—Damiani vita in histor. Ravennat. Hieronymi Rubei. lib. v.

feared to be drawn from the unremitting austerities of his retirement; and it was not until he was threatened by Stephen and his council with excommunication, that he consented to exchange the life of seclusion and self-denial which he lived, for the activity and notoriety of a more responsible situation<sup>1</sup>.

Had the days of Stephen been prolonged, his pontificate would probably have formed a remarkable æra in the history of ecclesiastical reformation. Nor would it, we may conceive, have been less important in its influence upon the political history of Europe. For the brother of Godfrey was naturally disposed to favour the ambitious projects of that crafty chieftain. And the vacancy in the imperial crown occasioned by Henry's death, together with the childhood of the young king Henry, its expectant possessor, might have suggested, to a less ambitious prince than Godfrey, the possibility of placing on his own head the yet unappropriated imperial diadem, which it rested with his brother formally to bestow. With a view, it is said, to the furtherance of this project, the pope, in the character, which he still retained, of abbot of Monte Cassino, commanded his reluctant monks to convey to him in secret their conventual treasure of gold and silver; promising them a speedy return of its amount, with presents in addition. But when,—the story continues,—he beheld the collected store which had been offered at their altars, he wept over it, and, unwilling to desecrate it, by employing it in the secular schemes which he meditated, he commanded its immediate restoration to the sanctuary to which it belonged<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vita P. Damiani, per Joan. Monach. l. c.—vita ejusdem per Joannem Antonium Flaminium.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 98.

But the dazzling prospect of imperial honours, if it in truth ever assumed a semblance of reality in Godfrey's eyes, was destined to be speedily dissipated. Stephen's health had long been feeble. The consciousness, indeed, of a premature decline, is said to have been one of the causes which led him to embrace the monastic life<sup>1</sup>; and the relinquishment of that life, for the cares and anxieties of the pontificate, was not likely to restore his drooping powers, or renovate his decaying frame. On the approach of winter<sup>2</sup> he removed from Rome, and spent that season in his former home at Monte Cassino. During its continuance<sup>3</sup> he became convinced that he had not much longer to live, and consequently procured the election of Desiderius, a man eminent for talent and virtue, as abbot in his place<sup>4</sup>. He returned, however, in February to Rome, and there assembling the most influential among the clergy and people, he adjured them in the most solemn manner, in the event of his death, to elect no pontiff without the advice and concurrence of Hildebrand<sup>5</sup>, who was then absent on a legation in Germany. He then moved<sup>6</sup> to Florence, to take perhaps a last farewell of his brother, and there it was that, on the 29th of March 1058, he breathed his last, after a short pontificate of about eight months<sup>7</sup>.

The determination of the better part of the Roman clergy and people, to redeem the pledge which they had

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1054.

<sup>2</sup> On St. Andrew's day. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>3</sup> Circa ipsam Natalis Domini festivitatem. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. ix.

<sup>5</sup> Leo Ostiens. Petr. Damian. ep. iii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 10th Feb. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>7</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Leo Ostiens.

given, and to take no step toward an election until Hildebrand should return from the German court, gave an opportunity to the factious barons of the Campagna, and to their adherents in Rome, to recur to the violent practices of former times. Suddenly, and by night, the count of Tusculum and other nobles appeared, at the head of an armed band of followers, within the city, occupied the church of St. Peter, and presided over the tumultuous mockery of an election, by which their simple and ignorant creature, John, bishop of Velletri, was chosen to the papal see by the name of Benedict X.<sup>1</sup>

But the cry of indignation, excited by this disgraceful proceeding, was loud and universal. Peter Damiani, and the other bishops of the province of Rome, were vehement in their opposition to its perpetration, and in their denunciations against its perpetrators. To Damiani, as bishop of Ostia, it belonged, to act as metropolitan of that province during the vacancy of the papal see, and in that capacity to consecrate or confirm the destined successor of St. Peter. But he, of course, indignantly refused his countenance and assistance to the ratification of such an election as this; and the supporters of the intruder were forced to content themselves with an irregular, uncanonical ceremony, performed,—since no bishop was to be procured,—by the unlettered archpriest of the diocese over which Damiani presided<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Leo Ostiens.—Homo stolidus, deses, ac nullius ingenii. Damiani Epist. ad Henricum Archiep. Ravennatem, lib. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Presbyter Ostiensis Ecclesiæ, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere.—Ibid. The heading of this epistle in some editions, by which it is made to refer to a subsequent transaction, is evidently erroneous.

Accounts of this disastrous event were soon spread abroad, and they no sooner reached the ears of the Empress Agnes and of Hildebrand, than these two illustrious personages saw alike the necessity of taking measures in concert,—of selecting, without delay, a worthier occupant for the papal chair than the intruding prelate,—and of supporting the claims of the object of their choice, by the full weight of the sovereign authority. The question between imperial nomination and papal independence could scarcely be mooted on an occasion like this, when it seemed likely that the authority of the crown and the privileges of the papal see might both be appealed to in vain, against the lawless occupation of the chair of St. Peter, by the nominee of an unprincipled oligarchy.

For Agnes, at the moment, was surrounded by difficulties and troubles. The discontented spirit of the Saxon race has been already adverted to. With several of their chiefs, private causes of complaint added bitterness to the animosity generally felt toward the Franconian line; and so alarming, in the spring of 1057, became the aspect of the province, that the empress found it necessary to summon a council to be holden at Merseburg, within the limits of the Saxon territory, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul<sup>1</sup>; and to take the young king thither with a strong escort, for the purpose of restoring peace, and of asserting the royal authority. The head of the Saxon malcontents was Otho of Nordmark, a nobleman who, having seen a fief, which he considered his birthright, given to another<sup>2</sup>, had persuaded several of his brother chiefs not only to assist him

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo ad an. 1056.—Lamb. Schafnab.

in its recovery, but to raise him to the throne itself, and to compass, for that purpose, the destruction of the young prince who at the moment occupied it. Henry's authority, therefore, and life were alike in peril. But it happened that, as Otho was riding, at the head of his armed followers, toward Merseburg, he was met by Bruno and Ecbert, the king's cousins, who were also accompanied by their vassals. So fierce was the animosity between these chiefs and the Saxon noble, that they no sooner saw each other, than they rushed into combat; and Bruno and Otho, charging with a fury which rendered them forgetful of self-defence, fell almost instantly by each other's hand<sup>1</sup>.

This event, by depriving the Saxon insurgents of their intended leader, disconcerted their plans, and the council of Merseburg concluded its session in tranquillity. But their hostility to Henry's government, was only increased by the necessity, thus imposed on them, of checking its expression; and the scarce-stifled rebellion might be expected, on the first favourable moment, to burst into a flame.

In southern Germany, it is true, no danger existed on so formidable a scale; yet even here the imperial government was beset with difficulties and distractions. The presence of Victor had produced but a momentary suspension of the feuds and discords, which divided the haughty Teutonic nobles from each other; and a constant source of new dissensions among them, existed in the rivalry with which they sought, of their sovereign, the great ducal fiefs of the crown, as these became vacant by the death of their holders. Calculating upon the speedy death of Otho, who held the duchy of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. Annalista Saxo.

Swabia, Henry III. had promised that fief, in reversion, to Count Berthold of Zähringen, and given the count his ring in token of the promise<sup>1</sup>. But Otho did not die till the year after the decease of his sovereign; and when Berthold presented himself before Agnes with the ring, he found the fief already bestowed upon Count Rudolf of Rheinfeld<sup>2</sup>. The latter chief, for the purpose of enforcing his claims, had possessed himself of the person of the young princess Matilda, the late emperor's daughter, then eleven years old, and demanded of Agnes her consent to his future marriage with her<sup>3</sup>. And the empress, unable to refuse, and ignorant of Henry's promise to Berthold, bestowed on Rudolf the duchy of Swabia, and endeavoured to make a firm friend of one, thus determined to be her son-in-law, by entrusting him also with the government of Burgundy; a province, the administration of which her husband had always kept in his own hand. Berthold, though he was subsequently invested with the duchy of Carinthia, was naturally embittered against the imperial house by this apparent breach of faith. And in Rudolf, —as the young princess Matilda died before she arrived at a marriageable age—the empress was aggrandizing one destined to prove, to her royal son, not an affectionate brother, but a formidable enemy.

Under these circumstances, unable to send a German armament into Italy, it was to the arms of Godfrey alone, that the empress could look for the maintenance of the imperial authority in that country, and for the liberation of the papal city from the grasp of the Tusculan intruder. And this was probably the cause

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Lamb. Schaf.



which led to the selection of the able and pious Gerard, the bishop of the Tuscan capital, Florence, as the future pontiff<sup>1</sup>. This prelate was accordingly demanded, in form, of the youthful king; and at the same time, by Hildebrand's arrangement, elected pope, by those of the Roman clergy and people who had fled from the domination of the intruder, at Sienna, on the 28th of December 1058<sup>2</sup>. And he then set forward, under Godfrey's escort, for the seat of his pontifical authority. Halting, on his way, at Sutri, he there, in the presence of Godfrey, and of Guibert the imperial chancellor of Italy, held a council of the prelates of Lombardy and Tuscany<sup>3</sup>; before which the intruder was formally summoned to appear. But that unhappy man, deserted by his adherents,—whom the name of Godfrey inspired with dismay,—no sooner received the message, than he fled in haste from the scene of his usurpation, and left it free for his rival<sup>4</sup>. And Gerard, happy to be thus spared the necessity of making his way into Rome by force, entered that city unattended by soldiers<sup>5</sup>, and was forthwith, peaceably and canonically, installed in the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Nicholas II.<sup>6</sup> Nor had many days elapsed after this ceremony, when his late rival, throwing himself at his feet, confessed the greatness of his guilt, and prayed for absolution. Nicholas granted the boon, but deprived him of his episcopal and sacerdotal rank; and he spent the remainder of his days insignificant and forgotten<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1061.

<sup>4</sup> Card. Aragon.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>6</sup> Between the 8th and 18th of January 1059. Vid. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>7</sup> Bonizo.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. iii.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER V.

FROM A.D. 1059 TO A.D. 1061.

CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE PAPACY—COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN, AND DECREE OF NICHOLAS II. RELATIVE TO PONTIFICAL ELECTIONS—ACCOMMODATION WITH THE NORMANS—OVERTHROW OF THE ROMAN NOBLES—AFFAIRS OF MILAN—MISSION TO THAT CITY OF DAMIANI AND ANSELM DA BADAGIO—MISSION OF ALDRED ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND OTHER PRELATES TO ROME—DISSATISFACTION OF THE IMPERIAL COURT WITH THE DECREE OF ELECTIONS—DEATH OF NICHOLAS II.

HAPPILY as the usurpation of this intruding bishop had been overcome, the situation of the papacy, when Nicholas assumed its administration, was by no means such as to inspire its supporters with sanguine expectations of its continued independence and security. The imperial power, though at present in abeyance, might soon arise to strength again, and re-assert its former privilege of despotic control. And recent events, on the other hand, had shown, that the weakness of that power might lead to disasters yet more fearful, than were to be apprehended from even its most vigorous exertion. Unsuccessful as the late outrage had ultimately proved, its temporary success sufficiently showed the probability of its recurrence. Every new pontifical election would afford an opportunity for a similar attempt; and even if none were actually made, it was vain to hope that the Roman authorities would act with a substantial independence, while aware that bands of licentious

warriors might, at any moment, be poured into the city from Tusculum,—from Palestrina,—or from Nomento,—to nullify the legitimate proceedings of the conclave, and to seat a creature of their tyrannical masters upon the apostolic chair.

In the north of Italy, meanwhile, a formidable opposition was organizing itself to the austere and reforming policy of the Lateran. The Lombard clergy had been more completely involved in the general corruption of the last years, than their brethren of any other Italian district. When therefore, through the systematic and energetic measures of Leo and his successors, the reformation, previously looked on by many as a mere speculative notion, began to assume in their eyes the semblance of a reality, they were seized with surprise and alarm, and prepared to resist with all their force its further progress. And the jealousy with which they were wont to uphold the dignity of their metropolitan Church of Milan—a Church which, glorying in the renown of her great pastor, the holy Ambrose, was loth to acknowledge an inferiority to her Roman sister,—supplied them with an additional motive for opposing the course of any policy, which avowedly emanated from the papal city.

The warriors, too, of the south, had become estranged and hostile.—The Norman sovereignty of William de Hauteville, shared for a while between that chief's surviving brothers, Humphrey and Robert, fell, on Humphrey's death, to Robert alone. This intrepid and sagacious chief—best known by his honorary surname of Guiscard<sup>1</sup>—was now the lord of Apulia and Calabria, and daily menaced with further

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* The wise one—a name akin to the, now contemptuous, term, "wiseacre."

encroachments the feeble Catapans of Greece; who were barely able to defend from his arms the Capitanate, with the territories of Bari and Otranto. The Lombard principality of Capua had fallen into the hands of another Norman chief, who maintained himself there as an independent count; but the cities of Salerno and Amalfi, and the state of Benevento, continued for a while to assert a precarious liberty. In Victor, the Normans had beheld a representative of the imperial policy and power,—ever objects of their dread; while in Stephen they had suspected a participator in the plans and machinations of the intriguing Godfrey, who was known to be anxious to compass their downfall. Nicholas therefore, who might be said to come as the nominee of Agnes and of the Tuscan duke together, could not expect to be regarded with impressions more favourable. And, as it might be a doubtful point with that crafty people, whether more was gained by a recognition of the papal suzerainty, than was lost by the restrictions to the indefinite extension of their empire, which that recognition implied, it was by no means clear,—however Nicholas might seek to conciliate them,—that the connexion formed with them by Leo could now be renewed.

The new pontiff, however, who, like his predecessors, honoured Hildebrand with the highest degree of confidence and respect, proceeded, under the guidance of that sagacious adviser, to meet, as best he might, the exigencies of the time. First and foremost, presented itself the necessity of guarding against such tumultuous proceedings as had recently occurred, by defining the characteristics of a valid pontifical election. In that necessity, Hildebrand and his party saw an opportunity of straitening, as far as legal enactments could straiten it, the influence exercised on such occasions by the

imperial power; and endeavoured to avail themselves of that opportunity to the utmost extent. But the interests of the court were, on the other hand, ably supported by the imperial chancellor, Guibert; and the course pursued bore, consequently, in some degree the character of a compromise.

One hundred and thirteen prelates, in consequence of the summons of Nicholas II., assembled in council in the Lateran, on the 13th of April, 1059<sup>1</sup>. After passing several canons, of a tenour similar to those by which Leo IX. and others had attempted to restore the purity of the Church, they adopted, with regard to the election of its chief pastors, a memorable decree, to the following purport<sup>2</sup>:—"We decree and appoint, that, "on the death of the present pontiff of the universal "Roman Church, the cardinals<sup>3</sup> shall in the first place,

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1061. Damiani Opusc. xxx. c. i.

<sup>2</sup> Two ancient versions of this decree are extant: the translation in the text is made from that which appears the oldest, which is given in the Chronicon Farfense ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Scriptt. t. ii. pt. ii. and in Udalric Babenberg. Cod. Epistol. No. 9. with the exception of a few words taken from the other version (that in Hugon. Floriacens. Tractat. ap. Baluz. Miscellan. ed. Mansi. t. ii. p. 196,) the corresponding passage in the former version seeming to be imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> According to an account of the Roman Church in 1057, given by Baronius "ex antiquo codice," its constitution was then as follows:

The seven Cardinal Bishops (those of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, or Silva Candida, Alba, Sabina, Tusculum, and Præneste. Vid. Cantel. de Metropolit. urb. hist. pt. ii. diss. 5) were attached to the Church of the Lateran.

Of the twenty-eight Cardinal Presbyters,—

Seven belonged to Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Seven „ St. Peter's.

Seven „ St. Paul's.

Seven „ St. Laurence without the walls.

The Deacons were eighteen in number; six styled Palatini, and twelve Regionarii.

The Subdeacons were in number twenty-one; seven Regionarii,

“ weighing the subject with the most serious consider-  
“ ation, proceed to a new election ; regard being had to  
“ the honour and reverence due to our dearly beloved  
“ son Henry, who is now styled king, and who, it is  
“ hoped, will hereafter, by the gift of God, become  
“ emperor ; according to the grace which, on the medi-  
“ ation of his chancellor Guibert, we have granted to  
“ him, and to his successors, who shall have obtained  
“ a like privilege from the apostolic see. Taking all  
“ precautions that the pest of simony do not contami-  
“ nate their proceedings, let religious men, together  
“ with our most serene son Henry, take the lead  
“ in conducting the pontifical election ; and let other  
“ persons follow their guidance.

“ If any of her members be found worthy of the  
“ honour, let the choice be made from the Church of  
“ Rome<sup>1</sup> herself ; but, if not, let a worthy person be  
“ taken from any other Church. Should the perverse-  
“ ness of depraved and impious men have so far pre-  
“ vailed, as that a fair, honest, and uncorrupt election  
“ cannot take place in Rome, let the cardinal bishops,  
“ with the religious clergy and catholic laymen<sup>2</sup>, few as

seven Palatini, and seven others who formed what was called Schola Cantorum.

There were twenty-two abbeys in the city. And in addition to the seven collateral bishops, as the above mentioned were called, sixty-two prelates of Italy were considered suffragans of the Roman patriarch, being subject to no other metropolitan. These were frequently called in to assist in synods.

With respect to the title “ Cardinal ” itself, see Muratori de Cardinalium institutione dissertat. in Antiquitat. Italiæ medii ævi, t. v. p. 153, et seqq. See also Thomassin. vetus et nov. eccl. discip. pt. i. lib. ii. cap. cxv.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. of the Roman province.

<sup>2</sup> These last few words are inserted from the version of Hugo. Floriac.

“ they may be, receive the power of electing a pastor  
“ for the apostolic see wherever, in concert with our  
“ most invincible king, they may deem it convenient.  
“ And if, when the election shall have been made, the  
“ storms of war, or violence of malignant men, shall  
“ render impracticable the customary enthronization in  
“ the papal chair, the person elected shall nevertheless  
“ enjoy, as a true pope, full power of exercising the  
“ government of the Roman Church and of administer-  
“ ing her affairs.”

This most important enactment was subscribed,—the pontiff himself having first set his name to it,—by about seventy prelates or other ecclesiastics, among whom were Hildebrand and Peter Damiani<sup>1</sup>. And though the imperial right of interference was, in it, set forth in a way which their party found, in subsequent years, inconvenient; there can be no doubt that, as compared with her past state, the tendency of such an enactment was to raise the Church to a state of considerable independence as well as security. The populace, who had so often, in a capricious and tumultuary manner, controlled the proceedings of election, were prohibited from all interference with those proceedings until their last stage, and were then only to be permitted to interfere by an approval or disapproval of the candidates presented them. It was put out of the power of the nobles to give again, to an intruding nominee, the semblance of title, by a mock election. And in the emperors, who had learned to regard the power of nomination as their own, the sole right recognized was that of concurring in the election, and of sanctioning, by their approval, the choice of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1066.

prelates, clergy, and people. And the compliment itself, which was paid to the imperial crown, in the person of the youthful Henry, was so worded as, in opposition to the claims recently put forth and exercised by the sovereign, to assert the principle, that the crown was itself a boon to be given or withheld according to the good pleasure of the apostolic see. The clear tendency of the decree was, in short, to throw the whole power of election into the hands of the college of cardinals. But what was to be the fate of the decree itself; whether, systematically acknowledged and acted upon as occasion should require, it was to become an operative reality; or whether, overruled by imperial power, or trampled down by aristocratic or popular violence, it was to remain a mere empty demonstration, and to produce no perceptible effect upon the history of the world, was a question, the solution of which was yet in the hand of time.

The event which immediately led to a settlement of the question between the papacy and the Normans, was Guiscard's conquest and occupation of Troia, a city of the Capitanate, which,—though it had been long in the possession of the Grecian crown,—the popes, it appears, ever considered a rightful appanage to the patrimony of St. Peter. Nicholas, therefore, demanded of the conqueror, that the place should be surrendered to his authority; and, upon Robert's refusal to comply with the request, he threatened the haughty chief with the solemn denunciation of the Church. Bold as he was, Robert had not nerve to face the promulgation of such a sentence. He despatched an embassy to Rome, and endeavoured to bring about an accommodation; and the pope, who, like his adviser Hildebrand, saw the expediency of attaching the Nor-



mans firmly to the holy see, and the danger of continuing in a state of hostility with that formidable people, announced his intention of holding a council at Melfi, the central point of the Norman dominions, where Robert might himself appear, and where all matters in discussion between them might be amicably and definitively settled; while, at the same time, the benefits of the great ecclesiastical reformation in progress, might be extended to those outlying, and, till then, neglected regions<sup>1</sup>.

The council was holden accordingly<sup>2</sup>; the pope availed himself of the favourable position in which he stood, to enforce among the luxurious and irregular clergy of southern Italy, an attention to the canons,—against clerical marriage and other forbidden practices,—which had so frequently been promulgated in other districts. And,—with regard to the main object of the meeting,—the reconciliation, which both parties were alike desirous to make, was not long deferred<sup>3</sup>. Robert Guiscard was declared at peace with the Church, and acknowledged;—now that he scorned the humbler style of Count,—by the title of Duke of Apulia<sup>4</sup>. The pope consented to grant, and Robert to hold, all conquests which the latter had previously made, or should thenceforward make, in Italy, together with all such territories

<sup>1</sup> Namque sacerdotes, Levitæ, clericus omnis hâc regione palam se conjugio sociabant . . . vocat hos, et præcipit esse Ecclesiæ sponso, quia non est jure sacerdos luxuriæ cultor; sic extirpavit ab illis partibus uxores omnino presbyterorum.—Gul. Appul. ap. Murator. t. v. p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. iii. xiii.—Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1067.

<sup>3</sup> Card. de Aragon. in Vita Nic. II. Murator. t. v.

<sup>4</sup> “Robertum donat Nicholaus honore ducali.” Gul. Appul. ap. Murator. t. v. p. 262.

in Sicily as he might be able to wrest from the Saracen arms, as fiefs, under the paramount lordship of the holy see; and under the annual tribute of twelve pence of Pavia, for every couple of oxen in the Norman chief's dominions<sup>1</sup>. In token of this arrangement, Guiscard received from the hands of Nicholas a consecrated banner, and pledged himself as follows:

“ I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, by like grace, hereafter of Sicily, will from this hour be a true vassal to the holy Church of Rome, and to thee, Pope Nicholas, my lord. In the counsel or in the act whereby thy life or liberty shall be endangered, will I not share; the secret which thou shalt have confided to my keeping, I will never, knowingly, reveal to thy hurt; I will stedfastly assist the Roman Church in the protection and extension of the royalties and possessions of St. Peter, to the best of my power, against all men; and I will support thee in the safe and honourable possession of the Roman papacy, of its territory, and of its privileges. No future expedition or acquisition will I make without the consent of thee or of thy successors. All Churches in my dominions I put, with their possessions, into thy power; and I will consider the defence of them an obligation resulting from my fealty to the Church of Rome. And shouldst thou, or any of thy successors, depart this life before me, I, under the directions of the better-disposed cardinals, the clergy, and the people of Rome, will do my best to secure the election and ordination of a pontiff to the honour of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> *Per singula boum paria denarios duodecim.*—Leo Ostiens. iii. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Borgia Breve Istoria del Dominio Temporale*, app. No. iii. p. 23. A shorter version is given by Baronius, “*ex antiquo codice.*”

The council then broke up; and Nicholas at once availed himself of the fealty, thus purchased, of his powerful vassal. At the pontiff's desire, Robert led his warriors on an expedition against the strong-holds of those tyrannical nobles, whose power had been so long the scourge of Rome. One by one, they yielded to his prowess; the bulwarks of Tusculum,—Palestrina, Nomento,—and Galeria, were in succession razed to the ground; he demolished all baronial strong-holds as far northward as Sutri<sup>1</sup>; and the tyranny, which their domineering possessors had so often exercised over the papal city, was put an end to for ever.

Nor, in the mean time, was the critical state of the Lombard Church overlooked by Nicholas or his advisers. The pride, with which the Milanese clergy in general asserted the dignity of the Church of St. Ambrose, has been adverted to. But the reforming movements at Rome had so far extended themselves to their city, as to give birth to a party within its walls, who boldly set themselves against the prevailing laxity of doctrine and practice. At the head of this party stood the deacon Ariald, a man well versed in theology and in the literature of his time, who with much fire and eloquence, though, it would appear, with indecent boldness, was wont to harangue in public against the dissolute and irregular manners of his clerical brethren. These naturally sought to silence an orator so obnoxious, by all means in their power; but Ariald was supported by Landulf, an ecclesiastic of powerful connexions in the place, who participated in his sentiments<sup>2</sup>, and was thus enabled to persevere in his

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo—Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. l. iii. c. viii.—Landulph. senior. Mediol. Hist. l. iii. c. iv.

attacks. And as the crime of simony, as well as the practice, reputed criminal, of clerical marriage was notoriously prevalent in the Lombard capital<sup>1</sup>, the objects of Ariald's invectives were unable to reply to them. The feeling, too, which ever disposes a populace to listen with avidity to charges against their spiritual rulers, was an aid, it seems, of which Ariald did not fail to avail himself. Inflamed by his discourses, the people learned to treat their prelate and his clergy with open manifestations of contempt; they reviled them in the house of God itself, and hooted them along the streets.

Unable, of themselves, to devise a remedy for this menacing state of things, the Milanese clergy applied for advice to Stephen IX., and, by his recommendation, founded, it is probable, upon an imperfect acquaintance with the circumstances, their archbishop, Guido,—a prelate so deeply polluted with the corruption of the times, that he is said to have invariably demanded a price for the favour of admission into holy orders,—convened a council at Fontaeto<sup>2</sup>, before which Ariald and his friend Landulf were summoned to appear. But, anticipating the verdict of an assembly convened under such auspices, they paid no attention to the sum-

<sup>1</sup> See with regard to simony, Glaber Rodolph. v. c. 5. Vid. Bonizo, p. 799. With regard to marriage, it was maintained by the Milanese clergy that St. Ambrose had given to members of the body the permission to marry once with a virgin. Vid. Joannis Petri Puricelli Dissertatio utrum S. Ambros. clero suo Mediolan. permisit ut virgini nubere semel posset, ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Scriptt. t. iv. p. 121. The really ancient custom of Milan was, it would seem, the same with that of the Greek Church, "ut liceat uti uxore ante ordinem ductâ."

<sup>2</sup> Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. l. iii. c. xi.

mons, and were consequently, by the archbishop and his assessors, declared excommunicate.

Ariald, upon this, proceeded with all speed to Rome<sup>1</sup>, and laid his own statement of the case before Stephen, who, having thus a more complete view of it than he had derived from the garbled representations of the licentious clergy, declared the sentence null; and felt the necessity of interfering, with the full weight of the pontifical power, to correct the vices, and repress the disorders, of the Church of Lombardy.

But this task, through the early death of Stephen, devolved upon his successor, to whom it presented itself, fraught with much additional difficulty, in consequence of the long vacancy of the papal see. Nicholas, however, resolutely undertook it. Peter Damiani, whose indignation the excesses of the Lombard clergy had kindled to the highest degree, was charged with the commission of asserting the papal authority in Milan; Anselm da Badagio, bishop of Lucca, a man of an amiable but less energetic character, being associated with him in the legation<sup>2</sup>. Making their appearance in the long-disturbed city, these envoys found the archbishop and his clergy, however hostile in secret to their coming, prepared to acknowledge their authority, and to receive them with every outward mark and sign of deference. But the populace, moved perhaps by the secret instigations of their pastors, soon showed,—disposed as they might be themselves to ridicule or revile these careless guides,—that they were keenly jealous of the assumed independence of their native Church, and viewed with suspicion any papal interference with the

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph.

<sup>2</sup> Cantel. Metrop. urb. Inst. pt. i. diss. i.

proceedings of its governors. In tumultuous throngs they filled the streets, and entered the building in which the legates had convened the clerical body of the place. And their wrath was greatly increased, when they there beheld Damiani, as chief legate, after himself assuming the principal seat of honour, place his colleague Anselm on his right, and their archbishop Guido on his left <sup>1</sup>. Loud murmurs filled the place at this seeming slight to their pastor; murmurs which that prelate artfully contrived to augment, by saying, with apparent humility, that he was in no way offended by this arrangement,—but that he would sit, if commanded by the legates so to do, on a stool <sup>2</sup> before their feet. The discontent at length broke out into open tumult,—the populace uttered wild cries of vengeance against the presumptuous legate, who had dared thus to insult the successor of St. Ambrose:—the clergy, eager to augment the fray, rang the alarm-bell in the various churches of the city;—the confusion increased,—and even the life of Damiani was apparently in danger <sup>3</sup>. But that bold and high-spirited man was equal to the crisis; ascending a pulpit, he showed himself prepared to address the tumultuous multitude. His dauntless bearing awed them to silence, and he was heard with attention while, with dignity, and with all the eloquence which distinguished him, he set forth the claims which the mother Church of Rome possessed on the dutiful obedience of her daughter, the Church of Milan. He cited instances in which St. Ambrose himself had appealed to the protection of the Roman prelate, and acknowledged his pre-eminence.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani Act. Mediolanens. Opuscul. v.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Intentabant mihi, ut ita loquar, omnia mortem, et, ut ab amicis meis sæpe suggestum est, nonnulli meum sanguinem sitiiebant. Ibid.

“Search,” he concluded, “your own records, and if ye find not there that what we say is the truth, expose our falsehood. But if ye find us true, resist not the truth, resist not undutifully the voice of your mother; but from her from whom ye first drew in the milk of apostolic faith, receive with gratitude the more solid meat of heavenly doctrine.”

This appeal, and the legate's fearless demeanour, produced a sudden turn in the feelings of his hearers. The archbishop, too, felt it necessary now to rise, and to request his people, to suffer the skilful physician who had just addressed them, to do his best toward healing their spiritual sickness. The populace retired, soothed and tranquil, and the clergy offered no further opposition to the legatine authority. On Peter's demand, their whole body, with the archbishop at their head, agreed to pledge themselves by a solemn vow against simony and clerical marriage. Ariald took the oath among them; and Peter, thus successful in his mission, pronounced in his official character the reconciliation of Milan to the apostolic see<sup>1</sup>.

Before a council holden, about this time, by Nicholas, at Rome, appeared an embassy from our English sovereign, Edward the Confessor, charged with the commission to obtain the pope's approval of the new arrangements, with regard to the tribute to the holy see, which the monarch had introduced into his dominions, and a confirmation, by the same authority, of the exemptions and privileges which Edward had requested for his restored and beautified abbey of Westminster<sup>2</sup>. The embassy consisted of Aldred, arch-

<sup>1</sup> Act. Mediolanens. ut supra.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Chart. III. Regis Edwardi Confessoris Ecclesie Sti Petri Westmonast. confect. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1153.

bishop of York, of the bishops of Wells and Hereford, and of Tosti, earl of Northumberland. Aldred, in addition to the other objects of the mission, had undertaken the journey for the purpose of obtaining from Nicholas the pall, or vestment of archiepiscopal dignity, which could, according to the usage of the times, be conferred by the pope alone. But this, Nicholas, in the present instance, declined to confer. He had, it seems, various causes of complaint against the archbishop; one of which was, that Aldred, though called on to do so, refused to resign his former bishopric of Worcester. And the discussion of these matters, so irritated Aldred and his companion, the Earl Tosti, that they left Rome suddenly, with the threat, that no more English tribute should ever reach the apostolic threshold. An accident, however, brought about a speedy accommodation of this quarrel. On their return, these travellers, being attacked and despoiled by the followers of the rapacious Count of Galeria, one of the nobles, whose strong-holds the Normans had destroyed<sup>1</sup>, were driven back, stripped of all but their garments, to Rome. Nicholas, as might have been expected, received them with all kindness and hospitality, supplied their necessities, and put them in a condition to recommence their journey; excommunicating, at the same time, the profligate noble who had been the cause of their misfortune. And the discussion, resumed, under these circumstances, on a more friendly footing, was soon brought to a satisfactory termination. Aldred, promising to resign his former see, was regularly invested with the pall, and then, the other objects

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani Disceptat. in Concil. Osbor. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1133.



of the mission having been accomplished, returned with his companions to England<sup>1</sup>.

Notwithstanding the homage paid to Henry's name in the late decree relating to papal elections, the imperial court was naturally startled by the general tenor of its enactments. And the measure became doubly suspicious to Agnes and to her advisers, when viewed in connexion with the line of policy adopted by Nicholas, in his renewal of the alliance with the Normans. Her first impulse was to declare the decree irregular, and to demand its formal abrogation. But, surrounded as the empress was with difficulties, she was not able to give to any of her measures the character of promptitude; and when, in 1060, a council of the empire had been summoned at Worms, probably for the purpose of carrying the above resolution into effect, the general prevalence of an epidemic disease in Germany compelled her to postpone its meeting<sup>2</sup>. And before any subsequent steps of a definite character could be taken by her, a new importance was given to the question, by the death of Nicholas, who expired, at Florence, on the 22d of July 1061<sup>3</sup>; leaving behind him the elements of a struggle, between the court and the Church, more obstinate than any which the times, as yet, had witnessed.

<sup>1</sup> Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis Pontiff. p. 153, edit. Savil. Sed vide vitam S. Wulstani, ejusdem auctoris, ap. Mabillon. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedict. Sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 828, et Pagi, in Baron. ad an. 1059.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 541.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1061 TO A. D. 1062.

VIEWS OF OPPOSITE PARTIES—TITLE OF PATRICIAN OFFERED TO HENRY IV. BY THE ROMAN NOBLES—MISSION OF THE CARDINAL STEPHEN TO THE EMPRESS—HIS TREATMENT—ELECTION, AT ROME, OF ALEXANDER II., AND AT BASIL, OF THE ANTIPOPE CADALOUS—EPISTLE OF DAMIANI TO THE LATTER—MARCH OF CADALOUS TOWARD ROME—BENZO'S MISSION THITHER—BATTLE NEAR THAT CITY—INTERFERENCE OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE—RETIREMENT OF BOTH COMPETITORS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES—DISCONTENTS OF THE GERMAN NOBLES—ABDUCTION OF HENRY IV. FROM HIS MOTHER—ADMINISTRATION OF ARCHBISHOP HANNO—DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF OSBOR AGAINST THE PRETENSIONS OF CADALOUS.

In their connexion with the Normans, Hildebrand and his friends had a support which formed a considerable counterpoise to the disfavour of the court. Godfrey too, reconciled as he was in appearance to his sovereign, was supposed still to remember his old injuries, and to be by no means favourable to the extension of imperial influence in Italy. Those, therefore, by whose counsels the decree of Nicholas, relative to elections, had been framed, now felt themselves strong enough to carry it into execution, and to select a successor to the deceased pontiff by the deliberation of the college of cardinals. They were prepared, according to the tenor of the same decree, to act in some measure under the sanction and authority of the imperial name; but they were by no means disposed to accept a mere nominee of Agnes or of her advisers. But the empress, as we have seen, was not prepared to be content with this qualified homage to the sovereign authority. And

her inclination to maintain the fulness of imperial privilege, was strengthened by her knowledge of the force, moral and physical, which was ready in many quarters to array itself on her side. Guibert, her chancellor in Italy, formed the secret centre of a powerful party spread throughout that country, whose movements were more openly directed by the cardinal presbyter, Hugo Candidus. This person, a countryman of Leo IX., had been promoted by that pontiff to his station in the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>. With great abilities, he possessed yet greater ambition; and finding, that in a party controlled, as was that of the papalists, by Hildebrand, he could attain but a secondary rank, he had transferred his services to the side of the upholders of the imperial prerogative. And of these he soon became the ostensible head<sup>2</sup>, though the talents and station of Guibert always preserved to him, in reality, the paramount authority.

In Rome itself, a party had always existed who were friendly to the unrestricted power of the crown—a numerous body, too, of ecclesiastics, had been startled by the increasing weight and influence of a party, so strict and uncompromising in their reforms, as was that of Hildebrand and Peter Damiani; and found, in the turbulent and licentious spirits with whom the city abounded, ready and willing allies in the cause of continued laxity. One of these latter, who bore the name of Cencius,—being offended, that the office of prefect, which had been filled by his father, had not been, on that father's death, bestowed upon himself,—occupied, with his licentious retainers, the strong-hold, well known as the castle of St. Angelo; and thence subjected the Roman citizens to systematic plunder, de-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 807.

manding a toll from all who crossed the neighbouring bridge over the Tiber. And so feeble, even in its own city, were the hands of the papal government, that Nicholas was forced to submit to the affront; and to content himself with pronouncing against the offender the censures of the Church.

The Campanian nobles, still resentful at the affront which had been inflicted on them by the Norman sword, were eager, by the aid of the imperial power, to humble the obnoxious party, which had so signally revenged itself upon them. The excommunicate count of Galeria set out, in the name of his order, and of the Roman people in general, for Germany<sup>1</sup>; and laying before the king the golden circlet and other ensigns of the patrician dignity, besought him to vindicate for himself the power and privileges of his ancestors. The bishops, meanwhile, of Lombardy, rejoicing in their liberation from the yoke which Nicholas had imposed upon them, met in council, and resolved to acknowledge, as pope, none but a Lombard, on whom they might depend to sanction or connive at the irregularities in which they continued to indulge. And the notification of this determination to Agnes sufficiently showed her, that by appointing a pontiff from the district in question, she might secure the co-operation of the Church of northern Italy, on his behalf, in opposition to the ecclesiastics of Rome, and in contravention of the decree of Nicholas. The empress could also reckon, in the event of a struggle, on the moral power of precedent;—on the historical associations which gave to the sovereign, in the eyes of the existing generation, a

<sup>1</sup> Damiani disceptat. synodal. Opusc. iv.—Berthold. Constant. ad an. 1061.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.

prescriptive right to the supreme control in papal elections;—as well as on that aversion to the exercise of independent power by the Church's governors, in virtue of their station in the Christian theocracy, which is but too natural, in all ages, to the human heart. Her party, so to call it, was therefore far more numerous than that which acted, at the present crisis, in support of Hildebrand and his coadjutors. The latter, however, possessed the countervailing advantage of being keener in the cause, better organized, and more united. The imperialists acted as the defenders of things existing, and such are rarely found to contend with the zeal which characterizes assailants. Their numbers, too, were composed of masses really hostile to each other's interests, however conjoined for the moment. And they were far less aware than their opponents, of the real importance of the question now to be tried: they fought, as the struggle developed itself, for the immediate recognition of an individual pope; the papalists, for the permanent establishment of an ecclesiastical principle.

The first step taken by Hildebrand and his party, on the death of Nicholas, was the mission of the presbyter Stephen, a respected member of the college of cardinals, to the imperial court, for the purpose of sounding the intentions of the empress, and of procuring, if possible, her acquiescence in their projected course. But Agnes, when Stephen arrived, had already decided on an opposite line of conduct; and the ecclesiastical envoy was refused admittance to her presence. He remained five days in her court, imploring this favour in vain<sup>1</sup>; and then felt it his duty to return to the papal city with the tidings of his failure; when Hildebrand and his

<sup>1</sup> Damiani disceptatio synodalis. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1130.

friends perceived that all hope of compromise was at an end. The contempt with which their envoy had been treated created a strong feeling in the breasts of the Roman clergy, and strengthened the minds of the irresolute among them for a decisive measure. The more determined availed themselves of the advantage, and summoned the college of cardinals, for the election of a pope, on the 1st Oct. 1061<sup>1</sup>. The privileges, whatever they were intended to be, which the decree of Nicholas had recognized in the youthful Henry, were tacitly waived; in all other respects, the proceedings were conducted in strict conformity to the provisions of that enactment; and the choice of the assembly fell upon Anselm da Badagio, who has been already mentioned as Damiani's colleague in the mission to Milan. Anselm was immediately enthroned in form as Alexander II.<sup>2</sup>; and one of his first acts was the nomination of Hildebrand to be chancellor of the apostolic see.

Agnes had, in the mean time, summoned the prelates and nobles of her empire to a council, to be holden at Basil, on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28<sup>3</sup>). By that day, intelligence had arrived of Alexander's election, and the whole court was indignant at this supposed rebellious transaction. It was, of course, unanimously voted null; and the meeting, at the suggestion of Guibert, proceeded to elect to the seat of St. Peter, Cadalous, bishop of Parma<sup>4</sup>. This nominee is described, by his opponents, the papal writers, as a man

<sup>1</sup> Damiani disceptat.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. III. xxi. For the imperialist version of this transaction, see Benzo, panegyric. in Henric. III. (IV.) Imp. lib. vii. c. 2, in Menckenii Scriptt. t. i. p. 1063.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1117.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ost. III. xxi.—Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Sigeb. Gembl.

of depraved manners and profligate character<sup>1</sup>; and, though we must make great allowance for the hasty expressions of irritated partisans, it must be recollected, that the step taken by the Lombard clergy almost compelled the empress to fix her choice upon a prelate acceptable to the lax and simoniacal party in the Church<sup>2</sup>; though it is not probable that she would select any whose reputation had been publicly blasted. Cadalous does not seem to have possessed any remarkable abilities; and this circumstance was not, perhaps, forgotten by Guibert when he suggested the name of that prelate to his imperial mistress. The crafty chancellor, in all probability, wanted a pope who should be the tool of his party, and not its leader. And most unfortunate was it for the amiable and well-meaning princess who held the reins of empire, that, influenced by advisers and connexions like these, she was induced to amalgamate the cause of her son with that of one unfitted by personal qualifications for the papal office, and at the same time pledged to degrade that office by exerting its influence in support of lawlessness and corruption.

The Roman party, though they must have expected some such step on the part of Agnes as the election at Basil, were particularly indignant when informed of the object of her choice. Peter Damiani poured forth the ardour of his soul in an epistle to the pretender, written in the moment in which he received intelligence of his

<sup>1</sup> Card. de Aragon.—Virum divitiis locupletem, virtutibus egenum. Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Clerici uxorati . . . qui hactenus dicti sunt Nicolaitæ, amodo vocentur et Cadaloitæ. Sperant enim quia si Cadalous, qui ad hoc gehennaliter æstuat, universali Ecclesiæ Antichristi vice præderit, ad eorum votum, luxuriæ fræna laxabit.—Damian. Opusc. xviii. Diss. 2. c. 8.

uncanonical election. He entreated him, he adjured him, to return to the paths of duty and of obedience. He besought him, instead of heading a schism himself, to join his efforts to those of true Churchmen for the preservation of unity in the Church. Breaking forth into verse, he deplored the evils of the time, and the degradation of the holy apostolic see<sup>1</sup>. And then, venturing to assume the tone of a prophet, and calling the special notice of Cadalous to the prediction, he declared to him, in the following terms, that his death would occur in the course of a year :—

Fumea vita volat, mors improvisa propinquat.  
Imminet expleti præpes tibi terminus ævi.  
Non ego te fallo : ccepto morieris in anno<sup>2</sup>.

Anxious as many in and near Rome must have been for the expulsion of Alexander, and the introduction, into the papal city, of the imperial nominee, the empress found it impracticable to take, at the moment, any overt measures in furtherance of their wishes. Her own difficulties in Germany have been already adverted to. The necessity of military preparation retarded the journey of Cadalous to Rome; who feared, besides, the mountain-passes of Godfrey's territory, aware that the Tuscan prince was inclined to favour his rival<sup>3</sup>. And the turbulent spirits of Rome itself were kept in check by their constant terror of the Norman sword. Alexander continued, therefore, for some months in Rome, unopposed in any formal or effective way, however frequent

<sup>1</sup> Heu sedes apostolica,  
Orbis olim gloria,  
Nunc, proh dolor, efficeris  
Officina Simonis,  
&c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Damiani, lib. i. ep. xx.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, lib. ii. c. i.



were the agitations and menacing the troubles by which, in that unsettled time, the city was convulsed.

But in the spring of 1062, the Lombard bishop, at the head of a considerable force, and amply provided with treasure for the purpose of corrupting the adherents of his rival<sup>1</sup>, set forward for the city of St. Peter. The prelates of northern Italy, as he moved along, joined him with reinforcements, or received him with demonstrations of joy and triumph<sup>2</sup>; and on the feast of the Annunciation, he arrived at Sutri<sup>3</sup>. Alexander, aware of his approach, made such preparations, as his means admitted of, for defending the papal city. Men gazed, with anxious expectation, on the anticipated spectacle of a war carried on between those who had forsworn war, and for the possession of the seat of peace. And it seems that, impressed with the horror of the time, they were ready,—in the disturbed state of nature,—in an earthquake and thunder-storm in February,—in a season of unusual scarcity—and in the prevalence of epidemic disease and mortality, by which these visitations were attended<sup>4</sup>—to trace a mysterious sympathy of the inanimate creation with the troubled elements of the moral world.

To prepare his way in Rome, Cadalous had sent thither his able, but unprincipled, adherent, Benzo bishop of Alba, to sound the disposition of the Romans, and, if possible, to prevail on them to throw open their gates for the reception of the imperialist pontiff. Benzo executed his task with skill. Received by the populace

<sup>1</sup> *Portans secum ingentia auri atque argenti pondera.* Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> *Tunc Symoniaci lætabantur; concubinati verò sacerdotes ingenti exultabant tripudio.* Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, lib. ii. c. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Berthold. Constant.

with favour, and admitted into the palace of Octavian on the Palatine hill, he during several days carried on negociations with the chiefs of the imperial party<sup>1</sup>; by lavish presents, and yet more lavish promises, he swelled the number of their adherents; and at length, summoning the populace together in some arena or open space, near the palace, he harangued them at length<sup>2</sup>; and officially promulgating among them the imperial commands, he called on them to reverence the expression of the sovereign's will, and receive the pontiff who had been chosen for them. Alexander appeared on horseback at the place of meeting, attended by a numerous train<sup>3</sup>. But he and his friends made no attempt,—they were, perhaps, too weak,—to stop the proceedings; and he contented himself with replying, to Benzo's charge of perjury and rebellion, that he was not unmindful of his obligations to his sovereign, in simple duty to whom it was, that he had done what he had done, and what a legate, despatched to the imperial court for the purpose, should explain. And then, turning his horse, he rode away, amid the ridicule and revilings of the multitude<sup>4</sup>.

His party, nevertheless, maintained the upper hand in Rome, though the tower of Cencius, and several other strong posts and points in the city, were occupied by the friends of his opponent. A respectable force

<sup>1</sup> Per singulas dies peroravi causam pueri regis, domini mei.—Benzo, lib. ii. c. i.

<sup>2</sup> Ad quoddam hypodromium.—Benzo, l. ii. c. ii. Qu. the Coliseum?

<sup>3</sup> Affuit ex alterâ parte hæreticus ille Lucensis, imo Lutulensis, cum suis glandariciis, cujus deterrima imago erat similis spiritibus horrificis. Ubi vero apparuit, velut infernalis umbra, ejus formidabilis vultus, murmur multum fit in populo, oriturque perstrepens tumultus.—Benzo, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Tunc universus populus universaliter cœpit clamare, Vade leprose! discede leprose!—Benzo, l. c.

had been collected in Alexander's support; and though the main body of the Normans was now engaged in another direction, he had doubtless the aid of some valuable auxiliaries from their territory. He looked, too, with confident hope for aid from Godfrey of Tuscany. That prince, though he had not openly declared himself in favour of either party, was known to watch with jealousy the proceedings of the imperial nominee, and had no sooner heard of the march of Cadalous, than he set out himself for Rome, accompanied by his wife Beatrice and his step-daughter Matilda, and attended by a considerable body of his military followers.

Such was the state of things when Cadalous, on the 14th of April 1062, appeared in person before the walls of Rome<sup>1</sup>. The gates had been closed against him; but Alexander, after what had passed, naturally feared that they would be thrown open by the disaffected within, on the moment of his attack, and therefore deemed it advisable that the intruder should at once be brought to action by his soldiery. A sally was consequently made, while Cadalous was encamped in the meadow of Nero<sup>2</sup>. And between his camp and the gates, occurred a bloody skirmish, of which the issue for some little time was doubtful; but the partizans of Alexander began at length to give ground, and were driven by the enemy once more within the walls of the papal city<sup>3</sup>. Within those walls, however, Alexander yet maintained himself; the fear perhaps of Godfrey, who was now at hand, prevented Cadalous from pushing forward to the completion of his triumph, and at the same time operated in repressing the movements of the intruder's friends within the city. But

<sup>1</sup> Baronius, ex veteri codice in Vaticano.

<sup>2</sup> In prato Neronis. Card. Aragon.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, l. ii. c. ix.

the triumph of Cadalous still appeared but deferred. Crossing the Tiber, he put himself in closer communication with the leading nobles who favoured his pretensions; and received, in his camp at Tusculum, the envoys of the Greek emperor, who acknowledged him as pope, and proposed an alliance against the Normans, the common enemy<sup>1</sup>. This last transaction, however, by exciting Godfrey's jealousy, seems to have been the immediate cause of his, at length, declaring himself hostile to the violent measures of the intruder<sup>2</sup>; against whom he immediately advanced, and who, unable to resist the number and prowess of his soldiers, found himself entirely at his mercy. The partizans of Alexander were freed at once from their fears, and trusting to the professions repeatedly made to them by the Tuscan duke, doubted not, that he would now, by making himself master of the person of the pretender, end at once the unnatural struggle. But his own interest, and not the welfare of the Church, was the mainspring of the wily Godfrey's policy. He showed himself so far hostile to Cadalous, as to extort from the unhappy man the treasure which he had with him, as the price of his liberation<sup>3</sup>; but it did not suit the captor's policy to give to the opposite party a triumph as complete as they had, from his intervention, anticipated<sup>4</sup>. He, therefore, assuming the office of arbitrator between the two parties, announced it to be his will that all hostilities between them should cease; that Cadalous should forthwith return to his diocese of Parma, but that Alexander should also absent himself for the present from the papal city, and return to his former residence at Lucca; that he would himself undertake to bring the case, in all its bearings, under

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, l. ii. c. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Id. c. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.—Bonizo.—Card. Aragon. <sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens.—Card. Aragon.

the consideration of the imperial court; and that by the decision of that court, thus taken, all parties should definitively abide<sup>1</sup>.

Cadalous, impotent to resist this self-appointed arbitrator, had no resource but to acquiesce in his decision; and departed for Parma in a manner which formed a humiliating contrast to his triumphal approach to the papal city<sup>2</sup>. Nor had Alexander any other alternative than the adoption of a similar course; he set out, therefore, for Lucca. Godfrey still comported himself as his friend, and promised to exert all his influence in procuring, if possible, from the empress, the repudiation of Cadalous, and a sanction to the act of the Roman electors. And with this prospect the party of Hildebrand was forced to content itself; though its chief, and the more thoughtful among its members, doubtless felt that, in so acting, they were abandoning in some measure the high ground which they had at first taken,—the ground of principle,—and treating the question in dispute as though it were one within the proper sphere of secular policy—of mere expediency—of royal or aristocratical caprice. As such, Godfrey, perhaps, had from the first considered it; his friendship for the Roman Church, as far as it was sincere, being in all probability like that of many princes and nobles of decent repute, by whom the Church in different realms and ages has been defended with more of activity than of knowledge respecting her real character and pretensions.

Such friendship has too often proved ruinous where it was intended to be beneficial; its scope embraces but the present hour, and for the removal of a momentary evil it has been too often found to trample down

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.

the most sacred barriers, or to compromise principles of the most unspeakable importance to the destinies of future generations.

There was, however, no remedy. Many of those whose votes had elevated Alexander to the papal throne were but too thankful that, in their deliverance from the hostile entry of Cadalous, was involved their rescue from the position, which they had been led to assume, of open resistance to the imperial will; and looked forward with joy, through Godfrey's intervention, to some amicable arrangement or compromise which would restore immediate tranquillity to their Church and city.

And the few higher and more intrepid spirits, who felt that peace itself would be bought too dearly, if obtained by the barter of principle, were consequently compelled to look with patience to the turn which events might take. No positive step was, fortunately, required from them, which would have implied a renunciation of the line of conduct which they had adopted. The retirement of Alexander from Rome was a necessity imposed on him by circumstances which he had no power to resist. He still maintained his pretensions, used his papal title, and exerted such authority in Rome as his means admitted of: nor was any rival forced into St. Peter's chair in his place. Their immediate duty, therefore, was "to stand and wait;" prepared to shape their subsequent course according to the yet uncertain exigencies of the future.

Cadalous, in the meanwhile, or as he now styled himself, Honorius II., frustrated as he had been, trusted his cause to the undiminished favour of the Empress; and to the continued support of his Lombard brethren; and confidently reckoned on eventual success. Antici-

pating a speedy verdict of the imperial council in his favour,—a verdict which Godfrey, he flattered himself, would not venture to disobey,—he made all preparations for an immediate enforcement of the expected sentence, by collecting men and money for a second expedition to the banks of the Tiber.

But an event was now about to happen in Germany which was to produce a sudden revolution in the aspect of affairs; and to confound alike the expectations of both contending parties. It was, as the reader is aware, with some indignation that the haughty nobles of the Teutonic realm had beheld the subjection of their country to female sway; a circumstance to which they subsequently attributed every evil which afflicted their land at home, and every disaster which befel their army abroad. The Bavarians, whose duchy, with the view of strengthening the regal authority, Agnes had kept in her own hands, and whom she had sent, under able leaders, on an expedition into Hungary, were compelled to return in discomfiture; and, with murmurs, attributed their failure to the fact, that they had not a duke of their own to lead them into the field. Agnes heard the complaint, and bestowed the fief of Bavaria on Otho of Nordheim<sup>1</sup>; endeavouring, on this, as on all other practicable occasions, to meet murmurs and discontent by gentleness and conciliation. But such policy, though imposed on her by the exigencies of her position, was not suited to her empire or to her times. Her motives were misconstrued, and her kindness was abused. Forced to lean for aid upon some one principal adviser among the prelates and peers who surrounded her, she placed her confidence

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1061.

in the Bishop of Augsburg; whose consequent ascendancy in her court, watched as it was with jealous eyes by others of like rank, was taken up by them as a new grievance, and made to serve as the foundation of rumours most calumnious, and most inconsistent with the real purity of her character<sup>1</sup>. The malcontents affected to lament the condition of their youthful sovereign, who was brought up under such auspices. Henry had now attained his twelfth year; and yet, they said, he was educated beside the distaff, secluded from all manly pursuits and manly business. Foremost among the murmurers were Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, and Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz; both, probably, indignant at seeing an influence superior to their own, enjoyed by a prelate of inferior dignity. These conferred with Count Ecbert, the king's cousin, on the necessity of finding some remedy for the existing grievances; and the Count readily expressed his concurrence in their sentiments. Nor was Otho, the new Duke of Bavaria, found reluctant, for the sake of humbling the obnoxious bishop, to conspire against the authority of her who had recently honoured him with such a distinguished mark of her favour<sup>2</sup>. The tenure by which Agnes held the reins of power was simply the guardianship and tutelage of her son; in whose name the government had in point of form been carried on from the period of his father's death. The conspirators resolved, therefore, by a bold stroke, to make themselves masters of the youthful Henry's person, and with that, of the substantial power of the state.

The king, it was known, was to proceed along the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.



Rhine, with his mother and court, on his way to keep the approaching feast of Pentecost, 1062, at Nimeguen. In anticipation of this journey, Hanno prepared a vessel which, while well adapted for speed, was most magnificently adorned with gilding, with carved work, with tapestry,—with all, in short, which could dazzle or attract the eye of a beholder. And it was contrived that, while Henry was reposing, with his court, in a spot which was then an island in the Rhine, dedicated to St. Suitbert<sup>1</sup>,—but which now, the river having altered its course, forms the site of the town of Kaiserswerth,—the bark should be brought to the shore. At the royal table, amid the gaiety of a sumptuous banquet, the archbishop, casually as it were, alluded to the magnificence of this extraordinary galley, and so excited the curiosity of the youthful sovereign that he determined on immediately inspecting it. He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by Hanno and the other confederates, to the place where it lay; but scarcely had he stepped on board, when strong and active rowers, who had been selected and instructed for the purpose, sprang to their benches and rowed against the stream toward Cologne, with a rapidity which prevented the possibility of successful pursuit<sup>2</sup>. The king was, for a few moments, lulled by the false excuses of the confederates, and imagined that the scheme was a matter of sport; but soon perceiving that they were earnest in the purpose of carrying him away, he imagined that they intended his destruction; and as his only chance of escape, he leaped into the Rhine, and disappeared for a moment beneath its waters. The intrepid Count Ecbert, however, plunged in after him; and soon

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

brought him back to the vessel. And now, soothed by the solemn assurances of his captors that no mischief was intended him, and aware of the inutility of any further attempt to escape, Henry submitted silently to his fate, and was borne with all speed to Cologne; while the cries and execrations of the indignant people resounded along the shore<sup>1</sup>.

Arrived at the city, Hanno found it necessary, in order to allay the general ferment, to declare, that his only object had been the promotion of the public welfare;—that he had no wish to assume to himself the exclusive guardianship of the young sovereign;—but that Henry, put under the general charge of the episcopal order, should thenceforward be assisted in the affairs of government by the prelate, in whose diocese he might happen at any time to be. This pledge, together with the personal authority of the confederates, sufficed to silence all immediate opposition; and the unhappy Agnes beheld the revolution successfully accomplished, which robbed her at once of her sceptre, and of her child. In the first bitterness of her bereavement, she entertained the thought of exchanging the cares of the world for a life of devotional retirement; but her counsellors persuaded her to postpone for a while the execution of the project, and to await in quietness the probable change of fortune in her favour<sup>2</sup>.

Godfrey had now crossed the Alps, and, even if not implicated, as some accounts would lead us to suppose, in the conspiracy itself, became, at least, a ready and active party to the league of the confederates, subsequently to its accomplishment. And Hanno, swayed either by the influence of that powerful coadjutor,—by

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

his own predilection,—or by a general desire to oppose in every thing the policy of the imperial Agnes and her favourite prelate,—prepared to abandon the party of Cadalous, as speedily as he could do so without exposing to the charge of vacillation the councils of the sovereign. Peter Damiani, whom the partisans of Alexander sent, as their representative, into Germany, was, therefore, favourably received. And a council was summoned, to be holden at a place styled, by Damiani, Osbor<sup>1</sup>, probably Augsburg, for the avowed purpose of inquiring into the real merits of the case, and of pronouncing a final decision on the claims of the contending prelates. Before this assembly was read a document, composed by Damiani for the purpose, and drawn up in the form of a conversation or discussion, between an advocate of the royal rights, and a defender of the Roman Church; by which the writer endeavoured to show, that, in the election of Alexander, nothing had taken place which was not, under the circumstances, justifiable, and even canonical. The composition is curious, as containing the most systematic statement, which has come down to us, of the line of argument then adopted by the papal party of the time. They attempted not to deny the monarch's general right of interference with papal elections; a right which the decree of Nicholas had so recently recognized. But it was maintained, that that right, while Henry was under age, was in great measure in abeyance; and that, with regard to things spiritual, the Church, as the mother who had given the king his second and heavenly birth, was a fitter guardian and directress, than the parent

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1119.—Damiani disceptat. synodal. Opuscul. iv.

from whom he had merely derived an earthly existence. The conduct of the court in refusing admittance to Stephen,—the representative of the Roman clergy,—was cited as having demonstrated the determination of the royal counsellors to admit of no fair and canonical election, and as having driven the Romans to proceed in the business without the imperial sanction, as the only means of preserving, from the evil influences which surrounded it, the dignity of the crown. In a discussion penned by Damiani, it may be easily imagined to which side victory would be made to incline. One by one, the royal advocate withdrew his objections; and the triumphant defender of the Church,—after giving thanks to Him who, if He had permitted the bark of Peter to be shaken by the storms, and tossed by the waves, had subsequently stretched out His hand to the apostle, raised him up, and imposed a stillness on the wind and sea,—concluded with the wish, that the pontificate and the Roman empire might continue thenceforward in unbroken alliance; that the two heads of the world might be so united in perpetual charity, as to excite no disunion among its inferior members; and that the kingdom and the priesthood,—each of which had been made, by the one Mediator between God and man, a sacrament of things unseen,—might be so knit together in the bond of love, that a king should thenceforward be recognized in the pontiff, and a pontiff in the king.

The council listened to Damiani's composition with approval, and then hesitated not to pronounce the verdict, which it had, in truth, been assembled to give. The election of Alexander was declared legitimate, that of Cadalous null; and to Godfrey, together with Hanno's nephew Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt, was

entrusted the duty of leading back the rightful pope to Rome, and securing to him the peaceable possession of the throne of St. Peter.

The decree of Osbor was adopted on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1062<sup>1</sup>. On the feast of the same apostles, the year before, had occurred the irregular election of Cadalous at Basil<sup>2</sup>; and Damiani, who had probably begun to feel rather anxious with respect to the fulfilment of the prophecy on which he had ventured in the preceding year, availed himself of this coincidence to declare, that he had intended to predict, not the natural death of Cadalous, but that moral death, which he might be said to suffer, when thus publicly condemned and deprived of the character which he had assumed. But, notwithstanding Damiani's great and deserved reputation, it does not appear that this ingenious exposition was considered as in all respects satisfactory, or that it sufficed to shield him, or his presumptuous prediction, from the taunting jests of his opponents<sup>3</sup>.

Humbled as Cadalous was, he was not deprived of the hope of eventual success. Throughout Italy his party was numerous and active<sup>4</sup>. The preponderance of Alexander's party, in inspiring the Lombard clergy with new fears, stimulated them to new exertions. The character, too, of Godfrey,—actuated as he evidently was by policy, rather than principle, in the line which he had adopted,—was such, that the party whom he opposed might reasonably hope, by availing themselves of some favourable conjuncture, to draw him again to their side.

<sup>1</sup> Damian. Opusc. xviii. Diss. 2, c. 8. Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Damian. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Tunc quippe mortuus est in honore, cum honoris synodalis iudicio perdidit dignitatem.—Damian. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Nor, in the unsettled condition of Germany, was it very improbable that the supremacy of Hanno might be annihilated as rapidly as it had been created, and the court, in consequence, revert to its former policy. The Pretender, therefore, continued with unabated eagerness his preparations for a prosecution of the struggle.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1062 TO A. D. 1067.

HENRY'S BAD EDUCATION—CONTEST BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF HILDESHEIM AND THE ABBOT OF FULDA—RETURN OF ALEXANDER II. TO ROME—RISE TO POWER OF ADELBERT ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN—HIS INCLINATION TO FAVOUR CADALOUS—MELANCHOLY CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONTINUED STRUGGLE—RETIREMENT OF DAMIANI FROM HIS BISHOPRIC—FALL OF ADELBERT—FLIGHT OF CADALOUS FROM ST. ANGELO—DISTURBANCES AT TREVES—HENRY'S ILLNESS AND MARRIAGE—HANNO'S VISIT TO ITALY—COUNCIL OF MANTUA—RETIREMENT OF AGNES INTO A CONVENT.

THE confederate prelates and princes, who had snatched the young Henry from the hands of his mother, had made it a charge against her, that she was neglecting to prepare her son, by a suitable education, for the high station which he was destined to fill. But, just or otherwise as this accusation, considered in itself, may have been, they soon showed that, in their mouths, it was but a pretence, a specious grievance, brought forward to screen the selfish motives which in reality governed their proceedings. The ambitious feudatories of the crown were, in truth, by no means anxious to hasten the period of Henry's fitness to take upon himself the charge of empire; and preferred a course which promised them a longer career of unrestrained and licentious power. They excluded Henry from all participation in the business of the state; they surrounded

him with their creatures and dependents, and permitted no other person to approach him without their special permission; they encouraged him in an unrestrained indulgence in field-sports, in the pursuit of all youthful pastimes and pleasures; and they neglected not only the inculcation of the elements of necessary knowledge, but also that which is of much greater importance, that moral culture of the mind and principles, which is in truth the one great business of education.

How much of the misfortune and misery of Henry's future life may we not trace to the unprincipled conduct of these evil guardians? Nay, how large a portion of the misery of many succeeding generations may we not ascribe to those, to whom it was owing, that the head of the imperial house, at this critical epoch of the world's history, grew up to man's estate with a mind uncultivated, with passions uncontrolled, and with faculties unstrengthened by discipline to cope with or to master the difficulties which he was doomed to encounter.

But had the prelates, by whom Henry was more especially surrounded, shown much more anxiety than they did for the instruction and moral improvement of their illustrious pupil, their own manners were such as could by no means inspire him with that reverence toward his instructors, without which the principal part of the work of education must ever be attempted in vain. Their rapacity exhibited itself in the shameless way in which they, as if in emulation of each other, extorted from the crown the grant of lands, manors, farms, and forests, to the manifest diminution of the royal dignity; as well as in the unjust annexation of the property of religious communities, which were unable to resist them, to the territory of their sees. Nor in pride,—or in the fierceness with which they



resisted all real or imagined insults,—inconsistent as such qualities are with the sacerdotal character,—were the spiritual fathers of Germany a whit inferior to the imperious secular nobles with whom they associated. At the commencement of vespers, before the king and court at Goslar, at the solemn season of Christmas, 1062, a dispute arose between the servants of the Bishop of Hildesheim and those of the Abbot of Fulda, with regard to the position of the seats of their respective masters<sup>1</sup>. The abbot, by ancient usage, was entitled to sit next to the metropolitan; but the bishop, indignant that any should take this place, within his own diocese, in preference to himself, had commanded his domestics to place the chairs accordingly. The dispute soon led to blows, and, but for the interference of Otho of Bavaria, would have terminated in bloodshed. This noble asserted the rights of the abbot, and the bishop was consequently foiled. He looked forward however to a renewal of the contest under more favourable auspices; and at the feast of Pentecost following, previously to the entrance of the king and the prelates into the Church, he secreted behind the high altar Count Ecbert and some well-armed soldiers<sup>2</sup>. As the contending prelates proceeded to their seats, the affray between the servants began again; when the Count, suddenly springing from his ambush, rushed with his followers upon the astonished men of Fulda, and drove them with blows and menaces from the Church. But they too had made preparations for a violent struggle, and had friends and arms at hand. In a body they rushed once more into the sacred building, and engaged their enemies with swords in the midst of the choir,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

confusedly mingled with the choristers<sup>1</sup>. Fiercely was the combat waged: "throughout the Church," says Lambert of Aschaffenburg, "resounded, instead of hymns and spiritual songs, the shouts of the combatants and the screams of the dying; ill-omened victims were slaughtered upon the altar of God; while through the building ran rivers of blood, poured forth, not by the legal religion of other days, but by the mutual cruelty of enemies." The bishop of Hildesheim, rushing to a pulpit or some other conspicuous position, exhorted his followers, according to the same writer, as with the sound of a trumpet<sup>2</sup>, to perseverance in the fray; and encouraged them by his authority, and by the promise of absolution, to disregard the sanctity of the place. The young monarch called in vain on his subjects to reverence his royal dignity; all ears were deaf to his vociferated commands and entreaties; and, at length, urged by those around him to consult his own safety, he escaped with difficulty from the thickening tumult, and made his way to his palace. The men of Fulda, by the efforts of Count Ecbert, were at length repulsed, and the doors of the Church closed against them; upon which, ranging themselves before the building, they prepared to assail their enemies again as soon as they should issue from it; and there remained until the approach of night induced them to retire<sup>3</sup>.

Such scenes as these were not likely to impress the youthful Henry's mind with exalted ideas either of the purity and spirituality of the Church herself, or of the reverence due to her ministers. Nor, nurtured among

<sup>1</sup> *In medio chori psallentiumque fratrum manus conserunt.*—Lamb.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanquam militari quodam classico.*—Lamb.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

those to whom such transactions were familiar, could he easily image to himself a purer state of society, or learn to estimate aright the power of principle over mankind. When, therefore, he came, in after-life, into contact with one by whom that power was asserted in opposition to the kingly name and authority, it need not surprise us to find that he misunderstood his own position, miscalculated the resources of his antagonist, and fell, by consequence, into a series of errors, from which, when he was better informed by experience, it had become impossible for him to extricate himself.

During the progress of these transactions, Alexander II. had been led back by Godfrey, to Rome, where he once more took up his abode, in the month of January, 1063<sup>1</sup>. But the city was still in a very unsatisfactory state. The great fortress of Cencius, which we will henceforward style by its more familiar appellation of St. Angelo, continued in the hands of partizans of Cadalous, who,—possessed of this strong-hold,—maintained a general superiority on the right bank of the Tiber. The empress, still in correspondence with the pretender, urged him to avail himself of this advantage, and to ensure his triumph by speedily appearing among them in person<sup>2</sup>. And this he attempted to do; but the vigilance of Godfrey, who sedulously watched the roads over the Appennines, delayed the accomplishment of the project; and the remainder of the year 1063 passed away, without producing any signal change in the relative positions of the contending parties in Italy<sup>3</sup>.

Circumstances had however, in Germany, undergone

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.—Benzo. l. ii. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, ii. xvi.

another mutation. Hanno, from the moment in which he obtained possession of the royal person, had been surrounded by difficulties. Violent and unjustifiable as had been the measure by which the youthful Henry was separated from his mother, the archbishop of Cologne was probably influenced in the accomplishment of it by motives more pure, or, at least, less selfish, than were those of his coadjutors. His temper was passionate, and he was deeply infected with the general rapacity of the clerical body in that age; but he at the same time possessed, if we may judge from the representations of contemporary writers, a sincerity of character, which should incline us to believe, that in adopting the line which he did, he was mainly actuated by the desire of promoting the welfare of his country<sup>1</sup>. The deed had, however, no sooner been accomplished, than he found himself hampered on all sides by his more unprincipled confederates, and compelled to shape his course according to the dictates of their rapacious and licentious policy. The young king naturally regarded him with dislike; and unless he could be effectually conciliated, Hanno felt that his power hung by a thread. His ally Siegfried of Mentz, as a participator in the abduction, was as obnoxious to Henry as himself; nor was that prelate,—a man of an ordinary and worldly character,—at all likely, in opposition to such an obstacle, to win his way to favour. Hanno determined, therefore, on associating in the counsels and power of the con-

<sup>1</sup> See below, book iii. cap. viii. One chronicler of the times seems quite at a loss to account for his implication in a deed, so inconsistent with his general character. “*Quod ille, quâ intentione fecerit, vel quoliter divino judicio placuerit, discernere non valemus, multa tamen incommoda ex tunc orta et deinceps aucta, certum tenemus.*”—*Annalista Saxo.*

federacy, Adelbert archbishop of Bremen <sup>1</sup>. This prelate was one endowed with singular qualifications to shine in courts, and to fill a foremost place in the history of his time. With a striking person, he possessed great eloquence and a singular versatility of talent; and while, among princes and prelates, he asserted his dignity with the loftiest and proudest, he won the favour of the lower classes by his voluntary humiliations, his affable manners, and his prodigal munificence <sup>2</sup>. Presented to Henry, he soon insinuated himself into the young prince's confidence; more especially as he had been no party to the treachery of those who had plotted the abduction; and Hanno began to perceive that he was likely to be himself superseded in power by the new favourite whom he had introduced. But the discovery came too late. Adelbert was day by day extending his influence and growing in the royal favour; and the disappointed archbishop of Cologne beheld him, in a short time, the sole adviser of the monarch, and by consequence the sole depository of the power of the state. More completely to secure his hold upon Henry, Adelbert placed about him a young nobleman of agreeable manners, but profligate character, Werner by name <sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> *Iste nobilissimus genere Halberstadensis prius præpositus erat, ingenio acri, memoriæ celebris, eloquentiæ singularis, formâ corporis speciosus, castitatis amator, largitatis ejusmodi ut petere haberet indignum, tarde autem aut humiliter acciperet, prompte vero hilariterque sæpe non petentibus largiretur. Humilitas in eo dubia videbatur, quam solis exhibuit servis Dei, pauperibus et peregrinis, adeo ut sæpe antequam cubitum iret, xxx. et amplius mendicantibus ipse genu flexo pedes lavaret.—Principibus autem sæculi et æqualibus suis humiliari nullo modo voluit.—Hist. Archiepisc. Bremensium incerti auctoris, edit. Lindenbrog.*

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

in whose society the king soon learned to delight. Agnes too, her son being thus taken out of the hands of his original betrayers, returned to his court, and was treated by the now dominant prelate with the most distinguished attention. Hanno's ostensible policy had been based upon his character as an ecclesiastic. Attachment to the Church had formed the avowed motive, her prosperity the main object, of his labours. But Adelbert, as though in opposition to this, professed to assume, as his leading principle of conduct, a chivalrous devotion to the person of his sovereign, a loyal eagerness to assert and to extend the prerogatives of royalty. And this disposition, together with the wish to gratify, in every possible way, his new ally the empress, induced him, as soon as he felt secure in his pre-eminence, to deny the authority of the council of Osbor, and to declare himself the friend of the pretender Cadalous.

Another change, consequently, took place in the fortunes of the papal contest. Encouraged by Adelbert's support, the intruder penetrated through Tuscany, and suddenly appeared again before Rome<sup>1</sup>. Cencius and his other friends threw open to him the gates of the Leonine city, or that portion of Rome which lay on the right bank of the Tiber; and, aided by his aristocratic allies from the neighbourhood, he immediately endeavoured to drive Alexander from the remaining portion of the town<sup>2</sup>. But a stout resistance was made; a large portion of the populace took up arms against the assailants, and, surprised by Norman troops in his rear, Cadalous was compelled to retreat into the impreg-

<sup>1</sup> *Occulte quasi fur Romaniam venit.*—Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> *Benzo ii. xvi. et seqq.*

nable stronghold of Cencius, St. Angelo, and there to establish himself, closely watched by his adversaries<sup>1</sup>.

The Greeks, who, as it will be remembered, had acknowledged him as the legitimate pope, were anxious to prevail on the imperial court of the West, to dispatch a German armament into Italy, in support of his claims, as well as for the purpose of humbling the Norman power<sup>2</sup>. But, willing as Adelbert might have been to undertake such an enterprise, it was not in his power to gratify them. The forces of the empire were required for the attainment of objects nearer home; and it was, besides, requisite, in the first place, to nullify the decree which had been passed in favour of Alexander by the fiat of another council; a step which might be attended with hazard. Benzo, bishop of Alba, who had borne to Germany the request of Cadalous and his party for immediate assistance, was therefore compelled, on his return, to content himself with encouraging them to persevere, and to trust to future succour. And Cadalous, pent up within his tower, continued to keep the papal city in a state of feverish anxiety, but was not able to extend his dominion over it, or to prevent his rival from consolidating his power, by the continued occupation of the Lateran and general administration of the papal government. Alexander had holden a council in 1063<sup>3</sup>, and therein, re-enacting the decrees of his predecessors against simony and clerical marriage, had shown himself determined to follow the example of their reforming policy. And two more councils were summoned by him during the course of 1065<sup>4</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, ut supra.—Card. Aragon.—Benzo l. ii. c. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo iii. c. 1 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1137.

<sup>4</sup> Hard. pp. 1143. 1145.

principal object of which was the definition and enforcement of the Church's laws against marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. But, though he was thus able to go through the forms of legislation, little can have been the weight of his pastoral enactments, while his right to the pastoral character was yet the subject of contest; feeble must have been his efforts in stemming the corruption of the times, while a rival, intrenched within sight of his pontifical palace, menaced the existence of his authority, and arrayed the half of Italy against his pretensions. Melancholy, therefore, was the spectacle exhibited by the Church thus divided against herself. "The rulers of Churches," says the ardent Damiani, "are now daily whirled along in such a vortex of worldliness, that though their mode of shaving the beard<sup>1</sup>, distinguishes them from the laity, their demeanour does not. Their studies are, not the words of holy Scripture, but legal decisions and forensic disputations. The halls of judges suffice not for the multitude of priests who throng them; and the royal courts, in vomiting forth a shoal of monks and clergy, deplore their narrowness. The cloisters are deserted; the gospel is closed; the lips of priests being employed in expounding or disputing upon secular laws. And would that we were content with legal strife alone. We prefer arms, we snatch up arms, we brandish weapon against weapon, and fight with the sword, not with the word, in opposition to the rules of our order . . . The laity universally pare away the Church's rights, diminish her incomes, invade her possessions, and exult in appropriating the stipends of her poor servants, as in dividing the spoils

<sup>1</sup> Barbirasiium.



“ of an enemy. Among themselves, meanwhile, they  
 “ spoil each other’s goods—with mutual aggressions  
 “ they assail each other—and because, inclosed together  
 “ in one common world, they cannot live separate,  
 “ they harass each other by mutual devastation <sup>1</sup>.”

“ The malignant spirit of evil,” continues the preacher,  
 “ now hurries the human race, with more than his  
 “ wonted eagerness, over the precipice of crime ; more  
 “ fiercely than ever agitates all men with bitterness  
 “ of hatred and treacherous animosity . . . The world  
 “ may be compared to a sea. When the storms of  
 “ wind arise, the face of the broad ocean being but  
 “ gently curled, the waters near the shore are more  
 “ powerfully stirred. And now, when we verge toward  
 “ the end of the world, as toward a neighbouring  
 “ shore, the hearts of all men are vexed by the raging  
 “ storms of dissension and discord, and, as it were,  
 “ dashed upon the strand by the foaming waves <sup>2</sup>.”

Alexander had not been long selected by the Roman conclave to occupy the vacant seat of Nicholas, when the singularly-minded writer of the above sentences took a step, which it had required the most strenuous exertions of the deceased pontiff, to prevent his sooner adopting <sup>3</sup>. Wearied with the cares of his station, and disgusted with the low tone of the society around him, he abdicated his bishopric <sup>4</sup>, and retired to the seclusion and asceticism of the cloister, from which he had unwillingly emerged. From his retirement, it is true, he continued to watch with an attentive eye the fortunes of the Church ; by his epistles he still interfered with her

<sup>1</sup> Damian. ep. i. 15. ad Alexand. II.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Petri Damiani opusc. xix. de abdicatione episcopatus, ad Nicolaum Rom. Pontif.

<sup>4</sup> Damiani opusc. xx. Apologeticus ob dimissum episcopatum.

concerns, and influenced her destiny ; nor was he backward, when called on, to devote himself on special occasions to active services in her cause. But Hildebrand never forgave him the sort of selfishness, for so it may be styled, with which he determined on gratifying his morbid craving after ascetic retirement, at a moment in which the endangered Church so imperatively required his episcopal services. And Damiani, on his part, seems to have regarded Hildebrand, at this time, with sentiments which it is not easy satisfactorily to analyze. "Perhaps," he says, "my flattering tyrant, who has ever soothed me with Neronian pity, who has fondled me with buffets, and patted me with eagle's claws, will break forth into the following complaints against me :—' See, ' he seeks a nook, of refuge, and wishes, under the excuse of penitence, to escape from Rome ; he wishes ' by disobedience to obtain quiet, and while others ' carry on the war, himself to repose in the shade.' But I reply to my holy Satan, as once the children of Reuben and Gad replied to Moses, ' We will go forth ' armed to the battle until the children of Israel shall ' obtain their inheritance, but we demand nothing for ' ourselves beyond Jordan, for we have already obtained our lot '."

Some feelings akin to jealousy, it may be, excited by Hildebrand's now preponderating influence in the Church, mingled themselves, in the mind of Damiani, with his habitual dislike to rank and responsible station, in now leading him to fulfil the design of abandoning his bishopric. That influence, as exerted over Alex-

<sup>1</sup> Damian. ad Alexandrum Rom. Pontif. et Hildebrandum S. R. E. cardinalem Archidiacon. lib. i. ep. x. et opusc. xx.

ander, he had recently satirized in the following couplet, addressed to the object of his spleen:—

Papam ritè colo, sed te prostratus adoro,  
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ille Deum <sup>1</sup>.

And in another distich—

Vivere vis Romæ: clarâ depromito voce,  
Plus domino Papæ quam domno pareo Papæ <sup>2</sup>.

Time went on; the year 1065 found Cadalous still invested in his fortress; still able to agitate and perplex the counsels of his rival, but still too weak to advance from his post, or to venture on any measure of active hostility. And from the empire the intruder still looked in vain for effective support. Adelbert was occupied with schemes, more immediately affecting his own personal interests, than the vindication of the imperial power over the papal city. Prosperity continued for some time to attend the aspiring archbishop's career. The affairs of Hungary were happily arranged, by the establishment, on the throne of that country, of Solomon, the son of the late king Andrew<sup>3</sup>; who had received Henry's sister, Judith,—otherwise styled Sophia,—in marriage, and who, grateful for his restoration, in form acknowledged himself the vassal of the Teutonic realm. Henry, now no longer a mere child, continued to treat his counsellor with the fullest confidence, and to manifest his delight in Count Werner's society; the two favourites, therefore, swayed the empire at their will. Prospects of the most dazzling nature swam before the ambitious Adelbert's eyes. He contemplated taking

<sup>1</sup> Damiani Preces et Carmina, No. cxcv.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. cxlix.

<sup>3</sup> Bonfinii Rerum Ungaric. Decad. ii. lib. iii.

Hamburg as the seat of his power, and establishing a species of papacy in the North. And as the development of this gigantic scheme, as well as the profuse magnificence of his daily habits, required continual supplies, he was tempted,—though above the passion of avarice in its more vulgar form,—to grasp at every possible method of increasing his resources; and he, and his ally, disgraced their rule, by a wide-spread system of corruption and plunder. Though withheld, by fear of consequences, from interfering with the possessions of the great prelates and nobles, they despoiled, without shame, the lands and revenues of the less powerful religious communities, and put up to sale every office, civil or ecclesiastical, which fell to their disposal<sup>1</sup>.

But the overbearing demeanour which Adelbert, thus virtually despotic, adopted toward his brother archbishops, and the other chief feudatories of the crown, exasperated them to the extreme. In private conferences, they breathed into each other's ears their various complaints; and at length, secure of each other's concurrence, they resolved to strike a decisive blow, toward the overthrow of the haughty favourite's power. They summoned the general nobility of the realm, to a meeting to be holden, in January, 1066, at Tribur<sup>2</sup>; where they intended publicly to denounce the obnoxious prelate, and to insist on his dismissal from the presence and confidence of his sovereign. Startled by this extraordinary measure, Henry set out at once from Goslar, accompanied by Adelbert and Werner, for the appointed place. But the journey of one of his companions was fatally interrupted. Count Werner, while halting in the town of Ingelheim, near Mentz, became engaged,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Near Durmstadt. Idem.

through the rapacity of his followers, in a fray with the inhabitants; and received, in the confusion, a mortal blow, from the hand of a slave, or, as some say, of a dancing girl<sup>1</sup>. Henry, however, with the archbishop, appeared on the appointed day, at Tribur; but he found the assembled nobles look coldly upon him; their language was peremptory; and in terms which he could not misconstrue, they gave him to understand, that he must at once either abdicate the throne, or banish the archbishop of Bremen from his society and his counsels. The king retired, to deliberate, during the night, upon the conduct to be pursued. Adelbert suggested a departure, during the darkness, from the scene of the rebellious assembly, and Henry prepared to adopt the suggestion. But the project was discovered, the king's palace was surrounded, and his motions watched; and so general was the exasperation against the obnoxious prelate, that, when the morning appeared, he was, with difficulty, preserved from the violence of the multitude by Henry's exertions and authority<sup>2</sup>. Thus unhappily situated, the king felt himself constrained to yield to the demand of his nobles; Adelbert was dismissed with disgrace from his court, retiring, amid the execrations of the populace, to insignificance and obscurity; and the chief power of the state fell once more into the hands of Hanno, Siegfried, and those other confederates, who had previously wielded it. To Henry, they were as distasteful as ever; but he was forced for a time to submit to circumstances, and durst not oppose their united power.

Cadalous, in the mean while, through the vigilance of his opponents, was day by day more closely invested

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

in the fortress of St. Angelo. At length, straitened by a close blockade, he was reduced to a state of the greatest distress and privation, and, feeling the inutility of a longer stay in Rome, resolved upon attempting an escape. But the profligate Cencius, taking advantage of his guest's necessity, would not suffer him to undertake such a step, until he had extorted from him three hundred pieces of silver, as the price of his liberation<sup>1</sup>. Cadalous then quitted by stealth<sup>2</sup> the tower,—in which he had now resided about two years,—and, eluding the vigilance of his enemies, made his way, without misadventure, to his proper diocese<sup>3</sup>.

Alexander II. was thus delivered from a constant source of embarrassment at home, at the same time that he was encouraged by the cheering prospect of a renewal of the imperial support. Hanno returned to power with the same sentiments in his favour which he had formerly expressed; and prepared to ratify and enforce the decision of Osbor as soon as circumstances would permit. But the arrangements necessary to accomplish this end required time and management; more especially as it was thought advisable, by way of authoritatively terminating the dispute, that a council should be holden, under the imperial sanction, in Italy. The confederate prelates and princes felt it, of course, necessary to watch, with much vigilance, the movements of the monarch into whose counsels they had thus forced themselves; and, even independently of this consideration, the events in Germany, during the year 1066, were of too critical a nature, to render it expedient, that

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> *Uno ronsino et uno cliente contentus.* Card. Aragon.—Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens.

Hanno should quit the court on a journey into Italy. At Utrecht, where Henry observed the festival of Easter, the archbishop of Treves suddenly breathed his last<sup>1</sup>; and Hanno procured of the king, without delay, the investiture of his relative Conrad, provost of Cologne, with the vacant see<sup>2</sup>. Conrad set out, accompanied by the bishop of Spire, and escorted by a military force, to take possession of the archiepiscopal residence. But the clergy and people of Treves were indignant that a new pastor should thus be intruded upon them, without their having been called on to take part in the election. Under the command of Count Dietrich, the principal lay-officer of the church, a considerable body sallied forth, and surprised Conrad in his quarters, the morning before his intended entry into the city. A bloody skirmish ensued; Conrad's forces were dispersed, and himself and the bishop of Spire made prisoners<sup>3</sup>. The latter, who had hidden himself behind the altar of a neighbouring church, was severely beaten, dragged with every species of insult out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and then suffered, half-naked and bare-footed, to escape on a sorry steed from the scene of his disgrace. But the unhapy Conrad was reserved for a severer punishment. After a short term of rigorous imprisonment, he was made over by the Count to four knights for execution; and these, after throwing him more than once from the top of a precipice, despatched him with the sword<sup>4</sup>. This tragical

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Gesta Trevirensium Archiepiscoporum, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampl. t. iv. p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Gesta Trevir. Archiep. ut supra.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Gesta Trevir. Archiep. ut

event naturally inspired, in the king and his advisers, the warmest indignation. But the schemes of vengeance, which were in the first instance formed, were soon abandoned. The court was not in a condition to venture upon increasing its embarrassments by a civil war. It was felt, too, that, unjustifiable as was the deed which had been perpetrated, it had been provoked by rash and over-hasty conduct on the other side. The two parties, therefore, soon came to a compromise. Udo, a respected ecclesiastic of the family of the Counts of Nellenburg, was a person acceptable to the king, and one whom, at the same time, the clergy and people of Treves declared themselves willing to accept as their pastor. He was, therefore, peaceably nominated to the archiepiscopal dignity<sup>1</sup>; and the murderers of Conrad escaped all punishment from the hands of earthly justice; though, in the miserable circumstances under which they severally came, at subsequent periods, to their ends, men deemed that they could recognize the less easily averted chastisements of a higher tribunal<sup>2</sup>.

An illness, with which the king, during the progress of these events, was seized, gave occasion to his nobles seriously to consider the important question of the succession to the throne<sup>3</sup>. He recovered, however; and in deference to the wishes of his counsellors, consented, during the summer, to fulfil the contract of marriage made, in his name, by his father, with the Princess Bertha,

*supra.*—Sigefridi Moguntin. Epist. ad Alex. Pap. in Udalric. Babenberg. cod. No. cxxix.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Gesta Trev. Archiep.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Ipse comes . . . Jerosolymam pergens vitam finivit, et omnes ejus consentanei malâ morte perierunt. Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



of Susa<sup>1</sup>. By this measure, the confederate nobles hoped to give a new turn to his thoughts, and to wean him from the profligate habits in which, young as he was, he had begun to indulge; and which they deprecated, without, perhaps, reflecting how large a portion of the evil was to be traced to their own neglect and criminality. The measure, however, failed. Henry, though forced to go through the ceremonial of a marriage, conceived an aversion to the princess thus forced upon him, and shunned her company. The event, therefore, instead of furnishing Hanno and his friends, as they had hoped, with a new hold over the sovereign's mind and inclinations, did but supply them with a new source and occasion of perplexity. But, though thus independent, as to his personal conduct, of their authority, the king continued unable to shake off their political control; and their power, in the spring of 1067, was so far consolidated, that Hanno at length ventured to set out on his projected expedition to Italy. He crossed the Alps, accompanied by Godfrey of Lorraine, and Otho of Bavaria, and escorted by three hundred horsemen<sup>2</sup>; and, without making any halt in Tuscany, proceeded to Rome; where Alexander, to whom he had notified his approach through a new chancellor of Italy, Gregory bishop of Vercelli, was prepared for his reception. Assuming, as he felt it expedient to do, the character of an unpledged arbiter between the contending prelates, Hanno, on his introduction to the conclave, thus addressed the pontiff who presided over it: "How is it, O my brother, that you have ventured to assume the papal dignity without the direc-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Bonizo, p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo, lib. iii. c. xxiv.

“tion or consent of the king, my master? The sanction of princes and rulers has long been thought necessary to the validity of such promotions<sup>1</sup>.” And then, commencing with the patricians of Rome, and tracing the transmission of their power to the hands of the emperors of the West, he endeavoured—or seemed at least to endeavour—to establish the correctness of his assertion, by the citation of a variety of precedents drawn from the records of the apostolic see. But the defence of the Roman Church, which had been committed, at Osbor, to Peter Damiani, was here undertaken by the virtual leader of Alexander’s party, Hildebrand himself. Stepping forward, as Alexander’s archdeacon, to reply to Hanno’s address, he referred the archbishop to the practice of primitive and apostolic times, and to those canons of the Church in which, enacted as they had been at different times, that practice had been recognized and embodied. He insisted upon the liberty of pontifical election, guaranteed, by many such enactments, to the papal city; and, in reference to the recent decree of Nicholas II., he attempted to show that in the election of Alexander nothing had been done which, when the circumstances of the time were taken into consideration, could be regarded as contradictory to the spirit of that regulation<sup>2</sup>. Hanno, prepared beforehand to be convinced, appeared to feel the force of the archdeacon’s arguments; but willing to give his decision all possible weight, and for that purpose to maintain, for the present, the character of an unbiassed umpire, he besought Alexander to appear at a council which he intended to convene at Mantua<sup>3</sup>, to which Cadalous

<sup>1</sup> Card. Aragon.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

should also be summoned, and by which the great question should be authoritatively decided. Situated as Alexander then was, the proposal might be considered humiliating; he knew, however, the motives of the proposer, and, feeling that no other step could so effectually consolidate his power, or appease the disturbances of Italy, he hesitated not to accede to it<sup>1</sup>. This important council, therefore, met, in his presence, in or about the month of April, 1067<sup>2</sup>. It was numerously attended by the prelates of northern Italy, most of whom, as the reader is aware, had strenuously supported the cause of Cadalous. But the definitive severance of the imperial authority from the support of his cause had influence with many. Many were prevailed on to give in their adhesion to the cause of Alexander, by the weight of Godfrey's name, and by the exertions of his wife Beatrice, the determined supporter of the Roman party. And some there, doubtless, were, who,—though the contravention of the royal will by an ecclesiastical body had at first appeared to

<sup>1</sup> *Licet a Romanorum pontificum hoc esset alienum dignitate, tamen quia necessitas urgebat.*—Bonizo, p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1143.—The writers of the time differ much from each other in the date which they assign to this important assembly. Some, including Lambert of Aschaffenburg, and the continuator of Hermannus Contractus, fix it in 1064. Siegbert of Gemblours, and the author of the life of Ariald, in the *Acta SS. mens. Jun. di. 27*, in 1067. Marianus Scotus ascribes the decision in favour of Alexander to 1068; while Benzo appears to postpone it to 1071 or 1072. But the date adopted in the text (1067) is that approved, among modern critics and compilers, by the two Pagis, by Schrockh, by the author of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, and by Stenzel. By the latter, the subject is critically discussed, in an article of the appendix to his *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, and his arguments seem to leave little doubt on the question.

them a strange thing,—had learnt, from the fact of Alexander's maintaining, during nearly six years, his preponderance, to form new ideas on the subjects of canonical elections, and of the limits, in things spiritual, of the authority of the secular sovereign. The assembly met, therefore, disposed to abandon the pretender's cause, and to give weight to that decision, in favour of Alexander, which Hanno was prepared to make. Anticipating the event, Cadalous did not appear. Surrounded by his adherents, he established himself at Aqua Nigra, about twelve miles from Mantua; and notified to Hanno, that he would only present himself, on the archbishop's pledge to concede to him, as pope, the presiding seat in the assembly. But when he found this demand disregarded, and was informed, by his scouts, that the council was proceeding with its deliberations without him, he endeavoured to raise a tumult, by breaking into the town at the head of his military followers. By the efforts of Godfrey, however, he was soon discomfited and repulsed, and the session continued in tranquillity<sup>1</sup>. Alexander stated his case fully and fairly before his brother prelates; to the accusation which had been shamelessly brought against him by Cadalous, of having compassed his election by simony, he replied by a solemn oath of his innocence; and the unanimous voice of the assembly pronounced him the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and Cadalous an unauthorized claimant of the papal see<sup>2</sup>. And thus at length was brought to a conclusion this great and arduous struggle. The party of the intruder appears to have been virtually annihilated by the blow: Hugo Candidus<sup>3</sup> and others of his chief supporters seeking and

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, iii. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Sigebert Gemblac.—Marian. Scot.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo, p. 809.

obtaining a reconciliation with his successful rival. To the day of his death, Cadalous continued to arrogate to himself the papal name<sup>1</sup>; but he never dared, by any act of aggression, to assert his pretensions; never ventured to show himself again upon the banks of the Tiber.

And if this triumph of the ecclesiastical party, over the late despotic policy of the court, required any more palpable illustration in the eyes of mankind, such an illustration was most strikingly afforded, by an event which about this time took place. The Empress Agnes, when bereft of her son, had entertained, as we have seen, in the first moments of her anguish, the thought of devoting herself to a life of religious seclusion. Though she had been subsequently recalled to the court, and to her son's society, under the auspices of Adelbert, it was not to resume the commanding part which she had formerly played there, but to be treated with empty honours, while she beheld the unhappy youth guided, in courses which she deprecated, by counsellors whom she had no power to control. She continued, therefore, a mourner; and her sorrows strengthened and confirmed the devotional tendency of her mind. Earthly expectations fading before her, she learned to lean more stedfastly on hopes from above. Her friend and adviser, the Bishop of Augsburg, having died, she listened with pleasure to the ghostly counsels conveyed to her in the epistles addressed to her by Peter Damiani. Under this training, she learnt to view the course of her late policy with altered eyes, and to mourn over the part which she had taken in the election of Cadalous, as over a grievous sin. And,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

after Adelbert's overthrow had once more put her son into the hands of those who had originally stolen him from her, she resolved on abandoning alike the name of earthly dignity, and the country in which that dignity had been enjoyed; and on spending the remainder of her days, in repentance and devotion, at the threshold of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>. Wonderful, according to Damiani, and edifying, was the spectacle of her entrance into the apostolic city. She rode, not on a stately palfrey, but on a short and sorry steed, scarcely exceeding the size of an ass: the robe had been exchanged for the veil, the purple for the sackcloth; and the hand which had wielded the sceptre, was worn by the constant use of the psalter<sup>2</sup>. Arrived in Rome, she humbled herself before the pontiff, whose title she had disputed; she sought and received his absolution; and then devoted herself to religious seclusion, in the convent of St. Petronilla, in the papal city<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert Gemblac.—*Annalista Saxo*.—*Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis*.

<sup>2</sup> Damiani, ep. v. lib. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Having in the first instance prepared herself for a monastic life by a sojourn in that of Fructuaria, in Piedmont. Vid. Not. in Chron. Cassin. Murator. t. iv. p. 450.—A most affectionate letter from the empress to the monks of this place is to be found in Mabillon. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 311.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1066 TO A. D. 1073.

CONQUEST OF ENGLAND—INVASION OF ROMAN TERRITORIES BY RICHARD OF CAPUA—GODFREY'S MARCH AGAINST HIM—BATTLE AT AQUINO, AND TREATY—EVENTS IN THE CONVENT OF TREMITI—AGITATION IN MILAN—MURDER OF ARIALD—ELECTION OF ATTO AS ARCHBISHOP—ECCLESIASTICAL DISSENSIONS AT FLORENCE—KING HENRY'S ATTEMPTED SEPARATION FROM HIS QUEEN—HIS QUARREL WITH THE SAXONS—DAMIANI'S MISSION TO MENTZ—ADELBERT'S RETURN TO POWER—OTHO OF NORDHEIM DEPRIVED OF THE DUCHY OF BAVARIA—DEATH OF ADELBERT—GENERAL COMPLAINTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE—RECALL OF HANNO TO POWER—VISIT OF AGNES TO GERMANY—HANNO'S RETIREMENT—HENRY'S RASH AND TYRANNICAL CONDUCT TOWARD HIS NOBLES AND PEOPLE.

DURING the progress of the struggle, which was concluded by the council of Mantua, occurred that memorable event, the conquest of England by the Normans. Their leader William, as is well known, claimed the crown from the date of Edward the Confessor's death; nor was the right to it of his chief opponent, Harold, better than his own. But, before attempting to enforce his pretensions by the sword, the Norman Duke, desirous to strengthen those pretensions as much as possible, sent an embassy to Alexander II., and, laying his statement of the question before him, requested the papal sanction to the projected enterprise<sup>1</sup>. By such a

<sup>1</sup> *Justitiam suscepti belli, quantis poterat facundie nervis allegans.*—Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

recognition of the legitimacy of his title, Alexander, while yet contending for that legitimacy with a formidable rival, could not but feel highly gratified. And as Harold, confident in possession, neglected to lay his statement of the case before the apostolic chair in a similar manner<sup>1</sup>, the pontiff did not hesitate to send back, with William's envoys, a consecrated banner, in token of his approval<sup>2</sup>. Various reasons, indeed, might have induced him to look with hope to the success of the undertaking. The outward devotion of the Normans, and their reverence for the apostolic see, have been already adverted to; and in England, once the most religious of kingdoms, religion, during the disastrous period of the Danish struggles, had fallen into a state of general decay. The pontiff might, therefore, look for such favourable results from a Norman conquest of the island, as did in fact attend that event. For, with all their faults, the Normans,—we have it on the authority of William of Malmesbury,—“raised up everywhere, “on their coming, the frame of religion, which in England was half-dead. Everywhere churches might be “seen to rise in villages, monasteries, built in a new “mode of architecture, in towns and cities, and the “country to flourish with new solemnities; every rich “man conceiving himself to have lost the day, which

<sup>1</sup> Haroldus id facere supersedit, vel quod turgidus naturâ esset, vel quod causæ diffideret, vel quod nuntios suos a Willielmo et ejus complicitibus qui omnes portus obsidebant, impediri timeret.—Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Vexillum in omen regni Willielmo contradedit.—Will. Malmesb. l. c. William, in return, after the battle of Hastings, sent to the pope, as an acknowledgment, the captured standard of the Anglo-Saxon king. Ib. Vid. Orderic. Vital. Hist. l. iii.—Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 548, et Alexand. II. ep. viii. ap. Harduin. t. vi.



“ was not adorned by some act of religious magnificence<sup>1</sup>.”

It was well for Alexander, that, shortly after these transactions, the final seal was set to the legality of his pretensions by the decision of the Mantuan council. For danger now threatened him from a new quarter; a quarter to which he had for some time been accustomed to look for protection and support. Richard, the Norman prince of Capua, beholding the rapid successes of Guiscard, and his brother Roger, the conqueror of Sicily, was kindled to emulate their example; or perhaps felt that his only prospect of security, against ultimate subjection to these enterprising chieftains, lay in a proportionate extension of his own domains and influence. Richard had been a party to the council of Nicholas II. at Melfi. Like Guiscard, he had there acknowledged himself a vassal of the apostolic see. In that character he had been present at Alexander's election<sup>2</sup>, and had since efficiently supported the cause of that pontiff by his arms. But now, adopting a new line of policy, he entered the Roman territory in a hostile manner, took Ceprano, and advanced, plundering and destroying, to the very gates of the papal city<sup>3</sup>; where he demanded to be immediately admitted to the dignity and privileges of Patrician<sup>4</sup>. The demand was an insult

<sup>1</sup> Religionis normam in Angliâ usquequâque emortuam adventu suo sciscitarunt; videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria novo ædificandi genere consurgere; recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi perisse diem quique opulentus existimet, quem non aliqua præclara magnificentia illustret.—Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Intravit terram Campaniæ, obseditque Ceperanum, et comprehendit eum, et devastando usque Romam pervenit.—Lupus Protospata in Chronic. ad an. 1066.—Card. Aragon. in vit. Alex. II. ap Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. t. iii. pt. i. p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xxv.

to the monarchical dignity of Henry, as well as to the city; and it seems to have been, for a moment, contemplated by the young king's counsellors, that he should take this opportunity of an expedition into Italy, and, while avenging his dignity on the presumptuous Norman, receive the imperial crown in the city of St. Peter. But Godfrey, though now in appearance the firm friend of his sovereign, from whom he had, under Adelbert's administration, received again his long-withheld duchy of Lower Lorraine, was by no means anxious to behold that sovereign in Italy. It was to him, as Margrave of Tuscany, that the duty belonged, of making the necessary arrangements for the king's progress across the Alps, and for his reception in the territories on their southern side. His repugnance, therefore, to the project, was a serious impediment to its execution<sup>1</sup>; and, by undertaking himself the task of checking the presumptuous Norman, he attempted to remove, as soon as possible, the king's principal motive for the contemplated expedition. Strongly solicited by Alexander and Hildebrand to take upon himself the defence of the Church, he proceeded to Rome, from which the Normans retired at his approach; and was thence accompanied, as he moved in pursuit of them, by the pontiff himself and the principal cardinals; his step-daughter Matilda also accompanying the expedition. He at length found the Normans awaiting his approach at Aquino, on the Garigliano; a position in which they had strongly entrenched themselves, under the command of Richard's son Jordanus. Here they sustained his attacks, with varying success, during eighteen days<sup>2</sup>. The chiefs of the two armies then entered into negotiations, which terminated in peace, and in the abandonment, by Richard,

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Id. l. c.

of the ambitious views which he had been led to entertain. Godfrey, ever suspected of insincerity, is charged with having, on this occasion, as on others, sacrificed the public welfare to his individual advantage. The gold of Richard, it is said, prevailed on him to release the Normans from the streight into which his arms had driven them, on terms which they had no right to expect<sup>1</sup>. The Church, however, was delivered from the danger which immediately threatened her; and Alexander returned joyfully toward Rome<sup>2</sup>.

Either shortly before, or after, this successful expedition, Alexander, accompanied by Hildebrand, paid a visit to the monastery of Monte Cassino. Some unfortunate occurrences had recently taken place in the religious house, dependent on that monastery, which was established in the island of Tremiti. The monks of that place had become notorious for their abandoned lives; and Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino,—a man of more gentleness than firmness of character,—endeavoured to palliate the evil, by displacing the superior of Tremiti, who had been convicted of many crimes, and appointing to the dignity of abbot, in his room, a young man named Thrasimond, of noble family and unblemished character. But the vicious monks,—even within a few days of this appointment,—were detected in schemes of rebellion against their unwelcome ruler; and, upon this, Thrasimond, seizing four of the ringleaders, commanded that the eyes of three should be put out, and the tongue of the fourth cut off. Desiderius, when made acquainted with these proceedings, was overwhelmed with grief; he condemned

<sup>1</sup> Non parvâ, ut dicitur, a Normannis donatus pecuniâ.—Leo Ostiens. iii. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

the severity of the judge, mourned the sufferings of the criminals, and, above all,—says his historian, who probably well understood his character,—was distressed by the scandal of the proceedings, and the infamy which they would bring on the place<sup>1</sup>. And, removing Thrasimond from his station, he subjected him to a severe and public reprimand, and then to confinement and penance. But Hildebrand, of a character very unlike that of Desiderius, embraced, when informed of these transactions, a totally different line of conduct. He declared, that Thrasimond had shown firmness, and not cruelty, toward the guilty men whom it had been his duty to punish; and, when he had, with difficulty, procured from Desiderius the imprisoned abbot's release, he appointed him to an abbey more important than that of which he had been deprived, and, at no great distance of time, procured his elevation to the bishopric of Balva. Hildebrand would not be shocked—as a person in the present age would be—by the horrid nature of the punishments inflicted; and he might well feel—the guilt of the sufferers being gross and manifest—that it was important to counteract the moral effect of the course adopted by Desiderius, in the most decisive manner possible<sup>2</sup>.

It was not probable that the great contest for the papacy should continue so long as it did, without exciting into activity the local elements of discord which existed in different cities, as well as principles of disunion of a more general kind. And Milan, agitated as it had already been, could scarcely be expected to escape a repetition of the tumultuous scenes which had

<sup>1</sup> Tum denique, quod erat præcipuum, et quod magis cor ejus angebat, pro loci hujus infamia.—Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xxvii.

formerly disgraced it. We find, accordingly, that in that ill-fated town, the apparent concord produced by the efforts of Damiani, in 1059, speedily disappeared. The archbishop and his clergy resumed the habits of life which they had pledged themselves to relinquish; and their former antagonist, the deacon Ariald, set himself anew, with all his energy, or rather violence, to oppose them. By the death of his friend Landulf, he was deprived of the assistance of a faithful coadjutor; but he found as able, and as strenuous, an auxiliary, in his deceased friend's brother, a layman, Herlembald by name<sup>1</sup>. This person, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was so disgusted with the state of things in his native city, that he contemplated a retirement from the world into monastic seclusion; but Ariald persuaded him that his appointed line of duty was that of active service. He, therefore, joined the zealous preacher in his exertions, and their united efforts soon aroused anew a popular ferment in the city. Alexander, when made aware of the importance of this champion of Rome, presented him with a consecrated banner; which he used to animate his followers in the affrays in which, through the mutual exacerbation of the two parties, he was constantly engaged. And in 1066, Alexander, in consequence of the statements which reached him through the two associated reformers, pronounced the aged archbishop Guido excommunicate. The sentence was immediately promulgated by Ariald in that prelate's city; and the consequence was, that on the feast of Pentecost, Guido was furiously assailed and beaten, and his palace plundered, by the Milanese rabble. But this atrocious

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. Hist. Med. l. iii. c. xiv. Landulph. senior, iii. xiii.

outrage produced, as its natural consequence, a revulsion in public feeling; and Ariald, to save his life, fled hastily from Milan. But two of the archbishop's clergy, determined upon vengeance, followed his footsteps, and coming up with him on the shore of the Lago Maggiore, put him to the most cruel death, putting out his eyes, and cutting off, in succession, the various members of his body. This occurred on the 27th or 28th of June, 1066<sup>1</sup>.

This atrocious deed naturally excited in the Roman conclave the warmest indignation. Alexander, however, was, by disposition, always inclined to lenient measures; and when, in 1067, he felt himself securely seated on the papal throne, he despatched Mainard, bishop of Silva Candida, and John, a cardinal presbyter of the Roman Church, as his legates to Milan; commissioned, not to punish, while they deplored, the offences of the past; but to re-enact, for the governance of the future, the canons against simony and clerical irregularities, which had been so generally neglected in the city of St. Ambrose<sup>2</sup>.

But this lenient measure was only successful in procuring a momentary tranquillity. The strife of factions soon began to rage anew, and the contest continued, during the whole of Alexander's pontificate, undiminished in its bitterness. Worn out by age, and the violence of his adversaries, the infirm archbishop Guido found himself at length unable to continue the struggle; but when in 1069, he abdicated the see, he procured the nomination of a successor who belonged to the same party among the clergy with himself. God-

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. l. iii. c. xviii. Landulph. senior, iii. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Constitutiones quas legati sedis apostolicæ Mediolanensibus observandas præscripserunt.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1081.

frey, for so the person thus appointed was named, received the ring and staff, the recognized emblems of investiture, from king Henry; and thus became at once the representative of the imperial and of the anti-Roman party in Milan. His election, however, was odious to a large portion of his flock; and he was compelled to fly from the city<sup>1</sup>. Guido continued, during the brief remainder of his life, to exercise there a precarious authority; and after his death, Herlembald, armed with the papal sanction, procured the election, by that portion of the clergy and people who adhered to his party, of a young man named Atto<sup>2</sup>. This last transaction took place in 1072. But the new nominee was, even during the banquet which followed his installation, overpowered by a party hostile to his pretensions; falling into their hands, he was treated with the utmost violence and insult<sup>3</sup>, and was thus compelled to purchase his safety, by a solemn vow to renounce for ever the archiepiscopal functions<sup>4</sup>. Atto then, happy to have escaped with his life, fled to Rome, and there laid his case before the papal conclave; where Hildebrand had no sooner been made acquainted with the circumstances, than he declared that the oath taken under such constraint was void<sup>5</sup>; and one of the last acts of Alexander's life was the sanction of Atto's pretensions and the denunciation of his adversary as an intruder<sup>6</sup>. The mention of these last circumstances in this stage of our narration is, perhaps, rather out of place; but it seemed desirable to

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph, l. iii. c. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 810.—Arnulph. l. iii. c. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Atto dum cameræ unius lateret in angulo inventus capitur, et misere laniatur. Demum per suras et brachia a summis ad ima protrahitur.—Arnulph. Hist. Med. iii. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Arnulph. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Arnulph. iv. ii.

bring the events at Milan under the reader's notice in as connected a form as possible; rather than to interrupt, by a repeated reference to them, the continuity of other portions of the history.

The Church of Florence, too, was at this stormy epoch in a state of unusual trouble; owing to an accusation of simony brought against its bishop by the monks of Vallombrosa—an accusation which, after giving rise to much violence of discussion and many heartburnings, was at length decided by a mode which Alexander had declined to sanction—the ordeal of fire. One of the monks passed unhurt along a burning path between two masses of flaming wood; and the bishop, probably conscious of his guilt, retired from his see to penitence and seclusion<sup>1</sup>. Other causes of quarrel convulsed other portions of Italy, and Alexander had ample employment in meeting the exigencies which they occasioned; in addition to the constant labour of propagating and enforcing those general principles of ecclesiastical reform with which the papacy had now identified its interests. The progress of the late conflict, by connecting these principles with practical questions of a momentous nature, had rendered them familiar to the thoughts of all men; and the result was a great accession of moral strength to the side of their assertors. The violence with which these principles had been impugned by the supporters of Cadalous, produced, on that pretender's fall, a strong reaction in their favour. And though it is probable that neither of the two great parties in the Church understood, at the time, the full importance of what had been accomplished, we find that, almost immediately after the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Victor III. dialog. lib. iii.—Epist. Florentin. ad Alex. II. ap. Baron. ad ann. 1063.



of the struggle, the intercourse between the pontiff and the imperial court was carried on in terms, which betokened a connection between the two, very different from that humble dependency of the former upon the latter, which had characterized the era of Henry III.

The thoughtless son of that monarch soon gave Alexander a cause to interfere in the affairs of Germany with dignity and success. The aversion with which he, at the time of his marriage, regarded the bride who had been forced upon him, has been already mentioned. The ceremony had scarcely been concluded, when he set himself to devise the means of its annulment. While himself avoiding his amiable consort's company, it is said that he employed a confidential friend to win, if possible, the neglected queen's affections, and, by seducing her from her duty, to lay the ground for a public accusation; by means of which he might free himself for ever from a connexion which he detested<sup>1</sup>. But the scheme, if indeed it were attempted, signally failed; and Henry, his impatience at length becoming uncontrollable, suggested to Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, the expediency of a public separation<sup>2</sup>. The prelate then needed the royal assistance to carry into effect some plans of his own; he therefore promised his co-operation; upon which Henry ventured to propound the question of an annulment of his marriage, before his nobles assembled at Worms, shortly after the feast of Pentecost, 1069<sup>3</sup>. The proposal was received with general dissatisfaction; none, however, at the moment, openly opposed it, and it was settled that a council should be held at Mentz, in the week after the ensuing

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

Michaelmas, for the purpose of proceeding with the matter<sup>1</sup>; the unhappy Bertha betaking herself, for the interval, to the abbey of Lorsch<sup>2</sup>.

Henry then endeavoured to requite the services of Siegfried, by assisting that prelate, in the contention into which he had entered, with the inhabitants of the province of Thuringia<sup>3</sup>. That province, though included in the arch-diocese over which Siegfried presided, had not, from the time of St. Boniface, been accustomed to pay tithes to the archbishops of Mentz. But, in that period of general rapacity on the part of prelates and nobles, the minority of Henry IV., Siegfried's predecessor, Luitbold, had procured from the young king a document, in which the liability to tithe of the royal possessions in Thuringia was acknowledged: and the charge, with respect to the whole, compounded for, by the cession to the archbishop of a considerable portion of them in fee. When, therefore, William of Meissen, who held the Mark of Thuringia under the crown, died, and his brother Otho was appointed to succeed him, Siegfried offered to enfeoff him likewise with the lands thus given to the see, on the condition that he would not only pay the tithes himself on all his other possessions in the province, but that he would generally enforce such a payment throughout Thuringia<sup>4</sup>. By his endeavours to do this, Otho made himself generally detested by the Thuringians<sup>5</sup>, as did also the king's cousin Count Ecbert, who in 1067 succeeded to his government<sup>6</sup> as well as to his compact with the prelate of Mentz. But Ecbert himself died in the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigefridi Epist. ad Alexand. II. in Udalric. Babenberg. Cod. Epist. No. cxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>5</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>6</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

following year 1068<sup>1</sup>, and, as the king had given the Mark, in reversion, to his son, it fell, on this occurrence, into the hands of a child; a circumstance of which the discontented Thuringians resolved at once to avail themselves for the recovery of their ancient rights and prescriptive liberties. Siegfried therefore felt that his pretensions must be forcibly asserted, or abandoned for ever; and, as the disturbances excited in that part of Germany, by a discontented noble, gave Henry occasion for an armed interference with its concerns<sup>1</sup>, the archbishop,—as the price of his assistance in the matter of the divorce,—besought the king to use his power in the enforcement of the tithe, as well as in vindication of the dignity of the crown. Henry, to whom every thing, but the desired separation, appeared, at the moment, of secondary importance, readily acceded to the request. And his arms were, for the time, successful in accomplishing his ends; but, during the subsequent progress of his reign, he had often occasion to repent the rashness, with which, by connecting the royal name with an odious quarrel, he had made enemies of a gallant population, whose territories bordered on the already hostile and irritated province of Saxony.

As the time approached, which had been appointed for the council at Mentz, the king, flushed with hopes of speedily freeing himself from the bond which he detested, set out for that city. But great was his consternation and dismay when intelligence reached him upon his journey that the now aged Damiani, in the character of a legate of the apostolic see, was at Mentz, awaiting his arrival, and prepared to denounce the contemplated measure with the full weight of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

pontifical authority<sup>1</sup>. Henry's first impulse, on receiving this information, was to return at once into Saxony and disappoint the assembled magnates. The advice of his friends, however, showed him the danger of such a proceeding, and he sent to request the appearance of the members of the council before him at Frankfort. Damiani appeared among them; and declared his commission to represent the person and sentiments of Alexander. In the pontiff's behalf, he declared that the project was one which it was shameful to entertain—one which would disgrace the name, not only of a king, but of a Christian. He entreated Henry, if nothing else restrained him, to reverence at least his own illustrious dignity, and not to tarnish his glory, by becoming, instead of the avenger of misdeeds, the leader and instigator of his Christian people to crime. He warned him that, if persuasion failed to move him, he was prepared to appeal to the powers of ecclesiastical law, and to exert the rigour of the canons; and he declared that the papal hands would never consecrate him to empire, who should, by a deed of such scandalous example, have betrayed, as far as in him lay, the Christian faith<sup>2</sup>. A murmur of approbation, as Peter concluded, ran through the assembly; and Henry felt the inutility of resistance. "If these," he said to the nobles around him, "be indeed your general sentiments, I must control myself, and bear the burden from which I cannot be freed." He then departed from the place of meeting in haste, and, attended by about forty horsemen, took the road to Saxony<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—sed vid. Sigefridi Moguntini epist. ad Alex. II. ut supra.

The queen, with the body of his court, soon followed him. He was prevailed on to receive her, in the first instance, with civility; but for some time afterwards treated her with coldness<sup>1</sup>; the reconciliation, however, seems subsequently to have been complete. She bore him several children, and was, as long as she lived, his constant companion and support, amid the troubles and difficulties of his reign.

During the years which followed this transaction, the thoughtless monarch contrived to embroil himself, in succession, with most of the powerful nobles and martial provinces of his empire; and thus to shake, to its very foundations, the authority of his crown; and though it would be foreign to the main purpose of this narration, to detail all the feuds to which his acts of wantonness or oppression gave birth, it will be necessary to mention some, as most materially modifying, by their disastrous results, the complexion and character of his subsequent reign.

About the time of his reconciliation with Queen Bertha, his former adviser, Adelbert of Bremen, reappeared at his court; and the nobles were scandalized by seeing that obnoxious prelate, whose departure Henry had never ceased to regret, restored on a sudden to all his former plenitude of power. Independently of the pleasure which Henry derived from the archbishop's fascinating manners, the young king was probably glad to be relieved, by the energy and activity of his commanding spirit, from the necessity of superintending in person the irksome details of government. These he could trust to Adelbert, whose talents he knew, and in whose zeal in his service he confided; and thus freely

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

and uninterruptedly indulge in that course of pleasures to which he mainly devoted himself, and from which he was only aroused when spleen, or ambition, led him to attempt the ruin of some too powerful noble, or the depression of some too independent province.

One of the great feudatories of his crown, whom he regarded with peculiar jealousy and dislike, was Otho of Nordheim, on whom, as we have seen, Agnes had conferred the duchy of Bavaria<sup>1</sup>. Otho was, in truth, an unamiable man, of a scheming, ambitious disposition; and as he was possessed, not only of the common quality of personal courage, but of the rarer art of arranging and conducting armies with skill, he possessed a formidable power for carrying into effect any project which he might form. And Henry might naturally detest the ingratitude, with which, so shortly after his appointment to the duchy, he had united with the discontented nobles, in wresting the powers of government from his imperial benefactress. When, therefore,—in 1070,—an accusation of treason was brought against Otho, by a man of most disreputable character<sup>2</sup>, named Egino, Henry listened with pleasure to the charge, and, at a council consisting, in great part, of persons whom the successes of Otho had moved to envy, demanded his reply to it in form. Egino's statement was, that Otho had practised with him to compass by his means the murder of the king; but his only proof was a most unsatisfactory one,—the exhibition of the sword with which, as he said, he had been presented

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Omni flagitiorum genere infamatum. Lamb. Schafnab.—Audaciâ tantum et nequitia satis diffamatus. Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.—Bruno.—Chronograph. Saxo.*

by Otho for that guilty purpose<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding, however, the vagueness of this testimony, and the ill fame of him by whom it was brought forward, Henry treated the accusation as important; and, upon Otho's denial of the charge, he directed him to prepare for the assertion of his innocence, by single combat with his accuser, in six weeks' time, at Goslar. The great body of the German nobles, when informed of this decision, loudly complained of the unfairness of thus exposing a man of the first rank, and most unsullied reputation, to combat with one who, though of gentle descent, had long sullied, by the commission of crimes the most atrocious, the dignity of his blood. But Otho, in his indignation, declared himself ready to engage any one, however unworthy, rather than to lie under a suspicion so unfounded. As the day, named for the combat, approached, he advanced with his armed followers to the neighbourhood of Goslar, and demanded of the king a safe conduct, that he might plead his cause, and rebutt the charge, by whatever means the general voice of his brother-nobles should approve of. The king, to this, returned an angry answer<sup>2</sup>; declining to grant any safe-conduct for the purpose required, and declaring, that in the event of his declining forthwith to undertake the appointed combat, his guilt should be considered as proved, and that he should be treated accordingly. Having received this message, and being aware, from other sources, of the monarch's excited feelings against him, Otho, by the advice of his friends, refused to present himself at Goslar<sup>3</sup>. On the day following

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Atrociter et acerbè respondit.—Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.—Bruno de Bello Saxon.

this disobedience, Henry, in a council mainly composed of Saxon nobles, to whom Otho was personally obnoxious, procured sentence against him as a traitor, which had no sooner been passed, than the unfortunate duke's possessions were plundered and ravaged, with fire and sword, by all who chose to avail themselves of the king's name, to gratify their cupidity or their spleen against him<sup>1</sup>. Levying a body of his retainers, Otho commenced hostilities in his turn, and made reprisals for the spoliation of his estates, by the plunder of the royal demesnes in Thuringia. He had a warm friend and supporter in the young Magnus, son to Ordulf, duke of Saxony; and, through his aid, and that of other friends, he maintained himself in arms, for a while, in opposition to the royal power. At length, however, his means failed him; but then the prudent counsels of count Eberhard of Nellenburg prevented matters from being carried to extremities<sup>2</sup>. This nobleman, the brother of Udo archbishop of Treves, having become known to the king, was prized by him as a person of singular sagacity, and from this time to the end of his life was frequently employed by him in critical business of a diplomatic nature. Through his mediation on this occasion, Otho, in the beginning of the year 1071, laid down his arms, and at the ensuing feast of Pentecost surrendered himself to the king, with Magnus and others of his principal coadjutors; upon which Henry, taking the two chiefs into his own custody, committed the remaining prisoners, for a definite time, to the charge of different nobles of the empire. The forfeited duchy of Bavaria was, in the mean while, bestowed by the monarch on Welf

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



or Guelfo, an Italian noble, and son to Azzo marquis of Este, who had married Otho's daughter Ethelind<sup>1</sup>, and who, succeeding to the possessions and name of his maternal grandfather, the last male of the ancient German house of Guelf, became the progenitor of that illustrious family, which, having subsisted with distinction in Germany from his times to our own, has, through a singular combination of events, been placed in recent times upon the English throne.

While Otho flourished in reputation and power, Welf conducted himself as an attached friend to him, and as an attentive husband to his daughter. But the ruin of his father-in-law no sooner appeared, to the crafty Italian, inevitable, than he disclaimed all participation in his cause,—dismissed Ethelind with contumely from his house,—and strained every nerve to procure from the king, by presents and promises, the ducal fief of which Otho was deprived<sup>2</sup>. In this, as has been already mentioned, he succeeded; but the whole transaction gave great scandal to the inhabitants of that extensive duchy<sup>3</sup>. And though Henry, aware of this, shortly afterwards visited Bavaria, his success was but partial in calming their irritated minds, or in reviving among them a loyal attachment to his person and dignity.

Duke Ordulf, the father of Magnus of Saxony, died shortly after Otho's relinquishment of hostilities; an event upon which, according to the ancient custom of the province, his fief devolved upon his son, without

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> They claimed the privilege of electing their own dukes: *vid. Lindebrog. cod. leg. antiquar. tit. 11. c. 1 and 20.* “*Nonne scitis Bajuarios ab initio ducem eligendi liberam habere potestatem?*” *Henric. II. in Ditmar. Chronic.*

any grant or sanction from the crown. But Henry, offended as he was with the young prince, was naturally averse to see him at the head of that powerful people. He therefore availed himself of Magnus' submission and captivity, to strip his duchy of various possessions, and to exercise over it an arbitrary power, by which its martial population, already hostile to his royal house, were exasperated to the highest degree.

On the 16th of March, 1072, Adelbert, after long struggling with the attacks of disease, breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. During the last months of his life he had governed the king with absolute control;—banishing all but creatures of his own from the royal society. His death was therefore a subject of general rejoicing to the discontented nobles of the land; who, while they in truth hated him for usurping a power which they would fain have usurped themselves, had ample grounds of a public nature to allege for their animosity, in the disorders and ruin which his profligate administration had brought upon their country. The archbishop's main aim had been to gratify his young sovereign; and for this end he was ready, when necessary, to encourage him, either in the neglect of irksome duties, or in the perpetration of positive crime. Adelbert's is indeed a sad history. With extraordinary talents, he had received from nature the rudiments of a good, as well as great, character. His feelings on the subject of religion were so strong, that in celebrating the holy mystery of the Eucharist he would often dissolve into tears; and in the midst of an age of clerical laxity and corruption, he was believed to have led a life of unspotted continence and purity<sup>2</sup>. But an

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

excessive vanity overpowered, at least to human eyes, these principles of virtue; and his counsels were identified in the public estimation with a system of evils, which continued to produce its baleful results, long after he himself had been called away from earthly existence.

On the Easter following his decease,—a festival which the court celebrated at Utrecht<sup>1</sup>,—Henry was assailed on every side by the petitions and remonstrances of his people. They complained of the injuries and oppressions which were suffered by innocent persons throughout his kingdom; of the wrongs of widows and orphans; of the plunder of monasteries and churches; in fine, of the general licence, given to the wicked, to revel in every species of crime. The nobles seconded them in these complaints; and the king, either shocked by the state of things thus laid before him, or wearied by the importunity of his petitioners, at length agreed to solicit the archbishop of Cologne to take upon himself the burden of the state<sup>2</sup>. Hanno accepted, though with apparent reluctance, this weighty charge, and soon set himself in earnest to the work of reformation. With all his faults, he possessed qualities which under existing circumstances well fitted him for the office. The austerity of his manners, and his freedom from the gross vices which were too common in his time, procured for him personal respect; the energy of his character adapted him for grappling with, and overcoming, obstacles, from which weaker-minded governors might have shrunk; and his zeal in punishing offences was not perhaps the less suitable to the contingencies of his time, that it was blended with a cruel severity. In the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

administration of justice, he listened as readily to the poorest, as to the most powerful complainant. The rich, who abused their power over their weaker neighbours, became the objects of his severe rebuke; and their castles, if they permitted them to become places of refuge to evil-doers, were by his orders levelled with the ground. "For a time," says the accurate historian Lambert of Aschaffenburg, "his administration seemed to infuse into the vicious and indolent youth, whose dignity he represented, the activity and virtues of his royal father<sup>1</sup>."

But, as far as the monarch was concerned, the apparent reformation was of short continuance. Otho of Nordheim was, probably by Hanno's recommendation, released by the king from the captivity in which he had now continued a year, and permitted to retire to his hereditary possessions; being however obliged to cede a portion to the king<sup>2</sup>. But Henry had now fixed an eye of jealousy or suspicion upon another powerful noble, Rudolf of Rheinfeld; upon whom Agnes, as may be recollected, had conferred the duchy of Swabia and the government of Burgundy. On the decease of the young princess, Henry's sister, whom he had intended to make his spouse, Rudolf had connected himself in another way with the royal house, by marrying a sister of Queen Bertha; and this, after the offence which Henry had given to her family, might be sufficient to excite ill-will between the sovereign and his power-

<sup>1</sup> *Eo moderamine, eâ industriâ atque auctoritate rem tractabat, ut profecto ambigeres, pontificali eum, an regio nomine digniorem judicares, atque in rege ipso, qui in cultu atque socordiâ præceps ierat, paternam virtutem et paternos mores brevi exsuscitaret.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

ful vassal. But, however this may be, Rudolf was accused before the king as an intriguer against the state, and was summoned by Henry to appear and defend himself. But the Swabian duke remembered the fate of Otho; and therefore resolved, if possible, to extricate himself in another manner from the danger which threatened him. The violent step which he had formerly taken, in the capture of the young princess, was not so inconsistent with the usual manners of the time, as to cause a deadly quarrel between him and the lady's mother. Agnes seems, on the contrary, after she had conceded to his demands the important fiefs which he coveted, to have treated him as a valued and important friend. To her, then, in this emergency, he resolved to appeal; and, devoted as she now was to religious duties, the beneficent recluse felt that it was no abandonment of the engagements which she had contracted, to leave the cloister for a while, with the intent of succouring a friend in distress, and endeavouring to maintain peace in a distracted state<sup>1</sup>. Accompanied by a long train of abbots and monks, she set out for Germany, and presented herself before her son at Worms on the feast of St. James, 1072. Under her auspices, Rudolf appeared before his sovereign, and, defending himself against the charge which had been brought against him, was admitted by Henry to an apparent reconciliation. He knew however that rancour against him yet lingered in the monarch's mind, and therefore, absenting himself from the court, he retired to his possessions<sup>2</sup>; a circumstance which Henry subsequently distorted into a fresh ground of suspicion against him.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

Deferential as, for a time, had been Henry's manner to him, the archbishop of Cologne soon found how unreal were the young sovereign's professions of attachment and reformation. He was disgusted, too, with the daily scenes which he witnessed in the palace, and which it was beyond his power to control. And, therefore, at the feast of Christmas, 1072, alleging age and infirmities as his excuse, he solicited permission to resign the weighty charge which had been imposed upon him<sup>1</sup>. Henry, delighted to be freed from one whom he regarded as a severe pedagogue, readily acceded to the request; and immediately returned to the unbridled gratification of those violent passions and licentious appetites, which he had, during the short period of Hanno's administration, hardly and imperfectly restrained. To make permanent his temporary ascendancy in Saxony, he commanded the erection of castles or forts on hills and other important positions throughout the province, and filled them with followers whom he could trust; and as he had no power of permanently furnishing these garrisons with the means of subsistence, he authorized them, as though they had been in an enemy's country, to supply their wants by seizures of the property of the neighbouring inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. The discontent excited in Saxony by this outrageous proceeding may be imagined: and when, in addition to this, we find that he continued to embitter against himself the gallant people of Thuringia, by asserting and enforcing the rapacious Siegfried's demand of their tithes;—that by fresh demonstrations of suspicion, he drove Rudolf to the point of throwing off his allegiance, and resisting his sovereign with the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.

sword<sup>1</sup>; and that Berthold of Carinthia was also, on suspicion unconfirmed by any proof declared by him, deprived of his duchy<sup>2</sup>; we learn to understand how completely, in a few years, this rash and misguided youth had sapped the foundations of that authority, which the talents of Conrad the Salic had established, and the prudence of Henry III. had consolidated in his house.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1070 TO A. D. 1073.

TRAFFIC IN ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES—RAPACITY OF HANNO—TRIUMPH OF ST. REMACLUS—POSITION, IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER, OF THE IMPERIAL AND PAPAL POWERS—HANNO, AND OTHER PRELATES, SUMMONED TO ROME—VACILLATING CONDUCT OF SIEGFRIED OF MENTZ—VISIT OF ENGLISH ARCHBISHOPS TO ROME—DEATH OF GODFREY—MARRIAGE OF GODFREY, HIS SON, TO MATILDA—CHARACTER OF “THE GREAT COUNTESS”—DEATH OF DAMIANI—HENRY SUMMONED BY ALEXANDER TO ROME—DEATH OF ALEXANDER II.

IN his dealings with the Church of Germany, the misguided Henry did not display more principle, or more prudence, than in the management of his secular affairs. The manners of those churchmen with whom, on his abduction from his mother, he had been brought into contact, was not such as to inspire him with any reverential feeling for the commission which they bore: and the general character of the priestly and monastic orders throughout his dominions could not fail to confirm in his mind the lowest and most degrading notions of the clerical body in general. With regard to the monks, who, though not in fact clerical, were constantly classed by public opinion with the authorized ministers of religion, Lambert of Aschaffenburg, himself a monk, admits that the monastic character throughout Germany had fallen into ignominy<sup>1</sup>. Unworthy

<sup>1</sup> Nam quorundam pseudomonachorum privata ignominia nomen monachorum vehementer infamaverat.—Lamb. Schafnab.



brethren of the conventual orders incessantly beset the ears of princes and magnates, who possessed the right of presentation to abbeys and benefices, and endeavoured to obtain these prizes from them, by means the most disgraceful. In their rivalry with each other they proffered, according to Lambert, mountains of gold; secular competitors were excluded by the vastness of their offers, nor did the vendor dare to ask so much as the purchaser was prepared to pay. The world wondered, continues the same historian, from what springs these rivers of money could flow; and understood not how the riches of Croesus and of Tantalus could have been amassed by private men; by those more especially who had taken upon themselves the scandal of the cross, and the profession of poverty,—and who disclaimed a right of property in aught beside their daily sustenance and clothing<sup>1</sup>. And though Lambert, it is probable, asserts no more than the truth, when he declares that these unprincipled monks bore but a small proportion to those of more exemplary manners, yet he is forced to admit that, as far as public opinion was concerned, this leaven had so leavened the whole mass, that, when any prince or noble attempted to found a school of holy living and divine exercises, he usually sent for monks from beyond the Alps to form and regulate it; those of Germany being put aside as unworthy.

The rapacity of the great prelates of the empire has been already commented upon. Hanno, strict as he was in some respects, and considered, amid the general laxity of the time, as a reformer, had not shown less eagerness than his brethren in appropriating to himself such possessions as he could persuade the young king

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

to grant, or could extort from the minor and less powerful abbeys; though it should be said in his defence, that it was rather his church, than himself, which he desired to enrich, and that he disposed of much of the wealth, which he thus acquired, in the foundation or augmentation of religious institutions. In 1063, he had procured from the crown, the annexation, to his diocese, of the monastery of Malmedy, a foundation which he, by this arbitrary proceeding, severed from its legitimate dependence on the larger abbey, founded by St. Remaclus, at Stablo<sup>1</sup>. This infringement of ancient rights was, however, earnestly resisted by the abbot of the latter place; who, during eight years, in spite of menaces and ill-treatment, maintained his claim to the undisturbed enjoyment of his right; and, by his management, the affair was at length concluded by a most singular, and to Hanno most disgraceful, scene. The king, when applied to, had been afraid to move in the matter against one of Hanno's authority. The pope had given a decision in the abbot's favour; but even his command had failed to reduce the archbishop to relinquish the coveted possession: the authority of the canonized founder was appealed to in vain, and Hanno declared to the abbot, who knelt before him, that he would not resign Malmedy, even though the holy Remaclus should himself rise from the tomb to demand it.

The last words inspired the abbot with a sudden thought, which he availed himself of the first favourable opportunity to put in execution. This was presented by the king's visit, in the spring of 1071, to the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad ann. 1063 et 1071.—Diploma Henrici IV. (V.) Imperatoris in vet. monument. Stabulens. Monaster. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. ii. p. 82.

bouring city of Liege<sup>1</sup>. As Henry sat at a solemn banquet, with the archbishop at his side, the doors were suddenly thrown open, and the abbot and monks of Stablo entered in procession, bearing with them the coffin which contained the relics of the canonized founder of Malmedy, which they deposited before the astonished king upon the regal table. "Behold!" they said, "Remaclus comes from the grave to demand his own! If thou carest not for the children, reverence the founder and the father, who now lives and reigns with Christ, and daily lays the wrongs which he suffers in us before the throne above<sup>2</sup>." The confusion which ensued may be imagined; Henry was abashed and irresolute; his queen burst into tears; but the enraged archbishop called on the king to countenance no longer by his presence this mad proceeding; and the monarch and his suite retired in haste. The populace, aware of the arrival of the venerated relics, now thronged the deserted banquet-room; the sick and the infirm pushed eagerly forward to touch the sacred depository which contained them, and deemed, as they did so, that they felt their health and strength return. The whole town was in a rapture of enthusiasm, and the name of St. Remaclus resounded, amid shouts of transport, to the skies. Informed of these proceedings, the king sent to command the removal of the body from the banqueting-hall to the neighbouring church. The monks, however, declined to obey the command; and those who by the royal order attempted to enforce it,—awed by the general clamour, or participating in the general feeling,—declared themselves unable to remove the coffin from its place. The next day its bearers

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

authorized its removal; but in the church, as in the hall, it was surrounded by enthusiastic votaries: the rumour of one miracle rapidly succeeded that of another<sup>1</sup>; the city continued in a state of high and feverish excitement; and, as the archbishop, unmoved by all these things, expressed his firm determination to retain the property, and chastise the audacious monks who resisted his claim, the king at length declared to him, that if he did not resign Malmedy, he should himself be compelled to wrest it from him. Hanno then, though ungraciously, yielded; the monastery in dispute was restored to its original possessor; the victorious monks bore back the relics of their founder, amidst songs of praise and thanksgiving, and the acclamations of a venerating people; and the transaction has ever since held a prominent place in legendary lore, under the name of the Triumph of St. Remaclus<sup>2</sup>.

Amid scenes indicative of such general rapacity and corruption, it was but too natural that the young king should be led to join in that traffic in holy things which seemed to him universal. He submitted to enter into a negotiation with Rupert, abbot of Bamberg; a man, who from his sordid habits and incessant labour in the accumulation of money, had obtained the surname of

<sup>1</sup> *Tanta circum sanctum corpus coruscabat miraculorum multitudo, ut corporali quodammodo proclamatione videretur beatus Remaclus jus suum expostulare. Lamb.—Tanta confestim subsequuta est gratia, ut manus ac pedes contracti solverentur, orbatae mulieris oculi aperirentur, elecelluti cujusdam pedes distorti relocarentur . . . Fit enarrabilis populi commotio, cantat ecclesia, contremiscit aula, rex accurrit anhelus, bona quæ abstulerat sanctissimo corpori, utrisque representat manibus.—Epistola D. Episcopi ad J. Episcopum ap. Martene, Coll. Ampliss. t. i. p. 489.*

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

Nummularius<sup>1</sup>, of which the object was the expulsion of the virtuous abbot Widerad, from the monastery of Fulda, with a view to Rupert's appointment to that station in his place. The firm resistance, however, of some of the parties concerned, who withstood the king to his face, rendered the execution of this project impracticable. But when Meinwerd, the abbot of Reichenau<sup>2</sup>, was induced, partly through the royal importunity, to withdraw from the cares of his station, the king at once nominated the unworthy Rupert his successor, receiving from him a considerable sum as the price of the appointment. And from this inauspicious beginning, according to Lambert, it came to pass that abbeys, as they became vacant, were publicly put up to sale in the palace<sup>3</sup>, the monarch, instead of setting himself, as his father had done, in open opposition to the disgraceful traffic, by which the western Church in general, and that of Germany in particular, had been so long and so universally corrupted, sanctioning and systematizing it by his example<sup>4</sup>.

Bad, however, as the times of Henry IV. were, they differed in one material respect from those in which emperors had sold bishoprics, bishops subordinate stations in the Church, and laymen the benefices to which they possessed the prescriptive right of appoint-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—vulgo, "der Pfenning-Sammler." Monaster. German. Chronolog. a Gaspar. Brusch.

<sup>2</sup> or Augia Dives, near Constance. Vid. Brusch. Chronolog. ut supra.

<sup>3</sup> Proprio hujus invento, novo atque infausto hujus aucupio, hæc in ecclesiam introducta est consuetudo, ut abbatie publicè venales prostituantur in palatio.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

ment, without fear of opposition or dread of shame<sup>1</sup>. When St. Romuald, who died in 1027, had spoken, to religious persons, of simony as a sin; so deadened had they become, through custom, to the atrocity of the practice, that he seemed to them to speak a strange thing, to inculcate overstrained and fanciful notions<sup>2</sup>. But the principle, to which Romuald thus bore an apparently solitary testimony, had since his death been widely, though slowly, diffusing itself. The aspirations had now become audible, of those who—oppressed by the gloom which had settled over the Church during the long lapse of the tenth century,—were wont to sigh for the dawning of a brighter day. Against simony had been directed, as we have seen, the first steps of the advancing reformation<sup>3</sup>. And the decrees of Clement's council of 1047 at Rome, and of Henry's of the same year in Germany<sup>4</sup>, were the types and forerunners of a series of similar enactments by which that guilty practice

<sup>1</sup> Theutonici reges perversum dogma sequentes  
 Templa dabant summi Domini sæpissime nummis  
 Præsulibus cunctis, sed et omnis episcopus urbis  
 Plebes vendebat, quas sub se quisque regebat :  
 Exemplo quorum, manibus necnon laicorum  
 Ecclesiæ Christi vendebantur maledictis  
 Presbyteris, cleris, quod erat confusio plebis.

Donizo in vita Matild. i. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Novam rem . . . Per totam namque illam monarchiam, usque ad Romualdi tempora, vulgatâ consuetudine, vix quisquam noverat simoniacam hæresim esse peccatum.—Damiani Vita S. Romualdi, c. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of that crime was, in the language of its impugnors, so far extended as to include the obtaining benefices by undue obsequiousness or adulation, as well as by positive purchase. “ Ut tria dicantur esse munerum genera, scilicet munus a manu, munus ab obsequio, munus a linguâ.”—Damiani Opusc. xxii. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. supra, pp. 121, 122. 131, 132.

was branded and forbidden. These enactments were, it is true, in point of general operation, comparatively powerless. The evil had too deeply rooted itself, too extensively entwined itself with the habits of society, to be easily, or suddenly, eradicated. The effects of Henry III.'s example ceased, in great measure, upon his death. And when his successor, misled by the thoughtlessness of his character, and by the unhappy circumstances of his education, reverted to the bad precedents of earlier times, and sanctioned the unholy barter in question by his habitual practice, the evil seemed to revive in all its former strength, and became, to common observers, as firmly rooted as ever.

But this was not in truth the case.—That the practice should have been publicly condemned, was in itself a great point gained; little as might be, for a time, the direct result of the condemnation. In defiance of that stigma, the practice might continue; but it could no longer receive, as it had previously done, the unquestioned sanction of society; it could no longer be classed among transactions of a legitimate and ordinary kind, in the received code of morality; nor could he who denounced it be charged, as Romuald had been, with setting forth strange notions, or with entertaining overstrained and fanciful ideas of Christian duty.

The young king therefore, in following the unhappy course into which circumstances led him, was not acting,—as he probably seemed to himself to be,—in compliance with the universal habits of his time. His conduct accorded with the opinions and feelings of great numbers, but could not accurately be said to have public opinion on its side. In its adoption, he was arraying himself in opposition to a great and recognized principle, a principle which had now its

zealous and active adherents scattered over the whole face of his empire, and which, in addition to all this, had that moral strength which ever attends the right. And this circumstance,—closed as their eyes, in great measure, were to the real nature of their position,—may perhaps account for the wanton shamelessness, the utter contempt of decency, with which the traffic in holy things was at length carried on by Henry IV. and his followers: appearances symptomatic of a consciousness that such a traffic was a scandal and a reproach, which, carried on as it might be, would still be denounced as an offence by the strict and the pure; and of a consequent desire to support themselves, and to encourage each other, by braving and defying that public opinion, which it had become impossible to conciliate.

And such a line of conduct as this the monarch could not adopt, without becoming, in some degree, the avowed supporter of other practices, indulged in by the simoniacal clergy, but reprobated by their opponents; without giving his countenance to the gross and licentious habits of the worldly and the impure, as well as to the profane cupidity of the money changers in the temple. The ascetic strictness of the new reformers was as much dreaded by the one of these classes, as was their hostility to simony by the other. And both alike sought, in the monarch's court, a support against the reprobation, and a shelter from the persecution, of these unwelcome innovators.

Had, therefore, the misguided prince been ordained to triumph, in the great struggle which was now approaching; had he, while contending thus directly in the cause of evil, been destined to subdue, as he subsequently attempted, the opposition of the Church to his



imperial will; firmly to establish himself as her feudal master; and to make of her recognised head,—of the sole existing representative of independent episcopal authority,—his subservient creature; the consequences to Religion must have been such as it is fearful to contemplate. Far worse than subjection to a barbarous and pagan tyrant, who could but have persecuted her, would have been the Church's thralldom to a professedly Christian monarch, who was pledged systematically to corrupt her; whose cause was identified with that of simony,—of impurity,—of opposition to all internal ecclesiastical reform; and whose power, in the growing vigour of the feudal system, possessed a principle of consolidation and permanence, unknown to the tyrannies which in former ages had afflicted her. But the permission of a triumph so baleful did not accord with the high counsels of Heaven.

The contest between Alexander and Cadalous,—a contest which may be described as imaging forth, and in a manner anticipating, the greater conflict which was to follow,—had, among its other great, and, at the time, imperfectly appreciated results, given much strength to the cause of ecclesiastical reform throughout the West, by directing the minds of men to the consideration of the great principles, which the reformers asserted, as to that of practical questions, intimately connected with the events then in progress around them. Many who, from indolence or other causes, would have turned away, with apathy or distaste, from the contemplation of points of a confessedly speculative nature, were led to investigate with curiosity, and even with eagerness, principles, on which depended the issue of a general struggle, and the rights of contending pontiffs to the papal chair. And when the assertor of forgotten truths or principles has

once induced mankind to recognize them as important, and as deserving of consideration, his principal difficulty is surmounted.

Many, too, who had already given a tacit assent and approval to the principles of reform now canvassed, were likely to be converted, by the same contest, into their active and determined assertors. A man not accustomed,—as a large portion of mankind are not,—to contemplate his principles in the abstract, does not, for the most part, feel himself really committed to a cause, until he has acted upon it. It then assumes a reality,—a tangibility,—in his eyes, with which years of passive speculation would never have invested it. He has, in acting, illustrated to himself that which he has asserted to others. He has connected himself with others likeminded with him, and strengthened himself by discovering the correspondence of their sentiments with his own. His reputation, too, for consistency, has now, as he may perceive, come to depend in some degree on the continuance of his exertions; and having become, in a public way, the member of a species of party, he begins to entertain, though perhaps unconsciously, the feeling that from that party's success or failure some portion of honour or of shame will, in the opinion of those around him, redound to himself.

A further consequence of the same struggle, was the concentration of the reformers of the period into one body, under one common head. During the reign of Henry III., among those who saw the abuses of the time, and panted for their removal, some looked to the papal counsels and authority for the conduct of the reformation, but others anticipated the accomplishment of their wishes from the principles and energy of the German sovereign. Henry had, in fact, been the

liberator of the holy see itself from a preceding tyranny. The pontiffs, whom he had selected to fill it, had borne testimony, by their exemplary characters, to the purity of his intentions; and when they laboured in the cause of reform, he had been generally ready to second and support them with the full weight of his authority. This disposition, coupled with the extent and solidity of his power, might well induce many to think they saw, in his supremacy, the firmest basis for the fabric of reformation which they wished to raise. While, therefore, some churchmen were striving to strengthen, by all practicable means, the hands of the prelate in whom the Western Church had, as it were, concentrated the whole of her inherent, self-regulating, authority, others, influenced by motives as pure, were labouring in an opposite direction, and lending their aid to consolidate the system, which bound her in unqualified subjection to a secular master. But the turn taken by events on Henry's death did much to change the views of this latter class of reformers, and to open their eyes to the error which they had committed in grounding their confidence rather on the personal character of an individual than on the enduring agency of a principle. The moment which closed the well-intentioned monarch's eyes, put a stop to the progress of ecclesiastical reform under the auspices of the throne. And the great contest, by which that event was so speedily followed, showed that the almost despotic power over the Church, which he had acquired for his family, might be used in opposition to, as well as in advancement of, her holiness and purity. The cause of Cadalous, as we have seen, was that of the lax prelates of northern Italy, and of all those, wherever situated, to whom the progress of ecclesiastical reform was a

subject of aversion or dread. The great body of these, the imperial court arrayed around itself, as the supporters of its quarrel; nor could it do this, without driving, as though by a natural repulsion, the assertors of opposite principles from its side. From this time, therefore, no great discordancy of opinion could separate from each other the sincere reformers of the West. All who wished to extirpate the vice of simony from the sacred precincts of the Church; all who desired to substitute, for the licentiousness by which the clerical body was so generally disgraced, an ascetic purity; found themselves thenceforward compelled to look for guidance and support from the Lateran, and from the Lateran alone. And the contest had no sooner been concluded, than Alexander, strong in the moral support of a party so extended and so influential, found himself able, in his intercourse with the great prelates of the empire, to address them in a tone of authority, to which his predecessors had for many years been unaccustomed. The projected dissolution of Henry's marriage had given him, as we have seen, a cause for exerting that authority under most favourable circumstances; and the deference paid on that occasion to his envoy, and the weight accorded by public feeling to his decision, encouraged him to proceed in asserting and illustrating the prerogatives of his station. In the year following that of Damiani's embassy to Germany, he ventured to summon to Rome, Hanno himself and Siegfried, who had both been accused before him of simoniacal, or irregular, conduct;<sup>1</sup> nor did either of these metropolitans venture to disregard the summons; the archbishop of Cologne thus presenting himself, as a sus-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb.

pected criminal, before him, upon whose title he had so lately sat himself in judgment, at Mantua. The uncanonical proceedings of both the archbishops were too notorious to admit of denial. Hanno, in aiming at what appeared to him virtuous ends, had too often forgotten to restrict himself to lawful means of attaining them; and Siegfried, weak in principle, and unsteady in character, was not a man to form, or to adopt for himself, a standard of morality different from that which was generally recognized by society around him. It was not, however, either the wish or the policy of Alexander to treat with severity the exalted criminals, who, by their appearance, when summoned, had paid a most acceptable homage to the apostolic see. Having, therefore, sharply censured them for the past, and demanded from them an oath to abstain from all simoniacal practice for the future, he treated them with many signs of favour, and at length honourably dismissed them<sup>1</sup>.

Siegfried, roused to a momentary impulse of good feeling, by the manner in which Alexander brought the memory of his past transgressions before him, and taught to view those transgressions in a new light, by his intercourse with those by whom they were generally reprobated, gave utterance to the wish, that he might resign the dignified station which he held, and retire to a life of penitence and seclusion<sup>2</sup>. The pope,

<sup>1</sup> According to Lambert, the bishop of Bamberg, who accompanied the metropolitans under the same charges with themselves, found means, by costly presents, not only to appease the anger of his judge, but to obtain the pallium and other honours of an archbishop from the holy see. But the story, in its details at least, scarcely consists with the general account of the transaction, or with the usual conduct of Alexander or his advisers.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

however, and all others who were present, strenuously opposed the execution of the project; and Siegfried returned to Germany, and to the duties of his station<sup>1</sup>. In that country, the impressions which he had received at Rome soon became less vivid on his mind. Returning to the associations and connections, he resumed also the habits, of his former years; and though, amid this relapse, the idea which he had expressed at Rome sometimes recurred to his mind, and induced him, in 1072, suddenly to fly from the city which he governed, and to take refuge by stealth within the walls of Cluni, yet he was soon prevailed upon by the entreaty of his flock to return to the world<sup>2</sup>. Nor does it appear that these transient emotions of penitence or shame produced any marked effect, either upon his personal habits, or upon the course of his public policy. He still pursued, with unabated eagerness, the enforcement of his demands upon Thuringia; though in this, as in all other proceedings, he now felt the expediency, or rather the necessity, of acting in apparent concert with the Roman pontiff, and showing all possible public deference to his apostolical authority.

The letter addressed by him, in consequence of this dispute, to Alexander, in 1073, is curious, both as showing the state of full developement at which the theory of papal supremacy had now arrived, and as illustrating the true nature of the causes by which the reception of that theory throughout Europe had been most effectually advanced. Feeling that his antagonists would more readily defer to the authority of the apostolic see than to his own, Siegfried addresses

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Marian. Scot.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. cxxxiv.

Alexander as one in whose gift, as in that of St. Peter, were the crowns both of Germany and of the empire. He beseeches the Pontiff to assist him with the sword of the Holy Spirit, and, if possible, to send legates from Rome, to a synod then about to be holden, that they might preside over it, and close the business in a canonical way; or, if that might not be, that he would by an official act give the synod his sanction, and pronounce against the rebellious Thuringians the censures of the Church <sup>1</sup>.

It would be tedious here to recapitulate all the other instances, which might be cited, of papal interference with the German Church, between the years 1069, and that in which Alexander II. died, 1073. The reader may well suppose, that the authority which the mighty metropolitans of Cologne and Mentz were afraid to disobey, would not often be slighted by prelates or churchmen of minor dignity and influence. While, therefore, the king, in his reckless career, was offending his nobles, alienating his friends, and disgusting the great mass of his subjects, that pontifical authority, upon which he looked with contempt, was acquiring fresh strength and consolidation with every year; and creating, indeed, for itself such elements of vigour as, till the yet future moment of crisis came, neither its supporters nor its antagonists could adequately appreciate. In the year following that of the visit of the German metropolitans to Rome, two archbishops from another, and a more distant, land, did homage by their presence and obeisance to the apostolic see <sup>2</sup>. The celebrated Lanfranc, one of the most distinguished men of his day for talent and literary attainments, had been placed by

<sup>1</sup> Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. cxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb.—Roger de Hoveden. *f*Annal. pt. prior.

William the Conqueror on the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>; and according to usage applied to Rome for that confirmation of his appointment which the pontiffs were wont to confer by the gift of the pallium<sup>2</sup>, or vest of archiepiscopal dignity. In old times the archbishops elect had solicited this favour in person of the apostolic see, and though the practice of late—except in special cases, like that of Aldred,—had been discontinued, Hildebrand saw too well its importance to the papal interests, not to resolve upon attempting its restoration. He therefore undertook the charge of replying to Lanfranc's request, and, in a letter to that prelate, expressed, in the strongest terms, his regret that it could not be complied with. Could any case, he said, have authorized a departure from the proper practice, Lanfranc, deserving as he was of the regard of the papal see, should undoubtedly have received the favour in question, without having to solicit it. But it was most essential that the old rule should be restored and maintained. The holy see was anxious too, on various points, for the benefit of the English archbishop's counsels. It was

<sup>1</sup> Lanfranc was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 29, 1070. Vid. Canonic. Lichfeldens. indicul. de succession. archiep. Cantuar. Anglia Sacra, t. i. p. 108. Vid. Willielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. lib. i.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the pallium see Ziegler. de Episcop. c. x. Clement II., in giving it to an archbishop of Salerno said, "Quia de vellere ovis est, intellige te ovium pastorem. Et quia eo circumcingeris, et etiam circa humeros portas, cognoscas et undique circumspicias ne aliqua erret, et in morsus incidat luporum. Quod si aliquando, quod absit, contigerit, eam habeas in humeros ad caulam reportare, et pristinae societati coadunare. Quod vero ante et retro crux Domini habetur: illud apostolicum semper docet ante oculos tuæ mentis habere: mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo." Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 923.



hoped, therefore, that, by complying with the directions which papal envoys were commissioned to bear to him, he would adopt a line of conduct meet for a dear son of the Church and a pious member of the clerical order<sup>1</sup>. This epistle produced its intended effect; and in 1071 Lanfranc, with Thomas, who had been promoted, in 1070<sup>2</sup>, to the metropolitan see of York, presented himself in due form before the apostolic threshold, where Alexander received him with most distinguished honour. As Lanfranc approached, the pontiff paid him the unusual compliment of rising from his seat to meet him, declaring at the same time that he did so in honour, not of his archiepiscopal dignity, but of his character as a master in literature<sup>3</sup>. "And now," he continued, "that I have paid its due to honour, do thou the same to justice, and prostrate thyself, after the manner of all archbishops, before the feet of the vicar of St. Peter<sup>4</sup>." Lanfranc hesitated not to comply;—and Alexander not only bestowed upon him the pallium, which he had come to seek, but also presented him, as a mark of his private friendship, with another vestment of the same kind, in which he had been accustomed himself to officiate at the holy Eucharist<sup>5</sup>. And, as some question arose with respect to the validity of the consecration of Thomas of York, as well as of Remigius of Lincoln, by whom the English metropolitans had been accompanied on their journey, the pontiff, as the highest possible compliment to the favoured Lanfranc, placed

<sup>1</sup> Baron. *Annal.* ad an. 1070.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb.

<sup>3</sup> Hanc venerationem non se illius archiepiscopatus, sed magisterio literarum deferre. Willielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. p. 117. edit. Savil.

<sup>4</sup> Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Id.

the destiny of his companions in his hands. From him they received again the rings and staves which they had surrendered; and then returned in his company to their native country. And though Alexander declined to decide the long controverted question of precedence between the sees of York and Canterbury; which he referred to the arbitration of the sovereign and prelates of England<sup>1</sup>; he conferred such powers on Lanfranc, as rendered him the virtual head of the English Church, and the permanent representative of the pontifical authority<sup>2</sup>.

Of that authority Lanfranc continued, as might have been expected, the firm adherent and assertor. The following passages, in which this English primate speaks of the Roman patriarch's power, may well be alluded to, in connexion with the letter, just cited, of the metropolitan of Germany, as showing how ready the most exalted members of the Western hierarchy now were, to consider that the proper prerogatives of the episcopate were concentrated, by divine appointment, in the Roman patriarch, as sole successor of St. Peter:—

“When our Lord and Saviour,” says Lanfranc, “said to St. Peter, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,’ he might, had it so pleased Him, have added, ‘the like power I grant to thy successors.’ But the omission of such words in no wise diminishes the dignity of the successors of that apostle. Do you gainsay this? Do you advance any thing in opposition to it? It is impressed on the

<sup>1</sup> By whom it was subsequently decided in a council at Windsor, Vid. Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Alex. II. ep. x. ap. Harduin.—Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Regum, lib. iii.

“ consciences of all Christians that, no less than if the  
 “ acts were those of St. Peter himself, they should  
 “ tremble when his successors threaten, and reverently  
 “ rejoice when they show themselves serene<sup>1</sup>. And  
 “ then only is the arrangement of any ecclesiastical  
 “ matters ratified and binding, when the successors of  
 “ St. Peter have given it their sanction. And what  
 “ causes this but the power of the divine grace, diffused,  
 “ through the Lord Jesus, from St. Peter among his  
 “ vicars<sup>2</sup> ?”

In France, in Spain, and in other countries, Alexander endeavoured, by the mission of legates and other means, to advance his plans of ecclesiastical reform, and to maintain his authority; and, while the papacy thus grew in strength abroad, the death,—in December 1069,—of Godfrey of Tuscany<sup>3</sup>, may be considered an event favourable to the consolidation of its power in Italy; the sovereignty of an important province thus passing from the hands of an uncertain and temporizing supporter of the papal cause,—whose zeal was ever suspected, and whose friendship itself was dangerous,—into those of firm and devoted adherents to the Church and her recognized head; for such were Beatrice and her daughter Matilda, to whom the government of Tuscany now mainly reverted. By his first marriage, Godfrey had a son, named like himself; a prince, who,

<sup>1</sup> Ut nihilominus quam B. Petro, successoribus ejus et minantibus attremant, et serenam dignitatem indulgentibus gaudenter applaudant.

<sup>2</sup> “ Quid illud agit, nisi vis divinæ liberalitatis per Dominum Jesum a beato Petro in vicarios ejus diffusa ?”—Baron. Annal. ad an. 1072. N. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliiss. t. iv. p. 941.

though small in stature, and disfigured by the personal defect from which he derived the surname "il Gobbo <sup>1</sup>," possessed in a high degree the talents requisite for civil and military command. Godfrey the younger succeeded his father in the duchy of Lorraine; and, by virtue of a marriage contracted, under his father's auspices, with Matilda <sup>2</sup>, to his Tuscan titles also. But the union thus formed, was an ill-assorted and unhappy one. It is doubtful whether Godfrey was ever more to Matilda than a husband in name; and it is certain that, after some little time, differences arose between the two, which estranged them from each other, and which ended in Godfrey's chiefly occupying himself in Lorraine, and abandoning to his wife and her mother the exclusive administration of the Cisalpine territories of their house <sup>3</sup>.

Matilda, subsequently known to her contemporaries and to posterity by the appellation of "the Great Countess," was one of the most remarkable characters of the middle ages. She adorned her high station by her distinguished talents, and by the results of her learned education. Amid the various occupations, connected with the administration of her extensive territories, she found time and opportunity to become the encourager, and in some degree the restorer, of ancient literature. She was acquainted with the more recent languages spoken in France and Germany, as well as in her own country. She was active and energetic in the enforcement of justice, and the maintenance of her

<sup>1</sup> Godefridus Gibbosus, etsi corpore exiguus, tamen animo eximius. Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 940. Vid. Baron. ad an. 1074. nn. 20 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Hist. Andaginensis Monast. p. 943.

authority over her subjects; nor was she unequal to the task of eliciting the military resources of her territory, and bringing well-disciplined armies into the field. She was munificently charitable to the poor; systematically kind and hospitable to the exile and to the stranger; and the foundress, or benefactress, of a variety of churches or conventual institutions. Through all the various scenes of her eventful life, she never suffered secular affairs to interfere with the frequency, or regularity, of her exercises of devotion; and, in the hours of darkness and adversity, which were destined to form no inconsiderable portion of her period of earthly probation, she found her truest consolation in the society of holy men, and in the perusal of the holy Scriptures; which she is said to have understood better than many bishops of her time.

Such was "the Great Countess;" such was she who, too proud or too humble to recapitulate the roll of her titles, was wont to subscribe herself, "Matilda, by the grace of God what I am<sup>1</sup>." Educated as she had been, by her mother's care, in habits of devotion, her ardent spirit, as the great conflict of her time deepened around her, embraced the quarrel of the menaced Church with a chivalrous enthusiasm. The moral dignity of Hildebrand, as he came forward as the great champion of that quarrel, commanded her admiration; she conceived for his high character a deep reverential feeling, such as none but characters proportionably exalted could entertain; and her talents, her energies, her influence, her

MA	TIL
DA	DEI
GRA	SI
QD	EST
	+

<sup>1</sup> "Matilda Dei gratiâ id quod sum;" The last words being sometimes substituted, "quidquid est," and sometimes "si quid est."—Fiorentini, *Memorie della gran Contessa Matilda*, l. ii. p. 340.

treasures, were, throughout her life, devoted to the support of his power, or to the furtherance of the principles which he maintained.

The year 1072 was destined to close the laborious and ascetic career of Peter Damiani<sup>1</sup>. Henry, archbishop of Ravenna, a partizan of the pretender Cadalous, had died in a state of excommunication, and had left his church in a state of lamentable confusion. The mission of a legate thither was therefore deemed expedient by the conclave of the Lateran; and Damiani, though aged and worn with austerities, readily undertook the laborious commission, and executed it with success. But, on his return, while halting at a monastery just without the gates of Faenza, he was seized by a fever, which rapidly subdued his already exhausted strength, and finally terminated his earthly existence on the 22d of February<sup>2</sup>.

Dying at this epoch, Damiani had lived long enough to see the cause, to which his life had been devoted, crowned with a degree of success which, in the early portion of his career, he could scarcely have contemplated. He had seen the great abuses of his time publicly and repeatedly condemned, and,—by the downfall of Cadalous,—in a manner overthrown: while, through the same event, the papacy,—to the power of which he had ever looked, as to the surest guarantee for a complete reformation,—had been established in a condition of strength and independence, to which it had long been a stranger. But, had the life of this great reformer been prolonged but a few months, he would

<sup>1</sup> Berthold. Constant. ad an.—Baronii Annales.—Constantini Abbatia Caietani in Regulam Petri de Honestis præfatio.

<sup>2</sup> Vita B. Petri Damiani per Joannem Monachum, c. xxii.

have seen that authority exerted in a yet bolder manner, than it had ever been permitted to him to witness. For some part of the early summer of 1072 was spent by Alexander II. at Lucca, in the company of Beatrice and her daughter Matilda. These princesses, nearly connected with Henry by blood, lamented his course of life<sup>1</sup>, on the grounds at once of public principle and of personal affection; and were anxious for the trial of any experiment, which held out a chance of bringing him to reflection and amendment. And the pontiff, influenced by their entreaties, and confiding, as well in their assured support, as in the general reverence now paid to his authority, resolved to venture upon speaking, in the most solemn tone of warning and reproof, to the monarch himself<sup>2</sup>. At a council, therefore, holden at Rome, in February, 1073, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication, against such of Henry's favoured companions as were the most notoriously contaminated by the vicious practices of the day<sup>3</sup>; and charged the German prelates who were present, to bear a letter to the king, to the effect,—according to some authorities,—that he should forthwith appear before the throne of St. Peter, and defend himself against the charges of simony and other offences, which had been brought against him<sup>4</sup>. This letter, however, has not been preserved to us; and the silence

<sup>1</sup> Tristes inde satis Mathildis erantque Beatrix  
Quæ sub Alexandro Papa stabant venerando.

Donizo de vita Mathild. l. i. c. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Fiorentini, an. 1072.—Donizo.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>4</sup> Anno et Hermannus . . . legatione peractâ, reversi, literas Alexandri apostolici detulerunt regem vocantes Romam ad satisfaciendum pro simoniacâ hæresi. Abbas Urspr.—Otto Frising.—Chronograph. Saxo.

of other writers respecting a document so extraordinary, seems to contradict the details, at least, of this statement; though we can hardly suppose, that such a step as the excommunication of his counsellors, would be unaccompanied by a direct and severe message of rebuke to the monarch himself, whose reformation was avowedly the main object of the proceeding.

Even such a step as this,—unused as the minds of men now were to such exertions of pontifical authority,—could not, under ordinary circumstances, have been taken, without arousing, in Germany, a strong feeling of indignant loyalty in the monarch's support, guilty as he might be. But Henry had now proceeded so far, in the work of alienating from himself the affections of all classes of his subjects, that the pontifical rebuke to himself, and public excommunication of his most familiar friends, was received with apathy, and excited no re-action of any kind in his favour; a circumstance which,—if he gave himself the time to reflect upon it,—could scarce fail to show him the magnitude of the dangers to which he stood exposed, and the critical nature of his situation.

But, whatever may have been his thoughts or intentions, when first informed of these proceedings of the pontiff, an event soon occurred, which relieved him, for the moment, from the necessity of further consideration of them. Alexander II., on the 21st of April, 1073, breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. His summons, if such indeed had been issued, fell consequently to the ground; his rebukes were no longer supported by his personal influence or authority; and Henry, in his joy at what he considered his deliverance from an embarrassment, soon

<sup>1</sup> Marian. Scot.—Vid. Pagi, in Baron. ad an. 1073. § iii.



forgot whatever resolutions of amendment his momentary difficulties might have forced upon his mind.

Alexander II., thus closing his career, left behind him a truly honourable name. During the whole of his pontificate, he had maintained the character of a true churchman, and of a consistent reformer of the evils of his time. In conjunction with Hildebrand, he had steadily and perseveringly laboured, in the gradual developement of those principles of ecclesiastical liberty and unity, to which that ardent mind had devoted its extraordinary powers. And, if the fact of his habitual deference to so highly-gifted an adviser, should diminish in some degree our conceptions of the firmness and originality of Alexander's character, we should not refuse its due meed of praise to the discernment, which led the pontiff to see, and to avail himself of, the talents and energies of that distinguished guide.

It would, at the same time, be an injustice to the memory of Alexander, were we to regard him as the mere tool or instrument of Hildebrand or his party. He was, rather, the participator in their views; their associate in the great work to which their labours were directed; nor could he have forwarded that work as he did, had he not possessed a fervent zeal, an active mind, and a determined spirit. He was pure in his habits of life, courteous and amiable in his manners, and of a gentle and benevolent disposition. The last quality he evinced by the manner in which, on more occasions than one, he pleaded the cause of mercy toward the Jews<sup>1</sup>; a people who were then in too many parts of Europe the objects of systematic persecution and slaughter. He sank, ultimately, to the

<sup>1</sup> Alex. II. epp. apud Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 1100 et 1116.

grave, beloved by all around him ; it was said of him, that he found the Church a hand-maid, and left her free ; and the veneration with which he was generally regarded by his contemporaries, is testified by the legends which they have left us, of miracles which honoured his tomb.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1073.

DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE PAPAL AND IMPERIAL PARTIES—ELECTION OF GREGORY VII.—HIS REPORTED MESSAGE TO HENRY IV.—HIS EPISTLE TO LANFRANC—COUNT EBERHARD'S EMBASSY TO ROME—HENRY'S APPROVAL OF THE ELECTION—SENTIMENTS OF CHURCHMEN ON THE SUBJECT OF INVESTITURE—MISSION OF HUGO CANDIDUS TO SPAIN—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE GRANDEES OF THAT COUNTRY—TO GODFREY THE YOUNGER OF TUSCANY—TO BEATRICE AND MATILDA—HENRY'S EPISTLE TO GREGORY.

LOOKING, as we may now do, upon the times which have been treated of, with the light thrown upon them by subsequent events, we may easily see, though the fact may perhaps have escaped the notice of contemporary eyes, that the struggle with Cadalous,—ending as it had done,—contained in itself the seeds of a future and more momentous conflict. By the general recognition of Alexander II., the papal party had, in their own eyes, established the principles for which they had contended; but the imperial counsellors, in conceding the point in dispute, had, in all probability, seemed to themselves to be making a merely personal concession or compromise, by acquiescing in the pretensions of one individual claimant of the papal name to the derogation of those of another. The young Henry IV., and his courtiers, still conceived the general prerogatives of the crown over the Church and her pastors, to be those which Henry III. had established, or enjoyed. The

rule of things, in their eyes, was still that which the last mentioned monarch had illustrated at Sutri; and they were ready, by consequence, to regard as offences, or insults to the imperial dignity, all movements of the papacy inconsistent with that arrangement. The Roman conclave, on the other hand, appreciating, at least in part, the advantage which it had obtained, by its victory over the pretender of Parma, and by other occurrences of the last years, was now shaping its course, and fashioning its ideas, by rules adapted to this, its newly acquired position of comparative independence: so that,—to its members,—the monarch, even when proceeding in the accustomed course of his father, and of his grandsire, appeared as though attempting a series of unauthorized innovations and encroachments. Such a discrepancy of impressions as this could of itself scarcely fail to lead, ere long, these two great powers of western Christendom into hostile collision. And, while the wantonness with which the impetuous Henry asserted, in the most arbitrary manner, the imagined prerogatives of his crown, was calculated alike to accelerate, and to embitter, the struggle; the last modifications which the Church's constitution, in the hands of the pontiffs, had received, tended to place them in an attitude of more direct opposition to the imperial authority than they had previously occupied.

The process by which the papacy had originally attained its monarchical pre-eminence,—involving, as it did, a disregard to the rights and honours due to the episcopate in general,—naturally, or it may be said necessarily, led to the growth, in the Roman school, of another irreverence of a kindred nature; to an enfeeblement of the high spirit of Christian loyalty toward the secular sovereign. And, while every step by which, in com-

pliance with the feudalizing spirit of the time, the character of the Redeemer's unearthly kingdom was assimilated to that of a temporal, visible, monarchy, tended of course to confirm this evil bias, and to corroborate, in the successors of St. Peter, the habit of regarding themselves rather as rivals, than as subjects, of the anointed bearers of the civil sword; the result of Leo's campaign against the Normans had now exhibited to the world, in a public manner, the realization of that papal view of feudalism and of the Church, which represented the latter as the superior, and not the vassal, in the constitutional system of political gradations.

That view, strange as it deservedly appears to us, should in fact, advanced when it was, be rather regarded as the modification of an erroneous doctrine already in vogue, than as the introduction of a new error into the popular creed. Nay, as opposed to the theory which was in fact its opponent in the times of which we treat, it may be regarded as the expression of a truth. All parties, in those times, seemed to concur in the notions, that the collective episcopal authority of the Church was primarily lodged in the single hands of the Roman bishop; and that such authority, being in great measure a power of the same kind with earthly sovereignty, was, of necessity, to occupy a definite place in that constitutional system of the empire, the leading principle of which was the derivation of all privilege in each subordinate rank, from the rank or ranks above it. And the modification, which these tenets received in the hands of assertors of the papal power, was this, that, according to them, the place of the prelate in question, if he were indeed to take his place on a step of the feudal scale, must be that of supremacy, not of

subordination ; that the Church,—if she were not to be recognized as the possessor of a distinct, an independent, authority,—if she were to be linked, intimately and inseparably, with the state, so that the one of these two powers must needs, in the language of that day, hold its prerogatives of the other,—might, with justice, claim to be the mistress, not the vassal ; the sovereign, not the subject. Their assertions, in short, were conclusions which were legitimately deduced from premises admitted by their opponents as well as by themselves ; and the blots by which their system, as it developed itself, was disfigured and disgraced, were the results rather of these general misconceptions, than of their own peculiar deductions from them. It was not for these defects that they fought, or that they conquered ; and the imperfect, the unsatisfactory, consequences of their final victory, far from inclining us to regard them as champions of falsehood or error, should of right serve as an illustration, to us, of the extreme peril of a time, in which the Church's only defenders against an overwhelming danger, were themselves so deeply infected with the vicious principles, from which that peril arose, that their very success tended, in some respects, to perpetuate, rather than to abolish, the evils which they opposed. By their efforts, the Church was saved, "yet so as by fire;" and the brands and scars, which continued to disfigure her outward lineaments, were enduring memorials of the fury of the furnace from which she had been delivered.

But to return to our narration. Alexander II. had no sooner breathed his last, than his archdeacon, in concert with the other leading ecclesiastics of the city, directed that the three following days should be devoted to fasting, to deeds of charity, and to prayer ;

after which the proper authorities were to proceed,—in the hope of the divine blessing upon their counsels,—to the election of a successor. But, long before the period thus prescribed had elapsed, that election was decided.

On the day following that of Alexander's decease, the dignified clergy of the Roman Church<sup>1</sup> stood, with the archdeacon, round the bier of the departed pontiff, in the patriarchal church of the Lateran<sup>2</sup>. The funeral rites were in progress; and Hildebrand, it is probable, was taking a leading part in the celebration of

<sup>1</sup> Sanctæ Romanæ catholicæ ecclesiæ cardinales, clerici, acolyti, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbyteri, præsentibus venerabilibus episcopis et abbatibus, clericis et monachis consentientibus, plurimis turbis utriusque sexus diversique ordinis acclamantibus.—Act. election. Greg. VII. citat. a Baron. ad an. 1073. n. 24; et vid. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1195.

<sup>2</sup> According to the act quoted in the last note, which is also cited by Paulus Bernriedensis and Pandulphus Pisanus, this scene took place in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula. Baronius however, from authorities found by him in the Vatican, describes it as having occurred in the Lateran, and he is followed by the Cardinal de Aragoniâ. But the most important evidence on the point is Gregory himself, who describes the transaction as taking place "in ecclesiâ Salvatoris" (Greg. Ep. lib. i. epp. 1-3.) an established synonyme of the Lateran. "Constantinus," says Damiani, "patriarchium Lateranense in beati Salvatoris honore construxit."—Discept. Synodal. ap. Conc. Osbor. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1122. "Ecclesia Lateranensis, quæ et Constantiniana et basilica Salvatoris diverso nomine nuncupatur." Ex antiquo codice in Vaticano, ap. Baron. ad an. 1057. It may be that, at the close of the tumultuous proceeding in the Lateran, the cardinal clergy adjourned to St. Peter ad Vincula, formally to ratify and register the election; or perhaps, the idea of fixing the scene at the latter Church arose from the statement of Bonizo (p. 811), that Gregory was enthroned "ad Vincula Beati Petri, non ad Brixianorium;" by which the author meant, it seems, only to contrast the legality of this pontiff's election in the city of St. Peter, with the irregularity of that of an anti-pope then recently elected at Brixen, in the Tyrol.

these solemn ceremonies. But suddenly, from the body of the building, which had been filled to overflowing by the lower clergy and people, burst forth the cry of "Hildebrand." A thousand voices instantly swelled the sound. "Hildebrand shall be Pope." "St. Peter chuses our archdeacon Hildebrand." These, and cries like these, rang wildly along the Church; the ceremonies were interrupted, and the officiating clergy paused in suspense. The subject of this tumult, recovering from a momentary stupor, rushed into a pulpit, and thence, while his gestures implored silence, attempted to address the agitated assembly. But the attempt was vain; the uproar continued; and it was not until they perceived the cardinal presbyter Hugo Candidus<sup>1</sup> coming forward, and soliciting their attention, that the multitude suffered their cries to subside<sup>2</sup>.

"Brethren," said the Cardinal, "ye know, and, as it appears, ye acknowledge, that, from the time of our holy Father Leo, Hildebrand our archdeacon has proved himself a man of discretion and probity; that he has exalted the dignity of our Roman Church, and rescued our Roman city from most imminent dangers. We can find no man more fitting to be entrusted with the future defence of our Church or state; and we, the cardinal bishops<sup>3</sup>, do, with one voice, elect Hildebrand to be henceforth your spiritual pastor and our own<sup>4</sup>."

The joyous cries of the populace arose anew. The

<sup>1</sup> He was sometimes called "Albus." Vid. Dacher. Spicileg. t. i. 625. and sometimes "Blancus." Vid. Lamb. ad an. 1076.

<sup>2</sup> Card. Aragon. ap. Murator. Rerum Ital. Script. t. iii. pt. i. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> "Cardinales Episcopi," but Hugo was himself only a presbyter.

<sup>4</sup> Card. Aragon.



cardinal bishops, and clergy, approached the object of their choice to lead him toward the apostolic throne. "We chuse," they cried to the people, "for our pastor and pontiff, a devout man; a man skilled in interpreting the Scriptures; a distinguished lover of equity and justice; a man firm in adversity, and temperate in prosperity; a man, according to the saying of the Apostle, of good behaviour, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, given to hospitality, and one that ruleth well his own house. A man from his childhood generously brought up in the bosom of this mother Church, and for the merit of his life already raised to the archidiaconal dignity. We chuse, namely, our archdeacon, Hildebrand, to be pope and successor to the apostle, and to bear henceforward and for ever, the name of Gregory." The pope elect, upon this, was forthwith invested by eager hands with the scarlet robe and tiara of pontifical dignity, and placed, notwithstanding his gestures of reluctance, and even his tears, upon the throne of the Apostle<sup>1</sup>. The cardinals approached him with obeisance, and the people with shouts yet louder and more

<sup>1</sup> *Indutus rubeâ chlamyde, sicut moris est, et Papali mythrâ insignitus, invitatus et mœrens, in Beati Petri cathedra fuit inthronizatus.—Card. Aragon. ut supra.*

The ceremony of inthronization always took place in the Lateran Church, though that of consecration was performed at St. Peter's. Pagi in Baron. ad an. 1049; and see the same critic, ad an. 1073, § v. According to Benzo, Panegyri. in Hen. III. lib. vii. c. ii. the tiara with which Nicholas II. was crowned at Rome, and which was probably still in use in Gregory's pontificate, was in the form of a double crown, round the lower circle of which was engraved the motto "Corona regni de manu Dei;" and round the upper, "Diadema imperii de manu Dei." Hence, says Mansi, we learn that the use of the double circle in the papal crown is more ancient than learned men have thought. See note from Cantelius, above, book i. c. i. p. 60.

joyous than before, repeated the designation of their new pontiff, and tumultuously testified their approbation<sup>1</sup>.

And thus, on Monday, the 22nd of April, 1073<sup>2</sup>, was Hildebrand, or, as we must henceforward style him, Gregory, elevated to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical dignity and power. Whether he had beforehand contemplated or wished such an event as his own election, must of course be, to us, a matter of uncertainty. It is, however, clear that he did not anticipate, what may be styled its premature occurrence, on the day on which it happened. The events of that day were of too irregular a nature to have accorded, precisely, with his wishes, or to permit us to suppose them, even if the supposition were otherwise admissible, the results of his previous arrangement. Nor on such a demonstration of popular feeling on his behalf, could he have, beforehand, any right to reckon. The stern austerity of his life and manners was not calculated to win for him the habitual favour of the multitude, even while it commanded their respect; and their conduct on this occasion was, it

<sup>1</sup> *Quem amodo usque in sempiternum et esse et dici Gregorium Papam et Apostolicum volumus et approbamus. Placet vobis? Placet. Vultis eum? Volumus. Laudatis eum? Laudamus.—Act. Election. Vid. Baron. et Harduin. ut supra.—Continuo universitate cleri et populi acclamante, “Domnum Gregorium Papam S. Petrus elegit.” Card. Aragon.*

<sup>2</sup> Benno, a historian hostile to Gregory, avails himself of this date to assert that his election was uncanonical; because, according to him, the canons required three days to intervene between the death of one pope and the election of his successor. But to this charge Baronius replies, that the decree of Nicholas II., which was intended and understood completely to define the essentials of a valid election, contained no such enactment.

would seem, to be traced rather to an unusual, and as it were extorted, burst of the latter feeling, than to a natural effusion of the former.

The event of his election, unexpected as, at the moment, it unquestionably was, seems to have overwhelmed for a while even his intrepid spirit. In letters written from the couch on which, exhausted in mind and body, he passed the following day<sup>1</sup>, he speaks of it in terms of terror, and, using the poetical language of the psalms, exclaims, "I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried<sup>2</sup>. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me<sup>3</sup>." And he concludes by anxiously imploring the intercessions of his friends, with Heaven, in his behalf; expressing a hope that their prayers, though they had not sufficed to prevent his being called to that post of danger, might yet avail to defend him when placed there.

The greatness and,—in the actual state of the world,—the daring nature, of the desires which animated him, and those with whom he had for some time been acting, now stood, perhaps, more fully displayed before him than ever, at the moment in which he felt himself irrevocably pledged to be the leading instrument in their fulfilment. His election called him to occupy the foremost post, in the great conflict of principle then pending; a conflict, on his part, against long-rooted customs, against long-established authority; a conflict against the wishes, the prejudices, and even, in some respects, the affections natural to mankind; a conflict

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. ep. 1, 2. — "In lecto jacens valde fatigatus."

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxix. v. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lv. v. 5.

in which to fail was ruin and disgrace ; from which to retire would be a sinful abandonment of duty. An irresistible necessity, as it would appear to him, suddenly brought him close to those gigantic events, those fearful moments of crisis, which he had till then been permitted to contemplate through the mists of a comparatively dim and distant futurity ; and his spirit may well have shrunk, for a moment, from more nearly and more directly confronting them.

It is stated by a contemporary historian<sup>1</sup>, that Gregory, in these agitating moments, dispatched a letter to King Henry ; in which, after narrating the event of his election, he intreated him not to sanction the nomination by his consent. "If," he is reported to have thus addressed the monarch :—"If I be, indeed, "made pope, my first business must be, to see that "your many sins and trespasses meet with the punishment which they deserve."

But, no such epistle appears among Gregory's extant writings, nor does the story well consist with the tone, either of his epistles above alluded to, or of others, written also at this point of his career, which show him, from the very first, to have systematically proceeded in the administration of the papal office. The transmission too of such a letter, had it indeed taken place, could scarcely fail to have been certified to us, by the testimony of more than one of Gregory's contemporary annalists : Lambert of Aschaffenburg, in particular, might have been expected to corroborate, in this point, the statement of Bonizo. But, as this is not the case, we are, it would seem, hardly warranted in giving implicit credit to the statement. Yet it may

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 811. See also Cardinal. Aragon.

well have been founded on truth. Upon the election, a messenger would, of course, be dispatched without loss of time to the imperial court; in which the power of confirming or annulling such proceedings was, as we have seen, admitted to exist; nor is it probable that the principal actor in the scene would suffer him to depart, without charging him with some communication to the emperor directly from himself. And thus, partly in the way of compliment, and partly through the momentary confusion of his mind, he may have forwarded some letter or message, the tenor of which, being too gravely and formally considered, has given rise to the story which the writer in question has recorded.

Gregory could scarcely, in the actual circumstances of the Church and of the empire, have so widely departed from the principles which he had long laboured to establish, as in any more formal way to solicit the annulment, by an imperial veto, of the proceedings of the Roman clergy and people. And, though, having subscribed the decree of Nicholas II., he was not in a position to dispute, as a matter of form, the question of the emperor's interference; yet the notion, that any line of conduct which Henry could have adopted on the occasion, would have induced Gregory to renounce the high station to which he had been elected, is contradicted by the whole tenor of his conduct, from the moment of his election.

But that he continued, even when the first violence of his feelings had subsided, to regard the duties and responsibilities of that station, with a deep sentiment of awe, appears, from an epistle<sup>1</sup> written by him some short

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Baronius, ad an. 1073, and stated to be extant among Lanfranc's epistles, preserved at Paris.

time after his election, to Lanfranc : a prelate to whom he appears to have confided, more fully than to others, the emotions of his heart. "The greater," he says, "the peril in which we are placed, the greater our need of the prayers of all good men. For we, if we would escape the sentence of the divine wrath, must arise against many, and must incense them against our own soul. For, whilst nearly all, as saith the Apostle, seek their own things, and not the things of Jesus Christ, the princes and governors of the world, for the gratification of their own passions, not only desert the law of God, and the dictates of justice, through carelessness, but strive with all their might to oppose them. So that we appear to see, even with our own eyes, the fulfilment of the prophetic passage. 'The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Christ.' While the bishops, and those who should be the shepherds of souls, pursuing with unsatiable desire the glory of the world, and the pleasures of the flesh, not only confound, in themselves, all that is religious and holy, but lead those committed to their charge into every species of wickedness by their example. And thy prudence will alike see, how fearful it must be for us to abstain from opposing such persons, and how difficult for us to oppose them."

Had Henry's position, at the moment, been more favourable, the young monarch would doubtless have been glad to exert, on this occasion, the prerogative so often exercised by his ancestors, by issuing, without delay, his mandate annulling the election. With the character and principles of Hildebrand, the history of the past twenty years had made him well acquainted ; and the rise of that energetic churchman to greater power,

could not but be regarded by him with dread. The profligate and simoniacal prelates, too, who surrounded his court, were eager to increase, in the monarch's mind, this feeling of alarm. They presaged, and truly, what was coming; they felt how firmly the power of Gregory would be exerted in forcing them from their licentious and irregular courses, or in punishing them for their continuance in habits so unpriestly; and they knew how much the authority of the papal name would, in his case, be increased, by the respect commanded by his acknowledged probity of character, and purity of manners<sup>1</sup>. They endeavoured, accordingly, to prevail on the king, at all risks, to set himself in opposition to the Roman conclave, and to nullify their proceedings. But, fortunately for Henry, his court contained more honest, or more prudent, advisers; he was made aware of the extreme danger, in his critical circumstances, of an open rupture with the ecclesiastical power, and induced to adopt a more safe and moderate course. Count Eberhard of Nellenburg, a nobleman already mentioned as standing high in his confidence, was despatched as his ambassador to Rome; and directed to learn, from the authorities of that city, the particulars of the election, and their reasons for making it without waiting, as had been usual, for the imperial sanction. And it was only in the event of an unsatisfactory answer being returned to these inquiries, that the count was instructed to declare the nullity of the proceedings, and the consequent vacancy of the papal chair<sup>2</sup>.

But such an answer, it was, by no means, the wish of Gregory that he should receive. The new pontiff, as

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

we have seen, was already committed to a recognition of the sovereign's authority with respect to the point in question; and, even had it been otherwise, he would probably have been unwilling to furnish Henry with so fair a pretext, as any opposition on this point would have afforded him, for at once denying the papal authority, and for resisting, in future, whatever measures might emanate from the Lateran.

Circumstanced as the young king was, and evidently too feeble to refuse,—if a refusal could possibly be avoided,—his assent to the election, that assent could but be regarded by Gregory as a form; and the times were no longer such, as that the Church's freedom could be materially endangered by the compliment of acknowledging it. A system had now grown into comparative maturity, essentially incompatible with the continuance of that ecclesiastical subjection, which the ceremony of imperial confirmation had formerly implied<sup>1</sup>.

Gregory received, therefore, the imperial envoy with courtesy and deference. God, he said, was his witness, that he had, by no practices of his own, wrought his elevation to the exalted station, which he had been called upon to fill. The Romans, by their unsolicited election, had forced upon him, as though by violence, the burden of the ecclesiastical government. "But my consecration," he continued, "I have hitherto refused, awaiting the approval, by the king, and his princes, of the election; and I shall still refuse it, until that approval be certified to me by an accredited messenger<sup>2</sup>." Satisfied with this answer, Count Eberhard

<sup>1</sup> And, in fact, we learn from the annals of subsequent times, that this was the last occasion in which such a confirmation was sought for or granted.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



returned to Germany, and Henry felt that his only course was to confirm the election. Gregory, the bishop of Vercelli, and imperial chancellor of Italy, appeared accordingly, as the sovereign's accredited representative, at Rome. And the pontiff elect, having been admitted to priest's orders during the week of Pentecost<sup>1</sup>, was consecrated, in that prelate's presence, on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul<sup>2</sup>, with all rites and ceremonies from time immemorial observed upon such occasions<sup>3</sup>.

The name "Gregory" appears to have been chosen by, or for, Hildebrand<sup>4</sup>, at the moment of his sudden election, in compliment to his unfortunate teacher and friend Gratianus, who, it will be recollected, had been elevated to the chair of St. Peter by that name. By styling himself "the seventh," the new pontiff vindicated, as it were, the right of that unhappy man to the papacy, and secured his insertion in the canonical list of the popes by the designation, which he had assumed, of Gregory the Sixth.

No immediate change, of course, was effected in the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra Octavam Pentecostes*. Cardinal. Aragon. Whitsunday, 1073, fell on the 19th of May.

<sup>2</sup> June 29, 1073. So most authorities. Lambert of Aschaffenburg postpones the ceremony till the feast of the Purification in the ensuing year. But the former date is not only more probable in itself, but appears to be established by the circumstance that, Gregory's epistles written prior to the 29th of June, are headed "*Gregorius in Pontificem Electus*," while, of those subsequent to that day, the heading is "*Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei*." Vid. Mansi, Harduin, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Except that another bishop acted as representative of the bishop of Ostia, who should, in virtue of his office, have taken the principal part in the ceremony. But that prelate had been employed by Alexander as his legate, and was still absent.

<sup>4</sup> In point of form, it does not seem to have rested with a pontiff

counsels of the papacy, by the election, to the pontifical station, of one by whom those counsels had so long been virtually guided. In waging unintermitted war against what he considered the two great corruptions of his time, simony<sup>1</sup> and clerical marriage, Gregory did but imitate the example of his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter; though the weight of his name and energy of his character—aided by the gradually increasing effect of his, and their, past labours—now gave a new force to the papal exertions in this momentous struggle. These proscribed practices, like all other real or apprehended religious corruptions of the day, he traced, as to their proximate cause, to that state of subjection, to which the Church had been brought, under the secular princes and rulers of the world;—to the rise and progress of that system of secularization which, confounding things hallowed with things common, was daily drawing her, more and more completely, within the vortex of feudalism, and merging her essential and spiritual character in her external and apparent one. The lay nobles, who had become her most influential governors, were unfettered by those restraints which must, in the worst of times, impose some check upon

elect, himself to assume his future designation, though of course any intimation of his wish upon the point would be reverently attended to. “Non ipse electus nomen sibi assumebat, sed a protoscriniariis et aliis illi imponebatur: vid. Platin. in Paschal. II. ‘Sanctus ‘ Petrus Rainerium virum optimum pontificem elegit, cui postea ‘ primiscrinii et scribæ regionarii Paschalis nomen indidere.’” Not. in Chron. Cassin. ap. Murator. t. iv. p. 476.

<sup>1</sup> A word, which by the reformers of the time was used with great comprehensiveness of meaning. “Tria,” says Damiani, “dicuntur esse munera genera, scilicet munus a manu (i. e. pecunia), munus ab obsequio (i. e. obedientia subjectionis), et munus a linguâ (i. e. favor adulationis).”

the corruption of ecclesiastics. And her bishops and other spiritual dignitaries, bound to those laymen by the strict ties of feudal vassalage, sought rather to please their haughty lords and masters than to guide them; rather to court their favour by an imitation of their manners, than to risk their displeasure by venturing to set a contrary example. While this state of things continued, whatever might be achieved at intervals, or in particular spots, by the influence of energetic individuals, it was vain to hope for a general or permanent effect from the reforming enactments of popes or councils. Powerless would be the most solemn denouncement of simony in the Lateran, while the sovereign and his nobles should continue to offer for sale each ecclesiastical office as it fell vacant; nor less impotent the pontifical call upon the clerical body to abandon their luxurious habits for lives of ascetic purity, while they continued the tools and dependents of a licentious and gross-minded aristocracy. Gregory felt, therefore, that the great plans of purification which had so long engaged the thoughts of himself and his coadjutors, to be efficaciously pursued, must be accompanied by some step, directly tending to the severance of those feudal ties, by which the Church was thus, as it were, bound down to earth; some measure calculated to assert, and at the same time to realize, her essential independence of earthly dignities, and of constitutions human in their construction and temporary in their duration.

And the opportunity for such a measure was subsequently furnished to him, by a practice which, sanctioned as it had become by usage, had for some time excited the indignation of thoughtful churchmen. The effect of Charlemagne's policy upon the episcopate of his empire has been already adverted to. It has been

pointed out how, under that monarch and his descendants, prelates became identified with barons, the hierarchical governors of the Church with the feudal dignitaries of the empire; as well as how, in this blending of dissimilar characters, the sacred and unearthly dignity, which was the object of faith, became merged, to the public eye, in that which was tangible and conspicuous. Under this state of things,—the sovereign, naturally conceiving himself entitled to a preponderating voice in the nomination of his representative and vassal,—the custom silently became universal, that episcopal elections should be ratified by what was styled regal investiture. Though, in earlier and purer ages of the Church, the binding a bishop by any kind of formal oath, would have been thought a degradation of the episcopal character<sup>1</sup>, the prelates nominated by Charlemagne or his descendants, saw no impropriety, when becoming the benefited vassals of the throne, in pledging themselves, in the ordinary way, to fidelity and devotion, or in receiving the emblems of their appointment from the regal hand. The symbols adopted for this purpose were the sacerdotal ring and the pastoral staff; symbols which, naturally as they in the first instance suggested themselves, could scarcely fail to escape the indignant criticism of churchmen in a more thoughtful age. For, when their purport was weighed, they could scarcely be regarded as indicative of those civil rights, royalties, and privileges, which, emanating as they did from the fountain of secular honours, bishops might fairly be admitted to hold in subservience to, and as derivative from, the regal

<sup>1</sup> It was on that account forbidden by Justinian in his Laws. Vid. Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccles. Discipl. pt. ii. l. ii. c. xlvii. § 2.

authority. They were episcopal, not baronial, adornings. They typified, the one the espousals which the bishop, in Christ's stead, contracted with his Church<sup>1</sup>, the other, the pastoral superintendence which, as representing the great Shepherd, he was authorized to exercise over his flock. And, under the influence of that primitive feeling which sought to trace, in things of a holy nature, the unseen in the seen;—to watch for glimpses and shadowy indications of the correspondencies which connect the earthly and tangible accidents of the Church with her essential and hidden glories,—the more religious contemporaries of Gregory VII. regarded, as though fraught with a mysterious potency of meaning, these honoured instruments and appendages of her ministry. In the rod, they beheld the antitype of that, which in the hand of Moses had brought water from the rock to the relief of a perishing people<sup>2</sup>. And with regard to the ring, they, with St. Ambrose, beheld in it the seal of a pure faith and the impress of the truth. "He who hath the ring," the saint had thus spoken, "hath the Father, the Son, "and the Holy Ghost. For God hath sealed us, whose "image is Christ, and hath given His Spirit to be a "pledge in our hearts; that we may recognize, in the

<sup>1</sup> Dum tu (sacerdos) sis vir et sponsus ecclesiæ tuæ, quod utique perhibent et annulus dispensationis et virga commissionis. Damiani Opusc. xvii. de coelibatu sacerdotum.—Vice Christi factus es pastor ovium, scilicet quando datus est tibi annulus desponsionis et baculus pastoralis curæ . . . Nonne accepisti annulum, ut ecclesiam tuam velut sponsam diligeres, baculum quoque, ut eam a luporum incursione defenderes. Epistola Moguntinæ ecclesiæ ad Sigefridum. Udalr. Bab. Codex, N. cxxxiv.—Sacerdotes . . . in manibus annulos deferebant, quatenus ecclesiæ sponso sese ostenderent. Landulph. senior. Hist. Mediolan. t. ii. c. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Landulph. senior. Hist. Mediolan. l. ii. c. xxxv.

“ring which is placed upon the hand, that signet with which the inward parts of our hearts, and the ministry of our outward actions, are sealed<sup>1</sup>. Impressed with sentiments reverential as these, they could not but shudder to behold the practice of lay investiture, such as it existed around them; to behold the symbols, fraught to their eyes with a significancy so awful, handled and dispensed to Christ’s ministers by a licentious monarch, or, as was the case with many benefices, by his feudatory nobles, as though in exercise of the ordinary privileges and prerogatives of their secular dignity. And when we reflect that a ceremony, in itself so odious to them, was rendered still more obnoxious in their eyes, by its connection with the existing prostration of the Church before the temporal sovereignty, as well as by its tendency to perpetuate the system of simony which disgraced the times, we may, in some degree, appreciate the intensity of the feeling, with which, when once appealed to on the subject, they were found to insist on its total and perpetual abolition.

But Gregory was not prepared, at once, to evoke this dormant spirit. Though it is probable that, like Damiani, he had often bitterly ruminated on the degrading exhibition of the Church’s slavery, which investiture, in its continual recurrence, presented to the eyes of mankind, he was too well aware of the necessity

<sup>1</sup> Landulph. c. xxxvi.—Annulus quid est aliud nisi sinceræ fidei signaculum, et expressio veritatis? . . . Qui autem annulum habet, et Patrem habet, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, quia signavit nos Deus, cujus imago Christus, et dedit Spiritum pignus in cordibus nostris, ut sciamus hoc annuli istius, qui in manu datur, esse signaculum, quo cordis interiora factorumque nostrorum ministeria signantur. S. Ambros. Comment. lib. vii. in Evangel. Luc. cap. xvi. t. 3. p. 168, ex editione Romanâ, Lutet. Paris. 1661. The quotation in Landulphus is in some points incorrect.

of watching the times, and of selecting the fittest moment for every meditated effort, rashly to commit himself by an untimely demonstration against a practice so firmly established.

It was, therefore, to other points that his exertions, if not his thoughts, were in the first instance directed. And his official act, now to be mentioned, will afford a striking illustration of the mode in which, in the minds of Gregory and of his school, the noblest feelings and principles were debased by an alloy, originating in the distorted views of the nature of Christ's kingdom which had been generally adopted by the gross times before them. This kingdom, brought down by the events connected with its settlement under an earthly head, to the position, in some respects, of a temporal monarchy, could not, while thus circumstanced, make assertion of the claims which were spiritually its due, without the simultaneous assumption of a secular, political pre-eminence, but ill adapted to its primitive character. The Christian doctrine, that the Almighty Head of the Church "ruleth over all the kingdoms of the earth, and giveth them to whomsoever He will," was confounded with the idea, that His imagined sole vicar and representative below, was invested with, what the language of the times entitled, a paramount lordship or suzerainty, over the individual thrones of Christendom. Standing in the place of St. Peter, his successor was regarded as though clothed with an authority, similar in nature to that of kings, though exceeding theirs in extent; as occupying, in relation to them, a position, analogous to that which they occupied in reference to their feudatory nobles: the great truth of the Church's substantive, and, in her own province, supreme, authority, being thus borne witness to; though

in connexion with the then generally prevalent error, which represented her as forming a certain definite member, a component, necessary department, of the system of feudal society.

The act in question was the mission of Hugo Candidus,—the cardinal who had taken so prominent a part in his election,—into Spain. Hugo had already been employed in that country as legate; having been sent thither by Alexander II., subsequently to his submission to that pontiff. But he had drawn on himself, while there, the censures of the conclave, by having accepted bribes to restore persons convicted of simony to their benefices. For this he had been instantly recalled, and commanded to confine himself to Rome; but respect for the memory of his old patron, Leo IX., prevented Alexander from adopting further measures against him<sup>1</sup>. His conduct at Gregory's election shows him, nevertheless, to have been a person of influence in Rome; and after that event, Gregory perhaps could not refuse his application for employment. But he himself tells us that he only granted it upon Hugo's full acknowledgment of his errors, and solemn promises of amendment. He also thought it advisable that Hugo should be accompanied, on this occasion, to Spain, by two trusty monks of Cluni, who were to watch and control him<sup>2</sup>.

The Spanish peninsula had for some time been regarded with much interest by the governors of the Roman Church; and the efforts of Alexander II. had, throughout his pontificate, been exerted to procure the abrogation of the Gothic, or Mozarabic, ritual, which had from old time been in use in the Spanish Church, and

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 809.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. ep. 6.



the introduction, into Spain, of the Roman book of services in its place.

The unity of the Church, amid the natural distinctions and differences of her members, was a point upon which the popes of that time were anxious strenuously to insist; nor could it be in any way more satisfactorily illustrated to mankind, than by making her ritual one and the same, throughout the whole extent of her territories; and teaching, as far as might be, all portions of Christendom, to offer their devotions according to the forms established in the city of St. Peter. And they were, of course, more especially desirous so to illustrate this unity, in regions, which, like the Spanish kingdoms, lay apart, and in a manner cut off from, the general Christian community; for it was in these that the greatest danger existed, that the important doctrine of Catholic unity should be forgotten, and that the Church should acquire, in men's eyes, the character of a mere national or political institution.

The exertions of Alexander, undertaken for this end, in Spain, had not been unattended by success. Ramiro, king of Arragon, had caused the enactment, by a council assembled at Jacca, in or about the year 1063, of a canon, abolishing the Gothic, and establishing the Roman, ritual in his dominions<sup>1</sup>; and Hugo Candidus, on his first visit to Spain, in 1068, after the council of Mantua, had found the decision of that assembly, in favour of Alexander, generally respected, and the ordinance of Jacca recognized and acted upon, by Ramiro's son and successor, Sancho Ramirez<sup>2</sup>. But some time appears to have been required to wean that prince's

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, Breviar. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1075.

<sup>2</sup> F. Pagi, Breviar. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1159.

subjects from their attachment to their ancient forms of worship; and the completion of this work,—the establishment, in exclusive use, of the Roman system of services in Arragon,—was one of the principal objects of Hugo's present mission. It was not, of course, intended to confine the scope of his exertions to that small kingdom. But Alphonso king of Castile and Leon, and Sancho king of Navarre, do not seem to have so readily acquiesced in the papal intentions as their Arragonese brother; their subjects, too, exhibited that attachment to old customs, and that aversion to change, which have ever distinguished the Spanish character; and, notwithstanding the efforts of papal legates, and the exhortations, by letter, of pontiffs themselves, it does not appear that the reception of the Roman ritual, or, as it then began to be called, the Breviary, in the Christian portion of Spain, was complete, until after the holding of the council of Tolosa, in 1089<sup>1</sup>, during the pontificate of Urban II<sup>2</sup>.

But it was to a further object of Hugo's mission that the general remarks above made more directly referred. Count Eboli of Roceio<sup>3</sup>, a nobleman of great prowess and military skill, had undertaken an expedition against

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, *Breviar. i.* 595. *Hard. t. vi. pt. ii. p.* 1693.

<sup>2</sup> And, even then, the Mozarabic ritual was not so completely abolished in the Spanish Church but that it continued in use in many monasteries and even some cathedral churches in the time of Roderic archbishop of Toledo (13th century). It was at length printed, by direction of cardinal Ximenes, and in that shape still used, in Mabillon's time, in a certain chapel of Toledo cathedral, and in some parish churches. *Vid. Mabillon. Præfat. in Paul. Bernier. Vit. Gregory VII. ap. Murat. t. iii. pt. i. et vid. Palmer. Orig. Liturg. t. i. p.* 166.

<sup>3</sup> Or Ebles de Roucy, a noble, as it should seem, from the neighbourhood of Rheims. *Vid. Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampl. t. iv. p.* 930.

the Moors, and, like Guiscard in Italy, had accepted from Rome the investiture of whatever land he might succeed in wresting from its infidel possessors, to be holden as a fief for ever of the apostolic see.

And Gregory, in accordance with the received system of the papacy in his time, now attempted to render the recognition of this tenure universal, among the Christian sovereigns of the peninsula, in the following extraordinary epistle, addressed on the 30th of April, 1073, to the grandees of Spain, and committed to his newly appointed legate's care. "Ye are not, as we believe, ignorant, that the kingdom of Spain was of old time the property of St. Peter; or that, notwithstanding its long occupation by Pagans, the law of justice remaining unchanged, it still belongs of right to no mortal, but to the apostolic see. For that which has once, by God's providence, become the property of Churches, cannot, while it endures, without their formal surrender of it, be rightfully alienated from them; however the lapse of time may interfere with their enjoyment of it. And therefore, Count Eboli of Roncebois, whose fame we believe to be widely spread among you, wishing to occupy that land to the honour of St. Peter, and to seize it from the hands of the Pagans, has obtained from the apostolic see the concession, that whatever part of it he may gain from Pagans, by his own exertions, and by those of his associates in the enterprise, he shall possess, under the conditions of the compact which he has made with us, and by the authority of St. Peter. Let him, therefore, among you, who may wish to labour with the count in this undertaking, being now warned in all charity, direct his desires toward the honour of St. Peter, that he may receive

“ from him defence in dangers, and the merited rewards  
“ of fidelity. And, if any of you, apart from Count  
“ Eboli, prepare to attack, with their own forces, any  
“ portion of the territory in question, let them see that  
“ they propose to themselves, from the devotion of  
“ their souls, a just cause of warfare; vowing, and from  
“ their hearts determining, in their occupation of the  
“ land now held by infidels, to offer no injury to the  
“ Apostle’s right. Of this we wish to warn you all,  
“ that, unless ye are prepared to recognize St. Peter’s  
“ claim upon those territories, we would rather oppose  
“ you, by exerting our apostolical authority to forbid  
“ your attacking them, than permit the Church, our  
“ holy universal mother, suffering from her sons the  
“ injuries which she has already suffered from her ene-  
“ mies, to be afflicted by the loss, not only of her pro-  
“ perty, but also of her children. For which reason we  
“ have sent among you our beloved son Hugo, a cardi-  
“ nal presbyter of the Roman Church, to whom we have  
“ given authority more fully to explain to you, in our  
“ stead, our counsels and decrees respecting you<sup>1</sup>.”

The immediate result of this letter, it is difficult to trace. The claim thus advanced by Gregory was, in all probability, entirely new to those to whom it was addressed; the assertion of the ancient feudal subjection of Spain to the apostolic see being, it would seem, unsupported by documentary, or even traditionary proof<sup>2</sup>. But Gregory, acting upon the theory which

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hispaniam Romanæ olim sedi vectigalem fuisse, a nullo, quod sciam, scriptore Hispano memoriæ proditum est. So Cantelius, (Metropolitan. urb. histor.) who, of course, however, assumes that Gregory must have had good grounds for making the assertion. Pt. i. Diss. iii.

we have described, would require no such proof for making it; the fact, that Spain had received her Christianity from Rome, and recognized, with the West in general, the spiritual pre-eminence of her bishop, would be, according to the same theory, a sufficient proof that the princes of that country had acknowledged the paramount territorial rights of St. Peter, and had become the feudatories and tributaries of the apostolic see. While the Spanish princes may have felt, that some advantages would result to themselves, from the admission of a claim apparently derogatory to their dignity. They, like Guiscard, might materially strengthen their yet unconsolidated power, by a legal and permanent connection with the spiritual sovereigns of the West. Engaged, too, as they were, in what may be styled a perpetual holy war, the more complete identification of their cause with that of the Church, would enable them, when occasion required it, to appeal, the more confidently, to the zeal and to the courage of their subjects. And benefits like these they might well deem it expedient to purchase, by the grant of a small annual tribute, and the payment of what would, at that period, appear to them little more than a nominal compliment. For neither kings nor nations, it is probable, could yet anticipate the working out, in practice, of the theory thus established,—the actual exercise, by the popes, of the extraordinary right of suzerainty thus recognized in them,—or the deposition, by their paramount authority, of monarchs from their thrones, as disobedient vassals of St. Peter.

The epistle above quoted was written, as we have already stated, on the 30th of April. On the 6th of May, Gregory replied in the following terms, to the congratulatory letter addressed to him, in the event of his

election, by Godfrey the younger, of Tuscany :—“ The  
 “ joy, which in your letter you express on the occasion of  
 “ our exaltation is grateful to our feelings, not because  
 “ any expression of pleasure on our account would be  
 “ so <sup>1</sup>, but because we believe it to be derived from the  
 “ source of sincere love, and from a faithful mind.  
 “ That exaltation which, to you and to others of the  
 “ faithful, causes affectionate thoughts of us <sup>2</sup>, and joy,  
 “ awakens in us the bitterness of inward grief, and  
 “ brings us to the streights of overpowering anxiety.  
 “ We see what care surrounds us, we feel how heavy is  
 “ the burden laid upon us; under which, while the con-  
 “ sciousness of our infirmity appals us, our soul rather  
 “ desires the peace of a dissolution in Christ, than a  
 “ life in the midst of such dangers. The consideration  
 “ of the task imposed on us so harasses us, that unless,  
 “ under God, some confidence in the prayers of spiritual  
 “ men sustained us <sup>3</sup>, our mind must needs sink beneath  
 “ the greatness of our cares. So completely, through  
 “ the agency of sin, does the whole world lie in  
 “ wickedness <sup>4</sup>, that all men, and those more espe-  
 “ cially who bear rule in the Church, strive rather  
 “ to disturb her, than by faithful devotion to de-  
 “ fend and adorn her; and, while straining after  
 “ their own advantage, or the desires of present glory;  
 “ oppose themselves as enemies to Religion and to the  
 “ righteousness of God. Most especially must this  
 “ grieve us, who, amid such difficulties, can neither  
 “ duly administer the Church’s government, nor safely  
 “ desert it. But because we know that you, by the

<sup>1</sup> Non ut hoc aliqua causæ nostræ delectatio faciat.

<sup>2</sup> Piam de nobis existimationem.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. supr. p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Peccatis enim facientibus ita pene totus mundus in maligno est positus, ut, &c. Vid. 1 Joh. v. 19.

“ grace of God, are gifted with the virtues of faith and  
 “ constancy,—because we have in you the confidence  
 “ which it becomes us to repose in a beloved son of  
 “ St. Peter,—we wish you by no means to doubt either  
 “ our most constant love, or our most ready good-will  
 “ toward your honours. Respecting the king, you may  
 “ know our mind and desire at full ; that, to the best  
 “ of our knowledge in the Lord <sup>1</sup>, we believe no one to  
 “ be more solicitous than ourselves, for either his pre-  
 “ sent or his future glory. And it is our wish, upon  
 “ the first opportunity that offers itself, to confer with  
 “ him, by our legates, upon the things which appear to  
 “ us to relate to the advantage of the Church, and to  
 “ the honour of his own royal dignity. If he shall  
 “ hear us, we shall rejoice in his welfare as in our own;  
 “ and well, surely, will it be with him, if, in main-  
 “ taining righteousness, he shall heed our warnings and  
 “ acquiesce in our counsels. But if,—which we pray  
 “ that he may not,—he shall return to us ‘ hatred for  
 “ our good-will <sup>2</sup>,’ and to the Almighty God,—by depart-  
 “ ing from His righteousness,—contempt for the hon-  
 “ ours which He has heaped upon him ; the maledic-  
 “ tion of the prophet, ‘ Cursed be he that keepeth back  
 “ his sword from blood <sup>3</sup>,’ shall in no wise, God willing,  
 “ fall upon us. We may not set aside the law of God  
 “ through respect of persons, or swerve from the path of  
 “ right for the sake of human favour. As the Apostle  
 “ says, ‘ If I yet pleased men, I should not be the ser-  
 “ vant of God <sup>4</sup>.’ ”

The same wish for the continuance of peaceful relations with Henry, coupled with the same anticipation

<sup>1</sup> Quod quantum in Domino sapimus.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jerem. xlviii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 9.

of a coming struggle, and with the same resolution against any compromise of principle in the event of its occurring, was thus expressed by the pontiff in an epistle written, on the 25th of May, to Beatrice and Matilda.

“ Respecting the king, it is our wish to send to him  
“ religious men, by whose admonitions, through the  
“ inspiration of God, we may succeed in recalling him  
“ to the love of his Mother, the holy Roman Church,  
“ and to a becoming mode of administering the govern-  
“ ment of his empire. But if,—which we deprecate,  
“ —he shall scornfully refuse to listen to us, we neither  
“ can, nor may, abandon her, our holy Mother, the  
“ Church of Rome, who hath nurtured us, and who  
“ hath often, by the blood of her sons, given birth  
“ to other children. Assuredly it were more safe  
“ for us to resist him, if necessary, even to the pour-  
“ ing forth of our blood for the sake of his salvation,  
“ than, by wickedly yielding to the accomplishment of  
“ his will,—which God forbid,—to rush with him into  
“ destruction <sup>1</sup>.”

The princesses to whom this epistle was addressed, laboured, undoubtedly, with all zeal in the good work of cementing the union between the representatives of the civil and of the ecclesiastical power. And Henry, —who, since the retirement of Hanno, had embroiled himself more and more with the malcontents of Saxony,—did not venture at the moment openly to slight their counsels. He saw himself beset with difficulties on every side. A slight cause of disgust might, he was aware, induce the already dissatisfied princes of Southern Germany to make common cause

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 11.



with his oppressed subjects in the North ; and such a coalition, if aided by the papal influence and name, would in all probability overwhelm the exhausted forces of the crown. The last message, too, of Alexander was fresh in his recollection. The relations of amity with the Lateran, to which the death of that pontiff at a critical moment had restored him, had been too recently and unexpectedly recovered, to be, as yet, despised. And even without regard to the worldly advantages of such concord, Henry was probably disposed by good feeling to desire its continuance ; though he had not sufficient self-command to abandon the courses which rendered that continuance impossible. He responded, therefore, to the pacific overtures of Gregory in the following terms :

“ To the most vigilant and most desired<sup>1</sup> Lord, “ Pope Gregory, vested by Heaven with apostolic “ dignity, Henry, by the grace of God, king of the “ Romans, sends this most sincere exhibition of his “ bounden service.

“ Since the kingdom and the priesthood, that they “ may continue well administered in Christ, require the “ assistance of each other, it is most important, my “ most loving Lord and Father, that they should be as “ little as possible divided against each other, and that “ they should cling, in the bond of Christ, indissolubly “ together. For thus, and in no other manner, the “ concord of Christian unity and the state of ecclesiastical religion are preserved in the bond of perfect “ charity and peace<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vigilantissimo et desiderantissimo.

<sup>2</sup> Namque sic et non aliter conservatur in vinculo perfectæ caritatis et pacis, et Christianæ concordia unitatis et ecclesiasticæ status religionis.

“But we, who by God’s grace are now entrusted with  
“the regal power, have not respected, in all things, as we  
“ought, the rights and legitimate honour of the priest-  
“hood. The sword which it was given us, not in vain,  
“to bear, in assertion of the power bestowed upon us by  
“Heaven, we have not always drawn from its scabbard  
“against criminals, in accordance with the dictates of  
“justice<sup>1</sup>. But now, smitten in some degree, through  
“God’s mercy, with compunction, and returning to our-  
“selves, we confess our past transgressions, and throw  
“ourselves on your paternal indulgence; hoping in the  
“Lord to obtain the boon of absolution from your aposto-  
“lical authority<sup>2</sup>. Criminal have we been, and unhappy!  
“partly through the alluring instincts of youth,—partly  
“through the license of unbridled power,—and partly  
“through the seductive guidance of those whose counsels  
“we have too readily followed,—we have sinned against  
“heaven and before you, and are no more worthy to be  
“called your son. We have not only invaded the pro-  
“perty of churches, but have sold, to persons infected  
“with the gall of simony,—to those who entered not in  
“by the door, but by other ways,—the churches them-  
“selves; instead of defending them, as we ought to have  
“done, against their approaches. But now, unable, with-  
“out the support of your authority, to reform the abuses  
“of the churches, we implore alike your counsel and  
“your aid, in this as in all things: your command is, in  
“all things, of authority. And—in the first place,—  
“with regard to the Church of Milan, which is, through  
“our fault, in error; we pray that it may, by the exertion  
“of your apostolical power, be canonically reformed; and

<sup>1</sup> *Judiciariâ censurâ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ut apostolicâ vestrâ auctoritate absoluti justificari mereamur.*

“thence let the sentence of your authority proceed to the reformation of other churches. We will, by God’s grace, be wanting to you in nothing; and we humbly solicit from you, in return, the exercise of a paternal care over us in all things. You shall shortly receive further letters from us, conveyed by most faithful messengers; and you shall thus, if God so please, learn those things which yet remain to be recounted to you<sup>1</sup>.”

A letter expressive of so much anxiety for his continued favour, and of so much reverence for his apostolical authority, was of course received by Gregory with delight. In an epistle addressed, on the 27th of September, to his Milanese supporter Herlembald, he speaks of it as a letter “full of sweetness and obedience;” and such a one as had never before, by Henry or by his ancestors, been transmitted to the heads of the Roman Church<sup>2</sup>. If, indeed, the pontiff looked at that letter with those paternal sentiments toward its writer, which he so often and so strongly expressed, the apparent depth of feeling and sincerity of compunction which it displayed might lead him to forget, for the time, the levity and irresolution of the monarch’s character, and to indulge the hope, that the peace which he so anxiously desired to maintain, might yet prove something more than a dream. And if, on the perusal, considerations of policy in any degree occupied his mind, he could not fail to read, in this recognition of his authority, its virtual confirmation. Henry might subsequently disobey that authority, but could not thenceforward deny it, without exposing himself to the charge of glaring inconsistency, and standing self-condemned. But we can scarcely doubt that, for the moment at least, Gregory was dis-

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1219.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 25.

posed to hope for better things, and to look forward to the future accomplishment of his high aims, with the friendly concurrence of the sovereign, and not in direct opposition to that sovereign's imperial authority.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1073.

HENRY'S CRUELTY TOWARD THE SAXONS—THEIR DEPUTATION TO HIM AT GOSLAR—THEIR SECRET MEETING AT NOCKMESLAU—HENRY BESIEGED IN HAREBURG—HIS ESCAPE, AND MEETING WITH HIS NOBLES NEAR HERSFELD—INTERVIEW BETWEEN SIEGFRIED AND THE SAXON DELEGATES AT CORVEY—DIET AT GERTUNGEN—ACCUSATION BROUGHT AGAINST HENRY BY REGINGER—HENRY'S ILLNESS AND RECOVERY—HIS TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO WORMS—REGINGER'S DEATH.

HENRY'S position, during the latter part of the year 1073, was indeed critical. From the time of Hanno's retirement, the king had demeaned himself toward the Saxons and Thuringians, in a manner calculated to produce among them a general repugnance to his government. Unable to resist his forces, they had been compelled to accept, with respect to their tithes, such terms <sup>1</sup>, as the rapacity of Siegfried, and of Henry himself,—for the monarch was, by compact with the archbishop, to share in the prize <sup>2</sup>,—would accord to them. Their remonstrances had been disregarded, and their purpose of appeal to the holy see frustrated, by the king's menace of capital punishment to any who should attempt to put such a measure in practice. And, to keep them in check for the future, castles or forts had been, by Henry's orders, erected on every important

<sup>1</sup> At Erfurt in March, 1073. Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> *Eâ tamen pactione, ut ipsarum decimationum partem sibi, quæ et regiâ magnificentiâ et tanto labore suo digna fuit, tribueret.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

height or commanding spot throughout their provinces, and filled with royal garrisons <sup>1</sup>.

But these undisciplined troops, by their unbridled rapine and licentiousness, soon produced a general feeling of exasperation, throughout the province which they were intended to preserve. Continually issuing from their strong-holds, they relentlessly plundered the villages and fields; they carried off whole flocks, under the pretext of tithing them; seizing natives, even of a free condition, they employed them in the work of the meanest slaves; and women they either shamefully abused, almost in the very presence of their husbands and fathers, or else dragged them into their castles, to detain them there as long as it pleased their fancy, and then to drive them back dishonoured to their homes <sup>2</sup>.

Indignant appeals from this intolerable tyranny shortly reached Henry's ears; but in vain. That vindictive prince replied to the complainants, that these miseries had been brought upon them by themselves, through their resistance to the payment of the tithe; and that he, in keeping them in subjection with the armed hand, was vindicating the cause of God against the violators of His laws. And so far was the representation of their miseries from moving him to compassionate their condition, that the knowledge, how much they would bear without resistance, became an inducement to him to strain his power yet further. He conceived, it would appear, the atrocious scheme <sup>3</sup> of reducing the whole Saxon population to the condition of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Norberti vita Bennonis, Archiep. Osnab. c. xi. ap. Eccard. Corp. Historic. Med. Æv. t. ii. p. 2168.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Magnum quiddam, et à nullo majorum suorum antehac tentatum, machinari cœpit.—Lamb. Schafnab.

slaves, of seizing their land and property, and annulling their privileges, and of establishing in their desolated province a colony of Swabians. With this end in view, he entered into secret negotiations with the Danish king; who was, for his assistance in the accomplishment of the project, to be rewarded with a portion of the Saxon territory, contiguous to his dominions. Similar arrangements were made with other princes, whose domains bordered upon Saxony; and the remaining feudatories of his empire were summoned to meet him, with their contingents, at Hersfeld, on the 22nd of the ensuing August<sup>1</sup>; for the alleged purpose of a campaign against the Poles, but, in truth, that they might support the monarch in his nefarious design against their fellow-subjects.

But the patience of the Saxons was exhausted, long before the arrival of the period thus prescribed. They still pressed their grievances urgently on Henry's attention, and at length compelled him to name a day for a council, which their leading prelates and nobles should attend, and in which their condition should be taken into consideration. These dignitaries assembled, consequently, on the 29th of June,—the day of Gregory's consecration at Rome,—at the palace of Goslar<sup>2</sup>. But when the appointed hour had arrived, the childish king, happening to be engaged in playing at some game of hazard, sent to intreat their patience till the termination of his amusement. The day went on, and still he appeared not; and on the approach of night they were informed by one of his attendants that he had quitted the palace<sup>3</sup>. Naturally incensed by this conduct, or

<sup>1</sup> On the Octave of the Assumption. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

conceiving it,—as perhaps in truth it was,—a studied indication of the contempt with which Henry was prepared to treat their representations, the Saxon chiefs departed from Goslar, and felt that no alternative remained, but the attempt to re-assert their rights and liberties by the sword.

A great meeting consequently took place, by secret appointment among them, at a retired spot named Nockmeslau<sup>1</sup>. Otho of Nordheim opened the proceedings; Werner archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard bishop of Halberstadt, and others, inflamed in succession the passions of the assembly, by the detail of their respective injuries from the royal hand; and all present bound themselves by a solemn vow to maintain to the last their liberties and laws<sup>2</sup>.

In consequence of these proceedings, three of their nobles approached Henry once more at Goslar about the first of August, and, being admitted to an interview, used all their eloquence to induce him alike to redress the grievances of their province, and to correct the vices which habitually disgraced his life and government. The king's answer was evasive and contemptuous, and the delegates retired. But Henry was almost immediately startled by the intelligence, that the whole province of Saxony was in arms, and that a multitude exceeding in number 60,000 men<sup>3</sup> was close upon Goslar. He fled in dismay to the castle of Harzburg<sup>4</sup>, a place strong by nature, and which had recently been fortified, by his orders, with peculiar care; and there he was im-

<sup>1</sup> "Nockmeslovo." Bruno.—or "Noleinealeve." *Annalista Saxo*. Stenzel (*Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*) imagines that the place meant is Haldersleben.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.—Paul. Lang. *Chronic. Citizens. ap. Pistor. t. i.*



mediately blockaded by a portion of the Saxon force<sup>1</sup>. Thus cooped up, he felt the necessity of treating with his besiegers, in a tone very different from that which he had of late thought fit to use toward them; and he employed Duke Berthold of Carinthia, who had accompanied<sup>2</sup> him from Goslar, to speak them fair, and to urge them to desist from the siege, by holding out the hope, that their grievances might speedily be redressed by less irregular means<sup>3</sup>. But the Saxons would listen to no terms of accommodation, which did not include the immediate demolition of Harzburg itself, and of all the other fortresses which Henry had erected throughout their province, to awe and control them; and this point the king was not, even under his existing difficulties, disposed to concede<sup>4</sup>. The blockade, therefore, was continued; but Henry contrived, after a few days, to elude the vigilance of the Saxon watches, and to escape, one dark night<sup>5</sup>, in company with Berthold, with two prelates, and several followers, from the beleaguered castle, into the woods which surrounded it. Guided by a hunter, the fugitives pursued their journey for three days amid the depths of the Hercynian forest, faint for want of sustenance, and agitated by continual alarm<sup>6</sup>. On the fourth day, they reached a village named Eschewege, where they obtained some refresh-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Casu . . . nuper advenerat, nescio quid privatæ causæ acturus.  
Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>5</sup> August 8. Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.—When, as it appears from the *Terminus Paschalis* of the year 1073, the moon was new, or nearly so, and consequently invisible.

<sup>6</sup> Undique circumspectantes gladium, et ad quemlibet perstreptentis auræ sonitum incursus hostium, jamque jugulo incumbentem interitum formidantes.—Lamb. Schafnab.

ment and repose<sup>1</sup>; and, on the fifth,—the 13th of August,—they arrived at Hersfeld, toward which place, the nobles, whom he had summoned thither, were, with their forces, already in motion. They met, in pursuance of his final directions, at a place in the immediate vicinity of Hersfeld, called, by Lambert, *Capella*<sup>2</sup>; and there, when he saw his chiefs about him, Henry fell at their feet<sup>3</sup>, and, detailing the gross injuries and indignities which he conceived himself to have suffered from the Saxons, besought them to follow him immediately to the exemplary chastisement of that rebellious people<sup>4</sup>.

Some of the assembled princes, moved by the eagerness of his intreaties, declared in favour of an immediate march against his enemies, with the forces which they had prepared for the Polish expedition<sup>5</sup>. But others, more prudent, or less warm in the cause, pointed out the inexpediency of commencing, without more extensive preparations, an encounter with a people of so martial and determined a character, and now so exasperated, as that of Saxony. And, upon the advice of these more cautious counsellors, approved as it appeared to be by all, the king was induced to acquiesce in the postponement, for a short time, of his contemplated vengeance. He appointed, consequently, the octave of St. Michael<sup>6</sup>, as the day on which the princes should meet him, at Breitenbach<sup>7</sup>, in the Hersfeld territory, with

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> A locality identified, by Stenzel, with Spiescappel.

<sup>3</sup> *Pedibus eorum provolutus, orabat.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>5</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>6</sup> *Septimo die post festum S. Michaelis.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>7</sup> Stenzel (*Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*) thus renders the “Bredingen” of Lambert.

increased contingents, to commence the campaign; and he, then accompanied by the chief among them, set out for Tribur, with the intention of visiting that and other places, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

His envoys were, in the mean time, despatched in all directions through the empire, commissioned to keep, if possible, both nobles and people firm in their adherence to the royal cause, to make great largesses, to promise more, and to restore to their possessions those whose rights he had, in his more prosperous times, wantonly infringed<sup>1</sup>. Henry thus hoped to soothe the growing discontent which, as he began to be aware, pervaded his dominions, and to secure the appearance of a respectable force at the meeting at Breitenbach. But that meeting was not destined to take place. Even when fresh from his flight, and most eager to avenge the disgrace of that event, by the destruction of the Saxon nation, it seems that the king thought it advisable to request the good offices of the prelates of Cologne and Mentz, in settling, if possible, the quarrel by negociation. Though he would, of course, have deprecated, at the moment, such a termination of it, he might have been taught, by recent events, to feel the expediency of keeping open, in the midst of his warlike schemes, a way to peace. It was, perhaps, necessary, for the sake of appearances, that he should thus put on the show of moderation. He might feel that, without his taking some such step, the princes would not readily believe in the justice of his cause; or he might wish to deceive the enemy, by holding out the appearance of conciliation, at the moment in which he contemplated striking his most decisive blow.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

Be this as it may, it appears that an interview took place, between Siegfried and some deputies of the Saxon nation, at Corvey, on the 24th of August<sup>1</sup>. But the worldly archbishop of Mentz was now no trustworthy representative of his master's cause. He had already held communication with the insurgents at Erfurt; where, making probably such stipulations with regard to his own interest in the quarrel as his position would permit, he had pledged himself to take no part in the king's proceedings against them. And it is said, that both he and the archbishop of Cologne, aware of the disgust which the violence and indecorum of Henry's life had generally excited among the princes of the empire, were already prepared to co-operate in the execution of any scheme, to which that disgust might give birth. Under Siegfried's hands, therefore, the negotiations at Corvey assumed a more serious character than Henry could have contemplated giving them. The Saxons pleaded not so much for the restoration of their own provincial rights and liberties, as for the removal of the monarch from a throne on which, as they asserted, he could not longer remain without manifest injury to the cause of the Christian religion, his crimes being such that, were he judged according to the canons, he would be separated from his queen, deprived of his knighthood, and compelled to renounce, not his throne only, but all secular station and employment. And Siegfried, after much discussion with them, agreed that they should have an opportunity of bringing forward their charges against their sovereign in his presence, and in that of the leading princes of the empire, assembled for the occa-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

sion. The 20th of October<sup>1</sup> was, consequently, named for a meeting at Gerstungen; and Henry, though he still endeavoured, by means of his allies, the Luticians and the king of Denmark, to annoy his enemies, was compelled to postpone for a time his own intended military operations. As he had indignantly refused to ratify the compact, which Siegfried had entered into, for the delivery, to the Saxon princes, of hostages for their safe appearance at the assembly; these chiefs, with a view to their security, approached the appointed scene of deliberation with an escort of 14,000 men; a force which made the monarch, in his turn, apprehensive of danger; who consequently, instead of presiding over the meeting in person, awaited the issue of its deliberations at Wurzburg. His absence was attended with results disastrous to his cause. Emboldened to speak freely, the Saxons set forth, in glowing colours, the injuries of their province, the crimes perpetrated against them, and the disgrace brought, as they conceived it, on the whole empire, by the conduct of its head. And the chiefs who listened to them, freed like themselves from restraint, expressed the warmest compassion for their miseries, and the fullest participation in their views. Henry had made himself equally odious to all; and the proposal, once suggested, was unhesitatingly adopted, that the crown should be taken from the sovereign who had thus disgraced it, and placed upon the worthier head of Rudolf of Rheinfeld, duke of Swabia<sup>2</sup>. This prince, on whom, as it will be recollected, the empress Agnes had bestowed the duchy of Burgundy, in addition to that of Swabia, was, by the union of two such important fiefs, in a position, too powerful perhaps for

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

a subject; especially when his prospect of a connexion with the imperial house had been put an end to, by the premature death of Henry's sister, his intended bride. On the present occasion, however, Rudolf peremptorily refused to accept the proffered diadem, until the more constitutional act of a general diet of the empire should have legalized his doing so<sup>1</sup>. Such a diet, therefore, it was resolved speedily to convene: the assembly separated, pledged to secrecy, and Henry was amused by a fictitious and apparently satisfactory account of its proceedings; being led to expect that the peace would be finally concluded, on terms honourable to both parties, at the approaching festival of Christmas<sup>2</sup>.

But of the feeling of dislike towards himself, which now pervaded his empire, Henry received, daily, additional proofs. Even the Rhenish nobles, on whom, from their want of connexion with Saxony, the king thought that he might the most securely depend, were now observed by him to treat him with less than their wonted respect<sup>3</sup>; and, after having celebrated the festival of All Saints at Wurzburg, he quitted their neighbourhood, and set out for Ratisbon<sup>4</sup>. But at Nuremberg, where he halted for a few days upon his way, a cruel blow awaited him. Renger, a person long attached to his own household, here accused him to the Dukes, Rudolf of Swabia, and Berthold of Carinthia, of entertaining a design to surprise and murder,—when removed from their followers, as though for the purpose of confidential communication with him,—the principal members of his disaffected aristocracy. Renger, according to his own account, had himself been

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bernold Constant.<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.<sup>4</sup> Id.

solicited by his master to aid in the accomplishment of this guilty project; and the truth of the charge now made, he was prepared, he said, to maintain, against either the king himself or his champion, in single combat <sup>1</sup>.

Whether this statement was based on a foundation of truth, or what, if this was not the case, were the secret motives of Reginger,—a man of name and character <sup>2</sup>,—in making it, we have not the means of deciding. Those before whom it was made, were too well prepared,—too anxious,—to believe all evil of their sovereign, to doubt its authenticity. It corroborated, indeed, and accorded with, notions already existing in their minds; for it appears that Henry at that time laboured under heavy suspicions, of having rid himself, by murder, of associates who had become obnoxious to him <sup>3</sup>. The princes withdrew themselves, therefore, from his court; they informed him, by messengers, that they considered themselves freed from the obligation of all vows of allegiance to one who could plot their destruction, at the moment in which they were exerting themselves for his welfare; and they bade him, unless he could prove this charge unfounded, expect from them, for the future, neither duty in times of tranquillity, nor aid in those of trouble.

Henry's anger, at this accusation, knew no bounds. Declaring it attributable to the practices of Rudolf, he was inclined to waive the consideration of his royal dignity, and to disprove it, by meeting that prince in

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Homo haud obscuri nominis in palatio, et apud suos inviolatae existimationis.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo ad an. 1068.—Sicut ille (Henricus) non unam Bersabe libidinosus stupravit, ita non unum Uriam crudelis interfecit. Bruno.

judicial combat<sup>1</sup>. But in this he was over-ruled, and Ulrich, of Cosheim, one of his retainers,—himself accused by Reginger, as privy to the alleged scheme,—demanded of Rudolf the opportunity of meeting the accuser in the lists, and of proving his falsehood with the sword<sup>2</sup>. The question was by Rudolf referred to the decision of a future meeting of the princes; and Henry proceeded to Ratisbon, in the strong language of Lambert, “hated by all, suspected by all, and not daring “himself to repose implicit confidence in any, when “those bound to himself by the strictest ties of familiar “intercourse, had been found, with the first cloud of “the darkening tempest, to abandon him.”

Siegfried of Mentz, emboldened by this state of things, ventured to assume a power usually exercised by the sovereign alone, and summoned a diet, to meet in his archiepiscopal city; by which he intended that Rudolf should be openly elected and proclaimed as king<sup>3</sup>. The suspicions of Henry, excited by this extraordinary step, were soon confirmed by authentic accounts of the proceedings at Gerstungen; and with the view of defeating, if possible, the contemplated arrangements, he set out for Worms, resolved to establish himself in the immediate vicinity of the scene of his danger. On his way, at the village of Ladenburg, he was attacked, and for some days confined to his bed, by a disease, the violence of which inspired his enemies with the hope, that he would no longer be an obstacle in their path, to the full accomplishment of their desires<sup>4</sup>. But the strength of his constitution prevailed; he entered the city of his destination, and his

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Id.—Bernold Constant.



affairs took, on that day, a new and unexpected turn. The loyal citizens of Worms marched forth, in military pomp, to meet him; displaying their numbers and their arms, not, as others of his subjects had done, for the purpose of opposing or intimidating their sovereign, but with the view of showing him, in that crisis of his affairs, on how many true hearts he might yet rely. When certified of his approach, they had driven the forces of their bishop, who had taken part with his adversaries, from their walls, while the prelate himself was forced to consult his safety by a hasty flight. And when their king had arrived among them, they voluntarily bound themselves, by vows of allegiance, to his cause; they raised by general contribution a sum of money for his necessities; and pledged themselves to contend, if needful, unto the death, in support of the honour of his throne<sup>1</sup>. And Henry, struck with their devotion, and feeling the importance of retaining a city of such consequence firm in his cause, determined to make Worms his principal abode, during the conflict which he foresaw; to establish it as the depository of his resources; and to use it as the rallying-point of his forces, in moments of danger or distress<sup>2</sup>.

Most important, at this eventful crisis, was the loyal demeanour of these citizens to their sovereign. The tidings of it spread abroad; and most of the conspiring princes were averse to approaching Mentz, for purposes hostile to Henry's interests, while that monarch, from the impregnable walls of Worms<sup>3</sup>, could almost behold their proceedings. Siegfried's diet was, therefore, attended by but few nobles, and those mostly of a minor

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Wormatia . . . murorum firmitate inexpugnabilis.—Id.

class ; who shrunk from adopting, in the absence of the chiefs to whom they mainly looked for guidance and support, measures so daring as those, which the meeting had been summoned to effectuate. They departed, consequently, in silence, for their respective homes ; and the king's cause rather gained strength than otherwise, from this futile attempt at a hostile demonstration.

Some of those who had formed this assembly, were induced by Henry's entreaties,—hostages having been given for their safety,—to meet him, on their departure from Mentz, at Oppenheim. And it was there agreed, that the question of the truth or falsehood of Reginger's accusation should be decided, by a combat between that person and the king's champion, Ulrich, which should take place, in an island of the Rhine near Mentz, about the middle of the following January<sup>1</sup>. But a few days before the arrival of the period thus determined on, Reginger, the accuser, was attacked by a violent disease, and died delirious<sup>2</sup> ; a circumstance in which those, who saw in the issue of judicial combats the manifest decisions of Heaven, could not fail to recognize a special declaration of the will of the Almighty. A kind of revulsion, consequently, took place in the popular mind. Henry, in place of being universally condemned by the opinions of his subjects, was regarded with respect as the victim of slander ; and the year 1074 thus opened upon him, under circumstances more favourable to the stability of his power, than he could, a few weeks previously, have dared to anticipate.

<sup>1</sup> Post octavum Epiphaniæ.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Dirissimo dæmone arreptus, horrendâ morte interiit.—Id.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1073.

GREGORY'S EXCURSION TOWARD THE SOUTH—HIS RELATIONS WITH GUISCARD—  
EPISTLE TO WRATISLAV—TO THE EMPEROR MICHAEL—TREATY WITH THE PRINCE  
OF BENEVENTO—WITH RICHARD OF CAPUA—EPISTLE TO RUDOLF OF SWABIA—TO  
RAINALD BISHOP OF CUMÆ—TO ANSELM BISHOP OF LUCCA—TO THE CARTHAGINIANS,  
AND TO THEIR BISHOP CYRIAC—CONSECRATION OF SARDINIAN ARCHBISHOPS—  
EPISTLE TO THE LOMBARDS—TO HERLEMBALD—TO THE SAME—TO THE BISHOPS  
OF AQUI AND PAVIA—TO GEBHARD BISHOP OF SALZBURG—TO LANFRANC—TO  
REMIGIUS BISHOP OF LINCOLN—TO RODERIC BISHOP OF CHALONS—TO HUMBERT  
ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS—GREGORY'S RETURN TO ROME, AND EPISTLE TO THE PRE-  
LATES OF GERMANY.

WITHIN a few days of his consecration,—an event which, as has been already stated, occurred on the 29th of June, 1073,—Gregory left Rome, on an excursion toward the south ; a direction in which various motives contributed to call him. Robert Guiscard,—once thankful for the sanction afforded to his rising power, by his character of a feudatory of the Church,—now, that power having become more firmly consolidated, felt an impatience alike at the recognition of inferiority, which such vassalage implied, and at the impediments, which the duties attendant upon it imposed, to the extension, in certain directions, of his territorial possessions. He had not appeared at the ceremony of consecration ; and he showed, still more clearly, the alteration which had taken place in his sentiments, by refusing, or delaying to renew, to Gregory, the oaths which had bound him to Nicholas and to Alexander. The pontiff felt, there-

fore, that a struggle with Guiscard was impending, and was solicitous to strengthen himself against its occurrence, by cementing, as far as might be, a connexion between the apostolic see, and the princes whose territories bordered upon Apulia. But, though this mainly occupied his mind, at no time during his progress did he neglect the general affairs of the Church, or the interests of the papal power: and a sketch of the successive objects, which engaged his attention, and occupied his pen, during his absence from Rome on this occasion, may serve to give a tolerably accurate idea, of the nature and extent of his correspondence in general, and of the active part which he systematically took in the guidance and government of the Church in all regions of the world.

From San Lorenzo, Gregory's first halting-place, he addressed, on the 8th of July, an epistle to Wratislav, Duke of Bohemia, under the following circumstances:—Jaromir, the brother of Wratislav, disappointed of inheriting, on the death of Wratislav's predecessor Spitignew, a portion of the duchy, had, on the decease of the bishop of Prague, in 1067, laid down the military character, and assumed the sacerdotal; and, through the support of the Bohemian nobles, had wrung from his brother a reluctant consent to his occupation of that richly endowed diocese. Thus elevated, he viewed with impatience the existence of an independent see in Moravia, a province which had formerly acknowledged the authority of his predecessors; and finding his efforts, for the recovery of that jurisdiction, to be vain, he contrived to waylay the obnoxious bishop, and, with his retainers, to beat and insult him<sup>1</sup>. The Moravian prelate

<sup>1</sup> Longinus, Dhugloschus dictus, ap. Baron. ad an.

appealed to the apostolic see, and legates were despatched, with powers to hear and decide the question in dispute by pontifical authority. But this mode of settling ecclesiastical disputes was then new in Bohemia<sup>1</sup>, and Jaromir naturally resisted its introduction. Wratislav, however, was the approved supporter of the prerogatives of Rome; from whence he had, in the time of Alexander, received the privilege,—in the case of a layman an unprecedented one,—of wearing the mitre; to the conclave, a symbol of subjection, but to his countrymen, of ecclesiastical sovereignty<sup>2</sup>. And to him Gregory now wrote, complaining of Jaromir's disrespect to those to whom, as messengers of the apostolic see, might be applied the words, "He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me." He entreated the duke to add his exhortations to those of the legates, in order to bring back, to the path of obedience, that brother, who was now treading in the steps of Simon Magus, in his opposition to St. Peter. "And if," Gregory continued, "he be still contumacious, we will not only confirm the sentence pronounced by our legates, of suspension from his office, but will draw forth yet more sternly—even for his destruction<sup>3</sup>—the sword of apostolic indignation. . . . Presumption like his we dare overlook no longer, having before our eyes this warning of the prophet Ezekiel,—'If thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand<sup>4</sup>.'"

<sup>1</sup> Quoniam, says Gregory himself, agente incuriâ, apostolicæ sedis nuntii ad partes vestras raro missi sunt, quidam vestrorum hoc quasi novum aliquid existimantes . . . legatos nostros contemptui habent, &c.—Lib. i. Ep. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Usque ad internecionem.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 8.

From Albano, on the day following—the 9th of July—Gregory addressed an epistle to the Grecian emperor, Michael Parapinaces, in reply to a letter of congratulation, which that prince had forwarded to him, by the hands of two monks, Thomas and Nicholas; who were also charged to communicate with the pontiff respecting matters, so important, that Gregory conceived it right to entrust his sentiments respecting them, to an envoy of a more ostensible character. He consequently wrote to introduce to the emperor, as his representative, Dominic, the patriarch of Venice, whom he immediately despatched to Constantinople; and he availed himself of the opportunity, to express his anxious wish for the restoration of that unity, which in older and happier times had prevailed between the maternal Church of Rome, and her daughter, the Church of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>.

The results of this legation are unknown; but we must conceive the good understanding thus evinced between the capitals of the Eastern and of the Western world to have continued for some little time unimpaired, from the circumstance of Gregory's interesting himself, as we shall shortly see, in favour of the Grecian empire, by calling on all Christians to lend it their aid against its Saracen enemies.

Much as his attention was throughout his pontificate engaged by business more immediately pressing, the idea of a re-union between the two great branches of Christ's Church seems ever,—like a bright dream,—to have haunted his mind. In his theory, that re-union would, of course, have been accompanied by the recognition, on the part of the younger capital, of the superior

<sup>1</sup> Ep. i. 18.

rank of the elder. And there are those at this day, who might perhaps be disposed, on this account, to attribute his anxiety for such an event to personal ambition alone, or, at most, to a desire to promote the interests of the papacy as such. But the supposition were, surely, most unjust. Such anxiety, as a true Churchman, Gregory could not fail to entertain. Even now, when century after century has set its seal upon the fatal schism, is it not the true Churchman's duty to pray for and to look, if not with constant hope, with constant desire at least, toward an event so blessed, as would be a re-union of those two great branches of his Master's flock, the unnaturally-divided Churches of the East and of the West?

From Monte Cassino, whither he next proceeded, Gregory was accompanied, by the abbot Desiderius, to Benevento, a city yet ruled by its Lombard sovereign, Landulph VI. With this prince the pontiff, on the 12th of August<sup>1</sup>, concluded a treaty based on the full recognition, by the former, of his obligation of fealty to the apostolic see. And then, removing to Capua, Gregory established himself in that city for some months. Richard, its prince, was the Norman chief next in power to the enterprising Guiscard; and the renewal of a friendly connexion with him must of course have been considered as a measure which, if practicable, would prove most conducive to the security of the papal power. Nor to such a connexion did the Capuan prince,—however naturally disposed to side with his countryman,—long continue averse. In the presence of Gregory, he bound himself, by an oath<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> "Anno primo pontificatus ejus, duodecimâ die, intrante mense Augusto, indictione undecimâ."—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1210.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 24, 1073.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1213.

similar in purport to that which he had formerly taken, with Guiscard, before Nicholas II., to fealty, and its consequent duties, toward the pope and his successors in the apostolic see; taught, probably, by this time, to perceive, that the benefits to be derived from his alliance with the Church were mutual; and that, notwithstanding his participation in the Norman blood, and connexion, by marriage, with Guiscard, he might soon stand in need of such an ally as the apostolic see, against the over-grown power of his ambitious countryman.

Gregory continued the guest of Richard till the middle of November; lingering, perhaps, in the vicinity of Apulia, with the hope,—a vain one,—of coming to some accommodation with Robert, upon terms of which the pontiff could approve<sup>1</sup>; but, not neglecting, during this protracted sojourn, the general concerns of the empire and the Church. In an epistle written, on the 1st of September, to Rudolf of Swabia<sup>2</sup>, a prince whom he already regarded as the head of the reforming, or papal, party in Germany, he expressed his earnest desire for the continuance of unity between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. “For as,” he said, “with respect to temporal light, the human body is guided and informed by the two eyes, so should the body of the Church be governed, with respect to spiritual

<sup>1</sup> On his own terms, Robert, it appears was always willing to make the required submission.—*Si enim discretio nostra, said Gregory, Ep. i. 25, sanctæ ecclesiæ utile approbaret, ipsi jam se nobis humiles subdidissent, et quam solent reverentiam exhibuissent*;—a passage which is explained by one in a subsequent Ep. (iii. 15.) *Beato Petro . . . satisfecissent, si voluntati eorum in quibusdam annueremus.*

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 19.



“light, by these two authorities, co-operating in religious fellowship with each other.” In furtherance of this end, he declared himself anxious to confer with the Empress Agnes, with Beatrice of Tuscany, with Rainald, Bishop of Cumæ, to whom he on the same day addressed an epistle<sup>1</sup>, and with Rudolf himself. And he, therefore, invited the Swabian prince, as well for this important purpose, as for that of devotion, to visit ere long the threshold of St. Peter.

An epistle which Gregory addressed, on the same day, to Anselm, Alexander’s successor elect in the bishopric of Lucca<sup>2</sup>, is remarkable, from its connexion with the subject of investitures, which has been already described as occupying so prominent a place in the pontiff’s mind; and as an illustration of the caution with which he advanced, even toward the assertion of principles of which he most earnestly desired the establishment. Anselm had, it seems, been called on to receive the investiture of his bishopric from the royal hand, and had appealed to Gregory for instructions on the subject. And he, as might have been expected, decidedly forbade the measure; but, by basing his prohibition upon the fact of Henry’s intimacy with persons excommunicate, and of his delay to give satisfaction for this and other offences to the Roman see, he warily avoided committing himself, by a premature declaration of his general sentiments on this most important subject.

While at Capua, Gregory received letters of complaint from Cyriac, Bishop of Carthage, whose suffragan clergy had, it seems, invoked,—to control him in the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction,—the un-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 21.

authorized interference of the Saracen Emir, or governor, of the place; by whose directions the prelate had been publicly and ignominiously beaten. On the 16th of September, therefore, the pontiff addressed a mournful and indignant letter to this unruly flock<sup>1</sup>, pointing out and deploring the fearful nature of their crime, and warning them, in the close, of the necessity under which he would lie, if they persisted in their contumacy, of unsheathing against them the sword of apostolical anathema. "May I be silent," he said, "upon these things? or am I bound to speak and to correct, while I lament them? It is written, 'Cry aloud, and spare not<sup>2</sup>;' and again, 'If thou dost not warn the wicked from his way, his blood will I require at thy hand<sup>3</sup>.' I am forced, therefore, to speak. I am forced to correct you, lest your blood should be required at my hand; lest it should one day confound me before the terrible, the just, the immutable Judge of all."

To the ill-used prelate himself, Gregory wrote in another tone<sup>4</sup>. "We thank God," he said, "that in the midst of a depraved and perverse generation, the constancy of your faith has so far shone forth as a light to all, and that you have chosen rather to suffer a variety of torments, than to exercise the power of ordination, at the unauthorized command of your prince, in violation of the sacred canons of the Church." "Great," he continued, "are the troubles of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of them all<sup>5</sup>. By such acts the Church first sprung into life, by such she must be revived. This

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Psal. xxxiv. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Is. lviii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 23.

“ heritage our fathers in the faith have left us, through  
 “ much tribulation to enter into the kingdom of God<sup>1</sup>.  
 “ Fierce is the contest, but infinite is the reward: nor  
 “ are the sufferings of this present time worthy to be  
 “ compared with the glory which shall be revealed<sup>2</sup>.  
 “ Let us, absent from each other in the body, though  
 “ present with each other in the spirit, resort, as often  
 “ as opportunity will permit, to the mutual consolation  
 “ of letters<sup>3</sup>; and let us constantly implore Almighty  
 “ God, that He would at length look again on the long-  
 “ afflicted, long-agitated, Church of Africa; saying with  
 “ the Psalmist, ‘ Up, Lord, why sleepest Thou? awake,  
 “ ‘ and be not absent from us for ever! Wherefore  
 “ ‘ hidest Thou Thy face, and forgettest our misery and  
 “ ‘ trouble ‘?’ ”

At Capua Gregory consecrated and presented with  
 the pallium<sup>4</sup>, Constantine, archbishop of Turris<sup>5</sup>, and  
 James, archbishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia; to the former  
 of whom, he entrusted a letter, to the judges or govern-  
 ors of that island, asserting, or reminding them of, its  
 former connexions with Rome, and subjection to the  
 authority of the apostolic see. A legate, he said, should  
 shortly be commissioned to visit Sardinia, to whom his  
 directions for their guidance should more fully be con-  
 fided, and to whose authority, as they prized either  
 their spiritual or their temporal safety, he required their  
 reverent submission<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts xiv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Nos igitur licet corpore absentes, spiritu tamen præsentés, mutuis litterarum consolationibus, quoties permittit opportunitas, insistamus.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xliv. 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Baron.

<sup>6</sup> “ Turrenses;” probably “ Turris Libisonis” now called “ Porto di Torre.”—Bingham, bk. ix. ch. v. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 29.

Milan, and the contest there raging, had from the moment of Gregory's assumption of the tiara, occupied his serious attention. Atto, the youth chosen by the party of Herlembald, had, as has been already intimated, been recognized by Rome as the legitimate pastor of the city of St. Ambrose; and Godfrey, the nominee of the late simoniacal archbishop, had, with his adherents, shortly before the death of Alexander been denounced by that pontiff anew. And Henry was, at first, disposed to resent this measure as an indignity to himself; but he subsequently, in consistency with the humble part which he felt it necessary to assume, abandoned, as we have seen, the question which agitated Milan, to the prudent counsels of Alexander's successor. Party-spirit, however, yet raged violently within the walls of that city; and Herlembald, as the supporter of the papal cause, was engaged in a perpetual contest with the corrupt and simoniacal clergy of the place, whose influence seems still to have predominated over that of their opponents. On the first of July, two days after his consecration, Gregory had addressed an epistle "to all the faithful servants of Christ in Lombardy<sup>1</sup>," promulgating the sentence lately pronounced against the intruding archbishop, and warning them against all intercourse with that excommunicate person, and all recognition of his uncanonical authority. And to his faithful supporter, Herlembald himself, Gregory now, from Capua, addressed a letter full of hope and encouragement<sup>2</sup>; which has been already cited<sup>3</sup>, as expressing the pontiff's sentiments of pleasure, on the receipt of the submissive epistle from

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Supra. Vid. ch. i. p. 341.

Henry. Some of the king's principal counsellors,—Gregory also informed Herlembald,—had given assurances in his name, that with respect to the affairs of Milan he would in all things comply with the pontiff's will. The Norman interest was now divided against itself; and the fidelity of Beatrice and Matilda to the Church's cause, was still unquestionable. "Do thou, therefore," said Gregory in conclusion, "trusting in the Lord, and in thy mother, the Church of Rome, perform a manly part. Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might<sup>1</sup>; and remember, that the darker, the more violent, the tempest which now besets thee, the brighter, the more delightful, by the favour of Heaven, shall be the calm which shall succeed it."

A second letter, containing instructions which, at the time of writing the above, he was too much hurried to give, was shortly afterwards dispatched to Herlembald by Gregory<sup>2</sup>, who attempted to give further support to his cause by addressing epistles to the bishops of Aquino and Pavia<sup>3</sup>, and calling upon them to make St. Peter their debtor, by going forth, with the shield of faith and with the helmet of salvation, against Simon Magus, who had so deeply infected, with the poison of his venality, the Church of the holy Ambrose.

Gregory was, on the 15th of November, still at Capua, as he dated from thence a letter written on that day to Gebhard, Bishop of Salzburg<sup>4</sup>; on whom he urged the enforcement of canons passed by Alexander, in a council, which Gebhard had himself attended, against clerical marriage. But he almost

<sup>1</sup> Ephes. vi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. ep 30.

immediately afterwards quitted that city, and proceeded to Monte Cassino, as appears by a letter written by him to Lanfranc<sup>1</sup>, and dated on the 20th of November, from St. Germano, a village belonging to that monastery, and situated at the foot of the hill on which it stood<sup>2</sup>. The object of this epistle was to incite Lanfranc more vigorously to resist, what Gregory styled the presumption of a bishop named Arfastus<sup>3</sup>, who appears to have attempted the exertion of episcopal authority with respect to an abbey,—St. Edmund's—over which the popes claimed an immediate and exclusive jurisdiction. And the pontiff naturally availed himself of the occasion, to re-assert the favourite doctrine of Rome, to which she owed her spiritual monarchy, that a paramount control over the consecrations of churches, priests, and even bishops themselves, was vested, by divine right, in the successors of St. Peter.

From Monte Cassino, Gregory moved to Terracina; and thence, on or about the 3rd of December, to Piperno. From the former place, he replied<sup>4</sup> to a letter of Remigius<sup>5</sup>, Bishop of Lincoln, forbidding him to suffer a certain priest, who had been guilty of homicide, again to officiate at the altar; but directing that

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Baron.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Herfast, who filled the see of Thetford from 1070 to 1086.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. ep. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Called, in the epistle, Remedius. He was elected bishop of Dorchester in 1070, and, during his episcopate, transferred the seat of his diocese to Lincoln; where he commenced the building of a cathedral in 1088. "In loco forti fortem, pulchro pulchram, Virgini virginum construxit ecclesiam." Henrici Huntindonensis Hist. lib. vi. p. 213. ed. Savil.

the offender, if sincerely contrite, should still receive support from the funds of the Church; lest poverty and hopelessness should drive him to further crime. And from Piperno, he ventured to assert what he conceived the Church's rights, before a more powerful sovereign than those, with whom he had recently been thrown into contact.

Philip, king of France, of whose simony complaints had frequently reached the apostolic see, had lately, by a confidential envoy despatched to Rome, pledged himself to the abandonment of that vice, and to the proper care in the future disposal of the benefices of the Church. But it now appeared that, though the clergy of the diocese of Mâcon had, with his own approval, elected Landric, Archdeacon of Autun<sup>1</sup>, to fill their vacant see, the king declined to put him in possession of it, without the present which he had on such occasions been accustomed to receive. The clergy appealed to Rome, and Gregory resolved not to lose this opportunity of enforcing upon Philip the observance of his promise. He addressed, on the 4th of December, an epistle<sup>2</sup> to Roderic, Bishop of Chalons, a prelate whom he knew to possess the confidence of the king. He had only, he said, delayed the infliction, upon Philip, of those censures which his past presumptuous and oppressive conduct had deserved, in consequence of the promise of reformation, given by him through his envoy, Alberic. The sincerity of that promise, he trusted the king would now prove, by admitting the bishop, who had been canonically chosen, to the possession of his diocese, without fee or reward. This if he declined to do, Gregory protested that he

<sup>1</sup> Augustodunum.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 35.

would no longer patiently behold the ruin of the Church; but that he would subdue the monarch's contumacy, by enforcing, by the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, the rigour of the canons. Either the king, renouncing the baseness of traffic in holy things, should permit the elevation of proper persons to situations of authority in the Church; or the French, threatened by a general anathema, should be compelled,—as the alternative of casting off the Christian faith altogether,—to refuse all further subjection and obedience to their unworthy sovereign. To avert such a consummation, he besought Roderic to use all his influence with Philip, and, while he laid the above warning before him, to exhort, and at the same time entreat, the monarch, that in the affair of Mâcon, as in all others, he would reverence the canons of the Church, and permit the occupation, by the proper persons, of her benefices. And that the Bishop of Chalons, as well as his sovereign, might see that the strong language which he had used was something more than an unmeaning threat, Gregory despatched, on the same day, a letter<sup>1</sup> to Humbert, Archbishop of Lyons; whom, as metropolitan of the province in which the diocese of Mâcon was included, he commanded, in the event of Philip's continued perverseness, to consecrate, by himself or his suffragans, the bishop elect,—if no canonical objections to the appointment should arise,—without regard to the monarch's opposition; or even to that, should it be experienced, of the bishop elect himself. "And if you neglect this," concluded Gregory, "let that person come to Rome, and we will, by God's grace, consecrate him ourselves."

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 36.



These steps were not without effect. We learn, from an epistle addressed by Gregory to Philip, in the ensuing year<sup>1</sup>, that the French monarch had promised full compliance with the pontiff's directions. But his obedience on an isolated occasion wrought in him no reformation of principle; Philip was a prince of too indolent and self-indulgent a character to be easily excited to a course of persevering amendment: there were, also, many about him who were interested in his continuance in the corrupt and licentious habits to which he was addicted; Gregory's admonitions, and his own promises, were, therefore, soon forgotten; and it was not long before he was again involved in contention with the apostolic see.

From Piperno Gregory proceeded through Setia, and arrived, about the middle of December<sup>2</sup>, in the papal city. There he, of course, received ample intelligence of all which had been occurring in the troubled theatre of Germany; and anxious, if possible, to prevent an open collision between the parties there contending; anxious to calm for a while the angry passions on either side; he addressed to Wezelin, Archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt, and other persons of influence among the Saxons, an epistle, with the insertion of which we will close our record of the proceedings of this eventful year.

“Ye know, I believe, the violent manner in which I  
“was constrained by my brethren to undertake the  
“burthen and charge of the universal Church, shaken  
“as she is by the waves of commotion, and almost

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 75.

<sup>2</sup> He addressed an epistle (i. 37) to the Countess Aldilasia, from Setia, on the 7th; and one (i. 38) to Duke Wratislav, of Bohemia, on the 17th of December, from Rome.

“ in danger of shipwreck. My conscience bears me  
“ witness, how unequal I should have judged myself to  
“ such a weight, and with what anxiety I should have  
“ sought to avoid the title of apostolic dignity. But,  
“ since the way of a man is not in his own hand<sup>1</sup>, but is  
“ at His disposal, by whom all our steps are guided, it  
“ was impossible for me to maintain my own wishes in  
“ opposition to the will of Heaven. Wherefore I must  
“ solicitously watch and ponder how, by God’s blessing,  
“ I may declare and faithfully administer those things  
“ which pertain to the advantage of true Religion,  
“ and to the welfare of the flock of the Lord: urged  
“ alike by fear, lest negligence with regard to the duties  
“ of my stewardship should one day accuse me before  
“ the supreme Judge, and by the love which is due  
“ from me to that prince of the Apostles, who has, from  
“ my infancy, nourished me under his wings with ex-  
“ ceeding pity, and cherished me in the bosom of his  
“ clemency.”

“ Chief among our cares at this moment is our know-  
“ ledge of the fact, that between you and king Henry  
“ your sovereign such discords have arisen as have led  
“ to many murders, to acts of incendiarism, to the  
“ plunder of the Churches and of the poor, and to the  
“ melancholy devastation of your country. On which  
“ account we have sent to the king, and admonished him,  
“ in the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, to abstain from  
“ arms and from all demonstrations of war, until we may  
“ be able to despatch to him legates from this apostolic  
“ see; who shall diligently inquire into all the causes of  
“ this unhappy dissension, and with God’s blessing re-  
“ store, by a just decision, peace and concord among you.

<sup>1</sup> Jerem. x. 23.

“And we now wish to exhort and prevail on you likewise, by apostolical authority, to abstain from every hostile motion, and to observe the same tranquillity which we have enjoined upon him; thus interposing no impediment to the efforts which, with God’s help, we will make for the restoration of peace. In our case, ye know, falsehood were sacrilege, and injustice the shipwreck of the soul. Let none, therefore, of you doubt that, having investigated the truth in this matter, we will, God aiding us, strive to decree and to establish that which is just, upon a lasting basis. And over that party which we shall find to have suffered from the other the violence of injustice, we will, be sure, without regard to consequences, or respect of persons, extend the fulness of our favour, and the shield of our apostolical authority<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 39.

END OF VOL. I.

**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**GREGORY THE SEVENTH.**



THE  
LIFE AND PONTIFICATE  
OF  
GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

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BY  
JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN, M.A.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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### ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 89, Note 3, for <i>sacerdotis</i> read <i>sacerdotio</i> .
— 98, — 2, for <i>Reuberii</i> read <i>Reuberi</i> .
— 110, line 27, for <i>belle</i> read <i>believe</i> .
— 135, beginning of line 10, <i>dels</i> had.
— 227, line 27, for <i>Tarvisla</i> read <i>Tarvistum</i> .
— 316, — 16, for <i>in</i> read <i>and</i> .

LIFE  
OF  
GREGORY VII.

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BOOK III.—CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1074.

HENRY'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SAXONS—THEIR NUMEROUS LEVY TO OPPOSE HIM—HIS PERILOUS POSITION—NEGOCIATIONS AND TREATY OF GERSTUNGEN—BIRTH OF PRINCE CONRAD—HENRY'S VACILLATING CONDUCT,—HE IS COMPELLED, BY THE APPEARANCE OF THE SAXONS AT GOSLAR, TO THE OBSERVANCE OF THE TREATY—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO SICARD, ARCHBISHOP OF AQUILEIA—CONDUCT OF GUISCARD—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO WILLIAM, COUNT OF BURGUNDY—TO ALL CHRISTIANS—HIS FIRST COUNCIL AT ROME—ARRANGEMENT OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE BISHOPS OF OLMUTZ AND PRAGUE—LEGATION OF AGNES, ACCOMPANIED BY SEVERAL PRELATES, TO GERMANY—STATE OF THAT COUNTRY—DEMOLITION OF HARZBURG BY THE SAXON POPULACE—HENRY'S APPEAL TO GREGORY ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS OUTRAGE, AND PREPARATIONS TO AVENGE IT—HENRY'S INTERVIEW WITH THE LEGATES AT NUREMBERG—THEIR PROPOSAL TO PRESIDE AT A GERMAN COUNCIL FRUSTRATED BY LIEMAR, ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO AGNES.

GREGORY'S efforts for the restoration of peace to Germany were fruitless. Henry, freed by the death of Reginger from his most pressing danger, resolved upon carrying into effect, even in the inclement month of January, his long-projected campaign against the Saxons. Circumstances, indeed, admitted of no delay. The garrisons in his fortresses, long and straitly beleaguered,



were reduced to the greatest extremities. That of the important castle of Asenburg was compelled by famine to surrender, and those of other places,—as Henry heard,—were loud in their murmurs, against the long delay, and apparent inactivity, of their sovereign at Worms.

He summoned, therefore, or rather entreated, the attendance around him, at that city, of his prelates and nobles, with their military followers. But the principal among them, Rudolf and his friends, as may be conceived, were loth to appear; and, declaring their aversion to aid in a cause which they felt to be unjust, they disregarded the summons<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding this defection, the king determined to proceed; and, at the head of such ill-provided, ill-disciplined, forces as he was able, under these unfavourable circumstances, to collect<sup>2</sup> around him, he left Worms in a season of unusual severity, and arrived, on the 27th of January, at Hersfeld<sup>3</sup>. But he was soon made sensible of the rashness of this advance. The ground became hard with intense frost; the rivers were nearly converted into solid masses of ice; and, as the mill-wheels were fast in the frozen streams, his soldiers were unable to use, for their sustenance, even the corn which they could procure. A melancholy foreboding seems, under these circumstances, to have pervaded the minds of the faithful adherents to his cause; and the meteors, and unusual appearances, of the frosty sky<sup>4</sup>, were noted by them, as though omens of a lowering futurity, symbols mysteriously connected with approaching evil.

Passing through Hersfeld, Henry moved toward the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Exercitu magno sed non ad prælium parato. Bruno de Bell. Saxon. Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

Werra, a river which formed the boundary of the Thuringian territory; and quartering his forces in villages near its bank, he sent forward the abbot of Hersfeld, with renewed overtures of accommodation<sup>1</sup>; the issue of which, as well as the arrival of reinforcements, by which he expected shortly to be strengthened, he resolved to await in the position which he had thus occupied. But the activity of the Saxons rendered all his schemes abortive. On receiving intelligence of his approach, they had lost no time in preparing for his reception; and their collective force, forty thousand in number, was found, by his envoy, already occupying the Thuringian bank of the Werra, and prepared to repel, even from their frontier, the projected invasion<sup>2</sup>. Henry's situation was, therefore, suddenly altered: he was in the immediate vicinity of a hostile force, far more powerful than his own; and felt himself compelled,—abandoning his schemes of aggression,—to contemplate the probability of his being himself attacked; while the river before him, which would at other seasons have been available, as a defence to his position, was now firmly frozen, and might be crossed at any moment by the advancing enemy<sup>3</sup>. Nor, to repel them, could he confidently rely on either the courage or the fidelity of the ill-organized and discontented troops who surrounded him. Becoming now aware of the real nature and condition of the Saxon force, they were appalled to discover the discrepancy between this reality, and the ideas which Henry's previous representations had led them to form of these contemned antagonists<sup>4</sup>. They were suffering, too, from every species of privation, and only preserved them-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Bruno.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

selves from experiencing, from day to day, the extremity of famine, by ruthlessly plundering of every necessary the neighbouring villages; to the miserable inhabitants of which, they left,—in the words of Lambert,—nothing but their lives.

In the extremity of distress, Henry endeavoured to negotiate, or rather to learn the terms upon which he might be permitted to retire, unassailed, from the ill-omened spot. But when he found that the Saxons,—though courteous, and, in appearance, ready to meet his overtures in a friendly manner,—felt the full advantage of their position, and were determined to qualify in no particular the demands which they had already repeatedly made, and which he had himself repeatedly rejected, the monarch was driven almost to despair; and, suspending the negotiations, he sent instructions to the different chiefs who commanded his army, to draw out their respective forces, in battle-array, on the following morning. These leaders promised obedience: but no motion, when the day arose, was seen in their quarters; they, or their followers, declaring, that they would draw no sword against those, whose quarrel they now felt to be a just one<sup>1</sup>.

Thus abandoned, the unfortunate Henry had no resource but to comply with the demands of his enemies; and the Saxon leaders were yet the more imperative in demanding his instant acquiescence in their proposals, on account of the critical and tumultuous state of their own forces; who, fired by the presence of their long-hated enemy, and wrathful that he should, by arrangements which they did not understand, be snatched out of their hands, were loud in

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

their clamours for immediate battle<sup>1</sup>. The king was forced, therefore, however reluctantly, to accept a treaty, the principal provisions of which were, that all the fortresses erected by him in Saxony should be immediately destroyed; that restitution should be made of all fiefs which he had seized or withheld from partizans of the Saxon cause; that a full amnesty should be accorded to all who had swerved from their allegiance by refusing to lend him their aid in the late campaign; and that the Saxons should be confirmed in the enjoyment of all their ancient rights and liberties for ever<sup>2</sup>.

Henry solemnly pledged himself to the observance of this treaty, in his quarters at the village of Gerstungen, on the feast of the Purification,—the 2nd of February,—1074<sup>3</sup>. He then, after a friendly reception of his late enemies, retired into the abbey of Hersfeld, there to await the approaching delivery of his queen. She gave birth, on the 12th of February, to a son<sup>4</sup>, who was baptized, by the Abbot, on the 14th, by the name of Conrad; and Henry, early in March, left Hersfeld for Goslar<sup>5</sup>. When there, the sight of his brave warriors, the liberated garrisons of his abandoned castles, together with the enthusiasm which they manifested in his cause, led him bitterly to lament the late occurrences, and to delay, as much as possible, the full execution of the treaty which he had just concluded. Nor was it till the Saxons, disgusted by his evident evasions, had entered Goslar in arms, and even occupied the outer court of his palace<sup>6</sup>, that Henry felt the necessity of yielding to

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

<sup>5</sup> *Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>6</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

circumstances, and of complying with the primary article of that treaty, by issuing orders, in apparent good faith, for the immediate demolition of the fortresses which he had reared. He then left the Saxon limits, and proceeded to pass the remainder of Lent<sup>1</sup> among his faithful citizens of Worms<sup>2</sup>.

Gregory continued, during these proceedings, steadily to labour in the great work of defending and purifying the Church. In January, 1074, he issued summons for a council, to be holden at Rome in the first week of the ensuing Lent; assigning, generally, as a cause for such a meeting, the ancient custom of the Roman Church<sup>3</sup>. But to Sicard, Archbishop of Aquileia, he declared his motives more fully in the following passage:—

“ It cannot have escaped your observation, that the  
 “ Church is tossed upon the waves of many commo-  
 “ tions, and well-nigh shipwrecked and lost amid the  
 “ miseries of her desolation. The rulers and princes  
 “ of this world, seeking their own, and not the things  
 “ of Jesus Christ<sup>4</sup>; and, having lost all reverence,  
 “ oppress her as a vile bondmaid, and fear not to  
 “ bring her to confusion, provided that, in so doing,  
 “ they may gratify their own sinful desires. The priests  
 “ too, and visible rulers of the Church, making light,  
 “ for the most part, of the law of God, and defrauding  
 “ at once Him and the sheep committed to their charge  
 “ of the debt of duty which they owe, seek the digni-  
 “ ties of the Church, for the sake of worldly grandeur  
 “ alone; while those goods which should, by a careful  
 “ dispensation, minister to the advantage and welfare of

<sup>1</sup> Ash Wednesday fell on the 5th of March.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Philipp. ii. 21.

“ many, they either neglect, or unhappily waste in  
“ pomp and unnecessary profusion. And the people,  
“ in the mean while, subject to no episcopal control,  
“ guided by no reins of discipline<sup>1</sup> into the way of  
“ righteousness, but rather instructed, by the example  
“ of those who are set over them, in all that is hurtful  
“ and opposed to the religion of Christ, are given to  
“ every kind of wickedness, and, deliberately depraving  
“ themselves, bear the name of Christians, I will not  
“ say without fulfilling the works which the Christian  
“ religion prescribes, but without even entertaining the  
“ faith which it inculcates. Wherefore, trusting in the  
“ mercy of God, we have determined on assembling a  
“ council in the first week of Lent, with the view of  
“ seeing whether, with the aid of the divine clemency,  
“ we may not find some palliation of, or some remedy  
“ for, these fearful evils; that so in our time we may  
“ not see the irreparable ruin and destruction of the  
“ Church<sup>2</sup>.”

It was, of course, Gregory's wish, after the adoption of such remedial measures as this general corruption of the Church might seem to require, to avail himself of the authority of the projected council, for the purpose of settling many matters of minor importance or of an isolated nature. And chief among these subordinate sources of his anxiety, was the conduct of Guiscard, who not only persevered in his refusal to make the acknowledgment of vassalage which the Pontiff required, but had made incursions into the Campagna, and carried on his conquests in the immediate vicinity of the papal city itself. To meet this impending danger, Gregory thought it expedient so far to make

<sup>1</sup> Nullis mandatorum frænis.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 43.

a show of military preparation, as to appeal to the dutiful feelings of William Count of Burgundy, and of other faithful servants of the Church, whom he called on in a letter—written on the 2d of February<sup>1</sup>—to hasten, with all the force which they could muster, to her defence<sup>2</sup>. Not, as he says himself, that he intended the effusion of human blood, but that the sight of such an expedition might compel the enemy to yield to fear what he had denied to justice. And then,—as he intimated,—he looked forward to schemes of a more extensive nature; and contemplated the possibility,—when the affairs of the Church at home should have been arranged in peace,—of leading in person the chivalry of Western Europe, to the relief of the suffering Church and menaced empire of the Christian East<sup>3</sup>.

This last great object, he endeavoured still further to forward, by an epistle addressed, on the first of the following March, to all Christians<sup>4</sup>; in which,—informing them that the heathen conquerors had laid waste every thing before them, even to the very gates of Constantinople, and had poured out, like that of sheep, the blood of many thousands of their fellow-Christians,—he admonished them that, as the Redeemer of the world had given his life for his servants, each of them should, in turn, be ready to offer up his own, for his brethren in the faith. But the general effort which he contemplated, was not destined yet to take place.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 46.

<sup>2</sup> See also his letter written, somewhat later, to Godfrey of Lorraine, lib. i. Ep. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Sylvester II. had addressed to the universal Church an epistle, in the name of the devastated Jerusalem, in which this idea was first formally started. With that exception, this epistle of Gregory seems to have been the first official suggestion of a Crusade.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 49.

Concerns of a more pressing nature kept him, throughout his pontificate, busily engaged at home; and it was reserved for Urban II., and his council of Clermont in 1095, by responding to the voice of the hermit Peter, to arrest the conquering progress of the Mahometan arms, by the united powers of the whole western world. But we shall find Gregory, on several future occasions, recurring to this idea. The ravishment, from the Church, of her ancient and beloved abodes in Palestine and Asia Minor,—the threatened occupation, by an unbaptized monarch, of Nicæa<sup>1</sup>, and other scenes of her most momentous and most glorious struggles,—could not fail to excite in his breast a burning desire for their recovery. Nor could his penetrating mind fail to perceive the advantage which would naturally result to the cause of the Western Church,—as opposed to that of unauthorized secular control over holy things,—from the enlistment of the martial spirit of her children in her own immediate cause, and from the accustoming men's minds, in a matter so interesting, to look rather to the divine bond which connected them together, as members of the one Catholic Institution, than to the

<sup>1</sup> "L'an 467 de l'Hégire (1074 de J. C.) Soliman, fils de Koutoulmisch, et arrière-petit fils de Seldgiouk par son aïeul Israil, passa dans l'Asie mineure à la tête d'une armée de Turcs, et . . . poussa ses conquêtes jusqu'à Nicée, où il établit sa résidence." Art de vérifier les dates, t. i. p. 478.—Jam Jherosolima Sarracenis civibus possessa, Babyloniz, quæ nunc sedes est regni Ægyptii, serviebat . . . Bethlehem, domus panis angelorum, stabulum facta armentorum . . . Nicæam, catholicæ fidei turrin firmissimam, expugnant, trucidatis in ea Christianis . . . Igitur terra repromissionis subacta, mater nostræ redemptionis et fidei Jherusalem duplici captivitatis jugo gravatur. Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis. Eccard. t. i. p. 910. Et vid. Ekkehardi Abbatis libell. de expugnation. Hierosolym. Marten. et Durand. Coll. ampliss. t. v. p. 515.



human distinctions of nation, manners, or polity, by which they were externally separated from each other.

But, if productive of no other immediate result, Gregory's military projects and demonstrations were, it would seem, sufficient to ward off for the time all apprehended danger from the Norman side; and his council, which was attended by many prelates, by the countess Matilda, and by many other persons of distinction, assembled in security at the appointed time, in the first week of Lent<sup>1</sup>. The decrees passed by the prelates, thus convened, were in substance four: 1. That no one who had been admitted by purchase to any rank in the ministry, should thenceforward officiate in the Church. 2. That no one who had purchased any church should continue to enjoy it, and that the rights to churches should for the future be neither bought nor sold. 3. That all should be debarred from exercising the clerical function who were guilty of incontinence,—that is, who lived either in habits of licentiousness, or in the married state. 4. That none of the laity should for the future receive the ministrations of those who publicly disregarded these apostolical ordinances<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1521. et vide tractat. Apologetici super decreta quæ venerabilis Papa Gregorius . . . in Romanâ synodo promulgavit contra Simoniacos et incontinentes altaris ministros. ib. p. 1523.

<sup>2</sup> Primum, ut clerici aliquem sacrorum ordinum gradum et officium per pretium adepti nullatenus deinceps in ecclesia ministrarent. Secundum, ut ecclesiam pretio acquisitam nullus retineat, nec alicui deinceps ecclesiæ jura vendere vel emere liceat. Tertium, ut a clericali officio cessent, quicumque se pro incontinentiâ reprehensibiles exhibent. Quartum, ut populus clericorum officia nullatenus recipiat, quos Apostolicas institutiones contemnere videat. Apologet. ut supr. p. 1527.

The great objects of the synod having been thus accomplished, its members proceeded to the consideration of matters of detail. The sentence of excommunication was at length pronounced against the refractory Guiscard, then engaged in the siege of the papal fief of Benevento<sup>1</sup>; a sentence, which failed in bringing the haughty Norman to submission, though he appears to have been induced, shortly afterwards, at least to temporize. For, in a letter written to Beatrice and Matilda in the following October<sup>2</sup>, Gregory informed them, that Robert had sent more than one suppliant embassy to Rome, and expressed a desire to bind himself, by the strongest obligations, to future fealty. But this, dissatisfied perhaps with the conditions which Gregory wished to impose, he throughout the year 1074 declined to perform.

The council was attended by several Spanish prelates, who pledged themselves, and the Church to which they belonged, to compliance with Gregory's wishes, respecting the introduction into Spain of the Roman ritual. Nor did the assembly separate without pronouncing anew the censures of the Church against the already condemned Godfrey, intruding archbishop of Milan.

The Sardinian judge Orzocor, it is probable, chose the occasion of this synod, to express the recognition, by the island to which he belonged, of the supremacy which Gregory claimed over it, as the successor of St. Peter. Jaromir, of Prague, with his rival, the bishop of Olmutz, unquestionably appeared, if not before the council, at least within a month after its sitting, before the apo-

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 1260. 1521.—Baron. ad an.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 9.

stolic tribunal. Jaromir, when first summoned, had pleaded a want of means for the journey, occasioned by the seizure of his episcopal possessions by Wratislav, his brother. But Gregory, in a letter to Wratislav<sup>1</sup>, directed that these should be restored; and, thus depriving Jaromir of his excuse, authoritatively commanded his attendance; while Siegfried, who, as primate of Germany, had wished himself to decide the dispute, was, by the pontiff, as imperatively forbidden to interfere<sup>2</sup>. Not daring longer to refuse obedience, Jaromir presented himself with all humility before his judge. The charge of having struck the Moravian bishop, or having directed the perpetration of any outrages upon his servants, he denied; but other complaints against him he admitted to be well founded, and offered to make what Gregory considered suitable amends. And partly on this account, partly through the interference of Matilda,—to whom Jaromir was in some degree related,—the pontiff was induced to forgive him the past, to confirm him in his bishopric, and to furnish him with a letter, bespeaking for him the favour and protection of his brother<sup>3</sup>; reserving, at the same time, the final decision, respecting the question of property at issue between him and the Moravian prelate, to a future synod. The council having been dissolved, Gregory selected, for the purpose of informing Henry of the results of its deliberation, those whom he judged most likely, from station or character, to command the light-minded monarch's attention and respect. The imperial Agnes, at what she felt to be the call of religion, forsook for a while those devotional

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 60, 61.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 78.

duties which now formed her principal occupation, in the hope of giving weight to the pontiff's message by her name, and by the influence of her maternal authority. And accompanied by the bishops of Ostia, Palestrina, and Cumæ<sup>1</sup>, who went in the character of legates, she set forward across the Alps, toward the country in which she had exercised her, now forgotten, power.

The affairs of that country had, in the mean while, taken a turn most favourable to the recognition of Gregory's decrees, and to the general extension of his pontifical authority. The object now uppermost in Henry's mind was vengeance upon the Saxons, for his recent humiliations at Gerstungen and at Goslar; and he had not left the latter place three days, before an event occurred, which he hailed as supplying him with a pretext for a rupture, of which he could avail himself at any future convenient season. Harzburg, the fortress in which he had been besieged by the Saxons in the preceding August, was a spot to which he had, in a peculiar manner, attached himself. He had built there a beautiful church of wood, adorning it in the most costly manner, enriching it with the relics of saints, and endowing it by the foundation of several canonries; and, in its vaults, he had deposited the bones of a brother, and of an infant son<sup>2</sup>. This building,—though compelled to raze the walls

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo. To these, Lambert adds an "Episcopus Curiensis;" but this, it should seem, is the error of a transcriber, as the bishopric of Cures had been united to that of Nomentum by Gregory the Great, in 593. Vid. Greg. Mag. lib. iii. ep. xx. ad Gratosum episcopum, et Ughelli Episcopat. Antiq. verbo Curienses, t. x. p. 74. If there were, indeed, an "Episcopus Curiensis" among the legates, his see must have been Chur or Coire, in the Grisons, which seems improbable. Donizo (l. i. c. xix.) only names two prelates.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. Tales et tot clericos illuc undique congregavit,

around it,—he was naturally most solicitous to preserve<sup>1</sup>. But the Saxon populace, mindful of the injuries which the licentious garrison of Harzburg had inflicted on them, were indignant, that even a vestige of a place so obnoxious to them should exist. Suddenly and tumultuously, they rushed into Harzburg, fired the church, plundered its treasury, shivered the altars, and reduced the whole place to a heap of ruins. And that no attachment to the spot might remain in Henry's mind, or induce him to restore the fabric thus destroyed, they tore the remains of his relatives from their graves<sup>2</sup>. But these, together with the saintly relics, were rescued from their hands by the abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Ilseburg, and deposited in its church<sup>3</sup>.

The Saxon chiefs, upon receiving intelligence of these lawless proceedings of their countrymen, were, it appears, much grieved and confounded. They lost no time in expressing to the king their regret for the occurrence, and in denying, in the strongest terms, their participation in the crimes which had been committed<sup>4</sup>. But Henry was, as has been already intimated, too happy to have at length what must, he thought, be considered by all, as a fair cause of complaint against the Saxon race. "Since," he said, "no civil laws can check the violence of that unruly people; and since, deserted by my soldiers, I cannot chastise them by the arm of force, I must appeal to the authority of the Church. Bereft of auxiliaries on earth, I will implore the aid of Heaven." And

ut aliquot episcopales locos apparatu suo æquipararet, aliquot etiam transenderet. *Annalista Saxo*, ad an. 1067.

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.      <sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.—*Annalista Saxo*.

immediately despatching messengers to Rome, he forwarded to Gregory a highly coloured statement of the outrage which had been committed, and demanded that the powers of the apostolic see might be wielded against the incendiaries of churches, the desecrators of altars, and the violators of the sepulchres of the dead<sup>1</sup>.

When, therefore, Henry's mother, and the papal legates, arrived in Germany, they found the king anxious, not only to win Gregory's favour, but even to exalt the pontifical authority. And his position, with regard to the nobles of his empire, was now materially different from that which he had a few months previously occupied. The events at Gerstungen, by which his power was apparently humbled, proved subsequently of the most essential advantage to his cause, in severing, for a time, the bond which had united his adversaries. The Saxons, who had principally fought for their liberties, were happy to conclude a peace, upon terms by which those liberties were secured; and though, as we have seen, they honourably stipulated, that no vengeance should be taken by the king on the allies who had befriended them; they closed the agreement without either consulting those allies, or regarding the frustration, by that compact, of the aspiring designs of Rudolf and his confederates upon the crown. Those princes, consequently, felt themselves to have been in a manner betrayed: their late amity with the Saxons was converted into stern hostility; and when they found that the king was meditating vengeance for the affront which he had received, they intimated their willingness to follow him with all their forces to the field<sup>2</sup>. One of them, Welf of Bavaria, had peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.

and most urgent reasons for desiring a rupture of the peace which had been concluded ; for the duchy which he enjoyed had been recognized in the treaty as the rightful fief of Otho of Nordheim ; to whom, in the execution of that treaty, Henry stood bound to restore it. He, therefore, and his friends, were found, at this critical moment, desirous of supporting, rather than of opposing, the kingly power ; anxious to soothe and to conciliate the sovereign, whom they had so recently insulted and condemned.

Henry had established himself, for the feast of Easter, at Bamberg<sup>1</sup> ; but as Herman, the bishop of that city, lay under the charge of simony, the legates forbore to approach the place<sup>2</sup>, and awaited the termination of the festival at Nuremberg. Thither Henry,—the solemnities of the season having been concluded,—proceeded to meet them. But he found them, to his surprise, inflexible in refusing to hold the slightest intercourse with him until he had made open profession of his penitence for the simony and other breaches of ecclesiastical laws of which he had been guilty, and had received from their hands the absolution of the Church<sup>3</sup>. With these terms, policy, if not principle, induced him to comply ; he subsequently entertained them with every demonstration of respect, and promised his assistance in the enforcement of the decrees which they were commissioned to promulge. In some respects, the degradation of simoniacal members of the priesthood was a measure which suited his own views. The bishop of Worms, and other prelates by whom his interests had on various occasions been opposed, were

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Marian. Scot.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

notoriously chargeable with the corrupt traffic which it was sought to abolish; and Henry hailed the opportunity of avenging, under the name of zeal for the public good, the wrongs which he had individually sustained<sup>1</sup>. Nor is it at all probable that,—eager as he was to establish himself in papal favour,—his eyes were open to the momentous change, in the relative positions of the Church and of the secular power, which would result from such a complete separation of the priesthood from the mass of society, as must follow the general enforcement of clerical celibacy.

With one request, however, of the legates, the determined resistance of his German prelates prevented his complying. They had solicited permission, for the purpose of carrying Gregory's decrees into effect, to summon a council in Germany in his name, over which they were, by his authority, to preside. But Liemar, archbishop of Bremen, expressing the unanimous feeling of his brethren, declared that such a proceeding would involve a violation of the long-established privileges of the German Church; that the right of presiding over their national synods belonged to the archbishop of Mentz as primate of Germany; and that he could not with propriety cede that privilege to any but to the pope in person<sup>2</sup>. The legates, in answer to this, declared that all such rights, as derived from the regulations of preceding popes, were necessarily superseded by their legatine authority from the reigning pontiff. But the opposition was too strong for them, and they were compelled to abandon their design. They made, however, in abandoning it, their power respected. They declared Liemar suspended from the functions of his

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 811.—Lamb. Schafnab.



archiepiscopal office<sup>1</sup>; they enforced Henry's separation from the corrupt nobles, five in number, who had been excommunicated by Alexander; and receiving from the king, and from his principal counsellors, a solemn pledge of continued exertions in the work of ecclesiastical reformation, they departed, laden with costly presents, for Rome.

Gregory's thanks to his imperial envoy for her services were expressed most warmly; but not more so, it may be thought, than the occasion required. "Through you," said the grateful pontiff, "the remembrance of the pious women, who of old sought the Lord in His sepulchre, often recurs to my mind. As they, before all His disciples, pressed to that sepulchre with exceeding affection, so do you, before the many, and before the great ones of the earth, visit with pious love the Church of Christ, entombed as it were in the sepulchre of affliction. And devoting yourself to the hope of her joyful resurrection to liberty, you bring,—as though tidings heard from angelic lips,—encouragement to all to aid her in her struggles. Seek, then, with good hope, the revelation of celestial glory, and of eternal life which is in Christ Jesus; and by His blessing you shall find it; being made the companion of those blessed women, who, amid the angelic choirs, enjoy the presence of the Saviour in eternal peace<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 85.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1074.

TROUBLES EXCITED BY GREGORY'S DENUNCIATION OF CLERICAL MARRIAGE—OTHO OF CONSTANCE OPPOSES THE PAPAL DECREE—TIMIDITY OF SIEGFRIED—HIS COUNCIL AT ERFURT—ITS FAILURE, AND HIS FLIGHT—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO HIM—MISSION OF TWO LEGATES TO GERMANY—EPISTLE TO RUDOLF AND BERTHOLD—APPEAL TO THE POPULACE AGAINST THE MARRIED CLERGY—DISGRACEFUL PROCEEDINGS THENCE ARISING—DISPUTE FOR THE HUNGARIAN CROWN—DISTURBANCES AT COLOGNE—HENRY'S FRUITLESS EXPEDITION INTO HUNGARY—GREGORY'S EPISTLES TO THE TWO CONTENDING PRINCES, GEISA AND SOLOMON—DISTURBANCES RESPECTING CLERICAL MARRIAGE IN FRANCE—DEGRADED STATE OF THE CHURCH THERE—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS AND OTHER PRELATES—TO COUNT WILLIAM OF POITOU—SECOND EPISTLE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS—GREGORY'S POLICY WITH RESPECT TO FRANCE—TO ENGLAND—HIS EPISTLES TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND QUEEN MATILDA—COUNCIL IN ST. PAUL'S—AT WINCHESTER—ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS IN SPAIN AND HUNGARY—GREGORY'S ANXIETIES, DANGEROUS ILLNESS, AND RECOVERY—HIS EPISTLE TO HENRY, IN WHICH HE SUGGESTS A CRUSADE.

IN his warfare against simony, Gregory had unquestionably the support of all who sincerely deplored the corruptions of the Church and desired her reformation. But it was far otherwise with his peremptory annulment of the marriages of the clergy. These marriages did not, like the corrupt traffic in holy things, carry with them, in the eyes of all seriously minded persons, their own instant condemnation. They were, indeed, unlawful; as having been prohibited by an authority in which was recognized the undoubted right of legislating on such subjects. But those prohibitions, frequently as they

had been repeated, had been in great measure, forgotten; and might, at any time, be regarded in the light rather of humanly-contrived, prudential, regulations, than of divinely promulgated, necessary laws. The example of the Greek Church,—to mention no others,—shows that, in insisting on celibacy in the priesthood, Rome was not enforcing a primitive or essential law of the Church universal. And indeed, at the very time of Gregory's enactment, it came upon the clergy,—though it ought not to have done so,—with much of the air of a novelty. At that time it was, it is true, a measure of reform;—nay, was, perhaps, the only available mode in which a sudden and efficient check could be imposed on the gross licentiousness of the degenerate priesthood. But even those who were the most deeply sensible of this, and were the most disposed, on these grounds, to advocate the enforcement of clerical celibacy in general, might well be startled at the violence of a measure by which that principle was enforced in the rending asunder of ties, already existing, of the tenderest nature, and in violation of obligations, in appearance the most solemn and sacred. For surrounded as the clergy were, at the moment, by wives, mistresses, and families, the canon which Gregory now showed his intention of enforcing, tended to effect a revolution, which, in its stern and agonizing character, could only be paralleled by that which Ezra, fifteen hundred years before, had been guided to accomplish in Israel.

Vehement, therefore, was the indignation of the German clergy, when first the intelligence of this obnoxious enactment reached their ears, and when they found that the great moral power which the papacy had, within the last few years, attained, was to be

wielded in enforcing, as realities, those principles of austere reformation, which, when promulgated as they had been, by Gregory's predecessors, a few years before, had probably seemed like theoretical notions, based upon views unsuited to the state of things actually existing in the world. The pope, the clergy proclaimed aloud, was a heretic, and his decree that of a madman. The execution of it was a childish,—an impossible,—notion. Human nature being what it was, the rigour of his laws,—the attempt to make men live like angels,—would only plunge the clergy, by a necessary re-action, into habits more dissolute than ever. And the letter of Holy Scripture—the plain teaching, as well of our Lord himself, as of his inspired Apostle—was directly at variance with this wild, this extravagant, enactment. But they defied him to proceed to such an extremity as to enforce its general adoption; and protested that, sooner than resign their domestic enjoyments, they would relinquish the priesthood; and when he had expelled them, for no other reason than that they were men, he might seek where he could for angels, to minister in the churches in their stead<sup>1</sup>.

And long, and violently, did this tumult rage. Several bishops, the principal among whom was Otho of Constance, openly put themselves at the head of the clergy opposed to Gregory's authority. And prelates, who, taking a different course, attempted to promulgate the papal edict in their respective dioceses, were assailed by the refractory members of their churches with insolence and outrage. But Gregory, ever watchful of their proceedings, prevented their zeal from flagging by repeated messages of warning, exhortation, and en-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

couragement<sup>1</sup>. And most especially was he urgent with Siegfried, to assume, on the occasion, the determined tone which became him as primate of Germany, and to enforce the observance of the mandates of the Church with the full weight of his authority.

But the timid, temporizing, Archbishop of Mentz was appalled by the storm which he saw gathering around him; and, not daring to adopt a bold course on either side, suggested to his clergy the propriety of complying with the papal injunctions, but announced that he gave them six months to deliberate on their conduct. At the expiration of that period, he was induced to summon a council, which met, in October, at Erfurt, and in which he called upon them to renounce either their wives or their offices. But he then found,—the natural consequence of his compromising conduct at the first,—that his authority, thus slowly exerted, was insufficient to carry his point. Unmoved either by his arguments or by his entreaties, the clergy,—as though for the purpose of secret deliberation,—quitted the place of assembly, and, once removed from his presence, resolved no more to return to it, but to depart without his permission to their homes; the only difference of opinion among them being caused by the proposal of the more violent, that they should indeed return to the synod, but that it should be for the purpose of tearing their unworthy metropolitan from his archiepiscopal throne, and of visiting him with a deserved death, as a warning to all who should thenceforward be tempted like him

<sup>1</sup> Nihilominus ille instabat, et assiduis legationibus episcopos omnes socordiae ac desidiaē arguebat; et nisi ocyus injunctum sibi negotium exequerentur, apostolicā se censurā in eos animadversurū, comminabatur. Lamb. Schafnab.

to insult the sacerdotal order<sup>1</sup>. But the terrified primate, to whom a report of these proceedings was immediately brought, at once abandoned the idea of further pressing, at the moment, the obnoxious proposal; and promised, in the event of their peaceably returning to the place of council, that he would on the first opportunity despatch an envoy to Rome, and solicit from the Pope a relaxation of the rigour of his enactment. But on the very next day,—this tempest having been scarcely appeased,—the archbishop, blinded by his greedy desire of gain, had the rashness, in an assembly composed both of clergy and laity, to renew the old question of his pretensions to the Thuringian tithes; a question which the people of that province reasonably conceived to have been settled in their favour, by that article of the treaty of Gerstungen, which guaranteed to them, as well as to their Saxon brethren, the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and immunities. This, at first, they temperately urged; but,—when Siegfried persevered in his demand,—fired with rage they rushed from the assembly, and calling their countrymen to arms, returned at the head of a tumultuous multitude, who were with difficulty restrained from destroying the archbishop on the spot. The council was thus broken up; and Siegfried, escaping to Heiligenstadt, continued there during the remainder of the year 1074; on every festival repeating, but in vain, from the altar, his summons to the disturbers of his synod, to do penance for the crime under pain of excommunication<sup>2</sup>.

The weakness which he, in these transactions, exhibited, was commented on by Gregory, in a letter which

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

he addressed to Siegfried in December, in a tone of affectionate regret. He had, he said, from the time of the archbishop's expression of a wish to retire into a monastery, hoped better things from him. But what had occurred could not be passed over; and he felt himself compelled by the duty of his apostolical station, to summon the primate himself, together with his suffragans, the bishops of Constance, Strasburg, Spires, Bamberg, Augsburg, and Wurzburg, to appear in person before a synod which he announced, as he had done the preceding one, for the first week of Lent<sup>1</sup>. To the personal timidity, to which much of Siegfried's irresolution must be traced, the breast of Gregory was entirely a stranger. "Shall it not shame us," he said to the wavering prelate on a subsequent occasion,—“while  
 “every soldier of this world daily hazards his life for  
 “his sovereign, and shrinks not from the most formidable danger,—if we, styled priests of the Lord,  
 “shrink from the battle of our King, who made all  
 “things out of nothing, who scrupled not to lay down  
 “his life for us, and who has promised us rewards of  
 “an eternal duration<sup>2</sup>.”

And such partial failures as the above did but stimulate the intrepid pontiff to further exertions. His summons to Siegfried was followed—in January 1075—by the mission of two other legates to Germany; whom Gregory accredited by a letter, which he addressed “to all the faithful,” and in which he demanded their reverent obedience for these messengers of St. Peter, in virtue of the text, “He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me<sup>3</sup>.” And about the same time, appealing to the zeal of the known ad-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 29.<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 4.<sup>3</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 40.

herents to the papal cause, Rudolf and Berthold, he called on them to exert to the utmost their powerful influence, in promoting the observance of his canons, and in preventing, even by force, if necessary, the ministration of priests who disobeyed them<sup>1</sup>.

But another power which Gregory, for the accomplishment of the same purpose, was tempted to call into action, shows more fully than the above step, the incompleteness,—or, as we should perhaps say, the inconsistency,—of the papal views, on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline and authority. By the last of the four canons<sup>2</sup> above quoted, the laity were thrown into the position,—if not of judges of the priesthood,—at

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting this last decree the sentiments of Sigebert of Gemblours, a historian hostile to Gregory, appear founded on justice. It was, he says, a measure of new example, and based on inconsiderate prejudice and ignorance, and contrary to the opinions of the Fathers, “qui scripserunt, quod sacramenta quæ in ecclesiâ fiunt, baptismus scilicet, chrisma, corpus et sanguis Christi, Spiritu Sancto latenter operante eorundem sacramentorum effectum, seu per bonos seu per malos intra Dei ecclesiam dispensentur.” Gregory did not indeed, as Baronius truly maintains (ad an. n. xl.) declare the ministrations of the offending clergy invalid; but by forbidding the laity to receive them, he necessarily encouraged the idea that they were so; and thus directly led to the impieties narrated in the text. On the score of discipline, too, nothing could be more indefensible than the entrusting to the hands of the laity the punishment of uncanonical irregularity in their pastors. On this point Gregory might, with advantage, have remembered the directions of his predecessor Nicholas I., who, when the newly-converted Christians of Bulgaria had inquired whether married priests should be by them received and honoured, replied that such priests might in themselves be fit subjects for censure; but that it was not for them, as laymen, to pronounce that censure upon them, such being the proper office of their bishops alone. Vid. Nic. I. Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum, ap. Hard. t. v. p. 353.



least of punishers of its irregularities. And such an invitation, thus made, was, of course, readily and generally attended to. The occasion seemed,—to the selfish, the irreverent, and the profane,—to legalize the gratification of all the bad feelings, with which persons of those dispositions must ever regard the Church and her ministry; and priests, whose disobedience to the papal authority furnished any excuse for such conduct, were openly beaten, abused, and insulted by their rebellious flocks<sup>1</sup>. Some were forced to fly with the loss of all that they possessed, some were deprived of limbs, and some, it is even said, put to death in lingering torments. And to lengths, even more horrible than these, did the popular violence, thus unhappily, thus criminally, sanctioned, proceed. Too many were delighted to find, what they could consider a religious excuse, for neglecting religion itself, for depriving their children of the inestimable gift conferred in the holy Sacrament of Baptism<sup>2</sup>, or for making the solemn mysteries of the

<sup>1</sup> *Plebeius error, quam semper quæsit, opportunitate adeptâ, usque ad furoris sui satietatem injuncta sibi, ut ait, in clericorum contumelias obedientia crudeliter abutitur. Hi . . . quocumque prodeunt, clamores insultantium, digitos ostendentium, colaphos pulsantium proferunt. Alii . . . egeni et pauperes profugiunt. Alii membris mutilati . . . Alii per longos cruciatus superbe necati . . . Vid. epist. cujusdam in Marten. et Durand. Thesaur. Nov. Anecdotor. t. i. p. 231.*

<sup>2</sup> *Quot parvuli salutari lavacro violenter fraudati. Quot omnis conditionis homines a secundæ purificationis, quæ in pœnitentiâ et reconciliatione consistit, remedio repulsi. Epist. citat. M. et D. t. i. p. 240. Laici sacra mysteria temerant, et de his disputant, infantes baptizant, sordido humore aurium pro sacro oleo et chrismate utentes, in extremo vitæ viaticum Dominicum, et usitatum ecclesiæ obsequium sepulturæ, a presbyteris conjugatis accipere parvipendant, decimas presbyteris deputatas igni cremant; et ut in uno cætera perpendas, laici corpus Domini a presbyteris conjugatis consecratum,*

Church subjects of the most degrading mockery, or of the most atrocious profanation. Deeply is it to be regretted that a pontiff who desired, from the bottom of his heart, the purification of the Church; whose whole life had been devoted to that high and holy cause; and who unquestionably would have shrunk, in the abstract, from the idea of supporting that cause by any means inconsistent with the maintenance of a proper discipline in the Church; should have evoked, in furtherance of his views, a spirit of so odious a character, as was that which showed itself in these dreadful transactions. But such had been the line marked out for him by those who had gone before him; and it accorded but too well with the general structure of the great theological system under which he lived; a system great and glorious in its general features,—on which, indeed, it yet bore the unquestioned impress of divinity;—but which, blighted and distorted as it had been by its human modifications, only showed, when contemplated under partial or particular lights, the extent of its deviation from its original model, and the foulness of its consequent corruptions.

Henry was compelled, throughout the year, to postpone his intended vengeance on the Saxon race, and consequently to maintain alike his system of hollow courtesies toward the leaders of that people, and his professions of zeal for the reformation of the Church, and of submissiveness toward her imagined Head. His principal attention was for some months occupied by the civil contest raging in Hungary between Solomon,

*sæpe pedibus conculcaverunt, et sanguinem Domini voluntarie effuderunt. Sigebert. Gemblac. an. 1074.*

king of that country, who had married his sister Judith, and Geisa, or Joias, a member of the royal house, who disputed with Solomon the crown<sup>1</sup>. Henry, twice during the year, set out for Hungary, in support of Solomon's cause; but was, on the first of these occasions, when he had proceeded as far as Ratisbon on his way, recalled by intelligence, that Hanno of Cologne,—whose city had been the scene of dreadful tumults, and who had been forced to vindicate his authority there by measures of great severity,—had called in to his support, and with a view of defying his sovereign, the formidable aid of William the Conqueror. But the rumour, as may be supposed, Henry found, upon further inquiry, to be false. He proceeded, however, to Cologne, and sitting as it were in judgment on the archbishop, he tried, by calling before him the discontented citizens, and in every other possible way, to discover a plausible pretext for either depriving him of his office, or suspending him from its functions. But in this he was completely frustrated by the firmness of the aged prelate, and, with regard to the charge of treason, by his innocence; and he then set out a second time for the Hungarian territory. But the prudent Geisa, avoiding all pitched battles, destroyed or removed all means of supply from the line of Henry's march; and the German

<sup>1</sup> Solomon and Geisa were the sons of two brothers, Andrew and Bela, the former of whom had been dethroned by the latter in 1061. But, upon Bela's death, in 1064, the arms of Henry restored Solomon to his father's throne, Geisa, the son of Bela, accepting the title of duke, and the second place in the state. But the jealousy with which Solomon naturally viewed this powerful subject's proceedings, led subsequently to a difference, and ultimately to the war which now raged between the cousins. *Bonfinii Rer. Ungaric. decad. ii. lib. ii. iii.*—*Art de vérifier les Dates, t. ii. p. 50.*

monarch, thus rendered unable to bring the campaign to any decisive result, returned ere long across the frontier, and passed the ensuing Christmas at Strasburg.

Such a contest as that between these Hungarian princes was not likely to be carried on without the interference, solicited or proffered, of Gregory and his conclave. And we find accordingly, that a letter, in which Geisa requested the papal alliance and support, was read before the Roman council, whose proceedings we have described. This elicited from the pontiff a most gracious, though a general answer<sup>1</sup>; in which he assured Geisa of the strong desire which the apostolical see entertained for his welfare, and for his protection from the efforts of his enemies. And Gregory was the more disposed to favour that prince's cause, by the conduct of Solomon, who, in return for Henry's exertions, which had placed him on the throne, had recognized the German sovereign as lord paramount of his kingdom; a measure which the pontiff described, in a letter addressed to Solomon on the 28th of October, as a high offence against St. Peter<sup>2</sup>.

The kingdom of Hungary had, he said, as Solomon might have learned from his ancestors, been solemnly offered and given to the holy Roman Church by king Stephen. And the donation had since been renewed and confirmed by the Emperor Henry of blessed memory, who, having conquered Hungary, had sent to the tomb of St. Peter a lance and crown, at once the trophies of his victory and the symbols of the kingdom's vassalage to the apostolic throne. Solomon therefore, the violator of the Apostle's rights, could only regain the favour

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 13.

and protection of his successor, by confessing and amending his error, and by acknowledging that he held his kingdom as a fief, not under the imperial, but under the apostolical authority<sup>1</sup>.

In France, the promulgation of Gregory's canons was received by the clergy with a burst of indignation yet more vehement, if possible, than that which it had excited among the sacerdotal body of Germany. A synod met at Paris, not to deliberate upon, but at once to renounce obedience to, mandates so oppressive; and the zealous Gualtier, abbot of Pont-Isere, who dared alone to defend the pontiff's cause in the assembly, was seized, beaten, spit upon, and tumultuously dragged to a prison; whence he was, however, shortly rescued by some nobles who were his friends<sup>2</sup>. The archbishop of Rouen, when endeavouring to enforce the prescribed celibacy among his clergy, was pelted with stones, and compelled to secure his safety by flight<sup>3</sup>. Nor was this extraordinary; for it seems the system of clerical marriage was so completely established and recognized in Normandy,

<sup>1</sup> Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary, in the year 1000 solicited from Pope Sylvester II. the confirmation of his title; and the pontiff, aware that Stephen's part was as much that of an instructor of his subjects in Christianity as it was of a sovereign, not only granted him the boon requested, but also conferred on him and his successors the powers over the Hungarian Church of perpetual legates of the papal see. Bonfinii *Rer. Ungaric. decad. ii. lib. i.*

The emperor above alluded to was Henry III. whose Hungarian expedition took place A. D. 1044. Vid. Herman. *Contract. ad an.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ex actis S. Galteri Act. SS. Bolland. 8 April. c. ii. Mansi, t. xx. p. 437. et Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 805.*

<sup>3</sup> *Fugiensque de ecclesiâ, "Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam," fortiter clamavit. Ordericus, l. iv. p. 587, in Duchesne, Rer. Norm. Scriptt.—Vid. Mansi, t. xx. p. 441.*

that churches had become property heritable by the sons, and even by the daughters, of the clergy who enjoyed them<sup>1</sup>. And this fact may be taken as an indication of the general condition of the Gallican Church, in which the process of an unholy secularization had made yet further advances than in her German sister. The pontifical authority, which had become, as we have seen, the principal, if not the only representative of substantive, independent, power in the great western branch of the Church catholic, stood less prominently forward in the eyes of France than in those of an empire with which it was,—so to say,—internally connected, and of which the sovereigns derived from it their right to the highest title by which their dignity was adorned. And the French king, unmindful of his promise to Gregory, continued to practise a simoniacal traffic in bishoprics and abbeys without remorse or shame; while we need hardly say that the holders of dignities thus obtained, were not likely themselves to be more scrupulous in their nominations to the inferior ecclesiastical stations and benefices which thus fell under their control.

Gregory was not able to exert in France an authority equal to that by which he forwarded the adoption of his decrees in Germany. He was not, however, of a temper to suffer the continuance of such a state of things in the Gallican Church, as we have described, without attempting to arouse her prelacy, and to awe or influence her monarch, by an assumption, before both, of the high tone of apostolical authority. And though afraid, as it would seem, to provoke an open

<sup>1</sup> Gaufridus Grossus in vitâ Bernhardi abbatis Tironiensis Monasterii, c. vi.—Vid. Pagi Critica, an. 1108. n. iii.

rupture with Philip, on such a point as the enforcement of the obnoxious canons;—in opposing which the king would be supported by the general feeling of the Gallican clergy;—he seized the opportunity afforded by accounts, which he received, of the king's conduct toward merchants and pilgrims who sought to visit or to pass through his dominions, to impress, in the following terms, on Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, and on three of his suffragans, the necessity of wielding, with a more uncompromising boldness, their episcopal power<sup>1</sup>.

“ A long period has elapsed, from the time that the  
 “ kingdom of France, once famed and powerful, began  
 “ to decline from the state of its glory, and, through  
 “ the increase of bad manners, to be stripped of most  
 “ of the ornaments of virtue . . . . Some years ago,  
 “ at a time when, the regal power being in abeyance<sup>2</sup>,  
 “ no law, no authority, prohibited or punished offences,  
 “ enemies fought, as though by a common law of na-  
 “ tions, their own battles, and prepared their own arms  
 “ and force to avenge their own wrongs. But that  
 “ those commotions should be, as frequently as they  
 “ were, productive in your country of slaughter, of  
 “ incendiarism, and of other evils which more properly  
 “ belong to war, was a thing rather to be lamented than  
 “ wondered at. Now, however, all men, filled with  
 “ wickedness, as with some pestilential disease, perpe-  
 “ trate incessantly, of their own accord, and unbidden,  
 “ the most horrible and execrable deeds. . . . Seizing  
 “ pilgrims, who travel, as opportunity enables them,  
 “ to and from the apostolic threshold, they cast them  
 “ into dungeons; and, making them suffer tortures

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion is probably made to the period of Philip's minority. That king succeeded his father, Henry I. at the age of eight years.

“ more grievous than even Pagans inflicted, frequently  
 “ demand of them more than they are worth as a ran-  
 “ som. Of which things your king, who should not be  
 “ called king, but tyrant, is, by the instigation of the  
 “ devil, the head and cause. . . .

“ It was not enough for him, by the crimes for which  
 “ we frequently censure him, by the despoiling of  
 “ churches<sup>1</sup>, by adulteries, by most nefarious rapine,  
 “ by frauds of every kind, to have merited the wrath  
 “ of Heaven; but now, from merchants who had come  
 “ from many parts of the world to a certain fair in  
 “ France, he has, like a robber, taken a vast quantity  
 “ of money;—a thing unheard of, as the act of a king,  
 “ even in fable. He who was bound to be the defender  
 “ of the laws, and of justice, became himself the de-  
 “ predator. . . . Because, therefore, there is no pos-  
 “ sibility of evading the judgment of the great Judge  
 “ of all, we entreat you—in true charity we warn you  
 “ —not to let the prophetic malediction come upon  
 “ your head, in which it is said:—‘ Cursed is the man  
 “ who keepeth back his sword from blood<sup>2</sup>:’ that is, as  
 “ ye well know, who withholds the word of preaching  
 “ from the censure of carnal men. Ye, brethren, your-  
 “ selves are in fault. In not resisting his iniquitous  
 “ actions with sacerdotal authority ye must be consi-  
 “ dered as encouraging his wickedness by your con-  
 “ sent. Therefore,—unwillingly, mournfully, do we say  
 “ it,—we seriously fear, lest ye should earn for your-  
 “ selves the guerdon not of shepherds, but of hirelings;  
 “ ye who,—seeing the wolf devour before your eyes  
 “ the flock of the Lord,—fly, and, as dumb dogs, that

<sup>1</sup> In dispersione ecclesiarum.

<sup>2</sup> Jerem. xlvi. 10.



“ cannot bark <sup>1</sup>, conceal yourselves in silence. . . . .  
“ If ye esteem the forbidding him to sin to be a vio-  
“ lation of the fealty which ye have sworn to him,  
“ greatly does the opinion deceive you. For, by every  
“ reason, we might show that he is truly faithful to  
“ another who rescues him against his will from the  
“ shipwreck of his soul, not he who, by a pernicious  
“ acquiescence, permits him to perish in the whirlpool  
“ of his sins. Of fear it were vain to speak. Acting  
“ in concert, and with firmness, ye would have autho-  
“ rity enough, without danger, to warn him from his  
“ accustomed wantonness in evil, and thus to deliver  
“ your own souls. But even though danger,—the  
“ danger of death itself,—did impend, ye would not,  
“ on that account, be justified in shrinking from the  
“ privilege of your priestly office. We implore you,  
“ therefore,—by our apostolical authority we exhort  
“ you,—assembling yourselves together, to consult for  
“ your country, for your name, for your salvation.  
“ Addressing with one counsel, and with one voice,  
“ your king, warn him of his own and of his kingdom’s  
“ danger. Setting before him the criminality of his  
“ acts and purposes, endeavour by all the powers of  
“ exhortation to move him, until he make amends for  
“ the plunder of the aforesaid merchants. . . . And  
“ for the rest, let him amend his faults, and, abandon-  
“ ing the errors of his youth, begin to repair the de-  
“ cayed dignity and glory of his kingdom by the main-  
“ tenance of justice. That he may be able to compel  
“ others to that which is right, let him first himself  
“ abandon that which is wrong. But, if he shall refuse  
“ to hear you ;—if, casting off the fear of God, and

<sup>1</sup> Is. lvi. 10.

“ opposing the honour of his empire, and the welfare  
“ of his people, he shall persist in the hardness of his  
“ heart,—announce to him, as from our own mouth,  
“ that he can no longer escape the sword of apostolical  
“ censure. Do ye, at the same time, warned, and  
“ bound yourselves by apostolical authority, imitate  
“ with due faith and obedience, your mother, the holy  
“ Roman and apostolic Church; and, separating your-  
“ selves entirely from his obedience and communion,  
“ forbid the public performance of all divine service  
“ throughout the realm of France. And, if even this  
“ infliction fail to move him, we wish no one to be  
“ ignorant, or to doubt, that we will, by God’s blessing,  
“ strive to tear that kingdom from his possession. For  
“ yourselves, if in this necessary business we find you  
“ lukewarm, we shall conceive that he continues in-  
“ corrigible through his trust in you, and we,—thus  
“ considering you to be the partners and abettors of his  
“ guilt,—having first deprived you of your episcopal  
“ offices, will smite you with a similar bolt of ven-  
“ geance. God and our conscience bear us witness,  
“ that we have been led thus to speak, neither by per-  
“ suasion nor interest, but simply by our inward grief,  
“ that a kingdom so noble, a people so numerous,  
“ should perish through the fault of one abandoned  
“ man. These things we neither can, nor ought to  
“ dissemble. Do ye, therefore, mindful of that saying  
“ of divine wisdom, ‘He that feareth man shall quickly  
“ fall; but whoso putteth his trust in the Lord shall  
“ be exalted<sup>1</sup>’; so act, so demean yourselves, that ye  
“ may show yourselves free alike in spirit and in tongue.  
“ Suffer not, through fear of man, the downfall due to

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxix. 25, our version has “safe.”

“ weakness ; but, strong in the Lord, and in the power  
 “ of His might<sup>1</sup>, be ye raised, like hardy soldiers of  
 “ Christ, to the exaltation as well of present as of  
 “ future glory.”

The epistle in which these sentiments were expressed, bore date the 10th of September, 1074. On the 13th of the following November, Gregory sought more directly to move Philip's mind, by a letter addressed to a noble whom he knew to stand high in the monarch's confidence, Count William of Poitou : a letter, in which, after announcing the instructions above given to the bishops, he besought the count to unite his influence with theirs, in enforcing upon the king the necessity of amendment. “ If,” said Gregory, “ he shall  
 “ accede to your counsels, we will treat him with the  
 “ love which well becometh us. If otherwise ; if he shall  
 “ abide in the perverseness of his ways, and, according  
 “ to his hardness and impenitent heart, shall treasure  
 “ up against himself the wrath of God<sup>2</sup>, and of St.  
 “ Peter, we will, without doubt, God being our aid,  
 “ and his crimes deserving the chastisement, sever him,  
 “ and all who pay him regal honour or obedience,—in  
 “ a Roman synod,—from the body and communion of  
 “ the holy Church ; and daily, upon the altar of St.  
 “ Peter, shall the excommunication be confirmed  
 “ anew<sup>3</sup>.”

But that this letter, equally with its predecessor, failed in causing any immediate alteration in Philip's demeanour, appears from another letter<sup>4</sup>, which Gregory, on the 8th of December, addressed to the Archbishop Manasses ; in which, accepting that prelate's

<sup>1</sup> Eph. vi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 32.

excuse for not visiting the apostolic threshold, he styles the French king a ravening wolf, an unjust tyrant, and the enemy of God, and of the faith of the holy Church<sup>1</sup>.

Gregory's precise views in inditing these letters, it would be difficult to ascertain. He could scarcely conceive that prelates, situated as were those of France, would at once be induced so completely to push their sovereign to extremities, and to court the full power of his wrath, as they must have done, had they complied with the letter of the pontifical injunctions. Ardent as he was, his bosom must have unquestionably burnt within him, as he contemplated the degraded position in which the Gallican Church was placed, and the forgetfulness of their episcopal responsibilities evinced by those appointed to govern her. And the high and indignant tone which he assumed toward them;—a tone more adapted to the Church in the unfettered condition in which he in vision contemplated her, than to the dependent and humiliating posture in which, at the moment, she was placed,—undoubtedly embodied the genuine emotions of his heart. But Gregory, whatever might be the ardour of his feelings, was rarely led to give public vent to them, unless he felt that their expression would be advantageous to his cause. And this was more especially the case in countries which, like France, lay beside and without the main theatre of his operations, the German empire. We must therefore imagine, that the course which he thus pursued was that which approved itself to his reason, as best adapted to support and to extend the authority of the

<sup>1</sup> *Philippus Rex Franciæ, immo lupus rapax, tyrannus iniquus, Dei et religionis sanctæ ecclesiæ inimicus.*

Church, as concentrated in his own. He probably wished,—unable as he found himself, to display that authority, by the successful assertion of an unpopular canon,—to teach men, by the peremptoriness of his commands, and by the majesty of his tone, to realize in their minds the general notion of his pontifical supremacy; and thus, if he could not at once compel their obedience, to prepare them for a more dutiful reception of his injunctions on a future occasion. That it was not his wish to provoke an open rupture with Philip, we may, perhaps, conclude from the fact, that no direct communication was made to that monarch, during these transactions, from the apostolic see. Though desirous to awe and control, by the enforcement of his principles, and by the assertion of his authority, all European monarchs, Gregory might naturally feel that the most important, as well as the most favourable, battle-field, on which the great struggle in which he was engaged could be carried on, was that of the empire; and, if so, he would be desirous only so far to connect the outlying countries of Christendom with the contest, as to give to that contest, in some sort, a general character, and to secure for victory, if victory should be obtained, a general importance. The characters of Philip, and of the prelates to whom he wrote, he was, it is probable, accurately acquainted with; and this knowledge would sufficiently show him how far he might proceed with them, without either weakening their general impression of his authority, or provoking their open disobedience. Nor does it appear, that either of these results attended his boldness. Whatever were the immediate consequences of these epistles, we find that the pontiff's influence in France, as

in Germany, gradually, but steadily, rose, in spite of all obstacles; and the principle of clerical celibacy, obstinately as it was first opposed, was ultimately received by the Church of France, as by all other churches of the Western world.

That in the measures just described, Gregory was mainly guided by his nice discrimination of character, seems to be proved from the very different course which he, at the same period, adopted toward the sovereign of England. The Conqueror seems to have been the only one, among the sovereigns of Europe, in whom the pontiff recognized a spirit in some respects kindred to his own. The same boldness and determination which Gregory displayed in his efforts for the liberation and reformation of the Church, were manifested by William in the exertions by which he first gained, and then governed, a warlike and hostile kingdom. Toward that monarch, therefore, Gregory seems to have felt the necessity of conducting himself by rules totally different from those which had guided his demeanour to Philip. We find him, on the 4th of April, 1074, addressing the English prince,—in the tone of a friend,—as one who showed the affection of a good son, of a son who loved his mother. He adjured him to continue as he had begun; to seek the honour of God above all things. He acknowledged the love toward all that was good, in which William stood alone among kings; and spoke in a confidential tone of the troubles and anxieties which had not ceased to agitate his breast, from the time that he assumed the pilotage of the storm-tossed vessel of the Church. Then, turning to other matters, he referred a point then in discussion, relative to the privileges of some church or abbey, to the decision of his legates in England. And

lastly, with regard to the well-known impost of Peter's pence, he admonished the king, by his liberality toward St. Peter, to make of that saint a debtor, who would assuredly, to the full, repay the debt in time of need <sup>1</sup>.

But neither in this, nor in an epistle written, on the same day, with the view of supporting the above, to William's queen, Matilda <sup>2</sup>, did Gregory make any allusion to his recent decrees; he did not, it would seem, conceive that his footing in England was sufficiently firm to warrant their promulgation. Nor did his friend Lanfranc, though he held in the following year <sup>3</sup> a council in St. Paul's for the reformation of the Church, which was numerously attended, venture, on that occasion, openly to acknowledge them. And even the council of Winchester, in 1076,—while enacting that no married persons should be admitted to orders,—decreed that priests in castles or villages <sup>4</sup>, who had wives already, should be permitted to retain them <sup>5</sup>. The ultimate adhesion, indeed, of the Anglican Church to the principle of clerical celibacy, seems to have been, yet more completely than that of the Church of France, a gradual result of the moral weight of Gregory's character, and of his successful enforcement of that principle in the empire; the great theatre on which his efforts in support of it were most strikingly displayed.

And the same may be said of the Churches of Spain and Hungary. In the former of these countries, the papal legate, Richard, Abbot of Marseilles, was assailed

<sup>1</sup> Ep. i. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. i. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. 1555.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, t. iii. p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> In castellis vel in vicis.—Harduin.

<sup>5</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. 1559.

by the clergy with menaces and outrages when attempting to enforce the observance of celibacy among them, in 1080, at the council of Burgos<sup>1</sup>. And in the latter<sup>2</sup>, even as late as 1092, the synod assembled at Szabulcha, under Ladislaus, prohibited to presbyters and deacons second marriages, as well as marriages with widows, or with those who had been put away by other husbands; but decreed that to presbyters, who had contracted a first and legitimate marriage, indulgence and time should be given, 'on account of the bond of peace and the unity of the Holy Ghost,' until the paternal authority of the apostolic see should have been consulted on the subject<sup>3</sup>.

But, slow as was the progress thus made by the principle in question in the more distant countries of Europe, Gregory watched that progress throughout with an attentive eye, undistracted by the more complicated relations in which, as years went on, he found himself involved with the empire, or by the troubles and anxieties which ever beset him in Italy, and even in Rome itself. The Milanese troubles continued throughout the year unappeased,—with Robert Guiscard no compact was arranged,—and the papal city was continually agitated by the intrigues of the crafty Guibert, once the supporter of Cadalous, and now archbishop of Ravenna. To this archbishopric he had been appointed, through the mediation of the empress Agnes, just at the close of Alexander's life. That pontiff, it seems, saw through the insincerity of Guibert's professions of penitence and obedience, and was loth to lay his hand upon him in consecration<sup>4</sup>. But Hildebrand,

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1605.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Concil. Szabulchense, Mansi, xx. 758.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. iii. Mansi, p. 760.

<sup>4</sup> Bonizo, p. 810.



it is said, was more ready to trust him, and repeatedly urged upon Alexander an acquiescence in his request; upon which, with a prescient spirit, the reluctant pontiff exclaimed, "I indeed am about to be dissolved,—the time of my departure is at hand,—but thou shalt feel his bitterness." The prophecy found, at no great distance of time, its fulfilment. For Guibert, though for a time reverential and obedient, soon showed, in a manner not to be mistaken, his insincerity and his ambition. He put himself at the head of that party in Rome, who were either alarmed by Gregory's rigour, or conceived themselves aggrieved by his measures of reform; attaching to himself the relatives and friends of the married clergy, as well as those many members of the sacerdotal body who had resigned their benefices in preference to adopting a life of celibacy. And there were other classes, whose habits and imagined interests had been, by the reforming pontiff, violently interfered with. To the Church of St. Peter belonged more than sixty officers, of the class called "Mansionarii"<sup>1</sup>. They were married laymen, many of dissolute habits; and it was their custom,—such had been the disgraceful laxity of the times,—mitred and dressed in sacerdotal robes, to keep constant watch at all the altars of the Church, excepting only the high altar itself; to proffer, as priests, their services to the simple laity, who came from distant parts of Italy; and to receive their oblations. Relieving each other, they occupied the Church day and night, and, as though not content with the blasphemous profanations now mentioned, disgraced

<sup>1</sup> Mansionarius. Custos et conservator ædium et altarium, quorum major, primus Mansionarius vocabatur. Micraelii Hist. Eccles. t. i. p. 463. For the detail of the duties of the office, in a later age, see Harduin, t. x. p. 683.

the holy place during the hours of darkness, by robberies and licentiousness of the most infamous kind. Nor was it without great difficulty that Gregory, even in his own city, could put an end to this crying abuse, and replace, at the altars, these impious laymen by priests canonically ordained<sup>1</sup>. The Cardinals themselves were wont, in the same Church, to disgrace their office by celebrating the Holy Eucharist, at irregular hours, for the sake of gain<sup>2</sup>; and Gregory's interference to put a stop to this abuse by wholesome regulations is described as having excited against him much odium among certain classes of his flock<sup>3</sup>.

Thus harassed as the pontiff was at home and abroad, and weighed down as he now was by years<sup>4</sup>, and by a life of rigid mortification persevered in from his boyhood,—it need not surprise us to find, that, in the autumn of 1074, his powers sank for awhile under his exertions, and that he was seized with a disease, which those around him thought likely to terminate his existence. He recovered, however; “a circumstance,” he himself says, “rather to be lamented than rejoiced in.” “For our soul,” he continues, “was tending toward, and with all desire panting for, that country, where He, who observes our labour and our sorrow, prepares, for the weary, refreshment and repose.” “But we were yet reserved to our accustomed toils, our infinite anxieties; reserved to suffer, as it were, each hour the pangs of travail, while we feel ourselves unable to save, by any steersmanship, the

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 812.

<sup>2</sup> Avaritiæ quæstu. Id.

<sup>3</sup> Quæ res magnam sibi concitavit invidiam. Id.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory, if born, as seems probable, between 1010 and 1020, would be by this time about 60 years old.

“Church, which seems almost foundering before our eyes<sup>1</sup>.”

Amid the anxieties thus feelingly alluded to, Gregory continued, upon his recovery, to labour as assiduously as ever<sup>2</sup>. And, undismayed by all the darkness of his nearer prospects, he still tenaciously clung to the bright vision of distant glory which had so long animated him, to the idea of the delivery of Christian Asia from her Pagan oppressors, and of the consequent re-union of the now severed branches of Christ's fold, the Churches of the East and of the West. On this prospect he expatiated in a letter written to Henry on the 7th of Dec. 1074: addressing the monarch in a tone of the most tender affection, and expressing the greatest anxiety for his continuance in the path of duty, he proceeded to unfold to him the miseries of the Asiatic Christians, and the urgency of the call which he felt to undertake their defence. “More than fifty thousand men are,” he said, “now prepared, if I, their leader and their “pontiff, will put myself at their head, to rise against “the enemies of God, and to penetrate, by the guidance “of our Lord, even to His holy sepulchre. But my “principal incitement to the enterprize, is the fact that “the Church of Constantinople, now at variance with “us, longs for a re-union with the apostolic See. The

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 9. The frequency in Gregory's works, of this figure, the comparison of the Church to a tempest-tossed ship, is one of the many indications of his familiarity with the works of his predecessor and namesake, St. Gregory the Great. Vid. Ep. S. Greg. Mag. ad Leandr. Episcop. Hispalens. lib. i. ep. 43.

<sup>2</sup> He seems to have held a council at Rome about the feast of St. Andrew, vid. Mansi, t. xx. and his own Epistle ii. 33. But it does not appear that any general canons were promulgated by that assembly.

“ Armenians, too, have strayed from the Catholic faith ;  
“ but almost all the Orientals are now awaiting the deci-  
“ sion of the faith of St. Peter. The time is nigh that  
“ it should be fulfilled which was spoken to that Prince  
“ of the Apostles by our Redeemer, ‘ Simon, I have  
“ prayed for thee that thy faith fail not ; and when  
“ thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren ’.”

But the time, as has been already observed, was not ripe for the intended enterprize. His own increasing difficulties in the West, and the speedy deposition of Michael his imperial ally in the East, compelled him indefinitely to postpone this cherished scheme. But the energy with which he exerted himself in its furtherance, was not, we may suppose, without results the most important. It may well be, that, without the spirit-stirring exhortations of Gregory, and without the altered tone of feeling toward the Church which resulted from his character and his exertions, the voice of Peter the Hermit would at a subsequent epoch have been raised in vain, and the appeal of Urban II., at Clermont, have fruitlessly sounded in the sluggish ears of selfish and low-minded Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 31.—St. Luke xxii. 32.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1075.

GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO HUGO, ABBOT OF CLUNI—COUNCIL AT ROME—CONDEMNATION OF LAY INVESTITURE—SPURIOUS NATURE OF THE DICTATUS HILDEBRANDINI—EPISTLES TO VARIOUS GERMAN PRELATES—HENRY'S MESSAGES TO ROME, AND PLANS AGAINST THE SAXONS—VISIT OF THE RUSSIAN PRINCE DEMETRIUS TO THE GERMAN COURT—SAXON WAR—BATTLE ON THE UNSTRUT—EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE SAXONS BY SINGFRIED—HENRY'S ARMY DISSOLVED AND RE-ASSEMBLED—SURRENDER OF THE SAXONS AND SURRENDER OF THEIR CHIEFS.

“If it might be,”—Gregory thus, on the 22nd of January 1075, addressed his friend Hugo, the Abbot of Cluni,—“<sup>1</sup> If it might be, I would that you fully knew what trouble hems me in, what toil, daily renewed, wearies me, and by constantly increasing, alarms me; that so compassion, proportioned to the troubles of my heart, might affect you toward me; and that your heart might be poured forth in tearful supplication before the Lord, that Jesus, by Whom all things were made, and Who ruleth over all things, would extend His hand to the poor, and of His wonted mercy deliver the miserable. Often have I implored Him, after His own example, either to remove me from this present life, or to benefit, through me, our common Mother, and yet has He not hitherto removed me

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 49.

“ from tribulation, nor has my life been profitable, as  
“ I had hoped, to our Mother in whose chains He  
“ has bound me. Vast is the grief, wide-spreading  
“ the affliction, which encompasses me: for the Eastern  
“ Church, through the suggestions of the devil, is fall-  
“ ing from the Catholic faith, and, by his agents, that  
“ ancient enemy makes continual slaughter of Chris-  
“ tians: those whom the head slays in the spirit, being  
“ thus punished by the members in the flesh, lest they  
“ should, by heavenly grace, repent them of their  
“ errors.

“ Contemplating again, in mental vision<sup>1</sup>, the re-  
“ gions of the East, the South, and the North, I perceive  
“ scarcely any bishops lawfully admitted to their office,  
“ and leading lives conformable to their sacred cha-  
“ racter, who rule Christ’s people for the love of Christ,  
“ and not for the ends of earthly ambition. Nor do I  
“ find among the secular princes any who prefer God’s  
“ honour to their own, or righteousness to gain. Those  
“ nations among whom I dwell, the Romans, the Lom-  
“ bards, and the Normans, I conceive, as I often declare  
“ to them, to be in some sense worse than Jews or  
“ Pagans. And turning to myself, I find myself so  
“ oppressed with the burden of my own works that no  
“ hope of salvation remains to me but in the mercy of  
“ Christ alone<sup>2</sup>. Did I not trust to attain to a better  
“ life, and to do service to the holy Church<sup>3</sup>, I would,  
“ on no account, remain in Rome; in which city it  
“ has been by compulsion, as God is my witness, that  
“ I have dwelt for twenty years past. Whence it

<sup>1</sup> *Mentis intuitu.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ita me gravatum propriæ actionis pondere invenio, ut nulla remaneat spes salutis, nisi de solâ misericordiâ Christi.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ad meliorem vitam et utilitatem sanctæ ecclesiæ venire.*

“ comes to pass, that, between the grief which is daily  
 “ renewed in me, and the hope which is, alas, too long  
 “ deferred<sup>1</sup>, I live as it were in death, shaken by a  
 “ thousand storms. And I await the coming of Him  
 “ Who bound me with his chains, Who led me back  
 “ against my own wish to Rome, and Who has here  
 “ girt me about with countless difficulties.”

The first week of Lent at length arrived, and the pontiff,—while a great number of archbishops, bishops, and abbots assembled, in pursuance of his summons, around him<sup>2</sup>,—felt himself, as has been already intimated, strong enough to proceed directly to the attack of that which he considered the fundamental evil of his day,—the practice of lay investiture. The memorable decree on this subject, the adoption of which may be considered as forming one of the most important epochs in the history of the Church, was passed by the council now assembled<sup>3</sup>, in the following terms :

“ If any one shall from henceforward receive a  
 “ bishopric or abbey from the hand of any lay person,  
 “ let him not be reckoned among bishops or abbots,  
 “ nor let the privilege of audience be granted to him  
 “ as to a bishop or abbot. We, moreover, deny to  
 “ such a one the favour of St. Peter, and an entrance  
 “ into the Church, until he shall have resigned the  
 “ dignity which he has obtained, both by the crime of  
 “ ambition and of disobedience, which is as idolatry.  
 “ And similarly do we decree concerning the lesser  
 “ dignities of the Church. Also if any emperor, duke,  
 “ marquis, count, secular person, or power, shall pre-  
 “ sume to give investiture of any bishopric or other

<sup>1</sup> Quæ nimis, heu, protenditur.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1551.

<sup>3</sup> Pagi, in Baron. ad an. 1075. n. ii.—F. Pagi, Breviar. t. i. p. 564.

“ecclesiastical dignity, let him know himself to be  
“bound by the force of the same sentence.”

Such was the celebrated decree against lay investitures; a decree doomed to furnish the two opposing parties in the Church of the eleventh century, with the great battle-field, on which they were to fight out their desperate and long-protracted conflict. In times of crisis, the clash of great opposing principles is frequently found to resolve itself into a contest respecting some point of seeming detail, on which the two contending parties come, as though by chance, more immediately into collision: a point, which to decide in their favour, they each concentrate their efforts, and lavish their resources; and in the decision of which, special as it may seem, is found to be involved the general triumph of the one or of the other. And, in the case before us, the question of lay investitures was one admirably adapted to represent, and consequently to embody in itself, the general question of principle at issue. In defending the existing practice, the anti-papal party maintained the feudal subjection of the Church, in her essential character, to the state; and at the same time the power, for which that subjection was mainly prized by them, of carrying on a simoniacal traffic in her benefices. And their opponents, in impugning the same practice, were not only striking at the root of this last-mentioned systematic corruption, but asserting the great truth,—which events were leading men to forget,—that the ministry of the Church is not a thing derived from, or dependent on, the temporal authority; but is armed, in itself, with prerogatives and powers, which secular thrones and legislatures can neither give nor take away.

The other formal acts of the council of Lent, 1075,



have been lost ; but it appears that, in addition to this important decree, canons were adopted by it, confirmatory of the former enactments against simony and clerical marriage. The five nobles of Henry's court, already alluded to, were declared provisionally out of the Church, and liable to excommunication, in the event of their failing to present themselves, and seek for absolution, at Rome, by the 1st of the following June<sup>1</sup>. Philip of France was threatened with a similar sentence, unless he should pledge himself, before the legates about to be sent into his kingdom, to reparation of the past, and to amendment for the future<sup>2</sup>. A temporary arrangement, calculated to lead to a final settlement, was established between Jaromir and the Moravian bishop<sup>3</sup>. The suspension of Liemar, of Bremen, was confirmed, and he was interdicted the holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. Other prelates were suspended from their functions both in Germany and in Italy, and the sentence of excommunication upon Robert Guiscard was pronounced anew<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 53.

<sup>4</sup> A series of propositions, generally known by the name of the "Dictatus Hildebrandini," is found in the collection of Gregory's epistles, in a place<sup>1</sup> which would seem to imply that, if they are what they have been supposed to be, resolutions, or decrees, solemnly set forth by the pontiff's authority, the time of their enactment was the council of 1075 ; though Baronius refers them to an assembly of later date. But in ascribing them to Gregory at all, this celebrated annalist is, as F. Pagi, with apparent reason, observes, "nullius auctoris testimonio, nullâ ratione, imo nec probabili conjecturâ fultus." The propositions are not, as the latter author continues to remark, mentioned by any writer of Gregory's own age, or of

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<sup>1</sup> Between Epp. lv. and lvi. of the second book.

The minor decrees of this council were, of course, promulgated without loss of time among those whom they respectively concerned; but with regard to the enactment against lay investiture, it does not seem to have been Gregory's wish to blazon it forth, as he had done the canons of the preceding year. It was not an enactment, respecting which, as affecting their daily habits and mode of life, numbers of men were at once to be called on to take their part. It was aimed against

that which immediately followed it: not even by Benno, or any other of those foul-mouthed and infuriated opponents of Gregory and his cause, who could scarcely have failed, had they been acquainted with it, to inveigh in the strongest terms against a document so extraordinary and so manifestly open to censure. Some open excitement, indeed, of a nature to be recorded in history, would almost inevitably have been caused by its promulgation. But of such an excitement we hear nothing in the writings of either party. Gregory does not in any of his numerous epistles, urge on any of his correspondents the reception of these "Dictatus," or even allude, in the slightest manner, to their existence. We may, therefore, it seems, in accordance with the most learned critics of ecclesiastical history, with the two Pagis, with Natalis Alexander<sup>1</sup>, and with Mosheim, unhesitatingly decide against their authenticity.

They appear, indeed, to have been drawn up, as the phrase is, "ad invidiam," and with the intention of giving a view of Gregory's system, distorted and caricatured, as an enemy would either contemplate it or wish it to be contemplated. If so, we must ascribe the document to the pen of some assailant of the pontiff, who prepared it as the ground of an accusation against him. But it is also possible that it might be the work of some well-meaning, though injudicious, friend, whose impressions of Gregory's ecclesiastical theory were as hard and gross, with regard to it, as was that theory itself, with respect to the true and original system of the Catholic Church of Christ. The propositions themselves will be found in the Appendix.

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eccles. sæc. xi. and xii. diss. iii.

comparatively few ; mainly, indeed, against one, the holder of the imperial sceptre. And it prohibited, even to them, an incidental, rather than, in the proper sense of the word, an habitual practice. Non-resistance, therefore, to the establishment of this new canon, was all which Gregory could, in the first instance, have desired for the accomplishment of his end. Once recognized, its enforcement might be undertaken as occasion should require ; but, on its first promulgation, he was naturally anxious to attract the general attention as little as possible, to a decree so obnoxious. It was not, therefore, to national or provincial synods, that the pontiff, on this occasion, appealed. Availing himself of the system of legates, he endeavoured to make, without noise or bustle, such impression as might be practicable, upon Henry and others whom he sought to influence. Nor did the letters,—in which, after the breaking-up of this last council, he commended activity in the cause of ecclesiastical reform, and a general observance of his decrees, to the prelates of Germany,—contain any particular allusion to the point of lay investiture. That point, indeed, he was, from the beginning, anxious to represent as a part,—an essential, necessary part,—of the system of opposition to simony, which he was desirous, in its fulness, to enforce. But the fact, that his intention was to prepare his correspondents for a struggle on that point with the royal authority, may be thought to appear from the circumstance, that the letters, of which we are speaking, were addressed to prelates, who, as he knew, felt themselves aggrieved by the conduct of the king. One was written to Hanno<sup>1</sup>, whom Henry had just sought to depose, and the other

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 67.

two to Wezelin of Magdeburg<sup>1</sup>, and Burchard of Halberstadt<sup>2</sup>, both connected with, and the latter the most able and resolute assertor of, the Saxon quarrel.

The pontiff showed, in the meantime, his determination that the decree, thus silently adopted, should be considered a reality, and not a matter of words alone, by consecrating to his sacred office, without Henry's investiture, Anselm, who has been already mentioned as appointed to succeed Alexander II. in his bishopric of Lucca; a step, which the king had, in the preceding year, intreated the pontiff not to take. Nor could this, or the sentence past upon his five adherents, fail to irritate the young and haughty monarch. But it was still Henry's policy to acknowledge the power of the apostolic see, and to conciliate its possessor. All other matters were now of minor importance in his eyes, when compared with the accomplishment of his vengeance upon the Saxon race; an event which he contemplated as at hand, and in which,—though no direct notice seems as yet to have been taken by Gregory of the proceedings at Harzburg,—he yet hoped to be supported by the weight of the pontifical name. He sent, therefore, during the summer of this year, secret messengers to Rome;—a circumstance with which he entreated that none but his mother and the princesses, Beatrice and Matilda, might be made acquainted;—and, declaring the difficulties in which he was at the moment involved, he pledged himself, on his return from his Saxon expedition, to prove, by the mission of envoys more exalted in station and character, the extent of the love and veneration which,

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 66.

as in duty bound, he bore to St. Peter and to his successor<sup>1</sup>.

The preceding Christmas, as has been already intimated, Henry passed at Strasburg<sup>2</sup>; and that, surrounded by his nobles, in a manner which formed a striking contrast to the gloomy and deserted condition in which the same festival had been previously observed by him at Worms. Here, with Rudolf, and the other princes, who had, since that period, returned to their stations in his court, he matured his secret plans, and procured, by gifts, by blandishments, and by promises, the pledged co-operation of many nobles of every degree in the contemplated expedition<sup>3</sup>. And when, a few days after Christmas, he left Strasburg, and had arrived at Mentz, he received at his court Demetrius, a northern prince, whom historians style king of the Russians<sup>4</sup>, who came to solicit the imperial aid against a brother who had usurped his throne, and who,—to purchase Henry's assistance,—brought with him, according to Lambert, inestimable riches in vases of gold and silver, with garments of great price. Demetrius was honourably entertained, and an ambassador dispatched, according to his wishes, to his brother; nor can we doubt that the supply, which the Russian prince had thus brought, was of great importance to Henry in facilitating the preparations for his campaign.

The suspicions of the Saxons were now aroused<sup>5</sup>; but it was not until the Easter of 1075,—a festival which he passed at Worms<sup>6</sup>,—that Henry fully threw

<sup>1</sup> Per quos omnem vobis meam voluntatem et reverentiam, quam beato Petro et vobis debeo, significabo.—Lib. iii. Ep. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> "Rex Ruzenorum." Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>5</sup> Bruno.

<sup>6</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

aside the mask which he for so many months had worn, and sent word to the princes of that nation, who were on their way to wait upon him there, that they should at once return to their homes; for that it would no longer be safe for them to see the face of a king whom they had so grievously insulted, and to whom they had so long delayed to make the necessary reparation<sup>1</sup>. And then, feeling the time at length ripe for the measure, he publicly announced an expedition against the Saxons, and summoned his princes and chiefs to assemble, with their forces, around him, on the 8th of June, at Breitenbach<sup>2</sup>.

No exertions, previously to the arrival of that day, were spared by those whom he was about to attack, to appease his resentment. The Saxon princes and prelates offered, in the most solemn manner, to pledge themselves, that they had been in no respect accessory to the destruction of the church of Harzburg; a building which they offered to restore in more than its original costliness and beauty; and declared themselves ready to submit to any sentence which should be passed upon them by a diet of their peers, constitutionally convened<sup>3</sup>. But the imperious Henry would be satisfied with nothing short of an unconditional surrender to his will. They endeavoured to plead with his nobles; but the king, fearful of intrigues by which his interests might be compromised, had exacted from these a pledge that they would receive no embassies from the rebellious province<sup>4</sup>. Thus left alone to meet the coming storm, the Saxons determined, in the first place, to implore the aid of Heaven. Public fasts were enjoined throughout the province; it was directed

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

that all, in proportion to their respective means, should distribute to the poor; that all, clad in sackcloth and bare-footed, should, throughout all the churches of the province, be constant in prayer to Him whose power alone could deliver them from the impending evil<sup>1</sup>. And on the 8th of June,—the day on which the king's levy was to assemble at Breitenbach,—it was decreed that the whole force of Saxony<sup>2</sup> should meet, at Lupezen<sup>3</sup>, about six German miles from the royal quarters, with the intent, if renewed entreaties should fail to move the monarch's clemency, to commit to the justice of the God of battles the decision of their fate.

“But the fiery wrath of heaven against them,” says the historian Lambert, “was not to be extinguished by their tears, or appeased by their gifts and offerings.” The army which assembled at Breitenbach, was considered as superior in numbers and in equipment, to any which Germany had ever seen<sup>4</sup>. Rudolf and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to bring a formidable power into the field. Siegfried thought that the time was at length come for enforcing payment of those

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> The general levy of the Saxons for the campaign in question, is thus described by a bishop or abbot, whose name has not come down to us, but who was present at the battle :

Omnēs agricolæ, fractis agrestibus armis,  
 Arma parant belli, durisque ligonibus enses  
 Conflant ancipites, curvis e falcibus hastis  
 Spicula præfigunt, pars aptat scuta sinistris  
 Levia, pars ferro galeas imitatur equestres,  
 Pars triplici philtro; fustes ad prælia quernos  
 Millia multa parant, plumbo ferroque gravabant,  
 Mille modis acies ad bellum armantur agrestes.

De Henric. IV. Roman. Imperat. Bello contra Saxones.

<sup>3</sup> So Lamb. Schafnab. According to *Annalista Saxo*, “Nechil-tede.”

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

tithes to which he so tenaciously clung. Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, appeared at the head of the chivalry of Lorraine. And Wratislav of Bohemia conducted a body numerous enough, as he proudly boasted, to cope unaided with the whole force of the Saxon nation<sup>1</sup>. The ardour of the king and of his followers admitted of no delay. On the 9th of June<sup>2</sup>, crossing the Fulda and the Werra, they pushed on to the vicinity of Eisenach, and, continuing their hurried march, on the succeeding day arrived by noon in the immediate neighbourhood of the Saxon encampment, on the banks of the river Unstrut. The royal army had halted and was preparing to encamp, when Rudolf, entering the tent in which the king, stretched on a couch, was reposing amid the heat of the day, suddenly suggested a different course. Intelligence had reached him that the Saxons, not deeming it possible that Henry's forces could have so rapidly approached them, were scattered unarmed about their camp, and might, with ease, be surprised by an immediate attack<sup>3</sup>. The king, leaping from his couch, fell on his knees before his adviser, and assured him that he would never forget the benefit conferred on him by such counsel<sup>4</sup>. Orders were given to the forces to form with all possible speed; and Rudolf, claiming an old privilege of the Swabian princes, led his forces foremost to the attack. The Saxons, who had been tempted to throw aside, not only their arms but a great part of their clothes, by the sultriness of the weather,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Hildeshem.—Marian. Scot.—Bruno and Annalista Saxo have it "Id. Jun. fer. iii.;" but the 13th did not fall on a Tuesday, the 9th did, and we should therefore make their statements agree with the other authorities by reading "V. Id. Jun."—Vid. Stenzel, *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, t. ii. p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.



suspected nothing, until a cloud of dust arose before them, from which they soon saw emerge the glittering arms and accoutrements of the Swabian vanguard. In a moment all was confusion in their camp. With tumultuous cries, and wild self-upbraidings for their fool-hardy negligence, they hastily sought and snatched up their arms, mounted their horses, and then, preserving, even in that moment of confusion, the determined valour of their race, they rushed in a confused body upon the enemy and anticipated his attack; bearing down upon him with such impetuosity, that Rudolf and his Swabians would have been forced to give way, had not the king's second division, headed by Welf, speedily arrived to their support <sup>1</sup>. The conflict now raged with fury; the darts and lances with which it had been carried on, were speedily abandoned, as the combatants closed with each other, for swords; weapons with which the Saxons were familiar, and which they wielded with such dexterity, as to excite at once the amazement and terror of their adversaries <sup>2</sup>. Otho of Nordheim, by whom they were commanded, displayed in equal perfection the qualities of a private soldier and of a general <sup>3</sup>; and though Rudolf, on the other side, fought with a valour, which seemed to show his determination to atone to the king for his past opposition to him <sup>4</sup>, yet at three o'clock the royalists seemed in danger of succumbing before the vigour of their opponents. Messengers, hastily galloping to Henry, demanded all the aid he

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantaque vi, tanta ferocitate, tanta ferendi calliditate grassantur, ut hostibus non minus admirationi quam terrori essent.*—Id.

*Nam ipsi hostes tantos ictus gladiatorum se fatebantur nunquam audisse.*—*Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Abbas Ursperg.—*Marian. Scot.*

could afford; and a Franconian squadrou, under count Herman of Gleiberg<sup>1</sup>, was by him dispatched to attack one of the enemy's flanks, while the troops of Bamberg were directed to fall on the other<sup>2</sup>. And now, spurring their horses to their utmost speed, Godfrey of Lorraine, and Wratislav of Bohemia, who had not yet been engaged, poured their numerous followers upon the Saxon masses<sup>3</sup>; while the king, clad in resplendent armour<sup>4</sup>, himself conducted to the support of his front his chosen Franconian reserve. So great an accession of force to his side soon turned the fortunes of the day. The Saxons, in spite of the persevering efforts of Otho, began slowly to give way, and at last fled in confusion: the rout was complete, and the victorious royalists, after pursuing the fugitives with dreadful havoc over the space of several miles, were at length only stopped in their career by weariness, or by the late closing in of a night of June<sup>5</sup>.

Such was the battle on the Unstrut;—a battle which, ensuring as it did the speedy submission of the whole of Saxony to Henry's arms, seemed likely, more than any event which had for some time occurred, to consolidate his power. But,—so singular were his fortunes,—that power, which had been strengthened by the results of the ignominious capitulation at Gerstungen, was destined by the results, no less direct, of the splendid triumph which we have now recorded, to be shaken to its foundations.

<sup>1</sup> Or Glizberg. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Fulgurat egregiis rex ipse coruscus in armis,  
Plurima consternens perjuræ millia gentis.

Carmen de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>5</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

His conquering armies returned from the pursuit flushed with joy and triumph; but these feelings were exchanged for others of a sadder cast when, returning in the dusk or darkness<sup>1</sup> to the field of battle, they became aware of the extent of the slaughter, and of the losses of chiefs, relatives, or friends, which each among them had sustained<sup>2</sup>. And soon,—this melancholy leading to self-condemnation,—they began to think that they had perhaps gone too far; that they might have somewhat too easily been induced to shed so much of the best blood of their common country. Nor was, perhaps, in the case of Rudolf and his immediate friends, this sentiment unmingled with another of a more selfish kind. The Swabian chief, when he saw the completeness of the triumph, might well be tempted to ask himself the question, whether, in following as he had done the dictates of passion, he had not in some measure overstepped those of policy; whether, in avenging what he considered his betrayal at Gerstungen, he had not too effectually disabled those, whose power might yet be needed by him and his fellow-nobles, as a counterpoise to that of the crown.

Be this as it may, it appears that Henry was, on the day following the battle, sensible that some sort of encouragement was needed by his army, to induce them to continue their exertions in his cause; and the expedient which he adopted is curious, as showing his readiness, whenever his own ends could be promoted by it, to sanction, and to avail himself of, the influence of the papal name. Siegfried of Mentz, publicly in the camp, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against

<sup>1</sup> The moon, being in or near her third quarter, would not rise till a late hour.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

the Thuringian chiefs, on account of their tumultuous interruption, in the year preceding, of the synod of Erfurt; and justified the extraordinary step of thus condemning them unheard, and without canonical forms, by declaring, that he had it in command from the Roman pontiff, to pronounce this sentence against them whenever they should come into his presence<sup>1</sup>. There were, it should seem, few who were blinded by this, or who did not penetrate into his real motives in the transaction. The murmurs, however, were hushed for the time. The Saxon leaders, none of whom appear to have perished in the battle, having entrenched themselves, and the remnant of their forces, in strongholds in the vicinity of Magdeburg,<sup>2</sup> the royal army pushed on, unopposed, through Thuringia, plundering and destroying all around them<sup>3</sup>; and Henry's head-quarters were at length advanced to Halberstadt. But the effect of the devastations which his troops committed, began soon to be felt by themselves. Supplies failed them on every side, and it became evident that nothing but immediate dispersion could save them from the extremities of famine. Henry was compelled, therefore, most unwillingly, to disband his army for the moment; conjuring his chiefs, to rally round him again on the 22nd of the ensuing October, at Gerstungen, for the purpose of completing his conquest<sup>4</sup>.

That day arrived; but the army which now flocked to his standard, though powerful, was inferior in numbers to that which he had so recently conducted. Rudolf, Welf, and Berthold disregarded the summons. There had been already, they said, enough of slaughter;

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Si pagani nos ita vicissent, non majorem in victos crudelitatem exercerent.—Bruno.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

nor would they further aid in gratifying a vengeance, which neither the tears of Saxony, nor a deluge of blood on the plains of Thuringia, had been able to appease<sup>1</sup>. And by fasts, and other acts of public humiliation, they endeavoured yet further to demonstrate their sorrow for the part which they had taken in the late campaign<sup>2</sup>. But their absence was in great measure compensated by the zeal and energy of Godfrey of Lorraine. This prince,—to a relative of whom Henry had given the bishopric of Liege,—appeared at the place of meeting, at the head of a body so numerous, so well equipped and trained, that it seemed singly to outvie the collective force of all the other divisions of the royal army<sup>3</sup>.

But no extensive preparations, it appeared, were necessary. The Saxons, disheartened by their recent disaster, and distracted by divisions among themselves, felt their inability again to confront their sovereign in the field, and thought of throwing themselves, as suppliants, before his feet. Godfrey, and the prelates whom the king employed on this occasion as negotiators, were earnest in their entreaties with them to adopt this course. They assured them, even with oaths, that they would compromise, by such a proceeding, neither their lives, their liberties, nor their property; but that,—the royal dignity having been vindicated in their unconditional surrender,—they would, without delay, be again released, and suffered to return in peace to their homes. And Henry, it is said, solemnly swore that, in the event of the revoltors submitting to his clemency, he would take no step respecting them, without the full consent and approbation of those to whose intervention he

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

should stand indebted for that bloodless victory<sup>1</sup>. Thus encouraged, the Saxons resisted no longer. And on the following day the king, seated on a throne in the midst of the extensive plain<sup>2</sup> on which his army was drawn up to behold the spectacle, received the formal submission of the princes, nobles, and other leaders of the Saxon people<sup>3</sup>. One by one they notified their unconditional surrender; and they were then, one by one, committed by the sovereign to the safe-keeping of the different prelates and nobles of his party. Nor was it long before, in violation of all his engagements<sup>4</sup>, the faithless Henry directed their keepers to remove them to the strong-holds which they respectively possessed in the various provinces of his empire, and there to retain them in durance: while he seized and distributed among his military retainers their Saxon possessions. And then, rejoicing in the triumphant conclusion of this long and disastrous conflict, the king proceeded to celebrate the approaching festival of St. Martin amid his attached burgesses of Worms<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Between Sondershausen and Ehrich, vid. Stenzel, tom. i. p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> *Rupto foedere, contemptis omnibus, quibus se obligaverat jusjurandi vinculis.*—Id.

<sup>5</sup> Id.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1075.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISTURBANCES IN BAMBERG—DEPOSITION OF THE BISHOP—HENRY'S CHANGE OF DEMEANOUR TOWARD GREGORY—GREGORY'S EPISTLES TO HIM, TO BEATRICE, AND MATILDA—TROUBLES AT MILAN—HENRY'S APPOINTMENT OF TEDALDUS AS ARCHBISHOP—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE BISHOPS OF LOMBARDY—GUIBERT'S MACHINATIONS AGAINST GREGORY—APPOINTMENT OF RUPERT TO THE SEE OF BAMBERG—HENRY'S THOUGHTLESS AND SIMONICAL CONDUCT—HE IS WARNED BY GREGORY, AND SUMMONED TO ROME—GREGORY IS SURPRISED AND CAPTURED BY THE ANTI-PAPAL PARTY, BUT RESCUED BY THE POPULACE.

EVENTS were, during the progress of these transactions, occurring in the city of Bamberg, the relation of which may serve to show,—notwithstanding the violence of the opposition raised by a numerous party in Germany against the pontifical authority,—on how firm a basis that authority now actually rested, and how extended was its influence. Herman, Bishop of Bamberg,—a man, it would seem, most unfit for the sacred office which he held <sup>1</sup>,—had offended his clergy, by seizing the property with which he had endowed a body of them, with the intention of converting it to the uses of a monastery. After many fruitless remonstrances and complaints, those who considered themselves aggrieved invoked the interference of Rome, accusing their

<sup>1</sup> And which he had obtained “*profuso in coemptionem ejus argenti et auri inæstimabili pondere.*”—Lamb. Schafnab.

bishop at once of ignorance of letters, and of having simoniacally procured the office which he occupied. And Gregory,—who had some time previously summoned him to account for his conduct at Rome, and who had, in his last council, declared him suspended from his holy functions for disregarding the summons,—now pronounced him irrecoverably degraded from the episcopal rank; and still debarred from exercising even the sacerdotal duties, until he should have asked and received absolution from Rome. Strengthened by this decree, the clergy, who had kept their mission secret from the bishop, came before him, and, accosting him in the most contemptuous manner, called upon him to quit the city, and to resign the bishopric, which he had obtained by simony, and which he was too ignorant to hold. And then stepped forward the legates of the apostolic see, who announced the pontifical sentence. The bishop, astonished and confused, sent forthwith to Mentz, and entreated the assistance of his friend Siegfried; who, upon receiving his message, came without delay to Bamberg. But he soon found himself powerless to lay the storm; and was himself loudly criminated by the indignant clergy, as one who had knowingly taken part in the simoniacal elevation of the guilty bishop to his see. As a last resource, Siegfried set out for Rome. But when there,—and when, after some difficulty, he was permitted to hold intercourse with the pontiff,—the archbishop found, that, instead of pressing the cause of his client, he had enough to do in defending himself from the charge brought against him on account of his connection with that prelate. And he was only permitted to escape degradation, on condition of his undertaking to abstain from future communion with the bishop; to promulgate



throughout Germany the sentence passed upon him; and to consecrate, at a convenient season, a worthier successor to the see of Bamberg. The bishop, informed of this, resolved upon proceeding to Rome himself; and, judging of the character of others by his own, attempted to purchase the pontiff's clemency by bribes. His success in this attempt may be imagined: humbled, by the pontiff's indignation, to the dust, he accepted, as the condition of his liberation from the anathema, that he should retire from the world, and, secluded for the rest of his days in a monastery, deplore the scandal which he had brought upon his Church by his unworthy occupation of it. But when he returned within the limits of his diocese, the ardour of his military followers induced him to take a more daring course; and, marching at their head into Bamberg, he proclaimed the illegality of the sentence which had been pronounced against him. But the clergy, upon his approach, abandoned the churches, and refused all communion with him. No public service was, during some weeks, performed at any of the altars of Bamberg; at the end of which period the bishop retired, and, betaking himself to some of the outlying possessions of his see, remained unsupported, either by the king, by his brother prelates, or by the better portion of his countrymen<sup>1</sup>.

Such, at the period of Henry's Saxon victories, was the commanding influence of the papal authority in the empire. Nor when liberated, as he now felt himself, from the necessity of observing toward the pontiff a studied obsequiousness, was it, as it would seem, by

<sup>1</sup> Neque rex, neque episcopus, neque alius quisquam, qui sanum saperet ei communicare, volebat.—Lamb. Schafnab.

any means, the monarch's wish to diminish that influence in the abstract. He was still ready, and even anxious, to avail himself of it, where it suited his purposes to do so; and he strove to procure the sanction of Rome to his spoliation of the Saxon prelates who had now fallen into his power, by forwarding to Gregory distorted accounts of their revolt, and demanding of the pontiff their deposition<sup>1</sup>. But at the same time, flushed as he now was with triumph, he became impatient of the exertion of that influence, otherwise than as subservient to his own, and as in unison with his imperial will. Those injunctions of the pontiff, to which policy, and the exigency of the time, had hitherto commanded his reluctant obedience, were no longer observed by him. The five excommunicate nobles re-appeared in his court; and while,—in accordance with their former conduct,—they encouraged him in courses directly opposed to the wishes and to the principles of Rome, they naturally fomented in his mind the bitter feelings with which he already, in secret, regarded the pontiff who had stigmatized them. Amid such associates, Henry was readily led to treat as idle words, the high-sounding warnings and exhortations to which he had recently professed such respectful deference. His demeanour toward Gregory underwent as complete, if not as sudden, a change, as had done his tone toward his Saxon subjects; his triumph over whom, he perhaps flattered himself, would prove a prelude to the abasement, in Gregory, of a still more obnoxious, because more imperious, enemy.

Up to the 20th of July, it appears that the accounts received at Rome of the king's conduct were all that

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

the pontiff could desire ; as, on that day, he addressed Henry in an epistle <sup>1</sup> commencing with these words,—  
 “ Among other works of goodness, my dearest son, to  
 “ which, anxious for improvement, we hear you have  
 “ arisen, you have, in two ways, most eminently com-  
 “ mended yourself to your holy mother the Roman  
 “ Church. In one, because you have courageously set  
 “ your face against simony ; and in another, because  
 “ you fully approve, and strive to enforce, the celibacy of  
 “ the clergy, the servants of the Lord.” After which,  
 proceeding to the principal subject of the epistle, Gre-  
 gory set forth the condition of the Church of Bamberg,  
 and directed the monarch, as he had done Siegfried <sup>2</sup>,  
 to see that, by the advice of religious men, a fitter pastor  
 might be consecrated in the room of the degraded  
 Herman.

In a letter, bearing no date, but written evidently  
 some little time after the above, the pontiff seems to be  
 less confident of Henry’s zeal in the cause of the  
 Church, but still to entertain a good hope that, by the  
 intervention of some religious men, to whom Henry had  
 intrusted the management of the matters in discussion,  
 concord between the papacy and the empire might be  
 established on a lasting basis. “ Ready am I,” he con-  
 tinued, “ if Christ so will, to open to thee the bosom of  
 “ the holy Roman Church ; to embrace thee as my lord,  
 “ my brother, and my son ; and to afford thee, when  
 “ needful, every assistance in my power ; nor ask I  
 “ aught in return, but that thou wilt not disdain to  
 “ incline thine ear to the admonitions which concern  
 “ thy peace, or to offer the praise and honour which is  
 “ due from thee to thy Creator. For most shameful is

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 2.

“ it, if that honour, which we demand from our brethren  
“ and fellow-servants for ourselves, we are unwilling our-  
“ selves to pay to Him who created, and Him who re-  
“ deemed us. Let us remember the divine word, ‘ Them  
“ that honour Me, I will honour; and they that despise  
“ Me, shall be lightly esteemed <sup>1</sup>;’ and let us sacrifice to  
“ Him our pleasures in this world, that, in the world to  
“ come, we may rejoice in His spiritual bounty.”

The suspicion, which, in this letter, is barely hinted, is, in an epistle dated the 11th of September, and addressed to Beatrice and Matilda <sup>2</sup>, more openly avowed. The king, after long delaying to send to Rome the more publicly accredited envoys, whom he had promised, at length declared a change of intention, and an unwillingness to conclude any arrangement, other than a public one, to be made with the concurrence of those, whom he had recently denounced as desirous to foment hostility between the tiara and the crown. And this suggestion, to which he refused to accede, the pontiff mentions, as showing that an accommodation of the dispute between them was no longer seriously desired by the monarch himself.

But he had received, by this time, other proofs of the alteration in Henry's principles of action. In Milan, after the struggle between the contending parties had been long carried on, without any decisive results, and after a considerable part of the town had been, by a dreadful conflagration, reduced to ashes, matters came at length to an apparent crisis. The anti-papal party, driven for a moment from the place, collected their forces without the walls, and advanced against it in form. Their opponents sallied forth to meet them, and a fierce struggle

<sup>1</sup> 1 Samuel ii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 5.

ensued. Herlembald was slain, with the sacred banner of St. Peter in his hand<sup>1</sup>, and his followers fled in confusion. The victorious party established themselves in Milan, and forthwith dispatched an embassy to Henry, requesting him to restore peace to their city by the nomination of a new archbishop. And this step the king, notwithstanding the promise which he had given to leave the Milanese question to the arbitration of Gregory, felt emboldened to take. He was, however, ashamed to vindicate the cause of the old archbishop's nominee, Godfrey; who, though considered the imperialist archbishop, was deservedly odious to the populace, and had not ventured to return from the exile, into which, as it may be recollected, he had been driven, immediately on his appointment. Henry, therefore, fixed his choice upon Tedaldus, a sub-deacon, who had served him as a chaplain<sup>2</sup>, and sent him to receive consecration, and take possession of the Ambrosian see.

Gregory, on receiving notice of these events, in the first place addressed Tedaldus himself<sup>3</sup>, and pointed out the impropriety of his acceptance of the see, to which another,—Atto,—had been canonically appointed. He called upon him, if he could offer any justification of such conduct, to do so before him at the synod, which was to be holden, at the usual time, in the ensuing year; or, if he preferred it, to present himself at an earlier period, and lay his case before the apostolic see. And when Tedaldus, as was natural, disregarded this appeal, Gregory, in a letter addressed<sup>4</sup> to the suffragans of the province of Milan, forbade them, under

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. l. iv. c. x.

<sup>2</sup> Arnulph. l. v. c. v.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. iii. 8, dated 7th September.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. iii. 9, dated 10th October.

pain of excommunication, to consecrate the intruder. But the mandate was disobeyed—Tedaldus was received by the populace with acclamations<sup>1</sup>; the prelates of his province expressed themselves ready to consecrate him to the metropolitan see of St. Ambrose; and the imperial, or anti-papal party thus obtained a decided preponderance in northern Italy.

And such a triumph could not but produce a great effect on other parts of that country; the whole of which, the papal city not excepted, still teemed with enemies to Gregory, and to the principles of reform which he maintained. Robert Guiscard continued to defy him in the South; and Guibert of Ravenna, now recognized as the general head of the Italian party opposed to his power, maintained a correspondence at once with the enterprizing Norman, with Tedaldus and his Lombard clergy, and with the principal malcontents of Rome itself.

Gregory was thus, even in his immediate neighbourhood, surrounded with dangers; while, in Germany, a second attempt of Siegfried,—made in October 1075,—to enforce the adoption of his decrees by a synod, shared the ill-success of its predecessor; the assembly breaking up in confusion, and Siegfried being driven to declare, that he would thenceforward leave the enforcement of these canons to the pontiff himself<sup>2</sup>. Henry, therefore, while every other opposition seemed to sink before him, might well, in the flow of his youthful spirits, look down with scorn upon the apparent impotence of the old man, who, in so high a tone, had presumed to curb his will, and to demand

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1551.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Vid. Greg. Ep. iii. 4.

his filial obedience. Nor had he principle enough to apprehend, or to appreciate, the moral power which this antagonist, if driven to the defensive, might yet wield against him. The strength, indeed, of the Church,—which the papacy, as we have seen, now represented,—has ever, till the actual hour of conflict, been hidden from her assailants, who are yet fully cognizant of the causes, which, from time to time, impart to her a momentary weakness; and who have,—by views thus necessarily one-sided,—been led into the perpetration of most of the persecutions and assaults, which it has been her destiny, during eighteen hundred years, to endure.

Gregory's mandate respecting Bamberg, Henry thought proper to obey. The nomination of a new bishop suited his own ends, and he thought that, in the degradation of the old, he might establish a precedent for the deposition of the Bishop of Worms; a point which he was most solicitous to carry. Although, therefore, the excommunicate Herman had been conspicuous among the friends and supporters of his throne; although,—his deposition not having been confirmed by the direct sentence of a council,—Henry, if desirous of it, had a plausible excuse for delay; the thoughtless king at once abandoned the condemned prelate to his fate, and thus sanctioned the assertion of one of the loftiest prerogatives of the papal power.

But he sufficiently showed that the advancement of his own views, and not the benefit of the Church, was his leading motive in the transaction. He nominated, and invested with the see, one Rupert, a man<sup>1</sup> of the worst report among the people, being regarded as a mere

<sup>1</sup> Virum pessimæ existimationis in populo.—Lamb. Schafnab.

creature of the king, and an instigator and abettor of all the disgraceful actions ascribed to Henry by the general voice. The Bamberg clergy were indignant at the choice, but were ready to submit themselves to any one whose nomination was a security against the return of the prelate whom they had expelled; who himself, upon the completion of these transactions, retired into a monastery; and subsequently, making a pilgrimage to Rome, there received absolution, and was restored to the sacerdotal, though not to the episcopal, station. So little was Henry's conduct in this business regarded as a sign of opposition, on his part, to the simoniacal traffic prevalent in his court<sup>1</sup>, that, on the day immediately following Rupert's nomination, while the king sat in council with his nobles on the disposal of the vacant Abbey of Fulda, a crowd of abbots and monks bid publicly and unblushingly before him, as at an auction, for that much coveted dignity. Some, says Lambert, proffered mountains of gold; some rich benefices out of the territory which they sought to possess; some undertook to perform greater services than the fief had been accustomed to pay; promises were lavished without moderation or modesty. Well may the grieving historian continue, "O abomination  
" of desolation standing where it ought not! O Mam-  
" mon, sitting in our times in the temple of God, and  
" exalting himself above all that is called God, or that

<sup>1</sup> Nullus enim tunc in subrogandis pontificibus vel aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus canonicæ sanctionis ordo servabatur; sed qui tantum regis vel principis manum implevisset, seu aliud qualecumque obsequium sibi placitum impendisset, regiâ præficiabatur violentiâ ubi voluisset.—Gesta Trevirens. Archiep. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 174.



“ is worshipped <sup>1</sup> !” Even Henry was disgusted with the scene, and acted with a good feeling, which showed, that, with another education, and under more favourable circumstances, he might have been capable of better things. Perceiving, amid the greedy crowd, a monk of Hersfeld, named Ruzelin, who, having come to his court upon some business of his abbey, took no part in the nefarious traffic, the king beckoned him to approach, suddenly invested him with the pastoral staff, and hailed him abbot, calling on all who sat around him to sanction the nomination ; which they did with one consent ; and Ruzelin, in spite of his own opposition, was forthwith installed in his new office <sup>2</sup>.

The monarch, though probably, as we have said, excited in great degree by good feeling to the part which he performed in this transaction, yet was perhaps partly moved by a kind of wantonness of power, which led him to feel pleasure in exhibiting the absolute nature of his sway, and in disappointing the expectations of those around him. For, on another occasion, the abbot of the ancient abbey of Lorsch having died, the fraternity had unanimously selected their prior to fill his place. And, as this person had, in his former capacity, served the monarch with more than ordinary zeal, and was supposed to stand high in the royal favour, they had no cause to expect, in waiting upon Henry to notify the election, aught but a confirmation of their choice. But they had no sooner entered the royal presence, than Henry, calling to him one of their number named Adelbert, who had no thought of such an honour, or reason to expect it, suddenly placed in his hands the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Thessal. ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

staff, and hailed him abbot, to the disappointment of the nominated prior, and to the amazement of all <sup>1</sup>.

A like wantonness was displayed by Henry in the disposal of other benefices. The churches of Fermo and Spoleto were disposed of by him to persons who,—as Gregory speaks of them, in an epistle, as persons unknown to him,—were probably not of sufficient distinction in the Church to entitle them to such appointments, and whom he certainly invested with the sees in defiance of Gregory's decree. But this,—the insult involved in the new appointment to Milan,—and the other symptoms, which Henry had shown, of estrangement from Rome,—occasioned the pontiff to address the monarch in a letter, in which the benediction, with which his epistles to Henry usually commenced, was given in the following guarded manner:—"Gregory, bishop, "servant of the servants of God, to king Henry, health "and the apostolic blessing; if indeed he be obedient, "as it befits a Christian king to be, to the apostolic "see <sup>2</sup>."

"Considering," the document thus proceeded, "and "anxiously pondering on the strictness of that Judge "to whom we must give an account of our stewardship;—of that ministry committed to us through the "blessed Peter, prince of Apostles;—we have thus "doubtingly transmitted to thee the apostolic blessing. "For thou art reported knowingly to hold communion "with those who have been excommunicated by the "judgment of the apostolic see, and by a synodal censure. And if this be so, then thyself knowest that "thou canst receive the benefit neither of the divine, "nor of the apostolic, benediction, until, separating per-

<sup>1</sup> Id.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 10.

“ sons thus sentenced from thee, and compelling them  
“ to penance, thou shalt have sought, by meet repent-  
“ ance and amendment, absolution and remission. We  
“ counsel, therefore, thine excellence, if, in this matter,  
“ thou feel thyself culpable, that thou shouldest, with a  
“ prompt confession, seek the advice of some religious  
“ bishop, who may, by our licence, impose some pe-  
“ nance on thee, suitable to thy fault, and absolve thee.  
“ . . . . But this seems to us passing strange, that thou  
“ inditest to us so often devout epistles, and pourest  
“ forth such expressions of thine humility by the mouths  
“ of thy legates, styling thyself a son of our holy mother  
“ the Church, and declaring thyself our subject in the  
“ faith, in affection unrivalled, in devotedness alone . . .  
“ and yet exhibitest thyself in actions as most intractable,  
“ and as opposed to the canonical and apostolical de-  
“ crees, in points of the greatest religious importance.  
“ For,—not to speak of other matters,—facts clearly  
“ show with what intention thou madest those pro-  
“ mises which thou gavest to us respecting the church  
“ of Milan, through thy mother, and our fellow-bishops  
“ who accompanied her. And now, as though to add  
“ wound to wound, thou hast, in contravention of the  
“ ordinance of the apostolical see, given the churches of  
“ Fermo and Spoleto—as far as churches may be  
“ given by human power,—to persons utterly unknown  
“ to us ; persons whom it were unlawful for us, having  
“ had no previous trial or knowledge of them, to ordain.  
“ It would have befitted thy dignity, while thou con-  
“ fessest thyself a son of the Church, more reverently  
“ to regard the Church’s master ; that is, the blessed  
“ Peter, prince of Apostles, to whom, if thou art of the  
“ Lord’s flock, thou art given in charge, by Him who  
“ said unto Peter, ‘ Feed my sheep ;’ and again, ‘ And I

“ will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of  
“ Heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth  
“ shall be bound in Heaven ; and whatsoever thou  
“ shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven’<sup>1</sup> . . . .  
“ To the Apostles, and to their successors, the Lord  
“ deigned to say, ‘ He that heareth you, heareth Me ;  
“ and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me<sup>2</sup>.’ He there-  
“ fore that is ready to pay faithful obedience to God, is  
“ careful,—while we speak in accordance with the canons  
“ of those who have gone before us,—to attend to our  
“ admonitions, as though he received them from the  
“ mouth of the Apostle himself . . . . And we enact  
“ nothing new, nothing of our own invention ; but have  
“ thought it necessary, abandoning all error, to seek out  
“ and to follow the original and only true rule of eccle-  
“ siastical discipline, the way trodden by the saints.  
“ For we know no other entrance to salvation and to  
“ life eternal, than that which was shown by Him who  
“ said, ‘ I am the door : by Me, if any man shall enter in,  
“ he shall be saved, and shall find pasture<sup>3</sup>.’

“ The same rule we learn from the gospels, and from  
“ every page of the divine records, to have been  
“ preached by the Apostles, and observed by our fathers  
“ in the faith. Some, preferring earthly honour to that  
“ which is from above, speak of that which we have  
“ decreed, as a heavy weight, an intolerable burden ;  
“ but we, using language more correct, speak of it as  
“ truth and light ; which, as necessary for our return  
“ into the way of salvation, ought to be received and  
“ obeyed, not only by thee, or by thy subjects, but by  
“ all princes and nations who confess and worship

<sup>1</sup> S. Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> S. Luke x. 16.

<sup>3</sup> John x. 9.

“ Christ ; though we could wish thee, as it becometh  
 “ thee, to excel all men in devotion to our Lord, as  
 “ thou excellest all in human glory and power. And  
 “ lest our decrees should have appeared to thee in  
 “ aught harsh, we entreated thee to send to us such  
 “ wise and religious men as thou mightest select out of  
 “ thy kingdom ; that, in conference with them, we  
 “ might discover whether, in any way consistent with  
 “ the honour of the eternal King, and without peril of  
 “ our own soul, we might temper the strictness of our  
 “ sentence . . . .

“ But what regard thou payest to our admonitions  
 “ or to the dictates of justice, thy recent proceedings  
 “ make but too manifest. Whilst, however, the long-  
 “ suffering of God invites thee to repentance <sup>1</sup>, we con-  
 “ tinue to hope, that, as thy understanding matures  
 “ itself, thy heart and mind may be bent into obedience  
 “ to the commandments of God. With paternal love we  
 “ warn thee, while thou acknowledgest Christ’s empire  
 “ over thee, to consider how dangerous it must be to  
 “ prefer to the honour of Christ thine own ; and we en-  
 “ treat thee not to straiten, by thy usurpation, the  
 “ liberty of that Church, which He has deigned to unite  
 “ as a spouse to Himself by a heavenly marriage <sup>2</sup>. . . .”

But Henry, continuing, in the midst of his irreligious associates, a career opposed to all which he had professed to desire, and all which he had solemnly bound himself to perform, was, day by day, less and less inclined either to profit by Gregory’s advice, or to tremble at his warnings. He was unwilling openly to quarrel with the pontiff, for he yet hoped to carry a point, which his

<sup>1</sup> Rom. ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting the true date of this epistle some difficulty exists. See a note upon the subject in the following chapter.

envoys at Rome were commissioned earnestly to press, and to obtain the papal sanction to his deposition and spoliation of the Saxon prelates, whose rights had been as little respected by him, after their surrender, as had been those of the secular nobles and leaders of the campaign. He had confined and deprived them of their sees, by his own authority, unsanctioned by that of any ecclesiastical tribunal, in opposition at once to what Gregory considered the rights of the Church, and to the vow which he himself had solemnly taken. And he had hoped, by taking measures to debar the Saxons from all access across the Alps to Italy, to pour his own accounts of their revolt into Gregory's ear, uncontradicted by any statements of the opposite party<sup>1</sup>.

But in this, his expectations were disappointed. Eluding his vigilance, the Saxons contrived not only to lay their own case before the pontiff in the papal city, but to bring before the same tribunal charges against the monarch's character, of the most serious description. The king's life they described as one course of profligate self-indulgence. Reason and moderation being forgotten, greediness of gain, and a thirst for pleasure, formed, they said, the leading principles of his government. Worldly priests, courtezans, and intemperate youths, were his counsellors, and by these he was guided in the choice of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. The Church called aloud for aid; such a king was unworthy of his throne, and it behoved Rome to interfere and to speak with the high tone of authority to him whose crown was, in truth, but a fief of the see of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Oportere Romæ jus suum in constituendis regibus reddi.

Vit. Henric. Imperat. ap. Urstis.

These representations, coupled with Henry's continued inattention to the pontifical counsels and warnings, led Gregory, a short time previous to Christmas 1075, to take a bolder step than he yet had ventured on. The king, he saw, was determined to persevere in a system opposed as well to the purity of the Church as to the independence of her governing authority; a system, by which all the reforms which he and his fellow-labourers, during the last few years, had accomplished, would be brought to nought, and the reign of simony and worldliness over the Church be restored as in other days. And such a system, his policy and his high feeling of responsibility alike called upon him,—ere it should have struck its roots too deeply,—publicly to oppose. His was not a spirit which could brook merely by silence to condemn even those measures which he might feel himself too weak effectually to resist. He had too deep a sense of the awful charge inseparably annexed to the episcopal character. And, rapidly as the influence of the royal party seemed to spread around him, while its bitterness and excitement against himself seemed to increase in a proportionate degree, he might reasonably feel, that, if the public voice of ecclesiastical authority were not now raised against the growing evil, the opportunity of raising it might be lost for ever. Feeling, therefore, the necessity of speaking, in the most solemn tones of that voice, to the misguided sovereign, he dispatched a legation to him, charged with the demand, that the Saxon bishops should at once be liberated, and restored to their sees and possessions, until,—by a council at which the pope in person would preside,—their cases should be examined and decided; and with the further commission, to summon Henry himself to appear before

the Roman synod in the year ensuing, to clear himself from the charges which had been brought against him, before the apostolic tribunal.

Had the machinations of Gregory's enemies effected their contemplated result, this would indeed have been his last opportunity, of raising the Church's voice against the evil which impended. The intrigues of Guibert were pursued with more vigour than ever. As the breach between the king and the pontiff became apparently irreconcilable, this prelate's hopes became vivid, of ascending, by imperial influence, St. Peter's chair. And he, it can scarcely be questioned, was the concoctor of a plot,—with privity to which both Henry and the Norman Robert have been charged,—by which the anti-papal party now endeavoured to capture or destroy the obnoxious pontiff in the very heart of Rome.

The execution of this project was undertaken by Cencius, a member of that powerful family, which had already often rendered itself conspicuous, from its opposition to the papal power. Its actual representative, a man of profligate and daring character, had availed himself of the various towers, or strong-holds, which he possessed in Rome,—and which were, probably, fortified remains of ancient architecture,—to subject his fellow-citizens to a regular system of oppression and plunder. For this, he had been imprisoned by the prefect of the city, and censured by the pontiff; and considering both these measures in the light of deadly insults, he became ready to embark in any scheme, which held out the prospect of revenge.

The night of Christmas Eve, 1075, was gloomy<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Though it appears, from the *Termini paschales* of that and the following year, that the moon, on the 24th December, 1075, must have been at, or very near, the full.



tempestuous ; the torrents of rain, according to Paul of Bernried, were such, as to present a lively image of the general deluge ; and although Gregory, according to custom, celebrated the holy Eucharist at midnight, in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore<sup>1</sup>, the building, instead of being, as usual, thronged with worshippers, was comparatively silent and deserted ; few venturing to leave their homes in weather so inclement.

Gregory and his clergy had partaken of the holy elements, and were engaged in distributing them to the laity<sup>2</sup>, when, on a sudden, Cencius and his confederates burst in arms into the church. Interrupting the holy ceremonial, they seized the pontiff at the altar<sup>3</sup> ; one of the ruffians, aiming a blow with a sword at his head, inflicted a serious wound on his

<sup>1</sup> Romani hanc (vigiliam natalis) noctem ita celebrant. Primâ die vigiliæ natalis Domini horâ nonâ canunt missam ad Sanctam Mariam. Quâ expletâ, canunt vespertinalem synaxim. Dehinc vadunt ad cibum. In crepusculo noctis intrat Apostolicus ad vigiliâs in præfatam ecclesiam ; tamen non cantant ibi invitatorium ad introitum, sed, expletis vigiliis et matutinis, sicut in antiphonario continetur, ibidem canunt primam missam in nocte. Quâ expletâ, vadunt ad S. Anastasium canere aliam missam de nocte. Dehinc pergunt ad S. Petrum. &c. Ordo Roman. Antiq. de offic. divin. et vid. Albin. Flacc. Alcuin. de divin. offic. lib. ; et Amalar. Fortunat. de ordin. Antiphonar. lib. c. 15, ap. Hittorp. :—

In Natale sacro sacræ solennia Missæ

Quid signent, aut cur ter celebrentur, habes.

Nocte prior, sub luce sequens, in luce suprema,

Sub Noë, sub Templo, sub Cruce sacra notant.

Sub Noë, sub David, sub Christo sacra fuere ;

Nox, Aurora, dies ; umbra, figura, Deus.

Udalric. Babenberg. Codex Epistol. in Eccard. t. ii. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Semper etiam et ubique ab Ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum xii. sub specie panis et vini communicârunt fideles. Bona, de rebus Liturgicis, lib. ii. c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> “ Ad Præsepe.”

forehead<sup>1</sup>; and the rest then dragged him, amid insults and blows, from the precincts of the sanctuary. He preserved a perfect composure, lifting up his eyes to heaven, but neither struggling nor speaking, while these abandoned wretches thus vented on him their fury. They stripped him of his pallium and chasuble, and then binding him,—still clad in his alb<sup>2</sup> and stole,—behind a ruffian on horseback, they hurried him to one of the towers, already mentioned, of Cencius; where preparations had been made for bearing him at once beyond the walls of Rome. But this latter part of their project the conspirators were not able to succeed in accomplishing. Clamours, even louder than those of the now abating storm, soon rang through the awakened city<sup>3</sup>. For a time the populace was agitated by a distracting uncertainty respecting their pastor's fate. An anxious search was made for him in all directions; and the gates of Rome were occupied by soldiery, to prevent his being carried, by any contrivance, beyond them<sup>4</sup>. But, at length, the throngs assembled on the Capitoline hill were informed of the place of his confinement. On the instant, they rushed, with wild and dissonant cries, toward the tower of Cencius; driving before them those by whom their progress was opposed. And the first glimpse of dawn showed, to the conspirators within it, their enemies, provided with ladders, catapults, and

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>2</sup> Camisia.

<sup>3</sup> *Elementa tamen, ad tempus usque illud turbata, ne populum zelantem Domini zelum præpedirent, se pacata monstrarunt.*—Paul Bernried. c. li.

*Tota itaque nocte, signis tubisque sonantibus, militibusque omnes aditus lustrantibus, ne aliquo portaretur extra urbem ingenio, nullum usquam vestigium patuit.*—Ibid.

every species of engine then used in assaults, and preparing for an immediate and vigorous attack.

A man attached to Gregory, and a noble matron of Rome, had contrived to follow the pontiff to the scene of his imprisonment, and there did all in their power to alleviate his sufferings; the former, warming his numb and frozen feet by chafing them with fur, and the latter endeavouring, by the best means in her power, to dress his bleeding wound. But in these pious cares they were interrupted by the sister of Cencius, who, abandoned as her brother, reviled the illustrious prisoner in the most violent terms; while one of her partisans, drawing a sword, threatened to strike off, on the instant, his head. But the scene was now to change. A lance, or dart, from without, pierced this wretch's throat, and laid him breathless on the ground. The walls of the tower began to totter before the machines of the assailants, and Cencius, foiled and confounded, felt that he had no resource remaining, but to throw himself before his august prisoner, and to pray for life and pardon. Throughout this scene of confusion and danger, Gregory preserved the dignity of his character. "Thy injuries against myself," he said, "I forgive; but those against our Lord, His Mother, His Apostles, and His whole Church, demand an expiation. Go, in the first place, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and then, if thou mayest return alive, present<sup>1</sup> thyself among us, such in act and thought, as that thou mayest, in some way, obtain the grace of reconciliation from Almighty God. And as thou hast been hitherto, to all sons of the Church, an ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Nostris te manibus et consilio repræsentes, ut sic saltem modo aliquo gratiam tibi reconciliare Omnipotentis Dei valeas.*

“ ample of subversion, be one, for the future, of con-  
“ version <sup>1</sup>.”

The pontiff then, at the request of Cencius, approached a window, and, showing himself to the populace, entreated them by signs to desist from the attack. But his gestures were unfortunately misunderstood; and the multitude imagined that their spiritual father was encouraging their efforts, and imploring their speedy succour. The attack was, therefore, carried on with redoubled fury. The walls of the tower soon gave way before their exertions, and Gregory, borne in triumph from amid the ruins, to the church from which he had been torn, there concluded the holy service in which he had been interrupted, amid the enthusiastic rejoicings of the people <sup>2</sup>.

Cencius, pursued by the execrations of his countrymen, with difficulty escaped from their fury, and fled, with his principal confederates, to Germany <sup>3</sup>. And Guibert, who had awaited in Rome the completion of his enterprize, confounded by its failure, and still more, perhaps, by the expression of popular feeling which the attempt had elicited, withdrew likewise from the city, and fixed his residence for a while among the anti-papal prelates of Northern Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried. c. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Siquidem anno illo mortuus est Cencius faucium ulcere suffocatus, quemadmodum Judas proditor nexu laquei strangulatus.— Arnulphus, l. v. c. vi.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1075 TO A. D. 1076.

DEATH OF HANNO—HENRY CELEBRATES CHRISTMAS AT GOSLAR—HILDOLF APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE—APPEARANCE OF THE LEGATES—HENRY'S ANGER—MEETING AT WORMS, WHERE GREGORY IS DECLARED DEPOSED—ASSEMBLY OF ITALIAN PRELATES AT PIACENZA, TO CONFIRM THE DEPOSITION—MISSION OF ROLAND TO ROME—GREGORY'S COUNCIL THERE—ROLAND'S VIOLENCE, AND SEIZURE—GREGORY'S ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY—SENTENCE OF HENRY'S EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPOSITION—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO ALL CHRISTIANS—OPEN COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

EARLY in December <sup>1</sup>, 1075, died Hanno of Cologne; a prelate whose character, as a whole, it is difficult for us, at this distance of time, to estimate; more especially when we find that some difference of opinion existed among his contemporaries on the subject<sup>2</sup>. Hanno's implication in the treachery, by which Henry was carried off from his mother, was most unfortunate for his fame. He seems, too, to have been a person of an irritable, hasty, disposition, often betrayed by fits of passion into intemperance of language and action. But

<sup>1</sup> On the 4th.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebert. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert speaks of those who “*vitam ejus sanctissimam, atque ab omni hujus mundi labe, quantum ad hominem, integerrimam, livido dente carpebant, et pretiosam margaritam, jam olim cœlestis regis diademati destinatam, falsis rumoribus obfuscare conabantur.*”

his manners were pure, his devotion strict, even to asceticism; nor may we doubt the sincerity of his zeal for the Church, for which he unremittingly laboured, and which his bounty munificently endowed<sup>1</sup>. When recalled to power in Henry's court, after the fall of Adelbert of Bremen, Hanno showed himself, undoubtedly, the opponent of the youthful monarch's vices, and the uncompromising assertor of discipline and purity. Notwithstanding the faults of temper above alluded to, and the enmity which they naturally produced in many around him, he seems to have descended to the grave amid the reverential respect of the great body of his countrymen, and the name of Hanno has been inscribed by the Church of Rome in the catalogue of her saints<sup>2</sup>.

Henry, to whom Hanno had, as we have seen, of late been obnoxious, had an additional reason to rejoice in the archbishop's death, from the opportunity which it afforded him, to render the German Church more completely subservient to his views, by the elevation of a creature of his own to one of her most influential stations. The festival of Christmas

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Annales Novesienses*, Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 544.—Anno Episcopus . . . divinâ gratiâ speciali munere plenus, tanto in loco tantisque divitiis et gloriâ animo semper cœlestibus inhærens, terrena cuncta, mundique furentis caduca desepxit, structor monasteriorum, ecclesiarum reparator, et pauperum servus.—*Norberti vita Bennonis*, c. xii. ap. *Eccard. t. ii. p. 2169*.

<sup>2</sup> In an epistle addressed to Henry, shortly after Hanno's death, by the abbot of a monastery, whose property the deceased was alleged to have despoiled, the writer intreats the monarch not to be biassed in his judgment by the fame of the miracles said to be wrought at the prelate's tomb.—*Epistola Wollffelmi, Abbatis Brunwillariensis, ad H. imperatorem*. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. i. p. 494.

approached, and the monarch proceeded to celebrate it at Goslar, where he expected his nobles to assemble around him, and where he had directed those Saxon chiefs who had been absent from the capitulation of their countrymen, to appear and surrender themselves'. But the principal of his nobility, Rudolf and his friends included, declared themselves deeply wounded by the king's violation of engagements, to which the honour of many of themselves was pledged, as well as his own; and they consequently declined to appear. The only person of note, therefore, who presented himself at Goslar,—though many, of course, of minor importance attended,—was Wratislav of Bohemia, who had been of such essential service to the sovereign in his late campaign, and whose merits Henry had rewarded, upon the death of the Saxon Margrave Dedi, with the fief, which that noble had enjoyed, of Lusatia. By this step, the king violated the ancient customs of the empire, and frustrated the natural expectations of the Margrave's widow and son; expectations which were the more just, because Dedi had, from the time of the treaty of Gerstungen, in 1074, continued firm in his allegiance<sup>2</sup>. But Henry was more solicitous to purchase future services, than to attend to the rules of justice or the claims of past fidelity.

From all who assembled at Goslar, the king exacted the oath of future fealty to his infant son Conrad<sup>3</sup>: in the recognition of whom, as the intended successor to the throne, he no doubt felt his own authority confirmed. His Saxon prisoners,—notwithstanding the warning which he had received in the absence of his nobles,—he suffered still to languish in the distant

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

prisons to which they had been sent ; with the solitary exception of one of the principal among them, Otho of Nordheim. This man, whom Henry had at first confided to the care of Rupert, the new bishop of Bamberg<sup>1</sup>, he now,—from what particular motives it would be difficult to ascertain,—resolved on not only setting at liberty, but introducing to his counsels and favour<sup>2</sup>. Otho had probably shown himself, in some way, more pliable than his colleagues in captivity ; and the opportunity of employing so distinguished an opponent in the furtherance of his views, was,—if it offered itself,—by no means to be slighted by the monarch ; who shortly dispatched Otho to superintend the completion of the fortresses which he had begun to rebuild in Saxony ; retaining, however, the Saxon chief's two sons, as hostages for his fidelity.

A numerous deputation, from the clergy and people of Cologne, appeared before the king at Goslar, to learn his sentiments respecting the election of an archbishop ; to whom Henry declared his determination that one Hildolf, a canon of Goslar, should be nominated to the vacant see. The nomination was received with unanimous disapprobation ; Hildolf was a man low by birth, mean in appearance, and possessing,—according to Lambert,—no one quality, either of mind or body, which might appear to fit him for a station so distinguished<sup>3</sup> ; and so great, according to the same his-

<sup>1</sup> According to the Saxon annalist, Henry had endeavoured to have Otho secretly assassinated on the way to his intended keeper ; but the story appears to need confirmation.—Vid. Annalist. Sax. ad an.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Homo pusillus, vultu despicabilis, genere obscurus, nec animi nec corporis virtutibus quicquam tanto sacerdotis dignum præten-



torian, was the public indignation, excited by the idea of his appointment, that the populace, on his appearance in the streets of Goslar, pursued him with hootings and revilings, and pelted him with stones and dirt. Henry, however, was determined, that the see of Cologne should be filled by one, on whom he thought he could depend for continued obsequiousness to his will. He, dismissed, therefore, the indignant deputation, and bade them return by the middle of Lent to his presence, with, if possible, better counsels: declaring, at the same time, that, while he lived, Hildolf should be their bishop, or none<sup>1</sup>.

But a more important deputation now stood before him. The papal legates appeared; and, finding the king deaf to all other demands which they had been commissioned to make, they solemnly, in the pontiff's name, cited him to appear, and answer for his conduct, before the approaching synod at Rome; warning him, at the same time, that an apostolic sentence, in the event of his non-appearance, should forthwith sever him from the community of the faithful<sup>2</sup>.

derit.—Lamb. Schafnab. It is but fair, however, to state that more favourable accounts of Hildolf are to be found among other annalists. “Hildolphus . . . præfuit annis 15, optimè . . . versus Israelita, in quo dolus non fuit.”—*Annales Novesienses*, Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 554.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id. It is possible that these legates were also the bearers of Gregory's epistle to the king, quoted in the preceding chapter (iii. 10); but, I think, not probable. If they were so, the tenor of that epistle being by no means in accordance with this imperative summons, we must suppose that, with respect to this last message, they had been entrusted with a discretionary power—a supposition not very credible. Respecting the true date of the epistle, a difficulty exists. That given in the register, (See Harduin, Mansi, &c.) is

The haughty Henry heard them with indignation, and immediately directed their dismissal, with every mark of ridicule and insult, from his court; thus, at length, publicly proclaiming the breach between the papacy and the throne. And it was, in all probability, with a feeling of enfranchisement and relief, that he found the course of half-paid courtesies, half-avowed disobediences, to the pontiff, which he had for some time pursued, exchanged, by the force of events, for one of open and avowed hostilities. Those hostilities, once entered into, must, he felt, from the determined tone assumed by his opponent, be pursued with vigour. He resolved, therefore, to anticipate, if possible, the effect of the censures which he expected, and to foil Gregory by means of the very weapons in which he trusted. And messengers, dispatched in breathless

“Sexto Idus Januarii,” i. e., January 8th, an impossible one, as Henry could not, subsequently to receiving one then written, summon a general council of his empire for the 24th of the same month. Gregory speaks, too, in the epistle in question, of the synod in which he had presided, “in hoc anno.” And whether we suppose him to have reckoned the year to begin from the Incarnation, the Circumcision, the commencement of his pontificate, or that of the year of the indiction, none of these methods would have included the 8th of January in the same year with the February preceding; in which month the synod of 1075 was holden. Again, its silence respecting the conspiracy of Cencius is a proof, almost amounting to demonstration, that it could not have been written after that event. The date of the epistle which precedes that in question in the register, is “Sexto Idus Octobris,” to which Mansi adds, in the margin, the conjectural correction “Decembris.” As Gregory was accustomed to indite several epistles on the same day, I imagine that the error must lie in the word “Januarii.” If so, we must consider the epistle as dated either on October 10th, or December 8th. Most probably on the former of these days, between which and the winter, Gregory might be led, by further reports of the king’s proceedings, to the stronger measure now narrated.

haste throughout the empire, summoned its prelates to a council, to be holden at Worms on Septuagesima Sunday<sup>1</sup>; by which it was the determination of the monarch, and his advisers, that the audacious pontiff should be condemned and deposed.

The day appointed beheld a numerous assemblage of bishops and abbots<sup>2</sup> in the appointed city. Siegfried, the primate of Germany, was attended by the prelates of Treves, Utrecht, Metz, Spires, Toul, Strasburg, and by many others. And when the assembly was seated, and the session opened in form, the vacillating, or unprincipled, Hugo Candidus, the cardinal presbyter who had acted so conspicuous a part in Gregory's election, stood forward as his accuser.

This unhappy man, by his renewed misconduct in Spain, had drawn down upon himself, for the third time, the censures of the apostolic see<sup>3</sup>, and feeling the breach irreconcilable, now regarded him, whom he had assisted in raising to the papal chair, with the most determined hostility. Being recently arrived from the papal city, which he had probably quitted, with Guibert, upon the failure of the recent attempt upon the pontiff's person, Hugo laid before the council a variety of letters, purporting to come from different archbishops and bishops, and from the cardinals, senate, and people of Rome; but which were, in truth, forgeries of

<sup>1</sup> January 24, 1076, vid. Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1563.

<sup>2</sup> *Episcopi et Abbates, amplissimo numero.* Lamb. Schafnab. Sigebert of Gemblours fixes the number of bishops at twenty-four.

<sup>3</sup> *Qui jam tertio ab apostolica sede damnatus fuerat, quia quosdam simoniacos reconciliare præsumerat.* Paul Bernried. c. lxxvii.

*Ter damnatus erat, pretio quia restituebat  
Emptores Christi templorum.*

Donizo, lib. i. c. xix.

his own, or of his employers. They were filled with complaints of the pontiff's conduct, and with entreaties for his immediate expulsion from the seat which he had so disgracefully obtained, and for the appointment, by legitimate authority, of a worthier successor <sup>1</sup>.

And then, as though in explanation of these epistles, the apostate cardinal read, before the assembly, a document, which, professing to contain an account of Gregory's life and manners, was filled with calumnies the most unfounded and incredible <sup>2</sup>. The baseness of his origin was insisted on; and his whole existence, both before his election,—which he was stated to have simoniacally procured,—and after it, was represented as having been disfigured by a tissue of crimes; among which, were murder, necromancy, the profanation of the holy Eucharist, and the worship of the devil <sup>3</sup>.

Henry, even if not himself accessory to the guilt of the forgery, must have been, at any rate, too well informed, to believe in the truth of the greater part of the cardinal's assertions. Such misrepresentations, however, suited his purpose, and he therefore raised no question respecting the accuser's veracity. His council deliberated two days on the subject thus brought before them; the main question in the eyes of their leaders being, it is probable, rather the mode in which the blow should be struck, than the propriety of striking it. It was at length decreed, that he could be no longer pope, or wield the power of binding and loosing entrusted to the Roman see, whose life was stained by

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—This document seems to have been the foundation of that known as the work of Benno.—Vid. Baron. ad an. n. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Abb. Ursperg. ad an.

the commission of such atrocious crimes. And a formula to the following purport was drawn out for each bishop to subscribe:—

“ I. N., bishop of the city N. —, abjure from this hour, all subjection and obedience to Hildebrand, and will never more account, or style, him pope<sup>1</sup>. ”

Almost all the prelates present signed without a murmur, some willingly, and others compelled by fear of the king. But two of them, Adelbert of Wurzburg, and Herman of Metz, spoke out against the impropriety of condemning any prelate, and more especially the successor of St. Peter, without his having been cited to appear, or heard in his own defence<sup>2</sup>. But the urgency of William, bishop of Utrecht, one of Henry's most ardent partizans, prevailed upon them at length to add their signatures to those of their brethren<sup>3</sup>; and the king himself placed his name at the head of the list.

Messengers were now dispatched, with all speed, to Lombardy, with intelligence of the proceedings of the council; and with letters, which Henry had himself indited, to Gregory and to the Romans. And Henry's favourite adviser, the prudent and politic count Eberhard of Nellenburg, himself proceeded, at the monarch's desire, to Italy<sup>4</sup>; with instructions to urge the Italian prelates to second, without loss of time, the monarch's demonstrations; and with an ample store of treasure, for the purpose of fomenting, as far as might be practicable, in Rome and elsewhere, the faction opposed to the pontiff's power and measures of reform.

<sup>1</sup> Hugo Flaviniacens. vid. Mansi, t. xx. p. 466.—Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Bernold. Constant.—Vit. s. Anselm. Lucens. c. xiii. ap. Mabilon. Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedict. sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 476.

The Lombard bishops, urged by the count's instigations, and already animated by feelings the most hostile to the Roman conclave, lost no time in assembling themselves in council at Piacenza, where they, with one consent, not only signed their adhesion to the act of their brethren at Worms, but also, following the example of Dionysius, bishop of the city—whom the last Roman council had deposed,—bound themselves, by a solemn oath upon the gospels, never more to recognize Gregory as pope, or to pay him obedience in that capacity. A priest of the church of Parma, Roland by name, undertook the rather perilous duty of bearing a copy of the act now passed, and of that of Worms, together with Henry's letters above-mentioned, to those whom they concerned in Rome; and, setting forward without delay to execute his mission, he arrived in the papal city at the moment in which the synod, to which Henry had been summoned, was meeting, in the second week of Lent<sup>1</sup>. This council being assembled, and the echoes of the solemn strain, "Veni Creator Spiritus," having scarcely died away amid the holy aisles of the Lateran<sup>2</sup>, Roland suddenly stepped forward before the pontiff and his prelates.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1565.—Henry was summoned, according to Lambert, to appear on the Monday in the second week of Lent, which day would coincide with the 22nd of February, 1076. On that day therefore, it seems probable, the council was opened. Gregory was perhaps led to name the second, instead of the first, week of Lent this year, by the earliness of Easter, which fell, in 1076, on the 27th of March, but in 1075 on the fifth, and in 1074 on the 20th, of April.

<sup>2</sup> Finito hymno.—Paul Bernried.—And the hymn in question was that, with which, at this epoch, the proceedings of councils regularly opened.

The subject, to the consideration of which the assembly was, at the moment, about to proceed, affords a striking proof of the peculiar, and, to our eyes, childish, superstition of the times. An egg had recently been produced at Rome, of an appearance so singular, as to entitle it to be classed among those sports of nature which even in these days excite sometimes our wonder, though we no longer regard them as prophetic, or as indicative of the will of Heaven. This egg, it seems, presented on its shell the figure, in high relief, of a serpent thrice coiled around it, who appeared to have sprung up against a shield, from which his head, severely bruised, had recoiled<sup>1</sup>. Such at least was the representation in the eyes of the pontiff and his friends; and making allowance for the notions of the age, we can scarcely wonder at their being struck by the singular analogy between this phenomenon and the great drama then in progress in the world, or at their conceiving the probable existence of some mysterious connection between the two. Their doing so may provoke from us a smile; but it proves—against their principles,—nothing, and, against their minds and understandings, no more than that they participated in the general longing of their contemporaries for a system of visible miracle. The history of the period suffi-

<sup>1</sup> Incipiens synodum pastor Gregorius, ovum  
Gallinæ sculptum, gestans in cortice scutum  
Et colubrum nigrum, qui tendebat caput, ictu  
Quippe re percussus quodam, pertingere sursum  
Non poterat caudamque plicans dabat sinuatam.  
Non erat hæc plana, sed erat sculptura levata.  
Ad synodum fertur, nunquam par ante repertum—  
Quod dum miratur, prædictus et ecce Rolandus,  
&c. &c.

Donizo in vita Mathildis, l. i. c. xix.

ciently shows that such a disposition might consist with clearness of intellect, soundness of zeal, and sincerity of devotion to the service of God. And it will be well for us,—imbued, as we all are, in some degree with the spirit of our own time,—if, when our peculiar notions shall be scrutinized by our posterity, none be found to have been universally prevalent among us, either more ridiculous, or more criminal, than were the superstitious imaginations of our ancestors.

But the conduct of Roland soon directed the attention of the assembly to matters more manifestly important. Addressing his speech to Gregory, “The king,” he said, “and the united bishops, as well of Germany as of Italy, transmit thee this command,—Descend without delay from the throne of St. Peter, and abandon the usurped government of the Roman Church; for to such honours should none aspire, unsanctioned by their general choice, and by the approval of the emperor.” And then, ere the assembled prelates and clergy had recovered from their astonishment, the audacious envoy looked round upon them, and thus addressed them collectively:—“To you, brethren, it is commanded, that ye do, at the feast of Pentecost, present yourselves before the king my master, to receive a pope and father from his hands. The pretended pastor before you is detected to be a ravening wolf.”

“Seize him!” cried John, bishop of Porto, a prelate of holy and exalted character, who could no longer contain his indignation. The prefect of the city rushed forward, attended by the guards and attendants of the council. Swords were brandished, even in that holy place<sup>1</sup>; and the blood of Roland would, on the mo-

<sup>1</sup> *Evaginatis in ipsâ ecclesiâ Salvatoris gladiis.*—Paul Bernried. c. lxix.



ment, have expiated his temerity, had not Gregory himself forced his way into the crowd, and restrained, though with difficulty, the fury of his adherents<sup>1</sup>. Having at length succeeded in obtaining comparative tranquillity, the pontiff received from the prisoner the documents which he had been commissioned to deliver; and then, imploring the continued silence of the assembly, he proceeded to read aloud, with his usual composure, the acts of the councils of Worms and Piacenza, and the following extraordinary epistle:—

“ Henry, not by usurpation, but by the holy ordinance of God, king, to Hildebrand, no longer the pope, but the false monk<sup>2</sup>.

“ A greeting like this hast thou for thy confusion deserved; thou, who hast left no order of the Church untouched, but hast brought upon each confusion, not honour—cursing, not blessing. To speak but of a few of thy most distinguished deeds,—the rulers of the holy Church, the archbishops, bishops, and presbyters, thou hast not only not feared, seeing that they are the Lord’s anointed, to touch; but, as though they were servants who know not what their Lord doeth, thou hast trampled them under thy feet. Thou hast obtained favour with the vulgar by their humiliation; and hast thought that they knew nothing, and that thou alone knewest all things. Yet this knowledge of thine thou hast used for the purpose, not of edification, but of destruction; in so much that we believe the blessed Gregory, whose name thou hast assumed, to have spoken prophetically of thee, when he said, ‘ By the abundance of

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried. c. lxix.

<sup>2</sup> Urstisii Germaniæ Scriptorum, p. 394.—Reuberii Germ. Script.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex. Epist. N. clxiii.

“ subjects, the mind of him, who is set over them, is  
“ puffed up<sup>1</sup>; for he supposes that he excels all in  
“ knowledge, when he finds that he excels all in  
“ power<sup>2</sup>.

“ And we indeed have borne with these things, as  
“ anxious to maintain the honour of the apostolic chair.  
“ But thou hast mistaken our humility for fear: hast  
“ dared to exalt thyself against the royal power which  
“ God has given us—yea, hast threatened to take it  
“ from us; as though the kingdom, the empire, were  
“ in thy hand, not in God’s; whereas, in truth, our  
“ Lord Jesus Christ, who called us to the throne, never  
“ called thee to the priesthood. The steps by which  
“ thou hast ascended to it were cunning and fraud,  
“ abhorrent to the monastic profession; by money thou  
“ hast obtained favour, by favour the sword, by the  
“ sword the seat of peace, and from the seat of peace  
“ thou hast disturbed peace; arming subjects against  
“ their rulers, and teaching them to despise bishops  
“ who were chosen of God to their high office; whereas  
“ thou thyself wast never called to the same. And  
“ the authority of these prelates over the clergy hast  
“ thou made over to laymen; whom thou hast em-  
“ powered to depose and to contemn those who had  
“ been appointed their instructors by the hand of the  
“ Lord, through the imposition of the hands of bishops.  
“ Me also, who, unworthy as I may be among the  
“ anointed, have been consecrated to the kingdom, hast  
“ thou assailed: though the tradition of the holy fathers  
“ declares that God only is my judge, and that I can  
“ be deposed for no other crime than a defection from

<sup>1</sup> Extollitur.

<sup>2</sup> Cunctis se æstimat amplius sapere, quibus se videt amplius posse.—S. Greg. Mag. Regul. Pastoral. pt. ii. c. vi.

“ the faith ; and though even Julian the apostate was  
 “ left by the prudence of the holy fathers to be judged  
 “ and deposed by God alone. That true Pope, St.  
 “ Peter himself, saith, ‘ Fear God ; honour the king !’  
 “ And it is because thou fearest not God, that thou  
 “ dost not honour me, His deputy. But St. Paul,  
 “ when condemning the angel from heaven who should  
 “ preach a new doctrine, excepted not thee, who  
 “ preacheest novelties on earth. And he saith ‘ Though  
 “ we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel  
 “ unto you, than that which we have preached unto  
 “ you, let him be accursed <sup>2</sup>.’ Do thou therefore, lying  
 “ under this curse, and condemned by the sentence of  
 “ all our bishops, and by our own—come down ! Leave  
 “ the usurped apostolic throne, and let another ascend  
 “ into the chair of St. Peter, who shall teach no  
 “ violence of war, but the sound doctrine of that holy  
 “ Apostle. I, Henry, by the grace of God king, toge-  
 “ ther with all our bishops, say unto thee ‘ come down ;’  
 “ ‘ come down <sup>3</sup>.’ ”

Another epistle to Gregory, of similar import, had been enclosed by Henry in a letter addressed to the clergy and people of Rome, which thus concluded :  
 “ Rise against him, ye faithful ; be the most loyal  
 “ among you the first in his condemnation. We do  
 “ not ask you to shed his blood ; for we believe that  
 “ life, after deposition, will be more painful to him  
 “ than death ; but we enjoin you, if he be disposed to  
 “ resist us, to compel him to descend from the apos-  
 “ tolic chair, and to instal there one, whom, with your

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Galat. i. 8.

<sup>3</sup> According to some versions of it, the letter ended thus, “ Descende, descende, per sæcula damnande ! ” Vid. (inter alios) Annalist. Saxon.

“ consent, and that of all bishops, we shall elect to that  
 “ dignity, and one who shall be both willing and able  
 “ to cure the wounds inflicted on the Church by her  
 “ present pastor <sup>1</sup>.”

Gregory's authority was barely sufficient to restrain the expression of the agitated feelings of the assembly, during the perusal of these irritating documents. The moment he had concluded, murmurs of indignation burst from every part of the Lateran; and the life of Roland appears to have been again in danger from the popular fury <sup>2</sup>. The pontiff, however, once more stood forth to lull the storm, and thus, in a tone of dignity, addressed the prelates around him:—

“ Forbear, my sons, by violence or uproar, to disturb  
 “ the peace of the holy Church of the Lord our God.  
 “ Perilous times, the Scriptures themselves have told  
 “ us, shall come; times, in which men shall be lovers of  
 “ their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, disobedient  
 “ to their parents <sup>3</sup>, and wanting in reverence to their  
 “ pastors. They must come, that the patience of the  
 “ sons of God,—the manifestation of our faith,—may be  
 “ much more precious than gold that is tried in the fire.  
 “ The word of God sounds in our ears. ‘ It must needs  
 “ be that offences come; but woe unto that man, by  
 “ whom the offence cometh <sup>4</sup>.’ Again, to teach us what  
 “ our dispositions should be, and what the nature of our  
 “ conversation amidst our enemies, it is added, ‘ Be-  
 “ hold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves; be ye  
 “ therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves <sup>5</sup>.’  
 “ Now, therefore, although the forerunner of Antichrist

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> St. Matt. xviii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> St. Luke x. 3; St. Matt. x. 16.

“ has arisen against the Church, let us, long instructed  
 “ alike by the word of the Lord and by the example  
 “ of our fathers, walk in the old paths, and, like the  
 “ pious men before us, combine the innocence of the  
 “ gall-less bird with the sagacity of the reptile. To  
 “ combine the two qualities in our minds is not blame-  
 “ worthy, but is the act of a worthy discretion. Let  
 “ us hate no one, but bear with patience those, who, in  
 “ their imprudence or folly, would break the law of  
 “ God. For lo, ‘now is the accepted time<sup>1</sup>’; now  
 “ again the Lord walks, in the Spirit, among mankind,  
 “ and cries aloud, ‘Let him that will come after Me,  
 “ deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me<sup>2</sup>’  
 “ Follow we then the Lord thus calling upon us, if we  
 “ desire to reap the fruit of the eternal inheritance.  
 “ Through much tribulation, our great Teacher has  
 “ taught us, we must enter into the kingdom of God<sup>3</sup>.  
 “ It is enough that we have thus long lived in the  
 “ peace of the Church. The long dry harvest must  
 “ now be bedewed again with the blood of saints, that  
 “ its produce, withered as it is by age, may resume the  
 “ wonted beauty of its appearance. We behold the  
 “ devil’s force at length displaying itself against us on  
 “ the open plain. Now, therefore, it behoves the dis-  
 “ ciples of Christ, with hands trained to the war, to  
 “ meet him, and bravely to contend with him, until the  
 “ holy faith, which, through his practices, appears to be,  
 “ throughout the world, abandoned and despised, shall,  
 “ the Lord fighting through us, be restored. Daily do  
 “ we see the men of this world striving against us, to  
 “ the detriment of our salvation. Yet shall they reap  
 “ nought but their own condemnation; if we, to whom  
 “ to live should be Christ, and to die for Christ’s sake

<sup>1</sup> 2 Corinth. vi. 2.<sup>2</sup> St. Matt. xvi. 24.<sup>3</sup> Acts xiv. 22.

“ should be gain<sup>1</sup>—to whom, in the judgment which  
“ shall follow this life of miseries and shadows, is pre-  
“ pared an endless felicity—shrink not, in yielding to  
“ the enemy, one step from the laws of our God, and  
“ from the orthodox faith committed to our charge.

“ Be moved, brethren, by the voice of the Lord,  
“ which says, ‘ Whoso shall be ashamed of me and of  
“ my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed,  
“ when He shall come in His own glory, in that of His  
“ Father, and of the holy angels<sup>2</sup>.’ Should we not  
“ shrink from the idea of undergoing, through our  
“ negligence, the punishment of that dreadful shame ;  
“ we, through whose labours the Judge of all seeks to  
“ bestow his rewards on others? For us the divine  
“ wisdom has appointed the overseers and guardians  
“ of its house ; that when He, who is coming, shall  
“ appear, He may find that house, through our care,  
“ made clean for His reception. And, in this glori-  
“ ous work, the priests of the Lord are admonished  
“ earnestly to labour, when, in the divine laws, it is  
“ directed that, in their mature age, after their fiftieth  
“ year, they be made keepers of the vessels of the Lord<sup>3</sup>.  
“ And these vessels, as saith St. Gregory<sup>4</sup>, are our  
“ hearts, in which we bear about with us all that we  
“ think. Nay, the Scriptures testify that our hearts  
“ are the temple of the living God. Diligently, then,  
“ should they be cleansed and purified, since their  
“ inhabitant so far excels all others in purity. Again,  
“ the Scripture says, ‘ Be watchful, ye just, and sin

<sup>1</sup> Philipp. i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> St. Mark viii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Numb. viii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Vascula autem nostra sunt corda, in quibus ferimus cuncta quæ cogitamus.*—S. Gregorii Magni. *Homiliæ*, lib. i. hom. xii. *Opp. t. i.* p. 1477. Edit. Benedict.

“not<sup>1</sup> ;’ and again, ‘Behold I stand at the door and knock ; and if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in unto him, and will sup with him, and he with Me<sup>2</sup>.’

“We may perceive now, brethren,—if we will lift up our hearts with sincerity,—our great Master knocking, and warning us that we open unto Him ; closing the door against the devil and his satellites, resisting him with our united strength, and having in a readiness to revenge, as says the Apostle, all disobedience<sup>3</sup>. Nor are we to fear, even though our foes be able to prevail against us. Even in that case, their power is allotted to them by a just Judge, that they may become the furnace of our trial, soon to be reduced to dust and ashes ; while we, proved vessels, are to be employed for ever in the service of God. Let us hope, and that with confidence, that neither tribulation, nor persecution, nor the sword, nor bonds, nor dungeons, nor exile, nor things present, nor things to come, shall separate us from the love which is in Christ Jesus<sup>4</sup>, and from His holy laws. Better is it to die for those laws, than, by shamefully giving way to those who transgress and trample them, to betray the Church’s right. Not to resist such impious men is plainly a denial of the Christian faith.”

He then alluded to the phenomenon of the egg already mentioned ; treating it as a prophetic symbol of the condition of the approaching time, and of the furious attacks which the Church was destined to suffer from her enemies.

“Now, therefore, brethren,” he concluded, “it behoves us to draw forth the avenging sword. Now

<sup>1</sup> 1 Corinth. xv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Revelat. iii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Corinth. x. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. viii. 35. 39.

“ must we smite the enemy of God and of His Church,  
 “ that the bruised head, now haughtily erect against  
 “ the foundation of the faith, and of all the Churches,  
 “ may recoil; that, according to the sentence pro-  
 “ nounced against him in the first days of his pride,  
 “ upon his belly he may go, and eat the dust<sup>1</sup>. ‘ Fear  
 “ not,’ saith the Lord, ‘ little flock; for it is your Father’s  
 “ good pleasure to give you the kingdom<sup>2</sup>.’ It is enough  
 “ that ye have borne thus long with the adversary. Ye  
 “ have warned him sufficiently and well. Now let him  
 “ be made to feel that his conscience has been seared<sup>3</sup>.”

Here he paused, and appeared to await the opinion of the prelates around him. But his suspense was not of long duration; the assembly, rising as one man, seemed eager to support him by the testimony of their unanimous approval. They called on him to wield, without delay, the high powers with which he was invested, and to pronounce the sentence of the Church against the blasphemer, the despoiler, the tyrant, the apostate. “ Pronounce,” they cried, “ the doom, by which he may himself be crushed, and from which others, for ages to come, may take warning. Draw forth the sword!—inflict judgment!—let the righteous rejoice when he seeth the vengeance,—let him wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly<sup>4</sup>!”

<sup>1</sup> Genes. iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> St. Luke xii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Bernried. c. lxx. and seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm lviii. 9.—Paul Bernried.

Dixit synodus sibi sancta :

Tu pater es patrum, blasphemum contere pravum,

Est nostrum quippe jussis parere tuisque,

Pro Christo mortem patienter gliscimus omnes.

Judicium confer, gladium trahe, percutite fortem.

Domnizo.



Further proceedings, however, appear to have been postponed until the morrow<sup>1</sup>; on the morning of which day Gregory received dispatches from several German and Italian bishops, who had either unwillingly taken part in, or subsequently repented of, the proceedings at Worms and Piacenza; and who wished to avert his expected censures, by this timely notification of their reluctance or repentance<sup>2</sup>. Cheered by these proofs that there existed throughout the empire a feeling which the king's late violent steps had outraged,—a feeling which might consequently be expected to respond to the measures which he now contemplated in return,—the pontiff again took his seat in the Lateran, and, in the presence of 110 prelates, as well as of the imperial Agnes, whose sense of duty prevailed on this occasion over her maternal predilections, proceeded to pass, in form, the sentence of the council upon the king and his abettors.

<sup>1</sup> Some discrepancy exists between the different historians of this synod, as to the exact order in which its proceedings took place. Paul of Bernried does not mention any adjournment, but describes Roland's appearance, and the king's excommunication, as though taking place on the same day. But, by other authors, the adjournment is distinctly spoken of. Again, some chroniclers only mention the reading of Henry's letters on the second day: but the speech of Gregory, above given, could hardly have been spoken before their perusal, or on any day but that of Roland's appearance. Some, again, only mention an attack on Roland before, and others after, the perusal. I have therefore assumed it to be probable that there were signs of a tumult, by which the envoy was endangered, at both these moments. These discrepancies, it will be seen, relate entirely to matters of unimportant detail. But they are here mentioned, lest the narrative in the text, being compared with the account of some individual chronicler, might appear to be inaccurate.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

Siegfried of Mentz was, in the first instance, declared suspended from his archiepiscopal functions, and from participation in the communion of Christ's body and blood—saving only in the event of his falling into extreme danger of death, and likewise manifesting penitence for his errors. All those prelates, who had willingly concurred with him in passing the decree of Worms, were, in like manner, suspended from the functions of their station; but, over those who had unwillingly consented to that decree, the sentence was to hang until the approaching festival of St. Peter, by which time they were, either in person or by deputy, to make satisfaction for their offence before the apostolic throne.

The Lombard bishops, as having pledged themselves by an unhallowed oath, in opposition to the dignity of St. Peter, were, in the next place, declared, by the authority of that Apostle, suspended from their offices, and separated from communion.

The censures of the Church were then pronounced, on various grounds, upon several prelates and nobles of different countries. And the cases of these minor delinquents having been all disposed of, Gregory at length proceeded to take the most important step of his whole career; the king's insulting letters were formally read once more, and then, amid the eager approval of his synod, the pontiff rose to declare king Henry excommunicate from the Church, and suspended from the enjoyment of the throne.

This tremendous sentence will ever serve as a record of the deep feeling and high principle which filled the soul of him who uttered it; but it affords, at the same time, a startling indication of the strangeness of that theory, with which, in the minds of churchmen of the

time, the idea of the Redeemer's kingdom was combined; a theory, which, in assigning to that really spiritual kingdom an unduly temporal character, tended to substitute—after a fashion—as its head, St. Peter, vested with a sort of territorial sovereignty on earth, for St. Peter's Master reigning over the “kingdom of heaven.” Of the corruptions connected with such a theory, the following sentences will furnish a melancholy proof. But it was not for these, it should be remembered, that Gregory was contending with the king. The cause of quarrel was apart and distinct from them, though their prevalence at the time was but too often illustrated, by the conduct of both parties, during the progress of the contest <sup>1</sup>.

Rising, and looking up to heaven, the pontiff spoke, in a solemn tone, as follows:—

“Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, incline, we beseech thee, to us thine ear; and hear me, thy servant, whom from infancy thou hast nourished, and whom, to this day, thou hast preserved from the hands of

<sup>1</sup> It is important to recollect, that both the parties of the time were in the habit of using the kind of language which is here condemned. Again, the theory must be borne in mind, under which it was used in the present instance: viz. that that kingdom, which is Christ's for ever, purchased by His cross, He Himself had committed at present on earth to St. Peter, in the same sense in which, though He “ruleth over the kingdoms of men” He had given Germany to Henry. As then, it is not idolatry to issue orders in the name of an earthly prince, so neither spiritual censures in the name of the Apostle. It was a putting out of the Church, and therefore from St. Peter. The head was short of Christ, because the polity, or kingdom, was short of heaven. It should be recollected, too, that Gregory was obliged, in self-defence, to base his power on St. Peter, for else he had no inheritance on earth. Christ's kingdom, viewed abstractedly, was not of this world. Thus (what is called) saint worship, and the assumption of temporal power, went together.

“ the evil ones, who have hated, and still hate me, for  
“ my fidelity to thee. Thou art my witness, with our  
“ Lady, the mother of God, with thy brother, the  
“ blessed Paul, and with all saints, that thy holy  
“ Roman Church called me, against my own will, to  
“ its governance ; that I have not thought it robbery to  
“ ascend thy seat ; and that I would rather have  
“ finished my life in wandering, than have seized that  
“ seat, in a worldly spirit, for the glory of this earth.  
“ Through thy favour, and not through aught that I  
“ have done, I believe it to have pleased, and still to  
“ please thee, that the Christian people, specially com-  
“ mitted to thee, should obey me in thy stead ; through  
“ thy favour I have received from God the power of  
“ binding and of loosing in heaven and in earth. Rely-  
“ ing on this, for the honour and defence of thy Church,  
“ in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy  
“ Ghost, and by thy power and authority, I forbid to  
“ king Henry<sup>1</sup>, son of Henry the emperor, who, through  
“ an unexampled pride, has rebelled against thy holy  
“ Church, the government of the whole realm of Ger-  
“ many and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the  
“ oaths which they have taken, or may take to him ;  
“ and I decree<sup>2</sup> that no one shall obey him as king ;  
“ for it is fitting that he, who has endeavoured to  
“ diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself  
“ lose that honour which he seems to have. And be-  
“ cause he has scorned the obedience of a Christian,  
“ refusing to return to the Lord whom he had driven  
“ from him by his communion with the excommuni-  
“ cate,—by spurning, as thou knowest, the admonitions

<sup>1</sup> Henrico regi . . . contradico.

<sup>2</sup> Et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat interdico.

“ given by me for his own safety’s sake,—and by sever-  
“ ing himself from thy Church in the attempt to divide  
“ it,—I, in thy stead, bind him with the bond of ana-  
“ thema ; thus acting in confidence on thee, that the  
“ nations may know and acknowledge that thou art  
“ Peter,—that upon thy rock the Son of the living  
“ God hath built His Church, and that the gates of  
“ hell shall not prevail against it <sup>1</sup>.”

The sentence thus passed was promulgated throughout the Western world by an epistle, addressed by the pontiff “ to all Christians <sup>2</sup>,” and couched in the following terms.

“ Ye have heard, brethren, of the new and unheard-  
“ of presumption ; ye have heard of the wicked garrulity  
“ and boldness of those who blaspheme the name of the  
“ Lord in the blessed Peter ; ye have heard of the pride,  
“ that has risen up to insult and dishonour the holy and  
“ apostolic see ; such as your fathers have neither seen  
“ nor heard, and as the sacred historians do not record <sup>3</sup>  
“ to have emanated at any time from pagans or here-  
“ tics. And even if this were not so ; even though in  
“ the ages between that in which the faith of Christ  
“ was founded, and our own, a precedent for such con-  
“ duct might be discoverable ; such a contempt—such  
“ a trampling down—of apostolical, yea, of Divine au-  
“ thority, would not be the less to be lamented and de-  
“ plored by all the faithful. Wherefore, if ye belie that  
“ the keys of the kingdom of heaven were delivered  
“ by our Lord Jesus Christ to the blessed Peter :  
“ if ye hope, that, by his hands, an entrance will be  
“ ministered unto you to the joys of eternal life, think

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1566.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Scripturarum series.

“ how it behoves you to grieve for the wrong that is  
“ done unto him. Unless here, where your faith and  
“ your hearts are tried by the test of temptation, ye be  
“ made partakers of his sufferings, without doubt, ye  
“ are not worthy to be hereafter partakers of his con-  
“ solation, or to receive a heavenly crown and glory, as  
“ children of the kingdom. We ask it, therefore, of  
“ your love, that ye would implore, without ceasing, the  
“ mercy of the Almighty; until He shall be pleased  
“ either to turn the hearts of the impious to repen-  
“ tance, or to show, by frustrating their wicked coun-  
“ sels, how blind and foolish are they who strive to  
“ overthrow the rock established by Christ, and to  
“ violate the privileges which He has bestowed. In  
“ what manner, and for what causes, the blessed Peter  
“ hath bound the king with the bond of anathema,  
“ ye can fully learn from the document enclosed.”

And thus commenced throughout the empire a contest to which Europe, as yet, had never seen the parallel. Or thus, rather, was a visible form and body given to the great contest which had, in truth, been long in progress; the contest of principles between feudal sovereignty and the Western Church.

By the proceeding at Worms, the misguided Henry had asserted, in their fulness, the supposed prerogatives of his sceptre over the highest member of the Western hierarchy. Nay, in sitting in judgment on the pope, and degrading him, without summoning him to plead in his defence, he had even ventured to assume a more extended authority than his father, than Otho the Great, or than any of his most despotic predecessors had ever exerted. And, though the presence of his subservient prelates at his ill-omened diet might appear to give to that assembly the character of an ecclesiastical coun-

cil ; yet the notion, that an assembly of German bishops, as such, could, in his absence, judge and degrade the Roman patriarch, or, indeed, any foreign prelate whatever, was one too palpably absurd to be maintained by any party for a moment. The bishops at Worms could only base their imagined right thus to proceed toward the absent pontiff, upon the supposed prerogatives of the crown. They were acting, and manifestly so, as the assessors of the king ; who employed them to decide the cause of his spiritual vassal, as he might have called in his military barons to sit, as peers, in judgment on the disobedience of a temporal feudatory. Their proceeding, consequently, had it been successful, would not only have involved the immediate triumph of simony, licentiousness, and the other crying evils of the time, over the lately asserted principles of ecclesiastical reformation ; but would have tended to render that triumph perpetual, through the confirmation and systematic extension of that feudalizing theory, which regarded the Church's authority, as being, in all points, a derivative from that of the state.

Against this, therefore, Gregory stood boldly forth, not only in what he conceived the legitimate vindication of the authority with which he had been vested from above, but against a principle subversive of all hierarchical authority in the Church, and, by consequence, directly opposed to the holy cause of Religion and of truth. The false position of the papacy, in relation to the temporal sovereignty, has been already adverted to ; and this should ever be borne in mind when we contemplate the history of Gregory's proceedings. But, without pronouncing any opinion on those proceedings in their detail, we may safely affirm it to have been well for the interests,—the best and highest interests,

—of all succeeding generations, that the chair of St. Peter was at that moment filled by a pontiff of his high spirit and determined character; by one who scorned either to be swayed by menaces, or to purchase a temporary peace with the Church's enemies, by the compromise of principles permanently essential to her well-being. For a man of weaker mind and more worldly character, might well have been appalled by the fearful character of the contest, which the boldness of his resistance to the royal aggression, as might have been foreseen, immediately brought into activity; a contest which was violently to shake and tear asunder the whole existing frame-work of society<sup>1</sup>; and of which none of those in whose acts it proximately originated, were destined to witness the conclusion.

Actuated as he was by principle, and incapable of shaping his course, in things essential, by the mere dictates of a calculating policy, it is not to be supposed that Gregory took his part in this contest, without duly considering the position in which, politically, he stood, or estimating the apparent strength and resources, as well of his adversary as of himself. In the enforcement of his decree, he could reckon on the support of many leading nobles of Germany; of the Saxon, and, to a certain extent, of the Swabian population; and of the great mass of the regular, together with a considerable portion of the secular, clergy. In opposition to these,

<sup>1</sup> Jam factâ divisione imperii simul et sacerdotii surrexit rex adversus regem, gens adversus gentem, episcopus contra episcopum, populus contra populum. Exinde vero quantæ cædes factæ sunt hominum, quantæ destructiones ecclesiarum, quanta etiam rerum confusio exinde factæ sit in omni ecclesiâ, indigere videtur tragœdiæ magis quam historiæ. Waltram. Naumburgens. Apologiæ, lib. ii. c. xi.



Henry might be expected to array a numerous body of supporters from the Rhenish provinces, and more particularly from the great towns like Worms, now rising to a certain degree of commercial opulence; many nobles who had been censured by the papal authority, or who felt that their conduct laid them open to its censures; and that vast body of the clergy which had shown itself the determined antagonist of the reforming measures recently promulgated from Rome. But, feeling that his was the cause of truth, Gregory might naturally entertain the conviction, that even its external triumph would eventually depend rather on the firmness and consistency of its witnesses, than on the numbers, the means, or the resources, which they could visibly call into action on its side.

That Henry had shocked the minds of men in general, by the rudeness and violence of his recent measures, Gregory was aware; and he might, therefore, feel that he was striking at a favourable moment his decisive blow in return. But that blow was itself of a nature so strange, so startling to his contemporaries, that he might well imagine the probability of its producing in its turn a re-action in the monarch's favour. Confident, therefore, as he was, in the purity of his motives, and in what he felt to be the essential goodness of his cause, it must have been with intense interest that the pontiff listened for the first faint echoes, from beyond the Alps, of the thunders which he had rolled toward them from the Lateran.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1076.

HENRY'S SEVERITY TOWARD THE SAXONS—HILDOLF'S APPOINTMENT CONFIRMED—MURDER OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE—HENRY INFORMED OF HIS EXCOMMUNICATION—HIS MEASURES ON THE OCCASION—INDECENT CONDUCT OF WILLIAM OF UTRECHT—RETURN OF THE SAXON PRISONERS TO THEIR NATIVE PROVINCE—MILITARY MOVEMENTS THERE—DEFECTION, FROM THE ROYAL SIDE, OF OTHO OF NORDHEIM—GENERAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE KING'S CONDUCT—DEATH OF WILLIAM OF UTRECHT—HENRY'S ALARM AT THE PROGRESS OF AFFAIRS—RETURN OF UDO OF TREVES FROM HIS PILGRIMAGE TO ROME—ESCAPE OF BURCHARD OF HALBERSTADT, TO SAXONY—HENRY'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON THAT PROVINCE.

THE thoughtless Henry little understood the nature of the spirit which his rashness had evoked, or dreamed of the precipice on whose brink he stood. Having secured the passing of the act of Worms,—having taken steps calculated to insure the confirmation of that act in Northern Italy,—and having gratified his spleen by the bitter and contemptuous tone of the epistle which he indited to the pontiff,—he felt, it is probable, as though delivered from an enemy whom he had long dreaded; and joyously proceeded to Goslar, intent on schemes for securing the permanent obedience of the Saxons and the general consolidation of his power.

The Saxon nobles who had, subsequently to the general capitulation, surrendered themselves, shared the fate of their brethren, and were sent for confinement

into the most distant parts of the empire ; the fiefs of the captives were distributed by the king at pleasure among his favourites ; while, of those who still held out, Henry attempted to enforce the surrender, by threats of devastating their possessions with fire and sword, and driving them for ever from their country. He restored, as quickly as might be, his demolished fortresses ; erecting at the same time new ones wherever a hill or height appeared to afford a situation favourable for the purpose ; and also occupying, with soldiers of his own, several of the castles which the surrender of their owners had put into his power. The unfortunate natives were forced unremittingly to labour at the works intended to perpetuate their own subjugation ; and the licentiousness and tyranny of the royal garrisons, embittered as these were by a thirst of vengeance for their recent expulsion, inflicted on them more cruelties and indignities than ever.

Before departing from Goslar, the king,—on the 6th of March,—gave audience once more to the clergy and retainers of the see of Cologne, whom he had summoned to attend him. But so many of these had been disgusted with his demeanour at Worms, that they indignantly refused to countenance, by their appearance, the course which he had declared himself determined to take on the present occasion. Only three ecclesiastics, therefore, and a proportionably small number of military followers of the see, presented themselves before him ; from whom, hardly deigning to ask it, he extorted a timid and unwilling consent to the election of Hildolf. And then, fearing that, in the event of any delay, the indignation of the citizens of Cologne might yet thwart his intention, he proceeded to that city, and procured the immediate con-

secration of his unworthy nominee, by the hands of his partizan, William of Utrecht; whose prompt assistance on the occasion he thought it advisable to purchase, by the promise, to a relative of William, of the bishopric of Paderborn. He then proceeded, with the obsequious prelate, to the city over which the latter presided, intending there to celebrate the festival of Easter.

He had been greeted, when arrived on the shores of the Rhine, by a piece of melancholy intelligence. Godfrey of Lorraine,—who had recently, as we have seen, shown himself so zealous in the monarch's court, and who had, it is said, undertaken to lead the new pope, whom Henry should elect, in triumph into Rome,—received, on the 20th of February, at Antwerp, a wound from the hand of a concealed assassin; of which, after lingering seven days, he died<sup>1</sup>. The murderer is said to have been employed by Robert, Count of Flanders<sup>2</sup>, a nobleman with whom Godfrey was, at the time, at variance; and who, therefore, aimed at compassing ends of his own, by the extinction of an enemy; but it may well be imagined that the event produced results of far greater, as well as more general importance, than any connected with this merely private quarrel: as the loss of such a supporter, at this critical moment, must have materially and detrimentally influenced the monarch's fortunes, and generally strengthened the cause of his opponents throughout the empire. Godfrey was a prince possessed of

<sup>1</sup> *Cùm enim quâdam nocte, quiescentibus omnibus, ad necessitatem naturæ secessisset, appositus extra domum spiculator confodit eum per secreta natium; relictoque in vulnere ferro, concitus aufugit.* Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebert. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Martene, Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 951.—Annalista Saxo.*

considerable talents, enterprise, and energy of character. His marriage with Matilda, is said to have been merely a nominal one<sup>1</sup>. He, at any rate, saw but little of his wife; as his life, subsequently to the marriage, was mostly spent in his Northern dominions, while Matilda permanently resided in Italy. The different sides, too, which they took in the great quarrel between the empire and the Church, which day by day was newly developing its importance, placed a barrier between them, more insurmountable than any of a merely geographical nature. Godfrey's mother-in-law, Beatrice, soon followed him to the grave,—dying on the 18th of the following April, at Pisa,—and Matilda thus became sole mistress of the extensive domains and power of her family<sup>2</sup>.

At Utrecht, Henry was startled by the intelligence, that his haughty messages to Rome had produced an effect which he had never contemplated; that the pontiff, instead of sinking under the blow which was intended to crush him, had risen against it with greater energy than ever; and that the imperious enactments of Worms and of Piacenza had been answered by his own solemn excommunication and deposition from his throne. For a moment, the king seemed overpowered by agitation; but, by the counsels of the bishop, he suppressed or concealed his emotion, and treated the subject with apparent indifference<sup>3</sup>. The first measure,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Baron. ad an. 1074. n. 20 et seqq.; et Fiorentini Memorie della gran Contessa Matilda.—Lib. ii. p. 321 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Henry bestowed, on Gregory's death, the duchy of Lorraine, upon his own infant son Conrad; but the Mark of Antwerp, also held by Godfrey, the king bestowed upon that chieftain's nephew and namesake, who afterwards became celebrated as the leader of the first crusade. Vide Annalist. Sax.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.

which, when he had time to collect his thoughts, suggested itself, was, that Gregory himself should be publicly declared excommunicate by some of the prelates of his court. And, as Pibo, bishop of Toul, was suspected by him to waver in his adhesion to his cause, he resolved to put that prelate to the proof, by directing him to perform the ceremony on the following morning<sup>1</sup>. Pibo durst not openly refuse; but, shrinking from the course enjoined, he, together with Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, who participated in his sentiments, fled in the night from Utrecht. Ignorant of his flight, the king in the morning took his seat in the cathedral, and, for some time, impatiently awaited his appearance. At length, the truth becoming known, and it being felt that every appearance of failure should, at this critical moment, be most carefully avoided, William of Utrecht himself pronounced the sentence, and, on this, as on several other occasions during the solemnities of Easter, poured forth against Gregory, from the altar itself, a torrent of virulent invective; calling him perjured, an adulterer, a false apostle; treating the notion of his sentence against the king with ridicule and contempt; and declaring that the presumptuous pontiff had repeatedly, from himself and his fellow-prelates, incurred the sentence, which he now attempted to pass upon his sovereign<sup>2</sup>.

Having taken this step, Henry immediately dispatched messengers to Lombardy, with directions, that the sentence thus published, should be there ratified and promulgated anew—a demand with which Guibert, and the prelates, who, under his auspices, assembled,—

<sup>1</sup> Hugo Flavin. vid. Mansi, t. xx. p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. Annalista Saxo.

early in April,—at Pavia, were eager to comply. The king also indited letters to the prelates and nobles of his empire; in which he inveighed, in the bitterest terms, against the pope, as against a disturber of the peace between the imperial and the sacerdotal power; dwelt upon his arrogance, in attempting the deposition of his sovereign from the throne; and charged him with forgetting, that God had ordained two swords for the government of the world, the spiritual and the temporal<sup>1</sup>; it not being permitted, to the holder of either, to intrude into the province of the other. He complained of the ill-treatment which his envoys had met with in the papal city; and finally summoned, with much urgency, those whom he addressed, to meet him at an imperial diet, to be holden, at Pentecost, in Worms<sup>2</sup>.

But Henry's hold, as well over the sacerdotal as over the secular dignitaries of his empire, had now become most precarious. Several prelates, as has been narrated, had already repented of the violent proceedings of Worms, and notified that repentance to the pontiff; and when, from the decree of the papal council, they learnt that a time was prescribed to them,—their appearance, during which, in Rome, would avert from them the censures which they dreaded,—several of them, with the universally respected Udo, archbishop of Treves<sup>3</sup>, at

<sup>1</sup> In insisting on this point, Henry was unquestionably right in the abstract; but, with reference to the question, as it stood between him and Gregory, he might have been asked, Who first attempted to confound the two powers, and to assume that which did not belong to him?

<sup>2</sup> Mansi, t. xx. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Hic (Udo) ex Alemannorum prosapiâ oriundus, patre Eberhardo comite, matre Ida . . vir valde venerabilis fuit, facie venustus, ore facundus, staturâ procerus, cujus merito humeris sustentari possit

their head, prepared to cross the Alps and avail themselves of the offered privilege.

The secular princes who possessed the most extended influence in the empire, were, like many of the spiritual dignities, brooding over the indignation excited in them by the monarch's breach of his plighted faith in his rigid treatment of the Saxon captives. The more high-minded among them, too, were disgusted, by seeing that the promises of amendment, which Henry, when he needed their assistance, had lavishly given, were at once, like his engagements to Gregory, forgotten by him, in the first moment of returning security. And those who, from whatever principle, had been the consistent adherents to the papal cause, had, of course, been startled and offended by the wanton irreverence which characterized the proceedings of Worms. While they were thus inclined to move in some way, and yet uncertain how, intelligence reached them of the sentence which the pope and his council had passed upon their sovereign; a sentence, which many combining motives led them to respect, and which at once induced them to determine upon a step which they were already half inclined to take. The Saxons entrusted to their charge they had hitherto, though reluctantly, kept in ward, being pledged, upon their allegiance, to do so; but, recollecting, as they did, the king's engagements on the subject, they were naturally tempted to esteem that loyalty but a doubtful duty, which supported him in their violation. And now, having so fair a pretext for considering themselves released from the bond of fealty, they allowed to their

*tanti moles regiminis. Gesta Trevir. Archiepiscop. e codice monasterii Sti Maximini, Martene et Durand, Coll. Ampliass. t. iv. p. 174.*



scruples, or their wishes, unrestricted play; and, announcing to their several captives, that they were free, they permitted their immediate departure for their native Saxony<sup>1</sup>.

That province was, of course, embittered to the highest degree against the royal authority; to which, notwithstanding the apparent completeness of its subjugation, it yet contained an active spark of opposition, which required only a favourable combination of circumstances, to spread into a general flame. William and Dietrich, sons to the late Count Gero, had not been included in the original capitulation of their fellow-nobles; and as, though they were well connected, their possessions were small, their escape from his power was either forgotten, or disregarded, by the king and his advisers<sup>2</sup>. Pressed partly by necessity, and partly by a desire of vengeance upon their enemies, these young warriors collected around themselves a half-military, half-marauding band, with which they, on several occasions, surprised, and successfully attacked the partizans and officers of the king. Cheered by these occurrences, their countrymen flocked daily to their standard, and their train swelled at length into a respectable army; of which the principal want, at the critical moment of which we treat, was that of leaders, qualified by rank and experience to govern and direct it.

The effect may, therefore, be conceived, which was, in an instant, if we may so say, produced by the unexpected re-appearance, in the land of their birth, of some of the most influential of the captive nobles. Headed by these, their wonted leaders, the Saxon

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

forces appeared before the royal strong-holds; some of which, taken by surprise, surrendered, and others were taken by assault; the garrisons being permitted to depart to their homes, on condition of never again bearing arms in the king's quarrel against their fellow-subjects of Saxony. The royal favourites whom Henry had endowed with fiefs in the province, fled in dismay from the storm; the fiefs reverted to the possession of their original proprietors; and all betokened a speedy return on the part of Saxony to her former condition; and the consequent annihilation of every advantage, which Henry had flattered himself that he should permanently reap, from his triumph on the Unstrut.

To Otho of Nordheim,—who, in his new character of king's representative, was busily employed in restoring the demolished walls of Harzburg, and fortifying another height, named Steinberg, in the immediate vicinity of Goslar<sup>1</sup>,—the Saxon chiefs sent messages of the most urgent nature; appealing at once to his patriotism, to his respect for his own fame, and to his fears of their vengeance in the event of his non-compliance, to induce him to abandon the works in which he was labouring to perpetuate the slavery of his country. And, whatever were the motives which had originally induced the chief in question to enter, as he had done, into the monarch's service, he could not but feel, in this sudden resuscitation of the hopes and spirits of his countrymen, either his national ardour rekindled, or his recently adopted policy confounded. Assuming a moderate tone, he assured the Saxons, that his country was still dear to him as ever. He deprecated their resorting to violent measures, for the redress of grievances which

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafuab.

might, as he trusted, be removed without them. The liberation of all the prisoners, he had, he said, already urged upon the king; but, he would now urge it again in a more pressing manner, striving, at the same time, to impress him with the necessity of abandoning the fortresses which he had, for fear of rebellion, constructed, and of permitting the province to continue in the enjoyment of all her ancient rights and immunities. "Should these ends," said Otho, "be peaceably obtained, Saxony will be spared the sufferings of a bloody and doubtful war. But, should the king persevere in his rigour, neither the love of honours, the fear of death, nor my regard for the oath which I have taken to him, shall prevent my joining you, in defending, to our last breath, the common cause of our country." And having thus spoken, and having dispatched messengers to Henry, according to his promise, Otho withdrew the royal garrisons from the places which he occupied, directed the discontinuance of the works upon which he was employed, and, without formally taking part against the king, or relinquishing his service, virtually threw himself into the arms of his countrymen<sup>1</sup>.

Nor could Henry, thus thwarted by the chief men of his empire, and resisted by the Saxons, succeed, in eliciting from the great mass of the nation, any demonstration of sympathy with his principles, or interest in his cause. That that cause was, from the very commencement of the public breach, regarded by the most religious and influential portion of the German nation, as one opposed to right, and to the will and laws of Heaven, may be inferred from several indications; not

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.—Lamb. Schafnab.

the least expressive is, perhaps, the reckless, the unnecessary, tone of rudeness and violence which the king and his supporters, from the first, exhibited. The letter of Henry, to "the false monk Hildebrand," the behaviour of Roland in the Lateran, and the language of William at the altar of Utrecht, all display the doggedness—so to call it—of those who know that public feeling is against them, but who feel themselves strong enough to insult and to defy it; and by no means tally with the more measured, more calmly-confident, bearing of those, who, in making open assertion of their principles, do so in the expectation, that something in the hearts of all around them will respond to the appeal.

One circumstance, indeed, could scarcely fail to strike those who might be disposed honestly to seek the truth, without sufficient information to investigate, for themselves, the intricacies of the question at issue. All the habitually irreligious, all the notoriously profane, seem,—in the great division, which now rent society asunder,—to have attached themselves, as it were, naturally, to the party of the king. The excommunicate nobles, the validity of whose sentence had been recognized by the monarch himself;—the most worldly prelates and most dissolute members of the clerical body of Germany;—the unruly and licentious clergy of Lombardy;—the patrons and practisers of simony throughout the empire;—were all ranged on Henry's side: nor could thoughtful people well believe that a cause was, indeed, that of pure zeal for the Church, and sincere regard for her interests, which gathered, as though by a natural process, to its support, all those by whom her laws were openly broken, or her authority openly defied.

We may not suppose, either that the royal party was exclusively composed of persons such as those who have been alluded to<sup>1</sup>, or that the adverse interest drew to its support none but those of a more exalted character. There must have been many,—very many,—who supported their monarch on the high grounds of loyalty and duty; and many again, it is to be feared, whose zeal for the dignity of the Church, and hostility to her impugners, was but the cloak of the selfish and worldly designs which, in truth, animated them. But we are speaking of what appeared,—of what the observer from without could see to guide him in his judgment,—and there can be no doubt that the open vices, the avowed, unblushing, corruptions, identified themselves in the public eye with that side which defended the cause of laxity, and opposed itself to all purifying reforms; while even hypocrisy, where it existed on the other side, alike bore testimony to, and contributed to support, the character of that side for strictness and for purity<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> “*Quotiens enim,*” says the writer of an epistle given in the *Codex Epistolaris* of Ulrich of Bamberg, “*perpendo quam plurimos utrique parti favere viros omni, quantum homines possunt, perfectos scientiâ, omnique præditos industriâ, cumque nefas sit credere, vel illos aliquid præter æquitatem vel ecclesiæ concordiam moliri velle; parvitas meæ discretionis incoepit vacillare, non modicâ dubitationis obductâ caligine.*”—*Vid. Udalric. Babenb. cod. epist. n. 172.* But this writer might have asked himself the question, if the apparent friends of the Church are thus divided, are her apparent enemies so likewise?

<sup>2</sup> So completely, indeed, was strictness of religious habits considered as identifying its professor with the Gregorian party, that the royalists, if they met any ecclesiastic, “*qui forsitan pro amore patriæ cœlestis sæculum reliquisset, carnem macerasset, quemque aliqua corporis molestia attenuasset, sive qui, ut tunc moris erat, barbam quasi in signum religionis enutrisset, quasi regii honoris pro-*

Much, too, must be allowed for the direct operation of that authority which had by all been long looked upon as sacred, and as identical with that of the holy Church Catholic herself. And when the populace saw this authority, apparently recognized in the conduct of those whom they most justly revered—in the pilgrimage of Udo to Rome, and in the flight of Pibo from Utrecht—they could scarcely fail to regard the monarch's daring course with awe, or to tremble at the furious language of his irritated followers.

Most strenuous among those followers, was William of Utrecht, whose audacity and violence had so indecently broken forth, at the altar itself, on the most sacred occasions. But a month had not intervened from the festival, the solemnities of which he had thus profaned, when the irreverent prelate was seized with a rapid and violent disease, through which he, in a few days<sup>1</sup>, ended his life in a state of delirious despair; crying aloud, that, by God's just judgment, he had forfeited alike this life, and that of another world; and forbidding his friends to go through the useless ceremony of prayer, for one irrevocably destined to eternal condemnation<sup>2</sup>. And those who, in their secret hearts, had trembled at the profane rudeness of his language, of course recognized, in this terrible event, the manifest

*ditores, contumeliis afficiebant, insultanter eos 'Ecclesianos' appellantes.*—Vid. *Gesta Trevirens. Archiepiscop. e Codice Monaster. Sti Maximini*, Martene et Durand. *Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 174.* The king's partizans, in contradistinction to these, were called "Cæsarians."

<sup>1</sup> April 28, 1076.

<sup>2</sup> *Itaque cum fuero e corpore eductus, rogo vos et omnes fideles ne se fatigent, pro me faciendo supplicationes.* Paul. Lang. ex *Annal. Magdeburg. in Chronico Citizenensi.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.—Hugo Flaviniacens. in *Chron. Viridunensi.*—Paul. Bernried.—*Annalista Saxo.*

judgment of Heaven. God's own arm, it seemed to them, was openly stretched out to chastise impiety, and to support the honour of His Church below. The tidings of William's conduct, and of his fate, spread rapidly over the various provinces of Germany, and many a bold spirit, half-disposed to question and to resist an authority which appealed to invisible sanctions alone, was doubtless awed into unquestioning submission, in beholding that authority ratified,—as it seemed,—by the visible support, the providential interference, of the Almighty.

Wild and dreamy legends, too, were connected by the public voice, with the tale of William's end. The elements, it was said, were thrown at his last hour into a state of unheard of commotion. The thunder of heaven, as he breathed his last sigh, was described as smiting alike the cathedral which he had profaned, and the mansion which had been prepared for the reception of his excommunicated sovereign. Such other supporters of the king, as, about this time, either perished<sup>1</sup>, or fell into any sudden calamities were, like Godfrey of Lorraine, regarded as smitten by Heaven, in vindication of the insulted authority of its minister. And the rapidity with which such impressions were promulgated and received, sufficiently shows the aptness of men's minds to connect their cause with guilt, whose misfortunes were so readily identified with punishment.

Henry's party had also their legends, in virtue of which they endeavoured to claim for their cause the visible protection of Heaven. Accounts the most distorted of the proceedings at Rome, were circulated by them among the populace. Gregory was described as

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Paul Bernried, c. 81.—Paul Lang. ut supr.

having passed the unwarrantable sentence, in opposition to the unanimous voice of the college of cardinals ; not one member of whom, it was said, could be prevailed upon to sign it. And his throne, as the audacious pontiff arose to pronounce it, had shivered, of itself, to pieces ; thus predicting and representing the miserable state of discord and division into which his impious councils were about to plunge the Church of God <sup>1</sup>. But the tide of public feeling was now strongly setting in one direction, and inventions, such as these, were powerless to stem it.

It was with astonishment, with anxiety, and ultimately with terror, that the unfortunate Henry beheld its course. He saw, while his own deposition of the pontiff was powerless and disregarded, the sentence passed by Gregory upon himself, in progress of constant and fearful operation. He saw his disobedient nobles releasing their prisoners,—those prisoners re-organizing and liberating from his control their conquered country,—his prelates seeking forgiveness and reconciliation from his triumphant enemy,—and his people regarding his position with silent disapproval and mysterious dread. The foundations of his power, which he had lately deemed more firmly consolidated than ever, seemed simultaneously melting, like snow in sunshine, around him.

Dispirited and confused, he yet felt that something must be done, and that without delay, to save his honour and his throne. And his first thought was to adopt a bold course, and wreak immediate vengeance on Herman of Metz, a prelate who had recently dismissed his prisoners, and whom he thought that he

<sup>1</sup> Benno.



might succeed in punishing in such a way as to intimidate his fellow-delinquents<sup>1</sup>. But his heart, or perhaps his means, failed him; on the fidelity of his followers, thinned as they had been by desertion, he might fear to rely; and he knew what powerful enemies he should, in making an expedition to Metz, leave unwatched in his rear. Abandoning, therefore, this hasty scheme, he resolved to await the approach of the feast of Pentecost, for which period he had, as we have seen already, summoned a diet to be holden at Worms; and, hoping that their remaining reverence for the imperial name would induce his nobles to attend, he flattered himself that some remedy might then be found for the evils which beset him. But he stood aghast, when, of all the great chieftains whose power he most dreaded, and whose attachment he most wished to regain, not one appeared in his place<sup>2</sup>. Urged by necessity, he made one more attempt to procure their countenance and support, and, proclaiming that the diet, then necessarily postponed, should be holden at Mentz<sup>3</sup> on the feast of St. Peter, he forwarded, with his summons, the most urgent entreaties to each influential noble to be present on the occasion. But the entreaties of a sovereign, who dares not command, are almost invariably slighted and despised; the haughty princes, whom he chiefly sought to gain, received the humbled Henry's overtures with silent contempt; and the comparatively few, who deigned, in obedience to the royal request, to appear at the diet of Mentz, brought still further discredit upon their sovereign's cause, by the dissensions which broke forth on the occasion. Udo had now returned from his journey to Rome. Gregory, as may well be imagined,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

had received the distinguished pilgrim with all courtesy, admitting him, when formally absolved, to the most intimate intercourse with himself. Udo became, in consequence, thoroughly imbued with all the pontiff's principles and wishes, and lost no time, upon his return to his native country, in showing himself determined to illustrate and enforce them. With his brother metropolitans, Siegfried and Hildolf, he peremptorily refused, while they continued under the papal sentence, to hold any intercourse whatever. And even his sovereign he had, as he said, only obtained permission to approach, for the purpose of giving him counsel; he might not sit at his board, or join him in prayer. His example, enforced as it was by the weight of his unimpeachable character, spread awe among many. The more religious members of the king's household, dreading any longer to incur the guilt of prohibited intercourse with the excommunicate, withdrew themselves from the palace; nor could Henry's most earnest intreaties induce them to return to it<sup>1</sup>.

The rage excited by these defections, among the more determined,—because more desperate,—followers of Henry's fortunes, was unbounded. They inveighed against Udo in the most unmeasured terms; they declared the archbishop's vaunted zeal to be hypocrisy,—his pretended reverence for the pope a cloak for disloyalty to his king,—and they called on Henry, swiftly and severely, to chastise alike the rebellious prelate and his imitators<sup>2</sup>.

But,—willing as Henry might have been to do so,—such a measure was beyond his power. Daily hearing of fresh defections, the monarch scarce knew whom to

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

trust. Yet sternly and perseveringly clinging to the measure by which his nobles had so generally been estranged from him, he reiterated, to those who yet retained their Saxon prisoners, his commands for their continued detention. Above all, he had been anxious for the safe keeping of Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt; a man whose talents and energy pre-eminently qualified him for command, while the reputed sanctity of his manners procured him the veneration of his countrymen. Henry regarded him as the virtual head of the Saxon party, and as having been the principal instigator and contriver of all its recent movements against him; and so bitter was his animosity against Burchard on this account, that, had it not been for his dread, as well of the pope as of his nobles, he would, says Lambert, have put him to death by torments. As it was, he had committed him, in the first instance, to his creature, Rupert of Bamberg; but the dread with which he regarded the possibility of such a prisoner's escape, had subsequently induced him to accept the offer made by his sister, Judith of Hungary; who, being about to return to her husband Solomon, undertook to bear the obnoxious prelate in her train down the Danube, and to bury him in some distant dungeon, far from the din of German arms and the turmoil of German politics<sup>1</sup>. But one of the bishop's martial retainers, Ulric by name, who possessed a castle not far from the river, in Bavaria, contrived to communicate to him, previously to his embarkation, a plan which he had formed for his deliverance. In conformity with the instructions thus received, Burchard,—as the vessel which bore him passed through that part of Bavaria in which his friend's

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.

stronghold was situated,—often requested of his guards the permission to refresh himself by walking upon the shore ; a permission, which, from their respect for the character of their prisoner, as well as from their fearlessness of a rescue, they were ready to grant him. On the feast of St. John the Baptist, they came in sight of a lonely chapel on the strand, and the bishop proposed that they should land and celebrate the offices of that sacred day. The proposal being acceded to, he arrayed himself in his episcopal robes, and officiated at the altar. But the congregation was soon joined by an armed stranger, and the bishop recognized his confederate. The sequel of the story may be imagined. The service,—which Ulric dared not to interrupt,—was no sooner concluded, than his followers surrounded the chapel. Burchard, on a swift horse provided for the purpose, was led to his Bavarian castle ; whence, after remaining there some days, he crossed the country in the habit of a layman ; and appearing unexpectedly among his fellow Saxons, was received by them, according to the historian, as one restored to life from the dead <sup>1</sup>.

Confounded by this unexpected misfortune, Henry at length felt that a change of measures was necessary ; and, apprehensive that his remaining prisoners would one by one escape, he directed that they should be brought before him at Mentz, intending to exact from them a ransom for that liberation, which they would soon, he thought, inevitably obtain. They were brought accordingly ; but they had scarce entered Mentz, when a quarrel arose, between the people of the place and the retainers of Bamberg, which led to bloodshed, and

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Quantâ gratulatione totius populi fuisset acceptus, meus hebes non valet explicare stylus. Bruno.

to the conflagration of a considerable portion of the city: and, amid the confusion, the prisoners escaped, and departed unquestioned for their native province<sup>1</sup>.

Like a desperate man, Henry now began to play a most desperate game. A few influential Saxons, the bishops of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Meissen, the Duke Magnus, and the Count Palatine Frederic, were yet in his power; and these he strangely persuaded himself that he could even yet attach to his interests, by a show of clemency; and thus procure their support, when necessary, against the efforts of their revolted countrymen. He dismissed them without ransom, and without any other condition than the pledge of fealty, and the undertaking to urge upon their countrymen the adoption of those conciliatory offers, with which, after his breach of faith on their surrender, none of his own followers were willing to connect themselves<sup>2</sup>. He still, it seems, cheered himself by the conviction, that the outbreak in Saxony was a partial matter, for which the sons of count Gero were mainly responsible; veiling from his eyes the fearful fact, that the movement had assumed the character of a general one, undertaken for national ends; and he consequently hoped, that, in the event of his again entering Saxony, those whom he now dismissed, together with Otho,—the completeness of whose defection he could by no means comprehend,—would befriend him in the struggle.

That struggle, he at once took measures to commence. Setting out with a chosen band of horsemen, he traversed the country to Bohemia, and thence,—being

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

joined by Wratislav, who still adhered to his fortunes, with all the force which that prince, on the emergency, could muster,—he suddenly invaded, and laid waste, with fire and sword, the mark of Meissen. But the expectations, with which he thus commenced a new campaign, were soon miserably disappointed. The Saxons, when his friendly professions were reported to them, declared them, in their uncourtly phrase, to be poison mixed with lies. Otho and the liberated prisoners had declared to his envoy, that his conduct had absolved them from all the ties which bound them to him; and the former, it would seem, had revealed to his brother-chiefs the secret of the king's intended approach, and thus induced them to re-assemble their disbanded follower, and prepare for his reception.

The appearance, therefore, of Henry and the plundering hordes of his Bohemians in Meissen, was the signal for a general rush to arms, throughout the whole extent of Saxony; and a body of many thousands, rapidly collected, marched toward Meissen, burning with eagerness to meet and overwhelm the intruder. But it was soon found, that the numbers of this army interfered with the celerity of its progress, and it was determined to send forward, with all speed, a vanguard of 7,000 chosen horse, under the command of the sons of Gero<sup>1</sup>. These soon approached the royal camp; Henry's disorderly forces were far from equal to an encounter with them; and a battle, had it now occurred, would, in all probability, have terminated the monarch's difficulties with his life. But his destiny reserved him for a long series of further trials. Heavy and continued rains, at this critical juncture, swelled the waters of the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

Mulde, which rolled between his followers and his enemies. The eager Saxons were detained, for some time, on the shore of the torrent; watching for the diminution of its volume, or the abatement of its fury. And Henry, now become aware of the extreme danger of his position, prudently availed himself of the obstacle, thus opposed to the progress of his pursuers, to withdraw himself from the contest which he had so unadvisedly provoked. He retreated, in haste, into Bohemia; and thence returned, through Bavaria, to Worms, repining over the past, overwhelmed by the present, and filled with the most sinister forebodings of the future<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1076.

GREGORY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PRELATES AND NOBLES OF GERMANY—  
DIET AT TRIBUR—HENRY'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH IT—ITS DECREE AGAINST HIM—  
HIS SUBMISSION TO IT—HE DISMISSES HIS FOLLOWERS, AND TAKES UP HIS RESI-  
DENCE AT SPIRES—HIS SUBSEQUENT DETERMINATION TO THROW HIMSELF ON  
GREGORY'S MERCY, AND TO CROSS THE ALPS INTO ITALY.

THE active Gregory did not omit, by repeated epistles, to support the zeal, and guide the temper, of the papal party. Writing, on the 25th of July, to the prelates and chiefs of Germany. "Ye are not ignorant," he said, "how long the holy Church has borne with the  
" unheard-of crimes and iniquities of your king; would  
" I could call him a Christian one; and to what ruin  
" and calamity, through the machinations of her ancient  
" enemy, she stood exposed. Led by paternal affection  
" to the offender, and by the love which we bore to his  
" father and to his mother, we often, while we held the  
" office of deacon, transmitted to him the words of ad-  
" monition; and, since we have, although unworthily,  
" been advanced to the priesthood, we have endea-  
" voured, earnestly and frequently, through the agency  
" of religious men, to recall him to reflection. But  
" what he, on the other hand, has done; how, returning  
" evil for good, he has lifted up his heel against the



“ blessed Peter, and endeavoured to divide the holy  
 “ Church, which God had committed to his guardian-  
 “ ship, ye well know; the sound of it has gone out  
 “ unto the ends of the world. Since, however, it is our  
 “ duty to love men, though not their vices; to resist  
 “ the wicked, that they may repent; and to abhor sins,  
 “ not sinners; by the authority of the blessed Peter  
 “ we warn you; as dear brethren, we entreat you,  
 “ to exert yourselves, in snatching him from the hands  
 “ of the devil, and leading him to true repentance.  
 “ Let us, if possible, by God’s blessing, warmed by  
 “ paternal love, guide him back to the bosom of our  
 “ common Mother. . . . . But, if he shall not hear you;  
 “ if he shall chuse to follow the devil rather than Christ,  
 “ and prefer, to yours, the counsels of those who have  
 “ been long since, on the ground of simony, excom-  
 “ municate; let us, by God’s blessing, resolve, pre-  
 “ ferring God to man, to labour manfully in the cause  
 “ of the universal Church. Whosoever, of those, who  
 “ hitherto have not been ashamed of preferring that  
 “ king to God Almighty, shall repent . . . . them, my  
 “ dear brethren and fellow-priests, receive ye by the  
 “ authority of St. Peter, and lead them back to the  
 “ bosom of our holy mother, the Church, that ye may  
 “ renew the joy of the angels of God in heaven<sup>1</sup>. . . .  
 “ But, with those, be they bishops or laymen, who, led  
 “ astray by worldly fear or favour, have refused to with-  
 “ draw themselves from intercourse with the king,—  
 “ those who, favouring his party, have not feared to make  
 “ over to the devil alike his soul and their own,—with  
 “ them, save upon their due repentance, hold ye no  
 “ friendship, no communion. . . . For, as over us hangs

<sup>1</sup> S. Luke xv. 10.

“ that fearful word of the prophet, ‘ If thou speakest  
 “ not to warn the wicked man from his wicked way,  
 “ his blood will I require at thy hand <sup>1</sup>;’ and another,  
 “ ‘ Cursed is the man that keepeth back his sword from  
 “ blood <sup>2</sup>;’ that is to say, the word of correction from  
 “ the censure of evil-doers ; so over them, continuing  
 “ in their disobedience, impends the wrath of the divine  
 “ Judge, and the vengeance due to a sin which is as  
 “ idolatry <sup>3</sup>.”

Notwithstanding this encouragement, there were many, who, though disposed to reverence and obey the pontifical authority, were yet embarrassed by natural and just scruples, at so extreme an assertion of that authority, as was the excommunication and deposition of their legitimate sovereign. Anxious to remove, as well as he might, these doubts, Gregory thus addressed, on the 25th of August, Herman, the bishop of Metz <sup>4</sup>:—

“ To those who maintain that a king ought in no case  
 “ to be excommunicated, though folly so great ought  
 “ scarcely to have an answer <sup>5</sup>, yet, lest we should seem  
 “ impatiently to slight their ignorance, we refer them to  
 “ the deeds and sayings of the holy fathers, that they  
 “ may be thus recalled to soundness of doctrine. Let  
 “ them read what the blessed Peter prescribed to the  
 “ people, at the ordination of St. Clement <sup>6</sup>, concern-  
 “ ing him whom they should know to be under the  
 “ pontiff’s displeasure. Let them learn why the apostle  
 “ says, ‘ having in a readiness to revenge all disobe-

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. iii. 18

<sup>2</sup> Jerem. xl. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 1.—1 Sam. xv. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Licet pro magnâ fatuitate nec etiam eis respondere debeamus.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Epistolam Clementis ad Jacobum fratrem Domini. A spurious document, from the collection of Isidore.—Harduin t. i. p. 39.

“ dience<sup>1</sup>,’ and of whom he says, ‘ with such an one, no, “ not to eat<sup>2</sup>.’ Let them consider why pope Zachary “ deposed the Frankish king, and freed all his subjects “ from the oath which they had taken to him<sup>3</sup>. Let “ them see, in the epistles of the blessed Gregory, how, “ in the privileges bestowed by him on certain churches, “ he pronounces all kings and dukes contravening his “ decrees, not only excommunicate, but deprived of “ their dignity<sup>4</sup>. Nor let them omit to notice how St. “ Ambrose, in the case, not merely of a king, but of “ an emperor, Theodosius,—one truly so in actions and “ power,—not only excommunicated him, but even for- “ bade him to remain in the priests’ place in the church. “ Do these disputers understand that, when the Lord “ thrice entrusted his Church to St. Peter, saying, “ ‘ Feed my sheep<sup>5</sup>,’ he excepted kings? Let them ob- “ serve, or rather confess with shame, that, when the “ Lord gave to that Apostle in chief the power of bind- “ ing and loosing in earth and heaven, he excepted no “ person—no thing—from that power. And he who “ should declare himself beyond the power of the “ Church’s binding, must, of necessity, admit himself “ to be beyond the power of her loosing also. . . .

“ If the apostolic see, by divinely constituted power, “ may judge spiritual things, shall it not also judge the “ things of earth? . . .

“ If men of spiritual rank are subject to its sentence, “ shall not men of earthly dignity give account before “ it of their deeds? Do they suppose that the regal “ dignity exceeds the episcopal? Let them look to the “ origin of the two, to see how widely they differ from

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Supra*. vol. i. p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> S. Greg. Mag. Ep. Lib. xiii. 8, 9.

<sup>5</sup> S. John xxi. 16.

“ each other. Human pride grasped at the one ; the  
“ divine commiseration bestowed the other. The one  
“ incessantly reaches after empty glory, the other  
“ aspires toward everlasting life. Let them learn what  
“ the blessed pope Gelasius wrote to the emperor  
“ Anastasius<sup>1</sup>, touching these dignities, and what St.  
“ Ambrose in his pastoral epistle has declared con-  
“ cerning them. To compare, he says, the dignity of a  
“ bishop to that of a king, is to compare things, of  
“ which the one more excels the other, than the splen-  
“ dour of gold exceeds that of lead. And Constantine,  
“ the great emperor, knowing these things, took his  
“ place, not first, but last, among the bishops in synod  
“ assembled. For he remembered that God resisteth  
“ the proud, but giveth grace to the humble<sup>2</sup>.”

And, having thus elucidated the papal theory on this most important subject, the pontiff ventured, in the following month, to carry out that theory into its legitimate consequences, by thus addressing, once more, on the 3rd of September, the German authorities :—

“ If ye diligently weigh the letters in which Henry,  
“ styled the king, is declared excommunicate in holy  
“ synod, by the judgment of the Holy Ghost, ye will  
“ doubtless understand what course should be pursued  
“ with regard to him. Ye will therein see why he was  
“ bound with the bond of anathema, and deposed from his  
“ royal dignity; and that all people, once his subjects,  
“ have been released from the obligation of their oath  
“ to him. But, because it was not, God knows, secular  
“ pride, or the vain lust of this world, which moved us  
“ against him, but our anxiety and care for the holy

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Gelasii epist. ad Anastasium Imperat.—Harduin. ii. p. 893.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jam. iv. 6.

“ see, and for the Church, ‘ the mother of us all,’ we  
 “ warn you in the Lord Jesus, as dear brethren we  
 “ entreat you, that if, with his whole heart, he shall have  
 “ turned to God, ye benignantly receive him ; treating  
 “ him not with justice, which would forbid him to reign,  
 “ but with charity, which covereth a multitude of sins<sup>1</sup>.  
 “ Be mindful of the state of man, and of our common  
 “ frailty. Forget not the pious and glorious names of  
 “ his father and of his mother, to whom none in our  
 “ time have been found equal in the government of the  
 “ state. But so pour into his wounds the oil of charity,  
 “ that ye suffer them not, by your neglecting the wine  
 “ of discipline<sup>2</sup>, to corrupt and gangrene; to the ruin  
 “ alike of the holy Church, and of the Roman empire.  
 “ Let those evil counsellors be removed from him, who,  
 “ themselves excommunicate for simony, have not  
 “ blushed to contaminate their sovereign with their  
 “ own leprosy ; or, by seducing him to various crimes,  
 “ to lead him on to divide the holy Church, and to  
 “ incur the wrath of God and of St. Peter. Let ad-  
 “ visers be chosen for him, who will love, not their  
 “ own interests, but him,—who will prefer God, in all  
 “ things, to worldly gain. Let him, henceforth, think  
 “ of the holy Church, not as of a bond-maid, subject to  
 “ his will, but as of a mistress, set over him. Let him  
 “ not, inflated with pride, maintain irreverent customs

<sup>1</sup> S. Jam. iv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Hinc namque est quod docente Veritate per Samaritani studium semivivus in stabulum ducitur, et vinum atque oleum vulneribus ejus adhibetur ; ut per vinum scilicet mordeantur vulnera, et per oleum foveantur. Necesse quippe est, ut is qui sanandis vulneribus præest, in vino morsum doloris adhibeat, in oleo mollitiem pietatis ; quatenus per vinum mudentur putrida, per oleum sananda foveantur.—S. Greg. Mag. lib. i. Ep. 25. t. ii. p. 514. Edit. Benedictin.

“ opposed to that church’s liberties ; but, let him hold the  
“ doctrine of the holy fathers, in which the divine autho-  
“ rity instructed them for our salvation. If, respecting  
“ these and other points, fairly to be required of him,  
“ he shall render us properly secure of his amendment,  
“ we desire to be at once informed of all things by  
“ trusty messengers, that, by our common counsel, the  
“ right course to pursue may, with God’s blessing, be  
“ determined on. Most especially, on the behalf of St.  
“ Peter, do we enjoin you not to presume to release  
“ him from his excommunication, until the information  
“ above required shall have been forwarded to us, and  
“ until ye shall have received the consent and repeated  
“ reply of the apostolic see. We fear the many minds  
“ of many men : we view, with suspicion, the operation  
“ of human favour and human fear. And if,—the sins  
“ of many bringing down such a calamity upon us,—he  
“ shall not be turned in his heart to God, let a person,  
“ by God’s blessing, be selected for the government of  
“ the kingdom, who may pledge himself to observe the  
“ points which we have mentioned, and whatever else  
“ may appear necessary for the maintenance of religion,  
“ and for the welfare of the empire, by a secret but  
“ specific promise. And that we may confirm your  
“ choice,—should such a step, indeed, be necessary,—by  
“ apostolical authority, and sanction in our times a new  
“ appointment to the throne, as we know that our holy  
“ fathers have on former occasions done before us, send  
“ us, as soon as ye may, an account of the life, character,  
“ and habits, of the object of your choice ; that so,  
“ acting with a holy and useful intention, ye may de-  
“ serve, by divine grace, the favour of the apostolic see,  
“ and the blessing of St. Peter, prince of Apostles, in  
“ all things. Hesitate not on account of the oath

“ which ye have taken to our beloved daughter, the  
 “ august empress, Agnes, in contemplation of her son’s  
 “ decease during her lifetime. For whether, led by  
 “ too great pity, she shall resist the decree of justice,  
 “ or whether, acquiescing in that decree, she shall con-  
 “ sent to his deposition, ye will understand what must  
 “ be done. But this appears desirable, when ye shall  
 “ have thoroughly decided on her son’s removal, that  
 “ ye take her advice, as well as mine, respecting the  
 “ person chosen to administer the government. And  
 “ then, she will either yield her assent to our general  
 “ determination, or the authority of the apostolic see  
 “ shall remove all obstacles which oppose themselves  
 “ to the course of justice<sup>1</sup>.”

Upon these suggestions, Rudolf, Berthold, and their principal associates, were now prepared to act. Assembled in conference at Ulm, they named Tribur, near Darmstadt, as the place, and the 16th of October as the day, for the assembling of a solemn diet; which all who had the welfare of the empire at heart, should be requested to attend<sup>2</sup>. Envoys were speedily dispatched, with the intelligence of this their determination, through the different provinces of the empire, Saxony included; and the most urgent entreaties were addressed to all, that they would suffer no other engagement whatever, to prevent their appearance on so momentous an occasion.

The natural consequences of this decided step were soon seen in the secession, from Henry’s side, of almost all the persons of high station in the empire, who yet lingered among his supporters. The weak, the wavering, Siegfried found the tide too strong to stem; and seeking, and obtaining, the papal absolution, he un-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

blushingly united himself to the party of Rudolf and the nobles, and prepared to attend the approaching convention at Tribur<sup>1</sup>.

The important sixteenth of October arrived; and the princes and prelates, each attended by a numerous body of his military retainers, thronged the approaches to the appointed scene of council. In the feeling of opposition to their sovereign, by which all alike were animated, the minor feuds, which had separated province from province, and individual from individual, were forgotten. After the conduct of Welf, in the occupation of Otho's duchy, and in the ill-treatment of his daughter, the father-in-law and son-in-law could scarcely have been expected to meet in amity. All private animosities, however, seemed forgotten in the general excitement against the king; and the two chieftains no sooner beheld each other, than they rushed into an embrace, and exchanged the kiss of peace<sup>2</sup>. And each, it is said, in the subsequent intercourse which took place between them, bound himself to the other by a solemn pledge that, with respect to the matter so long in dispute between them, he would contentedly submit to the award which should be made by the sovereign whom they were about to choose. Feelings as friendly pervaded the followers of these different commanders; and they who had deeply dyed with each other's blood the waters of the Unstrut, now lay encamped near those of the Rhine in fellowship and peace<sup>3</sup>.

The council met<sup>4</sup>, Sicard, patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman, bishop of Padua, as legates from the holy

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Paul Bernried. c. 82.



see, set forth the justice of Henry's excommunication, and declared the pontiff's readiness to acquiesce in the step which they were about to take, the election of a worthier sovereign. And thus sanctioned, the assembly proceeded to discuss, at length, the various grievances of the kingdom. Seven successive days they consumed in deep debate<sup>1</sup>. They spoke of the general confusion, want, and danger which prevailed,—of the wild and perverse spirit which Henry, from his childhood, had shown,—of his hostility to the principal nobles of his empire, and exaltation to honourable employs of men of base origin and unworthy character,—of the plunderings of churches and monasteries,—of the employment of barbarous foreigners<sup>2</sup> in German wars,—and of the cruel oppressions and servitude of Saxony. “The widow and orphan,” they said, “have lost their consolation; the calumniated and abused their refuge; the laws their reverence; manners their discipline; the Church her authority; and the state the dignity which is its due. By the temerity of one man, sacred things and profane, divine things and human, right and wrong, are blended and confounded; and the only remedy which remains is this;—removing him,—to create, at once, another king, who may put a proper curb upon the general license, and sustain the fabric of a tottering world<sup>3</sup>.”

Henry, who durst not present himself before the assembly, established himself, during its session, at his palace of Oppenheim; within a few miles of Tribur, but upon the opposite side of the Rhine. From this place, he dispatched daily envoys to the diet, who assumed before the assembled princes the most humble tone,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> The Bohemians, Luticians, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

and proffered, in their master's name, the most ample promises of reparation for the past, and of amendment for the future. The dispirited prince offered, indeed, to renounce for the future all real exercise of power, placing the whole virtual control of the empire in their hands; and only intreated that they would yet leave with him that royal style and dignity, which he could not openly renounce, without exposing himself to the contempt of all men, and sullyng the honour of the Teutonic crown <sup>1</sup>.

But the princes and prelates at Tribur turned a deaf ear even to these humble supplications. Upon his faith, they said, past experience had made it too plain, that no dependence could be placed. Nothing but their oath of allegiance had for some time prevented their taking into their own hands the redress of their common grievances; and now that the authority of the Church had released them from the obligations of loyalty, it would be madness in them were they not to avail themselves of the opportunity, to prevent the possible recurrence of such grievances in future. They would at once,—they bade Henry's envoys tell their humbled master,—choose them a man who should go before them, and fight the battle of the Lord, to overthrow and to destroy the pride of every one who should exalt himself against the truth and righteousness of God, and the authority of the holy Church of Rome <sup>2</sup>.

The royal messengers being thus dismissed, the confederates resolved to bring the matter in dispute to a speedy conclusion. To give them the means of crossing the Rhine at pleasure, Siegfried had already collected all the boats to be found in the river, on the side on

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

which they were; and they determined, availing themselves of these, to cross over at once to Oppenheim, to seize the king's person, and to disperse his remaining followers<sup>1</sup>. But Henry, taught at length to feel the impossibility of conciliating his enemies, appeared to assume fresh resolution from despair. Aware of the intended operation, he summoned his soldiers to arms, intending to attack the enemy upon his landing, and to recover, if possible, by one desperate effort, his character and throne. And this show of manhood appears to have awed some of those who had turned with contempt from his previous posture of humiliation. Many, too, there probably were among the counsellors at Tribur, who would not have hesitated to decree the deposition of their sovereign by their votes in the assembled diet, but who shrunk from the idea of meeting that sovereign in hostile array in the field, and of imbruing their hands in his blood. And the more sagacious of the princes could not fail to perceive, that in driving Henry to desperation, they risked much, while they had not, on the other hand, much to gain by it. A treaty was, therefore, at length concluded between the monarch and his subjects, by the conditions of which, the question of Henry's continued reign was to be referred to the sole decision of the pontiff; who, it was agreed, should be requested to preside at a diet, to be holden for the purpose of settling this important matter, on the feast of the Purification<sup>2</sup>, in the city of Augsburg. Henry, in the meantime, was to procure, if possible, from Rome, his restoration to the community of the faithful; fixing, while these matters

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 2. 1077.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Paul Bernried.

remained in suspense, his residence at Spires; where he was to live as a private individual, not entering any church, and not assuming the ensigns, or exercising in any respect the functions, of royalty<sup>1</sup>. He was to restore to his see the exiled bishop of Worms, and to cause the garrison which he had long maintained there to evacuate the city. He was to separate himself at once from all those followers who, for their fidelity to his cause, had been pronounced excommunicate. And it was to be understood that if, at the expiration of a year from the date of his excommunication<sup>2</sup>, he yet remained under that sentence, his right to empire was to be gone for ever; his subjects being in that case irrevocably released from all the obligations of allegiance<sup>3</sup>.

In return for these degrading conditions, the princes bound themselves, on their part, in the event of his fulfilling these stipulations, and obtaining a favourable verdict from the pope, to accompany him, with all pomp, on an expedition into Italy; to witness his imperial coronation by the pontifical hands; and to aid him in the expulsion of the Normans from their usurped possessions in Calabria and Apulia<sup>4</sup>.

It was with a heavy heart that Henry, in fulfilment of the above conditions, proceeded to dismiss the followers who had most steadily adhered to him, among whom were his brave champion Ulric of Cosheim, and his envoy count Eberhard of Nellenburg<sup>5</sup>. He then set forth to occupy his allotted residence in Spires,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Which appears to have been pronounced against him on Feb. 23, 1076.—Bruno.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Card. Aragon.

<sup>5</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

together his wife and infant son, and with the bishop of Verdun, whom the princes and prelates at Tribur allotted to him as a companion; and to whom, as well as to a small number of attendants, they accordingly gave a special permission to hold intercourse with the excommunicated king.

Udo of Treves undertook to be the bearer to the pontiff of the humbled monarch's letter of submission: the terms of which Henry ventured so far to modify, as,—instead of requesting the pope's appearance at Augsburg,—to solicit permission to present himself before the apostolic chair in Rome<sup>1</sup>. He had many reasons for desiring that the final decision upon his fortunes should take place, if possible, to the southward of the Alps. In Italy,—in Lombardy more especially,—he had numerous friends; men's minds in those regions were not so much embittered against him as they were in his German dominions; and he might, he thought, more easily induce Gregory to view his cause with favourable eyes in Rome, than in a place where the pontiff would necessarily be surrounded by the bitterest enemies to his state and throne.

But to this request,—opposed as it was to the wish of the princes of the empire,—Gregory refused to accede. He was already, in Italy, surrounded with enemies and dangers; nor could he tell what effect the king's appearance in that country might produce on the minds of its inhabitants. He, therefore, declared both to the envoy of the king, and to those of the princes, his readiness to preside over the projected council at Augsburg; and, naming the 8th of January as the day on which he should reach Mantua on his journey, he directed the

<sup>1</sup> Bernold Constant.

princes to make preparation for his guidance and assistance, in his progress across the Alps from that city into Germany<sup>1</sup>.

But Henry's anxiety for a release from the sentence which had been passed upon him, daily increased. Each hour, as it passed, reminded him how rapidly the year, which had been prescribed for his obtaining absolution, was gliding away. And, after about two months spent in privacy at Spires, he felt that he could brook this fearful state of suspense no longer. Regardless, therefore, of Gregory's prohibition,—of the inclemency of the season, which was unusual,—and of the difficulties of crossing, ill-provided for the journey, the wintry Alps,—the son of Henry the Third resolved upon entering, as a pilgrim and a suppliant, the land which his father had entered as a sovereign and a warrior, and on abasing himself before the footstool of him, whose predecessors that father had considered as the creatures of his will, and the instruments of his power<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bernold Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1075 TO 1076.

GREGORY'S GENERAL SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE OCCURRENCE OF THE EVENTS ABOVE RECORDED—HIS EPISTLES TO THE PRETENDERS TO THE HUNGARIAN CROWN—TO SANCHO, KING OF ARRAGON—TO SWEYN, KING OF DENMARK—TO DEMETRIUS, PRINCE OF RUSSIA—SUBMISSION, AND RECONCILIATION TO THE CHURCH, OF COUNT ROGER, IN SICILY—GREGORY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PAPAL PARTY IN MILAN—WITH COUNT ROBERT OF FLANDERS—WITH ANSAEUR, KING OF MAURITANIA SITIPENSIS—HIS SANCTION TO THE CORONATION OF DEMETRIUS OF DALMATIA.

HOWEVER important,—during the eventful years 1075 and 1076,—was the history of the empire, we must not suppose that the whole attention of the unwearied Gregory was engrossed by its fortunes, or by his dealings with its head. On the contrary, constant as was the watchfulness which Henry's conduct, and the machinations of the royal partizans required of him; manifold as were the difficulties with which in Italy, and even in Rome itself, he had to contend; we find him, throughout this eventful period, in systematic communication with the princes and prelates of the most distant countries of Christendom. We find him, in his correspondence with them, habitually assuming, and, on the whole, successfully supporting, the character—imposed on him by the theory which he represented—of a monarchical lawgiver, invested with an authority

more exalted than that of kings; of a sovereign judge, from whose decisions there was, and there could be, no earthly appeal. A few notices of this correspondence will not, at this critical point of our narration, be out of place; because some knowledge of the general action of the pontiff's mind upon foreign nations;—some acquaintance with the ties, by which the most distant monarchs of Europe were connected with the system which he was developing,—are necessary to our adequate appreciation of the moral effect, which his great struggle with the most exalted of the sovereigns of the West, was calculated to produce upon Christendom in general.

Gregory's letters written, in 1074, to Geisa and to Solomon, the competitors for the Hungarian crown, have been already described. To the overtures of the former he had, it will be recollected, returned a most gracious reply; but the latter he had severely rebuked for the violation, as Gregory termed it, of the rights of St. Peter, involved in his subjection of his kingdom, as a fief, to the Teutonic empire. To Judith,—or, as she is sometimes called, Sophia,—Henry's sister, and Solomon's wife, Gregory wrote, in January, 1075, a letter full of expressions of affection and of Christian consolation<sup>1</sup>; a letter, from which,—though nothing definite of that nature was expressed,—the princess might have probably inferred his desire for the restoration of her husband to his throne. But no such desire, it seems, existed. In a letter written by Gregory, in the following March, to her adversary Geisa, the pontiff ratified all which he had previously said to that prince of his apostolic favour; and professed to see, in the misfortunes which now appeared to surround the cause of Solomon, the

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 44.



judgments of Heaven for the contempt which had been shown to its Apostle<sup>1</sup>.

Those misfortunes continued; notwithstanding Henry's desire to assist his relative, Geisa remained master of Hungary till his death, which happened in April, 1077; and his triumph, under such circumstances, was of course, to a certain extent, an illustration and confirmation of the papal power.

To Sancho, king of Arragon, Gregory wrote, in January, 1075<sup>2</sup>, upon the following occasion. The aged bishop of that kingdom, worn with infirmities, had come to Rome, to obtain permission to resign his episcopal staff into younger and more active hands. But Gregory thought fit to refuse the request. The two persons suggested to him, as successors to the declining prelate, however eligible, in other respects, they seem to have been, had been born of the forbidden marriages of the clergy; and he was fully determined, where he could possibly prevent it, to suffer none, thus tainted in their origin, to arrive at any station of dignity in the Church. The purport of his epistle was, therefore, to acquaint king Sancho with this refusal, and with the reasons which had induced the pontiff to consent to the appointment of a coadjutor, or deputy, to assist the infirm bishop; rather than to sanction his withdrawing himself entirely from his episcopal charge.

On the same day, the pontiff addressed an epistle to Sweyn, king of Denmark<sup>3</sup>. After general exhortations to the good government of his kingdom, Gregory proceeded to inform him that the legates, who,—in compliance with a wish expressed by the

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 51.

Danish prince to Alexander II.,—had set out for Denmark, had been prevented from reaching that country by the troubled state of Germany. He requested Sweyn, therefore, to send ambassadors to Rome; and to let them, if possible, be accompanied by one of the monarch's sons; whom he desired, he said, to appoint a leader of the forces of the apostolic see, against certain of its heretical enemies. The end for which the legates had been demanded and sent, appears to have been the establishment, in Denmark, of a metropolitan see. And Gregory would of course have been most happy, if the intercourse consequent upon the transaction had put into his hands a young Northern prince, who might be trained, by exertions under his own eye, to become the future assertor of the papal cause in the distant region of his birth.

Another letter, in a tone of friendship and satisfaction, was written by Gregory to Sweyn, on the 17th of April, 1075<sup>1</sup>. And on the same day, in a letter to

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ii. 75.—Neither of these epistles could have been received by Sweyn, as he died April 28, 1074, more than half a year previous to the transmission of the earlier of them. The narration of an event in his history will show alike the dignity and salutary influence of the church in his time and country. Some of his nobles having been heard to speak against him, they were by his order surprised and murdered, on the feast of the Circumcision, in the cathedral of Roskild. On the following Sunday, as Sweyn approached the door of the church, he was met by William, the bishop, who repelled him with his crosier, and forbade his entrance. The king returned to his palace, divested himself of his royal dress, and re-appeared in the habit of a penitent. And the bishop, accepting this signal of his contrition, directed the resumption of his kingly attire, and led him, amid the acclamations of the populace, to the altar.—Saxo Grammaticus, lib. xi.—Pontanus (*Rerum. Danic. Hist.*) naturally sees in William a second Ambrose, a second Theodosius in Sweyn.

Demetrius<sup>1</sup>, the exiled Russian prince, whose arrival at the court of Henry has been already noticed, the pontiff acknowledged and accepted the surrender,—made by the son of that prince, in his father's name,—of the suzerainty of the kingdom which he claimed, into the hands of St. Peter. From that kingdom, however, notwithstanding the favour of Gregory, and the promised assistance of Henry, Demetrius seems to have continued an exile.

Robert Guiscard was still contumacious; but his brother Roger, who had assumed the title of count of the conquered island of Sicily, applied to Gregory, in March, 1076, for absolution and reconciliation: a boon which the pontiff was ready to concede, on Roger's pledging himself strictly to fulfil for the future his duties to the Church, and to hold no further intercourse, while the excommunication continued in force, with his disobedient brother<sup>2</sup>. These conditions, it would appear, Roger fulfilled, as we do not find his name mentioned in any subsequent excommunicatory sentence.

In Milan, the royal party,—which had obtained, as has been related<sup>3</sup>, in 1075, a signal triumph,—continued for some time to preponderate. But though Herlembald was slain, Gregory had still firm supporters in the place; to one of whom, a layman, Wifred by name, he twice, in the course of the year 1076, forwarded an epistle. He addressed him in the language of consolation, encouraging him to be strong in the Lord,—to entertain a high and holy hope in that season of trouble,—and, when he saw the devil openly reigning and

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. Ep. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 11.—Baron. ad an.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. supra. p. 70.

triumphing over the world, to remember Him who had said, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world<sup>1</sup>." "Be strong," said Gregory on the second occasion, "be strong in the Lord; through His mercy your Redemption is at hand; nor is power wanting to St. Peter to overthrow a third, as he has already cast down from their episcopal seat two<sup>2</sup>, who dared to lift up the heel against the holy Church of Rome; doubt not his power to cast down a third likewise<sup>3</sup>." By encouragements such as these were maintained, during the year in question, the smouldering embers of a fire, which was soon, as we shall hereafter see, to burst into flame anew.

In letters, written in November, 1076<sup>4</sup>, Gregory peremptorily called on Robert, count of Flanders, and on Adela, his wife, to put away all incontinent and simoniacal clergymen from their stations, and to see that the sacred offices of the Church were performed, within their territories, by none but those who had canonically obtained their mission, and who exercised it in accordance with the dictates of apostolical authority. And when we consider that Robert, having obtained, by usurpation, the greater part of the possessions which he governed, was also strongly suspected of the murder of the younger Godfrey of Lorraine, we may, perhaps, see in this transaction an illustration of the beneficial results which, during the middle ages, in practice attended the concentration of the collective authority of the Church in the hands of one individual

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 15; St. John xvi. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* Guido and Godfrey.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 7. This last epistle was addressed to Wibert, jointly with other supporters of the papal cause.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 10, 11.

among her ministry; an individual who thus became empowered to address,—in the tone of superior authority, and with the confidence of enforcing, at least, an outward obedience, a prince by whom no other voice, raised in the name of religion and morality, would, it is probable, have been heard, even for a moment, with patience.

It is singular, that while, in the same year, Henry, the first of European monarchs,—the general head, as it were, of Christian royalty,—was putting himself in open opposition to the Church, and setting her highest recognized authority at defiance, that authority should have received an unexpected recognition and homage, from a Saracen and semi-barbarian sovereign in Africa. Yet such was actually the case: Annazir, the Mahometan ruler of the province known by the name of Mauritania Sitifensis<sup>1</sup>, recognizing in Gregory the supreme ecclesiastical head of Christendom, sent himself to Rome a Christian priest, Servandus by name, with the request that he might be consecrated bishop of the Church then existing at Hippo. Gregory's answer to this prince was naturally couched in the most gracious terms<sup>2</sup>. He announced his compliance with the Saracen's desire, and the due consecration of the designated prelate. He thanked Annazir for his liberation of many Christians in his kingdom from slavery, and for his promised manumission of more. "This goodness," he said, "God, the Creator of all things, without whom we cannot do, or

<sup>1</sup> Sitifensis, a Sitiphâ seu Sitifi, nunc in regno Algerii et in Bugiâ provinciâ, sic nuncupata. Sedes regia erat Calat Hamad, urbs non longe ab Almasila, vel Mesila, cujus mentio apud Geographum Nubiensem p. 81, et quæ in chartis geographicis locatur ad pedem Atlantis Montis.—Pagi in Baron.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. Ep. 21.

“ even think, any thing that is good, hath breathed into  
“ thine heart. He that lighteth every man that cometh  
“ into the world <sup>1</sup>, hath, in this thy purpose, enlightened  
“ thy mind. For there is nothing of which the Almighty  
“ God, who would have all men to be saved, and who is  
“ not willing that any should perish <sup>2</sup>, more highly ap-  
“ proves, than that, next to the love of his Maker, a  
“ man should cultivate that of his neighbour, and do  
“ nought to others which he would not that they should  
“ do to him. And this charity, due from and to all  
“ men, is more especially required between you and  
“ ourselves; who believe and confess, though in a dif-  
“ ferent way, one God; and who both daily praise and  
“ adore Him, as the Creator of all ages, and the Gover-  
“ nor of the world. ‘He,’ says the Apostle, ‘is our  
“ ‘ peace, who hath made both one <sup>3</sup>.’ ”

The school to which Gregory belonged, was fond of quoting, and applying to the imagined head of the Church below, a passage of Jeremiah <sup>4</sup>, importing that he who had been set over the nations to root out and to pull down, was also God’s instrument to build and to plant. And this the pontiff was enabled, during the year 1076, strikingly to illustrate. While shaking the foundations and tearing up the old far-spreading roots of the imperial throne, he was called on to sanction, through his fiat, the creation of a new Christian monarchy, by the elevation, to the royal rank, of Swonimir, or Demetrius, duke of Dalmatia and Croatia. Those provinces being in a state of great disturbance, and exposed to the continual inroads of the rapacious Normans, Swonimir resolved, as the most effectual mode

<sup>1</sup> St. John i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. i. 10.

of strengthening his tottering power, to become the vassal of St. Peter, and thus obtain, in support of his authority, the powerful sanction of the papal name. Gregory readily listened to his proposals, and his legates, in a council held for the purpose, in October, 1076, at Salona, crowned the prince in question as Demetrius, king of Dalmatia<sup>1</sup>.

Acquainted with these facts in Gregory's history, and calling to mind the constant labours, already alluded to, of his legates in different countries, to procure the universal observance of the decrees, which in his councils he had enacted, we learn to realize to ourselves the prominent station which, at the opening of the year 1077, the pontiff filled, in the eye, not only of Europe, or of Christendom,—for the case of Annazir shows, that even beyond these limits his name was familiar, and his actions were observed,—but of mankind in general. We learn to comprehend how it was that the struggle, in which he was at the moment involved, compromised, in its results, the destiny of the great family of nations, and not merely of one individual member of it;—how it was, that his success was not a triumph over the house of Franconia, or the throne of Germany, alone,—but over all houses,—all thrones,—over the general principle itself of secular supremacy in things spiritual; in opposition to which, the events, which now occurred, established alike the ancient independence of the Church of the West, and the more modern autocracy of her recognized representative and head.

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius bound himself to pay an annual tribute to the holy See of two hundred bezants.—Vid. Concil. Salonitan. ap. Mansi, t. xx. p. 474.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1076—1077.

DIFFICULTIES OF HENRY'S JOURNEY—ADVANTAGE TAKEN OF HIS POSITION BY ADELAIDE OF SUSSEX—DANGERS OF THE ALPS—HIS ARRIVAL IN ITALY, AND RECEPTION BY HIS ITALIAN SUBJECTS—GREGORY RETIRES TO CANOSSA—HENRY FOLLOWS HIM THITHER—APPROACHES THE CASTLE AS A PENITENT—AFTER THREE DAYS IS ADMITTED TO GREGORY'S PRESENCE AND ABSOLVED, THE QUESTION OF HIS RETAINING HIS KINGDOM BEING RESERVED FOR FUTURE DECISION—HE REFUSES TO PLEDGE HIMSELF, AT THE RECEPTION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST, TO HIS INNOCENCE OF THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST HIM—HE RETURNS FROM CANOSSA TO REGGIO.

THE winter which closed the year 1076 was a season of unusual severity: the Rhine being frozen over from Martinmas almost to the beginning of April 1077<sup>1</sup>. The difficulties, therefore, of a journey across the Alps, at the time of Henry's expedition, must, under any circumstances, have been great; and the auspices under which the unfortunate monarch set forth were such as to render the undertaking, in his case, peculiarly arduous. Deprived of his friends and of his resources, it was not in his power to make any proper provision for the journey. Nor could he venture to prosecute his way along any of the more direct tracts which led from his German domi-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Berthold. Const.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—“A vi. Kal. Decemb. omnia flumina glacie constricta sunt usque xiii. Kal. April.”—Annalista Saxo.—Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Martene, Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 954.



nions into Italy; as Rudolf, Welf, and Berthold, who wished to retain him in Germany, sedulously watched the mountain passes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia<sup>1</sup>. But Henry felt too strongly the danger of furnishing his enemies with any new pretext for setting him aside, to think of giving up the attempt, desperate as it might be, to procure a timely absolution.

A few days, therefore, before the Christmas which closed the year 1076, the king put himself in motion from Spire. His wife and infant child accompanied his steps, and, whatever meaner followers may have formed his escort, it appears that only one person of gentle blood<sup>2</sup>,—and he not distinguished by rank or possessions<sup>3</sup>,—attended the fallen sovereign. The many princely and noble vassals who had thronged, in other days, his palace, now looked on him whom they had once courted and flattered, with hatred or contempt; nor was one of those whom he addressed on the subject, found to return a favourable answer to his urgent entreaties for assistance on his journey. And the attached retainers and friends with whom he had been compelled so recently to part, were now wandering across the different passes of the Alps, on errands similar to his own; prevented by dread, as well of the pope as of the nobles, from making the journey in his company. He set forward however, and taking his way through Burgundy, halted to observe the festival of Christmas at Besançon. And thence, passing the Jura, he proceeded to Vevay on the shore of the lake of Geneva<sup>4</sup>. Here he was met by Adelaide, the widow of Otho of Susa and mother of his queen. This prin-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Vir ingenuus.—Id.

<sup>3</sup> Et ipsum nec genere nec opibus conspicuum.—Id.

<sup>4</sup> See Voicht.—Lambert says, "in locum qui Civis dicitur."

cess,—who now ruled in her own name, or in that of her son Amadeus, a considerable territory,—did not feel herself restrained by nearness of connection from taking all possible advantage of her son-in-law in his necessity. She might be considered, indeed, as closely allied to his principal enemies as to himself; a sister of Bertha having become the second wife of Rudolf, and Welf of Bavaria having been the step-son of her late husband Otho. Adelaide refused to permit Henry to cross the Alps, until he should have pledged himself to invest her and her son with the dominion of,—as some say,—five Italian bishopricks<sup>1</sup>; or, according to others, of several bishopricks northward of the Alps. Certain it is, however, that she made upon the occasion some territorial demand of an exorbitant nature; and that the unfortunate king found himself compelled, by the exigency of the moment, to pledge himself—at least to a considerable extent—to a compliance with it.

Even the valleys of the Alps, when Henry began to wind his way among them, were white with snow and slippery with ice. Peasants of the country, whose services he had hired, went before him, and cleared, as best they might, a precipitous and rugged road for the advance of the royal party. As the travellers ascended towards the higher regions of the pass, the difficulties of this process increased, of course, with every step. Happily, however, no serious accidents occurred: and after long toils, the monarch and his little train found themselves on the summit of a ridge, a descent from which would lead them into Italy. But this descent appeared, in prospect, more formidable than any thing

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

which they had previously accomplished. The whole of the precipitous mountain-slope formed one sheet of ice, on which no foot, it seemed, could for a moment maintain its position. The descent, however, was necessarily attempted. Henry and the men of the party crawled carefully down on their hands and knees, placing their feet on whatever points of support they could find; and he, whose footing unfortunately failed him, rolled far away into the snowy depths below; from which it was often a matter of great difficulty to extricate him. The queen, her child, and her female attendants, were, by the experienced peasants, lowered down the slope enveloped in the skins of cattle<sup>1</sup>; and the whole party reached, at length, the bottom in safety; though of their horses,—which were either drawn down the descent with their legs tied together, or lowered on some rude kind of machines constructed for the purpose,—many died, and many more were rendered unfit for further service. The party were, however, able to proceed with their journey; and Henry arrived, without further obstacle, in the plains of Lombardy. In northern Italy, the imperial government, administered by his chancellor, the bishop of Vercelli, and supported by the anti-papal Lombard clergy, had still, in some measure at least, maintained its authority. Gregory's enemies, and their archbishop the intruding Tedaldus, were still, in appearance, triumphant at Milan. And as the Italians were but imperfectly acquainted with the details of the unprecedented changes which had occurred beyond the Alps, it need not surprise us to find that the royalists among them looked upon Henry's arrival as decisive of the speedy triumph of their cause.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

The gradual advance of a moral revolution in progress around them, has ever escaped the notice of the unthinking mass of mankind; whose attention is only caught by startling events and sudden changes. And even these, when accompanying, as they ever must to some extent, the course of such a revolution, are regarded, for the most part, by the community, as isolated events, arising from isolated causes; the generalization which,—connecting them with each other,—would exhibit them in their proper character, as symptoms of the successive phases of one great phenomenon, being a process beyond the powers of ordinary observers.

By many, therefore, of the inhabitants of northern Italy, the arrival of Henry IV., in 1077, was imagined to be an event similar in character to the arrival of Henry III., in 1046. They had long lamented the non-appearance of their sovereign among them; a circumstance to which alone they were wont to attribute the boldness of Gregory's tone, and what they considered his daring defiance of the imperial authority; and they saw no reason why, now that Henry was once more among them, he should not advance toward the papal city, and renew the scene of Sutri; summoning the offending pontiff before him,—removing him by authority from his see,—and filling the apostolic chair with a more obsequious successor.

The monarch's arrival was, consequently, scarcely bruited abroad, before nobles, prelates, and warriors thronged to greet him; and his crowded and brilliant court presented a striking contrast to the state of neglect and privation which he had experienced during the preceding months<sup>1</sup>. All looked forward to a speedy

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

triumph over the haughty pontiff, whom they detested; all were loud in the expression of their feelings of delight, and of their anticipations of vengeance.

But the truth, of which his followers were ignorant, had been made, by bitter experience, too well known to the crest-fallen monarch himself. Henry was not so far dazzled by the scenes which now surrounded him, as to forget those which he had left. The anxiety of the German nobles for his ruin was still impressed upon his mind; and he well knew how eagerly they would seize on every new pretext for disrespect or disobedience. The term which they had allowed him, for the purpose of procuring absolution, was rapidly passing away; and the king felt that he had no time for a change of measures, or even for negotiation. The only course which seemed open before him was, to approach the pontiff at once, as a suppliant; and to obtain,—no matter by what concessions,—a reconciliation with that powerful adversary, ere his Transalpine dominions should be torn from him for ever.

That adversary, meanwhile, having accepted the invitation to preside over the council of Augsburg, had set out from Rome under the armed escort of the Countess Matilda<sup>1</sup>; and, having been entertained on his way by the prelates and nobles through whose territories he passed, with great hospitality, and almost royal splendour, he had arrived in the immediate vicinity of the Alps; when the intelligence was brought to him, that Henry had unexpectedly passed that mountain-barrier<sup>2</sup>. And rumour, harmonizing of course with the popular notions on the subject, painted the monarch as accompanied by a formidable force, and

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.

as determined to wreak immediate vengeance on the pontiff and his adherents<sup>1</sup>. The bishop of Vercelli, Henry's chancellor in Italy<sup>2</sup>, lost no time in officially acquainting Gregory with the true state of the case, and with the real objects of his master; and the pontiff, it is probable, knew quite enough of the king's condition and prospects to be satisfied that the representation was in the main, correct. But,—not willing implicitly to confide either in Henry's sincerity or steadfastness,—he resolved to adopt the advice and invitation of Matilda, and to return with her to her strong mountain-fortress of Canossa, in the Apennines; there to await, in greater security, the turn which events might take, and the intended visit of the suppliant king<sup>3</sup>.

Toward Canossa, then, Henry bent his steps, accompanied by his recently formed train of Italian followers. His faithful German adherents, who had, in the preceding month, set out to cross the Alps by different paths, had encountered on the journey a variety of difficulties and sufferings. Dietrich bishop of Verdun was captured by Adelbert Count of Calw, and plundered of the sums which he had, with much trouble, collected to meet the expenses of his journey<sup>4</sup>. Rupert of Bamberg, being seized by Welf while traversing the Bavarian territory, was kept in strict ward from Christmas until the feast of St. Bartholomew in the following year<sup>5</sup>. But the rest of Henry's excommunicated supporters, having surmounted the dangers of their journey, and made good their way into Italy, appeared before Canossa, while the king himself was yet on his

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

<sup>5</sup> Id.

way; and humbly presented themselves before the pope as suppliants for his absolution. "From those," said Gregory, "who rightly acknowledge and bewail their sin, forgiveness cannot be withheld. The petitioners "must however," he continued, "submit to the cauterizing process which is needful for the healing of their wounds; that they may not, by too lightly obtaining absolution, be led too lightly to regard the sin which they have committed, of disobedience to apostolical authority<sup>1</sup>." Prelates and lay-nobles alike professed their readiness to undergo whatever penance their spiritual father might think proper to impose; and the former were, by his directions, confined in separate cells with scanty supplies of food<sup>2</sup>, while, to the latter, penances were assigned of a severity proportioned to the age and strength of each individual. And when he had thus tried them for several days, Gregory summoned them again before him; and after mildly<sup>3</sup> rebuking them for their past conduct, and admonishing them against such demeanour in future, declared them, severally, absolved; warning them, at the same time, anxiously and repeatedly<sup>4</sup>, against holding any communion with their imperial master, until he also should have given satisfaction to the apostolic see; till that should happen, they were to be permitted to hold colloquy with him, only for the purpose of inducing him, by their persuasions, to abandon the error of his ways.

At length, the principal offender appeared in person before Canossa, and pitched his camp without the walls of the fortress<sup>5</sup>. His Italian followers must, by this

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Cibi et potus mediocri mensurâ. Id.

<sup>3</sup> Leniter. Id.

<sup>4</sup> Id ante omnia repetens, iterum iterumque præcepit. Id.

<sup>5</sup> Id. Annalista Saxo.

time, have become, in some measure, aware of their master's intentions; though they seem to have, by no means, calculated upon the extent of humiliation which the pope was prepared to require, and Henry to undergo. The coming scene, indeed, was one which no ordinary mind could, at that moment, anticipate. It accorded not with the order of things which then prevailed, but with a system as yet existing in idea alone, and of which the actual establishment was to date from its occurrence. Gregory looked on the prince who now approached him, not as a sovereign, who could claim his homage, but as an offender, who sought to be restored to that Church, from whose pale he had been excluded for atrocious crimes; and he determined on treating the suppliant with a rigour dictated by the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline, and suited, in its details, to the imperfect refinement of the age. The pontiff's severity on this memorable occasion, as it shocked the anti-papalists of his own time, has been, to those of later ages, the theme of unmitigated censure. But, harsh and repulsive as it was, it was unquestionably a line of conduct accordant with the principles, which Gregory, through life, had asserted; and, if it startled his contemporaries, it was, because they had not appreciated the uncompromising boldness with which he was prepared to realize those principles in action; and not because it involved the assertion of any claim,—the assumption of any character,—on his part, till then unheard of. He had ever publicly proclaimed his creed, that kings were but the subjects of the Church, and that their dignity was, to that of the Church's autocratical representative, as is the light of the moon to that of the sun, derivative and subsidiary. He had of late practically exemplified his conviction,



that the sentence of excommunication might be pronounced against the loftiest, as effectually as against the meanest, of mankind. And now, when an unparalleled concatenation of circumstances had added weight to his decrees, and had humbled, in the person of Henry, the principle of secular supremacy beneath his feet, it would have been an unaccountable aberration, in one of Gregory's firmness of character, had he faltered in the consistency of his career.

Whether,—and if so, how far,—policy mingled on this occasion her persuasions with the dictates of principle, must be matter of conjecture. Keen-sighted as he was, Gregory probably anticipated advantage to his cause, from a practical illustration to mankind of the reality and importance of the moral revolution which had been insensibly accomplished among them. And the success which had attended his last great experiment on the temper and feelings of his contemporaries, might well inspire him with confidence, as to the result of any further trial. But, since his course was,—as has been remarked already,—one which his principles, had they exclusively guided him, might well have dictated, we can have no substantial reason for attributing a paramount, or even a preponderating, influence, to any motives of a meaner kind. Most uncharitable,—because most unreasonable,—it would be to suppose, that the deep sense of episcopal duty, which filled the pontiff's mind in all other portions of his career, deserted him in this. He who felt himself so fearfully accountable for all men, could scarcely fail to regard, with a peculiar anxiety, his responsibility for the most exalted, and consequently the most influential, individual of his flock. And the rareness of the opportunity, which now presented itself, of demonstrating to so exalted an offender the enormity

of his transgression by the severity of his penance, would naturally hold out, to a strict assertor of discipline, the strongest inducement to embrace it. Nor would it be fair to imagine, that the affectionate interest with which Gregory had evidently once regarded the youthful sovereign, had so completely vanished from his breast, as that no kindly feelings of a personal nature towards the misguided prince now mingled with the high sentiment of public duty, in guiding him to the course he adopted.

But, however this may be,—and whatever sentence the pontiff's conduct, if truly appreciated, might deserve,—that conduct, it is clear, is not,—in its details at least,—to be measured by a standard drawn from the outward refinement and conventional courtesy of our time, and uncorrected by an historical acquaintance with the general impressions and habits of thought prevalent in his own<sup>1</sup>. And,—with regard to greater points,—it is

<sup>1</sup> Personal penances of a severe, and sometimes of a public kind, had been, in the memory of the then existing generation, submitted to by the most exalted personages. Henry III. would habitually, before presenting himself in all the pomp of royalty upon his throne, submit in private to a self-imposed scourging. See vol. i. p. 116.

The magnificent and luxurious Boniface of Tuscany, submitted, on one occasion, to a similar discipline before the altar of St. Mary's church at Pomposa, at the instigation, if not at the hands, of his ghostly adviser the Abbot Guido. He had, according to Donizo, (in vita Mathild. l. i. c. 15) been guilty of receiving money for the presentation to ecclesiastical benefices.

Quâ de re Guido sacer Abbas arguit, immo  
Nunc Bonifacium, ne venderet amplius, ipsum  
Ante Dei Matris altare flagellat amaris  
Verberibus nudum, qui deliciis erat usus—  
Pomposæ vovit tunc abbatique Guidoni,  
Ecclesiam nullam quod per se venderet unquam.

And Godfrey of Lorraine, in his remorse for that destruction of the

not probable that those can accurately decide upon the propriety or impropriety of a penance exacted in a particular case, who would regard the whole system of penance, even in its purest, most apostolic, form, as an absolute absurdity: who, in the Church's commission to persuade, have forgotten her authority to rebuke; and from whom the fashionable theories of the day have concealed the great truth, that bishops, as successors to the Apostles, have to render an account for the souls of all men.

Among the spectators of the extraordinary scene which was now to take place, were Azzo, marquis of Este<sup>1</sup>; Hugh, the abbot of Cluni, who had lifted the infant Henry, at his baptism, from the font<sup>2</sup>; Adelaide of Susa, and her son Amadeus.

Henry's first step was to request an interview with his kinswoman Matilda<sup>3</sup>; and the countess, sincerely anxious to heal, if possible, the breach between him and the pontiff, came out to visit him in his camp. He there besought her, together with the noble persons first named, to intercede for him with the offended pontiff, that he might be at once relieved from the excommunication under which he laboured, and that credit might not be rashly given to the charges of misgovernment brought against him,—more through envy than through a love of justice,—by the nobles of Germany. But Gregory, when this message was communicated to him, declared that the latter point was one into which cathedral of Verdun, which has been mentioned in a former part of this narration, not only contributed largely to its re-erection, but caused himself to be scourged in public, and as publicly took part in the work of building, in the capacity of a common labourer. Vid. Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. et supr. vol. i. p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> Progenitor of the house of Brunswick.

<sup>2</sup> Donizo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

he could not enter; that it was contrary to reason and to the laws of the Church, to decide upon the case of an accused man, in the absence of his accusers. If the king was indeed conscious of his innocence with regard to the charges in question, he might boldly present himself at the approaching council of Augsburg; secure that the pontiff would there make his decision after a full hearing of the statements of both parties, and without partiality to either<sup>1</sup>. Matilda and the nobles replied that the king did not fear the decision at Augsburg, being confident in his own innocence, and in the pontiff's justice; but that what weighed most heavily upon him was the sentence of excommunication: that his continued possession of the crown depended upon his speedy absolution; and that he was ready, in order to obtain it, to submit to any penance which Gregory might impose; while with regard to the accusation of misgovernment he would hold himself in readiness to appear whenever and wherever the pope might require him, to answer for his conduct<sup>2</sup>.

But even to the prayer for absolution Gregory turned at first a deaf ear, prepared thoroughly to humble the pride of the imperial suppliant. At length, upon the urgent intreaties of Matilda and her friends, "If indeed," he said, "the king repents of his past conduct, let him surrender, in token of sincere repentance, his crown, his sceptre, and the other ensigns of his royalty, into the custody of the apostolic see; and thus acknowledge, that, after the course he has pursued, he is unworthy to bear the name of king<sup>3</sup>." But these hard conditions, upon the prayers, and even tears,<sup>1</sup> of the princely negociators, who entreated the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

stern pontiff not to break the bruised reed<sup>1</sup>, were relaxed; and Gregory, though seemingly reluctant, consented that Henry should, in the garb of a penitent, be permitted to enter the gates of Canossa, to undergo his penance, and to receive his pardon<sup>2</sup>.

It was on the morning of the 25th of January 1077<sup>3</sup>, while the frost reigned in all its intensity, and the ground was white with snow, that the dejected Henry, barefooted, and clad in the usual garb of penance, a garment of white linen, ascended alone to the rocky fastness of Canossa, and entered its outer gate. The place was surrounded by three walls; within the two outer of which the imperial penitent was led, while the portals of the third, or inner, wall of the fortress were still closed against him. Here he stood, a miserable spectacle, exposed to cold and hunger, throughout the day<sup>4</sup>; vainly hoping, with each succeeding hour, that Gregory would consider his penance as sufficient, and his fault as atoned for. The evening, however, came and he retired, humbled and dispirited, to return to his station with the returning light.

On a second day, and on a third, the unhappy prince was still seen standing, starved and miserable, in the court of Canossa, from the morning until the evening. All in the castle, except the pope, bewailed his condition, and with tears implored his forgiveness; it was said,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Muratori, in Arnulph. lib. v. c. 8. Pagi seems in error in ascribing this date to the king's absolution; the date of Donizo (see note in next page) being understood to refer to the commencement of the penance, corresponds with the date affixed to its termination in the king's oath, as quoted by Gregory, in lib. iv. ep. 12. *i. e.* January the 28th.

<sup>4</sup> *Jejunus manè usque ad vesperam.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

even in Gregory's presence, that his conduct was more like wanton tyranny than apostolic severity<sup>1</sup>. But the austere pontiff continued obstinately deaf to all entreaties. At length, Henry's patience failed him, and taking refuge in an adjacent chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, he there besought, with tears, the intercession of the aged abbot of Cluni,—Matilda, who was present, seconded the king's entreaty; but the abbot, turning to her, replied, "It is thou alone, who canst undertake "this business<sup>2</sup>." And Henry, upon the word, fell on his knees before his kinswoman, and besought her, in the most impassioned manner, once more to exert her potent intercession<sup>3</sup>. She promised to use her utmost endeavours, and returned into the castle; and Gregory, feeling that he had now sufficiently vindicated his authority, relaxed at length his rigour, suffering the unfortunate king, still barefooted, and in his linen garment, to be brought into his presence, on the fourth day of his penance<sup>4</sup>.

The scene, as the suppliant king approached the pontiff, must have been singularly striking. The youthful and vigorous Henry, of lofty stature, and commanding features<sup>5</sup>, thus humbling himself before the small,

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried. c. lxxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Vita Mathildis anonymi auctoris, Murat. t. v.—Donizo.

<sup>3</sup> Donizo.

<sup>4</sup> Ante dies septem, quam finem Janus haberet,  
Ante suam faciem concessit Papa venire  
Regem, cum plantis nudis a frigore captis.

Donizo.

<sup>5</sup> Nec illud laude vacat, quod in turbâ procerum cæteris eminentior et major seipso videbatur (Henricus), et quod in vultu terribile quoddam decus præferabat, unde intuitus aspicientium tanquam fulmine reverberaret. Vid. Otbert. Leodiens. epist. de vitâ et obitu Henr. IV.

insignificant, and now probably withered, figure<sup>1</sup> of Gregory VII., must have afforded a striking type of that abasement of physical before moral power,—of the sword before the crosier,—which the great struggle then in progress was fated to accomplish.

The interview lasted some time. While Henry stood before him, Gregory stated to him the conditions upon which alone he would revoke the sentence of excommunication. He exacted from the humbled prince the promise that,—on such day and at such place as the pope should name,—he would present himself to answer the charges of his accusers, and to receive the judgment of the apostolic see. That, should those charges be refuted, and that judgment be favourable, he should, by the papal decree, continue to hold his kingdom<sup>2</sup>. But that, should the reverse prove the case, and the sentence deprive him, according to ecclesiastical laws, of the sceptre, of which he should be proved unworthy, he should peaceably resign it; and never,—in any event,—attempt to wreak his vengeance, or to inflict any punishment, on those who had been instrumental in his present humiliation. That, until the day of decision, he should abstain from bearing any of the ensigns of royalty, and from any interference with its ordinary functions. That he should, until the same day, take for his use no portion of the revenues of the empire, but that which was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of himself and his followers. That he should, for the present, recognize the release of his subjects

<sup>1</sup> "Homuncio exilis staturæ." Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii. p. 60, edit. Savil. ; et vide Damiani, Pentastichen, De Hildebrando parvæ staturæ, sed magnæ prudentiæ viro. Ap. Baron. ad an. 1061.

<sup>2</sup> Ad ejus sententiam retineret regnum. Lamb. Schafnab.

from all oaths of allegiance which they had taken, and from the general duty of obedience. That he should banish for ever from his court Rupert bishop of Bamberg, Ulrich of Cosheim, and other persons, who had been mainly instrumental in his late errors. And that he should undertake, in the event of recovering his kingdom, to govern it, for the future, in obedience to the papal counsels; to amend, as far as might be, all that had been done amiss and contrary to the Church's order; and to endeavour, as far as in him lay, to support and enforce the papal decrees <sup>1</sup>.

Gregory insisted on its being understood, that, in the event of Henry's departure from any one of these conditions, the absolution which he now proposed to bestow should be null and void; and that it should be recognized as lawful, in that case, for the princes of the empire to meet together, and,—already freed from all obligations to Henry,—to proceed, without further delay, to the nomination of a successor <sup>2</sup>.

Henry's year of grace was just expiring, and he was bent upon obtaining absolution, at whatever cost. He swore, upon the pope's dictation, in the following terms:—

“ I, king Henry, with respect to the murmurs and complaints which the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other nobles of Germany, with those who follow them in their quarrel, bring forward against me, will, within the term which my Lord Pope Gregory shall appoint for the purpose, either do justice according to his sentence, or make peace in obedience to his counsel. This I will do within the time, unless some unavoidable impediment should arise, or,—should that

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



“ occur,—as soon as the impediment shall have been  
 “ removed. Also, if my said Lord Pope Gregory shall  
 “ desire to go across the Alps, or to any other part of  
 “ the world, he shall do it,—as far as I, and those whom  
 “ I can command, are concerned,—with security against  
 “ loss of life or limb, or capture, for himself, for his  
 “ attendants, and for those who shall travel to or  
 “ from him in any direction whatsoever. Nor shall he  
 “ experience, with my consent, any impediment incon-  
 “ sistent with his honour. And, if any other person  
 “ shall attempt to impede him, I will, in good faith,  
 “ lend him my aid to the best of my power <sup>1</sup>.”

Even this did not fully satisfy Gregory; who demanded, as a further security, the oaths of several prelates, or nobles, who should become Henry's sureties for the fulfilment of his vows. Hugo, the abbot, would willingly have undertaken this responsibility for the king; but his taking the oath required would have been inconsistent with the rules of his order <sup>2</sup>. But Eppo bishop of Zeitz, the Margrave Azzo, and others, were withheld by no such objection; and their oaths were tendered and accepted <sup>3</sup>. And then, at length, it was, that Gregory arose and bestowed on the king his absolution and his blessing <sup>4</sup>; after which, he proceeded forthwith to a solemn celebration of the holy Eucharist. But, when the act of consecration was completed, the pontiff paused. With the consecrated Bread in his hand, he fixed his eyes upon the king. “ I have  
 “ been accused,” he said, “ by thee and thine, of having,  
 “ by simoniacal practice, obtained the apostolic chair;  
 “ as well as of having, both before and since my acces-

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried, clxxxiv.—Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1356.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.—Bernold. Constant.

<sup>4</sup> Annalista Saxo.

“ sion to it, stained myself by crimes which would,  
“ according to the canons, disqualify me for the minis-  
“ tration of any sacred office whatever. I might justify  
“ myself by proof; I might appeal to the testimony of  
“ those witnesses who have known me from my child-  
“ hood, and by whose suffrages I have been elevated to the  
“ chair which I fill. But I turn from human testimony  
“ to that which is divine. Behold the Body of the  
“ Lord! Be it, this day, the witness of my innocence!  
“ May the Almighty God free me this day, if I be in-  
“ nocent, from the suspicion of guilt! May He smite  
“ me, if I be guilty, by a sudden death this day!<sup>1</sup>” He  
ceased, and partook of the consecrated Element, amid  
an involuntary murmur of admiration from those around.  
And then, addressing Henry once more, “ Do thou, my  
“ son,” he said, “ if it shall please thee, now follow my  
“ example. The princes of thine empire have accused  
“ thee before me; and have alleged thy crimes to have  
“ been such as, in justice, to require thine exclusion, not  
“ only from the seat of empire, but also from the com-  
“ munion of the Church, and from all intercourse with  
“ the faithful, even unto thy dying hour. They eagerly  
“ demand that a day should be appointed, and an op-  
“ portunity afforded, for a legal investigation of the  
“ charges which they bring against thee. But thou  
“ knowest full well how liable are all human judgments  
“ to error; how often, in public discussions, falsehood  
“ is received for truth, being dressed out in the trappings  
“ of eloquence, and thus captivating the attention, while  
“ truth, not thus artificially supported, is despised. As,  
“ therefore, I wish,—now that thou hast implored the  
“ protection of the apostolic see,—that thou shouldst

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

“ adopt the wisest course, I implore thee to do what I  
 “ advise. If thou art conscious of thine innocence,  
 “ and assured that the charges brought against thee by  
 “ thine opponents are false and calumnious, free at once  
 “ the Church of God from scandal, and thyself from  
 “ suspicion; and take, as an appeal to Heaven, this  
 “ Body of the Lord. Thus may every mouth be  
 “ stopped of them that speak against thee; thus shall  
 “ I become the firm advocate of thy cause, the strenu-  
 “ ous assertor of thine innocence; thus may thy nobles  
 “ be reconciled to thee, thy kingdom be restored, and  
 “ the wild storms of civil war, by which it is now  
 “ agitated, be laid to rest for ever<sup>1</sup>.”

Henry, confounded by the suddenness of this appeal, knew not how to reply. With trembling, and with shame, he, after much hesitation and many excuses, declined to connect his reception of the holy Element with so solemn an appeal; and prayed that the decision of his cause might be postponed to the projected council. Gregory complied with the prayer, and, as soon as the service was concluded, conducted the king to a banquet; where Henry refreshed himself after the privations and fatigues of the foregoing days, and where conversation was carried on for some time between the late antagonists in a pacific and friendly tone<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A similar test had been proffered by Adrian II. in 869, to Lothaire, king of Lorraine; but with a different result. The king hesitated not to accept it; but his death, which occurred within a very short space of time, while he was at Piacenza, on his return to his dominions, is recorded by the historians of the time, as a fearful instance of the judicial interposition of Heaven. Chron. Reginon. ap. Pistor. tom. i. p. 71.—Waltram. Naumburgens. Apologiæ, lib. ii. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

Gregory had, in the mean time, dispatched the bishop of Zeitz, to Henry's adherents without the walls of Canossa; that he might at once announce to them the Church's absolution of their master, and extend, by the pope's authority, that absolution to themselves. But he found the haughty Italian nobles in a very different mood from that in which he had left their sovereign. When they heard the details of Henry's conduct and of its results, they burst into indignation, vilified the character of the pontiff, and loaded his legate with abuse. Lightly, they said, did they regard the censure of one who had been long since himself excommunicated by the just sentence of the bishops of Italy. The king, in abasing himself, had disgraced his name and character; he whom they had followed as the defender of their cause, and the avenger of their wrongs on the common enemy, had forgotten alike them, himself, the laws of the Church, and the general weal of the empire, in his selfish eagerness for this humiliating reconciliation<sup>2</sup>.

The soldiers caught the tone of their leaders, and a general murmur filled the camp. The legate returned into Canossa amid execrations and scorn; and voices were even raised among the multitude, to demand the immediate deposition of the monarch who had shown himself so unworthy of his crown, and the proclamation of his yet infant offspring, Conrad<sup>3</sup>. With that child, the murmurers said, they would march to Rome, and there procure the election of a new pope, by whom the infant should forthwith be crowned, and all acts of the apostate Gregory be formally annulled.

On the intelligence of these disorders, Henry lost no

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

time in requesting the princes within the castle to go out and use their influence in appeasing the anger of his followers; to explain and to justify, as far as they might, his conduct in their eyes; to assure them, that in what he had done, he had had the general good in view; and to promise, in his name, future vengeance upon his and their real enemies. The tumult in his camp was thus stilled; but many of his most influential followers gave, in their disgust, the signal for an immediate return to their respective homes<sup>1</sup>.

By those who remained, the king, when at length he issued from the fortress, was received in a manner very different from that by which they had formerly shown their respect for their sovereign. In every countenance around him he read the signs of disappointment, and of a contempt which his soldiers were at little pains to conceal<sup>2</sup>. Finding, however, that they still obeyed his orders, he put himself at their head; and, eager to escape from the scene of his abasement, proceeded to hide his shame within the walls of Reggio.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1075.

ALTERED RELATIONS OF THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE—HENRY'S DESIRE OF RETALIATING ON GREGORY HIS HUMILIATION—HIS PROJECT FOR SEIZING THE PONTIFF AT MANTUA—GREGORY DISCOVERS IT, AND RETREATS TO CANOSSA—DONATION OF MATILDA TO THE ROMAN SEE—CONTEMPT SHOWN TO HENRY BY THE ITALIAN CITIES—DIET OF FORCHHEIM—HENRY REFUSES EITHER TO ATTEND IT HIMSELF, OR TO GIVE A SAFE-CONDUCT TO GREGORY—PROCEEDINGS OF THE DIET—ITS DEPOSITION OF HENRY AND ELECTION OF RUDOLF AS KING.

SHORT as was the distance which separated Reggio from Canossa, Henry seems to have entered the gates of the former place with sentiments and intentions very different from those with which he had taken leave of the scene of his abasement. The symptoms of disgust which he witnessed among his followers, may well have opened his eyes to the impolicy, as well as to the humiliating nature, of the step which he had taken; teaching him to see,—though probably at first but dimly,—the importance of the results which must follow the event which had occurred; and to feel that the penance of Canossa, unless it could be virtually undone, must place,—and that permanently,—on a footing entirely new, the mutual relations of the empire and the Church. For the spectacle,—contemplated as it would be by all Christendom,—of Henry IV. bare-footed and shivering in the frosts of January, at the

pontiff's door, might naturally obliterate from the minds of men the vision of Henry III., sitting in regal and military state at Sutri, and commanding a former Gregory to lay down his crosier. A new phase of things was now to commence; a new turn was to be given to the current ideas of mankind. Steps taken in assertion of ecclesiastical independence, or of the papal supremacy over earthly crowns, could thenceforth be no longer regarded as bold, irregular, measures, wrought in opposition to an established order of things, and to the generally received axioms of the world. That independence, that supremacy, were now to become the rule,—not the exception,—in the eyes of those who contemplated, in a broad and general way, the great system in which all were moving; Canossa had, as it were, loudly proclaimed, and openly illustrated to all, the moral revolution, which,—though it had been for years in constant progress,—had yet, as far as the multitude was concerned, been silently advancing. And new principles, new trains and habits of thought, the necessary results of that revolution, must, it might have been foreseen, forthwith develop themselves; in virtue of which,—the outlines of the papal theory being filled up, and its shadowy parts consolidated,—the apostolic see would naturally be recognized as constituting, regularly and systematically, the paramount authority of the West, the source and controller of all monarchical power; while the empire, degraded from its palmy state of general supremacy, would become, in fact as well as theory, but the first and most exalted of her tributary fiefs; a single, though the most glittering, jewel in the all-encircling diadem of St. Peter.

Whatever glimmerings of these truths might have crossed the humiliated monarch's thoughts, we cannot

doubt that the shame excited by the contempt of his subjects rankled deeply in his mind, and combined with the natural feeling of resentment against his conqueror which burned in his breast, in urging him to throw off the unwelcome guise of humility, and to seek indemnification for what had occurred in a summary and exemplary revenge. The adoption of such a course, his honour,—his interest,—his very safety itself,—seemed peremptorily to require. What he saw, gave him cause to tremble, lest, having virtually lost one kingdom already, by his ill-timed opposition to Rome, he should now forfeit another by as ill-timed a submission to it. And he seems, from the very first, to have so far appreciated his new position, as to feel that his cause was lost,—that what he had once been, he could never be again, unless he could yet obtain a superiority over the pontiff, and visit him, in the sight of Christendom, with a chastisement and degradation adequate to the humiliation which he now glowed with shame at the thought of having suffered. To the attainment of such an end—to the obliteration of the disgrace of Canossa, and the annulment of its otherwise inevitable consequences, by some signal retaliation on Gregory, or on his party,—we shall see the king henceforth applying the undivided energies of a mind, ever able and active, though ill-trained, and ill-regulated ; and now materially strengthened by the vicissitudes of calamity and trial. For much of the youthful levity and uncertainty of purpose which he had formerly displayed, had, by this time, ceased to disfigure his character ; and Henry, during many successive years, could devote himself to the overthrow of his great antagonist, with an earnestness and a perseverance worthy even of that antagonist himself.

Henry and Gregory will therefore, during the re-



maining pages of this narration, be presented to the reader in positions of relation to each other very different from those in which they have hitherto been exhibited. The pontiff's aggressive measures, if we may so style them, had been completed. Step by step, had he and his predecessors proceeded in a course of purifying reforms, and in the developement of a system which, as a system, even they themselves, it is probable, could scarcely grasp, until they beheld it in actual life and operation. The successive events of the last months had hurried on, with unexpected celerity, the last stage in its progress toward maturity, at the same time that they materially and indelibly modified its character; and at Canossa its sudden completion had been displayed in a manner calculated to startle and astonish even those by whose efforts it had been effected. Nor could what had been thus accomplished be undone, by any means short of such a great mutation of affairs as would humble the papacy in its turn, publicly and completely, beneath the feet of the representative and champion—for such Henry may be styled—of secular supremacy. Gregory had only to preserve, by the maintenance of his moral and political dignity, the high position which he now occupied in the minds of men, to insure the lasting and general recognition of the principles of which he had become the representative, and which had, under his hands, been rendered, at length, so signally triumphant.

We are to behold, therefore, the pontiff acting, as it were, on the defensive, and Henry on the aggressive, in the warfare in which the remaining years of Gregory's life were involved. The exertions of the king we shall have to regard as incited by the wish to recover, while it was yet time, the ground which he had

lost ; those of the pontiff as actuated by the desire of preserving from re-capture the position which he had wrested from the enemy, and now successfully occupied.

Guibert, and the other Italian prelates who formed Henry's court at Reggio, did all in their power to fan the flame which was now kindling in the monarch's breast<sup>1</sup>. Their own quarrel with Gregory had gone too far to admit of compromise or reconciliation ; and a friendly adjustment of the dispute between the pontiff and the sovereign would, they felt, leave them, undefended, to the mercy of the former, and thus ensure their speedy ruin. And their leader, still entertaining the ambitious design of mounting St. Peter's chair, felt that his only chance of arriving at such an elevation lay in the continued warfare of those contending powers, which now seemed likely to conclude a treaty of peace.

Animated by the advice of such counsellors as these, Henry resolved on retrieving his dignity, and wreaking vengeance on the pontiff, without delay. Prudential considerations, however, led him to abstain, for the moment, from an open rupture ; and advancing, on the sixth day after his departure from Canossa, to Bianello<sup>2</sup>,—a place in the immediate vicinity of that fortress,—he thence invited Gregory to preside over a council at Mantua ; a city in which, it would seem, he intended treacherously to make himself master of the pontiff's person. Unsuspicious of the change which had taken place in Henry's sentiments, Gregory acceded to the proposal ; and the king, having embraced his mother at Piacenza, and held there some interviews

<sup>1</sup> Donizo.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

by night with the pontiff's enemies<sup>1</sup>, proceeded to Mantua to await his coming. The pope, escorted by Matilda, shortly put himself in motion for the appointed city; but he had no sooner crossed the Po, than he received intelligence which opened his eyes to the king's intended treachery<sup>2</sup>; and Matilda, without the loss of a moment, reconducted him, by bye-roads, across the plain of Lombardy, to the line of the Appennines, and to the security of her mountain-fortress.

It appears to have been about this time, that the Countess, in the fervour of her attachment to the person and character of her guest, formally granted to him, and to his successors in the apostolic chair, the reversion of the extensive territories at her disposal<sup>3</sup>: territories which the popes inherited accordingly, and which form at the present day a principal portion of the patrimony of St. Peter.

Foiled at Mantua, Henry, still maintaining the appearance of submissiveness, forwarded to Gregory the request that he might be crowned king of Italy, at Monza, with the celebrated iron crown: either by the prelates of Milan and Pavia, according to the custom of his ancestors; or,—if this, owing to the excommunication of those dignitaries, was impossible,—by any bishop, whom the pontiff might direct to officiate

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 817.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuncta videns Christus fieri vetuit scelus istud.  
Eridanum Præsul, Mathildis et optima secum  
Transivit, sperans pacem componere veram.  
Ad dominam claram multis oculis oculatam  
Nuntius advenit, qui secretum patefecit  
Regis Henrici, qui Papam tradere dicit.*

Donizo, l. ii. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Donizo l. c.

in their stead. His chief aim, in this,—it is said,—was to make it appear to the world, that in his absolution, was involved the recognition of his continued right to enjoy the royal dignity. But, if so, it was idle for him to hope that the penetrating Gregory would not detect so palpable a design. The pontiff definitively forbade the measure; nor did Henry venture on putting it in practice in opposition to his will. In vindication, however, of his right to the prerogatives of his ancestors, he made a progress, as they had been accustomed to do, through various cities of northern Italy; but very different was his welcome from that by which they, on such occasions, had usually been greeted. The tidings of his humiliation had spread far and widely around; while his indignant repentance for it, and his cherished schemes of vengeance, were yet a secret from the world. No mayors, no deputations, came forth to meet him with loyal acclamations and proffers of duty. The towns which he approached shut their gates against him, and he was contemptuously directed to lodge with his train in the suburbs. The supplies necessary for their maintenance were there doled out to them in the most scanty and parsimonious manner; while guards were posted to observe the motions of his followers, lest they should commit any depositions in the neighbouring villages or pastures<sup>1</sup>. He began, therefore, to feel the necessity of publicly throwing off the mask which he now reluctantly wore; and of displaying to his subjects, and to the world in general, those feelings of hatred and defiance toward the pontiff, which he had as yet confided to his more cherished counsellors alone. He

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

recalled to his presence and to his favour Ulric of Cosheim, and others of his former licentious and simoniacal associates; and sanctioned the imprisonment, by his partizans, of two papal legates, Gerald bishop of Ostia, and Anselm bishop of Lucca.

He openly spoke against the pontiff, as being, by his machinations, the author and exciter of every storm which had of late vexed the state, and afflicted the Church. And he broke through,—as though, according to the expression of Lambert, they had been cobwebs<sup>1</sup>,—every tie of ecclesiastical law, every obligation which Gregory had so recently confirmed by the weight of his pontifical authority. This alteration of demeanour soon had its effect in conciliating those whom his supposed tameness under degradation had disgusted. Several, who had abandoned him, returned to his standards; supplies to his forces were more readily and plentifully bestowed; and his power acquired its former preponderance in northern Italy.

In Germany, the confederate princes had been startled and confounded by the unexpected intelligence of Henry's Italian journey. A meeting was suddenly convened, and attended by the leaders among them, at Ulm; but the severity of the weather, and the depth of the snow which generally covered the country, prevented many, to whom they looked for support, from attending. It was therefore resolved,—the then existing arrangements having been disturbed,—that the general meeting, to which all looked forward, and which had been intended to take place at Augsburg, should be announced for the 13th of March, at Forchheim<sup>2</sup>. This having been

<sup>1</sup> Contemptim tanquam araneorum tela.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bernold Constant.

determined upon, messengers were dispatched to the nobles throughout the various provinces of Germany to request their attendance on the appointed day; and Count Mangold of Veringen,—brother to the chronicler of those times, generally known by the name of Hermanus Contractus,—was directed to lay before the pope information of what had been decided on, and to request him to dignify and sanction the proceedings at Forchheim with his presence. But the step which the confederates were now most anxious to take,—the election of a new sovereign,—was one in which the pontiff was not, as yet, willing to concur. Immediately upon the termination of the proceedings at Canossa, he had, in an epistle<sup>1</sup>, made known to them what had occurred; giving them, in the same, to understand that the question, which it had been intended that he should decide, respecting the kingdom, was yet open; and that he was in no way further pledged to befriend and support the king, than as a due regard for his spiritual welfare and honour, and as the dictates of justice and mercy, required.

Of the change which had, subsequently to those proceedings, occurred in Henry's sentiments, Gregory was soon, by the affair of Mantua, and by many other indications, made aware. But, even if he were led by these appearances, to despair of reducing again the refractory monarch to submission,—an event, which, far more than any other, would have tended to consolidate his system, and to confirm his power,—both principle and policy must have induced the pontiff to delay, if possible, the adoption of so irrevocable a measure as the

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 12.

election of a new sovereign, until Henry should, more overtly and publicly, have manifested his relapse, and the consequent forfeiture, under a compact recognised by himself, of his title to his crown. Gregory was, however, conscious that this reluctance to the contemplated step was by no means shared by his German allies; who were anxious, by pushing matters at once to extremities, to rid themselves definitively of their present sovereign, and to place his crown on the head of one of their own number; and he had, therefore, on the very day preceding that of Count Mangold's appearance, dispatched two legates to Germany. Each of them bore the name of Bernard, the one being a cardinal deacon of the Roman Church, the other abbot of Marseilles<sup>1</sup>; and they were charged with instructions to request, that the decision on the great question of the kingdom might, if possible, be postponed till the pope himself could appear in Germany. When Mangold subsequently appeared, and explained the purport of his mission, Gregory directed him to proceed, with a cardinal,—also named Gregory,—to the king; and to call upon him, in fulfilment of his oath, to appear at the projected council<sup>2</sup>, and also to give the pontiff safe-conduct through Lombardy. But to neither of these demands was Henry willing to accede<sup>3</sup>. He had, he said, but just arrived in his Italian territories; and,—not to mention that many pressing and important affairs required his stay,—he could not venture to offend his southern subjects, who had so

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried.—According to Lambert, these legates were sent subsequently to Mangold's appearance, others being sent in the first instance. But, with regard to any transaction in the papal court, the former historian seems the better authority.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold Constant.

long and so anxiously desired his presence, by departing in such haste from among them. The day, too, was so near, that his appearance at the place required was physically impossible<sup>1</sup>. The swiftest horses could not transport him, in time, to the spot. He also refused to grant the requisite safe-conduct to Gregory himself; who, still enclosed within the walls of Canossa, was surrounded on every side by the monarch's irritated partizans; and was unable, without Henry's permission, either to advance toward the Alps, or to return to the papal city. Count Mangold had therefore to return, unaccompanied either by the pontiff or by any accredited representative of the papal authority, to Germany; where the legates, dispatched before his arrival, had now presented themselves. These, when introduced to the assembled nobles, acquainted them with Gregory's desire to have fulfilled their wish, by appearing in person among them; as well as with the impediments which up to the time of their mission, had prevented his doing so. They besought them to postpone, for the present, the intended election; to take such steps as might appear to them to be necessary, for the immediate government of the kingdom, which had been thrown, by the puerile levity of one man, into such a state of trouble; and to defer, till the pontiff's coming, the final arrangements; by which,—it was to be hoped,—the great question in dispute might be settled, on the basis of the general honour and advantage, and of the laws and regulations of the Church<sup>2</sup>.

The assembly received and listened to the legates with all reverence and respect. But this announcement of the pontiff's views excited general discontent.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.



The nobles endeavoured to explain to them the dangers to which, through Henry's contrivances, they had formerly been subjected;—the perils to which, from the same quarter, they still stood exposed;—and the impossibility of placing any confidence in a prince of so faithless a character. They had already,—they said,—borne with the evils of the interregnum which had been caused by his deposition, for a year; and that not from any prospect of his amendment,—a thing to be despaired of,—but because some had thought that time and opportunity, at least, should be given him for repentance. In such complaints on their part, the day passed away; the legates, when they had heard the various charges brought against the king, not scrupling to express their surprise, that the German nation should so long have borne with the wanton misgovernment of a headstrong boy.

Encouraged, perhaps, by the expression of this sentiment, the nobles on the following morning declared to the papal envoys, that fearful, irreconcilable, divisions would inevitably arise in the empire, were the assembly now to be prevented from accomplishing its intended purpose, the election of a successor to Henry's vacant throne. The legates declared themselves still of opinion,—if, by any cautionary arrangements, it could be made consistent with the general good,—that Henry's nominal government should yet, for a while, be endured<sup>1</sup>, and the appointment of a successor postponed, until the pope's appearance in Germany. But the question of the occupation of the throne was not,—they said,—to depend upon their will, but upon the counsels

<sup>1</sup> *Ut si quolibet suæ cautionis artificio posset fieri, isto (Henrico) adhuc aliquamdiu qualitercumque sustentato, &c.—Bernold. Constant.*

of those princes who had lent their aid to the government of the state, and who were best acquainted with the causes of its weal or woe. With this permission to proceed, the leading nobles resorted to the archbishop of Mentz, in concert with whom it was agreed, that,—the pope not having positively forbidden the election,—they themselves would become accountable for all the evil consequences, which might result from their longer forbearing to exercise, as free-men, their privilege freely to choose their sovereign. The pope had himself released them from the ties which had bound them to their former king; nor even at Canossa, when restoring him to communion with the faithful, had the pontiff in any wise repealed the sentence, formerly passed upon him, of deposition. The election, it was, therefore, determined, should proceed without delay.

There were many, of course, among the assembled chiefs, who were incited to the step, thus apparently taken for the public good, by the expectation of advantages, which a change of sovereigns might confer, individually, upon themselves. Not to mention those who looked directly forward to the enjoyment of the crown, which was thus to be reft from the existing monarch's brow, there were several who flattered themselves that they could make the redress of some existing grievance, or the acquisition of some coveted boon, the price of their concurrence in the election, and of their adhesion to the new-chosen sovereign's cause. One of these was Otho of Nordheim. That chieftain, when Siegfried, in exercise of the privilege of the German primate, gave the first vote in favour of Rudolf of Swabia<sup>1</sup>, at once declared that his acquiescence in that

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

prince's election must depend on the recognition, by the latter, of his claims to the Duchy of Bavaria<sup>1</sup>. By this, Welf,—on whom, as we have seen, that duchy, on Otho's degradation, had been bestowed,—was naturally incensed; and a fierce contention would have arisen, had not the legates interfered, and said that a king,—if now to be chosen,—must be a king for all, not for individuals<sup>2</sup>. The conditions previously to be imposed on him must be of a general nature alone. He might be required to promise, first, that he would never dispose of bishoprics by simony, either for gold or favour<sup>3</sup>, but would permit to every Church the free choice of her own members, according to the canons. And, secondly, that he would not endeavour to make the kingly dignity hereditary in his house; the son of a king being only to be recognized as his intended successor when elected such by the people; whose voice should have free power to refuse to him that dignity, if he should be considered unworthy of it<sup>4</sup>.

The assembly unanimously notified their acquiescence in the sentiments of the legates, and their approval of the conditions proposed. The election then proceeded; the name of Rudolf of Swabia<sup>5</sup>, which had been pronounced by Siegfried, was repeated in succession by the other prelates present; then by Berthold, Welf, Otho, and the other temporal nobles; and finally re-echoed,

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Ait etiam (legatus) si eo modo, quo cœptum fuerat, promissionibus singillatim præmissis eligeretur, ipsa electio non sincera, sed hæresis simoniacæ veneno polluta videretur.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>3</sup> The general meaning which the word simony now bore has been mentioned in a former chapter.—Vol. i. p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>5</sup> Bernold. Constant.

amid joyous shouts, by the multitude assembled without; while those within proffered, in succession, the oath of fealty<sup>1</sup> to their newly-chosen sovereign.

Long as Rudolf seems to have secretly coveted the high station which he had at length attained, the reluctance was not,—it may be believed,—entirely assumed, with which he now accepted the proffered crown. The dreams of ambition are ever most brilliant when the outlines of the vision are uncertain and confused; and the first moment which secures the undoubted possession of a long-coveted prize, does much to divest it of the dazzling splendour, with which the mingled lights cast on it by hope and fear had previously arrayed it. The incipient feud, which the influence of the legates had been required to allay, might serve to give the elected sovereign a gloomy presage of the future; showing him what might be expected—when the negative tie of opposition to Henry, which had hitherto united the confederates, should be dissolved,—from the fierce play of their clashing interests and disappointed expectations. The consciousness, too, might reasonably haunt him, that, in the irrevocable step now to be taken, a most critical experiment was to be tried upon the strong loyal principle, which yet,—notwithstanding all recent appearances,—remained deeply in-seated in the German character. And though Rudolf appears to have been in great measure sincere in his views, and persuaded that in his elevation was involved,—under existing circumstances,—alike the safety of the state, and the purity of the Church; it will yet be seen that, even to the close of his life, a feeling of doubt as to the lawfulness of his course was lurking in his mind; that the oaths which

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Bruno.

he had taken to his predecessor were not effaced from his recollection; and that a still small voice,—to the last,—at times suggested, that they might yet be registered on high. But the die was cast,—his destiny had been in great measure shaped by his own hands; but the hour was now past for modifying its character, or retarding its accomplishment. His late comrades were already plighting before him the vows, which he and they had once plighted together to their common master. His name was already spread far and wide by the eager and acclaiming populace. No retrograde step,—however he might have yearned for it,—was possible. To his former position,—to subjection,—to allegiance,—to loyalty,—an adamant barrier forbade his return. An insuperable necessity urged him onwards, and bade him devote his future existence to a tremendous struggle, the only alternatives before him being destruction, or the throne.

The untoward event,—as it may well be called,—of his election, materially and permanently modified the positions, relative to each other, of the pontiff and the king. Previously to its occurrence, Gregory might, even in the midst of Henry's demonstrations of hostility, have looked forward to a change of counsellors and of conduct on the part of the monarch, which would have permitted a definitive reconciliation. But it now became equally impossible for Henry to tender, and for Gregory to accept, a compromise. In the monarch's continued opposition to the papal see, was henceforth involved the maintenance of his crown upon his head; a crown, which, in the event of his now submitting it to the papal verdict, it would be beyond the power of Gregory himself to restore and confirm to him. As though by a mysterious fatality, the struggle between

these two great controllers of mankind assumed,—in opposition, it would seem, to the wishes of either of them,—a more deadly and determined character. And, however the king might, at times, assume the appearance of reverence, or the pontiff that of conciliation, each must, from this time, in secret have felt, that to a state of peace, for them, there was,—there could be,—no return; they stood, thenceforth, committed to the perpetual assertion of conflicting principles; and in that assertion, on the part of each, was involved an attack upon the dearest rights and interests of the other<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> With the assembling of the diet of Forchheim closes the chronicle of the accurate and elegant Lambert of Aschaffenburg, monk of Hersfeld; far the first, in every way, of the annalists of the time. Of his style, Scaliger speaks thus. “*Equidem miror, in sæculo tam barbaro tantam hominis et in loquendo puritatem, et in temporum putatione solertiam fuisse, ut chronologis nostri temporis pudorem aliquem exprimere posset, si aliquem sensum harum rerum haberent.*”—Scaliger. *de Emendat. Temp. ap. Cave. Histor. Literar. ad an. 1077.*

Of the amiableness of his character, the following anecdote appears to me to afford an illustration. Immediately upon his ordination (in 1058) to the priesthood,—led, as he says, by a zeal which was not, he fears, according to knowledge,—he proceeded, without the privity of his superior, the abbot of Hersfeld, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But his conscience, when he had taken this step, smote him severely for so doing. He trembled lest the abbot should die during his absence, and thus leave him with the unforgiven guilt of his undutifulness upon his head. He made it his daily prayer that his spiritual father might not be called away from the world before he had forgiven and blessed him. And he records it with gratitude and awe, that the abbot just lived to do this, as though in answer to his prayer,—being seized with the disease, of which, in a few days, he died, on the very day in which he had laid his hand in blessing on the returning wanderer.—*Vid. Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1058.*—It is much to be regretted, that we have no such guide as Lambert for the remaining portion of Gregory's history.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1077.

CORONATION OF RUDOLF AT MENTZ—DISTURBANCES ATTENDANT UPON IT—REACTION OF POPULAR FEELING IN FAVOUR OF HENRY—HIS APPEARANCE IN GERMANY, AND SUCCESSES—RETIREMENT OF RUDOLF TO SAXONY—CONDEMNATION OF RUDOLF AND HIS ADHERENTS BY THE DIET OF ULM—DOUBTFUL LINE OF CONDUCT ADOPTED BY GREGORY—RETURN OF THE PONTIFF TO ROME—SIEGE OF WURZBURG—MEETING OF THE CONTENDING ARMIES ON THE BANKS OF THE NECKAR—NEGOCIATIONS—THE QUESTION REFERRED TO A CONTEMPLATED DIET—DEVASTATIONS COMMITTED BY HENRY'S PARTIZANS, AND FAITHLESS CONDUCT OF THAT PRINCE HIMSELF—THE PAPAL LEGATE EXCOMMUNICATES HIM, BUT THE SENTENCE IS NOT RATIFIED BY GREGORY—THE PAPAL AUTHORITY SUPPORTED IN FRANCE—GREGORY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR—WITH THE KINGS OF HUNGARY AND DENMARK—WITH CORSICA—VENICE—SPAIN—AND AQUILEIA—CONTINUED STRUGGLES AT MILAN—INCREASE OF GUIBCARD'S POWER IN SOUTHERN ITALY—DEATH OF THE EMPRESS AGNES.

IN the city of Mentz, beneath the Romanesque vaults of its then newly-erected cathedral; and in the presence of the legates of the apostolic see, the diadem was, on the 26th of March, 1077, placed, by the hands of Siegfried, on the head of king Rudolf<sup>1</sup>. On that very day,

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.—Berthold. Constant.—*Annalista Saxo*.—xii Kal. April. Abb. Ursperg.—The following is the account given by Cantelius, of the ceremony of crowning the monarchs of Germany:—"Is . . . in aulâ Basilicæ . . . è solio sublimis primùm omnium Sacramenta excipiebat; deinde in Basilicam eunti obviam prodibat Archiepiscopus Moguntinus unâ cum clero et populo, qui fausta omnia novo Regi apprecabatur; tum ad altare ut ventum erat, eo ferè ordine data

a sudden change of weather occurred. The frost, which had bound up the earth from the preceding November, suddenly gave way; the deep snows began to yield to a warm and rapid thaw; and the partizans of Rudolf,—delighting, after the manner of their time, in analogies between the phenomena of the physical and of the moral world,—hailed, in this atmospheric change, a type of the cessation of the dark winter of anarchy; now, as they hoped, to be succeeded, by the mild and genial spring of a settled and paternal government.

But Rudolf's future fortunes were more truly shadowed forth by other events which occurred before the close of that ill-omened day. During the service in the cathedral, the monarch had observed among the ministrants, a deacon, who had been, on the ground of simony, forbidden the service of the altar. In the fervour of his zeal, or from a desire to demonstrate his continued attachment to the principles by which he had ascended the throne, Rudolf directed Siegfried instantly to remove the obnoxious person from the church; and the order was of course obeyed. But this circumstance filled with indignation the great body of Siegfried's clergy; whose consciences, it is probable, told them what they had to expect, from the sway of a sovereign who thus began his reign. They left the cathedral, therefore, upon the conclusion of the ceremonies, decidedly hostile to Rudolf's government, and disposed to foment, to the utmost of their power, the

*Regni insignia, gladius cum baltheo, armillæ, chlamys, sceptrum, baculus; et postquam oleo sacro inunctus erat, coronâ capiti impositâ, quæ argentea fuit ut Luitprando placet, aurea ut Vitichindo; denique post solemnem hymnum deducebatur in regiam, ubi epulo regio et episcopus et principes exciperet.—Metropolit. urb. hist. pt. ii. diss. ii.*



ill-will, which the greater part of the citizens already entertained toward the newly-elected king.

Rude games, according to old custom, amused the people on the coronation day<sup>1</sup>. Rudolf's soldiers and followers, unarmed, mingled among the mass, or took part in the diversions, when a trivial occurrence,—the cutting off, by a young citizen, of a piece of costly fur<sup>2</sup> from the dress of one of them,—caused an agitation, which, under other circumstances, would have been momentary; but which, in the heated and excited state of men's minds, led to tumult,—to violence,—and ultimately to insurrection. Rudolf's soldiers, without their arms, were driven before the angry citizens; the clergy, seizing the opportunity, directed the alarm bells to be rung in the churches, and laboured to magnify, as far as they might, the growing confusion; and Rudolf himself was, ere long, disturbed at vespers by the shouts of an infuriated rabble, advancing with the intention of storming the church in which he was, and the adjoining palace. He would have gone out himself to repel the attack, but was withheld by the nobles around him. Those however of his followers who were in the palace, arming themselves as best they might, fell with vigour upon the populace; whom they soon succeeded in repulsing, putting many to the sword, and driving many more into the Rhine<sup>3</sup>. Tranquillity was

<sup>1</sup> Which happened to be also a day of rejoicing as a religious festival. *Die quo . . . in introitu Missæ tota fidelium ecclesia sub nomine Hierusalem ad spirituales lætitiâ invitatur, unde et eodem die inter fideles haberi solet ludendi etiam a religiosis haud spernenda consuetudo.*—*Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Crusinam gulis ornatam.* *Annalista Saxo.*—Bruno.

<sup>3</sup> *Paul. Bernried.*—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo.*—*Waltram. Naumburgens. Apologiæ, l. ii. c. ix.*—*Chronograph. Saxo.*

thus restored ; and on the following morning the municipal authorities of Mentz waited upon Rudolf with apologies and prayers for forgiveness, proffering at the same time the oath of future fealty<sup>1</sup>. But the feelings of the citizens were not, of course, rendered less hostile to the new monarch by the scene which had occurred ; and Rudolf and Siegfried deemed it expedient to depart at once from the unfriendly city ; whose towers neither of them was doomed ever again to behold<sup>2</sup>.

Intending, after the manner of the old German sovereigns, to make a progress from city to city throughout his empire, Rudolf,—after this inauspicious departure from Mentz,—bent, in the first instance, his course towards Worms. But that city, still loyal to her former master, unhesitatingly declared itself against him. Henry's enemy, the bishop, was obliged to fly ; and Rudolf, finding the gates closed against him, took the road to Swabia. The festival of Easter he celebrated at Augsburg<sup>3</sup> ; where the bishops and nobles of his party, collected around him, assumed the semblance of a kingly council, met to arrange the general concerns of the empire. And he from this place dispatched one of the papal legates, the abbot Bernard, on his return to the pontiff. But the abbot, unfortunately falling in with some of Henry's followers, was captured, stripped of all that he had, and retained for about six months in durance<sup>4</sup>.

But the truth—darkly augured perhaps, from the first, by Rudolf himself,—was now gradually becoming apparent to all, that in proceeding to so bold a step as was that prince's election, his friends and

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>3</sup> Bruno.—Berthold. Constant.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Berthold. Constant.

partizans had gone too far. They had calculated too much, it now appeared, on the complete severance of the ties which had connected Henry with his subjects. An habitual awe for the Church, and a strong sense of the thoughtless Henry's follies and crimes, had led many loyal Germans to shrink, during the preceding months, from their monarch's side; and even to concur in measures equivalent to his virtual deposition. But, that such a deposition should be formally announced and acted upon; that a successor should be appointed to intrude himself upon their yet living master's vacant throne; a spectacle like this awakened feelings which had long lain dormant; feelings, of the strength of which, they were not, probably, themselves aware. And the question, whether Henry or another should reign over them, being now brought nakedly before them, they prepared, as though by instinct, to defend their legitimate monarch's cause; wishing, it may be thought, to atone for the deficient duty of the past, by the extraordinary exertions of the future.

That great body among the clergy, as well as among the laity, which was opposed to Gregory, in his reforming character; the married and the licentious, members of the priesthood; the patrons and practisers of simony; those who felt their rights or interests interwoven with the established system of lay investiture; all these lent, of course, their sympathies and their strenuous aid to Henry's cause, which was thus still,—even when in part supported by the good and loyal feelings to which we have alluded,—the cause of ecclesiastical corruption, laxity, and impurity. On the other hand, the election of Rudolf was, in effect, an abasement of the opposite cause; which it alloyed and degraded, by an admixture with the high principles, on which it had, in

great measure, been founded, of such impurer springs of action as disloyalty and secular ambition. This abasement, the high-minded Gregory could not but in some measure feel; and his sense of it would combine with his feeling of the impolicy of the measure, in inducing him to regret that it should have been so hastily taken. The step was, however, but the natural result of measures which he himself had sanctioned; the natural operation of passions, which,—having once called them into play,—it was not in his power to restrain.

Henry was soon prepared to take advantage of the reaction of public feeling in his favour. He was at Pavia when the intelligence reached him of the length to which the confederates at Forchheim had proceeded. And though he, no doubt, conceived that Gregory's full concurrence attended the measure which had been adopted, he thought it expedient to lay information of it before the pontiff, and to call upon him forthwith to excommunicate the usurper. But Gregory replied that, if Rudolf, when cited to do so, should fail to justify his conduct from the charge of treason, he would readily pronounce the required sentence; but that otherwise it was impossible<sup>1</sup>. And,—referring to the captivity of Gerald of Ostia,—he declared that he would listen to no appeal of any kind from Henry, while the king yet detained St. Peter a prisoner in the person of his legate<sup>2</sup>.

At Verona,—where he passed Palm Sunday,—Henry announced to the members of his court his intention of at once recrossing the Alps, and contending to the last for his honour and his throne<sup>3</sup>. But, as the direct pass of the Brenner was occupied by his enemies, the

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Berth. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. lib. v. c. 10.

king moved round to Aquileia<sup>1</sup>, and thence, through Friuli, into Carinthia; advancing from the latter province toward the city of Ratisbon. And still, as he advanced, many of his former friends rejoined his banner; many who, during the past year, had been active in support of his enemies, now brought to the camp of their sovereign their duty and their swords.

The extensive and powerful province of Burgundy aroused itself in his cause. His faithful ally Wratislav marched at the head of his wild Bohemians to his aid. Franconia and the Palatinate prepared reinforcements for his service; and even the duchies of his most powerful enemies themselves furnished him with zealous and influential followers. Welf of Bavaria was unpopular with the inhabitants of that province. Many knights and chiefs among them were eager to enlist themselves among his enemies; and the married clergy, with whom Bavaria abounded, did their utmost in Henry's cause. Even in Swabia itself, the very seat of Rudolf's power, many declared themselves adherents of their ancient monarch's party. And, as the great towns on the Rhine were, like Worms and Mentz, firm in his support, Henry saw himself, on his arrival at Ratisbon, in a condition to overmaster all opposition in Southern Germany.

But Rudolf, even though deserted by several of those immediately about him, was not in a condition to despond. He had still,—in addition to the aid of those who had taken the lead in placing him upon the throne,—the support of the papal name, and of the papal party in Germany; of the prelates who had espoused the cause, and seconded the purifying mea-

<sup>1</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.

tures, of the pontiff; and of the gallant people of Saxony, the inveterate enemies to Henry's name and line. The contest, therefore, bade fair to be an arduous one,—bade fair to be a struggle worthy, in some respects, of deciding the great question which appeared to be involved in its yet uncertain issue.

Henry's army,—when he first, in search of his opponent, approached the plains of Swabia,—amounted to twelve thousand men,—a large force to put in motion in those times; and his numbers, as he advanced, were continually swelled by reinforcements. It would have been hopeless, therefore, for the Swabian prince, who then lay encamped with about five thousand followers<sup>1</sup> near the castle and village of Sigmaringen, to cope with him in the field. But notwithstanding this inequality, Rudolf, when he saw the devastating progress of his enemy through his territories, in which the savage Bohemians practised every species of licentiousness, rapine, and barbarity,—when he beheld the flourishing lands between the Main, the Neckar, and the Danube, one scene of plunder, incendiarism, and ruin,—was eager to lead his forces into action, and to end, if possible, the contest at once by one desperate struggle. But the nobles in his camp were unanimous in opposing this rash proposal; and he had adopted no definite counsel, when his camp was surprized by the rapid approach of Henry's forces; upon which his followers were compelled to consult their safety by an immediate dispersion; while he himself, with a scanty train, took the road to Saxony, and celebrated the feast of Pentecost<sup>2</sup> in the abbey of Hirschau<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.—Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> June 4, 1077.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold: Constant. According to Bruno, and Annalista Saxo, in Erfurt.

The chiefs and nobles of Saxony subsequently received him at Erfurt with all kingly honours. In a council there holden, he entreated them all to assemble, as soon as might be, the forces of their province, and to follow him to an encounter with their common enemy. The feelings of the warlike Saxons responded to his wish, and their whole territory resounded with the bustle of military preparation.

But Henry, having thus driven his rival for a while from the field, now ruled in the south of Germany with undisputed power. Throughout Swabia he plundered the possessions of Rudolf and his adherents, and destroyed their fortresses<sup>1</sup>; and then,—holding in Ulm a diet of the empire,—he denounced the revolted princes in legal form, declared their fiefs to be forfeited, and parcelled them out, in recompense of fidelity, to his own adherents and followers<sup>2</sup>.

His active and able chancellor, the bishop of Vercelli, had contemplated giving moral weight and legal sanction to his master's cause by a measure of a similar nature in Italy, and had consequently summoned the estates of that kingdom to meet, on the ancient scene of such deliberations, the plains of Roncaglia. But the death of the bishop, previously to the day appointed, frustrated the scheme<sup>3</sup>.

The mutation in Henry's fortunes, which thus immediately succeeded his abasement at Canossa, might well confound even the high and intrepid spirit of Gregory himself. The suppliant who had so recently trembled before his footstool, was once more a monarch, at the head of armies, supported by the public feeling both

<sup>1</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold. Constant.

of Germany and Italy, and almost investing him in the very fortress which had beheld his unprecedented triumph. During the months of Henry's stay in Italy, the pontiff,—who had, as we have seen, described himself as unable, without the monarch's permission, either to advance toward Germany, or to retreat toward Rome,—continued in the immediate vicinity of Canossa; ready, as it may be supposed, to retire upon any alarm to the security which its situation and the strength of its walls afforded. And though the king's departure across the Alps would seem to have left his motions more at liberty, the pontiff was detained in the north of Italy by the wish, which he still entertained, of settling in person the affairs of Germany. On the 31st of May, he addressed,—from Carpineto, near Canossa,—the two Bernards, his legates at Forchheim. Trusting, he said, in the mercy of God, and in the aid of St. Peter, he had, as they were aware, set out from the papal city, with the hope of establishing a peace among the Germans, upon terms conducive to the honour of God and to the advantage of His holy Church. Impeded in Lombardy by Henry's arrival, he had passed some time there in great peril; and had never been able to accomplish his purpose of crossing the mountains. But now he bade them,—acting in his name, and supported by the authority of St. Peter,—enjoin each of the kings<sup>1</sup>, Henry and Rudolf, to provide him safe-conduct into Germany; where it was his intention, by God's blessing, with the advice and counsel of the pious clergy and laity of the kingdom, himself to decide their quarrel. Such, he said, was the

<sup>1</sup> *Utrumque regem, Henricum videlicet atque Rodulphum.*



duty of the apostolic see; and fearful might be the issue to the universal Church, were that duty now by him neglected. "Should either of the aforesaid "kings," he thus concluded his epistle, "oppose this our "intention, refuse to attend to your admonitions, and,— "kindling in himself the fires of pride and ambition in "opposition to the honour of Almighty God,—pant for "the general desolation of the Roman empire; oppose "ye him by all ways, in our name, yea, by the authority of St. Peter, unto the death. Debar him from "the government of the state, and sever him and his "abettors from the communion of our Lord's Body and "Blood, and from the threshold of the holy Church; "remembering ever that he incurs the guilt, of idolatry "who refuses obedience to the apostolic see; and that "the blessed Gregory, that holy and most humble "doctor, declares that the king forfeits his dignity, who "rashly presumes to contravene its commands<sup>1</sup>. To "him, on the other hand, who obediently receives "these our injunctions, and shows toward the Church, "our common mother, the reverence due to her from "a Christian king, lend in all things your counsel and "assistance. On our behalf, and by the authority of "the Apostles, Peter and Paul, confirm him in his

<sup>1</sup> Si quis autem regum, antistitum, judicum vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis, et nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit, aut contradixerit, aut negligenter duxerit, vel fratres inquietaverit, vel conturbaverit, vel aliter ordinaverit, cujuscumque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur, et ut catholicæ fidei depravator, vel sanctæ ecclesiæ destructor, a consortio Christianitatis, et corpore ac sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi sequestretur, &c.—S. Gregor. Mag. Epist. Append. N. iv. t. ii. p. 1287, edit. Benedictin.

“ kingly station ; and enjoin all bishops, abbots, clergy-  
“ men, and laymen in the empire, in the name of God,  
“ dutifully to obey him <sup>1</sup>.”

Couched in a similar strain, was the letter which he on the same day addressed “ to all the Germans.” Both kings, he said, had sought his assistance ; and most anxious was he to decide the quarrel between them in accordance with the dictates of justice. “ If,” he concluded by saying, “ the see of St. Peter judges and “ decides things heavenly and spiritual, shall it not “ much rather judge things which are earthly and “ secular? Ye know, brethren, that from the time “ we left our city, we have stood in great peril among “ enemies to the faith of Christ ; yet have we not been “ induced, by fear or favour, to promise to either king “ any aid inconsistent with the strict rules of equity. “ Rather would we, were it needful, submit ourselves “ to death, than be accessory, by following any inclina- “ tion or partiality of our own, to throwing into con- “ fusion the Church of God. We were consecrated and “ placed in this apostolic chair that we might seek, “ not our own things, but the things of Jesus Christ ; “ that we might, following through much tribulation “ the footsteps of our fathers, arrive at length, by God’s “ mercy, at His future and eternal rest <sup>2</sup>.”

By the new position, thus assumed by Gregory, of an unpledged mediator between the two contending rivals for the crown, the friends of Rudolf,—when made aware of it,—appear to have been in a great degree confounded and disappointed. The legates, by taking part in the deliberations at Forchheim, and subsequently witnessing the ceremony of coronation at Mentz, un-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 24.

questionably pledged the faith of their master, in the eye of the world, to the support of the Swabian prince's cause. But that Gregory was averse to that prince's election, we have seen; and, with respect to the coronation, it is probable that his envoys exceeded their commission. The dates, at least, render it impossible that they could have asked and received Gregory's opinion on the subject, subsequently to the election. Still, as he did not recall them, or publicly and immediately disavow the step thus taken by them, he must, as principal, be considered as bound in honour by the act of these his accredited agents. Nor,—however convinced we may feel that the princes acted at Forchheim on their own views, and not on those of the pontiff,—can the latter, it is to be feared, be considered entirely free from the charge of encouraging,—in the previous intercourse which occurred,—expectations which he entertained no definite idea of fulfilling. Such a line of conduct on his part would but form one of the many illustrations which the times afforded, of the great truth, already noticed in these pages, that an enfeeblement of the moral sense of right and wrong will ever attend the profession of a corrupt theology. But at the same time,—with regard to the point before us,—it should, in justice to Gregory, be remarked, that the course which he now adopted was, under the sudden change of circumstances which had occurred, one as favourable to the interests of his champion Rudolf, as he could have chosen. Nor would it be fair to lay the blame of the disappointment which that monarch's partizans now experienced upon Gregory alone; every symptom from which the papal favour to the princes and their cause could be inferred, having been,—there is every reason to suppose,—intentionally magnified by

those princes to the people, with the view of procuring their unhesitating support.

Rudolf himself,—whatever he might have thought of Gregory's conduct in this respect,—was still confident of his friendly feelings toward him, and would willingly have given all the assistance in his power to the intended journey. But the passes of the Alps were now in the hands of his rival; who had no such favourable expectations from the papal decision, and who consequently preferred leaving the quarrel to the arbitration of the sword. After some little time, therefore, the pontiff, reluctantly abandoning his projected expedition, moved slowly southwards; and arrived, during the month of September, in the papal city. His reception was that of a conqueror returning in triumph; the populace poured in eager throngs through the gates, to greet their returning pastor; and wafted to the skies, in joyous acclamations, his name, and that of his devoted supporter the countess Matilda<sup>1</sup>.

The bloody scene of German war had in the mean time been renewed. Rudolf, advancing with the Saxon forces, pitched his camp in August before the walls of Wurzburg<sup>2</sup>; and summoned Welf and Berthold to aid him in reducing the place to submission. Henry,—though his forces were not yet assembled,—made an effort to prevent the intended junction; and placed

<sup>1</sup> . . . Adventum cujus plebs ipsa repertum  
Obviat, exultat, pastorem suscipit unâ.  
Ipseque commendat quod nobilis egerat erga  
Se Sanctumque Petrum Mathildis. Vivat in ævum,  
Clamavit cunctus clerus, totum quoque vulgus.

Donizo, who erroneously fixes the arrival in May.—Vid. Baron. ad an.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.—Bernold. Constant.

himself in the way by which the Bavarian and Carinthian princes were advancing. But finding himself, on their approach, less able to cope with them than he had expected, he decamped from his position in the night, and made his way to his faithful city of Worms; while they proceeded without opposition to the place of their destination, and aided Rudolf in the siege.

But, after a month vainly spent before Wurzburg, the confederates were compelled, by the tidings that Henry had again taken the field, to abandon their operations in that quarter<sup>1</sup>; and the rival kings, with their armies, at length confronted each other upon the opposite shores of the Neckar<sup>2</sup>.

Here Rudolf, superior in force, endeavoured in every possible way to urge his opponent to a battle. He offered, either to recede far enough from the river to allow Henry to cross it unmolested, or else to cross it himself, and draw up his forces on the opposite side, if his enemy would agree to allow him time for the purpose<sup>3</sup>. No answer being returned, he, to exemplify his words, drew off his followers to a distance of two German miles from the strand, in hopes that Henry would advance; but it was in vain, and he returned to his position. The truth was, that Henry expected further reinforcements, the detachments of Bohemia and Bavaria not having yet joined him; while Rudolf was at the head of his full collected strength: it was not, therefore, the interest of the former to bring matters to an immediate

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.—Abb. Ursperg.—According to the former historian, the greater part of Henry's army on this occasion "*ex mercatoribus erat,*" by which we are probably to understand, inhabitants of the large towns of the empire, which seem generally to have inclined to his side.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>3</sup> Bruno.

decision. And thus time went on: no reinforcements appeared; and the chief nobles in the two camps, growing impatient, took the matter in some measure into their own hands. In interviews between Welf and Berthold on the one side, and the principal followers of Henry on the other, it was asked, "Why should the sword decide that which we can settle with words?" And it was agreed upon, that hostilities should, for the present, cease; and that a diet should be holden, near the Rhine, which the papal legates and all persons of note in the kingdom, except the rival kings, should be summoned to attend; the decision of which, respecting the disputed crown, all present, the kings included, bound themselves to obey<sup>1</sup>. All pledged themselves to offer no impediment, either to the assembling of this intended convention, or to the immediate return of the forces then collected to their respective homes: toward which,—the agreement having been concluded,—they set out in all directions without delay<sup>2</sup>.

Rudolf, on his way to Saxony from the scene of these proceedings, fell in with the Bohemian and Bavarian contingents which Henry had expected; which might, by the Saxons who followed him have been easily subdued; but, from respect to the treaty, he permitted them to proceed. The faithless Henry, however, who entertained no hope of a favourable decision from a council in which the legates of Gregory were to preside,—and who, in consequence, had never regarded the treaty in any other light than as a means of gaining time,—no sooner found himself strengthened, and his rival out of the way, than he proceeded to renew his

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

devastating progress through the territories and possessions of his enemies<sup>1</sup>. His wild Bohemians again displayed their barbarian ferocity, plundering and burning villages, and subjecting to every species of insult and outrage their defenceless inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. And Berthold,—who from his castle of Lindburg beheld the sad scenes of havoc around him, and the smoke of distant conflagrations,—is said to have been so much moved by the sad spectacle, and by the contemplation of the miseries of his country, that his anguish overcame his spirits, and hastened, if it did not entirely cause, his dissolution; which about this time occurred<sup>3</sup>.

Rudolf was naturally roused to indignation by his rival's treachery; and when he found that Henry,—in spite of his solemn pledge,—was disposed to bar the passage of his friends, at the appointed time, to the diet on the Rhine, he procured a meeting of the prelates and princes of his party, on the 12th of November, at Goslar. And here cardinal Bernard, the legate who remained in Germany, ventured to renew the sentence of excommunication upon Henry's head; to declare him definitively deprived of the functions of government; and, by virtue of the apostolical authority, to confirm Rudolf as king, and to commend him to the duty of his subjects<sup>4</sup>. The sentence, though passed

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> In southern Germany, at that unhappy time, "*divinæ pariter ut sæculares legum constitutiones nec nominabantur saltem . . . sed unusquisque, prout poterat, ita se jndice et correctore victitabat.*" Bernold. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> *Præ dolore animi dicitur eo morbo, quam medici φρένεις vocant, occupatus fuisse, septemque diebus postea superstes . . . vitam finisse.*—Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista Saxo.—Bernold. Constant.—Chronograph. Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Bernold. Constant.

without Gregory's knowledge, was in strict accordance with the directions which he had previously given; nor could the legate, indeed, in accordance with those instructions, adopt any other course. Yet we shall find, from the record of the succeeding year, that the pontiff, when informed of its promulgation, wanted either the power or the resolution, to confirm and to act upon it.

Surrounded as he was with difficulties, Gregory continued, during the year 1077, his correspondence with foreign sovereigns and nations. In France, Hugo, bishop of Die, whom he had nominated his legate, asserted and supported, in several councils, the authority of the papal name; suspending, at the council of Autun, in August<sup>1</sup>, the Rhemish archbishop Manasses himself from his functions, and sending him to justify himself from the charge of having procured his dignity by simony, before the tribunal of Gregory himself. To William of England the pontiff addressed, on the 19th of March, a letter, occasioned by the conduct of the bishop, and condition of the church, of Dol, in Brittany. And he at the same time commended to the king his legate Hubert, as one who was instructed more fully to communicate to him the feelings and desires of the apostolic see<sup>2</sup>.

The people of Corsica seem about this time voluntarily to have declared their wish to repose, for the future, under the protection of the papal power. Delighted by the offer, Gregory dispatched, with all speed, Landulf, bishop of Pisa, to the island, to take possession of it in his name, and in that of St. Peter. And in his reply to the Corsicans, he expressed his joy

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1568.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 17.



that an island, of right the property of no earthly power, had been led at length to recognize the dominion of its lawful proprietor<sup>1</sup>. He called on them to maintain and make good the determination which they had expressed; and promised them, if necessary, the support of Tuscan troops for their defence against all who might interfere with them.

Geisa, Gregory's Hungarian correspondent, expired in April, 1077; and his brother Ladislaus was, though reluctant, elected to succeed him. On the 9th of June, the pontiff, in a letter to Nehemiah, archbishop of Strigonium<sup>2</sup>, noticed the event; and, through the archbishop, urged the new monarch to testify, by the mission of envoys to Rome, his devotion to the honour of the apostolic chair<sup>3</sup>. A similar request he, on the 6th of November, expressed to Harold, a natural son of the late king Sweyn of Denmark, who had been chosen to fill his deceased father's throne. Legates were also dispatched, during the course of the year, to Venice<sup>4</sup>,—to Spain<sup>5</sup>,—and to Aquileia<sup>6</sup>; to the latter place for the purpose of procuring, if possible, the election of an archbishop more favourable to the papal cause than had been, in the last part of his life, the late patriarch Sicard; whose support Henry had purchased, by enfeoffing him with the Mark of Istria and Krain and county of Friuli; and who had recently expired in the monarch's quarters at Ratisbon.

Strongly as the tide appeared to run against him in northern Italy, Gregory ventured, early in 1077, to send Anselm of Lucca and Gerald of Ostia, as his legates, to Milan; upon which occasion the flame which,

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. Ep. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Id. iv. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. iv. Epp. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Or Gran, in Lower Hungary.

<sup>5</sup> Id. iv. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. v. Epp. 5, 6.

by his correspondence with Wifred and others, the pontiff had kept alive, burst openly forth. The legates were received with loud and general rejoicings: during three days they preached openly to the citizens, who flocked to them in crowds, to receive instruction and absolution; while Tedaldus and his creatures, maddened by their triumph, in vain endeavoured to excite the populace to violence and tumult<sup>1</sup>. The royalist archbishop, however, seems still to have retained possession of the see; and the seizure of the papal legates, on their return, by Henry's partizans, has been already mentioned<sup>2</sup>.

In southern Italy, the power of Robert Guiscard continued, during these events, to strengthen and consolidate itself. So widely had his reputation spread itself, that the emperor Michael had not disdained to solicit for his son Constantine the hand of the Norman warrior's daughter. The marriage appears to have taken place in 1076; upon which the princess adopted the Grecian name of Helena<sup>3</sup>. And, in the year of which we are now treating,—1077,—Robert added to his conquests the important cities of Salerno and Amalfi<sup>4</sup>. Flushed with these successes, he sat down to the siege of a papal fief, the city of Benevento; while Richard of Capua, who now, notwithstanding his compact with Gregory in 1073, had returned to the alliance of his countrymen,—commenced operations against Naples. The

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. lib. v. c. 9.—Pagi, in Baronium, ad annum, gives a wrong reference to this author.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. supra, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Gul. Appul. c. 3.—Gauf. Malat. lib. iii. c. 13.—Lupus Protospata.

<sup>4</sup> Different dates are given to these events by different chroniclers. For reasons for preferring that here given, see Muratori, Annali d'Italia, ad an.

dangers which Gregory had to apprehend from the South became, therefore, more formidable than ever.

We may not conclude our record of the year 1077, without mention of the death of the exemplary empress Agnes; who, after years of retirement from earthly vanities, was peacefully released from earthly sorrows, on the 14th of December<sup>1</sup>, and was interred in the Church of St. Peter, near the altar of St. Petronilla<sup>2</sup>: The following epitaph being engraved upon her tomb:—

ANNO. MLXXVII. AB. INCARN. DOM. NOSTRI. IESV. CHRISTI. INDICT. PRIMA.  
 A (NO. QVINTO. PONTIFICATVS. DOMINI. GREGORII. PAPÆ. SEPTIMI.  
 AGNES. IM ERATRIX. AUG. POST. MORTEM. VIRI. SVI. HENRICI. IMP. II. ANN. XXII. DIE.  
 X<sup>o</sup>. MENSIS. DECEMBRIS. ANIMAM. BONIS. OPERIBVS. FÆCVNDAM.  
 LATERAN<sup>o</sup>. SALVATORI. SVO. ATQVE. OMNIVM. BONORVM. DEO. AVCTORI. REDDIDIT.  
 ET. HIC. VBI. ANTEA. MILITAVERAT. CLAVIGERO. CÆLI. PRO. CVJVS. AMORE. IVDEN.  
 PEREGRINATA. FVERAT.  
 QUINTA. DIE. MENSIS. JANVARI. EXPECTANS. SPEM. BEATÆ. RESVRECTIONIS. ET.  
 ADVENTVM. MAGNI. DEI. MEMBRA. CARNIS. COMMENDAVIT. IN. PACÈ. AMEN<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. not. in Chron. Cassin. ap Murator. t. iv. p. 450.—Otto Frising. lib. iv. c. xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Baron. ad an. N. lxxviii.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1078.

REMONSTRANCES ADDRESSED TO GREGORY BY THE SAXONS—COUNCIL AT ROME IN LENT—GREGORY CONTINUES TO TEMPORIZE—HIS EPISTLE TO UDO OF TREVES—HIS SENTENCES OF EXCOMMUNICATION—USE MADE BY HENRY OF GREGORY'S UNCERTAIN CONDUCT—VAIN ATTEMPTS AT NEGOCIATION BETWEEN HENRY AND THE SAXONS—BATTLE OF MELRICHTADT—RENEWED COMPLAINTS OF THE SAXONS TO GREGORY—HIS COUNCIL IN NOVEMBER—HIS EPISTLE TO WELF OF BAVARIA—AFFAIRS OF THE NORMANS—DEATH OF RICHARD OF CAPUA—HIS SON, JORDANUS, TAKES THE PART OF THE CHURCH AGAINST GUISCARD—HE TAKES POSSESSION OF A TREASURE AT MONTE CASSINO—REPENTS, AND RESTORES IT—MICHAEL PARAPINACES DEPOSED BY NICEPHORUS BOTONIATES—EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE LATTER BY GREGORY.

It was not till the beginning of the year 1078, that the Saxon partizans of Rudolf became generally aware of the cautious, or timid, line of conduct which, with respect to that prince's election, the pontiff had been induced to pursue. Fully persuaded as they had been, that, in all which they had done, they had been acting under his auspices, they were amazed to find him practically disavowing all responsibility for that which had been effected, and claiming the character,—only to be assumed by one unpledged to either of the two contending parties,—of a mediator between them and their enemy. They addressed him, therefore, in in-

dignant terms. King Henry<sup>1</sup>, they said,—not by their advice, not on their account, but in consequence of his offences against the papal chair,—had been degraded from his throne. They had been forbidden, in the most solemn manner, to acknowledge him as king; the oaths which all Christians had taken to him had been annulled; and he, himself, had been declared excommunicate. They had, in all things, obeyed the papal mandate, and had suffered for their obedience; as the king had made their reluctance to sanction his deposition of the pontiff a pretext for treating them with additional ferocity; and he had now, in Italy, without their privity, without reformation, obtained the repeal of the sentence; though not a restoration to the kingdom, as they could not understand how the oaths, which had once been annulled, could again be restored to force. After waiting for a full year without a king, the princes had elected a sovereign in Henry's room. And now came papal letters, which spoke of two kings in one kingdom<sup>2</sup>, which accredited legates to both, and in which Henry's name actually stood first. The natural consequences of these were confusion and division. It seemed to them an extraordinary procedure, that a prince, who had, by a council of the Church, been unconditionally deposed,—a prince into whose room another had been, by papal authority, elected,—should now be called to account for his conduct; the business being thus to be begun anew. They saw his disorderly and excommunicate counsellors received with honour, as his envoys, by the apostolic see; while they themselves became objects of ridicule, as refusing to communicate with those whom the pope thus entertained. He might be acting on refined

<sup>1</sup> Bruno, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. 23.

principles of policy, but such principles were above the comprehension of simple people. They could only see that both sides were encouraged; that all decision was postponed; and that consequences the most dreadful were resulting from this state of uncertainty to their unhappy country. They besought him not to waver,—to advance might be toilsome, but to recede was disgraceful. If he thought it too much to help them with words, who had jeopardized their lives for him, let him, at least, have pity upon their distracted and trampled Church. If he durst no more openly take part against that Church's oppressors, let him, at least, not undo what he had done. If the decrees of a Roman council, confirmed by a papal legate, could be thus set aside and disregarded, none would know what to believe, what to regard as sacred. He had brought them into the jaws of the wolf, and could not now desert them in their extremity.

By the receipt of a letter like this, Gregory could not but feel himself alike degraded and distressed. Though the Saxons had exaggerated their case, their statements were, nevertheless, based upon too much truth; and the pontiff must have longed,—when he read their complaints,—for the courage to throw himself and his destinies at once into their scale, and to stake everything upon the complete overthrow of Henry, and the triumph of his rival. This course, and that of at once disavowing the election at Forchheim and recalling the legates who had sanctioned it, were the only honourable alternatives, which the event of that election had left open for his adoption. But the lurking corruption of his principles here prevailed over their general high tone, as well as over his native elevation of character. He saw the difficulties,—or as it might, perhaps, be said, the

fatal results,—which would attend his compliance with their desires. Even in his own councils, his ascendancy was by no means secure; throughout Italy his enemies seemed daily to increase, both in strength and number; and any further experiment upon that public feeling which he had so fearfully startled at Canossa, might at once have shivered his crosier, and banished him from the papal throne. And,—while he thus felt that a temporizing policy was that by which he could most effectually aid his friends,—he was, himself, perhaps, in some measure, withheld by the mental re-action consequent upon the daring effort which he had made. The results, at any rate, of that effort,—the sudden recoil which it produced in the mind of Italy, and which so rapidly developed itself in the unexpected rise of Henry's fortunes,—could scarce fail to imbue the pontiff's own spirit with a portion of that awe with which his achievement was contemplated by others. But, whether this were actually the case or not, it must be admitted, that he was never less consistently dignified in his public course of conduct, than in the years which immediately succeeded his great, and,—as it might have been thought,—his most inspiring triumph.

Gregory had summoned a council,—to meet, as usual, in the Lateran Church,—for the first week of Lent, 1078<sup>1</sup>. About one hundred persons of episcopal rank, with a number of abbots and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, presented themselves at the assembly<sup>2</sup>, which was attended by the bearers of the letter just described, and by the bishops of Osnabruck and Verdun as ambassadors from Henry<sup>3</sup>. The weight and respectability of these latter envoys, and the opportunities

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1575.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold. Constant.

of free intercourse which they enjoyed with the prelates who had assembled, did much to influence these dignitaries in the cause of the sovereign who sent them. While Rudolf, on the other hand, could only venture to send into Italy, persons obscure enough to find their way through the guarded passes of the Alps without exciting suspicions of their errand; and who could, therefore, on their arrival in Rome, in no other way exert themselves in their employer's cause, than by the simple delivery of his message, and the reception of a reply<sup>1</sup>. And this circumstance materially added to the difficulties which now lay in the pontiff's way. For many members of the council, thus influenced in Henry's favour, were desirous that, in accordance with that prince's demand, the sentence should at once, in form, be pronounced against Rudolf, as against a rebel and a usurper. Gregory, of course, refused to listen to a suggestion like this; but from its expression he could scarcely fail to see the impracticability—however he might have been inclined,—of a measure so directly opposed to it, as would have been that recognition of Henry's deposition, and of the legitimacy of his rival, which the partizans of the latter required. As a politician, therefore,—whatever line of conduct higher principles may be thought to have required,—his only course was to temporize; which he did, by referring the decision of the great question in dispute to a council, to be holden in Germany, to which legates,—the consent of the two kings having been, in the first place, obtained to their journey,—should be dispatched from the apostolic see. He would send, he said,

<sup>1</sup> The Swabian prince and his friends, "non quos voluerant, sed qualescumque poterant, transmiserunt."—Id.



pious and able persons, who, calling to their aid the most just and holy men, both of the clerical body and of the laity of Germany, should, by God's blessing, either impose a peaceful end to the dispute, or else, by an accurate investigation into the truth, learn to which cause,—as being that of justice,—was due the support and sanction of the apostolical authority. No one, whether king, archbishop, bishop, duke, count, margrave, or knight, was, in any way, to oppose these legates, or to interfere with their intended labours for the establishment of justice and the restoration of peace. “And if any,” the pontiff continued, “rashly dare to violate this our decree, or treacherously to deal with the legates whom we send for this peaceful purpose, we bind him with the bond of anathema— we bind him in body as in spirit—we bind him, with respect even to the fortunes of this life, by our apostolic power, and take all victory from his arms.”

Gregory then dismissed the ambassadors of both parties, without according to either the apostolic blessing, in the form in which it was usually bestowed by the popes on representatives of the German sovereigns. With those of Henry, he dispatched a legate, commissioned to make, with that monarch's privity, arrangements for the time and place of the projected council; and to those of Rudolf, he is said, in a private interview, to have declared the continuance of his friendly feelings for their master, as well as of his full confidence in that master's continued faith and duty to the apostolic see<sup>1</sup>.

Gregory's letter, which he addressed on this occasion “To all the Germans<sup>2</sup>,” was accompanied by another to

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. v. Ep. 15.

the estimable Udo of Treves<sup>1</sup>, who, though respected by all parties, had, in the last struggles, taken part with Henry; and to whom, in concert with a bishop to be selected from the adherents to the opposite party, Gregory wished that the preparatory arrangements for the council should principally be entrusted. "Think it not a hard thing, brother," said the pontiff, "to undertake the task which we impose. Never, since thou first receivedst the office of priesthood in the Church, canst thou have done aught more acceptable to God, or more profitable to thine own soul, than thou wouldest do in overcoming, in this matter, the iniquity of diabolic fraud, and in promoting, by God's aid, the weal of so many thousands of mankind. And even if thy labour should, in appearance, be spent in vain, there will yet await thee a certain recompense from Him, with whom no good work is reckoned unaccomplished, which is undertaken with a just intention, and followed up with a persevering will."

Guibert of Ravenna, with many other prelates of similar sentiments, had been summoned to the council. They did not, however, appear; and the sentence of excommunication went forth anew against Guibert himself, as also against Tedaldus of Milan;—against Roland, who, for his services as Henry's envoy, had been rewarded with the bishoprick of Tarvisia;—against Arnulf, the simonical bishop of Cremona;—and against the repeatedly apostate cardinal Hugo Candidus<sup>2</sup>.

"We excommunicate," these words are also con-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. Ep. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1578.

tained in the acts of the council, "all those Normans  
"who are endeavouring to invade the land of St. Peter;  
"to wit, the mark of Fermo and the duchy of Spoleto;  
"as also those who are besieging Benevento, who are  
"striving to capture and plunder Campania, the sea-  
"coast, and the Sabine territory, and who seek to  
"overthrow the city of Rome <sup>1</sup>."

But the general tenour of his sentences of excommunication was now mitigated by Gregory in the following decree. "Since we behold, on account of our  
"sins, many perish daily under our excommunicating  
"sentence, either through ignorance, through too great  
"simplicity, through fear, or through the necessities of  
"life; overcome by pity, we deem it right to temper, for  
"the time, the rigour of our anathemas. From those  
"anathemas we therefore declare exempted, by apostolical authority, all married women, children, servants, maids, or slaves; as also all peasants and persons  
"of too low a condition to be considered as abetting,  
"by their counsel, the crimes of their superiors; also  
"all those who communicate unknowingly with excommunicated persons, or with those with whom  
"the excommunicate have communicated. To the  
"preacher, the pilgrim, and the traveller, who shall  
"enter a country of excommunicated persons, and who  
"may not, without intercourse with them, supply their  
"necessary wants, we permit such intercourse. And  
"if any shall desire to give any needful thing to an  
"excommunicated person, not as an encouragement to  
"his contumacy, but simply for the sake of humanity,  
"we do not forbid it <sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1578.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. l. c.

The journey of the papal legate, under the protection of his own envoys, to his court, was a great point in Henry's favour, and one by which he resolved to profit to the utmost. Though secretly determined by no means to accede to the papal proposal, he retained, for some time, Gregory's representative in his court; taking care to be often and publicly seen in his company; and thus endeavouring to convince his subjects of the nullity of the legate Bernard's sentence upon him, and of the completeness of his reconciliation with the pontiff himself. Availing himself of the ignorance of Italian affairs, in which, by his precautions, the Saxons had been kept, he spread and countenanced rumours of Gregory's determination to support him and to crush his rebellious adversaries; rumours which too well accorded with their own impressions of the pontiff's recent conduct, not to startle and agitate the adherents of his rival. His main object, in this, was to induce them to refuse the proffers which his fear of the papacy compelled him to tender; but here he was foiled. The Saxons, when contemptuously summoned in his own name, and that of the pope, to meet his followers at Fritzlar, attended to the summons; nor, when they found that none of his principal partizans appeared to meet them, did they yield to the dictates of indignation, or abandon the negotiation. Unawed by the accounts which were industriously given them of the pontiff's feelings, they declared themselves ready to submit their case to the council which he suggested. They sent, in company with Henry's own representatives, an envoy to his court on the Rhine, commissioned to arrange with him the particulars of the meeting. And it was only when they were informed from him that all which he had conceded to the pope's desire

was a promise of pardon to the rebels, and that it was not for them to fix the day and place of their appearance before him, that the Saxons, breaking off all intercourse of a pacific nature, prepared in earnest for the renewal of hostilities <sup>1</sup>.

The remainder of the year 1078 was consequently past in warfare: warfare the more destructive, because carried on, for the most part, without concentration of forces, unity of system, or continuity of operations. Marauding partizans of each side ravaged and plundered district after district of the lands of those opposed to them; cruelties the most atrocious were committed alike by both sides on the religious, the aged, the helpless; and the horrors, which, in times of more scientific warfare, would have been confined to some one unhappy tract,—the line of march of two contending armies,—were, by the miserable mode in which contests were then carried on, diffused over an hundred provinces, desolating at once the whole face of the German empire <sup>2</sup>.

Once only, during the year, did the rival kings meet each other in the field. Aware of the approach of Rudolf and Welf from different quarters, Henry stationed twelve thousand men,—whom he had levied from the Franconian peasantry,—on the Neckar, to oppose the Bavarian; while he himself pushed forward, with his more disciplined followers, to encounter the pretender to his throne.

On the 7th of August, his troops, and those of Rudolf, came in sight of each other, near Melrichstadt, on the little river Streu <sup>3</sup>, and the engagement soon began.

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold. Constant. — Marian. Scot. — Annalista Saxo. — xii. August. fer. iii. Bruno.

Rudolf was accompanied to the field by Otho of Nordheim, the count palatine Frederic of Saxony, and by the flower of the nobility of that province ; while the papal legate Bernard, Siegfried of Mentz, and the prelates of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Worms, attended his camp. With Henry was the veteran count Eberhard of Nellenburg, and others of his confidential counsellors and friends. Previously to his appearing in sight of his enemies, the faithless king had once more endeavoured to amuse Rudolf with offers of peace ; so that his onset partook, in some measure, of the nature of a surprise. But upon the first sound of the royal war cry,—upon the first clang of Henry's arms,—the bold Saxons rushed forward to meet them, and the battle at once became general. After some fighting, the combatants,—rather, it would seem, by accident than in consequence of any concerted plan,—divided into two masses, carrying on, as it were, separate engagements. In one part of the field, the conflict was furiously waged between Rudolf on the one side and count Eberhard on the other. And on another spot, king Henry's efforts were resisted by those of Otho of Nordheim, and of the count palatine Frederic. But troops, engaged in the former of these two contests, no sooner approached the spot where were stationed the legate and prelates of Rudolf's party, than these dignitaries, seized with terror, fled in haste from the field ; they,—says the historian Bruno,—being the first to fly, who should never have approached a field of battle<sup>1</sup>. And their flight,

<sup>1</sup> Werner, archbishop of Magdeburg, was seized and slain by the country people ; his name-sake, of Merseburg, was stripped of every thing, but allowed to escape with his life. The legate Bernard and Siegfried were, for a short time, in the enemy's power, but were rescued ; but the bishop of Worms, also falling into the hands of

notwithstanding Rudolf's efforts, spread a panic through his army. All fled in confusion; and the Swabian prince himself, feeling that all was lost, at length reluctantly abandoned the field,—on which his opponent, the old count of Nellenburg, was now stretched in death,—and made for the Saxon territory <sup>1</sup>.

In the other part of the field, however, Otho and Frederic, urging on their troops with the war-cry of "St. Peter<sup>2</sup>," compelled the forces of Henry to give way before them, and pursued, in triumph, their discomfited enemies to Wurzburg<sup>3</sup>; a distance of several miles from the original scene of action. But the followers of Otho, and those of Frederic, had now, during the confusion, become separated from each other. Those of the latter first found their way back to the battle-field, from which count Eberhard's troops had retired; and Otho, subsequently approaching the spot, and mistaking them, in the dusk, for enemies, felt unwilling to undertake, with his over-wearied followers, a fresh engagement; and directing a retreat in silence, set off, by forced marches, in the direction of Saxony. Frederic and his followers remained, therefore, alone on the battle-field, on which they spent the night in joy and solemn thanksgiving<sup>4</sup>. But on the morrow, aware of their inability to retain, unsupported, their position, and ignorant of the fate of their comrades, they found it necessary, with all the spoil which they could collect and carry, to proceed on their way toward their homes<sup>5</sup>.

Henry's partizans, was detained some time in captivity.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Waltram. Naumburgens. *Apologiæ*, lib. ii. c. xvi.

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.

<sup>3</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>4</sup> In multâ lætitiâ et maxime in Dei laude.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>5</sup> Bruno.—Bernold. Constant.

During the progress of the battle which has been thus described, Welf, and Berthold of Zähringen, the son of the deceased duke of Carinthia, dispersed, with great slaughter, the peasants whom Henry had placed to oppose them on the Neckar; but subsequently hearing of the dispersion of Rudolf's army, they lost no time in falling back upon their own territories<sup>1</sup>.

In a contest so uncertain in its event as that of Melrichstadt, victory was naturally claimed by both parties. Henry, in particular, persuaded himself that he had utterly crushed his enemies, and that Saxony, deprived of the flower of her population, only awaited his arrival to submit, unconditionally, to his power. But he was soon undeceived; approaching with his reinforced army the frontiers of the province, he heard that another of those general levies had taken place, which had so often already frustrated his designs. The whole Saxon people, it was said, were in arms, and prepared to meet him in defence of their liberties and their homes; and Henry deemed it prudent to avoid so desperate a conflict<sup>2</sup>. The following months were therefore wasted in the harassing and predatory warfare which has been already described.

The Saxons,—though, as we have seen, they expressed themselves ready to submit their case to the arbitration of Gregory's council,—were, nevertheless, deeply grieved and hurt by the continuance of the pontiff's indecision. In the summer, therefore, of 1078, they addressed to him a second epistle. They expressed their astonishment that his wisdom should have determined on a course which it was impossible to pursue. Almost every bishop on their side had been

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.



driven from his see; and how could these negotiate with their persecutors, and treat on matters which had led to the death or captivity of many of their colleagues, and to the spoliation of themselves? How might Saxon delegates treat with persons, upon whom the Cardinal Bernard had laid the sentence of excommunication? How could they proceed to discuss a question already settled by a council of the Church at Rome? How enquire into his right to the throne, who had been deposed by that council three years before? If the sentence passed upon Henry was valid, how could he yet have right to give laws and reign; and if it were not so, what was to become of the oaths, by which, in obedience to papal directions, they were now bound to Rudolf? "See, dearest Lord," they said, "the earth is agitated, and in confusion. If thou wilt heal her wounds, be firm in the course which thou hast begun, and throw not that down which thou thyself hast erected. If thou now shrinkest from the way marked out, and seekest places of refuge from the danger which surrounds us, instead of healing wounds thou woundest that which is yet whole. If thou concealest that which thou hast done, and leavest us amid the storm which we have dared for thee, then be the heaven above us, and the earth, our witnesses, that we unjustly perish<sup>1</sup>."

To calm the ferment which existed in their minds, Gregory, in a letter,—which, on the first of June 1078, he addressed to the German nation,—thus adverted to the suspicions which his conduct had excited. "Enter-tain, dearest brethren, by no means the thought that I would, knowingly, in any manner favour the un-

<sup>1</sup> Bruno, p. 223.

“ righteous side. Much rather would I suffer death  
“ for your welfare, than obtain the empire of the world  
“ by your ruin. If any, confident in falsehood, should,  
“ by letter or by word, inform you otherwise, believe  
“ him not. We fear God, and for his love are afflicted  
“ every day; and have in so much the less regard for  
“ the pride and pleasures of this life, in that we look  
“ with confidence for a speedy consolation for its sor-  
“ rows in His presence <sup>1</sup>.”

But though another council, attended by the envoys of both the contending princes, was holden by the pontiff in the November of the same year <sup>2</sup>, he yet delayed to adopt any decisive measure, and the decrees passed were, in substance, re-enactments of canons formerly promulgated against what were considered the general evils of the Church, including simony, clerical marriage, and the practice of lay investiture <sup>3</sup>. The question of the German crown was probably reserved,—as for a more solemn assembly,—for the great annual council of the ensuing Lent. And Gregory attempted to meet the murmurs, likely to be occasioned by this further delay, by an epistle addressed, in December, to Welf of Bavaria; in which,—re-asserting his uprightness and impartiality,—“ Confide,” he said, “ in the justice of your  
“ cause, and in the aid of St. Peter. Be strong in the  
“ Lord, and in the power of His might. Cling with  
“ firm and faithful hearts to God, and soon shall ye be  
“ gladdened by victory and peace <sup>4</sup>.”

Robert Guiscard, during the early part of the year of which the transactions have now been recorded, carried on with vigour the siege of Benevento, while

<sup>1</sup> Lib. vi. Ep. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1579.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. vi. Ep. 14.

Richard, his recovered ally, continued that of Naples. This latter city had been reduced to the greatest streights, when Richard's death, on the 13th of April 1078, gave a new turn to the affairs of southern Italy. That active and courageous prince was succeeded, in the principality of Capua, by his son Jordanus; who immediately adopted a line of policy directly opposite, in some respects, to that which his father had recently pursued. He undertook the defence, against the Duke of Apulia, of the Church and of Benevento; receiving from the city in question a present, or a reward, of 4500 bezants, or, as some say, crowns of gold. Advancing suddenly before its walls, he destroyed all the works and machines which Guiscard had erected before it; and by his further hostilities, aided by an insurrection in Bari, Trani, and other cities at the opposite extremity of Robert's dominions, he kept that enterprizing warrior for some time at bay, and prevented any immediate danger from his arms to the apostolic see.

The zeal of Jordanus was, however, not of the purest description. While defending the Church from other depredators, he scrupled not, himself, to demand with threats, and to receive, from the abbot and monks of Monte Cassino, a deposit of gold confided to the protection of their altar by the bishop of Rosella. The intelligence of this transaction awakened in Gregory the most lively indignation. He commanded, that, in the Church of a monastery, of which the monks had, in so cowardly a manner, betrayed their trust, all divine service should cease; he directed that the altars should be stripped of their holy ornaments; and the Abbot Desiderius he most severely reprimanded for his culpable breach of faith and unchristian timidity; assuring him,

that nothing but the long and sincere friendship which had existed between them, prevented his visiting such an offence with the most serious punishment <sup>1</sup>.

Against the despoiler, Jordanus himself, was levelled a decree of the council of November; in which,—though he was not named,—the censures of the Church were declared in force against any Norman, who should have violated the territory, or despoiled the monastery, of Monte Cassino; and who should not, being twice or thrice summoned to do so, repent and make restitution: This decree had no immediate effect on the conduct of Jordanus, for we find, that, on the 22d of the following April, the pontiff addressed to him a letter of solemn warning and rebuke on the subject. To this, or to other instigations of the same kind, he was, at length, induced to listen, and, professing his repentance, he not only restored to the monks the plundered treasure, but subsequently made amends for what he had done, by splendid donations to their monastery <sup>2</sup>.

Michael Parapinaces, Gregory's eastern correspondent and ally, was now driven from his throne into a monastery by Nicephorus Botoniates, who received, in April 1078, his imperial crown. Though Michael was a prince of a weak and worthless character, Gregory was, it is probable, deeply grieved by the deposition of one with whom, notwithstanding the causes of division which existed between the East and the West, he had succeeded in establishing relations of friendly intercourse; relations to which the pontiff looked as to the

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> According to Leo Ostiensis, Jordanus was induced to this change of conduct by the loss (probably temporary) of sight. "Lumen amisit," is the historian's phrase.

means of realizing, one day, his brightest earthly vision. Michael, too, had been, from some cause unknown, a munificent benefactor to the monastery just mentioned, of Monte Cassino. Gregory did not hesitate, therefore, in the council of November 1078,—the first which he held subsequently to the Grecian prince's degradation,—to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon his usurping successor: a sentence which, in the existing state of affairs, he could scarcely expect to be productive of any tangible results; but which he probably felt to be demanded of him, both by the voice of private friendship, and by the high responsibilities of the station, which he conceived himself to fill. For his epistles breathe throughout the keenest sense of the awful charge annexed to the episcopal character, the duty of protesting against evil. And how, consistently with that principle, could the bishop of the universal Church be silent, when treason and violence publicly forced themselves into the foremost place of the whole Eastern world?

Two years had now elapsed from the date of Henry's humiliation; and, during those years, Gregory had, as we have seen, been enabled to maintain, in the eyes of Christendom, the position of exaltation, in which he had been placed by the chain of events, which terminated at Canossa. Difficulties and dangers, on various sides, surrounded him, but he was yet politically unhumbled. Henry,—far from accomplishing his overthrow, or, in any way recovering, by retaliation, the ground, which the royal power had lost by that enforced humiliation,—had been forced, by the course of occurrences, to do outward homage to his authority, and to claim, before the world, his favour and protection. And every year which passed over that monarch's head,

while this humiliation was unavenged, and while the pontiff was enabled to maintain the loftiness of his pretensions, made it more difficult to bring back men's minds to the standard of other times, or to replace the empire and the Church in the positions which they had, in the preceding generation, relatively occupied. But the conflict, by which the royalists endeavoured to recover, and the papalists to preserve, the ground thus lost and won, was destined to be yet of long continuance; and far to out-last the life of him, whose history forms the principal subject of these pages.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XVI.

A. D. 1079.

COUNCIL AT ROME IN FEBRUARY—BERENGARIUS—HIS HISTORY AND CHARACTER—GREGORY'S FAVOURABLE INCLINATIONS TOWARD HIM—HIS CONFESSION BEFORE THE COUNCIL—HIS DEPARTURE, AND SUBSEQUENT LIFE—THOUGHTS ON HIS CONDUCT, AND ITS RESULTS—PLEADINGS OF THE AMBASSADORS OF HENRY AND RUDOLF BEFORE THE COUNCIL—GREGORY'S CONTINUED INDECISION—HENRY'S PROCRASTINATION, AND WANT OF FAITH—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO HIS GERMAN ALLIES—CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR—CORRESPONDENCE OF GREGORY WITH CANUTE, KING OF DENMARK—WITH LADISLAUS OF HUNGARY—WITH SPAIN—AND WITH BRITANNY—HIS EPISTLE TO WEZELIN, THE ADVERSARY OF DEMETRIUS OF DALMATIA—HIS EXCOMMUNICATION OF BOLESLAUS, KING OF POLAND, FOR THE MURDER OF A BISHOP—MISSION OF THE LEGATE HUBERT TO ENGLAND, TO DEMAND HOMAGE, AND THE PAYMENT OF PETER'S PENCE—LETTER OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR REFUSING THE FORMER—GREGORY'S MORTIFICATION, WHICH HE IS COMPELLED TO DISSEMBLE.

In the month of February 1079, Gregory convoked a council once more<sup>1</sup>; and no less than an hundred and fifty prelates obeyed his summons. Before this assembly appeared the celebrated Berengarius, a man conspicuous in the ecclesiastical annals of the time, but whose history has not been hitherto touched upon, it having been thought expedient to bring that history, as far as it was connected with that of Gregory, before the reader, in one uninterrupted narrative. And this, unconnected as the subject seems with the main thread of

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1583.

our story, it may be desirable now to do: as some knowledge of Gregory's dealings with the celebrated person in question is essential to a correct appreciation of the pontiff's position during his latter years. Berengarius, then,—a man celebrated for his talents and learning, who had once filled the situation of principal of the public school at Tours, and who had subsequently been appointed to the office of archdeacon of Angers,—refused to admit that peculiar notion, respecting the change of substance in the consecrated elements of the holy Eucharist, which was, in his time, daily becoming more and more prevalent in the western Church, and which is now known as the doctrine of Transubstantiation. That doctrine had, it appears, been first moulded into definite form, from the Catholic doctrine of the real Presence, by Paschasius Radbertus, monk, and afterwards abbot, of Corbie, who died A. D. 865<sup>1</sup>. And though it was, on its introduction, strongly protested against by several able writers,—the principal among whom were Ratramnus<sup>2</sup> and Rabanus Maurus,—the novelty gradually grew into repute: a circumstance mainly, perhaps, to be accounted for, from its harmonizing, as has been remarked in our introductory chapter, with the general spirit and tone which theology was tending to assume. Opponents were, however, as late as the times of which we are treating, still found to the notion; and of these, Berengarius was, during Gregory's lifetime, the great representative. But the opposite opinion had now become so general, that his

<sup>1</sup> Vide Paschasii Radberti lib. de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. ix. p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Ratramni de Corpore et Sanguine Domini lib. ad Carol. regem; et Rabani Mauri Epist. ad Heribaldum Autissidorens. Episc. c. 33.



views could be promulged only at the hazard of their condemnation by prelates and synods, and of the punishment of their author.

A letter addressed by Berengarius to Lanfranc was, by the latter, somewhat unfairly laid before a Roman synod under the presidency of Leo IX. in 1050<sup>1</sup>; in consequence of which Berengarius was censured, absent and unheard, for the principles therein expressed<sup>2</sup>. And this sentence was shortly confirmed by a council held, under the same pontiff, at Vercelli<sup>3</sup>. At this latter meeting, Berengarius was summoned to appear and defend himself: and he declares,—in his book “*de Sacra Cœnâ*,” fol. 16—that he was willing to have complied with the summons; but that the king of France, —who was, officially, the abbot of the church to which he belonged, and whose leave it was incumbent on him to procure for the journey,—prevented and confined him. He presented himself, however, before Hildebrand, when the latter held, as papal legate, a council at Tours, in 1054<sup>4</sup>. And in him he found, according to his own account, a most favourable judge. Hildebrand listened to his arguments with mildness and attention, and himself so far supported those arguments, as to bring to the council the works of many authors, and to refer the prelates who sat with him to various passages, explaining and confirming the tenets of the accused. The legate indeed expressed a wish that Berengarius should present himself before pope Leo in person; that by his authority the clamours

<sup>1</sup> On the 2nd of May.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *Opusculum anonymi de Berengarii hæresiarchæ damnatione multiplici*, ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1015.

<sup>3</sup> 1st Sept. Harduin. p. 1017. Berengar. de Sac. Cœn. fol. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1041. an. 1055.

against him might be definitively quelled; and the prelates of the council expressed themselves satisfied when the archdeacon of Angers made before them, verbally and in writing, the declaration—which he says he most heartily did—“that the bread and wine of the altar are truly after consecration the Body and Blood of Christ<sup>1</sup>.”

Confiding in his powerful friend, Berengarius,—when summoned to Rome in 1059, during the pontificate of Nicholas II.,—hesitated not to present himself before the papal throne. But the result of this step must have sorely disappointed him. Headed by the cardinal bishop Humbert, the party of his opponents was predominant in the Lateran. Hildebrand was unable efficiently to protect him; the pope was cold and unfriendly. Awed by the tumultuous clamours around him, and at the same time appalled by the fear of instant death, Berengarius felt his firmness forsake him<sup>2</sup>; and renouncing the opinion which he had till then maintained, he adopted, as his own, the following confession.

“I, Berengarius . . . anathematize every heresy, and more particularly that of which I have hitherto been accused . . . I agree with the holy Roman Church . . . that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar, are, after consecration, not only a sacrament, but even the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that these are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but in truth, handled and broken by the hands of the priest, and ground by the teeth of the faithful. And this I swear by the holy and consub-

<sup>1</sup> Berengar. de S. C. fol. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Instantis timore mortis atque insanorum perturbatione dejectus, a protestatione veritatis et defensione meâ obmutui. Bereng. de S. C. 44, 45.

“stantial Trinity, and by these holy gospels of Christ<sup>1</sup>.” Berengarius was then allowed to return to France; where, freed from the urgent terrors which had overpowered him, he soon showed, by returning to the inculcation of his former doctrines, the insincerity of his compulsory recantation. He continued, however, some years unmolested. Alexander II. whether guided by the dictates of his own mild disposition, or by the influence of his great minister and adviser, forbore from all attempts to move him by public censures, or by any other mode than that of friendly expostulation. And Gregory VII. we may imagine, would willingly have allowed the supposed heretic to continue in tranquillity. But as the storms of his pontificate rolled more loudly, — as party spirit was kindled and aroused throughout the western Church to daily increasing exacerbation, — this subject, among others, was taken up with clamour; and the antipapal party, by whom Gregory’s views on the subject were more than suspected, saw, — it is probable, — in an attack on Berengarius, a likely mode of assailing and annoying the pontiff himself. The influence of the latter over his conclave, — as we have seen, — grew feeble — his enemies, even in his own councils, threatened to overpower him, — and Gregory was at length compelled so far to yield to their demands, as to summon Berengarius to appear and defend himself before the council of November 1078. But, upon its assembling, he acted the part of a friend to the accused. Berengarius, with his concurrence, — in lieu of repeating the declaration made by him in 1059, — made the following, couched in more general and less stringent terms. “I  
“acknowledge that the bread of the altar, after con-

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1064.

“secreation, is the true Body of Christ, which was born  
“of the Virgin, which suffered on the cross, and which  
“sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and that  
“the wine of the altar, after it is consecrated, is the  
“true Blood which flowed from the side of Christ; and  
“what I pronounce with my mouth, that I declare I  
“hold in my heart, so help me God and these holy  
“Gospels.”

And this confession was no sooner made than Gregory declared that it was enough for the Faith, and enough for those who must be fed with milk and not with strong meat; as St. Augustine had said, “What ye see on the altar is bread and wine, as your eyes inform you; but, according to that which faith demands of you, the bread is the Body of Christ, and the wine his Blood.” He proclaimed aloud that Berengarius was no heretic; that the universally revered Peter Damiani had, in his hearing, spoken of the sacrifice of the Eucharist in terms opposed to those insisted on by Lanfranc and his party; and that Lanfranc’s authority was not to be set against that of an actual son of the Church of Rome, who, while not inferior to Lanfranc in depth of learning, far excelled him as to the zeal with which he studied the divine word, according to the Lord’s own command, “Search the Scriptures.” And thus, in appearance, were appeased the clamours of the archdeacon’s impugners. Dissatisfaction, however, had been excited by what were considered the ambiguous terms of the new confession. Benno, Gregory’s inveterate enemy, who was able to influence a

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Act. Concil. Rom. sub Greg. VII. Pap. in caus. Berengar. ab ips. Berengar. conscript. cum ipsius postea recantatione. Martene et Durand Thesaur. Nov. anecdot. t. iv. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Concilii, l. c.

powerful party in the college of cardinals, was urgent in calling for a statement more specific. And it was insisted on, that Berengarius should be detained in Rome, till the more solemn council of the following Lent should definitively decide upon his case. With this demand Gregory was either unable, or afraid, to refuse compliance, and Berengarius remained, during the winter, in the papal city. But, as Lent approached, the pontiff anxiously endeavoured to discover some means by which the necessity of calling upon him to re-model his confession might be avoided. He first resolved to call upon him to confirm, by oath, the confession which he had already made, and to submit to the ordeal of hot iron in proof of his truth. With this proposal the accused expressed himself ready to comply; but, while he was preparing himself for the trial by fasting and prayer, Gregory announced a change of purpose. Sending for Berengarius, he, in the presence of the bishop of Porto, thus addressed him:—

“ I doubt not that thou thinkest rightly enough, and  
 “ in accordance with the Scriptures, respecting the sa-  
 “ crifice of Christ; but as I am accustomed, on doubt-  
 “ ful occasions, to appeal to the aid of the blessed Mary,  
 “ I some days back directed a certain monk, who is  
 “ my friend, to implore, with prayer and fasting<sup>1</sup>,  
 “ that she would show me with certainty to which side

<sup>1</sup> This direction, magnified into an order to the cardinals generally, is severely censured by Benno, as betraying a criminal hesitation between heresy and orthodoxy.—Benno, *de vita Hildebrandi*. “ En !” says another of Gregory’s opponents, “ en verus pontifex et sacerdos, qui dubitat si illud quod sumatur in dominicâ mensâ sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi !”—Vid. Egilberti archiep. Trevir. *epist. adv. Greg. VII. in Eccardi Corp. historic. Medii Ævi, t. ii. p. 170.*

“ of this controversy I should incline ; to the end that  
“ I might henceforth remain fixed in my opinion. He  
“ fulfilled my request, and brought me, after a certain  
“ time, the blessed Virgin’s answer. It was to the effect  
“ that we need believe nothing respecting the Sacrifice  
“ of Christ, but that which the Scriptures teach us ;  
“ and that Berengarius teaches nothing in opposition  
“ to them <sup>1</sup>.”

And yet,—notwithstanding these demonstrations of favour and intended support,—the pontiff was prevailed upon, or compelled, to command the appearance of Berengarius, within a few days of this conference with him, before the council of Lent, 1079, and to permit his opponents to tender for his adoption, a confession in the following re-modelled form :—

“ I believe with my heart, and confess with my  
“ mouth, that the bread and wine which are placed  
“ upon the altar, through the mystery of holy prayer,  
“ and through the words of our Redeemer, are substan-  
“ tially converted into the true, proper, and life-giving  
“ Body and Blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, so as, after  
“ consecration, to be the true body of Christ which was  
“ born of the Virgin, which, as an offering for the salva-  
“ tion of the world, hung upon the cross, which sitteth  
“ at the right hand of the Father ; and the true blood  
“ of Christ which flowed from His side ; and this not  
“ only by the sign and virtue of a sacrament, but in  
“ properness of nature and truth of substance <sup>2</sup>.”

Berengarius, in the exigency in which he was placed, did not hesitate to pledge himself to this document, or even, in compliance with the clamours of his accusers, to swear that he adopted the words in the sense

<sup>1</sup> Acta Concilii in causâ Berengar. Martene et Durand. ut supra.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1588.

which they put upon them, and not according to any secret meaning of his own. And as he thus disarmed them from taking any further measures against him, Gregory lost no time in sending him to his home, publicly forbidding him to teach any longer the obnoxious doctrine which he had disavowed; but at the same time directing a faithful friend to accompany and protect him on his way; and furnishing him with a commendatory letter, in which he denounced the censures of the Church against all who should presume to do to Berengarius, a son of the Roman Church, any injury, or to stigmatize him as a heretic<sup>1</sup>. Thus freed from his difficulties, Berengarius,—as might have been expected,—avowed, upon his return, his original opinions; and ascribed his formal disavowal of them to the fear of instant death<sup>2</sup>. But Gregory, however urged on the point by the archdeacon's enemies, firmly refused,—and to the end of his life persevered in the refusal,—to take any further measures against him. Berengarius continued, therefore, during the remainder of his life, unmolested by his opponents, and died in peace,—and, it would seem, in the odour of sanctity<sup>3</sup>—in his place of retirement, the island of St. Côme, near Tours, in the year 1088<sup>4</sup>.

In an age in which,—as was the case in that of which we are treating,—the great mysteries of religion were,

<sup>1</sup> In Dacherii Spicileg. Edit. 2. t. iii. p. 413, Benno and his party exclaimed against the letter as a proof that Gregory was in truth a brother heretic with him whom he thus befriended.—Vid. Pagi Breviar. Gest. Pontif. t. i. p. 579. Gregory is defended from this charge by Baronius, an. 1079, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Pagi, Breviar. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Or according to Bernold. Constant. in 1083.

after a fashion, hardened and distorted by a gross and carnal comprehension of them, the character of an impugner of any portion of the received theology,—however just may have been the positive grounds of his attack,—must always be liable to a suspicion. We cannot, without inquiry, be certain whether his assaults were directed against a specific corruption, or against the mystery, in connection with which that corruption would generally be viewed; whether he was animated by a reverential love for the truth revealed, or by the baser spirit of infidelity and indifferentism.

Many instances may unquestionably be found, in the middle ages, of opponents to the papal school, whose zeal,—though it happened to impugn formidable errors,—was, in reality, directed against the truths with which those errors were blended. But there appears reason to hope that Berengarius, though his character must be confessed to be doubtful, was guided by a higher principle. To the works written on the subject of the Eucharist by Joannes Scotus, otherwise called Erigena, to whom he professes unqualified adherence, we unfortunately cannot, in these times, refer; but his own work “*de Sacra Cœnâ*,” which, having been found in manuscript in the library of Wolfenbüttel, has recently been published at Berlin, throws a light upon his views, which, previously to that publication, was wanting. And though that work shows an asperity of temper, natural, perhaps, in the circumstances of the writer, and an irreverence of language, thence resulting, toward those high authorities of the Church of whom he felt that he had reason to complain<sup>1</sup>, it does not seem from it, that Berengarius controverted aught beyond the

<sup>1</sup> In the “*Acta Concilii*,” he speaks of the “*importunitas Paduani*”



notion that actual transubstantiation took place, by the bread and wine ceasing to exist; or that he in any way endeavoured to impugn the sacred doctrine of the Real Presence itself, or to explain away the awful mysteriousness of the holy Sacrament.

We are, therefore, it is to be hoped, at liberty to believe that he was,—in intention as well as in fact,—a witness to the truth; though he timidly and unjustifiably abandoned his testimony in the hour of trial. And, if this be, indeed, the correct view of the case, how unspeakably fearful may not the consequences of that abandonment have been. We may not, otherwise than diffidently and reverentially, conjecture the scope of those designs, so to call them, of Providence which it suffers to remain unfulfilled. But the history of the Israelitish nation, and of the Christian Church, abundantly shows that, both in the ancient and in the modern theocracy, the Almighty permits his gracious dispositions for the good of his subjects to be to a certain extent thwarted and impaired by the sins and frailties of his human instruments. And if this be so, we may perhaps,—coupling the defection of Berengarius with the fearful prevalence, in the Christian Church, ever since his time, of the error which he opposed,—imagine that in him we recognize the intended instru-

*scurræ, non episcopi, et Pisani non episcopi sed Antichristi.*" And Leo IX., by whom his tenets were first condemned, he describes, in his address to Lanfranc, as "*minime Leo de tribu Judæ.*" As "*pompifex, palpifex, et sacrilega sanctus.*" But for this violence he was rebuked even by a contemporary who agreed with him in principle. "*Sed quod de tantâ personâ sacrilegum dixisti, non puto approbandum: quia multa humilitate tanto in ecclesiâ culmini est deferendum, etiamsi sit in ejusmodi quippiam non plene elimatum.*"—*Epistola ad Berengar. in Martene et Durand. Thesaur. Nov. t. i. p. 196.*

ment by which that evil was to have been arrested; that his martyrdom, had he not shrunk from it, would have directly contributed to the triumph of the truth, and have prevented the adoption, by any portion of Christendom, of the word "Transubstantiation," as well as of the painfully irreverent notions and practices to which the doctrine thus named has given birth. Speculations like this, however, should only be entertained by us with diffidence and humility. And it should ever be remembered,—to whatever impressions they may lead us,—that they cannot make it incumbent on us to pass a severer censure on the individuals from whose errors they arise, than we should have passed without them. Of every crime, every abandonment of duty, we may well suppose that the consequences spread themselves, in multiplied and ever ramifying evil, through generation after generation. It is not for us, therefore, to visit, in our thoughts, any given offence with peculiar severity, because we trace,—or think we trace,—with unusual clearness, the disastrous progress of its resulting mischiefs<sup>1</sup>.

The attention of the council of 1079 was not confined to this important matter. Like its predecessors, it was attended by the envoys of the two contending kings<sup>2</sup>. Those of Rudolf expressed anew the impatience of the Saxons for a positive declaration in their favour,—dwelt upon the miseries which the pon-

<sup>1</sup> The question whether Berengarius was a witness for the truth, or a heretic, being one of great importance, and—as the author is willing to admit—of some doubt, he has brought together several passages from the book, "De Sacrá Cœnâ," cited in the text, which seems to him to show that the objections of Berengarius were directed against Transubstantiation alone, and not against the Real Presence. These passages will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1585.

tiff's indecision entailed on their unhappy country,—and portrayed in the most odious colours the cruelty and profaneness of the opposite party<sup>1</sup>. But to these latter statements Henry's representatives were only too well prepared to reply by recrimination. Both parties expressed the readiness of their employers to submit their case to the intended council in Germany; and those of Henry,—explaining as best they might that prince's past delay,—swore in his name as follows:—

“ Ambassadors from my lord, the king, shall come  
 “ to you,—unavoidable causes, such as death, serious  
 “ illness, or capture, not preventing them,—by or be-  
 “ fore the day of our Lord's Ascension; who will se-  
 “ curely lead into, and bring from, Germany the legates  
 “ of the Roman see; and to whom our lord the king will  
 “ be obedient in all things, according to justice and to  
 “ their award. All these things he will, without deceit,  
 “ observe, except as he may be directed by your com-  
 “ mand to depart from them. And this I swear by  
 “ my lord king Henry's command<sup>2</sup>.”

The envoys of Rudolf swore in like manner, in their master's name, that he would pay implicit obedience to the legatine award<sup>3</sup>.

Gregory, therefore, postponed once more his definitive decision, pronouncing the sentence of excommunication upon all, by whom the preparations for the intended council should be in any way impeded. And by excommunicating Dietrich, duke of Upper Lorraine, and all who had abetted him in the spoliation and expulsion from their sees of the prelates of Mentz and Metz, and other bishops, supporters of

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1585.

<sup>3</sup> Id. p. 1586.

Rudolf's cause<sup>1</sup>,—acts in which Henry's participation was well known,—he showed his desire once more to visit with the Church's direct censure that monarch himself. But Henry had a powerful party even amid the members of the papal council; and Gregory, it seems, durst not yet depart from his course of apparent compromise.

Henry had, as may be supposed, no real intention of fulfilling the vows thus taken in his name. The patriarch of Aquileia, whom, as well as the bishops of Alba and Padua, Gregory sent with the royal envoys on their return to Germany, were received at his court. He listened with respect to their notification of the papal intentions; and acquiesced in different proposals made by them respecting a preliminary meeting. But he contrived,—at one time, by causing the Bohemians to make an inroad into the Saxon territories,—at another, by fixing the place of meeting at Wurzburg, a city, which the known feelings of the citizens forbade the Saxons to approach,—to prevent even this preparatory step from being satisfactorily taken. And winning over, in the meantime, by bribes, two of the legates, the patriarch of Aquileia and the bishop of Padua, to his side<sup>2</sup>; he succeeded in turning the influence of the papal authority against itself, procuring from these faithless ministers the confirmation, in opposition to the will of their principal, of many of his newly-appointed anti-papal bishops in their sees. He then sent the traitors back, richly laden with presents, to Rome, where they endeavoured, as far as they might, to mislead the pontiff into the belief that Henry was all obedience to his will, and that the whole blame of the

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

continued delay rested with the monarch's rebellious adversaries. But the more veracious account of the upright, though simple, bishop of Alba, who soon followed them to the papal city, at once nullified the effect of their misrepresentations; and Gregory became convinced alike of Henry's interminable treachery, and of the disgrace which the conduct of his representatives had brought upon his own good name<sup>1</sup>. To remove, therefore, as far as he might, the latter, and to soothe and encourage his now indignant allies, he, on the 1st of October 1079, thus addressed them<sup>2</sup>:—

“We hear, that some among you have doubts on my account, as though under the necessity of the times I had behaved with a worldly vacillation. But, believe that, —except in the experience of actual conflicts,—no one among you is surrounded by more difficulties or sufferings than myself. With very few exceptions, the whole Latin race defend and praise the cause of Henry, and accuse me of too great harshness and cruelty towards him. By God's grace we have hitherto so far resisted them all, that we have inclined to neither party, except in accordance with what, to our understanding, appeared the dictates of truth and justice. If our legates have, in any manner, acted in opposition to our commands, we lament it; and we hear that they have done so, partly compelled by violence, partly deceived by guile. We, in truth, enjoined them to fix a time and place, so as to enable us to send wise and approved persons to examine into your cause; to direct the restoration of the exiled bishops to their sees; and to enjoin a separation from excommunicated persons. And if, either through force or deceit, they have been

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant. p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vii. Ep. 3.

“ induced to act in opposition to these directions, we  
“ approve it not. Be ye sure that, with God’s bless-  
“ ing, no man, either by affection, by fear, or by any  
“ kind of temptation, has hitherto prevailed, or shall at  
“ any time prevail, so far as to seduce me in the slight-  
“ est degree from the straight path of justice. And do  
“ not, if in truth and love unfeigned ye are faithful to  
“ God and to St. Peter, faint under your tribulations.  
“ Zealous of good, persevere in the faith in which ye  
“ have begun, and remember, that he who endureth unto  
“ the end, the same shall be saved<sup>1</sup>.”

The war, during the intervals between the negotiations which have been adverted to, continued to rage. Rudolf, during the year, reduced Westphalia to submission; while Henry, in great measure, subjugated Swabia, a province which he bestowed as a fief on his gallant soldier Frederic, lord of the Alpine fortress of Staufen; little imagining that he was, in so doing, aggrandizing the progenitor of that celebrated dynasty, the Swabian line, or house of Hohenstaufen, which was destined, at no great distance of time, to succeed his own upon the seat of empire. But the contending kings never met, during the whole of 1079, in the field of battle. The relative position, therefore, of their affairs, underwent no material change; and their distracted country beheld, as yet, no approaching termination to its miseries.

We find Gregory, during the year, in correspondence with Canute, the brother and successor of Harold on the Danish throne<sup>2</sup>. The new sovereign showed him-

<sup>1</sup> S. Matt. x. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory’s epistle (vii. 5) bears date October 15, 1079; but this may be a mistake, as Harold’s death is, according to most accounts, represented as having taken place April 1080.

self as respectful to the authority, and as obedient to the counsels, of Gregory, as had been his brother. He continued firm in his devotion to the Church throughout his reign; and, being murdered in consequence of his assertion of the privileges of the clergy<sup>1</sup>, he has received from Rome the honours of canonization. A letter of encouragement was transmitted by the pontiff, in March 1079, to the Hungarian Ladislaus<sup>2</sup>. And legates were in the same year dispatched to Spain<sup>3</sup> and to Brittany. A council was holden in the latter place, with the object of correcting the abuses which had crept into the Armorican Church with respect to penances; outward acts of humiliation being more attended to than was that contrition of heart which they were intended to typify and to induce. To those who thus perilously deceived themselves, Gregory spoke in his instructions to the council as follows:—

“Fruitless we consider that penance which is succeeded by a repetition of offences similar to those, on account of which it was undertaken. Let him, who will be truly a penitent, recur to the beginning of his faith—to his baptismal vow—to his pledge to renounce the devil and all his works, the world and all its vanities, and to believe in God; that is, to endeavour, by thinking of Him rightly, to keep, and diligently to observe, His commandments. To him who thus repents,—and no other repentance deserves the name,—it is but dissimulation,—we grant, by our apostolic power, the remission of his offences past; and moreover, trusting in the mercy of the Almighty God, we promise him the joys of eternal beatitude<sup>4</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> In the church of Odensee, July 10, 1086.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. Ep. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. vii. Ep. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. vii. Ep. 10.

The newly-erected throne of Demetrius of Dalmatia already shook to its foundations ; and Gregory, anxious for its stability, addressed, on the 4th of October in this year, a letter of pastoral warning to one Wezelin, the chief of the monarch's enemies<sup>1</sup>. He directed, that all complaints against Demetrius,—if cause for complaints existed,—should be brought before the apostolic chair: declaring that, unless this were done, the cause of that prince was the cause of Rome, and the injuries inflicted upon him would infallibly be avenged by the sword of St. Peter.

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, who had dared,—on the grounds of cruelty and adultery,—first to rebuke, and then to excommunicate, Boleslaus, king of Poland, was, on the 8th of May 1079, savagely murdered by that barbarous sovereign's own hand, as he officiated at the altar<sup>2</sup>. But Gregory was not likely to suffer such an outrageous insult to the Church to be perpetrated with impunity. Addressing himself to Peter, archbishop of Gniessen, he called on him, and on all the bishops of the country, to announce that the kingdom was under an interdict,—that Boleslaus was deprived for ever of his rank and power,—and that the kingly name was thenceforward abolished in Poland. The miserable Boleslaus, for about a year, attempted to defy this terrible denunciation ; but, hated by his subjects, and in daily fear of attempts upon his life, he at length abandoned the throne, and fled into Hungary, where, in 1081, unable longer to endure the reproaches of his conscience, he put with his own hand a period to his wretched existence<sup>3</sup>.

William of England stood alone among the sove-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. vii. Ep. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cromeri Polonia, lib. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Cromer. ut supra.



reigns of Europe, for strength and independence of character. In his kingdom, therefore, the pontiff was compelled to push forward, with much more caution than elsewhere, the measures which he desired. The haughty Conqueror asserted the prerogative of kingly despotism over the Church as well as over the state; procuring the appointment and deposition of bishops at his pleasure; dealing with the property of the Church as though a mere secular concern; and preventing the primates of his realm from complying with Gregory's directions, by presenting themselves before the apostolic chair. In consequence of these things, Gregory now sent Hubert, a sub-deacon of the Roman Church, as his legate to England, with the commission again to urge Lanfranc to take, undeterred by fear of any earthly power, the required journey<sup>1</sup>, and to demand of William himself the performance of homage for his kingdom, and the payment of the well-known tribute called Peter's pence, then considerably in arrear<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. vi. Ep. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Pence.—Denarii Sancti Petri—otherwise called, in the Saxon tongue, Rome-feoh, the fee of Rome,—also Rome-scot and Rome-pennyng,—was a tribute given by Ina, king of the West Saxons, being in pilgrimage to Rome, in the year of our Lord 720, which was a penny for every house.—Lamb. Explication of Saxon words, verbo Nummus. And the like given by Offa, king of the Mercians, through his dominions, in anno 794, not as a tribute to the pope, but in sustentation of the English school or college there; and it was called Peter-pence, because collected on the day of St. Peter ad Vincula. Spelman. de Concil. tom. i. fol. 2, 3. And see St. Edward's Laws, num. x.: king Edgar's Laws, lxxviii. c. 4. Stow's Annals, p. 67. It amounted to 300 marks and a noble yearly. Leg. Hen. I. c. 1.

It was first prohibited by Edw. III. and abrogated by stat. 25. Hen. VIII. c. 21. But it was revived by stat. 1 and 2 Ph. and Mar. c. 8. and at length wholly abrogated by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1.

To these demands the Conqueror thus concisely replied;—

“Thy legate Hubert, holy father, hath called on me  
 “in thy name, to take the oath of fealty to thee and  
 “to thy successors, and to exert myself in enforcing  
 “the more regular payment of the duties, paid of old  
 “by my predecessors to the Church of Rome. The  
 “one request I have granted, the other I refused.  
 “Homage to thee I have not chosen—I do not choose  
 “—to do. I owe it not on my own account; nor do  
 “I find that it has been performed by those before  
 “me. The money in question has, during the three  
 “years last past, while I was in France, been negli-  
 “gently levied. That which has been collected, Hu-  
 “bert will lay before thee; and that which we have  
 “yet to collect shall be sent thee, at a convenient  
 “season, by the messengers of our trusty archbishop  
 “Lanfranc<sup>1</sup>.”

Gregory's indignation was, as we may suppose, in-  
 flamed by the cool and haughty tone of this epistle.  
 He immediately recalled his legate, directing him to  
 take no further steps about the money, as that, without  
 the homage was valueless<sup>2</sup>. Not even pagan kings,  
 he said, had so far insulted the apostolic see, as had  
 this Christian prince, in forbidding the prelates of his  
 kingdom to approach its threshold. He directed Hubert

See Jacob's Law Dictionary, Vol. II. See also Cowel's Law Dic-  
 tionary, 1727. art. Rome-feoh, Rome-Scot.

According to Cantelius, the money thus accruing to Rome was  
 divided into two portions, of which one went to the support of the  
 Basilica of St. Mary, commonly called the English school. Metro-  
 polit. Urb. Histor. pt. II. Diss. 3.—Vid. Alex. II. Epist. ad  
 Wilhelm. Reg. Anglor. ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1085.

<sup>1</sup> Baron. ad an. 1079.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vii. Ep. 1.

once more to remind these prelates of this their duty, and then, having also warned the king once more against the evil of his way, to depart from the kingdom.

Gregory knew, however, too well the temperament of him with whom he had to deal, to venture upon any public denunciation, or to hazard an open rupture. We find, on the contrary, that, notwithstanding this repulse, the pontiff continued to use toward William the same over-courteous tone in which he had previously corresponded with him; a tone in which, it must be confessed, we more easily trace the influence of a timid, compromising policy, than the dictates of high independent principle.

It should, it is true, be recollected, that many reasons of an honourable kind must have rendered the pontiff averse to a rupture with the English king. William,—though in early life he had violated the canons by his marriage with Matilda, a princess within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity,—had, after his conquest of England, been the great restorer of religion in that then irreligious kingdom. He showed, too, in his own habits, a systematic attention to devotional duties in which respect, according to William of Malmesbury, he did all that a layman could do—daily attending the celebration of the holy Eucharist, and hearing the morning and evening hymns of the Church. During, at least, the greater part of his life, he set a striking example of personal purity to the licentious princes of his time; and, in reference to matters strictly ecclesiastical,—though he ruled these with a despotic sway, of which Gregory could not approve,—his liberality to churches and monasteries was magnificent, while he was entirely free from the crime of simony<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iiii.

Deeply as the affront of William's letter may at first have annoyed him, Gregory had not much time to brood over the mortification which it occasioned. Events more important, as well as more closely connected with the principal scene of his operations, were advancing upon him; as the approaching year was destined to form a great crisis in his history, and materially to modify the character of all his future fortunes.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1080.

INTRIGUES OF HENRY AMONG THE SAXONS—RE-OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF FLADENHEIM—DECLINE OF RUDOLF'S PARTY—HIS COMPLAINTS TO GREGORY, WHO RESUMES A DECIDED LINE OF CONDUCT, EXCOMMUNICATING AND DEPOSING HENRY ANEW—RECONCILIATION OF GREGORY WITH GUISCARD—INTEREST TAKES BY THE LATTER IN THE CAUSE OF A PERSON REPRESENTING HIMSELF TO BE THE DEPOSED MICHAEL PARAPINACES—HENRY'S ANGER AT THE COURSE ADOPTED BY GREGORY—HE ASSEMBLES A COUNCIL AT BRIKEN, AND PROCURES THE ELECTION OF GUIBERT, THE ANTI-POPE—BATTLE ON THE ELSTER, AND DEATH OF RUDOLF—DEFEAT, ON THE SAME DAY, OF THE ARMY OF MATILDA IN ITALY—DISASTROUS INFLUENCE OF THESE EVENTS ON GREGORY'S POSITION.

INDECISIVE as had been, during the year 1079, the movements in the field, the crafty Henry's intrigues had, during that period, done more to promote the eventual success of his cause, than would in all probability have been accomplished by the most sanguinary victory. His agents had been assiduously at work among the Saxons themselves; and though the people of that province continued firm in their fealty to the sovereign whose cause they had identified with their own, their nobles and leaders,—disappointed with the results of Rudolf's election, and convinced of the ultimate hopelessness of his cause,—were more ready to turn themselves to the suggestions of their former rival. The principal chiefs who, at the battle of Mel-

richstadt, had fallen into Henry's hands, were persuaded to see in that prince's success the only prospect of repose to their country. Promises, threats, and bribes, brought over to the same side one of the sons of count Gero, together with the counts Witikind and Wiprecht,<sup>1</sup> and other members of the Saxon nobility<sup>1</sup>. Some openly, others secretly, devoted themselves to their original monarch's cause, and the margravine of Lusatia and margrave of Meissen united themselves to the league.

The unfortunate Rudolf's followers were, therefore, divided among themselves; and those who still firmly adhered to him, knew not whom to trust. To rouse anew their flagging zeal, Siegfried, in concert with the bishops of Wurzburg and Salzburg, pronounced once more in public against Henry the censures of the Church<sup>2</sup>. But, while Gregory yet showed himself either averse or afraid openly to support their cause, little encouragement could be derived from the more decisive measures of those, who were considered as his subordinates in ecclesiastical authority.

Having thus sapped, to its foundations, his rival's power, Henry trusted, by one decisive blow in the field, to complete its downfall. Strengthened by the comparative repose of the past season, he found himself, as the eventful year 1080 opened upon the world, at the head of a numerous and well-equipped army. Thus circumstanced,—and anxious, if possible, to complete Rudolf's overthrow before the approach of the holy season of Lent should compel the suspension

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo*.—Bernold. Constant.—See Stenzel, *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, p. 455; and the authorities there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.

of hostilities,—he resolved upon advancing suddenly into Saxony in the midst of the frosts of winter: a season in which he hoped to find his enemies totally unprepared for his approach. The alarm, however, as he approached the province, was given; and Rudolf and Otho repaired, at the head of such forces as they could collect, to meet him in the field. The armies confronted each other, at the village of Fladenheim, or Flaxheim, near Mühlhausen, on the 27th of January<sup>1</sup>. The Saxons were divided into two bodies; the one, under the command of Otho, occupying the steep bank of a small but deep stream which impeded the advance of the enemy; the latter, under Rudolf, being stationed as a reserve in the rear. But Henry, availing himself of a storm of wind and snow which concealed the armies from each other, crossed the stream before him at another point, and suddenly burst with his full force upon the division of Rudolf. The Swabian prince, taken by surprise, sent in haste to entreat Otho to abandon his position and come to his assistance; a request with which Otho,—from the difficulties which he found in re-arranging his forces,—was slow in complying<sup>2</sup>. Rudolf's troops, however, maintained the conflict with valour; but they were at length forced by the numbers and by the prowess of Henry's followers slowly to give way. The Swabian king's royal banner fell into the hand of Wratislav, and the rout was on the point of becoming general, when Otho, at a late hour, brought his forces into action, and retrieved the fortunes of the day. It was now the turn of Henry's party to give way before their enemies, and, as an

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.—V. Kal. Feb. Marian. Scot.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

early, moonless night closed upon the wintry field, they retreated in confusion toward their camp and baggage, which a body of Saxons, during the action, had surprised and plundered. Nor did Henry, thus repulsed, venture on the following day to renew his hostile operations. His loss had been considerable; of the Bohemians alone, it is said that not less than 3000 perished on the occasion. Leading, therefore, the remains of his army back to Franconia, he there, for the present, disbanded them.

Time was gained, through this repulse of their enemy, by Rudolf and his party; but the dangers which impended over them were not permanently removed by the indecisive conflict of Fladenheim. The margrave of Meissen, now openly declaring himself in Henry's favour, made himself master of several Saxon fortresses in that prince's name; and obtained, in return, a repeal of the sentence of degradation which had been passed upon him as a traitor. Rudolf, however, made himself master of several castles of the minor nobles who had now been tempted to desert him, and bestowed them, as a reward for more faithful services, on others of his party. But no exertions on his part,—now that Saxony was divided against itself,—could bring back the confidence which had animated his followers when the province was unanimous. They could not reckon on continually repelling their enemy with the success which had attended their arms at Fladenheim; and it was but too plain that a single defeat, in their present distracted position, would place their province at the irritated Henry's mercy, and involve their personal ruin.

It was with gloomy forebodings, therefore, and with greater urgency than ever, that they once more appealed to the only friend whom they deemed able to



throw a shield over their weakness, beseeching the irresolute pontiff at length to arouse himself, and to assert their cause. "Where," said they, in an epistle which they now addressed to him, "where is your far-famed activity, once so ready to chastise every disobedience? When we, poor sheep, have in any way offended, we are at once dealt with according to the rule of apostolic strictness; but when the wolves that openly ravin with their murderous teeth are in question, all is to be postponed through long-suffering and endured in the spirit of meekness. In the name of Christ, we implore you,—whether fear of the sinful man have disturbed, or the counsels of those whom you trust have unmanned you,—that you take heart once more. For the sake, if not of our conscience, at least of your own, arrest the dreadful work of slaughter; and remember that, if you yet refuse to restrain him who rages against us, no plea can justify you before the all-righteous Judge for our destruction<sup>1</sup>."

With this epistle the envoys of Rudolf stood before Gregory in his council of Lent 1080; a council more numerous attended than any which the pontiff had hitherto held<sup>2</sup>. "In the name," they said, "of our lord king Rudolf and his princes, we complain to God and to St. Peter, to you our father, and to this most holy council, that Henry, deposed, by your apostolical authority, from his kingdom, has dared, in the face of your interdict, to invade that kingdom,—has laid it

<sup>1</sup> Bruno, p. 233.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ubi interfuerunt archiepiscopi, episcopi diversarum urbium, necnon et abbatum ac diversorum ordinum clericorum et laicorum innumerabilis multitudo.*—Paul. Bernried. cap. cvi., et Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1587.

“ waste throughout with the sword, with robbery, and  
“ with fire,—has, with impious cruelty, expelled arch-  
“ bishops and bishops from their sees, and distributed  
“ their bishoprics, like fiefs, to his abettors. Through  
“ his tyranny, Werner, archbishop of Magdeburg, of  
“ pious memory, has been slain; and Adelbert of  
“ Worms is yet, in defiance of the precept of the apos-  
“ tolic see, tormented in captivity. By his faction  
“ many thousands of men have been put to death;  
“ many churches, despoiled of their relics, have been  
“ burnt and levelled with the ground. Innumerable  
“ are the crimes which have been perpetrated by the  
“ same Henry, against our princes, because they have  
“ refused to oppose the injunctions of the apostolic see,  
“ by acknowledging him as king. And to him and his  
“ adherents alone it is owing, that the council proposed  
“ by you for the purpose of establishing justice, and re-  
“ storing peace, has been, as yet, deferred. Wherefore  
“ we do humbly beseech your clemency, that you  
“ would, for our sakes, and for that of the holy Church  
“ of God, do justice at length upon the sacrilegious  
“ despoiler<sup>1</sup>.”

With these intreaties the pontiff was, it appears, at length enabled to comply. Dearly as he seems to have cherished the idea of deciding on the claims of contending monarchs in a Transalpine council, Henry's conduct, during the past year, must have thoroughly convinced him that the scheme was impracticable; while his glaring duplicity had sufficed to arouse, among the members of the Roman council, a feeling sufficient to cope with that prepossession in the faithless prince's favour, by which the motions of Gregory had for

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Bernried. cap. cvi.

some years been controlled. Time, that pontiff now saw, was no longer to be lost ; his further postponement of a decisive sentence in Rudolf's favour would be a virtual abandonment of the Swabian prince's cause to the ruin which already impended over it. And the eagerness with which, in the imperfection of his faith, he yearned for sensible revelations of the will of Heaven, led him to imagine that his anxious prayers for guidance had been answered by direct indications from on high, and that he might predict the tyrant's doom with the tone of a prophet, as well as repeat his excommunication with the authority of an apostle. Shaking off, therefore, all appearance of that irresolution by which he had been so long beset, he prepared to act once more with the bold tone of earlier days. And,—as his feelings were shared by his council,—the prelates of Bremen and Bamberg, who, in Henry's name, presented themselves before the assembly, were listened to with impatience, and, it is even said, threatened with violence.

The deliberations then proceeded. General canons were, in the first place, passed against lay investiture. The sentence of excommunication was repeated against Guibert, Tedaldus, and others. A like sentence was, in prospect, passed upon the Normans who should continue their incursions upon the papal fiefs or territories, or should despoil the monastery or lands of Monte Cassino. A canon was promulgated against the insincere penances of the day, as was also a decree for the future regulation of episcopal elections. And then, addressing himself to St. Peter and St. Paul, the pontiff renewed the scene of 1076. Appealing to these holy Apostles as to the witnesses of his truth, he mentioned the unwillingness with which he had ascended the

spiritual throne, and the sufferings to which his exaltation had exposed him. He touched upon Henry's violence against the Church, and stated how, upon that prince's subsequent humiliation, he had released him from her censure, without deciding upon the question of his restoration to his throne. He declared, that the election of Rudolf had taken place without his concurrence<sup>1</sup>, and that, since that event, his great aim had been to decide between the rivals, in accordance with the strict dictates of justice. He alluded to his scheme of settling the question by a council in Germany,—to Henry's determined and disobedient opposition to the project,—and to that prince's criminal career of bloodshed, plunder, and sacrilege. "Wherefore," he continued, "trusting in the justice and mercy of God, and of His holy mother Mary, ever Virgin, and armed with your authority, I declare the said Henry, styled the king, together with all his abettors, excommunicate, and bound with the bond of anathema; I again take from him, in God's name, and in yours, the government of the realms of Germany and Italy; I deprive him of the royal power and dignity; I forbid all Christians to obey him as king; and I absolve all who have sworn, or shall swear, allegiance to him, from the obligation of their oath. Let Henry himself and his partizans, in every warlike encounter be found powerless, and never obtain the victory. Acting in your name, and confiding in you, I give, grant, and concede, that Rudolf, whom the Germans have elected to be their king, may rule and defend the German empire. In like confidence, I announce

<sup>1</sup> Sine meo consilio, vobis testibus, elegerunt sibi Rodulphum ducem in regem. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1590.

“ to all who shall adhere to him the absolution of all  
“ their sins, and bestow upon them your blessing in  
“ this world, and in that which is to come. For as  
“ Henry, for his pride, disobedience, and falsehood, is  
“ justly deprived of his royal dignity, so Rudolf, for his  
“ humiliation, obedience, and truth, is justly rewarded  
“ with the kingly power and title.

“ So act then, I pray you, holy fathers and rulers,  
“ that all the world may know and understand that, if  
“ ye have the power of binding and loosing in Heaven,  
“ ye have also that of giving or taking away,—accord-  
“ ing to the merits of their holders,—kingdoms, prin-  
“ cipalities, dukedoms, lordships, and all the possessions  
“ of men. Ye have often taken patriarchates, primacies,  
“ archbishoprics, and bishoprics, from the base and un-  
“ worthy, and have given them to the religious. And,  
“ if ye judge spiritual things, shall we not suppose you  
“ competent to judge earthly things? If ye shall judge  
“ the angels who govern the proud princes of this world,  
“ what must not be your power over their servants?  
“ Now, let the kings and rulers of the earth learn what  
“ ye are, and how great is your power; that they may  
“ be warned against slighting, in future, the decrees of  
“ the Church. And against Henry may the sentence  
“ be so speedily executed, that all may know his fall  
“ not to have been wrought by chance, but to have  
“ been accomplished by your avenging power. Let  
“ him be confounded unto repentance, that so his  
“ ‘spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord!’ ”

Having dissolved the council, Gregory dismissed, with all honours, the representatives of the newly recognized sovereign. It is said by some, that he for-

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1589, et seq.—1 Cor. v. 5.

warded to Rudolf, by their hands, a golden diadem, around which was engraved the inscription—

“ Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho<sup>1</sup>.”

But concerning the date of this latter transaction,—and, indeed, concerning the reality of the transaction itself,—many doubts have been raised. Certain, however, it is, that Gregory now endeavoured, by every possible means, to convince mankind of the validity of Rudolf's title, and of the certainty of his speedy triumph. Elevated by the impression of supposed communications from heaven, the pontiff spoke, as though prophetically, of the death, within the year, of the pretender to the crown. Nay, so thoroughly was he convinced that supernatural light had been vouchsafed to him, that he ventured, at the solemn festival of Easter, to declare from the altar that the pretender would be either dead or deposed by the approaching festival of St. Peter and St. Paul; and to stake his character on the fulfilment of the prediction<sup>2</sup>.

But, though thus confident of guidance from above, he still felt,—as a politician,—the full danger of the step which he had taken. In his warfare with Henry, the scabbard was now for ever thrown away; and though the term of that monarch's power, he imagined, would be short, yet his wrath,—like that of the great principle of evil,—might be terrible in proportion to the brevity of its duration. The pontiff, therefore, attempted to strengthen himself by every means which policy suggested against the possible reverses of the expected crisis. And most important among those

<sup>1</sup> Gotfried. Viterbiens. Chron.—Vid. Baron. ad an.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.—Benno.

means would prove, if it could be accomplished, the adjustment of his long-existing quarrel with the Norman duke of Apulia. The services of Desiderius, of Monte Cassino, were, therefore, called into action, to compass a reconciliation. To such a step, upon his own terms, Robert had ever been ready to accede. The papal protection, if compatible with the projects of his ambition, was still desired by him as a safeguard to the stability of his power. And when he found that Gregory, in the exigency of his circumstances, was disposed to compromise points on which he had, till then, been inflexible, the Norman was naturally disposed to meet him by the abandonment of such obnoxious claims as the pontiff might even yet be reluctant to concede. The arrangements were, therefore, shortly concluded. In the month of June, Gregory, escorted by Jordanus of Capua, proceeded to meet Robert at Aquino<sup>1</sup>. The duke of Apulia fell on his knees, and was immediately raised from the ground by the complacent pontiff. A long and confidential dialogue then took place; at the close of which, Robert took, in form, the oath of fealty which he had formerly taken to Nicolas and Alexander; while Gregory presented him, as they had done, with a consecrated banner, in token of the tenure by which he was to hold his possessions in Calabria and Apulia. And with regard to those more recent conquests which Gregory had refused to acknowledge, and Robert to resign, the pontiff added, on the delivery of the banner, the following singular words:

<sup>1</sup> Pagi (in Baronium ad an. 1077. n. 18.) fixes the date of this interview and reconciliation in that year; but see, on this subject, Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, ann. 1079 and 1080; the *Chronicon Breve Northmannicum* (Murator. R. I. Scrip. t. v. p. 278.) fixes the date expressly in 1080.

“ And with regard to that territory which thou  
 “ unjustly holdest,—Salerno,—Amalfi,—and a part  
 “ of the Mark of Fermo,—I now patiently bear with  
 “ thee <sup>1</sup>, in reliance upon Almighty God, and upon thy  
 “ goodness, that thou wilt hereafter conduct thyself,  
 “ to the honour of God and of St. Peter, in a manner  
 “ in which thou mayest act, and I may suffer thee,  
 “ without jeoparding either thy soul or mine <sup>2</sup>.” And  
 thus were the points, on which Gregory had hitherto  
 made a stand, nominally compromised, but virtually  
 conceded, by him. It was even said by some, that, in  
 his eagerness to secure the alliance and services of the  
 gallant Norman, he held out to him the hope of wear-  
 ing the imperial crown <sup>3</sup>. But this is only mentioned  
 by Norman writers as a rumour, and wants confirma-  
 tion; and the more especially, because, from the pon-  
 tiff’s public reconciliation, at such a time, with the  
 most powerful prince of Italy, such a rumour, whether  
 true or not, would naturally arise.

Of the services of Robert, it was Gregory’s intention,  
 without delay, to avail himself. The partizans of  
 Guibert had taken arms in northern Italy; and it  
 required all the efforts and resources of Matilda to  
 resist them. More effectually to check their progress,  
 the pontiff announced his intention of moving, at the  
 head of his Norman allies, to Ravenna, and delivering  
 that church from the impious hands of his opponent <sup>4</sup>.  
 But schemes of his own were now opening upon  
 Robert, which prevented his lending his aid to the  
 execution of this project. A curious scene,—in all

<sup>1</sup> Nunc te patienter sustineo.      <sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1452.

<sup>3</sup> Romani regni sibi promississe coronam,  
 Papa ferebatur.—Gul. Appul.—Vid. Ann. Comnen. Alexiad.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. viii. Ep. 7.



probability a pre-concerted one,—took place during this year, at the Apulian court. A man, meanly dressed, presenting himself before the duke, declared himself to be Michael, the deposed emperor of Greece; and claimed the assistance of Robert,—as of one nearly allied to him,—in vindication of his rights against the usurper who now occupied his throne. The person,—whether Robert was in the secret or not<sup>1</sup>,—was unquestionably an impostor; but the crafty Norman was too happy to make his appearance a pretext<sup>2</sup> for gratifying a desire which he had long entertained, by commencing an offensive war against the Grecian empire. And Gregory, informed by Robert of the event, did not, if he entertained any suspicions on the subject, venture to express them; but, in an epistle addressed—on the 25th of July, 1080—to the bishops of Apulia and Calabria<sup>3</sup>, announced the Church's sanction to the supposed emperor's cause.

The wrath of Henry, when he received intelligence of the pontiff's reiterated sentence against him, knew no bounds. Resolving to adopt a line of conduct as decided as was,—at length,—that of his adversary, he summoned<sup>4</sup> the German prelates in his interest to meet in council at Mentz, at the approaching festival of Pente-

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely credible that he was not. While the pretended Michael was in his court, “*erant quidam cum duce qui in palatio tempore Michaelis imperatoris servientes faciem ejus se novisse, et hunc similem minimè vel modico assimilari dicerent.*”—Gauf. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. iii. c. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Gulielmus Appulus, in his poem, seems to describe Robert's motive on this occasion with singular frankness:

*Nunc adhibens socium sibi Dux, ut justior esset  
Causa viæ. lib. iv.*

<sup>3</sup> Lib. viii. Ep. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Udalric. Babenberg. Codex Epist. n. cxlvi.

cost<sup>1</sup>. Nineteen prelates attended, and expressed themselves in a manner fully consonant with the monarch's views; but it was thought desirable, in the great blow which it was now intended to strike, to have the concurrence, as far as might be, of the prelates of Italy; and the council was therefore adjourned to Brixen, in the Tyrol. It re-assembled, in that city, on the 25th of June; and was attended by Guibert, by Hugo Candidus, by about thirty prelates of Germany and Italy, and by a considerable number of nobles from different parts of the empire<sup>2</sup>. It decreed that "the insolent Hildebrand<sup>3</sup>,—the preacher of sacrilege and incendiarism,—the defender of perjury and murder,—the impugner of the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord,—the old disciple of the heretic Berengarius,—the specter of divinations and dreams,—the manifest necromancer, wandering from the Faith, because possessed with a spirit of Python," was to be forthwith degraded and expelled from the throne of St. Peter.

<sup>1</sup> See, on the subject of its convocation, the epistles of Dietrich of Verdun, and other prelates in Henry's interest, in Udalric. Babenberg. Cod. Nn. 159—162. Whitsunday fell on the 31st of May.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1595.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex N. 164.—Marian. Scot.—Abb. Ursperg.—Benzo, Præfat. lib. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Hildebrandum procacissimum, sacrilegia et incendia prædicantem, perjuria et homicidia defendentem, catholicam et apostolicam fidem de corpore ac sanguine Domini in quæstionem ponentem, hæretici Berengarii antiquum discipulum, divinationum ac somniorum cultorem, manifestum nigromancicum phitonico Spiritu laborantem, et idcirco a verâ fide exorbitantem, judicamus canonicè deponendum.—Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably levelled at Gregory's alleged revelation from the Blessed Virgin, vid. supra, p. 246, the pontiff's account of which, his opponents, as might have been expected, refused to credit. Vid. Martene Thesaur. Nov. t. iv. p. 108, note b.

And the assembly then elected, with one voice, to the supposed vacant chair of the Apostle, Gregory's arch-enemy, Guibert; who, upon the breaking up of the council, lost no time in proceeding southward, to make proof of the weight attached to its decisions, and to claim the spiritual obedience of Italy.

Henry's envoys were forthwith dispatched to the different courts of Europe, commissioned to narrate the events which had occurred, and to call upon the different sovereigns to declare their adhesion to the pontiff whom he had chosen. But these embassies do not appear to have been attended with success; even those princes who were the most at variance with the pontiff, being reluctant at once to commit themselves to the approval of a measure, so outrageous in character as the uncanonical sentence of Brixen.

By that measure, Henry seems to have lost, in great degree, the moral vantage-ground upon which the unfortunate election of Rudolf had placed him. At the moment in which the results of that false step of his enemies were beginning to operate decisively in his favour, the monarch rashly took himself a step as false; and his cause became degraded by its identification with that of a pretended pontiff, as that of Gregory had been by its connexion with the revolt of a subject against his sovereign.

The miseries of unhappy Germany continually increased with the increasing exacerbation of the contending parties. Both Rudolf and his rival made, during the summer, the most strenuous efforts to bring into the field against each other an overwhelming force; while the desultory warfare of their respective adherents, carried on with greater animosity than ever, covered the whole face of the country with violence and blood.

But months rolled on ; the festival which Gregory had presumptuously announced as the destined term of Henry's life or reign, had found that prince flushed with hope and spirits, and rejoicing in the decisive blow which he conceived himself to have struck, at Brixen, against his ecclesiastical enemy. Nor was it until the month of October that he and his secular rival, Rudolf, again encountered each other in the field. Advancing, in that month, through Thuringia, Henry found the whole force of the Saxons collected on the Unstrut to receive him. Their numbers made him anxious to defer the engagement till he should have procured the reinforcements from his old friends the Bohemians, and from his new ally, the margrave of Meissen. To put himself in communication with these, he was desirous of crossing the river Saal, which flowed to the eastward of his position. And fearing to execute this manœuvre in the face of his antagonists, he dispatched some of the best-mounted horsemen of his army, with directions to penetrate into the enemy's country, and, by setting fire to the villages in the vicinity of Goslar, to raise an alarm for the safety of that important place ; while he himself, with the main body of his army, retreated from the enemy's sight, in the direction of Erfurt<sup>1</sup>. The stratagem succeeded : the Saxons, who had begun to follow their retreating enemy, beheld the smoke in their rear, and moved at once in that direction ; while Henry, after plundering Erfurt, crossed the Saal in safety. Aware of their error, the Saxons soon turned back, and crossing the river in pursuit of him, came once more in sight of his army, on the 15th of October<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—Bernold. Constant.—Marian. Scot.—Annalista Saxo

The sun, on that memorable day, had not long risen, when their cavalry, after rapid and toilsome movements, appeared on the field of battle. Henry, however, aware of their approach, had already set his forces in battle-array to receive them. His followers were numerous and well-equipped; and were attended to the field by Frederic of Hohenstaufen, by Henry count of Laach, by the Bavarian count Rapotho, and by sixteen prelates, among whom were the metropolitans of Cologne and Treves. He had fixed his camp in front of the Elster; in order, according to some accounts, to encourage his soldiers to desperate achievements, by cutting off from them the hope of flight. And the front of his position was defended by the marsh of Grona; which made it impossible for an enemy to attack him, as he then stood, but at a manifest disadvantage. The Saxons were wearied by the rapidity of the marches which they had made; and some of Rudolf's counsellors were desirous, on this account, to postpone, for a while, the conflict. But their martial ardour prevailed over such considerations. The prelates in the camp directed the clergy and others in their train to raise the eighty-second psalm, "God standeth in the congregation of princes: He is a judge among gods." And to these solemn strains the divisions of Rudolf's army assumed their respective posts, and confronted their enemy<sup>1</sup>. The marsh they were, of course, too prudent to enter; and the two hostile bodies stood for some time on the opposite sides of it, gazing upon each

gives iv. id. Oct. feria v.; but the day of the week agrees with that of the month given by the former historians, which has, therefore, been adopted in the text as the correct one.

<sup>1</sup> Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

other. At length, as if by common consent, they both made a lateral movement beyond its extremity, and the battle at once commenced with fury<sup>1</sup>. The discipline and fresh spirits of Henry's followers at first seemed about to prevail, and the prelates in his camp, seeing the Saxons give ground, and imagining that their defeat was inevitable, began to raise the hymn "Te Deum laudamus<sup>2</sup>." But suddenly, at a critical moment, the count Rapotho, one of Henry's bravest chieftains, was borne mortally wounded from the press; and his bearers, seized with a sudden panic, uttered, as they came along, the ill-omened words, "Fly! fly<sup>3</sup>!" This caused a confusion among their party, of which the valiant Otho took advantage, and which terminated in a general rout. Division after division of Henry's followers were driven, with the monarch himself, into the Elster, to pass it as they might, or to perish in the stream. The slaughter was terrible<sup>4</sup>, and even of those who escaped the Saxon sword and the waters, the greater part were slain or captured by the peasantry, or perished, while wandering about that unfriendly country, by misery and famine. The camp, with all its riches, including the plunder recently acquired at Erfurt, fell into the hands of the conquerors; who were returning to their own quarters, amid songs of triumph and thanksgiving for this glorious victory<sup>5</sup>, when they received intelligence of an event which at

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> *Fugite! fugite! clamabant. Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nam fere non minor hostium pars in fluvio quam periit in prælio.*  
—Bruno.

<sup>5</sup> *Dux Otto . . . reversus . . . invenit in loco prælii Henricum de Lacha, cum maximâ parte exercitus, jam quasi de victoriâ triumphantem, et Kyrie eleyson læto clamore canentem.—Bruno.*

once converted their joy into mourning, and more than counterbalanced the successes of the day<sup>1</sup>. The gallant Rudolf, in the heat of the conflict, received a deadly wound in the stomach, from the lance, it is said, of Godfrey of Bouillon, subsequently the celebrated leader of the crusade. And his right hand was, about the same moment, severed by a sabre-stroke from his body. Being borne with care from the field, he was no sooner able to arrange his scattered thoughts, than he naturally asked, with anxiety, whose was the victory? He was assured, by those around him, that the day was his own. "Living or dying, then," said he, "I suffer, and with joy, the Lord's good pleasure<sup>2</sup>." But, when his dissevered hand was shown him, he appears to have manifested the lurking sense which yet haunted him, that the course which he had followed was one of doubtful lawfulness. "That," said the expiring prince, "is the hand with which I confirmed my oath of fealty to Henry, my lord. I now leave alike life and kingdom. Consider well, ye that have led me on,—ye whose councils I have obeyed in ascending his throne,—whether ye have guided me aright<sup>3</sup>". His weakness increased, and on the day following the battle, which would have confirmed him on the throne, he breathed his last. His body was interred, and a magnificent monument subsequently raised to his memory, in the choir of the neighbouring cathedral of Merseburg<sup>4</sup>.

The death of Rudolf occasioned a general and sincere lamentation throughout the Saxon territory. With all

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>4</sup> Marian. Scot.—Bernold. Constant.—Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista Saxo.

his faults, he appears to have been universally beloved for the affability and openness of his character; while his valour and prowess ensured him the admiration of a people of soldiers<sup>1</sup>. The Saxons mourned him, too, as the assertor of their rights, the enemy of their enemies; as the principal point of union among their jealous nobles; and as the great maintainer of order among their unsettled population.

On the same memorable 15th of October which witnessed the battle on the Elster, the army of Matilda came to an encounter with the forces which the partizans of Henry and Guibert had collected in Lombardy. The action occurred near La Volta, in the Mantuan territory. After a severe conflict, the troops of the countess were routed and dispersed; and Henry's way was thus made plain before him in Italy, on the day which finally freed him in Germany from his formidable rival<sup>2</sup>.

The sanguine expectations, the aspiring hopes of triumph, in which Gregory's partizans had, upon the decision of his last council, liberally indulged themselves, now served but to augment that re-action which, upon the tidings of these unfortunate events, overcame them, and bowed their spirits to the ground. By the death of Rudolf, their prospects of success in the German warfare were virtually annihilated. And the anti-papal party in Italy, which the election of Guibert had consolidated by supplying it with a head, now looked confidently forward to the enthronement of that prelate in the Lateran. Many were the taunts with which they assailed the crest-fallen partizans of the

<sup>1</sup> Bernoldus Constantiensis styles him "pater patriæ, servantissimus justitiæ, indefessus propugnator sanctæ ecclesiæ;" and adds, "sepultus est apud Merseburg gloriosissimè."

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.



Church, on the ground of Gregory's presumptuous prophecies. It had indeed come to pass, they said, that the pretender to the crown should die within the year; the pontiff had in truth shown himself a prophet; but, like other prophets, he had not clearly understood his own prophecy. Nor ever, surely, were the supporters of any principle more strongly tempted to forget the merits of that principle, in the errors of its supporters, than were those who clung, in Gregory, to the independence and unity of the Church, to shrink with shame from the disgrace which his rashness had entailed upon his party.

But the pontiff himself did not participate in the general despondency of his supporters. Grievously as his expectations had been disappointed,—deceptive as he had found the impressions which he had mistaken for intimations from on high,—he still felt the firmest conviction of the essential goodness of his cause. He maintained the lofty tone of his general correspondence, and continued to watch, with unremitting vigilance, over the interests of the Church in every quarter of Christendom. With regard to his great enemy, he betrayed no fear; he suggested no compromise; but, confident of the eventual triumph of the right, he awaited in calmness and in dignity the storm which, as now became evident to all, was shortly to burst upon his head.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1081.

RELATIONS EXISTING AT THIS PERIOD BETWEEN GREGORY AND VARIOUS SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE—HIS FIRMFNESS IN CONTEMPLATING THE DANGERS WHICH THREATEN HIM—HENRY ENTERS ITALY—GREGORY REFUSES THE INTREATIES OF HIS FRIENDS THAT HE WOULD LISTEN TO TERMS OF COMPROMISE—HIS EPISTLE TO HERMAN, BISHOP OF METZ—HENRY'S ADVANCE AND APPEARANCE BEFORE ROME—HE RETREATS AGAIN—HERMAN OF LUXEMBURG ELECTED KING BY THE PAPAL PARTY IN GERMANY—HE DEFEATS HENRY'S FORCES AT HÖCHSTADT, AND IS CROWNED AT GOSLAR—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE KINGS OF THE VISIGOTHS—HIS DEALINGS WITH THE COUNTS OF PROVENCE AND ANJOU—GUISCARD'S EXPEDITION TO GREECE—SIEGE AND BATTLE OF DURAZZO.

It was almost alone that Gregory had now to struggle with his triumphant adversary. With many distant monarchs of Europe he was on friendly terms, but from none of them was he in a position to look for active assistance in his difficulties. To the English sovereign, —as we have seen,—he had moderated his haughty demands; but William, not to mention his constant occupation at home in the management of his conquered kingdom, was not likely to make any unusual exertion in behalf of one with whom he had recently been on the point of a rupture. And Lanfranc, the monarch's chief ecclesiastical adviser, could not but feel his friendly inclinations toward the pontiff in some degree diminished, by the marked support which the latter had given to the archbishop's polemical adversary,

Berengarius. With Philip of France, Gregory was now corresponding on different terms, from those which he had formerly used towards him. Manasses, the Rhemish archbishop, whom he had formerly endeavoured to rouse to resistance against the illegitimate measures of the Gallic sovereign, had now himself been accused of uncanonical practice, and had been declared, by the voice of a papal legate<sup>1</sup>, deposed from his see for ever. And Gregory, in a letter written on the 27th December, 1080, intreated the monarch to show his respect for the sentence, by banishing the condemned prelate from his presence<sup>2</sup>. But Philip, it seems, continued cold and unfriendly to the Roman see: he still honoured the degraded archbishop with his countenance and support<sup>3</sup>; and thus abundantly demonstrated, that it was not to France that the pontiff was to look for any active interference in his favour during the coming struggle.

Alfonso of Castile, during these transactions, was exhibiting a reverential obedience toward the papal chair: in compliance with orders from the Lateran, he put away, on account of relationship within the prohibited degrees, his wife Agnes of Aquitain; he pledged himself to lend his aid to the long-cherished papal plan of abolishing in Spain the use of the Gothic ritual; and he desisted from nominating a person whom he favoured,—and whom he had intended for the office,—to the archbishopric of Toledo. But the Spanish sovereigns of the time were too busily employed in the

<sup>1</sup> Hugo, bishop of Die, in the council of Lyons, 1080.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1595.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. viii. Ep. 20.

<sup>3</sup> We find Manasses, in the character of Philip's ambassador, in Henry's camp in Italy, in 1081.—Vid. Benzo, Præfat. lib. vi.

great struggle with the Moors then in progress in the Peninsula, to contribute aught beyond their good wishes to the cause of their allies abroad.

From Robert Guiscard, more essential service might have been expected; but the Apulian duke had agreed to a reconciliation with Rome, to further his own views, and not those of Gregory; and he was now devoting his whole energies to the execution of his chivalrous design against the Grecian empire. Matilda was still firm as ever in the pontiff's cause; but her vassals were not equally attached with herself to a cause which the rest of the world seemed to agree in abandoning; and the signal and general triumph of royalist principles in northern Italy was not without a considerable, and, to the papalists, alarming, moral effect on her Tuscan territory.

In one respect, alone, Gregory's situation might be considered as improved by what had passed. His councils were no longer overawed and controlled by almost avowed enemies in the papal city. On the election of Guibert, the anti-papal party in the Roman Church had openly disclaimed obedience to the legitimate pontiff, and, by abandoning his conclave to those alone who were truly devoted to him, had made him once more its master, and freed him from the necessity of longer observing that seemingly temporizing policy to which he had for some years past been compelled to abase himself. And Gregory, freed from this degrading thralldom, seems to have felt his spirit kindle within him to the proud independence of other days. Able to pursue, unchecked, the uncompromising line of conduct which best suited his principles and his character, his courage rose, rather than sank, as the difficulties of his position thickened around him. Con-

vinced of his own sincerity in the cause to which he had devoted himself, and contemplating rather the great principle for which he had contended, than the measures of questionable propriety by which he had on various occasions endeavoured to enforce it, he expressed a lofty joy amid his troubles. He recurred, it seems, in thought, to the times when the Church had been the avowed object of persecution to the mighty ones of the earth ; and while he was humiliated by the thought that her sufferings from without were the accompaniments and punishments of her sins within, he experienced, and expressed his experience of, that feeling of hopeful exaltation, with which her high-minded members have ever beheld the approach of days of evil ; that sensation of triumph, with which they have contemplated their summons to play the parts, once filled by apostles and martyrs, of sufferers for the truth. "It is true," he said, "that I am a sinner ; nor do I hesitate to confess it. "But those who hate, and who malign me, do so, not "because they have detected any wickedness in me, but "because I have spoken the truth, and opposed myself "to unrighteousness. I might have enjoyed, even more "largely than my predecessors, their gifts and services, "if,—to their peril and to my own,—I had been will- "ing to suppress the truth, and to connive at their "iniquity. But I have chosen to please God rather "than man ; nor is a bishop ever more truly worthy "of the name, than when, for righteousness' sake, he "suffers persecution<sup>1</sup>."

When informed of his antagonist's fall, Henry assembled, with all speed, the relics of his scattered army ; and advancing toward the Saxon boundaries, proposed

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. Ep. 2.

to celebrate the feast of Christmas at Goslar. But finding the chiefs of that province indisposed to permit his entrance into its territory, he desisted from the attempt. The great object to which he was now determined on devoting the whole energies of his power, was the humiliation of his ecclesiastical enemy; and for this purpose,—desirous to soothe the Saxons by any compromise, which would prevent their agitating Germany during his projected absence beyond the Alps,—he proposed, if they would elect his young son to be their sovereign, to pledge himself never again to cross their frontier. But to this proposal, Otho of Nordheim, who had himself some hopes of the crown, tauntingly replied<sup>1</sup>, that the calf of a vicious bull was usually vicious itself. Henry then endeavoured to obtain a truce of some duration; but the Saxons, who discerned his intention, declared themselves for a complete peace, or for none<sup>2</sup>. The king, however, knew that they were divided among themselves; and not imagining that they would attempt, in his absence, any serious undertaking, he proceeded with his preparations for an Italian campaign.

The early spring of 1081 beheld the monarch cross the Alps, in an altered condition from that in which he had formerly encountered the perils of that mountain-journey; and with prospects widely different from those with which he had undertaken his humiliating pilgrimage to Canossa. Arriving at Verona, he halted there to observe the festival of Easter<sup>3</sup>; and then, moving to Ravenna, he from the latter city opened negocia-

<sup>1</sup> Jocosè, sicut erat solitus magna seria nonnullo ludendi schemate velare.—Annalista Saxo, ad an.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold. Constant.—Easter day fell on the 4th of April.

tions with Guiscard, and endeavoured,—by offering to enfeoff the Norman with a portion of the territory to be wrested from the pontiff, and by flattering his pride with the request of his daughter in marriage for prince Conrad,—to induce him to break the league into which he had entered with Gregory. But Robert, who probably saw, in a balance of power between the pope and the emperor, the best security for his tranquil possession of Apulia, turned a deaf ear to the proposal; and refusing, in like manner, Gregory's renewed intreaty for assistance, the enterprizing warrior, shortly after Easter, set sail with his collected forces for the Grecian shores, and commenced in form the siege of Durazzo<sup>1</sup>.

The friends who surrounded Gregory were almost unanimous in now urging him to listen to terms, and to accede to some compromise with the advancing enemy; but he still stood firm and inflexible. The struggle between him and his opponent was not a warfare which might be concluded by mutual concessions, or settled by a partition-treaty. He battled for a principle; and the future fate of that great principle—the future recognition by mankind of the Church's divine institution and independent existence—was now, as far as human eyes could see, inseparably connected with his continued, his uncompromising, assertion of it. The pontiff felt his situation, and therefore, though expressing himself ever ready to receive Henry,—should he appear before the papal throne as a suppliant,—to pardon and to peace, he definitively rejected the proposal, to treat with the excommunicate sovereign in any other character.

In April,—undismayed by the intelligence that

<sup>1</sup> Gaufrid. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. iii. c. 24.

Henry might be expected, by the approaching feast of Pentecost, before the walls of Rome,—he summoned once more his council around him, and in synod renewed the sentence of excommunication on the monarch himself, and on all his abettors, who should not, by the sentence of the previous year, have been moved to repentance. And the royalist prelates, who, upholding the cause of Guibert, had refused to take their places,—though summoned,—at the council, were declared, by another decree, suspended from their offices.

Had Gregory, at this moment of crisis, shown himself less firm,—had he now, in the slightest degree faltered in his tone,—all, humanly speaking, was lost to the Church and her defenders. The death of Rudolf, in direct contradiction to the pontiff's generally promulgated prophecy,—the circumstances attending that event,—and more particularly the apparently judicial loss of the hand with which he had sworn fealty to his sovereign,—had deeply agitated the minds of men, and caused a re-action of public feeling, which threatened the most fearful consequences to the papal cause. And the great question, whether princes were in such sense the subjects of the Church, as to be liable to her sentence of excommunication, was very generally, even among Gregory's partizans, mooted anew. Upon the suggestion of several princes and nobles of the empire, Herman of Metz undertook to draw once more from the pontiff the expression of his views and pretensions on the subject ; and Gregory, in an epistle addressed to that prelate on the 15th of March, entered at length into the question. He appealed to many authorities, including those which he had cited in his former epistle to Herman of the same tenor ; and then set forth, in



the following terms, the great outlines of that theory,—founded upon high and holy truth, but throughout degraded by the baser admixture of worldliness and error,—of which the papal domination subsequently formed the great type and tangible illustration to mankind :—

“ Shall not,” he said, “that dignity which was invented  
 “ by worldly men, ignorant of God, be accounted sub-  
 “ ject to that which the providence of God Almighty  
 “ devised to His own honour, and mercifully bestowed  
 “ upon the world? Whose Son,—as He is, without doubt,  
 “ believed to be both God and man,—so He is acknow-  
 “ ledged as our High Priest, the Head of all priests,  
 “ sitting at the right hand of the Father, and ever in-  
 “ terceding for us; Who despised that secular kingdom  
 “ by which the children of this world are puffed up,  
 “ and willingly devoted Himself to the priesthood of the  
 “ cross. Who knows not that kings and princes had  
 “ beginning from those who, ignorant of God, by pride,  
 “ by rapine, by perfidy, by bloodshed; in short, by all  
 “ manner of crimes,—the devil, the prince of this  
 “ world, leading them on,—aimed at domineering with  
 “ blind cupidity and intolerable presumption over their  
 “ fellow-men? To whom, while they attempt to bend  
 “ the priests of the Lord to their will, may they be more  
 “ aptly compared than to him who is head over all the  
 “ children of pride; who, tempting the High Priest,  
 “ the Head of priests, the Son of the Most High, and  
 “ offering Him all the kingdoms of the earth, said, ‘ All  
 “ ‘ these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down  
 “ ‘ and worship me<sup>1</sup>?’ . . . . .

“ When a Christian king approaches his end,—that he  
 “ may avoid the infernal dungeon, that he may pass

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. iv. 9.

“ from darkness into light, that he may appear before  
“ God’s judgment-seat, absolved from the bonds of sin,  
“ —he pitifully and imploringly entreats the aid of a  
“ priest. But what,—I will not say priest, but—layman,  
“ lying at the point of death, ever implored for the  
“ weal of his soul the assistance of an earthly king?  
“ What king or emperor is able, in virtue of his office,  
“ to snatch a Christian by holy Baptism from the devil’s  
“ power, to enrol him among the children of God, and to  
“ fortify him with the consecrated oil? . . . . To which  
“ of them has the power been given of binding and of  
“ loosing in heaven and in earth? . . . . Which of them  
“ can ordain a single minister in the holy Church, or, what  
“ is more, depose him from his office? For, in the case  
“ of holy orders, to depose from them argues a higher  
“ power than to admit to them. Bishops may conse-  
“ crate other bishops; but to degrade from the episcopal  
“ rank, rests with the apostolic see alone. Who then,  
“ little as he may have studied the subject, shall doubt  
“ that priests are to be esteemed as above kings? And  
“ if kings are to be judged for their sins by any priests,  
“ to whom could that judgment more fitly be committed  
“ than to the Roman pontiff? . . . .

“ From the beginning of the world even to our own  
“ time, we find no emperors or kings whose lives have  
“ been so exalted by religion, or adorned by the gifts of  
“ miracles, as were those of an innumerable multitude  
“ of despisers of this world. . . . For, not to speak of  
“ apostles or martyrs, what emperor or king ever  
“ rivalled the miraculous powers of the blessed Martin,  
“ Antony, or Benedict? What emperor or king ever  
“ raised the dead, cleansed the leper, gave sight to the  
“ blind? Look at Constantine, that emperor of pious  
“ memory, at Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, and Louis;

“ lovers of justice, propagators of Christianity, defend-  
 “ ers of Churches. Them the holy Church praises in-  
 “ deed and venerates; but bears no witness to their  
 “ having shone with such supernatural power. To  
 “ the names of how many kings or emperors has  
 “ she directed that basilicas or altars should be de-  
 “ dicated?—in honour of how many of them has she  
 “ ordained that services should be performed? Kings  
 “ and princes should ever fear, that in proportion to  
 “ their exaltation in this world, will be the fires of their  
 “ punishment in that which is to come. As it is writ-  
 “ ten, ‘ mighty men shall be mightily tormented <sup>1</sup>.’ For  
 “ they must render account for as many souls of men  
 “ as they boast of subjects to their sceptre. And if his  
 “ task be not small who, in a private station, has to  
 “ keep watch over his single soul, how endless must  
 “ be the labour incumbent on the prince who has to  
 “ give an account of thousands! . . .

“ Let those, therefore, whom the holy Church, by  
 “ her own act and deliberate counsel, elevates to  
 “ government and empire,—not for the sake of transi-  
 “ tory glory, but for the welfare of the many,—learn  
 “ humbly to obey . . . Let them ever prefer God’s  
 “ honour to their own. Let them, preserving to every  
 “ man his rights, embrace and maintain justice. Let  
 “ them not walk in the counsels of the ungodly, but ever  
 “ cling with acquiescing heart to the righteous. Let  
 “ them not seek to subject the holy Church, as a bond-  
 “ maid, to their will; but let them strive, as befits  
 “ them, to honour her eyes—that is, the priests of the  
 “ Lord—as their masters and their fathers. For if we  
 “ are commanded to honour our fathers and mothers

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom vi. 6.

“ according to the flesh, how much more are we bound  
 “ to reverence our spiritual parents? . . . . .

“ Acting with humility on principles like these, and  
 “ walking, as they are bound, in the love of God, and in  
 “ charity toward their neighbour, let them confide in  
 “ the mercy of Him who said, ‘ Learn of Me, for I am  
 “ meek and lowly in heart<sup>1</sup>;’ whom, if they humbly  
 “ imitate, they shall pass in due time from a kingdom  
 “ servile and transitory, to one of true liberty and eter-  
 “ nal duration<sup>2</sup>.”

Henry, having responded to the announcement of Gregory’s council, by summoning the prelates in his interest to Pavia, and having there denounced the obnoxious pontiff anew, pushed forward across the Apennines into Tuscany. Here, as in Lombardy, towns opened their gates before him, and prelates declared their adhesion to his cause. Matilda’s vassals, as has been remarked already, were not firm in their allegiance to her, and many of them now openly united themselves to the party of her enemy. Her mountain-fortresses, however, still defied his power, and furnished a secure retreat to those prelates and other ecclesiastics who were driven from their homes by royal or popular violence. Having vainly endeavoured to make himself master of some of these strong-holds, the king pushed onwards, and appeared, as Gregory had expected, a little before the feast of Pentecost, in sight of the papal city<sup>3</sup>. Nor may we doubt that feelings of high exultation swelled the now triumphant monarch’s breast, when he found himself once more in the presence,—so to say,—of his great antagonist, and saw himself, in anticipation, mas-

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. xi. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. viii. Ep. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo, sextâ feriâ ante Pentecosten. Benzo, præfat. lib. vi.

ter of the spot in which all his woes had originated. It was on the right bank of the Tiber that Henry approached the walls of Rome,—on that side on which stood the Church of St. Peter and the Leonine city. Nor did the sanguine prince doubt,—received, as he had been, into almost every town which he had approached, by willing adherents,—that friends would be found within the great metropolis of the West to throw open its gates for his instant admission. But in this he was disappointed: the bold bearing of Gregory had produced an involuntary feeling in his favour among the nobler natures of Rome; and a treasure, which was seasonably forwarded to him, by the indefatigable countess, from Canossa, enabled him to conciliate, by largesses, the baser part of the population. The gates, therefore, continued closed<sup>1</sup>; the satirical Romans, instead of assisting the invader, indulging from the walls in gibes and taunts against his expedition and his cause. And Henry, having trusted rather to their expected support than to his own strength for success, had not provided himself with the means for carrying on, with effect, a regular siege. He encamped, however, on the “fields of Nero,” disposed to await the possible turn of events in his favour<sup>2</sup>, and amusing his soldiers by going through the ceremony of a mock coronation in his camp<sup>3</sup>. But, early in July, the heat of the weather, and the unwholesome air of the Campagna, began seriously to debilitate his German army<sup>4</sup>; and he felt himself compelled, however reluctantly, to move his forces northwards, and to abandon, for the present, the hope of completing his triumph.

<sup>1</sup> Romani, prævaricatores effecti, clausurunt ei introitum. Benzo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Annalista Saxo.

An attempt which the king made upon Florence, was as unsuccessful as had been his proceedings before Rome ; but other places of importance willingly owned his authority. Matilda's city of Lucca declared itself on his side ; its prelate, Anselm, Gregory's devoted friend, was forced to seek safety in flight. Henry invested an adherent of his own with the see ; and gave to that city, —to Pisa,—and to other towns which had espoused his cause, a variety of chartered rights and privileges, which he intended alike as signs of his royal favour, and as inducements to continued loyalty.

The contest for the German crown will assume, during the remainder of our narration, but a secondary importance. The death of the brave Rudolf had dismayed and confounded the opponents to Henry's continued reign ; but the Saxons were still exasperated to the utmost, and anxious to offer their allegiance to any one, rather than to that obnoxious monarch, or to a member of his house. Nor could Gregory be expected to view, with much reluctance, a measure, the probable effect of which would be to recall his inveterate enemy across the Alps. The pontiff, however, was cautious: remembering the difficulties in which the premature election of Rudolf had involved him, he, through his legates, recommended that nothing should be done in haste ; he entreated all who loved the liberties of the Spouse of Christ, to be induced neither by fear nor favour, rashly to elect any one, whose qualities were not those required in a king, who should undertake the defence of the Christian faith. The delay, he said, which would tend to the ultimate election of a worthy object, was far preferable to the over-haste which might probably seat an unfit person on the throne. The promulgation, however, of his epistle to

the bishop of Metz, could not but strengthen the Saxons in their conviction of the lawfulness of their proceedings; and, under these circumstances, their chiefs, in concert with the nobles of Swabia, assembled at Bamberg; where,—on the 9th of August, 1081,—they nominated count Herman of Luxemburg as the successor to Rudolf's uncertain crown.

The object of their choice appears to have been an able and well-intentioned prince. He was no sooner elected, than he had to lead his forces into the field, in support of his pretensions; and at Höchststadt on the Danube—a spot since memorable as the scene of Marlborough's greatest victory—he signally defeated the forces of Henry under the command of the gallant count of Hohenstaufen<sup>1</sup>. Otho of Nordheim, disappointed that the choice of the nobles had not fallen upon himself, withheld for awhile his assent to Herman's election, and seems to have been inclined to seek a reconciliation with Henry. But the breaking of a limb, occasioned by the fall of his horse, was interpreted by him as a sign of the Divine displeasure, and consequently induced him to tender his fealty to the newly-chosen sovereign; who was subsequently crowned at Goslar, during the holy season of Christmas, by the hands of archbishop Siegfried<sup>2</sup>. But Herman's exertions, and those of his followers, were not deemed by Henry of sufficient importance to occasion his return across the Alps. The monarch knew that Rome

<sup>1</sup> Electus est autem ante festum S. Laurentii, et in sequenti die, post festum ejusdem Sancti, de inimicis triumphavit in loco qui dicitur Hostette; postea in Saxoniam consecrandus discessit. — Berth. Constant. apud Hohostem.—Annalista Saxo.—Hohenstein. Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno.—Bernold. Constant.—Annalista Saxo.

was, after all, the head and central rallying-point of his enemies; and that the overthrow of Gregory—could that great point be accomplished—would necessarily involve the humiliation and ruin of all minor opponents of the imperial house. The loyal count of Hohenstaufen, too, notwithstanding his recent disaster, was considered by Henry as fully able to vindicate the honour of the empire in the absence of its head: and, confiding in that able and energetic representative, he felt that he might safely leave the new pretender, to the distractions of his party and to the difficulties of his position.

We find Gregory, in the midst of the alarm and confusion which, during these transactions, surrounded him, calmly inditing a pastoral epistle to the kings of the Visigoths, respecting the conversion of their subjects<sup>1</sup>. We behold him receiving the proffered fealty of Bertram, count of Provence<sup>2</sup>; and supporting the general cause of apostolical authority, by rejecting the gifts sent to Rome by the count of Anjou, because that nobleman had been laid under the sentence of excommunication by his native bishop<sup>3</sup>.

Robert Guiscard, as has been already mentioned, had embarked his armament for the shores of Greece. Having made himself master of Corfu, he landed on the continent, near the city of Durazzo; of which he commenced the siege in form. Another revolution had occurred in the palace of Constantinople: the feeble Nicephorus Botoniates had given place to the more able and energetic Alexius Comnenus, who, having been proclaimed emperor, in Thrace, in March 1081, had entered the imperial city in triumph on the first

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. Ep. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Juramentum Bertranni Comitis Provinciæ. Post. Ep. ix. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ix. Ep. 22.



of the following April. The new emperor immediately made the most extensive preparations to resist the Norman invasion: he engaged the Venetians in his cause, with whom the Normans, though once so renowned for their maritime exploits, were by no means able to cope with in naval warfare; and, at the head a vast but motley army, which some authorities swell to the incredible amount of 170,000 men<sup>1</sup>, he appeared, in October, in person before Durazzo. On the 18th of that month, a general engagement took place between his forces and the invaders, in which this unwieldy multitude was found unequal to cope with the determined courage of the Norman race, though the numbers of Guiscard are said not to have exceeded 15,000<sup>2</sup>. Notwithstanding, indeed, the overpowering number of his eastern followers, Alexius seems to have reposed his principal hope in the body of English<sup>3</sup>, who, under the name of Varangians, served beneath his banner. To these warriors, who fought with the formidable pole-axe<sup>4</sup>, the emperor intrusted the honour of leading the attack. They advanced against the Normans with determined valour, and, we may well suppose, with national animosity.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ost. lib. iii. c. xlix.

<sup>2</sup> II. Leo Ost. lib. c.

<sup>3</sup> Angli, Gaufr. Malaterr.

<sup>4</sup> Caudatis bidentibus. Gaufr. Malaterr.—probably an erratum for bipennibus—the weapons with which the Anglo-Saxon army had been arrayed at Hastings, in opposition to the Norman bow. Vid. Will. Malmesb. Anna Comnena styles these warriors *κελεκοφόροι*. As at Hastings, the Normans prepared on this occasion for battle, in a manner suited to the devotional habits of their nation. *Mane autem facto, Dux ipse lucis crepusculo, omnesque nostri surgentes cum summâ devotione hymnos Dei cum Missarum celebratione audiunt. Presbyteris compunctive confitentes peccata muniant sacri viatici ministeriis. Sicque ordinatis aciebus ad certamen gradatim et conjunctissime progrediuntur.* Gaufr. Malaterr. lib. iii. c. 27.

The Italians of Robert's army fled in dismay, and confusion was spreading among the Normans themselves, when the energy of Robert himself, and the Amazonian prowess of his wife, Sichelgaita, retrieved the fortunes of the day. The Varangians, advancing too far beyond the main body of the Grecian army, were taken in flank. And thus thrown into confusion, they were driven before their enemies toward a church which stood near, dedicated either to St. Nicholas<sup>1</sup> or to St. Michael<sup>2</sup>, which they occupied and prepared to defend. But the building was surrounded, broken down<sup>3</sup>, and set on fire<sup>4</sup>, and the flower of the Varangians perished by suffocation, or in the flames. And this reverse was decisive of the fortunes of the contest. By the formidable charge of the Normans, the lines of the Grecian emperor were broken, and the numbers of his followers only served to augment their confusion, and to swell the triumph of their conqueror. Robert reaped a most glorious victory<sup>5</sup>; which he did not, perhaps, prize the less, from the circumstance that the pretended Michael, who was now of no further utility to him, perished in the field. And the discomfited Alexius, only escaping from his enemies by the agility of his horse Sguritzes, who bore him, says the princess Anna Comnena, like a Pegasus<sup>6</sup> from the fray, retreated with all speed to Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> Gauf. Malaterr.<sup>2</sup> Anna Comnena.<sup>3</sup> Gauf. Malaterr.<sup>4</sup> Anna Comnena.<sup>5</sup> Gauf. Malaterr.—Gul. Appul. lib. v.<sup>6</sup> Πηγάσου πτερά λαβών.—Anna Comnena, Alexiad. lib. iv.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XIX.

A. D. 1081 TO A. D. 1084.

HENRY APPEARS AGAIN BEFORE ROME—UNSUCCESSFUL ASSAULT OF THE PLACE—HE IS COMPELLED TO RETREAT WITH THE GREATER PART OF HIS ARMY, BUT LEAVES DETACHMENTS IN THE HEALTHIEST SPOTS ROUND ROME, TO WATCH THE CITY—AMBASSADORS FROM ALEKIUS COMNENUS SOLICIT HIS AID AGAINST GUISCARD—HIS DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE NORMANS, AND SUBSEQUENT WARLIKE OPERATIONS IN TUSCANY—DEATH OF OTHO OF NORDHEIM, AND DECLINE OF THE PARTY OF HERMAN IN GERMANY—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE FAITHFUL—HENRY'S THIRD APPEARANCE BEFORE ROME—HE SURPRISES THE LEONINE CITY—HIS RENEWED OFFERS OF COMPROMISE REJECTED BY GREGORY—DISSATISFACTION CAUSED BY THIS REJECTION IN ROME—COUNCIL HOLDEN THERE IN NOVEMBER 1083—THE PARTISANS OF HENRY OPEN TO HIM THE GATES OF THE CITY—GUIBERT IS INSTALLED IN THE LATERAN, AND GREGORY BESIEGED IN THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.

THOUGH the winter of 1081 was a severe one, the eager Henry set out with his forces before Christmas, and, crossing the frozen Po<sup>1</sup>, directed his march toward Rome; before which city, accompanied by the pretender Guibert, he made his appearance by the close of the year<sup>2</sup>. His troops had been refreshed by repose, and reinforced by numerous bodies of Italian recruits. But though he lay encamped during the whole of Lent before the papal city, time rolled on without his efforts being followed by any decisive result. Matilda, by borrowing, with the consent of

<sup>1</sup> Pado nimio gelu rigido. Landulph. senior, Mediolan. Hist. lib. iv. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> In mense Decembris. Id.

its ministers, the treasures belonging to the Church of Canossa, was again enabled to furnish the pontiff with the means of retaining the greedy populace of Rome in his interest; and the king's efforts were, consequently, as vain as before, to procure co-operation within the walls. On one occasion, indeed, he prevailed on a Roman adherent of his party to set fire, either to the Basilica of the Vatican, or to some buildings immediately adjoining it; with the intention, when the fire should be discovered, and the Romans should be busily employed in extinguishing it, of making himself master of that district by a sudden assault. The fire was kindled, and discovered, and the attack made at the critical moment; but the presence of mind of Gregory rendered the enterprise abortive. The pontiff, whose visible firmness prevented a panic among his followers, directed them to remain constant in their duty upon the walls, and to trust to the protecting power of the Prince of the Apostles the safety of his temple<sup>1</sup>. This firm demeanour inspired a general confidence among his followers: they resolutely manned the bulwarks of the town, while those whom Gregory employed for the purpose,—acting without confusion,—soon extinguished the rising flames. And the besiegers, after a short time, abandoned the attack; of which the principal result thus was to increase the reverential awe with which Gregory was contemplated by those around him<sup>2</sup>.

The heat, and the insalubrity of the weather, compelled Henry, soon after Easter, to strike his tents, and

<sup>1</sup> Solus fiducia S. Petri fretus; facto signo crucis, contra incendium ignem progredi ulterius non permisit. Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.—Paul. Bernried.

to withdraw from his position. But he did not, however, so completely abandon offensive operations, as he had done on his former retreat. Having made himself master of several strong-holds in the neighbourhood, he occupied them with garrisons from his army, other detachments of which he encamped in various comparatively healthy spots in the Campagna. The pretender, Guibert, took up his residence in Tivoli; whence, after Henry's departure, he was able continually to harass the hostile city, and seriously to distress its inhabitants, by intercepting their supplies of provision.

No decisive blow, however, was struck, during the remainder of the year. Alexius, after the disaster of Durazzo, had forwarded to Henry costly presents, and urgently intreated him to recall the Norman warrior from his Grecian conquests, by an attack on his Italian dominions. And Henry, desirous to make some show of acceding to the request, led his forces, when withdrawn from Rome, across the Tiber, destroyed some castles of hostile nobles, and advanced to the celebrated monastery of Farfa. The spirit of disaffection to Robert's power, which had shown itself in various parts of his dominions, appeared likely to favour the monarch's further progress: but Henry's troops murmured at the unhealthiness of the country; they dreaded a collision with the formidable Normans; and they were allured by the more tempting prospect of capturing the cities, and plundering the treasures of Matilda<sup>1</sup>. Toward Tuscany, then, the king retraced his steps; but the gallant countess was enabled, throughout the year, to oppose to his overpowering numbers an effectual

<sup>1</sup> Cœperunt mussitare maligni, quod magis valeret reditus ad devastandam Matildam. Benzo, Præfat. l. vi.

resistance. She possessed, among the mountainous districts of her country, a chain of fortresses then deemed impregnable<sup>1</sup>; from the rocky walls of which, she could look down in safety upon the hosts of imperialists who swept the plains around her; and then, unexpectedly issuing from these her fastnesses, could distract their operations, and weary their spirits by a harassing and incessant warfare<sup>2</sup>.

The intelligence of Henry's motions, and of the gathering troubles in Apulia, was sufficient to recall Robert Guiscard from Greece, where Durazzo had, on the 8th of February<sup>3</sup>, submitted to his arms. Leaving his son Bohemond in command of his forces in that country, he returned, in all haste, to the Italian side of the Adriatic; where he found, for some time, ample employment in appeasing discontents, and in reducing to submission the disaffected portions of his dominions.

Emboldened by the success at Höchststadt, Herman of Luxemburg and his supporters conceived themselves in a condition to follow Henry across the Alps; and spent the whole of the year 1082 in making preparations for the expedition. But, at the close of that year, Otho of Nordheim, in whom Herman now reposed full confidence, and to whose talents and

<sup>1</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sola resistit ei Mathildis, filia Petri,  
Rex exardescens contra quam concitat enses,  
Prælia, terrores, et castris obsidiones :  
Ad nihilum pugnat, non hæc superabitur unquam.  
Insuperabilia loca sunt sibi plurima fixa.  
Diligitur valde, villas defendit et arces, &c. &c.

Donizo, lib. ii. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Baren. Chron. ap. Murator. R. I. Script. t. v. p. 154.

energy he intended, during his projected absence, to intrust his German interests, breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. And his decease seems to have been a blow which the party of Henry's opponents never recovered. The intended expedition was abandoned as hopeless<sup>2</sup>; and Herman's power, growing gradually more and more feeble, became at length an object rather of contempt than of respect, even to his own immediate followers.

Gregory, amid these tempestuous scenes, continued firm and high-minded as ever. Surrounded by danger and distress, he carried on as usual his general superintendence of the Church's fortunes, and issued his pastoral missives, as authoritatively as in his most unclouded days, to princes and prelates in the most distant regions of Christendom. Hemmed in by his besiegers, he was not able, during the year 1082, to hold his council, in the usual form, at Rome; though he much wished, according to his own statement<sup>3</sup>, to confute in a general assembly the charges slanderously brought against the apostolic see, and to manifest to all the purity of his intentions. But this could not be. He addressed, however, to his faithful friends an epistle<sup>4</sup>, and cheered them with words of comfort. "We know," he said, "dearest brethren, that ye sympathize with us in our troubles and difficulties, and that in your prayers ye make mention of us before the Lord. Ye are confident that we do the like with respect to you, and with reason; for, as the Apostle says, if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it<sup>5</sup>. On this account, we trust that the grace of God is

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. ix. Ep. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ix. Ep. 21.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 26.

“ shed abroad in our hearts, that we all wish the same  
“ thing, all seek the same thing, all labour for the same  
“ thing. We all wish that the ungodly should repent  
“ and return to their Creator ; we all seek that the  
“ holy Church, now trampled down throughout the  
“ world, confounded, and divided, may be restored to her  
“ pristine comeliness and strength ; we all labour that  
“ God may be glorified in us ; and that, together with  
“ our brethren,—yea, together with those who persecute  
“ us,—we may be found worthy to attain unto ever-  
“ lasting life.

“ Marvel not, dearest brethren, if the world hate  
“ you ; for we ourselves irritate it against us, while  
“ we set ourselves against its lusts, and condemn its  
“ actions. . . . .

“ Recollect that soldiers of this world are by a tri-  
“ fling stipend induced to put their lives in daily jeo-  
“ pardy for their earthly masters ; and what suffer we,  
“ —what do we,—for the King of kings, and for the  
“ reward of everlasting glory ? What dishonour, what  
“ reproach, what ridicule, is cast upon us, if they, for  
“ worthless toys, shrink not from death ; and we, with  
“ a celestial treasure,—with life eternal,—in sight, shrink  
“ from the encounter of persecution.

“ Rouse yourselves, then, and be strong. Conceive  
“ a lively hope. Have before your eyes the banner  
“ of our leader, the eternal King. It was His word,  
“ ‘ In your patience possess ye your souls <sup>1</sup>.’ And if we  
“ are anxious,—through the grace given to us,—to crush  
“ the ancient enemy, and to make light of his devices,  
“ let us endeavour, not only not to shrink from the per-  
“ secutions which he excites against us . . . .but, for the

<sup>1</sup> S. Luke xxi. 19.



“ love of God, and in defence of the Christian religion,  
 “ to brave them. Thus shall we quell and make of no  
 “ account the raging of the waves, and the madness of  
 “ the people; thus be joined in triumph to our great  
 “ Head, Who sitteth at the right hand of God the  
 “ Father, and Who hath declared to us, that, ‘if we  
 “ suffer, we shall also reign with Him!’”

And now commenced the year 1083; the opening of which beheld Henry a third time before the walls of Rome. His army was more formidable, in point of numbers, and better equipped, than ever; and he sat down before the place with the determination of straining every nerve to make himself, if possible, that year its master. For five months,—from the end of December to the beginning of June,—undeterred either by the cold of winter, or by the heat of summer, he had maintained his position, when a bold enterprize of two of his followers led, unexpectedly, to an assault of the Leonine city, which terminated in his capture of that important district<sup>2</sup>. The Vatican, with St. Peter’s church itself, was now in his hands; and though the Tiber, with its defences, yet protected the remainder of Rome from his incursions, he fortified a position on the summit of the hill named Palatiolus<sup>3</sup>, and placed therein a garrison, which wrought to the inhabitants of the unsubdued portion of the city continual annoyance. And having, by this success, depressed the spirits of his adversaries, he availed himself of the gold of Alexius, so to tamper with the greedy populace of Rome, as

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Landulph. Senior, Hist. Mediolan. lib. iv. c. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Juxta S. Petrum monticulum, nomine Palatiolum, incastellavit.  
 —Bernold. Constant.

to excite amongst them a strong feeling in his favour. Nor did he find this a difficult task;—they were wearied by the privations consequent on the blockade; and Gregory was no longer able to appease their habitual thirst for lucre. When, therefore, the king, having thus prepared his way, put on a show of moderation, and came forward with the declaration that he desired no more than to receive the imperial crown from Gregory's pontifical hands<sup>1</sup>, all classes in the city seem to have hailed the prospect of an end to their troubles, and to have concurred in urging upon the pontiff the immediate acceptance of terms so advantageous. In making such a proposal, the king appeared to retract much that he had done, and to cancel the election to the papal chair of his creature Guibert; and an offer apparently so fair seemed to demand a liberal concession on the other side. The Romans, therefore, approached, with tears, their pontiff's footstool: they implored him most fervently to have pity upon their afflicted country, and to lend a favourable ear to the royal proffer. But Gregory was unmoved by their entreaties<sup>2</sup>; he saw too clearly through the wily monarch's design; he well knew that Henry, whose course of action was based on policy, not on principle, conceded, in truth, nothing, in the withdrawal of what had been on his part merely a political demonstration, or in the annulment of what was,—in the eyes of all but the king's devoted partizans,—an uncanonical election; but that were he himself, in return, to declare by acts

<sup>1</sup> Centius Camerarius in libro MS. censuali citat. ap. Pagi. Breviar Gest. Pontif. t. i. p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> Waltram. Naumburg. Apolog. lib. ii. c. vii.

of compromise the invalidity of the solemn steps which he had taken,—the nullity of the fearful sentence of anathema which he had passed,—it would be an abandonment on his part of the high ground on which, till then, he had boldly stood; a concession of the fundamental principles, for which alone he waged his great battle with the empire and with its head. He replied, therefore, to the anxious Romans as follows: “I know, by long experience, the king’s wiliness and treachery. Nevertheless, if he will make amends to God, and to His Church, for the sins which he has notoriously committed against them, I am ready and willing to absolve him, and to place, with my blessing, the imperial crown upon his head. But if he will not do this, I ought not,—I dare not,—to listen to your prayer<sup>1</sup>.”

Henry, as might naturally have been expected, treated this message with disdain. But though the Romans besieged Gregory many days with their supplications, the pontiff perseveringly refused, in the slightest degree, to vary its tenor. He expressed, however, his acquiescence in the proposal, that at a council, to be convened in the ensuing November, the whole subject should be discussed, and, if possible, definitively settled<sup>2</sup>; Henry, on his part, pledging himself that he would offer no impediment to the journey which any prelates might undertake to the papal city, for the purpose of attending it<sup>3</sup>. The king might well hope for a favourable issue from the measure, for several Romans, irritated by the pontiff’s inexorable demeanour, secretly pledged themselves to

<sup>1</sup> Centius Camerarius, ut suprà.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

him, that, on the arrival of the season in question, either Gregory himself, or another pope whom they would elect for the purpose, should present him with the crown which he desired. And having thus, as he hoped, smoothed the path to his speedy triumph, Henry, whose army was now suffering greatly from the heat, withdrew with the greater part of it from Rome; merely leaving, in the conquered portion of the city, a garrison sufficient to secure it from re-capture.

The council met at Rome, on the 20th of November, 1083<sup>1</sup>, but the scantiness of its numbers formed a melancholy contrast to the splendour of the assemblies which had surrounded and supported the pontiff during the earlier years of his pontificate. Comparatively few bishops, in this season of adversity, still adhered to the ecclesiastical cause: most prelates had, from motives of fear or of interest, made their peace with the prevailing party. Of the remainder, most had been exiled from their sees, and driven to seek refuge with the unconquered and unwavering Matilda. And Henry, unmindful of his promises, interfered to prevent Otho of Ostia, Hugo of Lyons, Anselm of Lucca, and other prelates whom he knew to be opposed to his interests, from attending the assembly<sup>2</sup>.

The faithful few, however, who were both able and willing to rally around the Church in this hour of her peril, sat three days in deliberation; and spoke with heavy hearts of the evils, the difficulties, and the dangers which surrounded them. On the third day, Gregory solemnly addressed them. As though aware that this was his last opportunity of defending himself before an assembly so capable of appreciating his feelings, he

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.

poured forth a strain of unwonted eloquence and pathos. He spoke, says his historian, with the mouth rather of an angel than of a man <sup>1</sup>, of the great doctrines of the faith, of the conversation incumbent upon its professors, and of the firmness and constancy required of them under the pressure and troubles of the times; until the whole assembly around him melted into tears <sup>2</sup>. Before he dismissed them with the apostolical benediction, the pontiff, indignant at Henry's renewed breach of faith, was with difficulty restrained from repeating his sentence of excommunication upon the royal offender. As it was, he pronounced, in general terms, all to be under the Church's censure, who had presumed to seize the persons of prelates, or in any other way to prevent their journey to the place of council.

Constancy in adversity, such as that which Gregory now displayed, could scarcely fail of producing a moral effect among the more high-minded spectators of his conduct. And a seasonable supply of treasure from the Norman duke, enabled the pontiff to recover his popularity among that portion of the populace, whose vacillating favour was only to be bought by a lavish expenditure and liberal donatives. We find, accordingly, that, among the Romans who had listened to Henry's persuasions, there were many who now regretted the course which they stood committed to pursue, and wished to rank themselves once more in the number of defenders of the Church. The oath, however, which they had taken to the king, before his departure, raised scruples

<sup>1</sup> Ore non humano sed angelico patenter edisserens.—Vid. Har-  
duin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1612.

<sup>2</sup> Totum fere conventum in gemitus et lacrymas compulit.—Har-  
duin, l. c.

in their minds ; but these they contrived to silence in a mode too accordant with the spirit of their age ; and sent to Henry, with Gregory's sanction, a message, to the effect that, if penitent, he might receive the imperial crown, in due form, in the church of St. Peter ; but that, if he continued in impenitence, the promised diadem should be let down to him at the extremity of a rod from one of the windows of St. Angelo ; and upon Henry's contemptuous reception of this evasive proffer, they considered themselves as absolved from the observance of the pledge which they had given, and at liberty to devote their undivided service to the cause of his opponent <sup>1</sup>.

The king now began to despair of accomplishing the great object to which he had so long devoted himself. His garrison,—having been so fearfully thinned by disease, that men recognized in the visitation the avenging arm of St. Peter,—had been compelled to retire from the hill Palatiolus ; and the works which he had erected on it had been destroyed<sup>2</sup>. His German territories, from which he had now been three years absent, urgently required his presence ; and he had begun seriously to contemplate a journey across the Alps, when he was greeted, early in 1084, by another embassy from the fickle Romans<sup>3</sup>. The feeling which the transactions of the autumn had excited in

<sup>1</sup> *Coronam cum justitiâ, si vellet, sin autem de Castello S. Angeli per virgam sibi demissam a Papâ reciperet.*—Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> *Cum in Teutonicas partes, de acquirendâ Româ jam desperantes, redire vellemus, ecce Româ missis legatis ut Romam intraremus rogaverunt, seque nobis in omnibus obedituros promiserunt, quod et fecerunt.*—Vid. *Epist. Henrici IV. ad Theodoric. episc. Virdun.* ap. Martene et Durand. *Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 177.*

Gregory's favour, soon subsided; the citizens now offered to his adversary immediate admittance into the papal city; and accordingly, in spite of the efforts of Gregory and his adherents, the Lateran gate was, on the 21st of March<sup>1</sup>, 1084, thrown open to the expecting monarch and his followers. Henry and Guibert rode in triumph, amid the shouts of their partizans, along the streets of Rome; while Gregory, and a few of his faithful adherents, hastily barricaded themselves in the impregnable St. Angelo. The adherents of the pontiff occupied a few other strong-holds in different parts of the city; but the rest of Rome was now entirely subject to the power of the imperial party.

On the day following that of his entry, Guibert was solemnly installed, in the Lateran Church, in the chair of the Apostle<sup>2</sup>. On the 24th—Palm Sunday,—the ceremony of papal consecration was performed at St. Peter's, by the bishops of Modena and Arezzo<sup>3</sup>, in the presence of a considerable number of the prelates in Henry's interest. And on the following Sunday,—Easter-day,—the triumphant monarch, accompanied by Bertha, proceeded to the Basilica of the Vatican; and there, with his consort, received from the hands of the pope of his election,—who had now<sup>4</sup> assumed the name of Clement III.,—the imperial diadem of the West<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Romam in die S. Benedicti intravimus.—Epist. Henr. IV. ut suprâ.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Feria quinta ante Palmas. Bern. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—Donizo.

<sup>3</sup> The ceremony should, according to the canons, have been performed by the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Albano.

<sup>4</sup> Marian. Scot.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Epist. Hen. IV.—Waltram. Naumburgens. Apologiæ lib. ii. c. vii.—Abbas Ursperg.—Cent. Camerar.—Bernold. Constant.

During the solemnities of the week, a fierce conflict took place, in the streets, between Gregory's followers and those of Henry; and the lives of about forty of the latter were lost in the affray<sup>1</sup>. Order was, however, restored; the papal adherents, closely invested in their respective fastnesses, were one by one compelled to surrender; St. Angelo alone held out; pent up in the narrow precincts of which, Gregory, as it seemed, had nothing to anticipate, but his own approaching ruin, and the final overthrow of his cause.

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.



## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XX.

A. D. 1084 TO A. D. 1085.

GUISCARD APPROACHES ROME WITH HIS ARMY—RETREAT OF HENRY—GUISCARD STORMS THE CITY—INSURRECTION OF THE CITIZENS—DREADFUL SCENE OF BLOODSHED, PLUNDER, AND INCENDIARISM—THE NORMANS TRIUMPH, BUT SOON ABANDON THE CITY—GREGORY ACCOMPANIES THEM, AND TAKES UP HIS RESIDENCE AT SALERNO—DEFEAT OF HENRY'S TROOPS BY THOSE OF MATILDA AT SORBARIA—HENRY RETURNS TO GERMANY—DEATH OF SIEGFRIED—UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—COUNCIL OF THE PAPALISTS AT QUERDLINBURG—OF THEIR OPPONENTS AT MENTZ—GENERAL GLOOM OF THE TIMES—SINKING OF GREGORY'S CONSTITUTION—HIS LAST ILLNESS, AND DEATH.

THUS invested in St. Angelo, Gregory continued for about six weeks; but at the end of that period, an emissary of the pontiff's faithful friend, Desiderius of Monte Cassino, contrived to make his way into the beleaguered tower, and to communicate to the pontiff the grateful intelligence that Robert Guiscard, at the head of an innumerable army, was in full march upon Rome<sup>1</sup>. The same tidings were, at the same time, imparted by Desiderius to the newly-crowned emperor, by whom they were received with undisguised dismay.

Guiscard had now, by his energy and prowess, subdued the malcontents by whom his dominions had been disturbed; and having accomplished this object, he devoted his exertions to the formation of a powerful

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. cap. liii.

army, with which he might bring to a successful conclusion the war in Greece;—where his son Bohemond had, during his absence, ably maintained the honour of the Norman arms. He sought recruits from all quarters: numbers of Saracens, the natural enemies of the Grecian empire, flocked to his banner<sup>1</sup>; and he was able, when he at length determined upon complying with the pope's repeated entreaties for assistance, to put in motion toward Rome a mixed and half-disciplined multitude, amounting to the number of thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse.

Henry had not the means of coping with this unexpected foe. Reluctantly, therefore, he yielded to the force of circumstances; and giving up the hope, which had seemed on the point of gratification, of completely triumphing over his most formidable enemy, he made his preparations for retiring from the papal city. Addressing the assembled people, who were still for the most part favourable to his cause, he informed them that his affairs required his immediate presence in Lombardy, and that he commended to their care the interests of the empire in Rome, and the honour of the imperial name; and then, accompanied by Guibert, he took leave of the city, and moved through Civita Castellana to Sienna<sup>2</sup>.

Three days had not elapsed from his hasty and enforced departure, when the banners of Guiscard floated before the walls of Rome. The duke<sup>3</sup>, though he met with no opposition in his approach, found the gates of the city closed, and the citizens prepared to defend the walls against his attack. Pitching his

<sup>1</sup> Landulph. Senior, Hist. Mediolan. lib. iv. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. c. Lup. Protospat.—Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Gaufrid. Malaterr. lib. iii. cap. xxxvii.

camp, therefore, near the gate which led to the Tusculan way, he remained during three days inactive; but with the dawn of the fourth, he proceeded, at the head of a band of thirteen hundred chosen men, to surprise and occupy the gate of St. Laurence. In silence, and unobserved by the enemy, they scaled the walls, broke into the city, and threw open the gates to their countrymen. The alarm was now given, but too late: the victorious Normans rushed along the streets, overpowering all opposition; and Guiscard himself, soon making his way to the castle of St. Angelo, led thence the liberated pontiff, and conducted him with all honour to the palace of the Lateran<sup>1</sup>. But in the ancient palace of the pontiffs, Gregory was not long destined to remain: a fearful event was at hand, which was as fatal to his continued residence in authority in the papal city, as would have been the continued occupation of that city by the German monarch and his followers.

For two days from Guiscard's entry, the Romans appeared to behold the triumph of the intruder with silent indignation; but they were, in truth, brooding on schemes of vengeance; and on the third day, rushing simultaneously to arms, they occupied, in confused masses, the principal streets of the city, and attempted a general slaughter of their invaders. The Normans, on the other hand, hastily sprang from the tables at which, when the alarm was given, they were feasting; and snatching up their arms, stood boldly to their defence. And now a terrific scene ensued,—a sanguinary conflict raged at once in every portion of the city. Roger, the son of Guiscard, who was with a

<sup>1</sup> Gauf. Malaterr. l. c.—Hugo Flaviniacens.

thousand horse without the walls, heard the uproar within, and entering the city, afforded a most opportune assistance to his surprised countrymen. But the fury of the inhabitants, who fought with the advantages which an exasperated population can always command in a street engagement against an alien soldiery, began to prevail; and Guiscard, as the only means of preserving his followers from destruction, uttered the fearful word "fire!" The direction was instantly obeyed: and as night came on, its gloom was dispelled by the disastrous glare of frequent and wide-spreading conflagrations. The danger which now threatened their lives, their families, and their property, subdued the spirit of the distracted inhabitants: they abandoned their defences, and, flying in all directions, were every where cut down and trampled upon by the infuriated invaders. These now set no bounds to their vengeance; the savage Saracens, by whom Robert had swelled his numbers, gratifying to the utmost their hereditary hatred to the Christian name<sup>2</sup>. Houses were sacked, families massacred, convents violated, by the light of burning streets; and it was with difficulty that Gregory's efforts could preserve the fabric of the principal churches from destruction, while his barbarous deliverers were plundering their treasuries and altars. At length the dreadful scene was brought to a close; tranquillity was restored; and Guiscard reigned once more in Rome. Nor did he, after this occurrence, hesitate to

<sup>1</sup> Romanis fortiter insistentibus, nullus impetus prævalebat donec dux, ignem exclamans, &c. Gauf. Malaterr.

<sup>2</sup> Ita gens diversa, de Deo ignara, sceleribus ac homicidiis edocta, adulteriis variisque fornicationibus assuefacta, omnibus criminibus quæ ferro et igne talibus agi solet negotiis, sese furialiter immerserat. —Landolph. Senior, Hist. Mediolan. lib. iv. c. 3.

exercise, in the most relentless manner, the authority of a master: seizing and sending off into slavery all whom he knew or suspected to have acted in opposition to the papal cause<sup>1</sup>; but soon,—apprehensive, perhaps, of a fresh explosion of popular fury,—he was led to decide on retiring from the ill-fated city, of which the greater part now lay in ashes<sup>2</sup>.

Nor could Gregory, bowed down to the earth by these overwhelming misfortunes, persuade himself that he could longer remain there with either security to his person, or advantage to the Church. His once splendid Rome had become a city of smoking ruins; and he felt that a population already hostile to his cause, would thenceforward regard him with more deadly animosity, from identifying that cause, and the general quarrel of the Church, with the origin of these, their terrible calamities. He determined, therefore, upon leaving the papal city; as he hoped, for a short time, but,—as the event proved,—for ever. Departing in the train of his Norman ally<sup>3</sup>, he took up his quarters, in the first instance, with his friend Desiderius, of Monte Cassino. But from hence he moved,—probably for the sake of security,—to Robert's castle of Salerno; in which city, —assembling around him, for the last time, a council of the Church,—he pronounced anew, and with the firmness of his most prosperous days, the oft-repeated sen-

<sup>1</sup> *Multa millia Romanorum vendidit ut Judæos, quosdam vero captivos duxit usque Calabriam.*—Bonizo, p. 818.—Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Guiscard. "*Urbem . . . penitus spoliavit et majorem ejus partem igni consumpsit.*" Bernold. Constant. *Quid multa? tribus civitatis partibus, multisque palatiis regum Romanorum adustis, &c.*—Lan-dulph. Senior, ut supra.

<sup>3</sup> Lupus Protospata.

tence of excommunication against Henry, Guibert, and all the abettors of their cause<sup>1</sup>.

Henry was anxious, upon his return into northern Italy, to crush, by some decisive blow, the power of the ever-active Matilda, who, with a constancy equal to that of the pope himself, and probably acquired, in part, from his example, persevered in what often appeared to all around her a hopeless contest. A considerable force, intended for the reduction of her remaining strong holds, was collected, in the summer of 1084, in the Modenese, under the command of the margrave Obertus. But the enterprising countess contrived, on the night of the 2nd of July, to approach the camp unobserved near the castle of Sorbaria. With the war-cry of "St. Peter," her followers rushed on the sleeping imperialists<sup>2</sup>. Obertus, in the attempt to array his disordered soldiers, was severely wounded; six of his chief commanders, more than a hundred of the flower of the Lombard nobility, five hundred war-horses, and all the baggage and treasure of the imperial camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who lost, in this masterly attack, only three of their number.

This success gave new spirits to the papal party; and Henry, despairing of striking, for the present, any decisive blow in Lombardy, soon retired across the Alps to his German territories.

His rival Herman, as has been already stated, had become an object of comparative insignificance. Otho of Nordheim, as we have seen, was no more; and as Siegfried, who had so long headed the papal party among the German ecclesiastics, breathed his last on the 17th of February, 1084, Henry placed in his archie-

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. 3.

piscopal seat a priest named Welf, the determined supporter of his cause.

But the German papalists were not dismayed by the apparent hopelessness of their position. To the northward, as well as to the southward, of the Alps, the indomitable spirit of Gregory seemed to animate his followers. His legate, Otho of Ostia, was still able to infuse some vigour into the councils of Henry's adversaries, and asserted, with undiminished confidence, the prerogatives and pretensions of the apostolic see.

At a meeting of the friends of Herman, held at Goslar, in the Christmas of 1084, it was determined to make overtures for a conference between the leading members of the two conflicting parties, with a view to the restoration of peace. Such a meeting took place, accordingly, at Berkach, on the Werra, in the vicinity of Eisenach, on the 20th of January, 1085<sup>1</sup>. Many archbishops, bishops, and secular nobles attended; among whom, the prelates of Mentz and Utrecht were chosen to conduct the conference on the part of the king, and Gebhard, archbishop of Salzburg, was selected for the same purpose by the opposite party. But the assembly met in vain: after much discussion, both parties retired in disgust<sup>2</sup>; and the prospect of restored tranquillity was thus rendered more distant than ever.

In Saxony, the very proposal of a conference had spread dissension throughout the land. The determined enemies to Henry's house and name spurned all thoughts of reconciliation with him; and feuds thus arose between them and their less exasperated brethren, which it required all the legate's address and authority

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*—*Chronograph. Saxo.*

<sup>2</sup> *Abb. Ursperg.*

to prevent from breaking forth, to the manifest detriment, if not to the total ruin, of the papal cause.

Otho of Ostia was, however, able to assemble around him in council, at Quedlinburg, at the festival of Easter<sup>1</sup>, a numerous assemblage of the prelates and nobles of his party<sup>2</sup>. But instead of directing the censures of the Church exclusively toward that opposed to it, he was compelled to threaten, with the spiritual sword, Herman himself, and several leading chiefs of Saxony. The former contemplated a marriage with a princess too nearly connected with him by affinity; and the latter had availed themselves of the confusion of the times, to appropriate to themselves possessions of the Church, which they were unwilling, when called upon, to restore.

But these matters were not, on the present occasion, pushed to extremity; and the assembly proceeded unanimously to annul all Henry's recent appointments to sees and benefices; to re-assert the primacy and supremacy of the successor to St. Peter; and to pronounce, by the light of burning torches, the sentence of excommunication against Guibert and the principal bishops who adhered to his party, both in Germany and in Italy<sup>3</sup>.

The friends of Henry, in the meanwhile, assembled at Mentz, attempted to hurl back like censures on all adherents of Gregory. A legate of Guibert presided over the assembly; by which the election of that intruding pontiff was solemnly recognized and confirmed<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Easter day, 1085, fell on the 20th of April.

Bernold Constant.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>2</sup> Bernold Constant.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1616.

<sup>4</sup> Bernold Constant.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1619.—Sigebert. Gemblac.



Dark, therefore, was the aspect of the time which the course of our narration has now led us to contemplate. A conflict of the most furious kind raged throughout the wide extent of the empire ; while no consolatory circumstances seemed to warrant the anticipation of its speedy close. And we find the excited minds of men again tracing the mysterious sympathy of physical with moral nature, in the various accidents and unfortunate contingencies of the time ; in a famine, which now desolated many parts of Italy, and which produced, as its natural consequence, a fearful prevalence of disease ; and, in an unprecedented inundation of the Po, which swept away, with violence, houses and villages, and laid waste the country, for many miles, around its shores <sup>1</sup>.

But the main object of our narration does not require that we should longer trace, in detail, the history of this gloomy period. The career of him, with whom we are principally concerned, approached its close. As has been already stated, he moved, shortly after his final departure from Rome, to Salerno ; where, under the efficient protection of Robert Guiscard, he was enabled to repose in security ; and where, while he still kept a watchful eye upon the troublous scenes of the world around him, he sought a solace for its sorrows in assiduous devotion, and in continual meditation on the word of God. As early as in January 1085, he perceived symptoms of the exhaustion of his powers <sup>2</sup> ; the natural consequence of years, and of the arduous and unremitting labours and anxieties, in which he had been so long engaged. During the succeeding months, his debility increased ; and in May, it became evident

<sup>1</sup> Bern. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> Paul. Bernried.

to all around him, that, from the sick bed on which he was laid, he was doomed never to rise again. Aware of his approaching end, he summoned around him the cardinals and bishops, who, faithful to his cause, or rather to his principles, had attended him to Salerno. He spoke to them of the events of his past life; and, while he disclaimed any right to glory in anything which he had done, he acknowledged the satisfaction which he derived from the thought that his course had been guided by principle,—by a zeal for the right, and by an abhorrence of evil. His auditors, plunged in sincere sorrow, expressed to him their melancholy anticipations of the fate of the Church, when deprived of his guiding hand. “But I,” said he, with eyes and hands upraised to heaven, “am mounting thitherward; and with supplications the most fervent, will I commend your cause to the goodness of the “Almighty.”

Being solicited to express his opinion with respect to the choice of a successor, he mentioned the names of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino; of Otho, bishop of Ostia; and of Hugo, bishop of Lyons<sup>1</sup>; suggesting, as a reason for giving priority to the former of the three, his presence at the moment in Italy.

Three days before his death, on the question being brought before him of absolving the persons whom he had excommunicated, he replied, “With the exception “of Henry, styled by his followers the king; of Guibert, the usurping claimant of the Roman see; and of “those who, by advice or assistance, favour their evil “and ungodly views, I absolve and bless all men, who

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Bernried.; as also,—according to Leo Ostiensis,—of the bishop of Lucca. Vid. Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxxv.

“unfeignedly believe me to possess this power, as the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.” And then, addressing those around him, for some time, in the language of warning, he thus impressively concluded: “In the name of the Almighty God, and by the power of His holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, I adjure you, recognize no one as my successor in the Roman see, who shall not have been duly elected and canonically ordained by apostolic authority.”

On the 25th of May, 1085, he peacefully closed his earthly career<sup>1</sup>; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter, with his departing breath, the words, “I have loved justice and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile<sup>2</sup>.”

“In exile!” said a prelate who stood beside his bed,—too late, however, as it would seem, to arrest the attention of the parting spirit,—“In exile thou canst not die! Vicar of Christ and His Apostles, thou hast received the nations for thine inheritance; and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession<sup>3</sup>!”

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Paul. Bernried.—Udalric. Babenberg, Codex. N. clxvi.—The imperial historians give, of course, a different account of his end; but Paul of Bernried. was, from his situation, probably better informed than they were. And Sigebert of Gemblours, who gives the opposite version, specifies no authority, but simply states “*ita scriptum reperi.*”

<sup>3</sup> Paul. Bernried. cap. cx.—Psalm ii. v. 8.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER XXI.

GREGORY'S BURIAL—OPENING OF HIS TOMB IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—HONOURS PAID IN LATER TIMES TO HIS MEMORY—HIS BREVIARY—SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER, BY A PRELATE OF THE PARTY OPPOSED TO HIM.

THE mortal remains of the great pontiff were deposited, by his sorrowing friends, in the church of St. Matthew, at Salerno<sup>1</sup>; a building which he had himself consecrated, to receive what were imagined to be the recently discovered remains of the first of the Evangelists. Robert Guiscard, informed of his death, manifested, according to his historian, a distress as great as could have been excited by the most trying domestic calamity<sup>2</sup>; and directed that a sumptuous marble monument should testify, to all ages, his regard for the departed. And beneath this the ashes of Gregory, for several centuries, reposed; a sumptuous chapel being built around it, about two hundred years after its erection, by John of Procida, the principal leader in the celebrated

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens.—Gul. Appul. lib. v.

<sup>2</sup> Dux non se lachrymis audita forte coerceset  
Morte viri tanti: non mors patris amplius illum  
Cogeret ad lachrymas, non filius ipse, nec uxor,  
Extremos etsi casus utriusque videret.

Gul. Appul. lib. v.

Sicilian vespers. But this chapel, and the tomb itself, in the year 1577, were both in a state of lamentable dilapidation. The defaced sepulchre was then removed, and the grave opened, by the order of an archbishop of Salerno; who beheld the form of the illustrious dead, still enveloped in the pontifical robes, and bearing, according to the prelate's own account, but slight evidence of the progress of decay. The tomb was then closed again, and a tablet or monument erected over it, with the following inscription:—

GREGORIO. VII. SOANENSI. PONT. OPT. MAX. ECCLESIASTICÆ. LIBERTATIS. VINDICI.  
ACERRIMO. ASSERTORI. CONSTANTISSIMO. QVI. DVN. ROMANI. PONTIFICIS. AVCTO-  
RITATEM. ADVERSVS. HENRICI. PERPIDIAM. STRENVÆ. TVETVR. SALERNI. SANCTE.  
DECVBVIT. A. D. CIOXXCV. VII. KAL. IVNII.  
M. ANT. COLUMNA. MARSILIVS. BONONIENSIS, ARCHIEPISCOVVS. SALERNITANVS. CVM  
ILLIVS. CORPVS. POST. QVINGENTOS. CIRCITER. ANNOS. SACRIS. AMICTVM. ET  
FERE. INTEGVRM. REPERISSET. NE. TANTI. PONTIFICIS. SEPVLCHEVVM. MEMORIA  
DIVTIVS. CARERET. GREGORIO. XIII. BONONIENSI. SEDENTE. M. P. PRIDIE. KAL.  
QVINTILIS. A. D. CIOXLXXVII<sup>1</sup>.

It appears that, not more than sixty years after Gregory's decease, pope Anastasius IV. had caused his portrait, adorned with a crown, or glory, and inscribed with the title, "Saint," to be painted among those of the saints in the apsis of the church of St. Nicholas, at Rome<sup>2</sup>. But this fact the archbishop of Salerno seems either not to have known, or not to have regarded. Seven years, however, after this discovery of his remains, Gregory XIII., in his correction of the Martyrology and Calendar.—A. D. 1584,—permitted the insertion, in the former, of the following sentence:—"Salerni depositio "B. Gregorii Papæ Septimi, qui Alexandro secundo "succeedens, Ecclesiasticam libertatem a superbia Prin-

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Acta SS. die xxv. Maii.

<sup>2</sup> Diademate circum caput ducto.—Ibid.

“cipum suo tempore vindicavit, et viriliter Pontificiâ auctoritate defendit;” a sentence somewhat shortened, but not materially altered, in the subsequent edition of the Martyrology made under the auspices of Sixtus V.

From this time the memory of Gregory VII. began to be publicly celebrated by the canons of Salerno; and, in 1609, pope Paul V. formally sanctioned their celebration of the days of his death, and of the translation of his remains—about the end of the sixteenth century—from the side-chapel of John of Procida to a spot beneath the high altar<sup>1</sup>: and, from this, the feast of Gregory VII. grew into more general observance; until Benedict XIII.,—who occupied the papal see from 1724 to 1730,—directed that it should be solemnized throughout the Church<sup>2</sup>. The Transalpine sovereigns, however, it is believed, have not permitted its introduction into their states.

A life like Gregory's, of incessant activity and anxiety, was not consistent with much application to the labours of literary composition; we are not, therefore, to wonder, that no labours of the pontiff's pen, other than his epistles, have come down to our times<sup>4</sup>. But

<sup>1</sup> Acta SS. ut supra.

<sup>2</sup> Histoire des Papes depuis St. Pierre jusqu'à Benoit XIII.—La Haye, MDCCLXXII. The service promulgated for its solemnization, as found in modern Italian Breviaries, will be given in the appendix.

<sup>3</sup> There exists, in the library of Lambeth, a manuscript commentary on St. Matthew, which, as it purports to be by an author named Hildebrand, has been ascribed to Gregory VII. But,—not to mention other evidences of its later origin,—its quotation, remarked by Ceillier, of a passage from St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who flourished in the twelfth century, is sufficient to disprove the conjecture, which attributes it to the pontiff. It has also been conjectured, that Gregory VII. was the real author of that exposition of the seven penitential psalms, which is generally attributed to Gregory the Great. But this con-

there was one work,—in some sense to be spoken of as a literary one,—accomplished under his auspices, which would of itself suffice to establish his claims to a place in the illustrious roll of the Church's benefactors. Her various services, fraught with the majesty and beauty of her primitive devotion, were by him brought together into one collection, and made to constitute the Roman Breviary. In the work which now bears that name, they are still, in great measure, preserved, though strangely and lamentably interspersed with disfigurements and corruptions. But, while the excellencies of the present Breviary are shared by it with the compilation of Gregory VII., those portions of it which, in the words of a living writer, "carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgment of an English Christian<sup>1</sup>," are interpolations of a date subsequent to Gregory's time. "In Gregory's Breviary," according to the same authority, "there are no symptoms of a neglect of Scripture<sup>2</sup>. The course of the Scripture lessons was the same as it had been before his time," and "will be found to agree, in a great measure, both with the order of the present Breviary, and with our own<sup>3</sup>." But that curtailment of these lessons, which, by the present system, is recognized, was a practice gradually introduced in the time of Gregory's successors. It was not until Haymo's edition of the Breviary, —which was introduced into the Roman Church by

jecture seems to be founded on the insufficient reason that one or two passages,—which may be spurious,—apply better to the time of the latter pontiff, than to that of the former; while the general style is unquestionably more like that of the earlier Gregory than that of his successor.—See the remarks on this subject, by the editors, in *S. Greg. Mag. opp. Edit. Benedict. t. iii. p. 463.*

<sup>1</sup> Tracts for the Times, No. lvii. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Nicholas III. in 1278,—that, “graver and sounder matter being excluded, apocryphal legends of saints were used to stimulate and occupy the popular mind; and a way was made for the use of those invocations to the Virgin and other saints, which heretofore were unknown in public worship<sup>1</sup>.” While as to the Ave Mary, the most prominent of these addresses, “the Roman Breviary did not contain any part of that composition, till the promulgation of it by pope Pius V. after the Tridentine council, A. D. 1570<sup>2</sup>.”

The same desire to introduce as much order and regularity as possible into the Church’s system of services, which led Gregory to undertake the above important work, seems also to have induced him to regulate the number and date of those solemn seasons of the Church—the ember weeks. “Some,” says Bingham<sup>3</sup>, “think Gregory VII. was the first that ordered the ordination fasts, and the fasts of the four seasons, to concur exactly together; before which time, as the seasons of ordination were arbitrary and moveable, so were the fasts that depended on them, which were always of use in the Church, though not always fixed to four certain seasons.”

Here, perhaps, according to a sort of established usage, should follow a brief summary of Gregory’s principles and an estimate of his character. But,—though it be sometimes necessary for a biographer to attempt such sketches in the cases of subordinate personages in his narrative, whose histories are only partially recorded,—it seems more fitting, with regard to the main subject of a narration like this, the whole thread of whose

<sup>1</sup> Tracts for the Times.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. and the authorities there quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Origin. Ecclesiast. bk. xxi. c. ii. § 7.



story has been laid before the reader, as far as it is known, in continuous detail, to abstain from thus appearing to assume an office unmeet for erring man, or to anticipate that sentence of a higher tribunal, by which Gregory VII. like all others of the race of Adam, must stand or fall<sup>1</sup>. It may, however, be permissible here to introduce a portrait of the pontiff's character, drawn by contemporary hands; a portrait, which, honourable to him as it is, was the work of one whose name is already known to the reader as an adherent of the royal cause,—Dietrich of Verdun,—a prelate who, on many occasions, could speak with considerable vehemence against Gregory's measures; and whose intent, even in the epistle from which the following is quoted, was to complain and remonstrate.

“About in the first place,” says this royalist prelate, “to refute the fictions which are handed about against your personal character, we will set forth what we have learnt from you, or from trustworthy witnesses, or have known of ourselves. We know that your childhood,—which was not without various tokens assuredly declaring your future greatness,—was trained with all possible care, in a holy spot, by persons of religion; that your youth was dedicated, not without many indications of perfection, to the Christian warfare, in the habit of religion, among the despisers of the world; that your riper adolescence, strengthened not more by time than by soundness of learning

<sup>1</sup> *Hujus discordiæ fomes et nutrimentum fuisse Gregorius Papa, qui et Hildebrandt, videtur aliquibus; quod nos nec affirmamus nec renuimus; sed hujus rei secretum divino judicio relinquimus; quia nunc ibi constitutus est post corporis hujus depositionem, ubi sub judice Deo recepit juxta meriti sui qualitatem. Waltram. Naumburgens. de Unitate Ecclesiæ et Imperii, lib. i. c. 1.*

“ based on the foundation of truth, was spent in toils  
“ under the most illustrious tutors to be found in  
“ Christendom, and the recognized governors of the  
“ holy Church: that when promoted, on account of  
“ the singular qualities of your excellent understanding,  
“ to the post of archdeacon in our mother Church, you,  
“ by the energetic and laudable discharge of the duties  
“ of this office, arrived in a short time at the loftiest  
“ pitch of Christian honour; that, as our holy fathers  
“ departed, you,—being frequently selected and called  
“ on to succeed them,—repeatedly by mental, and  
“ sometimes even by bodily, flight, avoided that place  
“ of dignity: and that at last,—the Divinity stirring  
“ up His servants to raise one common voice in your  
“ election, or rather in the exaltation of one whom  
“ He Himself had elected,—you, in accepting the  
“ office, meekly submitted your neck to a yoke which  
“ you abhorred. We know that there,—following after  
“ righteousness and holiness in a manner wonderful  
“ and known to few, and watching in continual prayer  
“ for yourself and for your flock,—you have obtained,  
“ according to the report of men worthy to be believed,  
“ no slight testimonies of your favour in the eyes of  
“ God. We know that, as the demands of your pastoral  
“ charge impelled, you have laboured with all your force  
“ to correct the hearts of the perverse according to the  
“ measure of righteousness, and to declare openly, with-  
“ out respect of persons, the truth to all. We know  
“ that, in so doing, you have acquired the affections and  
“ support of the good; but,—as there is no fellowship  
“ between light and darkness,—that you have, on this  
“ very account, been pursued by the hatred and calum-  
“ nies of the reprobate,—by their most bitter execra-  
“ tions,—and even by their doom of death; but that,

“ as a pontiff, unshaken by all this, you, to the present  
“ hour, continue, unmoved, to tread that royal way into  
“ which you had entered ; wielding the arms of justice,  
“ and convincing, beseeching, warning, on the right  
“ hand and on the left. These are the things which  
“ we have heard and think of you ; this we believe ;  
“ and therefore it is we speak <sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Ex Epistolâ Theodorici Ep. Virdun. ad Gregorium VII. circ.  
an. 1080. Martene et Durand. Thes. Nov. Anecd. t. i. p. 215.

## BOOK IV.—CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1085 TO A. D. 1106.

CONTINUATION OF THE CONTEST AFTER GREGORY'S DECEASE—ELECTION OF DESIDERIUS, AS VICTOR III.—HIS VACILLATING CONDUCT, AND DEATH—DEATH OF ROBERT GUISCARD—ABDICATION AND DEATH OF HERMAN OF LUXEMBURG—ELECTION OF OTHO, BISHOP OF OSTIA, AS URBAN II.—MARRIAGE OF MATILDA WITH WELF THE YOUNGER—THEIR DISAGREEMENTS—DEATH OF ANSELM OF LUCCA—GLOOMY PROSPECTS OF THE PAPAL PARTY—MATILDA IS COUNSELLED BY HER ADHERENTS TO SUE FOR PEACE, BUT THE PROPOSAL IS SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSED BY THE HERMIT JOHN—TURN OF AFFAIRS—HENRY IS REPELLED FROM MONTEVIO, AND DEFEATED NEAR CANOSSA—URBAN'S AUTHORITY ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE DIET OF ULM—"TRUCE OF GOD," IN GERMANY—HENRY'S ELDEST SON CONRAD JOINS HIMSELF TO THE PAPALISTS—CONDUCT OF THE EMPRESS PRAEDEXES—COUNCIL OF CLERMONT, AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE CRUSADES—URBAN ENTERS ROME IN TRIUMPH—HIS DEATH, AND THAT OF THE ANTIPOPE GUIBERT—ELECTION OF PASCAL II.—DEATH OF CONRAD—HENRY IS ABANDONED BY HIS SURVIVING SON HENRY V.—IS IMPRISONED AND COMPELLED TO RENOUNCE THE KINGLY POWER, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY FLIES TO THE LOWER RHINE, AND MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR WAR ; WHICH ARE TERMINATED BY HIS DEATH—HIS BURIAL—AND CHARACTER.

IN the death of Gregory, our narration may be considered to have reached its proper termination. But as he died at a moment of such deep interest,—a moment, too, in which no satisfactory indications existed of the probable result of the great conflict in which he was engaged,—it may not be unacceptable to the reader to receive a brief account of the varying fortunes of that struggle, from the point at which it had now arrived, to its long deferred conclusion.

The principles, then, of the ardent pontiff did not

perish with him. The mantle of his indomitable spirit descended upon his party; nor was that party ever less inclined to succumb to the triumphant opposition which everywhere environed it, than in the dark moment in which the departure of its leader seemed to threaten it with complete and final disorganization. One of the most formidable difficulties with which it had, in the years immediately following Gregory's decease, to contend, arose from the vacillating character of his successor. In obedience to the dying pontiff's wish, his adherents selected Desiderius, of Monte Cassino, to fill his vacant chair<sup>1</sup>; and,—as though to proclaim amid their reverses their undiminished confidence of eventual triumph,—imposed on him the name of Victor. But the nominee, amiable as he was, distinguished as had been his services in a secondary station, and fitted as he might have been to wield, in a more tranquil season, the loftier powers of the papacy, was by no means possessed of that firmness,—that confidence,—that determination of purpose, which the eventful epoch of his pontificate required in the successor of St. Peter. Informed of the intention of his friends, he during a whole year resisted his election, thus leaving, during that important period, the pretended title of Guibert unopposed by that of another. And when, on his appearance at Rome, in May 1086, the papal dignity and ensigns had been forced by his friends upon his acceptance, the hostilities of the imperial prefect of the city drove him, after a stay of four days, beyond its walls<sup>2</sup>. He fled to Terracina, and there, strip-

<sup>1</sup> Vita Victoris III. ex MS. Bernardi Guidonis, Murat. t. iii.—Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxxv. et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxxvii.

ping himself of the insignia which he had so recently assumed, he declared his resolution of returning to his monastery; a resolution which the prayers and tears of the cardinals and bishops who accompanied him, and the most impressive representations of the dangers and miseries to which the Church would be exposed by his retirement, were unable at the moment to overcome<sup>1</sup>; though in the year following, encouraged by offers of powerful support, he consented to resume the abandoned crosier<sup>2</sup>. But this vacillation, and other signs of weakness of character, which now transpired, naturally disgusted the other conditional nominees of Gregory, and more especially Hugo, the bishop of Lyons<sup>3</sup>, a prelate who appears to have felt much dissatisfaction at the choice of Desiderius for the papal throne in preference to himself<sup>4</sup>. A dissension, therefore, arose, between the leaders of the ecclesiastical party, which threatened, for a time, the most disastrous consequences to the general cause; and which had not been appeased<sup>5</sup>, when Victor III., on the 16th of September 1087, breathed his last within the walls of Monte Cassino<sup>6</sup>.

Robert Guiscard was no more; he had not long survived the great pontiff whom he had so seasonably assisted, and whose loss he had so deeply deplored. His career of unvaried success was arrested by death,

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Capuan. ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1625.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Hugonis Lugdunensis epistolas. Hard. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1621, et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Hugo . . . . Lugdunensis immoderato Pontificatûs adipiscendi desiderio, quo flagrabat, frustratus . . . . F. Pagi, Breviar. Gest. Pontif. t. i.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Concil. Beneventan. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1625.

<sup>6</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxxiii.

on the 17th of July 1085, in the island of Cephalonia. His Grecian schemes were at once abandoned by his dispirited followers; who were bearing his honoured corpse with them to Italy, when a storm arose, which sunk the vessel which contained them, and consigned the remains of the hero to a temporary burial in the deep<sup>1</sup>. It was, however, recovered, though with much difficulty, from the waves, and finally interred in the city of Venosa<sup>2</sup>. His wife, Sichelgaita, endeavoured to procure the succession to his dominions for her son Roger, in opposition to the claims advanced by Bohemond, Guiscard's son by a prior marriage. A feud, consequently, arose between these two princes, which for a time divided the Norman power against itself, and thus deprived the papal party of a valuable support<sup>3</sup>.

Herman of Luxemburg was now too insignificant, as a competitor, to provoke even Henry's vengeance; and finding himself slighted and despised, even by the chiefs of his own party, he abandoned, during the year 1087, the shadow of a title which he bore, and by compact with the now triumphant monarch, returned to the station of a private noble, and to the occupation of his paternal possessions. These, however, he did not long enjoy, as within a few months from his retirement, he fell in an unimportant skirmish<sup>4</sup>. His history afforded a salutary warning to his brother nobles;

<sup>1</sup> Gul. Appul. lib. v.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. iii. l. vii.—Gul. Appul.

<sup>3</sup> Bohemond was son to Guiscard by his first wife, Alberada, a Norman lady of noble birth, whom he put away, on the alleged ground of propinquity. Sichelgaita, Robert's second wife, was daughter to Guaimar, Prince of Salerno.—Gauf. Malaterr. lib. i. c. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.—Annalista Saxo.

from among whom no further pretender was found, during Henry's lifetime, to dispute the monarch's title to his crown.

Against events so adverse, the surviving leaders of the papal party still bore up with undiminished vigour. For some months after Victor's decease, the chair of St. Peter continued without a lawful occupant. The entreaties, however, of the countess Matilda, and of other supporters of the papal party, as well in Italy as elsewhere, at length induced the cardinals to make an election. The intruder Guibert being in possession of Rome, they met at Terracina, and there, on the 8th of March, 1088, nominated to the vacant dignity, Otho of Ostia<sup>1</sup>. The new pontiff assumed the name of Urban II., and soon showed himself more adequate than had been his predecessor, to cope with the difficulties of the time<sup>2</sup>. With much of Gregory's firmness, he possessed, perhaps in even a greater degree than that pontiff, the talents of a politician. With great skill, he healed the breach between the sons of Guiscard; and Matilda, ever zealous in the papal cause, was prevailed upon by him to confirm the wavering fidelity, to that cause, of the now aged Welf of Bavaria, by giving her hand, at the age of forty-three, to his son of the same name, who had only attained his eighteenth year<sup>3</sup>. But, notwithstanding these politic measures, the cause

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon Cassin. continuat. a Petro Diacono, lib. iv. c. ii.—Sigebert. Gemblac.—Urbani vita ex MSS. Pandulph. Pisan. et Bernardi Guidonis. Muratori, Rer. Ital. SS. t. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Roman. ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1683.—Dodechini Appendix ad Mariani Scoti Historiam.

<sup>3</sup> Bernold Constant.—Vid. Baron. ad an. 1074, nn. 20 et seq.; et Fiorentini, Memorie della gran Contessa Matilda, lib. ii. p. 321 et seq.



continued, in appearance, to decline. In the spring of 1090, Henry once more crossed the Alps, and appeared again in power in Italy. After a siege of eleven months, he made himself master of Mantua, the most important strong-hold of Matilda's power; and then, expelling the bishop of the city from the place, he invested with the see a creature of his own. Between the countess and her young husband differences soon arose. The Welfs, father and son, were disappointed, by becoming informed of that donation of the countess to the Church, which annulled the hopes they had formed, of uniting the whole of her extensive territories to those already enjoyed by their family; and even independently of this consideration, Welf the elder was too worldly, too self-interested a politician, to be securely reckoned upon as an ally, by those who were defending, on principle, an apparently hopeless cause. No other quarter promised support, and Matilda, therefore, seemed to stand once more alone in her assertion of the Church's quarrel. And even she was rapidly sinking before her enemies. Henry, whose cause seemed everywhere crowned with success, assailed and took, one by one, many of her mountain-fortresses. Her vassals, wearied with toils and dangers, and not appreciating the importance of the contest, were loud in their murmurs; while she was no longer encouraged by the counsels of her revered tutor and friend, Anselm of Lucca; that prelate having, on the 19th of March 1086<sup>1</sup>, been gathered to his rest. And she was at length driven, in September 1092, to summon to council the bishops, abbots, and other religious persons who, having been driven by the imperialists from their

<sup>1</sup> Vit. St. Anselm. Ep. Lucens. cap. 35. ap. Mabillon. SS. Ord. Ben. sec. vi. pt. i.

various homes, had found refuge in her court<sup>1</sup>, for the purpose of submitting to their decision the great question of peace or war. Peace, it was evident to all, could only be obtained by an abandonment of Urban's cause, and,—in that,—of all those great principles which it had been the business of the princess's whole life to defend. But there appeared to be no alternative. The bishop of Reggio spoke of yielding to the sad necessity of the times; his sentiments were received, by a large portion of the persons present, with favour; and the countess, herself, was inclined to acknowledge their force. But the hermit John, a man of great repute for sanctity, suddenly sprang forward, and addressed the assembly: "I denounce," he said, "this peace, as derogatory to the honour of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Make not vain, I implore you, all the labours, and all the sufferings which ye have so long endured for Christ's most holy name. Strive on, and stumble not—victory is at hand—victory which the Lord will be moved to bestow on us by the intercession of His Apostle Peter<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Nam quos damnabat rex, pellebat, spoliabat  
Pontifices, monachos, clericos, Italos, quoque Gallos;  
Ad vivum fontem currebant funditus omnes,  
Scilicet ad dictam dominam tam mente benignam.

Donizo, lib. ii. c. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Respondit tandem dicens heremita Joannes:  
Absit ne fiat, quia pax hæc est inimica  
Spiritu Sancto, Patri, proprio quoque Nato—  
Ergo sudores amittes, atque labores  
Tantos, pro Christi quos nomine sustinuisti.  
Ne titubes, pugna—quoniam victoria multa  
De prope de cælo veniet tibi, dante sereno  
Christo pro Petri precibus, quâ læta frueris.

Id. c. vii.

The ardour of this holy man communicated itself to the assembly; the countess felt herself animated anew by the daring spirit of her earlier days; and the council unanimously resolved to brave all possible consequences, rather than abandon the rights of the Church, or those of the canonically elected successor to St. Peter.

That moment proved, in effect, the crisis of the great struggle. The constancy of the papalists had now experienced its fiercest trial, and the clouds which had darkened over them began from that moment gradually to disappear. Within a month from the sitting of this most important council, Henry was forced to retire, with the loss of his military engines, from before the walls of Montevio; and having moved thence toward Canossa, flushed with the hope of making himself master of that scene of his humiliation, he was surprised by an unexpected attack of the Tuscan troops, and driven in confusion from the field. His standard-bearer, —the son of Obertus of Este, who had been defeated at Sorbaria,—was slain in the encounter, and the imperial banner itself, falling into the hands of the enemy, was borne to Canossa, and there hung up by the countess, in grateful triumph, in the Church of St. Apollonius<sup>1</sup>.

During these transactions, the efforts of Welf and his partizans overpowered, in Swabia, the authority of the chief of Hohenstaufen; and placed that duchy in the hands of Berthold of Zähringen, the inheritor of his father's hostility to the imperial line. A diet was then,—in 1093,—held by the two nobles at Ulm; where Urban's authority was admitted, and where Gebhard, who had been appointed, by the papalists, bishop of Constance, was acknowledged as his legate. The royalist nominee to the

<sup>1</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. vii.—Fiorentini, lib. ii. p. 259.

same diocese was driven from the place; and Henry's partizans, after this turn of fortune, were so far from being able to recover the ground which they had lost, that they were induced to agree to a "truce of God," which was concluded for the whole of southern Germany, and by the provisions of which, hostilities on both sides were to be restrained till Easter 1096.

In Italy, in the meanwhile, the unfortunate Henry received a most cruel blow, in the abandonment of his cause by his eldest son, the prince Conrad. This youth, who possessed a contemplative and devotional tone of mind<sup>1</sup>, was naturally disgusted with much that he saw in his father's conduct and court<sup>2</sup>. And this disgust having, it is probable, been artfully fomented by the politic Urban's emissaries, Conrad was induced, in the early part of the year 1093, to abandon the royal standards, and to take refuge with Matilda<sup>3</sup>. The countess, and the papalists in general, of course received him with triumph; and by their means he was shortly crowned king of Italy at Monza; while the unhappy Henry, plunged in the deepest distress, laid

<sup>1</sup> Erat enim vir per omnia catholicus . . . plus religioni quam fascibus et armis deditus . . . lectioni quam lusibus vacare malebat . . . cœlibatus pudorem perpetuo servare cum proposuisset, coactus . . . duxit uxorem. Abb. Ursperg.—In omni bonitate et probitate conspicuus, humilis et modestus. Dodechini, App. ad Marian. Scot.

<sup>2</sup> Primum locum gratiæ apud Imperatorem habebant nobiles ac speciosæ abbatissæ et moniales, necnon et aliæ mulieres, forma et genere clarissimæ, quæ idcirco curiam sequebantur, eo quod venalis eis esset pudicitia et decus formæ, et ad earum favorem et intercessionem darentur episcopatus, abbatîæ, præposituræ, et cæteri ecclesiastici honores. Vit. Conrad. Archiepisc. Salisb. in Pez. Anecd. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 224. Vid. Stenzel, Geschichte, &c. t. ii. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. 11.

aside the symbols of his imperial dignity, and shutting himself up in a German castle, brooded for some time in seclusion over the unnatural defection.

And this misfortune was shortly followed by another, like it, of a domestic kind. The amiable Bertha, Henry's first consort, had expired in 1087, and the monarch had married, as his second wife, Praxedes, the daughter of a Russian or Slavonic prince, and widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. But the marriage was not a happy one; the empress, in some way, gave dissatisfaction to her husband, and was in consequence, at the time of which we are treating, detained by him as a prisoner at Verona. From hence, by putting herself in communication with Matilda, she now found means to escape<sup>1</sup>; and, when in the hands of the papal party, she scrupled not to set before the world, in disgusting detail, the gross and licentious irregularities of Henry's daily life; irregularities, some of which she could not name, without exposing herself as well as her husband to infamy<sup>2</sup>. Having told her tale, she retired to hide her shame in a convent of her native country; and it may well be conceived that the narrative, ostentatiously bruited abroad as it was by his enemies, filled the unhappy monarch with the most poignant feelings of disgrace, and, at the same time, materially enfeebled his now declining cause.

He was forced, however, to rouse himself anew to the struggle; and the differences between the younger Welf and his illustrious consort, which had now led to their separation, presented him with the hope of dividing the

<sup>1</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Dodechin. Append. ad Marian. Scot.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p 1711.—Bernold. Constant.

party of his adversaries, and attaching some of its most powerful members to himself. But,—while things were in this state,—a new era suddenly and unexpectedly arose upon mankind; a new subject enforced its claims upon the attention of all; a subject, in the overwhelming interest of which, even that excited by the great struggle between the Church and state, itself appeared to merge; though it was, in truth, to that struggle, and to the principles which had been elicited by its continuance, that the new excitement owed its existence. The Hermit Peter was now returned from the holy land, burning with indignation for its wrongs, and with zeal for its liberation. The appeals of Gregory VII. and other churchmen,—ineffective as they probably seemed at the time,—had been for many years preparing the way for the success of his exertions; and when Urban II. declared his intention of making the preacher's cause his own, he touched a string, of which the vibration was full-toned and instantaneous. Unaided, unsupported by any secular monarch, and an exile from the city which formed the seat of his spiritual government, he appeared,—in November 1095,—in council at Clermont, and there issued his great and public summons to the projected holy war. The vast assembly replied, as is well known, by the enthusiastic cry, “God wills it!”

“Be ‘God wills it’ then,” rejoined the ardent pontiff, your war-cry,—“God’s voice it is which thus hath spoken in you. Let him who consecrates himself to this holy warfare, assume the sign of the cross, and illustrate the word of the Lord—Whoso doth not take up his cross and follow after Me, is not worthy of Me<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Robert. Monach. Hist. Hierosol. lib. i.—St. Matt. x. 38.

And thus commenced the first crusade; an undertaking fraught alike with the majesty, and with the corruptions, of the system in which it originated, and of which it formed a striking practical illustration. The papal theory having in great measure amalgamated the unearthly polity of the Church with the temporal system of a secular monarchy; the warfare of the cross developed a like tendency, in confounding the believer's spiritual weapons with the lance and battle-axe of fleshly warfare; his progress toward the Christian's Land of Promise, with the attempted reconquest of the earthly Canaan. But the military phenomenon may, like the ecclesiastical one, be contemplated in two lights; may be viewed as ennobling things secular, rather than as debasing things spiritual. "Wonderful,"—says a writer of the time<sup>1</sup>,—"wonderful and inestimable was the dispensation of providence, when so many members of Christ, differing in tongues, tribes, and nations, suddenly coalesced into one body, Christ alone being the king of all." Nor can it be denied, that the feeling which led mankind to forget the rivalries and prejudices which divided them from each other, in the great bond which united them all as members of the one Church Catholic,—the feeling which taught the ambitious rulers of provinces and kingdoms, to abandon the usual course of their self-seeking policy, for the pursuit of spiritual blessings, and for the vindication of the honour of their Lord,—proclaimed the operation of a high and holy principle; however degraded that principle may have been, by its mixture with igno-

<sup>1</sup> Ekkehardi Abbatis libellus de expugnatione Hierosolym. ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampl. t. v. p. 516.—Annalist. Sax.—Otto Frising. lib. vii. c. ii.

rance, error, and superstition, in its operation on individuals<sup>1</sup>.

The Crusades seem, indeed, to stand forth as irrefragable evidence, to the historical inquirer, that the papal struggle had, by the close of the eleventh century, impressed a new and devotional character upon the moral tone and habits of Western Europe,—that the sublime truths which Gregory and his school, amid all the errors of their theology, enforced upon the notice of mankind, had produced, by their action upon the mass, a realization of the great doctrine of the Church's unity, an exaltation and a catholicity of spirit, which essentially distinguished the era of their successors, from the dull and dormant ages before them.

In Germany, this newly-awakened, or rather resuscitated, spirit of religion, showed itself, about the time of the promulgation of the Crusade, by many striking symptoms. Knights and nobles, in great numbers, renounced the pleasures and pursuits of the world for the austerities of monasticism. The daughters of free cultivators of the soil, uniting themselves into companies, devoted themselves, throughout the country, to lives of self-denial and charity. The inhabitants of whole villages were seen to act in concert, and to vie with those of neighbouring places, in the practice of systema-

<sup>1</sup> O fidei semen, bona germina quot modo præbes  
 Cum rutili flores refluent pastoris ab ore,  
 Et pariunt fructus Domini dignanter in usus!  
 Nam genitor carum pro Christo linquere natum  
 Et genitus patrem cœpit dimittere planè,  
 Atque vir uxorem contra dimittere morem;  
 Sexus uterque Deo gliscit parère sereno.  
 Certatim currunt Christi purgare sepulchrum.

Donizo, lib. ii. c. x.



tic devotion<sup>1</sup>. A variety of new monasteries were founded with a profuse liberality; and those ancient foundations were magnificently restored, which, through the neglect or pillage of preceding ages, were crumbling in decay.

The corruptions by which this religious feeling was accompanied,—like the excesses and cruelties to which those corruptions gave birth,—must ever be deplored. But it were as reasonable to deny the reality of these undisputed facts themselves, as to close our eyes to the spectacle of moral grandeur which this great period of excitement, when contemplated as a whole, is calculated to present to us.

Before the mighty spirit thus evoked, the imperial opponent of the papacy, and his boldest adherents, were compelled to quail. The soldiers of the cross were necessarily those of the Church, and of her recognized head. They who had merged their nationality in their catholicity, were not likely to hesitate which part to take, in the unhappy contest between their secular and their spiritual ruler: and indeed the very name of their enterprise threw a formidable weight into the papal scale. In the year, therefore, which followed that of the council at Clermont, Urban, returning into Italy, entered Rome in triumph, and compelled the partisans of Guibert to take refuge in St. Angelo<sup>2</sup>; and even that impregnable fortress was soon given up, and the intruder and his party for ever expelled from the papal city<sup>3</sup>. Henry, about the same time, having spent, with one short interval, seven years in Italy, abandoned it, to return no more; and Matilda, justly styled the Great

<sup>1</sup> Bernold. Constant.—See Stenzel, *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, t. i. p. 560, and the authorities there given.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Frising. lib. vii. c. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Countess, enjoyed, during several years of repose and security, the renown of her past exertions, and the consciousness, that the prosperity of the cause to which her life had been devoted, had, under Heaven, in great measure resulted from her own high-principled perseverance in the darker hours of its trial.

That cause had, however, much yet to struggle with. The contest being one of principles and not of men, it was not terminated by the withdrawal, one after another, of the principal combatants from the scene. Urban II. died in July 1099<sup>1</sup>, and his foiled competitor, Guibert, in the September of the following year. To the former, a successor was found,—trained like himself in the Gregorian school,—in the person of Rainer, an ecclesiastic who, after an education at Cluni, had been taken under Gregory's protection in his twentieth year, and been appointed by that pontiff, in 1076, abbot of the monastery of St. Laurence without the walls. Rainer assumed the name of Paschal II.<sup>2</sup>, and steadily set himself to pursue the policy of his predecessor; nor could the ephemeral antipopes, who, after Guibert's death, were set up in succession by the enfeebled partisans of that intruder, succeed either in crippling his power or in asserting their own. The question of succession to St. Peter's chair seemed, therefore, virtually settled; but the great point out of which that question had arisen,—the point of lay investiture,—was still open between the papacy and the empire; and as, with respect to this, both sides clung to their original positions, with a tenacity indicative of the keenest sense of its importance, another quarter of a century was destined to

<sup>1</sup> Donizo, lib. ii. c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Id. lib. ii. c. xii.

roll away in contention and disorder, before it should receive its definitive settlement.

If it do not fall,—and it does not,—within the proper scope of this narration, to relate in detail the events<sup>1</sup> of that long and melancholy period ; still less is it incumbent on the biographer of Gregory VII. to attempt a justification of the many crimes committed by either side during its continuance. The history of an exciting and protracted contest between beings subject to human frailty and corruption, is generally, in many of its pages, a dreary record of guilt. But, where a principle is concerned in its issue, it is a popular error to identify the merits of a cause with the characters of its supporters. The high quarrel of the Truth may be asserted by the self-interested and the false,—the cause of discipline and purity maintained by the unruly and licentious,—the law may be justly expounded and enforced, notwithstanding the personal lawlessness of its administrators,—nor did the message of the Redeemer lose one iota of its saving efficacy, when delivered to his countrymen by the lips of Judas.

The revolted prince, Conrad, died in 1101<sup>1</sup>, but the unhappy emperor was doomed to experience a more formidable foe in his surviving son Henry ; a prince whom, on his elder son's defection, he had invested with the royal name, and secured to him the succession ; exacting from him, in return, an oath that he would never, during his father's life-time, aspire to the powers of government. But this oath the unhappy youth was induced to disregard : in December 1104, he fled from the emperor's camp to Bavaria, where he united him-

<sup>1</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Donizo, lib. ii. c. xii.

self to his father's enemies<sup>1</sup>; and from whence, to the entreaty transmitted to him by the distracted parent, that he would remember what he had sworn, he unfeelingly replied, that his father lay under the sentence of excommunication, and that while such was the case, he must decline to hold any intercourse with him.

Henry V.'s immediate seducers to this atrocious conduct seem to have been those wild and licentious nobles, who, long accustomed to the perpetration of deeds of outrage, felt the want of a party-chief, the support of whose cause would afford a pretext for their continued lawlessness. Of a temper very different from that of his elder brother, he had not the imperfect excuse which a devotional temperament had afforded to Conrad for the rebellion against his father. In Henry, the cause of the Church was but the cloak of his thirst for power. It was, however, a cloak which he found it most expedient to assume. His first step, in acting for himself, was to lay his case before the pope, and to implore the counsels of Paschal with respect to the oath which he had taken. And the pontiff, eager to purchase, at any price, an alliance so valuable, disgraced himself by declaring the prince freed from this solemn obligation, on condition that he would use his kingly power in supporting the Church, and in restoring her from the peril and ruin in which his father had involved her.

Germany beheld, therefore, during the year 1105, the dreadful scene of warfare between a parent and his child. The younger Henry allied himself with the Saxons, and with all others who entertained any feelings of hostility toward his father<sup>2</sup>. That father, on

<sup>1</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> *Annalista Saxo*.

the, other hand, found attached and loyal supporters; and, after various turns of fortune, Henry V. found it necessary to descend to the disgraceful expedient of circumventing, by treachery, the parent whom he found it difficult, by open force, to subdue. At an interview between the two princes, in December 1105<sup>1</sup>, the father, melting at the sight of his still beloved son, fell at his feet, and in the most pressing terms implored him to reverence the sanctity of the paternal character. And the son, counterfeiting a corresponding emotion, fell in his turn before his deceived parent, shed copious tears, and, declaring that his only wish had been that the emperor should reconcile himself to the offended Church, besought his company to Mentz, where a council should be holden at the approaching Christmas, and his peace procured from the legate of the apostolic see. Henry IV.,—his heart expanding with joy in this seeming reconciliation,—readily consented to accompany him thither. But on the 22d of December, when they had arrived at Bingen, the perfidious son, alleging the unwillingness of the archbishop of Mentz to receive an excommunicate prince, at the approaching holy season, within his walls, persuaded his father to retire, for a while, into the neighbouring castle of Beckelheim<sup>2</sup>; a fortress which the unhappy man had no sooner entered than he found it his prison. His sufferings there, during the following days, he shall himself narrate: “Blessed,” says the worn and humbled monarch, “be God in all things, the all-powerful King, who humbleth and who exalteth whomsoever he will. But on that most holy day of the Nativity, when, for all the redeemed, the

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista Saxo.

“ most holy Child was born, to me alone the Son was  
“ not given. For, not to mention the reproaches, the  
“ insults, the threats, the swords held over my head, if I  
“ complied not with all that was commanded me,—not  
“ to mention the hunger and thirst which I was forced  
“ to bear, and from those whom it was a disgrace for  
“ me to look upon or listen to,—not to mention the  
“ additional pangs inflicted upon me, suffering thus, by  
“ the remembrance of my former state of felicity,—yet  
“ one thing I cannot forget, cannot cease, in the face  
“ of all Christians, to complain of, that during those  
“ most holy days, I was debarred, in that dungeon, from  
“ all Christian communion <sup>1</sup>.” After thus harassing  
his father’s feelings, the heartless Henry V. sent one of  
his nobles, named Wicbert, to the prisoner, with the  
command that he should at once order the surrender,  
to the new sovereign, of the crown, and other ensigns of  
regal dignity <sup>2</sup>, which were preserved, under the care  
of a faithful garrison, in the castle of Hammerstein,  
on the Rhine. The emperor, menaced with instant  
death, had no alternative but to comply. But even  
this did not satisfy his persecutors. It was neces-  
sary, for the security of Henry the fifth’s title, that  
the afflicted sovereign should formally and publicly  
pronounce his own deposition; and for this purpose,  
the unhappy man was led before his son, the peers of  
the empire, and the legates of the apostolic see, assem-  
bled for the purpose at Ingelheim <sup>3</sup>. Here, broken in

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. ccxvi. et  
vid. nn. ccxiv. ccxv.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. Henric. ap. Sigebert. ut supra.—Otto Frising. lib. vii.  
c. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—Dodechin. Append.—Vid. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii.  
p. 1879.

spirit, and terrified anew by menaces, he hesitated not to comply with their wish; and declared that he willingly renounced that kingly power which his exhausted strength was now unable to wield, and which, as long experience had taught him, was accompanied by far more care than enjoyment. But his peace with the Church, which he was also anxious to compass, the legates informed him that he must procure at Rome, thus furnishing his cruel son with an excuse for continuing to ill-treat him. The council having broken up, the young monarch and his counsellors returned to Mentz; and there, on the 5th of the following January, Henry V. received the crown and other royal ornaments, in form, from the hands of Ruthard, the archbishop; who uttered on the occasion the remarkable prayer, "that if he should not comport himself as a righteous governor, and as the defender of God's Church, his fate might resemble his father's<sup>1</sup>."

Henry IV., despoiled and disregarded, remained in the meantime at Ingelheim. But shortly, informed that his son entertained yet further sinister designs against him, he fled from the place toward the cities of the Lower Rhine. Here he found protection and support; his indignities, and the persevering cruelties of his son, were indeed enough to excite in the most sluggish bosoms the sentiments of loyalty and pity. Liege in particular, a place to which he had always been attached, received him with every sign of devotion; and the unnatural son was soon alarmed by the tidings that his father had once more friends and arms on his side. While such was the case, Henry V. could know no moment of repose. He set out therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Annal. Hildeshem.

himself, toward the Lower Rhine; the parent armed in his defence; and thus the unnatural conflict of the past year broke out anew. Men's minds were filled, in contemplating it, with gloom and disgust; while a resplendent comet,—that which, if the conjecture of modern science be correct, which would identify it with the phenomenon of 1680<sup>1</sup>, is the most majestic of these celestial visitants upon record,—seemed, to their awe-stricken imaginations, to invest the skies with a horror, proportionate to that of the scene below<sup>2</sup>. The struggle, however, was not of long continuance. Early in August, intelligence reached the camp of the younger sovereign, that his father was no more<sup>3</sup>. The unhappy Henry IV. had filled up the measure of his earthly misfortunes, and sunk under his calamities, on the 7th of that month, in his beloved city of Liege; in the 56th year of his age, and,—if we compute from his father's death,—in the 50th of his reign<sup>4</sup>.

The event was followed in that city by a general lamentation. With all his follies, and with all his crimes, Henry appears to have had the art of attaching

<sup>1</sup> Il devient . . . assez probable que les comètes de la mort de César, de 531, de 1106, et de 1680 n'eussent été que les réapparitions d'un seul et même astre, qui, après avoir parcouru toute son orbite, après avoir fait sa révolution complète en 575 ans environ, redevenait visible de la terre.—Arago. Notice sur les Comètes. V. Annuaire du Bureau des Longitude pour l'an 1832. p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Roger. de Hoveden. *Annalium pars prior*.—Circa quadagesimam novum et tremendum in cœlo signum apparuit; nam per continuas tres hebdomadas aut amplius, versus occidentem stella oriebatur, radium latissimum, ad instar solaris lampadis, vespere emittens, et longam cœli partem versus orientem hoc splendore illuminabat. *Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis, ad an.*

<sup>3</sup> Vita Henrici ap. Urstis. t. i. p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> Abb. Ursperg.—*Annalista Saxo*.



to himself those with whom he was brought more immediately into contact. We have seen that, even in opposition to his own advantage, his good feelings would sometimes break out, and occasion a departure from the systematic course of his policy. We may well, therefore, believe the representations which describe him, in transactions in which no important interests of his own were implicated, to have been gentle and just. And it was, of course, transactions of this latter kind, which principally connected him with the lower classes of his subjects. These felt his generosity<sup>1</sup>, admired his intrepidity, and were melted by the clemency which he showed, on occasions, which, to most monarchs, would have seemed to call for the unmitigated rigour of justice<sup>2</sup>. Recent events, too, had thrown around him a majesty of suffering, which could scarcely appeal in vain to the nobler feelings of our nature. From many parts, therefore, did widows, children, and the poor, objects of his charity or protection,—flock to the scene of his death, to pour their lamentation over his remains. Approaching the spot where the body lay, they watered it with copious tears,—covered the large and once nervous hands with kisses,—and could scarce be torn from the lifeless frame, by those whose duty it was to bear it to the tomb<sup>3</sup>.

In that resting-place, it was not suffered to remain. Thé papal party declared, that the excommunicate in death, was excommunicate in the grave. The bishop of Liege was compelled to remove the body from the vault in which it had been deposited, to unconsecrated

<sup>1</sup> Impiger eleemosynis. Will. Malmesb.—Valde compatiens et misericors in eleemosynis pauperum. Dodechini Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Dodechini Appendix.      <sup>3</sup> Vita Henrici, ap. Urstis. ut supr.

ground<sup>1</sup>. It was subsequently borne to Spires, the ancestral town of Henry's family<sup>2</sup>. But even here, when it had been carried by the attached citizens of the place into the cathedral, it was, by their bishop's order, taken from it, to a yet unconsecrated chapel without the walls of the building<sup>3</sup>. Nor was it until after the lapse of five years, that the remains of the unhappy monarch were admitted to the place of their repose, in that majestic fabric which his fathers had reared, and himself had magnificently completed and adorned.

The history of Henry IV. is that of one whose many good and amiable qualities were rendered useless and unproductive of beneficial result, by that most important of all deficiencies, an absence of the principle which should have guided and controlled them. Crowned in his infancy,—torn in his childhood from his only surviving parent, and surrounded, in the most critical hours of his youth, by counsellors whose aim was not to benefit but to please him,—he never received, from education, that discipline of the mind, without which the noblest gifts of nature are of little or no avail. His subsequent career, therefore, forced as we are to reprobate it, cannot but be contemplated by us with sentiments of pity<sup>4</sup>. Nor can we not feel impressed with awe in considering that mysterious destiny, or rather that mysterious dispensation of Providence, by which the unhappy prince, thus untrained, was uncon-

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Goffrid. Viterb. Chron.

<sup>3</sup> On the north side of the Church, in the angle formed by the transept and the nave.

<sup>4</sup> "Ecce," says the author of the life above quoted; "ecce habes de gestis, de expensis in pauperes, de fortunâ, de obitu imperatoris Henrici, quæ sicut non poterant absque lacrymis a me scribi, sic non poterunt absque lacrymis a te legi." *Urstis. t. i. p. 393.*

sciously led to occupy the position of a leader in one of the most important conflicts of principle recorded in the annals of mankind ;—to identify his cause and interests with those of ecclesiastical thralldom and corruption, at the moment in which the Church was making her most vigorous effort for liberty and reformation ;—and to place himself, consequently, in a position of such permanent hostility to her, that all who, during the course of his long reign, were induced to lift up their hands against him, seem to have thought that, in so doing, they were asserting the holy quarrel of the Faith, and fighting the battles of Heaven <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Erat is neque ineruditus neque ignorans, sed fato quodam ab omnibus ita impetitus, ut rem religionis tractare sibi videbatur, quisquis in illum arma produceret. Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.*

## BOOK IV.—CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1106. TO A. D. 1122.

HENRY V. SHOWS HIMSELF OPPOSED TO THE PAPAL PRETENSIONS—HE MARCHES TO ROME, AND DEMANDS TO BE CROWNED UNCONDITIONALLY—PASCHAL, REFUSING TO CROWN HIM, IS SEIZED AND IMPRISONED FOR TWO MONTHS—AFTER WHICH HE GIVES WAY—HENRY IS HASTILY CROWNED, AND RETREATS FROM ROME—INDIGNATION OF THE CONCLAVE, WHICH DECLARES THE POPE'S CONCESSIONS TO HIM TO BE NULL—PASCHAL ACKNOWLEDGES HIS ERROR IN MAKING THEM—DEATH OF MATILDA—HENRY RE-ENTERS ROME—PASCHAL FLIES—HENRY IS SOLEMNLY CROWNED BY MAURICE BURDINUS, ARCHBISHOP OF BRAGA—PASCHAL RE-OCCUPIES THE LEONINE CITY, AND DIES—ELECTION OF GELASIUS II. BY THE PAPAL, AND OF BURDINUS, BY THE IMPERIAL, PARTY—GELASIUS IS DRIVEN FROM ITALY, AND DIES AT CLUNI—ELECTION OF CALIXTUS II.—HIS TRIUMPHANT PROGRESS THROUGH ITALY, AND ENTRY INTO ROME—BURDINUS FALLS INTO HIS HANDS—IS PUNISHED AND CONFINED—WEARINESS OF ALL PARTIES WITH THE STRUGGLE—PROPOSALS FOR PEACE, AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE TREATY, WHICH IS RATIFIED AT WORMS—GENERAL REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE FOLLOWING TIMES, AND CONCLUSION.

THE worthless Henry V., delivered by his father's death from all anxiety as to the stability of his power, soon showed to the world the insincerity of his professions of zeal in the cause of the Church, and of her liberties. The point of investitures, even the docile Conrad had showed himself desirous to maintain; and Paschal had scarcely begun to indulge in exultation upon his late antagonist's fall, when he received intimations that Henry V. would cling to that great prerogative of the crown with no less tenacity than his father. The suspicions thus raised prevented his complying with the new sovereign's invitation, and presiding over a council

at Augsburg. Afraid of venturing into Germany, he made a journey into France, and there sought to secure for the Roman see the alliance of king Philip, and of his son; while Henry, disappointed by his non-appearance, at once threw off the mask,—appointed bishops to vacant sees, by delivery of the ring and staff,—gave to an excommunicate ecclesiastic the government of an important abbey,—and in other ways acted in open opposition to the papal mandates and policy. A conference held at Chalons in 1107, for the purpose of healing the breach, produced no other effect than that of widening it. The pope, with the utmost solemnity, denounced the proscribed practice anew, and summoned the German monarch to present himself, within the space of a year, at Rome, for the purpose of taking part in a council, by which the great question should be definitively settled. To Rome, Henry was prepared to go, though with views very different from those of his summoner; a variety of circumstances, however, detained him in Germany till the year 1110, when he crossed the Alps at the head of an army more formidable, than had been conducted across them by any former sovereign of his house. With Matilda, now old, and unwilling to exchange her repose for a series of fresh exertions, he entered into peaceful relations; and then advanced triumphantly toward Rome; with the intent, as the trembling Paschal too truly augured, of compelling the papal assent to his coronation, upon his own terms. While he was yet upon his march, the pontiff entered into negotiations with him; and apprehensive, in the highest degree, of the consequences of his wrath, was led to make the extraordinary proposal, that if Henry would resign the obnoxious privilege which he asserted, the Church should, on her part,

resign into his hands all privileges, possessions, and royalties, which she had received from the pious liberality of the imperial line, since the time of Charlemagne<sup>1</sup>:—a proposal to which Paschal himself could scarcely imagine that the consent of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the empire would ever be obtained. Henry naturally expressed his eagerness to close with an offer so advantageous; he therefore entered Rome, and appeared,—on the 12th of February, 1111,—in St. Peter's, for the purpose of his coronation, and of the official promulgation and ratification of the treaty. But, when pressed by the pontiff on the subject, the artful monarch paused,—retired, as if for consultation, with the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his train,—and, at length, caused it to be intimated to the astonished Paschal, that he had come to be crowned unconditionally, after the manner of his predecessors in the sovereignty of the West. Such a coronation, the pontiff, of course, indignantly refused, and a scene of fearful confusion ensued. The Romans on one side, the Germans on the other, ran to arms, and the neighbourhood of the church was for some days the scene of bloody warfare<sup>2</sup>. Henry then withdrew from the city, carrying with him the pontiff, whom he immured, with six cardinals, in the castle of Tribucco; and from whom he, by a rigorous confinement of two months, by menaces, and by ill-usage, at length extorted the object of his wishes,—the recognition of the long-contested privilege as an imperial prerogative. The unfortunate Paschal was swayed, he says himself, to do that, with the view of

<sup>1</sup> Vita Paschalis II. ex Cardinal. Aragon. Murat. t. iv. p. 360.—Paschalis, epist. xxii.—Hard. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1790.—Chronograph. Saxo.—Otto Frising. lib. vii. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Petr. Diacon. xxxvii. lib. iv. c. xxxix.—Donizo, lib. ii. c. xviii.

saving others, which he would never have conceded for his own deliverance<sup>1</sup>. The king undertaking to liberate him, to restore and protect the possessions of the Roman Church, and to pay, for the future, all due deference to its head; the pontiff, in return, recognized in the sovereign the right of investing all bishops and abbots elect, prior to consecration, with the ring and staff; he swore never to take vengeance on the monarch or others for the recent proceedings; never to pronounce against the royal person the sentence of anathema; and not to oppose any obstacle to Henry's coronation, as emperor, with all customary form and solemnity<sup>2</sup>. By the most solemn adjurations, he bound himself to an observance of the treaty thus imposed, and he was then suffered to depart. The king, following him immediately to Rome, received, in a hurried manner, the imperial crown from his hand, and then immediately betook himself again to his camp; the gates of the Leonine city, during the performance of the ceremony, being strongly guarded, and no admittance into that district being permitted from the other portions of the town<sup>3</sup>.

This occurred on the 13th of April 1111; after which, Henry, having thus accomplished the main object of his Italian expedition, set out without delay on his return into Germany. Paschal, in the meanwhile, left in possession of Rome, found his late conduct the subject of general indignation. The cardinals who had not been parties to the late extorted treaty, inveighed against it as a disgraceful compromise of the

<sup>1</sup> Vita Paschalis II. ex Cardinal. Aragon. Murat. t. iv. p. 361.  
—Petri Diaconi. Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. c. xl.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v.

<sup>3</sup> Petr. Diacon. iv. xl.

rights of the Church, which the successor of St. Peter should have died rather than put his hand to. Unable to defend himself,—and probably conscience-smitten,—the afflicted pontiff retired to Terracina, and expressed a wish to renounce his apostolic dignity. In this, however, he was overruled; and was induced, in March 1112, to preside over a council in the Lateran, which was attended by about one hundred bishops, who burned with zeal to condemn, in the strongest terms, the obnoxious treaty, and to anathematize the sovereign who had procured it. “Though the king,” said Paschal, “has broken the conditions on which the grant depended, I will never anathematize him, or disturb him more in the matter of investitures. God is our Judge. But with regard to the treaty,—I know,—I am ready to confess, that the making it was a crime. For that crime, I am willing, with God’s good pleasure, to be corrected; and I leave it to my brethren here assembled, so to fix the mode of correction, that, from that which is past, neither detriment may accrue to the Church, nor condemnation to my soul<sup>1</sup>.” But, though withheld by these considerations from proceeding to the lengths demanded by his assessors, he put forth a general declaration to the effect, that he maintained the principles of Gregory VII. and Urban II.; that he sanctioned whatever they had sanctioned, and condemned whatever they had condemned<sup>2</sup>; and, by his presidency, he sanctioned the final decree of the council, which declared the grant “extorted from our lord pope Paschal, by the violence of king Henry, to be null

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v.



“ and void, as contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit, “ and to the authority of canonical regulations<sup>1</sup>.”

The provincial councils, over which Paschal's legates presided, felt themselves less restrained by the pontiff's personal ties. The synod of Vienne—in September 1112,—under the presidency of the fervent Guido, archbishop of the place, fearlessly pronounced the censures of the Church upon “ the Teutonic king, who, as another “ Judas, had seized the pope, and violently extorted “ from him that most wicked and detestable writing<sup>2</sup>.” Other councils in France<sup>3</sup> repeated the sentence, and at length, in 1115, a legate ventured officially to promulgate a like decree on German ground, within the walls of the church of St. Gereon, at Cologne<sup>4</sup>. Paschal,—such was the fervour of the more zealous churchmen,—was, for some time, in danger of expulsion from the papal chair, for his enforced submission to the imperial will. And Henry, surrounded by disaffected nobles and provinces, who were ever ready to combine the Church's quarrel with their own, found at length, that the violent step which he had taken, had but given fresh vigour to the flagging zeal of his ecclesiastical antagonists, and, at the same time, consolidated, and ripened into maturity, those principles of hostility toward his person, and toward the dignity of his throne, which already pervaded his empire.

On the 24th of July, 1115, the great Tuscan countess, full of years and honours, descended to the

<sup>1</sup> Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Viennens. 1112. Harduin, t. vi. p. 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Concil. Belvac. et Rhemens. Harduin. p. 1925.—Suessionens. ib. p. 1929.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 1925.

grave<sup>1</sup>. And as Henry, notwithstanding her donation to the Church, was anxious to secure her valuable possessions for the crown, this occasioned him to make a second expedition into Italy, and thus brought him once more into immediate contact with the Roman conclave. Aware of the jealousy between Paschal and the strict party in the Church, he entertained some hopes of bringing over the former to his interests; but the pontiff, though not possessed of the natural firmness of Gregory VII., had now learned, by experience, the dangers of concession; and, in the Lateran council of March 1116, condemned the document which he had given the emperor, declaring all excommunicate who should acknowledge its validity.

In the following year, Henry appeared before Rome; Paschal fled before him, and he was put in undisputed possession of the city<sup>2</sup>. His first purpose here was to complete the ceremonies of his hasty coronation,—a measure in which the cardinals refused to take part,—and Maurice Burdinus, archbishop of Braga in Portugal, was therefore selected to place the crown on Henry's head, preparatory to his triumphal procession through the papal city. After some little stay in Rome, Henry departed to maintain his interests in other parts of Italy. And Paschal, in January 1118, succeeded in occupying again the Leonine city, just in time to breathe his last there,

<sup>1</sup> . . . Comitissa Mathildis ab hujus  
Ærumna sæcli, jugiter memoranda, recedit;  
In cruce nam Christo sua figens oscula dixit:  
Te colui semper, mea nunc rogo crimina terge.  
Accipiens Christi Corpus venerabile dixit:  
Semper dum vixi, Deus, hoc scis, spem tibi fixi,  
Nunc in fine meo me salvans suscipe, quæso.

Donizo, iib. ii. c. xx. seq.

<sup>2</sup> Petr. Diacon. lib. iv. c. lxi.

on the 21st of the month<sup>1</sup>. The cardinals of his party, in extreme haste, summoned from Monte Cassino the cardinal John of Gaeta, and declared him pope<sup>2</sup>; but, before the initiatory ceremonies were complete, the fury of the imperial party interrupted the proceedings<sup>3</sup>, and the nominee, after suffering grievous insults, was compelled, by Henry's sudden appearance before Rome, to fly to Gaeta. The monarch, informed of Paschal's death, had hoped, availing himself of the opportunity, to resume the powers of his predecessors over pontifical elections. Aware, however, of what had been done, he forwarded to Gaeta an offer to acknowledge the pontiff elect,—thenceforward known by the name of Gelasius II.,—if he would, in return, recognize and confirm the privilege granted by his predecessor. The proposal was at once rejected; and Henry, foiled by the firmness of his antagonists, felt that no course was now open to him for the assertion of his dignity, but a measure already proved, by many instances, to be a desperate one—the nomination and support of an anti-pope. Maurice Burdinus, who had crowned him, and who had been declared by Paschal excommunicate<sup>4</sup>, was selected by him for this inauspicious elevation, and assumed, on his election, the name of Gregory VIII. But if Cadalous and Guibert,—each in his turn supported by the imperial influence,—had been unable to establish a permanent power, and to procure a general recog-

<sup>1</sup> Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, No. cccxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Petr. Diacon. lib. iv. c. lxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Vita Gelasii II. ex MS. Pandulphi Pisani, cum commentariis Constantini Cajetani. Murat. t. iii. pt. i. p. 367.—Rob. de Monte append. ad Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>4</sup> Epistola Gelasii.—Will. Malmesb. de Gest. reg. lib. v. p. 95. in Edit. Savil.—Petri Diacon. iv. lxiv.—Udalric. Babenberg. Cod. No. cccxciii.

dition of their pretensions, it was not likely that a pretender should be successful in obtaining those objects now, when the struggle of half a century had made the independence of the Church an idea familiar to men's minds, and when the plenary subjection of the papal to the imperial authority was no longer accordant with uniform, undisputed custom. In the existing state of public feeling, the election of Burdinus could but scandalize it; and therefore, far from giving any moral strength to the party whose act it was, its natural, or rather necessary, tendency was in the opposite direction; in its immediate consequences, strengthening the papalists, by the disgust which it occasioned; and, in its ultimate ones, ensuring to them a triumph by its inevitable failure. And thus it proved: supported by the imperial arms, the intruder continued, it is true, for a while at Rome triumphant; and Gelasius, compelled to abandon Italy, died at Cluni, in January 1119. But it had been agreed on by the cardinals in general, that, in the event of the pontiff's dying before his return, the power of electing a successor should rest with those of the body who should be in attendance on him at his death. He had, therefore, no sooner expired, than the cardinals in France made choice of the energetic Guido, archbishop of Vienne, then the most active member of the strict or zealous party in the Church, to succeed him<sup>1</sup>. The nominee assumed the name of Calixtus II., and his title was admitted without dispute by all but the adherents of the pretender Burdinus;

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Cardinalium Romæ, existentium ad cardinales ultra montes.* Martene et Durand. *Coll. Ampliss.* t. i. p. 645. et seqq.—*Rob. de Monte, app.*—*Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, Nn. ccxcv. ccxcix.*—*Calixti II. Papæ epistola ad Moguntinum Archiep.* Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1949.

and these,—now that Henry was recalled from Italy by his German troubles,—were daily sinking in consequence and power. Alarmed by the known talents and energy of the new pontiff, the monarch testified a desire for peace,—Calixtus was ready to meet his proposals,—and negotiations were carried on for some time between these chiefs of the contending parties, while in each other's neighbourhood, in France<sup>1</sup>. But Henry's vacillation, or insincerity, rendered the measure abortive; the proceedings terminated by the pontiff's renewing the sentence of excommunication with the most awful forms used at the time in the Church<sup>2</sup>; and the mortified monarch beheld public opinion,—which had shrunk from his own recent strong measures, as from outrages,—supporting and giving weight to the most daring steps of his antagonist. In the following year, while Henry's troubles continued to thicken around him in Germany, Calixtus set out from France, on his return to the proper seat of his authority. His journey through Italy was one continued triumph; and bore ample testimony to the strength of the feeling excited against Henry by his nomination of Burdinus. The pontiff had scarcely descended from the Alps, and arrived at the little town of St. Ambrosio, near Susa, when a con-

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Acta concilii Remensis ex Orderico Vitale, et ex Commentariolo Hessonis Scholastici, ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1985. et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Allatæ sunt denique candelæ quadringentæ xxvii., et accensæ datæ singulæ singulis, tenentibus baculos episcopis et abbatibus; injunctumque est eis, ut omnes candelas tenentes assurgerent. Cumque astarent, recitata multorum nomina . . . inter quos primi nominati sunt rex Henricus, Romanæ Ecclesiæ invasor Burdinus et præ ceteris multis et cum ceteris multis solemniter excommunicati.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, No. ccciii.

course of people flocked to the spot, anxious to do him honour. Even the cities of Lombardy,—long as they had been opposed to the papal cause,—vied with each other in the honours with which they now received its representative <sup>1</sup>. As he approached Lucca, the clergy, the military force of the place, and the people, poured forth to meet him, and conducted him, with rejoicing and acclamation, to the cathedral <sup>2</sup>. At Pisa, similar ceremonies awaited his arrival; and all Tuscany, says his historian, was collected together, to see him exercise his high functions in that city, by the consecration of the new church of *Sta. Maria Maggiore* <sup>3</sup>. As he approached Rome, a general joy pervaded the city, which considered herself to have been unnaturally deprived of her spiritual father. *Burdinus* fled from the place, and entrenched himself within the fortifications of *Sutri*; and on the 3rd of June, 1120, the whole population of the papal city, the clergy, the nobility, the populace of Rome, poured forth with emulous alacrity to the gratulation of their legitimate pastor; the youngest children waved branches of olive and other boughs in their hands, and joined their feeble voices to the general burst of acclamation, amid which *Calixtus* was conducted, through the rescued city of *St. Peter*, to the palace of the *Lateran* <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Card. de Aragon. in vita Calixti II. ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Scriptt. t. iii.*

<sup>2</sup> *Card. de Aragon. ut supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *Card. de Aragon.*

<sup>4</sup> *Romam . . . rediit, ubi a . . . vicario, Cardinalibus, olerio toto, ac populo, tantâ gloriâ est et honore susceptus, quantâ diebus nostris nullus unquam fuerit Præsul de Româ tractatus.—Ex MS. Pandulphi Pisani. Muratori, t. iii.*

*Gaudente in Domino et exultante universo populo Romano.—Card. de Aragon.*

Besieged in Sutri, the unfortunate *Bardinus* for some time entertained hopes of relief from the forces of his imperial patron. Such hopes, however, were vain; and at length, on the 23rd of April, 1121, the people of the town rose tumultuously against his authority, and threw open their gates to his enemies. By these he was seized, set in mockery on a camel, with his face toward the tail, clothed with the skin of a newly-slain sheep, as an imitation of the red papal robe, and thus led, amid a variety of insults, to Rome<sup>1</sup>, where his life was only prevented from falling a sacrifice to the popular fury, by the humane interference of *Calixtus*, by whose directions this unfortunate anti-pope was removed to confinement in a monastery<sup>2</sup>.

In the following year—1122,—the fearful struggle which had desolated, during half a century, the fairest portion of Europe, was destined to be brought to a conclusion. His last reverses, and the tried firmness of his antagonist, at length convinced *Henry V.* of the impossibility of any pacific arrangement, while he continued to claim for the imperial house the prerogative of investiture. His subjects were wearied and exhausted by the apparently interminable contention. The principal nobles of his empire mutually acknowledged that their common aim should be peace; and formed, by their combination, a party powerful enough to mediate with authority between the papacy and the throne. And *Calixtus*, on his part, expressed all readiness to listen to overtures of reconciliation. Among the many ecclesiastical writers of the time, who handled the subject of investitures,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Calixti II. ex Card. Aragon. Murat. t. iii. pt. i. p. 367.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Petr. Diacon. l. iv. c. lxxviii. et lxxxvi.. Landulph. junior. Hist. Mediolan. not. in c. xxxv. ap. Murat. t. iv. Card. Aragon.*

some had recently promulgated the opinion that, though the investiture of an ecclesiastic by lay hands, with the symbols of his sacerdotal office, was a profanation <sup>1</sup>, yet that an investiture which should be clearly understood to relate to the secular appendages to that office, might reasonably be permitted <sup>2</sup>. A distinction was drawn, even by strict papalists, between the “*investitura quæ episcopum perficit*,” and that “*quæ episcopum pascit* ;” and it was admitted that, if the liberty of the Church were secured by the recognition of the right of investiture proper in the legitimate hands, the secular monarch might, unobjectionably, confer the rights and royalties which emanated from himself, by any symbol <sup>3</sup> which might be agreed upon for the purpose, and which should clearly bear this meaning, and no other <sup>4</sup>. To this view of the case,—which rapidly found general favour, and which was warmly espoused by the German nobility,—the pontiff was induced to accede ; and upon this basis, therefore, it was that the treaty of peace between the long-contending powers was at length concluded <sup>5</sup>. The emperor pledged himself as follows :—

“ I, Henry, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, Augustus, for the love of God, of the holy Roman Church, and of my lord pope Calixtus,

<sup>1</sup> *Laicus cum investituram ecclesiarum tribuit per virgam et annulum, quæ sunt ecclesiæ sacramenta, sicut sal et aqua, oleum et Chrisma, et quædam alia, sine quibus hominum et ecclesiarum consecrationes fieri non possunt, sibi jus Christi usurpat et potestatem, et quodammodo se Dei Filio prædicat altiorem.*—Goffridi Vindocinensis *Tractatus de Investituris* ap. Goldasti *Apologias*.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo Floriacens. *tract. de regiâ potestate et sacerdotali dignitate.*—Baluz. *Miscell. lib. iv. p. 9.* Ed. Mansi, t. ii. p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Pandulph. *Pisan.*

<sup>4</sup> Goffrid. *Vindocinens. ut supra.*

<sup>5</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1107.



“ and for the relief of my soul, do resign to God, to His  
“ holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to the  
“ holy Catholic Church, all investiture by ring and staff;  
“ and do grant to all churches in my dominions the pri-  
“ vilege of canonical election and free consecration. Of  
“ the possessions and royalties of St. Peter which have,  
“ during the continuance of this discord, been taken  
“ away, those which are in my possession I will restore;  
“ those which are not, I will aid in restoring. In like  
“ manner, the possessions of all other churches, and of  
“ individuals, whether clerical or lay, I will, on the  
“ decision or award of my nobles, restore, where I have  
“ them; where I have them not, aid in their re-  
“ covery. I give true peace to Calixtus, to the holy  
“ Roman Church, and to all who are or have been of  
“ his party. And in whatever the holy Roman  
“ Church may require my assistance, I will faithfully  
“ render it.”

And the pope, in his turn, made the following declaration:—

“ I, Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do  
“ grant to thee, my beloved son Henry, by the grace  
“ of God, emperor of the Romans, Augustus, that  
“ the elections of bishops and abbots, who belong to  
“ the Teutonic Empire, shall be made in thy presence,  
“ without simony or any violent proceeding. That if,  
“ between different parties, any discord shall arise, thou  
“ mayest, with the advice and approval of the metro-  
“ politan and suffragans of the province, give thy sanc-  
“ tion and support to the better party. That the per-  
“ son elected may be admitted by thee to the royalties  
“ of his office, by the delivery of a sceptre, and may  
“ perform to thee, whatever on account of these is due.  
“ That a person from other parts of the empire may.

“ within six months after his consecration, receive  
 “ the royalties from thee by the sceptre, and perform  
 “ to thee whatever is due for the same, saving always  
 “ the known rights of the Roman Church. In what-  
 “ ever matter thou shalt make complaint to me, I will  
 “ lend thee aid according to the duty of my office.  
 “ And I give true peace to thee, and to all who, during  
 “ this discord, are, or have been, of thy party <sup>1</sup>.”

On the 23d of September, 1122, an innumerable concourse of people thronged an extensive plain without the walls of Worms, and beheld these documents solemnly ratified and promulgated, by the emperor in person on one side, and by the legaté of Calixtus, Lambert, bishop of Ostia, on the other. The legaté then celebrated before the whole multitude the most solemn service of the Church, and concluded the proceedings by greeting the reconciled monarch with the kiss of peace <sup>2</sup>.

The treaty thus concluded, obtained in the following year the ratification of a council, styled general, assembled under the auspices of Calixtus in the Lateran <sup>3</sup>. Its terms bear, it may be remarked, rather the character of an equal compromise, on the basis of mutual concession, than that of a positive triumph to either

<sup>1</sup> Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v. Udalrici Babenb. Cod. No. cccv. cccvi.

<sup>2</sup> Hujusmodi scripta et rescripta propter infinitæ multitudinis conventum loco campestri juxta Rhenum lecta sunt, data et accepta. — Postquam multimodas laudes rerum Gubernatori redditas, celebratis a Domino Ostiensi divinis Sacramentis, inter quæ Domnum Imperatorem cum pacis osculo sanctaque communionem plenissime reconciliavit. — Discessum est ab omnibus cum lætitiâ infinitâ. Anna- lista Saxo. — Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1109.

of the two contracting parties ; but the history of the times which followed sufficiently shows that such was by no means its real force or tendency ; and that the papacy, in bringing the long protracted struggle to such a termination, was in effect successful in obtaining the great objects to which its labours had been devoted. The resignation, by the emperor, of the one great point which had mainly occasioned the dispute,—the investing ceremonial,—gave of itself the moral effect of victory to his opponent's cause. And if Calixtus, to obtain this concession, surrendered on his part pretensions which Gregory VII., in the fervour of his zeal, would rather have died than have abandoned ; this should not so properly be considered a change of purpose in the pontifical counsels, as an alteration of policy suggested, or permitted, by the altered circumstances of the time. On the fortunes of the former pontiff,—on the long doubtful issue of his eventful struggles,—depended the recognition, by mankind, of what had come to seem, in the eyes of that generation, strange and novel principles ; of the rightful exemption of the Church from feudal vassalage ; and of the necessary existence, in her constitution, of an authority independent of that of kings, and underived from any regulations of merely human original. And while this great question was yet pending, he would not, and could not, have listened to any arrangement of the matter in dispute, which should have left, with the imperial power, any semblance of bestowing, with its temporal and territorial fiefs, the essential and inherent privileges and prerogatives of spiritual authority. But, when Calixtus had ascended the pontifical throne, the temper of the times, in this respect, was materially changed. Gregory's own labours, together with those

of his coadjutors and successors, had succeeded in deeply imprinting these great truths upon the general cognizance of mankind. Men had been taught by experience, that the Church's authority might be wielded, not only independently of that of the sovereign, but, upon occasion, even in opposition to him, and in defiance of the utmost exertions of his power. Hence arose a prevalent recognition,—which has been already adverted to,—of the distinction between the sovereign's endowment of ecclesiastical offices, and his actual appointment to them, and to the powers which they convey. And, in this state of things, Calixtus might concede, with safety, what would have been a most dangerous concession on the part of his great predecessor; especially, when, by formally and finally separating this concession from the privilege of investing with the sacred symbols of sacerdotal authority, he still further illustrated and made apparent to the world the important distinction between the one and the other.

Equal compromise, indeed, at the close of such a contest as that which has been now described, there could not really be. When we look back to the state of things in which that contest originated; to the general, undoubting, recognition,—at that epoch,—of the imperial supremacy over the papacy and the Church; and then recur to the bold, the startling, line of conduct adopted—in contravention of that supremacy,—by the successors of St. Peter; we shall see that the existence of the papacy, at the conclusion of that struggle, in a condition of sufficient independence to treat with the imperial court upon apparently equal terms, was of itself a victory,—of itself a ratification of most of the great points which the pontiffs had stood forward to estab-

lish. After matters had gone a certain length, no middle course remained open to the temporal sovereignty, between a practical acquiescence in defeat, and a recovery of the ground which it had lost, by the humiliation, in its turn, of the opposing power which had so unexpectedly succeeded in abasing it. Such a humiliation was, in effect, the great object pursued, during the latter portion of the war, by the two last Henries, with all their resources, and all their ability. And the final abandonment of that object, when the imperial seal was affixed to the compact of Worms,—irrespective of all conditions of the treaty,—was therefore a triumph to their opponents, fraught with results the most important and most durable.

The contest had not been three years concluded, when the imperial line of Franconia—as though, in the origination and conduct of that contest, it had fulfilled the mysterious purposes for which it had been called to power,—ceased to exist. Henry V., in 1125, was borne childless to his grave, and laid to rest—by the side of his father, of his grandfather, and of Conrad the founder of their dynasty,—beneath the massy vaults of Spire cathedral; an edifice which, rising with the rise of their house, has long outlasted its extinction, and may still serve to remind the Rhenish traveller, as he gazes on its colossal proportions, of the departed greatness of the Franconian race, and of the momentous conflict of principle with which the thread of its destiny was so intimately interwoven<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Within that Cathedral, however, their ashes no longer repose. In 1689, the French, while barbarously devastating the Palatinate under the orders of Louis XIV., ransacked the imperial vault of Spire, tore the remains of the Franconian emperors from their graves, and scattered them to the winds of heaven.

The following generations became the witnesses of that papal plenitude of dominion over the western world, which forms the most striking feature in the history of the middle ages. That dominion, it is true, was not fully achieved without many a subsequent struggle; but its foundations, in the events which have now been recorded, had been firmly and permanently laid. Wielded by unworthy hands, such dominion, it is true, often degenerated into a tyranny; but that tyranny, even when carried to its greatest excess, was free from the most formidable of those dangers to Religion, which would have attended the unqualified subjection of the Church and of her discipline to secular authority, against which Rome contended in the great battle of half a century, which has been now described. The popes,—even while monopolizing to themselves the power in which the collective hierarchy had an inherent right to share,—became, to the world at large, the living representatives of that power; and upheld, throughout Christendom, the vivid recollection of its existence and reality. The Church, though subjected to an irregular control, was yet governed by a power within herself. The commission which her Almighty Founder had given to the Apostolic line of succession, was not set at nought, even though the general authority of that line came to be most unequally distributed among the different members of it. And she permanently escaped that secularization, or amalgamating incorporation into the state, to the accomplishment of which, the efforts of the German Henries,—from the nature of their position,—were directed;—a measure which, had it been carried into effect, must, humanly speaking, have reduced that divine Institution, whose fortunes are inseparably connected with

those of Religion, to the condition of a mere component part of the system of the empire,—a machine to be worked, as the heathen religions had been, by the hands of the civil magistrate,—an element not more revered or more durable than others, in the ever-varied and heterogeneous composition of the feudal constitution of Europe.

The fearful consequences, which would naturally have resulted from such a state of things, need not be described. Providence, it is true, might, in a variety of ways, unimaginable by us, have averted them ; but the way by which, in truth, it saw fit to work, was the elevation of the papacy to power, at the critical moment of their origination. The papacy, rising with the working of the great reformation of the eleventh century, alike arrested the progress of the yet nascent evils themselves, and annihilated the growing system from which they derived their existence. To the papacy, therefore,—whatever may have been the mischiefs of that domination of its own, by which the secular thralldom which it interrupted was succeeded,—the Church of after-times unquestionably owes, on this account, a heavy debt of gratitude,—a debt which we may not disown, from any feelings excited by our present differences with it ; and which we may not, on the other hand, so acknowledge, as to forget the anomaly of the position now assumed by the Roman pontiff, or the irreconcilability of that position with the legitimate, apostolical, government of the Church universal. If circumstances, in the early ages of that Church's history, seemed to vest the see of Rome with such a pre-eminence in honour, as to render its occupant the first among the bishops of the Church, his colleagues ; this gives no sanction to the theory which

represents him as set over the bishops of the Church, his deputies;—regarding him as the one vicar of Christ,—the one bearer of the keys entrusted to St. Peter,—the one “bishop of the Catholic Church.” Nor can that be a genuine developement of apostolic feeling, which degrades the Apostles in general from their thrones of judgment; and reduces to a secondary and subsidiary station of hierarchical authority, those to whom it was said; “As my Father hath sent Me, even “so send I you.”

Without forgetting these things, we, Anglican members of the Church Catholic, should be ready to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the popes of the middle ages with peculiar cheerfulness;—because, while we, in common with our Catholic brethren throughout the world, participate in the beneficial results of their victory in the great struggle which has been now described, we are freed from many of the most crying evils by which papal domination, in the days of its plenitude, was accompanied. The great truths asserted by Gregory and his coadjutors were asserted for all ages,—their errors were those of a certain school, and a certain time; and liable, as such, to subsequent correction.

But,—to consider it merely with reference to those ages which witnessed its most high and palmy state,—the dominion of the Roman pontiffs must be thought to present us with a splendid spectacle. Such a despotic supremacy as theirs at length became, could not be systematically entrusted to the hands of individuals, without its being frequently abused. But, if the world in those times too often witnessed the tyrannical exertion of this unrestricted power, the spectacle was more frequent of the employment of that



power in opposition to armed oppression, and in furtherance of the demands of justice or of mercy. The general character which the autocratical hierarchs of the West had to maintain,—had it even been only for appearance sake,—must needs have been that of uprightness, of purity, of holiness. And the disgraceful instances of an opposite line of conduct which stain their annals,—if more prominently brought forward in history,—owe in part that prominence to the very reason of their strangeness, and of their opposition to the ordinary course of things. In that ordinary course, it must have been an edifying sight to behold an aged, feeble man,—unsupported by any overpowering physical force, by armies or resources of his own, and deriving his single claim to such paramount control from the general recognition by mankind of the Truth revealed,—able to check, by a simple word, the impetuous noble or arbitrary monarch in his career of guilt or shame; and to force upon those, by whom no other voice than his would have been listened to for a moment, a return to the paths of,—at least external,—decency and justice. The popes, too, in compassing these beneficial ends, effected more than any secular princes or potentates, however virtuous or well-intentioned, could possibly have accomplished. For they spoke to the guilty, not with the voice of that general authority with which all rulers, secular or spiritual, are alike vested from on high; but with the definite, the recognized, accents of the Holy Church of the Redeemer. It was to the Church, that the sovereign, who trembled at the menaces of the Vatican, and the ruffian, who turned pale before the censure of a mendicant friar, paid alike their involuntary homage. It was in the Church, that their terrors bore witness to the existence, even on earth, of

an authority superior to that of kings, or to any which could be founded or supported by violence or arms. And it may be,—during an epoch, in some respects, so gross and rude,—that minds with which the Christian Church, in her purer and more primitive garb, could never have come into beneficial contact, were, by the more tangible form, which she, under the papal sovereignty, assumed, made to feel that she was a reality, and to do her reverence. The era, at any rate, which succeeded the exertions of Gregory VII., and his immediate successors,—originating, as it did, under their auspices, with a comprehensive reformation,—may, notwithstanding all the grossness and violence which too manifestly disfigured it, be favourably contrasted, in many respects, with the dark and corrupt epoch which preceded it; and bore, indeed, in some points of view, an aspect of grandeur peculiar to itself. The Crusades have been already alluded to, as illustrating the growth of a high catholic and devotional feeling in the general mind; and more permanent traces of the same sentiment have, in our northern parts of Europe, been impressed, on the majestic structures dedicated to Religion, to which the papal epoch subsequently gave birth. For it was about the time when,—according to the usual rate of progression in national feelings and habits,—the new state of things, originating in the papal reformation, should have imprinted itself deeply on the moral organization of mankind, that religious architecture,—till then confined to an imitation of classical models, only modified by unskilfulness, imperfect acquaintance with them, or the peculiarities of climate,—assumed among us an originative character,—adopted and realized new canons of sublimity and beauty,—and embodied the high aspirations of devotion, in the lofty proportions of a style

self-consistent, self-harmonious, and the best adapted, perhaps, which the world has yet seen, to kindle the beholder to sentiments of holy and mysterious veneration. Religious munificence, exerted in another direction, gave birth, during the same period, to that splendid system of collegiate institutions which, incorporated as it is into that of our universities, renders them, even at the present day, the nurseries of our Religion, and the safeguards of our land. All the pious undertakings of the time seem to have been fraught with a character of greatness, which, as it was previously unprecedented, appears to have been unrivalled by any result of the increasing civilization of these later ages. And when we reflect on this, and remember, at the same time, that,—disfigured by many a foul blot as that reign of the Church unquestionably was,—she has, at no other period of her history, wielded a sceptre so visibly potential, or stood forth, in so marked a manner, as the recognized controller of the nations; it seems difficult not to believe that, as the Israelitish kingdoms,—unauthorized as had been the adoption of the regal form of government,—were suffered to realize to themselves, in some degree, the predicted blessings of the chosen people; so, in the dominion of the papacy, those predictions were permitted to receive a kind of imperfect, anticipatory, fulfilment, in which the prophetic voice declared to the Church that, “kings shall be thy nursing-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord <sup>1</sup>.” “The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister

<sup>1</sup> Isai. xlix. 23.

“ unto thee ; for in my wrath I smote thee, but in My  
“ favour have I had mercy on thee <sup>1</sup>.” “ The sons also  
“ of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto  
“ thee ; and all they that despised thee shall bow them-  
“ selves down at the soles of thy feet, and they shall  
“ call thee the city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy  
“ One of Israel <sup>2</sup>.”

But, alas ! the glories of this epoch, whatever they were, were of brief duration. Like its Israelitish type, the papal empire had laid its foundations on a sandy basis. In the Roman bishop's assumption of a monarchical supremacy, was involved, as we have seen, the degradation, and, by consequence, the enfeeblement, of the divinely-appointed guardians of the Church's ordinances, discipline, and faith,—the episcopal body throughout the world. A new polity,—assimilated in character to that of the secular kingdoms of the earth,—took the place of that which had been originally bequeathed to the Church through the inspired Apostles of our Lord. And it would seem, as though,—under the new dispensation, as well as under the old,—the chosen people of God could,—as a people,—only look to enjoy in fulness the blessings of their birthright, on the condition of their maintaining, unchanged, the polity originally bestowed on them by their heavenly Legislator. For if the Church, under her pontifical sovereigns, was permitted to realize, after a fashion, the bright promises which had been made to her of a rightful supremacy over the kingdoms of the world, it was only in that imperfect, transitory, way, in which the momentary extension of the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon could be said to realize that

<sup>1</sup> Id. lx. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Id. lx. 14.

covenant of God with Abraham, which fixed "the great river, the river Euphrates," as the destined limit of the land of promise. And, as the solemn style of architecture just alluded to,—that majestic result, at once, and emblem of the papal reformation,—advanced to its maturity only to decline; the same generation which had beheld its arrival at perfection, also witnessing the commencement of its deterioration; so does the devotional spirit evoked by that reformation, high and holy as it was, appear to have reached the zenith of its influence, only to descend from it again. The errors meanwhile, and abuses, by which that spirit, even in its rise, had been accompanied, naturally made their influence felt more and more, as its energies grew less potent to counterbalance and to control them. And though we may not suppose that the beneficial results of any true reformation can, even on earth, be entirely obliterated, yet, as far as the external aspect of things was concerned, the Church, ere three centuries had elapsed from the date of her liberation from the feudalism of the West, seems to have sunk into a state of general, and systematical degradation, too nearly resembling that from which the reformers of the eleventh century had been permitted to deliver her. For the annals of the fifteenth century in some respects remind us of the gloomy records of the tenth: presenting us with the mournful spectacle of a Church rent by schisms, or distracted by dissensions;—of a theology overladen with corruptions, and supported, in too many instances, by actual imposture;—of a priesthood too generally sunk in impurities the most gross and degrading;—of bishops systematically selling, for money, their connivance at the continuance of a state of things so disgraceful;—of a laity plunged in the profligacy and igno-

rance which, under guides like these, was naturally to be expected;—and of a long series of strenuous, but unsuccessful, efforts on the part of the wise and good throughout western Europe, for the accomplishment of a general and permanent reformation.

But if the efforts of Gregory VII. and of his coadjutors are to be condemned, as leading, in their remote consequences, to these then distant and unanticipated evils, the condemnation should ever be accompanied by a grateful remembrance of their services in rescuing the Church from more immediately impending, as well as,—it may justly be said,—more irremediable dangers. It should never be forgotten that, if their success, carried out to its distant results, made, at a distance of several generations, a reformation necessary, — their failure might, in a much shorter space of time, have plunged the Church into such an abyss of ruin, as to render, humanly speaking, a reformation impossible.

Instead, then, of adopting the ignorant prejudice of the day,—which would teach us to regard them as bigoted opponents to all that is good, or reasonable, or holy,—we may, as we peruse their history, indulge in those exalted feelings of reverence and admiration, which are wont to kindle within us, as we contemplate the excellences of our elders,—our instructors,—our benefactors,—our fathers. And if,—while we closely scrutinize their moral lineaments,—the darker portions of the picture should sometimes, against our will, disturb the enjoyment which the gratification of feelings thus elevated is calculated to afford; from even these, a well-regulated mind may derive ideas pregnant with comfort. The Church may hence be practically taught,—many and gross as may be, at any time, the errors of her earthly governors,—that still, when her essential rights

or independence are assailed from without, “greater is He that is with her, than they that are against her;” and that therefore,—even under the most humiliating conviction of those errors,—she may meet the fiercest attacks which the world can direct against her, in unshaken confidence of eventual victory.

## APPENDIX, No. I.

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## APPENDIX, No. II.

### TABLE OF MOVEABLE FEASTS, &c.

FROM A. D. 1062 TO A. D. 1085, INCLUSIVE.

A. D.	Septuagesima Sunday.	Ash Wednesday.	Easter Day.	Ascension Day.	Whit Sunday.
1062	Jan. 27	Feb. 13	March 31	May 9	May 19
1063	Feb. 16	March 5	April 20	May 29	June 8
1064	Feb. 8	Feb. 25	April 11	May 20	May 30
1065	Jan. 23	Feb. 9	March 27	May 5	May 15
1066	Feb. 12	March 1	April 16	May 25	June 4
1067	Feb. 4	Feb. 21	April 8	May 17	May 27
1068	Jan. 20	Feb. 6	March 23	May 1	May 11
1069	Feb. 8	Feb. 25	April 12	May 21	May 31
1070	Jan. 31	Feb. 17	April 4	May 13	May 23
1071	Feb. 20	March 9	April 24	June 2	June 12
1072	Feb. 5	Feb. 22	April 8	May 17	May 27
1073	Jan. 27	Feb. 13	March 31	May 9	May 19
1074	Feb. 16	March 5	April 20	May 29	June 8
1075	Feb. 1	Feb. 18	April 5	May 14	May 24
1076	Jan. 24	Feb. 10	March 27	May 5	May 15
1077	Feb. 12	March 1	April 16	May 25	June 4
1078	Feb. 4	Feb. 21	April 8	May 17	May 27
1079	Jan. 20	Feb. 6	March 24	May 2	May 12
1080	Feb. 9	Feb. 26	April 12	May 21	May 31
1081	Jan. 31	Feb. 17	April 4	May 13	May 23
1082	Feb. 20	March 9	April 24	June 2	June 12
1083	Feb. 5	Feb. 22	April 9	May 18	May 28
1084	Jan. 28	Feb. 14	March 31	May 9	May 19
1085	Feb. 16	March 5	April 20	May 29	June 8



## APPENDIX, No. III.

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### DICTATUS HILDEBRANDINI.

Vid. Vol. II. pp. 50, 51, Note.

1. Quod Romana Ecclesia a solo Domino sit fundata.
2. Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur universalis.
3. Quod ille solus possit deponere Episcopos vel reconciliare.
4. Quod Legatus ejus omnibus Episcopis præsit in Concilio, etiam inferioris gradus, et adversus eos sententiam depositionis possit dare.
5. Quod absentes Papa possit deponere.
6. Quod cum excommunicatis ab illo, inter cætera, nec in eadem domo debemus manere.
7. Quod illi soli licet pro temporis necessitate novas leges condere, novas plebes congregare, de canonica abbatiam facere, et è contra, divitem episcopatum dividere, inopes unire.
8. Quod solus possit uti imperialibus insigniis.
9. Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes Principes deosculentur.
10. Quod illius solius nomen in Ecclesiis recitetur.
11. Quod unicum est nomen in mundo.
12. Quod illi liceat Imperatores deponere.
13. Quod illi liceat de sede ad sedem necessitate cogente Episcopos transmutare.
14. Quod de omni ecclesiæ quocumque voluerit, clericum valeat ordinare.
15. Quod ab illo ordinatus alii ecclesiæ præesse potest, sed non militare, et quod ab aliquo Episcopo non debet superiorem gradum accipere.
16. Quod nulla synodus absque præcepto ejus debet generalis vocari.

17. Quod nullum capitulum, nullusque liber canonicus habeatur absque illius auctoritate.

18. Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari, et ipse omnium solus retractare possit.

19. Quod a nemine ipse judicari debeat.

20. Quod nullus audeat condemnare Apostolicam sedem appellantem.

21. Quod majores causæ cujuscumque ecclesiæ ad eam referri debeant.

22. Quod Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit, nec in perpetuum, scriptura testante, errabit.

23. Quod Romanus Pontifex, si canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis beati Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus, testante sancto Ennodio Papiensi Episcopo, ei multis SS. Patribus faventibus, sicut in decretis beati Symmachi Papæ continetur.

24. Quod illius præcepto et licentia subjectis liceat accusare.

25. Quod absque synodali conventu possit Episcopos deponere et reconciliare.

26. Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

27. Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere.

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## APPENDIX No. IV.

*Extracts from the Book of Berengarius de Sacrd Cœnd, first printed (from a manuscript found in the Library at Wolfenbüttel,) at Berlin in 1834.—Vid. Note, Vol. II. p. 251.*

AUCTOREM me esse scribis quod omnis assertor veritatis inimicus sit veritatis . . . . Non habes in scripto meo, aut omnes asserere veritatem, aut omnes esse inimicos veritatis. Humbertum, non omnes, dixi inimicum veritatis, quia Christi corpus adhuc corruptibile esse constituit; hunc eundem, non omnes, dixi assertorem veritatis, quia dicit, corpus Christi esse sacrosanctum panem altaris; qui tamen ipse, in quo etiam veritatis est inimicus, panem negat superesse consecrationi altaris. Dum ergo ita proponit: panis altaris est corpus Christi, non omnis, sed Humbertus, veritatem

asserit. Dum proponit, non est post consecrationem panis sensualis in altari, non omnis, sed Humbertus ille, inimicus est veritatis.—pp. 30, 31.

Hæreticum me habes, quia Christi corpus incorruptibile esse non nescio, quia sensualem panem consecratione altaris factum Sacramentum esse profiteor corpus Christi, sed sine hæresi hac nemo fuit, est, eritve Catholicus.—p. 34.

Quam meam culpam dicerent, interrogati responderunt, dicere me panem sanctum altaris panem tantum esse, nec differre ab inconsecrato pane mensæ communis. Quem in eo accusatorem meum haberent, producere neminem potuerunt, ita diffamatum me se audisse responderunt, et quid dicerem, cum negarem illud, audire voluerunt. Hic ego inquit: certissimum habete, dicere me, panem atque vinum altaris post consecrationem Christi esse revera corpus et sanguinem.—p. 51.

Scripsi ergo ego ipse, quod jurarem: panis atque vinum altaris post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis, hæc me, sicut ore proferrem, juramento confirmavi, corde tenere.—p. 52.

Quod sententiam, inquis tu, qua panem et vinum in verum Christi (corpus) et sanguinem converti credimus, vecordiam nominas, opportunius tibi respondebo, cum fidem hanc auctore Deo, rationibus auctoritatibusque veram monstravero; porro autem, quod me etiam cum vulgo deputas, certissimum habeto tu, certissimum amici mei quia, si etiam deesset mihi ratio et auctoritas, quibus fidem tuerer meam, mallet tamen cum vulgo esse catholicus, quam tecum factus hæreticus; sed si Dominus Deus te et me in audientiâ sancti concilii dignaretur conjungere, mutares verba, mutares sententiam. Quod de conversione, inquit ego, panis et vini in verum Christi corpus et sanguinem opportuniori te scribis reservare loco, ego interim dico: panem et vinum per consecrationem converti in altari in verum Christi corpus et sanguinem, non mea, non tua, sed evangelica apostolicaque simul authenticarum scripturarum, quibus contra ire fas non sit, est sententia, nisi contra sanitatem verborum istorum sinistra aliquid interpretatione. Quod si facis, non solum te, sed et angelum de cælo vulgo deputare non dubitem.—pp. 56, 57.

Si enim ad gloriam Dei pertinet, quod dicit Apostolus: mors illi ultra non dominabitur, quod dicit, etsi noveramus Christum secundum carnem, sed jam non novimus: et beatus Ambrosius: Christus jam vulnus sentire non potest, ad contemptum vel injuriam Dei valere necesse est, quod tu erras, veritatem Deum a fidelibus suis exigere, ut

mentiantur, portiunculam carnis, quæ nunquam ante celebrationem mensæ dominicæ extiterit, in celebratione mensæ dominicæ tunc primum existere cõperit, esse de Christi corpore, cujus nulla omnino pars negari possit, per mille et amplius retro annos extitisse. Ad Dei injuriam valet, quod jubeat, ne dicam suam, cujuscunque carnem hominis per dentes, per flagitium vel facinus manducari. Simul hoc de ore tuo audire exhorreo, ut aliunde istud, quam de corde tuo, afferas, exigo. Vere dicitur, angelum Sathanæ in angelum se lucis transfigurare, quia dixisti, quasi non contra veritatem, per miraculum ista fieri; da de propheta, de apostolo, de evangelista locum aliquem, unde manifestissimum sit ita debere sentiri de Sacrificio populi Christiani, ut non in eo constet subjectum panis; fac manifestum, verba ista tua, "non remanere panem et vinum in pristinis essentiis," et si panem videat, qui communicat mensæ dominicæ, non tamen, quod panem sensualem videat, sibi fidem debere habere, miraculo id attribuendum esse; et ratum habeatur, quidquid tibi videbitur contra veritatem afferre. Nec putet, qui ista legerit, afferre me, non fieri panem corpus Christi de pane per consecrationem in altari. Fit plane de pane corpus Christi, sed ipse panis, non secundum corruptionem subjecti; panis, inquam, qui potest incipere esse, quod non erat, fit corpus Christi, sed non generatione ipsius corporis, quia corpus Christi semel ante tot tempora generatum generari ultra non poterit; fit, inquam, panis, quod nunquam ante consecrationem fuerant, de pane, *i. e.* de eo, quod antea fuerat, commune quiddam, beatificum corpus Christi, sed non, ut ipse panis per corruptionem esse desinat panis;—sed non, ut corpus Christi esse nunc incipiat per generationem sui; quia, ante tot tempora beata constans immortalitate, non potest corpus illud etiam nunc esse incipere.—pp. 96-98.

Ubi ego scripsi, per consecrationem altaris fiunt panis et vinum sacramenta religionis, non ut desinant esse, quæ erant, sed ut sint, quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur, quod dicit beatus Ambrosius in libro de sacramentis.—pp. 123, 124.

Panis autem et vinum, attestante hoc omni scriptura per consecrationem convertuntur in Christi carnem et sanguinem, constatque, omne, quod consecratur, omne, cui a Deo benedicatur, non absumi, non auferri, non destrui, sed manere, et in melius, quam erat, necessario provehi; unde ipse beatus Ambrosius de conversione panis et vini mensæ dominicæ, Christi inquit, sermo operatorius est, ut sint, quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur.—p. 248.

The fact, which these citations seem to prove,—that Berengarius only impugned the dogma of transubstantiation, strictly so called, and not the doctrine of the Real Presence,—is also established by the authority of Martene and Durand, as well as of Mabillon. The former, in their introductory observations to the Acts of the Roman Council.—(Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. t. iv. p. 101,) remark as follows:—

Tot post condemnationes et recantationes nemo non miretur Romanorum pontificum, Galliarum episcoporum, ac principum in Berengarium indulgentiam, quos ille toties ludificavit. Nec alia ejus rei causa afferri posse videtur, quam quia Berengarius non nisi uno gradu a fide catholica aberrare crederetur, admissa reali, ut aiunt, in Eucharistia Christi presentia, negata tantum modo transubstantiatione, id quod patet tum ex Guimundo, tum ex hoc presenti ejus scripto, quamvis non sibi omnino constans, verum in Sacramento Christi corpus aliquando negare visus sit.

The following extracts are from Mabillon, (Annales Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, Præfatio in sæcul. vi. pt. ii.)

Atque ut a realitate incipiam, illud maxime pro ea facere videtur, quod Berengarius constanter verum Christi in Eucharistia corpus et sanguinem agnoscat; quod solam in Eucharistia Christi corporis et Sanguinis nudamque figuram et umbram se docere perneget: quod nullum contra realitatem argumentum proferat, sed omnia ejus argumenta impugnandæ transubstantiationi militent: denique quod Christi Domini in Eucharistia adorationem, quam nostri temporis hæretici catholicis impropere solent, nusquam objecerit. Hæc ex ordine expendamus.—p. xvi.

Hinc est quod in eadem epistola mox subdit, non nudam esse in Eucharistia Christi corporis figuram, sed figuram simul et veritatem, “Corpus ergo Christi et sanguinem res dico ipsas sacramentorum mensæ dominicæ, non ipsa sacramenta, nusquam scripturarum appellatas inveni, nusquam appellavi figuram, similitudinem. Sacramenta autem ipsa, sicut sacramenta, ita etiam signa, figuram, similitudinem, pignusque appellari, utrum de presumptionis mea opinione afferam, ipse dijudica.” Hic manifeste distinguit figuram a re Sacramenti, id est a corpore Christi, uti et in prædicto scripto, ut postea videbimus; et utrumque, in Sacramento altaris admittit.

Denique in omnibus scriptis suis totus est Berengarius, non ut realitatem impugnet, sed tantum conversionem substantiæ panis et vini in Christi corpus et sanguinem.—p. xvii.

It may be observed too, that Berengarius, throughout his book, describes himself as opposing a novelty; the new and definite notion introduced by Paschasius Radbertus. His epitaphs too, cited by Martene and Durand, (l. c.) in proof of the veneration with which he was regarded in his latter days, by no means accord with the idea that he was regarded by the Church in general, as even a penitent heresiarch.

The first, by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, is as follows :—

Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur, orbis ;

Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit.

Quem sacræ fidei vestigia summa sequentem,

Jani quinta dies abstulit, ausa nefas.

The other, by Baldric, priest of Dol, runs thus :—

Vir vere sapiens, et sorte beatus ab omni,

Qui cælos anima, corpore ditat humum.

Post obitum vivam secum, secum requiescam,

Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte suâ.

Neither the editors of the *Thesaurus Novus*, nor Mabillon, (both of whom cite these epitaphs,) express any doubt of the orthodox character of their authors, or of the justness of their praise. They, therefore, reconcile this with their views of Berengarius' previous history, by assuming that he merited this veneration by his recantation of his opinions. But, not to mention that this supposed fact rests on no trust-worthy evidence of a direct kind,—the tenor of the epitaphs is scarcely consistent with the notion that the writers of them saw in Berengarius a converted heretic, endeavouring to atone by the private penances of his latter years, for the sin of publicly inculcating heresy during the more active portion of his life.

Berengarius was the author of the hymn, once much celebrated, entitled "*Juste Judex.*" It is to be found in the *Thesaurus Novus*, t. iv. p. 115; and with it, as calculated to give some idea of his devotional feelings, this note shall conclude.

*Oratio per Magistrum Berengarium Turonensem.*

Juste Judex, Jesu Christe,  
Rex Regum et Domine,  
Qui cum Patre regnas semper  
Et cum Sancto Flamine,  
Nunc digneris preces meas  
Clementer suscipere.

Tu de cælis descendisti  
Virginis in uterum,  
Unde sumens carnem veram  
Visitasti servulum,  
Tuum plasma redimendo  
Sanguinem per proprium.

Tua, quæso, Deus meus,  
 Gloriosa passio  
 Me defendat incessanter  
 Ab omni periculo,  
 Ut valeam permanere  
 In tuo servitio.

Adsit mihi tua virtus  
 Semper et defensio,  
 Mentem meam ne perturbet  
 Hostium incursio,  
 Ne damnetur corpus meum  
 Fraudulenti laqueo.

Dextra forti qua fregisti  
 Acherontis januas,  
 Frange meos inimicos,  
 Necnon et insidias,  
 Quibus volunt occupare  
 Cordis mei semitas.

Audi, Christe, me clamantem  
 In peccatis miserum,  
 Et quærenti pietatem  
 Porrigere solatium,  
 Ne insurgant inimici  
 Mecum ad opprobrium.

Dest. uantur et tabescant  
 Qui me volunt perdere,  
 Fiat illis in ruinam  
 Laqueus invidiæ,  
 Jesu bone, Jesu pie,  
 Noli me relinquere.

Tu protector et defensor,  
 Tu sis mihi clypeus,  
 Ut resistam, te victore,  
 Mihi detrahentibus,  
 Ut eisdem superatis  
 Gaudeam diutius.

Mitte Sanctum de supernis  
 Sedibus Paraclitum,  
 Suo meum tu illustres  
 Splendore consilium,  
 Odientes me repellat  
 Et eorum odium.

Sanctæ crucis, Christe, signum  
 Sensus meos muniat,  
 Et vexillo triumphali  
 Me victorem faciat,  
 Et devictus inimicus  
 Viribus deficiat.

Miserere mei, Christe,  
 Fili Dei genite,  
 Miserere de peccatis,  
 Angelorum Domine.  
 Esto memor semper mei,  
 Dator indulgentiæ.

Deus Pater, Deus Fili,  
 Deus alme Spiritus  
 Tu qui semper vivis Deus  
 Diceris et Dominus,  
 Tibi virtus sit perennis  
 Et honor perpetuus.

Amen.

## APPENDIX, No. V.

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*Service in honour of Gregory VII. as set forth in the Roman Breviary, for the 25th of May. Vid. Vol. II. p. 327, Note.*

IN FESTO S. GREGORII VII. PAPÆ ET CONFESSORIS.

*Duplex.*

Omnia de Communi Confessoris Pontificis præter sequentia.

*Oratio.*

Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, qui beatum Gregorium Confessorem tuum, atque Pontificem, pro tuenda Ecclesiæ libertate virtute constantiæ roborasti; da nobis ejus exemplo et intercessione, omnia adversantia fortiter superare. Per Dominum.

*In secundo Nocturno. Lectio IV.*

Gregorius Papa Septimus, antea Hildebrandus, Suanæ in Etruria natus, doctrina, sanctitate omnique virtutum genere cum primis nobilis, mirifice universam Dei illustravit Ecclesiam, cum parvulus ad fabri ligna edolantis pedes, jam litterarum inscius, luderet, ex rejectis tamen segmentis illa Davidici elementa oraculi: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare; casu formasse narratur, manum pueri ductante Numine, quo significaretur ejus fore amplissimam in mundo auctoritatem. Romam deinde profectus sub protectione Sancti Petri educatus est. Juvenis Ecclesiæ libertatem a laicis oppressam, ac depravatos Ecclesiasticorum mores vehementius dolens, in Cluniacensi Monasterio, ubi sub regula sancti Benedicti austerioris vitæ observantia eo tempore maxime vigeat, Monachi habitum induens, tanto pietatis ardore divinæ Majestati deserviebat, ut a sanctis ejusdem cœnobii Patribus Prior sit electus. Sed divina providentia majora de eo disponente in salutem plurimorum Cluniaco eductus Hildebrandus, Abbas primum Monasterii Sancti Pauli extra muros Urbis electus, ac postmodum Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis creatus, sub Summis Pontificibus, Leone Nono, Victore Secundo, Stephano



Nono, Nicolao Secundo, et Alexandro Secundo, præcipuis muneribus et legationibus perfunctus est, sanctissimi et purissimi consilii vir a beato Petro Damiani nuncupatus. A Victore Papa Secundo Legatus a latere in Galliam missus, Lugduni Episcopum simoniaca labe infectum ad sui criminis confessionem miraculo adegit. Berengarium in Concilio Turonensi ad iteratam hæresis abjuratorem compulit, Cadaloi quoque schisma sua virtute compressit.

R. Inveni David servum meum, oleo sancto meo unxi eum; \*  
Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei.

V. Nihil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non nocebit ei. Manus.

#### *Lectio V.*

Mortuo Alexandro Secundo, invitus et mœrens unanimi omnium consensu, decimo Kalendas Maji, anno Christi millesimo septuagesimo tertio summus Pontifex electus, sicut sol effulsit in domo Dei; nam potens opere, et sermone, ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ reparandæ, fidei propagandæ, libertati Ecclesiæ restituendæ, extirpandis erroribus, et corruptelis tanto studio incubuit, ut ex Apostolorum sætate nullus Pontificum fuisse tradatur, qui majores pro Ecclesia Dei labores, molestiasque pertulerit, aut qui pro ejus libertate acrius pugnaverit. Aliquot provincias a simoniaca labe expurgavit. Contra Henrici imperatoris impios conatus fortis per omnia athleta impavidus permansit, seque pro muro Domui Israel ponere non timuit, ac eundem Henricum in profundum malorum prolapsum, fidelium communionem, regnoque privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit.

R. Posui adjutorium super potentem, et exaltavi electum de plebe mea. \* Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei.

V. Inveni David servum meum, oleo sancto meo unxi eum. Manus.

#### *Lectio VI.*

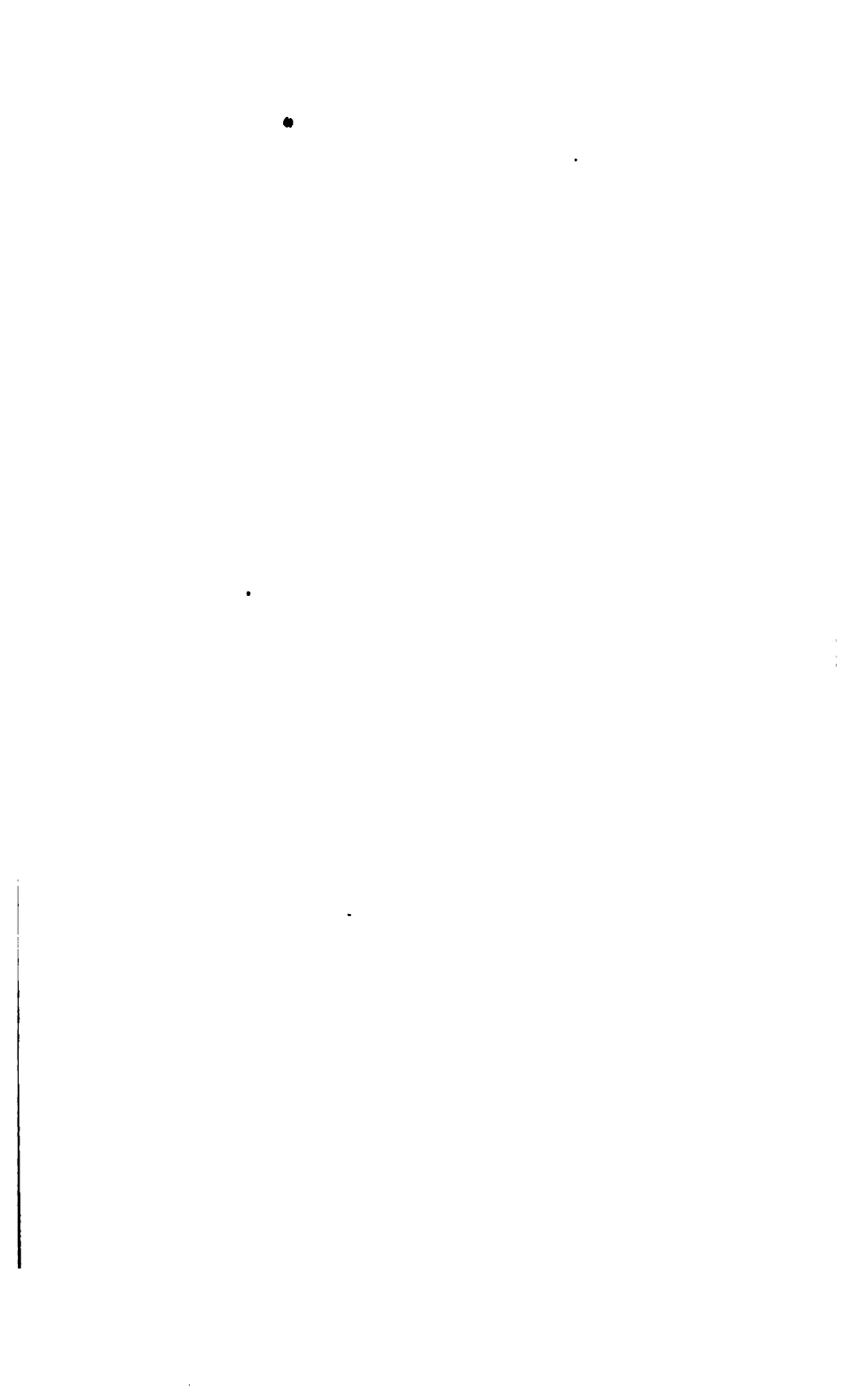
Dum Missarum solemnia perageret, visa est viris piis columba, e cœlo delapsa humero ejus dextero insidens alis extensis caput ejus velare, quo significatum est, Spiritus Sancti afflatu, non humanæ prudentiæ rationibus ipsum duci in Ecclesiæ regimine. Cum ab iniqui Henrici exercitu Romæ gravi obsidione premeretur, excitatum ab hostibus incendium signo crucis extinxit. De ejus manu tandem a Roberto Guiscardo Duce Northmanno ereptus, Cassinum se contulit; atque inde Salernum ad dedicandam Ecclesiam Sancti Matthæi

Apostoli contendit. Cum aliquando in ea civitate sermonem habuisset, ad populum ærumnis confectus in morbum incidit, quo se interitum præscivit. Postrema morientis Gregorii verba fuere: Dilexi justitiam, et odivi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio. Innumerabilia sunt, quæ vel fortiter sustinuit, vel multis coactis in urbe Synodis sapienter constituit, vir vere sanctus, criminum vindex, et acerrimus Ecclesiæ defensor. Exactis itaque in Pontificatu annis duodecim migravit in cælum anno salutis millesimo octogesimo quinto, pluribus in vita, et post mortem miraculis clarus, ejusque sacrum corpus in Cathedrali Basilica Salernitana est honorifice conditum.

R. Iste est qui ante Deum magnas virtutes operatus est, et omnis terra doctrina ejus repleta est: • Ipse intercedat pro peccatis omnium populorum, alleluja.

V. Iste est qui contempsit vitam mundi, et pervenit ad coelestia regna. Ipse intercedat.

Gloria Patri. Ipse intercedat.



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