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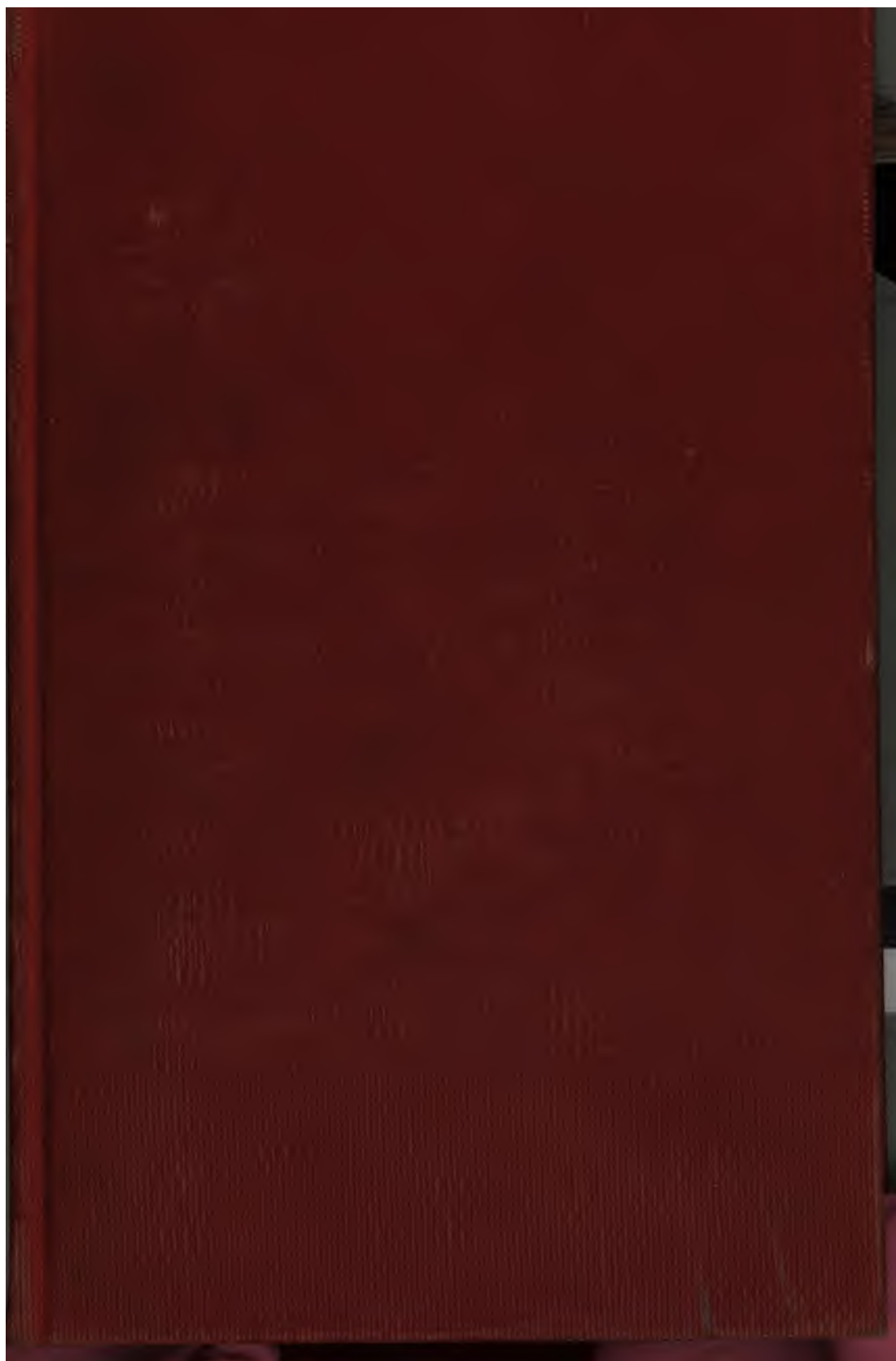
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THE

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

BY

JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN, M.A.

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>Reuberi</i> read <i>Reuberi</i> .
— 110, line 27, for <i>belle</i> read <i>bellove</i> .
— 135, beginning of line 10, <i>dele</i> had.
— 227, line 27, for <i>Tarvisia</i> read <i>Tarvisium</i> .
— 316, — 16, for <i>in</i> read <i>and</i> .

LIFE
OF
GREGORY VII.

BOOK III.—CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1074.

HENRY'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SAXONS—THEIR NUMEROUS LEVY TO OPPOSE HIM
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GERMAN COUNCIL FRUSTRATED BY LIEMAR, ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN—GREGORY'S
EPISTLE TO AGNES.

GREGORY'S efforts for the restoration of peace to Ger-
many were fruitless. Henry, freed by the death of
Renger 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 gar-
risons 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 summons¹. 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 collect² around him, he left Worms in a season of unusual severity, and arrived, on the 27th of January, at Hersfeld³. 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 sky⁴, were noted by them, as though omens of a lowering futurity, symbols mysteriously connected with approaching evil.

Passing through Hersfeld, Henry moved toward the

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² *Exercitu magno sed non ad prælium parato.* Bruno de Bell. Saxon. *Annalista Saxo.*

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ 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 accommodation¹; 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 invasion². 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 enemy³. 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 antagonists⁴. They were suffering, too, from every species of privation, and only preserved them-

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Annalista Saxo.—Bruno.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

⁴ 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 one¹.

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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

their clamours for immediate battle¹. 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 ever².

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, —1074³. 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 son⁴, who was baptized, by the Abbot, on the 14th, by the name of Conrad; and Henry, early in March, left Hersfeld for Goslar⁵. 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 palace⁶, that Henry felt the necessity of yielding to

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ Id.

⁵ *Annalista Saxo*.

⁶ 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 Lent¹ among his faithful citizens of Worms².

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 Church³. 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 Christ⁴, 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

¹ Ash Wednesday fell on the 5th of March.

² Lamb. Schafnab. ³ Lib. i. Ep. 42. ⁴ 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 discipline¹ 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
“ Church².”

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

¹ Nullis mandatorum frænīs.

² 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 February¹—to hasten, with all the force which they could muster, to her defence². 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 East³.

This last great object, he endeavoured still further to forward, by an epistle addressed, on the first of the following March, to all Christians⁴; 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.

¹ Lib. i. Ep. 46.

² See also his letter written, somewhat later, to Godfrey of Lorraine, lib. i. Ep. 72.

³ 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.

⁴ 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 Nicæa¹, 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

¹ “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, Babylonix, 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 Lent¹. 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 ordinances².

¹ 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.

² 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 Benevento¹; 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 October², 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-

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 1260. 1521.—Baron. ad an.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 45.

² 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 Wratislav¹, 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 interfere². 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 brother³; 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

¹ Lib. i. Ep. 45.

² Lib. i. Ep. 60, 61.

³ 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 Cumæ¹, 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 son². This building,—though compelled to raze the walls

¹ 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.

² Lamb. Schafnab. Tales et tot clericos illuc undique congregavit,

around it,—he was naturally most solicitous to preserve ¹. 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 ². 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 ³.

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 ⁴. 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 transcenderet. *Annalista Saxo*, ad an. 1067.

¹ Bruno.

² Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ 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 dead¹.

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 field². One of them, Welf of Bavaria, had peculiar

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 Bamberg¹ ; but as Herman, the bishop of that city, lay under the charge of simony, the legates forbore to approach the place², 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 Church³. 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Marian. Scot.

³ 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 sustained¹. 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 person². 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Bonizo, p. 811.—Lamb. Schafnab.

archiepiscopal office¹; 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 peace²."

¹ Bonizo, l. c.

² 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 ERPURT—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 promulged 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 stead¹.

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-

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

couragement¹. 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

¹ Nihilominus ille instabat, et assiduis legationibus episcopos omnes socordiae ac desidiae arguebat; et nisi ocyus injunctum sibi negotium exequerentur, apostolicam se censuram in eos animadversurum, comminabatur. Lamb. Schafnab.

to insult the sacerdotal order¹. 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 excommunication².

The weakness which he, in these transactions, exhibited, was commented on by Gregory, in a letter which

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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, Spire, 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 Lent¹. 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 duration².”

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 Me³.” And about the same time, appealing to the zeal of the known ad-

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 29.

² Lib. iii. Ep. 4.

³ 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 ministrations of priests who disobeyed them¹.

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 canons² above quoted, the laity were thrown into the position,—if not of judges of the priesthood,—at

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 45.

² 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 eorumdem 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 flocks¹. 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 Baptism², or for making the solemn mysteries of the

¹ *Plebeius error, quam semper quæsivit, 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.*

² *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 parvipendunt, 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 ¹. 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

¹ 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 answer¹; 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. Peter².

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

¹ Lib. i. Ep. 58.

² 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 authority¹.

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 friends². 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 flight³. Nor was this extraordinary; for it seems the system of clerical marriage was so completely established and recognized in Normandy,

¹ 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.*

² 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.*

³ 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 them¹. 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 prelate, 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

¹ 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 ¹.

“ 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 ², no law, no authority, prohibited or punished offences, enemies fought, as though by a common law of nations, 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, perpetrate 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

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 5.

² 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
 “churches¹, 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 blood²:’ that is, as
 “ye well know, who withhold 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

¹ In dispersione ecclesiarum.

² Jerem. xlviii. 10.

“ cannot bark ¹, 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

¹ 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 exalted¹’; 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

¹ Prov. xxix. 25, our version has “safe.”

“ weakness ; but, strong in the Lord, and in the power
 “ of His might¹, 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 God², 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
 “ anew³.”

But that this letter, equally with its predecessor, failed in causing any immediate alteration in Philip's demeanour, appears from another letter⁴, which Gregory, on the 8th of December, addressed to the Archbishop Manasses ; in which, accepting that prelate's

¹ Eph. vi. 10.

² Rom. ii. 5.

³ Lib. ii. Ep. 18.

⁴ 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 ¹.

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

¹ 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 ¹.

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 ², 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 ³ 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 ⁴, who had wives already, should be permitted to retain them ⁵. 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

¹ Ep. i. 70.

² Ep. i. 71.

³ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. 1555.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, t. iii. p. 307.

⁴ In castellis vel in vicis.—Harduin.

⁵ 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 Burgos¹. And in the latter², even as late as 1092, the synod assembled at Szabolcha, 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 subject³.

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 consecration⁴. But Hildebrand,

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1605.

² Vid. Concil. Szabolchense, Mansi, xx. 758.

³ Cap. iii. Mansi, p. 760.

⁴ 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"¹. 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

¹ Mansionarius. Custos et conservator ædium et altarium, quorum major, primus Mansionarius vocabatur. Micrælii 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 ordained¹. 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 gain²; 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 flock³.

Thus harassed as the pontiff was at home and abroad, and weighed down as he now was by years⁴, 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

¹ Bonizo, p. 812.

² *Avaritiæ quæstu.* Id.

³ *Quæ res magnam sibi concitavit invidiam.* Id.

⁴ 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 eyes¹.”

Amid the anxieties thus feelingly alluded to, Gregory continued, upon his recovery, to labour as assiduously as ever². 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

¹ 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.

² 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.

¹ 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 SIEGFRIED—HENRY'S ARMY DISSOLVED AND RE-ASSEMBLED—SUBMISSION 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,—“¹ 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

¹ 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 vision¹, 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 alone². Did I not trust to attain to a better
“ life, and to do service to the holy Church³, 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

¹ *Mentis intuitu.*

² *Ita me gravatum propriæ actionis pondere invenio, ut nulla remaneat spes salutis, nisi de solâ misericordiâ Christi.*

³ *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
 “ deferred¹, 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 him²,—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 assembled³, 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

¹ Quæ nimis, heu, protenditur.

² Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1551.

³ 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 June¹. 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 future². A temporary arrangement, calculated to lead to a final settlement, was established between Jaromir and the Moravian bishop³. 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 anew⁴.

¹ Harduin. l. c.

² Ibid.

³ Lib. ii. Ep. 53.

⁴ A series of propositions, generally known by the name of the "Dictatus Hildebrandini," is found in the collection of Gregory's epistles, in a place¹ 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

¹ 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 Alexander¹, 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.

¹ 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 Hanno¹, whom Henry had just sought to depose, and the other

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 67.

two to Wezelin of Magdeburg¹, and Burchard of Halberstadt², 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,

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 68.

² Lib. ii. Ep. 66.

as in duty bound, he bore to St. Peter and to his successor¹.

The preceding Christmas, as has been already intimated, Henry passed at Strasburg²; 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 expedition³. 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 Russians⁴, 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 aroused⁵; but it was not until the Easter of 1075,—a festival which he passed at Worms⁶,—that Henry fully threw

¹ Per quos omnem vobis meam voluntatem et reverentiam, quam beato Petro et vobis debeo, significabo.—Lib. iii. Ep. 5.

² Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ "Rex Ruzenorum." Lamb. Schafnab.

⁵ Bruno.

⁶ 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 reparation¹. 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 Breitenbach².

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 convened³. 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 province⁴. 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

⁴ 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 evil¹. 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 Saxony² should meet, at Lupezen³, 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 seen⁴. 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 :

Omnes 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.

³ So Lamb. Schafnab. According to Annalista Saxo, “Nechilstede.”

⁴ 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 nation¹. The ardour of the king and of his followers admitted of no delay. On the 9th of June², 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 attack³. 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 counsel⁴. 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,

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ 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 support¹. 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 adversaries². Otho of Nordheim, by whom they were commanded, displayed in equal perfection the qualities of a private soldier and of a general³; 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 him⁴, 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² *Tantaque vi, tanta ferocitate, tanta feriendi calliditate grassantur, ut hostibus non minus admirationi quam terrori essent.*—Id.

Nam ipsi hostes tantos ictus gladiatorum se fatebantur nunquam audisse.—*Annalista Saxo.*

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ Abbas Ursperg.—*Marian. Scot.*

could afford; and a Franconian squadron, under count Herman of Gleiberg¹, was by him dispatched to attack one of the enemy's flanks, while the troops of Bamberg were directed to fall on the other². 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 masses³; while the king, clad in resplendent armour⁴, 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 June⁵.

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.

¹ Or Glizberg. Lamb. Schafnab.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

³ Id.

⁴ Fulgurat egregiis rex ipse coruscus in armis,
Plurima consternens perjuræ millia gentis.

Carmen de Bell. Saxon.

⁵ 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 darkness¹ 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 sustained². 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

¹ The moon, being in or near her third quarter, would not rise till a late hour.

² 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 presence¹. 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,² the royal army pushed on, unopposed, through Thuringia, plundering and destroying all around them³; 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 conquest⁴.

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;

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.

³ Si pagani nos ita vicissent, non majorem in victos crudelitatem exercerent.—Bruno.

⁴ 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 appease¹. 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 campaign². 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 army³.

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 negociators, 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 revolters submitting to his clemency, he would take no step respecting them, without the full consent and approbation of those to whose intervention he

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

should stand indebted for that bloodless victory¹. Thus encouraged, the Saxons resisted no longer. And on the following day the king, seated on a throne in the midst of the extensive plain² 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 people³. 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 engagements⁴, 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 Worms⁵.

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

² Between Sondershausen and Ehrich, vid. Stenzel, tom. i. p. 341.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ *Rupto foedere, contemptis omnibus, quibus se obligaverat jurandi vinculis.*—Id.

⁵ 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 held¹,—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

¹ 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 countrymen¹.

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

¹ 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 deposition¹. 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

¹ Annalista Saxo.

the pontiff could desire ; as, on that day, he addressed Henry in an epistle¹ 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, Gregory set forth the condition of the Church of Bamberg, and directed the monarch, as he had done Siegfried², 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 continued, “ 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

¹ Lib. iii. Ep. 3.

² 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 ¹ ;’ 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 ², 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

¹ 1 Samuel ii. 30.

² Lib. iii. Ep. 5.

ensued. Herlembald was slain, with the sacred banner of St. Peter in his hand¹, 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 chaplain², 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 himself³, 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 addressed⁴ to the suffragans of the province of Milan, forbade them, under

¹ Arnulph. l. iv. c. x.

² Arnulph. l. v. c. v.

³ Ep. iii. 8, dated 7th September.

⁴ 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 acclamations¹; 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 enterprising 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 himself². 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

¹ Arnulph. l. c.

² 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 man¹ of the worst report among the people, being regarded as a mere

¹ 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 court¹, 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 Mammon, sitting in our times in the temple of God, and exalting himself above all that is called God, or that

¹ Nullus enim tunc in subrogandis pontificibus vel aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus canonice sanctionis ordo servabatur; sed qui tantum regis vel principis manum implevisset, seu aliud qualecumque obsequium sibi placitum impendisset, regia præfiebatur violentiâ ubi voluisset.—Gesta Trevirens. Archiep. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 174.

“ is worshipped ¹ !” 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 ².

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

¹ 2 Thessal. ii. 4.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

staff, and hailed him abbot, to the disappointment of the nominated prior, and to the amazement of all ¹.

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 ²."

"Considering," the document thus proceeded, "and "anxiously pondering on the strictness of that Judge "to whom we must give an account of our steward- "ship;—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 cen- "sure. 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-

¹ Id.

² 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’¹
“ To the Apostles, and to their successors, the Lord
“ deigned to say, ‘ He that heareth you, heareth Me ;
“ and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me².’ 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 pasture³.’

“ 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

¹ S. Matt. xvi. 19.

² S. Luke x. 16.

³ 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 repentance¹, 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 marriage². . . .”

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

¹ Rom. ii. 4.

² 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 party¹.

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. Peter².

¹ *Annalista Saxo.*

² *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 gloomy¹ and

¹ 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*¹, 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 laity², when, on a sudden, Cencius and his confederates burst in arms into the church. Interrupting the holy ceremonial, they seized the pontiff at the altar³; one of the ruffians, aiming a blow with a sword at his head, inflicted a serious wound on his

¹ 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.

² 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. 18.

³ “ Ad Præsepe.”

forehead¹; 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 alb² 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 city³. 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 them⁴. 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

¹ Paul Bernried.—Abb. Ursperg.

² Camisia.

³ *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, present¹ 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-

¹ *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 conversion¹.”

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 people².

Cencius, pursued by the execrations of his countrymen, with difficulty escaped from their fury, and fled, with his principal confederates, to Germany³. 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.

¹ Paul Bernried. c. 55.

² Id.

³ 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
POINTED 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
LENCE, AND SEIZURE—GREGORY'S ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY—SENTENCE
HENRY'S EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPOSITION—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO ALL CH
TIANS—OPEN COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

EARLY in December ¹, 1075, died Hanno of Cologne
a prelate whose character, as a whole, it is difficult
us, at this distance of time, to estimate; more espe
cially when we find that some difference of opini
existed among his contemporaries on the subject
Hanno's implication in the treachery, by which Hen
was carried off from his mother, was most unfortunat
for his fame. He seems, too, to have been a person o
an irritable, hasty, disposition, often betrayed by fits of
passion into intemperance of language and action. But

¹ On the 4th.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebert. Gemblac.

² 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 cona-
“ bantur.”

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 endowed¹. 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 saints².

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

¹ 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 despexit, structor monasteriorum, ecclesiarum reparator, et pauperum servus.—*Norberti vita Bennonis*, c. xii. ap. *Eccard. t. ii. p. 2169*.

² 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 Wollfelmi, 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 themselves¹. 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 allegiance². 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 Conrad³: 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab

² Id.

³ 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 Bamberg¹, 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 favour². 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 distinguished³ ; and so great, according to the same his-

¹ 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.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

³ 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 none¹.

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 faithful².

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 . . . verus Israelita, in quo dolus non fuit.”—*Annales Novesienses*, Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 554.

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 Sunday¹; 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 abbots² in the appointed city. Siegfried, the primate of Germany, was attended by the prelates of Treves, Utrecht, Metz, Spire, 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 see³, 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

¹ January 24, 1076, vid. Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1563.

² *Episcopi et Abbates, amplissimo numero.* Lamb. Schafnab. Sigebert of Gemblours fixes the number of bishops at twenty-four.

³ *Qui jam tertio ab apostolica sede damnatus fuerat, quia quosdam simoniacos reconciliare præsumserat.* Paul Bernried. c. lxvii.

*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 successor¹.

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 incredible². 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 devil³.

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

¹ Paul Bernried.

² Lamb. Schafnab.—This document seems to have been the foundation of that known as the work of Benno.—Vid. Baron. ad an. n. xiii.

³ 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 pope¹.”

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 defence². 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 brethren³; 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 Italy⁴; 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.

¹ Hugo Flaviniacens. vid. Mansi, t. xx. p. 466.—Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

³ Id.

⁴ 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 Lent¹. This council being assembled, and the echoes of the solemn strain, "Veni Creator Spiritus," having scarcely died away amid the holy aisles of the Lateran², Roland suddenly stepped forward before the pontiff and his prelates.

¹ 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.

² 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 recoiled¹. 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-

¹ Incipiens synodum pastor Gregorius, ovum
Gallinæ sculptum, gestans in cortice scutum
Et colubrum nigrum, qui tendebat caput, ictu
Quippe repercussus 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 place¹; and the blood of Roland would, on the mo-

¹ *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 adherents¹. 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:—

X “ Henry, not by usurpation, but by the holy ordinance
 “ of God, king, to Hildebrand, no longer the pope, but
 “ the false monk².

“ 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 pres-
 “ byters, 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 no-
 “ thing, and that thou alone knewest all things. Yet
 “ this knowledge of thine thou hast used for the pur-
 “ pose, not of edification, but of destruction; inso-
 “ much that we believe the blessed Gregory, whose
 “ name thou hast assumed, to have spoken propheti-
 “ cally of thee, when he said, ‘ By the abundance of

¹ Paul Bernried. c. lxix.

² Urstisii Germaniæ Scriptores, p. 394.—Reuberii Germ. Script.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex. Epist. N. clxiii.

“ subjects, the mind of him, who is set over them, is
 “ puffed up¹; for he supposes that he excels all in
 “ knowledge, when he finds that he excels all in
 “ power².

“ 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

¹ Extollitur.

² 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 ¹’
 “ 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
 “ preachest 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 ².’ 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 ³.’ ” ✕

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

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 17.

² Galat. i. 8.

³ 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 pastor¹.”

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 fury². 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 parents³, 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 cometh⁴.’ 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 doves⁵.’
 “ Now, therefore, although the forerunner of Antichrist

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² Annalista Saxo.—Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 2.

⁴ St. Matt. xviii. 7.

⁵ 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 time¹’; 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 Me².’
“ 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 God³.
“ 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

¹ 2 Corinth. vi. 2.² St. Matt. xvi. 24.³ Acts xiv. 22.

“ should be gain¹—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 angels².’ 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 Lord³.
 “ And these vessels, as saith St. Gregory⁴, 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

¹ Philipp. i. 21.

² St. Mark viii. 38.

³ Numb. viii. 23.

⁴ *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.

“not¹,” 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 Me².’

“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 disobedience³. 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 Jesus⁴, 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

¹ 1 Corinth. xv. 34.

² Revelat. iii. 20.

³ 2 Corinth. x. 6.

⁴ 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 dust¹. ‘ Fear
 “ not,’ saith the Lord, ‘ little flock; for it is your Father’s
 “ good pleasure to give you the kingdom².’ 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 seared³.”

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 ungodly⁴!”

¹ Genes. iii. 14.

² St. Luke xii. 32.

³ Paul Bernried. c. lxx. and seqq.

⁴ 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, percute fortem.

Domnizo.

Further proceedings, however, appear to have been postponed until the morrow¹; 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 repentance². 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.

¹ 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.

² 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 ¹.

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

¹ 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 Henry¹, 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 decree² 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

¹ Henrico regi . . . contradico.

² 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 ¹.”

The sentence thus passed was promulgated through-
 out the Western world by an epistle, addressed by the
 pontiff “ to all Christians ²,” and couched in the follow-
 ing 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 ³
 “ 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

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1566.

² Lib. iii. Ep. 6.

³ 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 society¹; 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,

¹ 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 died¹. The murderer is said to have been employed by Robert, Count of Flanders², 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

¹ 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.

² 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 one¹. 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 family².

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 indifference³. The first measure,

¹ Vid. Baron. ad an. 1074. n. 20 et seqq.; et Fiorentini Memorie della gran Contessa Matilda.—Lib. ii. p. 321 et seqq.

² 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.

³ 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 morning¹. 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 sovereign².

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,—

¹ Hugo Flavin. vid. Mansi, t. xx. p. 539.

² 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 temporal¹; 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 Worms².

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 Treves³, at

¹ 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?

² Mansi, t. xx. Lamb. Schafnab.

³ 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. Ampliss. 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 Saxony¹.

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 advisers². 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab. *Annalista Saxo.*

² 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 Goslar¹,—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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

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 countrymen¹.

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

¹ 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 excommunicated 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 to¹, 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 purity².

¹ “*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 incœpit vacillare, non modicâ dubitationis obductâ caligine.*”—Vid. *Udalric. Babenh. 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?

² 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 days¹, 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 condemnation². 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."

¹ April 28, 1076.

² *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 Citizensi.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.—Hugo Flaviniacens. in *Chron. Virdunensi.*—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 perished¹, 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

¹ 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 God¹. 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

¹ Benno.

might succeed in punishing in such a way as to intimidate his fellow-delinquents¹. 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 place². 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 Mentz³ 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,

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.

³ 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 it¹.

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 imitators².

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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 politics¹. 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

¹ 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 ¹.

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

¹ 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 province¹.

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 themselves². 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

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² 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 Gero¹. 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

¹ 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 future¹.

¹ 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
" unheared-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 heaven¹. . . .
“ 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

¹ 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 ¹;’ and another,
 “ ‘ Cursed is the man that keepeth back his sword from
 “ blood ²;’ 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 ³.”

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 ⁴:—

“ To those who maintain that a king ought in no case
 “ to be excommunicated, though folly so great ought
 “ scarcely to have an answer ⁵, 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 ⁶, 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-

¹ Ezek. iii. 18

² Jerem. xl. 10.

³ Lib. iv. Ep. 1.—1 Sam. xv. 23.

⁴ Lib. iv. Ep. 2.

⁵ Licet pro magnâ fatuitate nec etiam eis respondere debeamus.

⁶ Vide Epistolam Clementis ad Jacobum fratrem Domini. A spurious document, from the collection of Isidore.—Harduin t. i. p. 39.

“dience¹,” and of whom he says, ‘with such an one, no, not to eat².’ Let them consider why pope Zachary deposed the Frankish king, and freed all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to him³. 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 dignity⁴. 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 forbade 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 sheep⁵,’ he excepted kings? Let them observe, or rather confess with shame, that, when the Lord gave to that Apostle in chief the power of binding 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

¹ 2 Cor. x. 6.

² 1 Cor. v. 11.

³ Vide Supra. vol. i. p. 37.

⁴ S. Greg. Mag. Ep. Lib. xiii. 8, 9.

⁵ 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
“ Anastasius¹, 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 humble².”

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

¹ Vid. Gelasii epist. ad Anastasium Imperat.—Harduin. ii. p. 893.

² 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 sins¹.
 “ 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 discipline², 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

¹ S. Jam. iv. 20.

² 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 justice¹.”

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 attend². 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-

¹ Lib. iv. Ep. 3.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

blushingly united himself to the party of Rudolf and the nobles, and prepared to attend the approaching convention at Tribur¹.

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 peace². 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 peace³.

The council met⁴, Sicard, patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman, bishop of Padua, as legates from the holy

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Annalista Saxo.

³ Id.

⁴ 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 debate¹. 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 foreigners² 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 world³.”

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,

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² The Bohemians, Luticians, &c.

³ 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 crown¹.

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 Rome².

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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 followers¹. 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 Purification², 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Feb. 2. 1077.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Paul Bernried.

remained in suspense, his residence at Spire; 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 royalty¹. 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 excommunication², 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 allegiance³.

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 Apulia⁴.

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 Nellenburg⁵. He then set forth to occupy his allotted residence in Spire,

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Which appears to have been pronounced against him on Feb. 23, 1076.—Bruno.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

⁴ Card. Aragon.

⁵ 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 Rome¹. 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

¹ Bernold Constant.

princes to make preparation for his guidance and assistance, in his progress across the Alps from that city into Germany¹.

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 Spire, 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 power².

¹ Bernold Constant.

² 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 ANNAZIR, KING OF MAURITANIA SITIFENSIS—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 consolation¹; 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

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 44.

judgments of Heaven for the contempt which had been shown to its Apostle¹.

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, 1075², 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 Denmark³. 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

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 63.

² Lib. ii. Ep. 50.

³ 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, 1075¹. And on the same day, in a letter to

¹ 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.

Demetrius¹, 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 brother². 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 related³, 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

¹ Lib. ii. Ep. 74.

² Lib. iii. Ep. 11.—Baron. ad an.

³ Vid. supra. p. 70.

triumphing over the world, to remember Him who had said, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world¹." "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 two², who dared to lift up the heel against the holy Church of Rome; doubt not his power to cast down a third likewise³." 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, 1076⁴, 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

¹ Lib. iii. Ep. 15; St. John xvi. 33.

² *i. e.* Guido and Godfrey.

³ Lib. iv. Ep. 7. This last epistle was addressed to Wibert, jointly with other supporters of the papal cause.

⁴ 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 Sitifensis¹, 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 terms². 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

¹ 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.

² 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 world¹, 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 perish², 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 one³.’”

The school to which Gregory belonged, was fond of quoting, and applying to the imagined head of the Church below, a passage of Jeremiah⁴, 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

¹ St. John i. 9.

² 1 Tim. ii. 4.

³ Eph. ii. 14.

⁴ 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 Dalmatia¹.

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.

¹ 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 SUSA—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 1077¹. 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-

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.—Berthold. Const.—Sigebr. 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 Carinthia¹. 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 Spires. 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 blood²,—and he not distinguished by rank or possessions³,—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 Geneva⁴. Here he was met by Adelaide, the widow of Otho of Susa and mother of his queen. This prin-

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Vir ingenuus.—Id.

³ Et ipsum nec genere nec opibus conspicuum.—Id.

⁴ 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 bishopricks¹; 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

¹ 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 cattle¹; 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.

¹ 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 months¹. All looked forward to a speedy

¹ 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 negociation. 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 Matilda¹; 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-barrier². And rumour, harmonizing of course with the popular notions on the subject, painted the monarch as accompanied by a formidable force, and

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.—Annalista Saxo.

as determined to wreak immediate vengeance on the pontiff and his adherents¹. The bishop of Vercelli, Henry's chancellor in Italy², 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 king³.

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 journey⁴. 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 year⁵. 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Bonizo.

³ Lamb. Schafnab.

⁴ Id.

⁵ 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 authority¹." 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 food², 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 mildly³ 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 repeatedly⁴, 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 fortress⁵. His Italian followers must, by thi

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Cibi et potus mediocri mensurâ. Id.

³ Leniter. Id.

⁴ Id ante omnia repetens, iterum iterumque præcepit. Id.

⁵ 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 own¹. And,—with regard to greater points,—it is

¹ 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 Este¹; Hugh, the abbot of Cluni, who had lifted the infant Henry, at his baptism, from the font²; Adelaide of Susa, and her son Amadeus.

Henry's first step was to request an interview with his kinswoman Matilda³; 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.

¹ Progenitor of the house of Brunswick.

² Donizo.

³ 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 either¹. 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 conduct².

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 king³." But these hard conditions, upon the prayers, and even tears, of the princely negotiators, who entreated the

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.

³ Id.

stern pontiff not to break the bruised reed¹, 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 pardon².

It was on the morning of the 25th of January 1077³, 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 day⁴; 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,

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² Id.

³ 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. ..

⁴ Jejunus manè usque ad vesperam.—Lamb. Schafnab.

even in Gregory's presence, that his conduct was more like wanton tyranny than apostolic severity¹. 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 business²." 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 intercession³. 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 penance⁴.

The scene, as the suppliant king approached the pontiff, must have been singularly striking. The youthful and vigorous Henry, of lofty stature, and commanding features⁵, thus humbling himself before the small,

¹ Paul Bernried. c. lxxxiv.

² Vita Mathildis anonymi auctoris, Murat. t. v.—Donizo.

³ Donizo.

⁴ Ante dies septem, quam finem Janus haberet,
Ante suam faciem concessit Papa venire
Regem, cum plantis nudis a frigore captis.

Donizo.

⁵ Nec illud laude vacat, quod in turbâ procerum cæteris eminentior et major seipso videbatur (Henricus), et quod in vultu terribile quoddam decus præferebat, unde intuitus aspicientium tanquam fulmine reverberaret. Vid. Otbert. Leodiens. epist. de vitâ et obitu Henr. IV.

insignificant, and now probably withered, figure¹ 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 kingdom². 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

¹ "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. an. 1061.

² 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 decrees¹.

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 successor².

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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 power¹.”

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 order². But Eppo bishop of Zeitz, the Margrave Azzo, and others, were withheld by no such objection; and their oaths were tendered and accepted³. And then, at length, it was, that Gregory arose and bestowed on the king his absolution and his blessing⁴; 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-

¹ Paul Bernried, clxxxiv.—Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1356.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

³ Id.—Bernold. Constant.

⁴ 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 day¹!” 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 shouldest

¹ 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 ever¹.”

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 tone².

¹ 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.

² 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 reconciliation².

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, Conrad³. 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

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 homes¹.

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 conceal². 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.

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 develope 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 breast¹. 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 Bianello²,—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. Unsuspecting 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

¹ Donizo.

² Id.

by night with the pontiff's enemies¹, 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 treachery²; 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 disposal³: 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

¹ Bonizo, p. 817.

² *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.

³ 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 depredations in the neighbouring villages or pastures¹. 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

¹ 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 cobwebs¹,—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 Forchheim². This having been

¹ Contemptim tanquam araneorum tela.—Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 epistle¹, 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

¹ 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 Marseilles¹; 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 council², and also to give the pontiff safe-conduct through Lombardy. But to neither of these demands was Henry willing to accede³. 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

¹ 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.

² Lamb. Schafnab.

³ 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 impossible¹. 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 Church².

The assembly received and listened to the legates with all reverence and respect. But this announcement of the pontiff's views excited general discontent.

¹ Lamb. Schafnab.

² 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 endured¹, 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

¹ Ut si quolibet sæ 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 Swabia¹, at once declared that his acquiescence in that

¹ Bernold. Constant.

prince's election must depend on the recognition, by the latter, of his claims to the Duchy of Bavaria¹. 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 individuals². 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 favour³, 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 it⁴.

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 Swabia⁵, 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,

¹ Bruno.

² 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*.

³ The general meaning which the word simony now bore has been mentioned in a former chapter.—Vol. i. p. 325.

⁴ Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

⁵ Bernold. Constant.

amid joyous shouts, by the multitude assembled without; while those within proffered, in succession, the oath of fealty¹ 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 inseeded 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

¹ 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 other¹.

¹ 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 SUCSESSES—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 CONTENTING 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 GUISCARD'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 Rudolf¹. On that very day,

¹ 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 episcopos 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 day¹. 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 fur² 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 Rhine³. Tranquillity was

¹ 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 spiritualem lætitiã invitatur, unde et eodem die inter fideles haberi solet ludendi etiam a religiosis haud spernenda consuetudo.*—*Annalista Saxo.*

² *Crusinam gulis ornatam.* *Annalista Saxo.*—Bruno.

³ *Paul. Bernried.*—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo.*—*Waltram. Naumburgens. Apologiã, 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 fealty¹. 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 behold².

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 Augsburg³; 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 durance⁴.

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

¹ Bruno.

² Abb. Ursperg.

³ Bruno.—Berthold. Constant.—Annalista Saxo.

⁴ 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 impossible¹. 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 legate².

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 throne³. But, as the direct pass of the Brenner was occupied by his enemies, the

¹ Bonizo.

² Berth. Constant.

³ Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. lib. v. c. 10.

king moved round to Aquileia¹, 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-

¹ 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 followers¹ 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 Pentecost² in the abbey of Hirschau³.

¹ Bernold. Constant.—Bruno.

² June 4, 1077.

³ 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 fortresses¹; 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 followers².

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 scheme³.

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

¹ Sigeb. Gemblac.

² Bernold. Constant.

³ 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 kings¹, 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

¹ 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 commands¹. 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

¹ 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 him¹.”

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 rest².”

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-

¹ Lib. iv. Ep. 23.

² 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 partisans 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 Matilda¹.

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 Wurzburg²; 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

¹ 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.

² 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 quarter¹; and the rival kings, with their armies, at length confronted each other upon the opposite shores of the Neckar².

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 purpose³. 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

¹ 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.

² Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

³ 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 obey¹. 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 delay².

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

¹ Bruno.

² Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

devastating progress through the territories and possessions of his enemies¹. His wild Bohemians again displayed their barbarian ferocity, plundering and burning villages, and subjecting to every species of insult and outrage their defenceless inhabitants². 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 occurred³.

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 subjects⁴. The sentence, though passed

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² In southern Germany, at that unhappy time, "divinæ pariter ut sæculares legum constitutiones nec nominabantur saltem . . . sed unusquisque, prout poterat, ita se iudice et correctore victitabat." Bernold. Constant.

³ Præ dolore animi dicitur eo morbo, quam medici φρένησιν vocant, occupatus fuisse, septemque diebus postea superstes . . . vitam finisse.—Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista Saxo.—Bernold. Constant.—Chronograph. Saxo.

⁴ 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 August¹, 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 see².

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

¹ Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1568.

² 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 proprietor¹. 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 Strigonium², 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 chair³. 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 Venice⁴,—to Spain⁵,—and to Aquileia⁶; 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,

¹ Lib. v. Ep. 4.

² Or Gran, in Lower Hungary.

³ Id. iv. 25.

⁴ Id. iv. 28.

⁵ Lib. iv. Epp. 26, 27.

⁶ 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 tumult¹. 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 mentioned².

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 Helena³. And, in the year of which we are now treating,—1077,—Robert added to his conquests the important cities of Salerno and Amalfi⁴. 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

¹ Arnulph. lib. v. c. 9.—Pagi, in Baronium, ad annum, gives a wrong reference to this author.

² Vid. supra, p. 205.

³ Gul. Appul. c. 3.—Gauf. Malat. lib. iii. c. 13.—Lupus Protospata.

⁴ 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 December¹, and was interred in the Church of St. Peter, near the altar of St. Petronilla²: The following epitaph being engraved upon her tomb:—

ANNO. MLXXVII. AB. INCARN. DOM. NOSTRI. IESV. CHRISTI. INDICT. PRIMA.
 ANNO. QVINTO. PONTIFICATVS. DOMINI. GREGORII. PAPA. SEPTIMI.
 AGNES. IMPERATRIX. AUG. POST. MORTEM. VIRI. SVI. HENRICI. IMP. II. ANN. XXII. DIE.
 XIV. MENSIS. DECEMBRIS. ANIMAM. BONIS. OPERIBVS. FÆCVNDAM.
 LATERANIS. SALVATORI. SVO. ATQVE. OMNIVM. BONORVM. DEO. AVCTORI. REDDIDIT.
 ET. HIC. VBI. ANTEA. MILITAVERAT. CLAVIGERO. CÆLI. PRO. CVJVS. AMORE. IBIDEM.
 PEREGRINATA. FVERAT.
 QUINTA. DIE. MENSIS. JANVARI. EXPECTANS. SPEM. BEATÆ. RESVRECTIONIS. ET.
 ADVENTVM. MAGNI. DEI. MEMBRA. CARNIS. COMMENDAVIT. IN. PACE. AMEN³.

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² Vid. not. in Chron. Cassin. ap Murator. t. iv. p. 450.—Otto Frising. lib. iv. c. xxxiv.

³ 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 Henry¹, 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 kingdom², 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

¹ Bruno, p. 218.

² 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 jeoparded 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, 1078¹. About one hundred persons of episcopal rank, with a number of abbots and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, presented themselves at the assembly², which was attended by the bearers of the letter just described, and by the bishops of Osnabruck and Verdun as ambassadors from Henry³. The weight and respectability of these latter envoys, and the opportunities

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1575.

² Id.

³ 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 reply¹. 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,

¹ 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 see¹.

Gregory's letter, which he addressed on this occasion “To all the Germans²,” was accompanied by another to

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² Lib. v. Ep. 15.

the estimable Udo of Treves¹, 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 simoniacal bishop of Cremona;—and against the repeatedly apostate cardinal Hugo Candidus².

"We excommunicate," these words are also con-

¹ Lib. v. Ep. 16.

² 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 ¹.”

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 ².”

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1578.

² 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 ¹.

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 ².

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 ³, and the engagement soon began.

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² Id.

³ 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 battle¹. And their flight,

¹ 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 territory¹.

In the other part of the field, however, Otho and Frederic, urging on their troops with the war-cry of "St. Peter²," compelled the forces of Henry to give way before them, and pursued, in triumph, their discomfited enemies to Wurzburg³; 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 thanksgiving⁴. 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 homes⁵.

Henry's partizans, was detained some time in captivity.—Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Waltram. Naumburgens. *Apologiæ*, lib. ii. c. xvi.

¹ *Annalista Saxo*. ² Bruno. ³ Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.

⁴ In multâ lætitiâ et maxime in Dei laude.—*Annalista Saxo*.

⁵ 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 ¹.

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 ². 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

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² 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 perish¹."

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-

¹ 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 presence¹.”

But though another council, attended by the envoys of both the contending princes, was holden by the pontiff in the November of the same year², 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 investiture³. 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 peace⁴.”

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

¹ Lib. vi. Ep. 1.

² Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1579.

³ Bernold. Constant.

⁴ 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 punishment¹.

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 monastery².

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

¹ Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xlvi.

² 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 PROCRASTINATE, 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 more¹; 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

¹ 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. 865¹. And though it was, on its introduction, strongly protested against by several able writers,—the principal among whom were Ratramnus² 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

¹ Vide Paschasii Radberti lib. de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. ix, p. 367.

² 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 1050¹; in consequence of which Berengarius was censured, absent and unheard, for the principles therein expressed². And this sentence was shortly confirmed by a council held, under the same pontiff, at Vercelli³. 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 1054⁴. 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

¹ On the 2nd of May.

² Vid. *Opusculum anonymi de Berengarii hæresiarchæ damnatione multiplici*, ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1015.

³ 1st Sept. Harduin. p. 1017. *Berengar. de Sac. Cœn.* fol. 10.

⁴ 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 Christ¹.”

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 him²; 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 sacra-
 “ mentally, 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-

¹ Berengar. de S. C. fol. 26.

² 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 Christ¹.” 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-

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1064.

“ secration, 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 Blood¹.” 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 Scriptures².” 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

¹ 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.

² 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 fasting¹,
 “ that she would show me with certainty to which side

¹ 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. Trevis. 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 ¹.”

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 ².”

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

¹ Acta Concilii in causâ Berengar. Martene et Durand. ut supra.

² 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 heretic¹. 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 death². 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,—in his place of retirement, the island of St. Côme, near Tours, in the year 1088⁴.

In an age in which,—as was the case in that of which we are treating,—the great mysteries of religion were,

¹ 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.

² Pagi, Breviar. l. c.

³ Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

⁴ 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 Sacramentis Cœnæ*,” 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 complain¹, it does not seem from it, that Berengarius controverted aught beyond the

¹ 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 mischiefs¹.

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 kings². Those of Rudolf expressed anew the impatience of the Saxons for a positive declaration in their favour,—dwelt upon the miseries which the pon-

¹ 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.

² 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 party¹. 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 before the day of our Lord's Ascension; who will securely 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 command to depart from them. And this I swear by my lord king Henry's command².”

The envoys of Rudolf swore in like manner, in their master's name, that he would pay implicit obedience to the legatine award³.

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 spolia-tion and expulsion from their sees of the prelates of Mentz and Metz, and other bishops, supporters of

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1585.

³ Id. p. 1586.

Rudolf's cause¹,—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 side²; 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

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² 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 ¹. 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 ² :—

“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

¹ Bernold. Constant. p. 106.

² 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 saved¹.”

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 throne². The new sovereign showed him-

¹ S. Matt. x. 22.

² 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 clergy¹, he has received from Rome the honours of canonization. A letter of encouragement was transmitted by the pontiff, in March 1079, to the Hungarian Ladislaus². And legates were in the same year dispatched to Spain³ 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 beatitude⁴.”

¹ In the church of Odensee, July 10, 1086.

² Lib. vi. Ep. 29.

³ Lib. vii. Ep. 6.

⁴ 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 enemies¹. 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 altar². 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 existence³.

William of England stood alone among the sove-

¹ Lib. vii. Ep. 4.

² Cromeri Polonia, lib. iv.

³ 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 journey¹, 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 arrear².

¹ Lib. vi. Ep. 30.

² 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
“ Lanfranc¹.”

Gregory's indignation was, as we may suppose, inflamed 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 valueless². 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 Dictionary, 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.*

¹ Baron. ad an. 1079.

² 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 canon 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 simony¹.

¹ Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

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 TAKEN 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 lend themselves to the suggestions of their former master. 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, and other members of the Saxon nobility¹. 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 Church². 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

¹ *Annalista Saxo*.—Bernold. Constant.—See Stenzel, *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, p. 455; and the authorities there quoted.

² 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 January¹. 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 complying². 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

¹ Bruno.—*Annalista Saxo*.—V. Kal. Feb. Marian. Scot.

² 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 destruction¹."

With this epistle the envoys of Rudolf stood before Gregory in his council of Lent 1080; a council more numerously attended than any which the pontiff had hitherto held². "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

¹ Bruno, p. 233.—*Annalista Saxo*.

² *Ubi interfuerunt archiepiscopi, episcopi diversarum urbium, necnon et abbatum ac diversorum ordinum clericorum et laicorum innumerabilis multitudo.*—Paul. Bernried. cap. evi., 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
“ despoiler¹.”

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

¹ 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 concurrence¹, 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 govern- " ment 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 him- " self 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

¹ Sine meo consilio, vobis testibus, elegerunt sibi Rodulphum **duce**m 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 Lord¹.’ ”

Having dissolved the council, Gregory dismissed, with all honours, the representatives of the newly recognized sovereign. It is said by some, that he for-

¹ 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 ¹.”

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 ².

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

¹ Gotfried. Viterbiens. Chron.—Vid. Baron. ad an.

² 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 Aquino¹. 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:

¹ 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 ¹, 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 ².” 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 ³. 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 ⁴.
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

¹ Nunc te patienter sustineo. ² Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1452.

³ Romani regni sibi promississe coronam,
Papa ferebatur.—Gul. Appul.—Vid. Ann. Comnen. Alexiad.

⁴ 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 not¹,—was unquestionably an impostor ; but the crafty Norman was too happy to make his appearance a pretext² 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 Calabria³, 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 summoned⁴ the German prelates in his interest to meet in council at Mentz, at the approaching festival of Pentecost.

¹ 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, hunc similem minimè vel modico assimilari dicerent.”—Gauf. Maltebr. Hist. Sicul. lib. iii. c. xiii.

² 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.

³ Lib. viii. Ep. 6.

⁴ Udalric. Babenberg. Codex Epist. n. cxlvi.

cost¹. 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 empire². It decreed that "the insolent Hildebrand³,—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 dreams⁴,—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.

¹ 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.

² Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1595.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex N. 164.—Marian. Scot.—Abb. Ursperg.—Benzo, Præfat. lib. vi.

³ Hildebrandum procacissimum, sacrilegia et incendia prædicantem, perjuriam et homicidia defendentem, catholicam et apostolicam fidem de corpore ac sanguine Domini in quæstionem ponentem, hæretici Berengarii antiquum discipulum, divinationum ac somniorum cultorem, manifestum nigromancieum phitonico Spiritu laborantem, et idcirco a verâ fide exorbitantem, judicamus canonicè deponendum.—Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

⁴ 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 Erfurt¹. 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 October².

¹ Bruno.

² 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 enemy¹. 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.

¹ 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 fury¹. 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 laudamus²." 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! fly³!" 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 terrible⁴, 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 victory⁵, when they received intelligence of an event which at

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² Id.

³ Fugite! fugite! clamabant. Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

⁴ Nam fere non minor hostium pars in fluvio quam perit in prælio. —Bruno.

⁵ 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 day¹. 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 pleasure²." 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 aright³". 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 Merseburg⁴.

The death of Rudolf occasioned a general and sincere lamentation throughout the Saxon territory. With all

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² Bruno.—Annalista Saxo.

³ Abb. Ursperg.

⁴ Marian. Scot.—Bernold. Constant.—Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista

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 soldiers¹. 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 rival².

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

¹ Bernoldus Constantiensis styles him "pater patriæ, servantissimus justitiæ, indefessus propugnator sanctæ ecclesiæ;" and adds, "sepultus est apud Merseburg gloriosissimè."

² 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 FIRMLINESS 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 LUXEBURG ELECTED KING BY THE PAPAL PARTY IN GERMANY—HE DEFEATS HENRY'S FORCES AT HÜCHSTADT, 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 he had given to the archbishop's polemical

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 legate¹, 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 presence². But Philip, it seems, continued cold and unfriendly to the Roman see: he still honoured the degraded archbishop with his countenance and support³; 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

¹ Hugo, bishop of Die, in the council of Lyons, 1080.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1595.

² Lib. viii. Ep. 20.

³ 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 willing 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 ¹.”

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

¹ 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 replied¹, 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 none². 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 Easter³; and then, moving to Ravenna, he from the latter city opened negocia-

¹ Jocosè, sicut erat solitus magna seria nonnullò ludendi schemate velare.—Annalista Saxo, ad an.

² Id.

³ 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 enterprising warrior, shortly after Easter, set sail with his collected forces for the Grecian shores, and commenced in form the siege of Durazzo.

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 tha

¹ 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’?

“ When a Christian king approaches his end,—that he
 “ may avoid the infernal dungeon, that he may pass

¹ 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 ¹.’ 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

¹ 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 heart¹;’ 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 duration².”

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 city³. 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-

¹ St. Matt. xi. 29.

² Lib. viii. Ep. 21.

³ 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 closed¹; 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 favour², and amusing his soldiers by going through the ceremony of a mock coronation in his camp³. But, early in July, the heat of the weather, and the unwholesome air of the Campagna, began seriously to debilitate his German army⁴; and he felt himself compelled, however reluctantly, to move his forces northwards, and to abandon, for the present, the hope of completing his triumph.

¹ Romani, prævaricatores effecti, clausurunt ei introitum. Benzo, l. c.

² Benzo, l. c.

³ Ibid.

⁴ 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 H^ochst^adt 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 Hohenstaufen¹. 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 Siegfried². 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

¹ 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.

² 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 subjects¹. We behold him receiving the proffered fealty of Bertram, count of Provence²; 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 bishop³.

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

¹ Lib. ix. Ep. 14.

² Vid. Juramentum Bertranni Comitis Provinciae. Post. Ep. ix. 12.

³ 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 men¹, 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 15,000². Notwithstanding, indeed, the overpowering number of his eastern followers, Alexius seems to have reposed his principal hope in the body of English³, who, under the name of Varangians, served beneath his banner. To these warriors, who fought with the formidable pole-axe⁴, 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.

¹ Leo Ost. lib. iii. c. xlix.

² II. Leo Ost. lib. c.

³ Angli, Gauf. Malaterr.

⁴ Caudatis bidentibus. Gauf. 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 *πελεκοφόροι*. 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 muniunt sacri viatici ministeriis. Sicque ordinatis aciebus ad certamen gradatim et conjunctissime progrediuntur.* Gauf. 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. Nicholas¹ or to St. Michael², which they occupied and prepared to defend. But the building was surrounded, broken down³, and set on fire⁴, 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 victory⁵; 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 Commena, like a Pegasus⁶ from the fray, retreated with all speed to Constantinople.

¹ Gauf. Malaterr.² Anna Comnena.³ Gauf. Malaterr.⁴ Anna Comnena.⁵ Gauf. Malaterr.—Gul. Appul. lib. v.⁶ Πηγάσσον πτερὰ 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 ALEXIUS 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 PARTIZANS 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 Po¹, directed his march toward Rome; before which city, accompanied by the pretender Guibert, he made his appearance by the close of the year². 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

¹ Pado nimio gelu rigido. Landulph. senior, Mediolan. Hist. lib. iv. c. 11.

² 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 temple¹. 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 him².

The heat, and the insalubrity of the weather, compelled Henry, soon after Easter, to strike his tents, and

¹ Solus fiduciâ S. Petri fretus; facto signo crucis, contra incendium ignem progredi ulterius non permisit. Bernold. Constant.

² 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 Matilda¹. 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

¹ 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 impregnable¹; 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 warfare².

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 February³, 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 Höchstadt, 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

¹ Donizo, lib. ii. c. 1.

² Sola resistit ei Mathildis, filia Petri,
Rex exardescens contra quam concitat enses,
Prœlia, terrores, et castris obsidiones:
Ad nihilum pugnât, non hæc superabitur unquam.
Insuperabilia loca sunt sibi plurima fixa.
Diligitur valde, villas defendit et arces, &c. &c.

Donizo, lib. ii. c. 1.

³ 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 last¹. And his decease seems to have been a blow which the party of Henry's opponents never recovered. The intended expedition was abandoned as hopeless²; 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 statement³, 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 epistle⁴, 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 it⁵. On this account, we trust that the grace of God is

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² Id.

³ Lib. ix. Ep. 28.

⁴ Lib. ix. Ep. 21.

⁵ 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 ¹.’ 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 usbut, for the

¹ 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 Him¹.’ ”

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 district². 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 Palatiolus³, 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

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

² Landulph. Senior, Hist. Mediolan. lib. iv. c. ii.

³ 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 hands¹, 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 entreaties²; 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

¹ Centius Camerarius in libro MS. censuali citat. ap. Pagi. Breviar Gest. Pontif. t. i. p. 585.

² 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 prayer¹.”

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 settled²; 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 it³. The king might well hope for a favourable issue from the measure, for several Romans, irritated by the pontiff’s execrable demeanour, secretly pledged themselves

¹ Centius Camerarius, ut suprâ.

² Bernold. Constant.

³ 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, 1083¹, 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 assembly².

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

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1611.

² 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 man¹, 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 tears². 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

¹ Ore non humano sed angelico patenter edisserens.—Vid. Har-
duin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1612.

² 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 opponent¹.

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 destroyed². 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 Romans³. The feeling which the transactions of the autumn had excited in

¹ *Coronam cum justitiâ, si vellet, sin autem de Castello S. Angeli per virgam sibi demissam a Papâ reciperet.*—Bernold. Constant.

² Bernold. Constant.

³ *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 March¹, 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 Apostle². On the 24th—Palm Sunday,—the ceremony of papal consecration was performed at St. Peter's, by the bishops of Modena and Arezzo³, 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 now⁴ assumed the name of Clement III.,—the imperial diadem of the West⁴.

¹ Romam in die S. Benedicti intravimus.—Epist. Henr. IV. ut supra.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Feria quinta ante Palmas. Bern. Constant.

² Abb. Ursperg.—Donizo.

³ The ceremony should, according to the canons, have been performed by the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Albano.

⁴ 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 affray¹. 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.

¹ 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 QUEDLINBURG—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 Rome¹. 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

¹ 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 banner¹; 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 Sienna².

Three days had not elapsed from his hasty and enforced departure, when the banners of Guiscard floated before the walls of Rome. The duke³, 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

¹ Landulph. Senior, Hist. Mediolan. lib. iv. c. 3.

² Leo Ostiens. l. c. Lup. Protospat.—Bonizo.

³ 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 Lateran¹. 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

¹ Gaufr. 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 name². 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

¹ Romanis fortiter insistentibus, nullus impetus prævalebat donec aux, ignem exclamans, &c. Gaufr. Malaterr.

² 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 immererat.
—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 cause¹; 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 ashes².

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 ally³, 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-

¹ Multa millia Romanorum vendidit ut Judæos, quosdam vero captivos duxit usque Calabriam.—Bonizo, p. 818.—Bernold. Constant.

² 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.

³ Lupus Protospata.

tence of excommunication against Henry, Guibert, and all the abettors of their cause¹.

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 imperialists². 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-

¹ Bernold. Constant.

² 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, 1085¹. 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 disgust²; 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

¹ Annalista Saxo.—Chronograph. Saxo.

² 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 Easter¹, a numerous assemblage of the prelates and nobles of his party². 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 Italy³.

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 confirmed⁴.

¹ Easter day, 1085, fell on the 20th of April.

² Bernold Constant.—Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

³ Bernold Constant.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1616.

⁴ 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 through — out 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 ¹.

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 his 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 ² 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 month his debility increased ; and in May, it became evident

¹ Bern. Constant.

² 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 Lyons¹; 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

¹ Paul. Bernried.; as also,—according to Leo Ostiensis,—of the bishop of Lucca. Vid. Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxv.

“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 career¹; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter, with his departing breath, the words, “I have loved justice and hate iniquity; and therefore I die in exile².”

“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 possession³!”

¹ Leo Ostiens.

² 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.”

³ 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 Salerno¹; 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 calamity²; 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

¹ Leo Ostiens.—Gul. Appul. lib. v.

² Dux non se lachrymis audita forte coerct
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. VINDIC.
ACERRIMO. ASSERTORI. CONSTANTISSIMO. QVI. DVM. ROMANI. PONTIFICIS. AVCTO-
RITATEM. ADVERSVS. HENRICI. PERFIDIAM. STRENVÆ. TVETVR. SALERNI. SANCTE.
DECVBVIT. A. D. CIOXXCV. VII. KAL. IVNII.

M. ANT. COLVMNA. MARSILIVS. BONONIENSIS. ARCHIEPISCOVVS. SALERNITANVS. CVK.
ILLIVS. CORVVS. POST. QVINGENTOS. CIRCITER. ANNOS. SACRIS. AMICTVM. ET.
PERE. INTEGRVM. REPERISSET. NE. TANTI. PONTIFICIS. SEPVLCHRVM. MEMORIA.
DIVTIVS. CARERET. GREGORIO. XIII. BONONIENSI. SEDENTE. M. P. PRIDIE. KAL.
QVINTILIS. A. D. CIOCLXXVII¹.

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 Rome². 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
"succedens, Ecclesiasticam libertatem a superbia Prin-

¹ Vid. Acta SS. die xxv. Maii.

² 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 altar¹: 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 Church². 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 times⁴. But

¹ Acta SS. ut supra.

² Histoire des Papes depuis St. Pierre jusqu'à Benoit XIII.—La Haye, MDCCLXXXII. The service promulgated for its solemnization, as found in modern Italian Breviaries, will be given in the appendix.

³ 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 Christian¹," 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 Scripture². 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 own³." 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.

¹ Tracts for the Times, No. lvii. p. 9.

² Ibid.

³ 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 worship¹.” 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. 1570².”

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 Bingham³, “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 move- “ able, 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

¹ Tracts for the Times.

² Ibid. and the authorities there quoted.

³ 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 fall¹. 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

¹ *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 ¹.”

¹ 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 chair¹; 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 walls². He fled to Terracina, and there, stri-

¹ Vita Victoris III. ex MS. Bernardi Guidonis, Murat. t. iii. Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxv. et seqq.

² Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. lxvii.

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 overcome¹; though in the year following, encouraged by offers of powerful support, he consented to resume the abandoned crosier². 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 Lyons³, a prelate who appears to have felt much dissatisfaction at the choice of Desiderius for the papal throne in preference to himself⁴. 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 appeased⁵, when Victor III., on the 16th of September 1087, breathed his last within the walls of Monte Cassino⁶.

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,

¹ Leo Ostiens.

² Concil. Capuan. ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1625.

³ Vid. Hugonis Lugdunensis epistolas. Hard. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1621, et seq.

⁴ Hugo Lugdunensis immoderato Pontificatûs adipiscendi desiderio, quo flagrabat, frustratus F. Pagi, Breviar. Gest. Pontif. t. i.

⁵ Vid. Concil. Beneventan. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1625.

⁶ 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 deep¹. It was, however, recovered, though with much difficulty, from the waves, and finally interred in the city of Venosa². 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 support³.

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 skirmish⁴. His history afforded a salutary warning to his brother nobles

¹ Gul. Appul. lib. v.

² Leo Ostiens. iii. l. vii.—Gul. Appul.

³ Bohemond was son to Guiscard by his first wife, Alberada, 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. c. xxx.

⁴ 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 Ostia¹. 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 time². 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 year³. But, notwithstanding these politic measures, the cause

¹ 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.

² Concil. Roman. ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1683.—Dodechini Appendix ad Mariani Scoti Historiam.

³ 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 1086¹, 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

¹ Vit. St. Anselm. Ep. Lucens. cap. 35. ap. Mabillon. SS. Ord. Ben. sec. vi. pt. i.

various homes, had found refuge in her court¹, 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 Peter²."

¹ 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.

² Respondit tandem dicens heremita Joannes:
Absit ne fiat, quia pax hæc est inimica
Spiritui 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. Apollonius¹.

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

¹ 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 mind¹, was naturally disgusted with much that he saw in his father's conduct and court². 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 Matilda³. 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

¹ *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.*

² *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, abbatia, præposituræ, et cæteri ecclesiastici honores.* Vit. Conrad. Archiepisc. Salisb. in *Pez. Anecdotes*. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 224. Vid. Stenzel, *Geschichte*, &c. t. ii. p. 134.

³ *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 escape¹; 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 infamy². 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

¹ Donizo, lib. ii. c. vii.

² 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 Me¹.”

¹ 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 time¹,—"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-

¹ 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 individuals¹.

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-

¹ 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 devotion¹. 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. Angelo²; and even that impregnable fortress was soon given up, and the intruder and his party for ever expelled from the papal city³. 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

¹ Bernold. Constant.—See Stenzel, *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, t. i. p. 560, and the authorities there given.

² Otto Frising, lib. vii. c. vi.

³ *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 1099¹, 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.², 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

¹ Donizo, lib. ii. c. xi.

² 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 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 1101¹, 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-

¹ Abb. Ursperg.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Donizo, lib. ii. c. xii.

self to his father's enemies¹; 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 father². That father, on

¹ Abb. Ursperg.—Annalista Saxo.

² 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 1105¹, 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 Beckelheim²; 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, t

¹ Annalista Saxo.² 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 ¹.” 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 ², 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 ³. Here, broken in

¹ Sigebert. Gemblac.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. ccxvi. et
vid. nn. ccxiv. ccxv.

² Epist. Henric. ap. Sigebert. ut supra.—Otto Frising. lib. vii.
c. xi.

³ 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's¹."

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,

¹ 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 1680¹, 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 below². The struggle, however, was not of long continuance. Early in August, intelligence reached the camp of the younger sovereign, that his father was no more³. 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 reign⁴.

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

¹ 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.

² Roger. de Hoveden. Annalium pars prior.—Circa quadragesimam 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.

³ Vita Henrici ap. Urstis. t. i. p. 392.

⁴ 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 generosity¹, 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 justice². 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 one nervous hands with kisses,—and could scarce be torn from the lifeless frame, by those whose duty it was to bear it to the tomb³.

In that resting-place, it was not suffered to remain. The 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

¹ Impiger eleemosynis. Will. Malmesb.—Valde compatiens et misericors in eleemosynis pauperum. Dodechini Appendix.

² Dodechini Appendix. ³ Vita Henrici, ap. Urstis. ut supr.

ground¹. It was subsequently borne to Spires, the ancestral town of Henry's family². 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 building³. 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 pity⁴. 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-

¹ Annalista Saxo.

² Goffrid. Viterb. Chron.

³ On the north side of the Church, in the angle formed by the transept and the nave.

⁴ "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 ¹.

¹ 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 Charlemagne¹:—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 warfare². 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

¹ 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.

² Petr. Diacon. xxxvii. lib. iv. c. xxxix.—Donizo, lib. ii. c. xviii.

saving others, which he would never have conceded for his own deliverance¹. 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 solemnity². 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 town³.

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

¹ Vita Paschalis II. ex Cardinal. Aragon. Murat. t. iv. p. 361.
—Petri Diaconi. Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. c. xl.

² Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v.

³ 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 soul¹.” 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 condemned²; 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

¹ Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1899.

² Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v.

“and void, as contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit, and to the authority of canonical regulations¹.”

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 writing².” Other councils in France³ 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 Cologne⁴. 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

¹ Will. Malmesb. l. c.

² Concil. Viennens. 1112. Harduin, t. vi. p. 1913.

³ Concil. Belvac. et Rhemens. Harduin. p. 1925.—Suessionens. ib. p. 1929.

⁴ Ibid. p. 1925.

grave¹. 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 city². 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,

¹ . . . 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.

² Petr. Diacon. lib. iv. c. lxi.

on the 21st of the month¹. The cardinals of his party, in extreme haste, summoned from Monte Cassino the cardinal John of Gaeta, and declared him pope²; but, before the initiatory ceremonies were complete, the fury of the imperial party interrupted the proceedings³, 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 excommunicate⁴, 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-

¹ Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, No. cccxviii.

² Petr. Diacon. lib. iv. c. lxiv.

³ 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.

⁴ Epistola Gelasii.—Will. Malmesb. de Gest. reg. lib. v. p. 95. in Edit. Savil.—Petri Diacon. iv. lxiv.—Udalric. Babenberg. Cod. No. ccxciii.

nition 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 him¹. The nominee assumed the name of Calixtus II., and his title was admitted without dispute by all but the adherents of the pretender Burdinus;

¹ *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 France¹. 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 Church²; 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-

¹ Vid. Acta concilii Remensis ex Orderico Vitale, et ex Commentariolo Hessonis Scholastici, ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1985. et seqq.

² 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 astant, 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 ¹. 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 ². 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 ³. 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 ⁴.

¹ Card. de Aragon. in vita Calixti II. ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Scriptt. t. iii.

² Card. de Aragon. ut supra.

³ Card. de Aragon.

⁴ Romam . . . rediit, ubi a . . . vicario, Cardinalibus, clero 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 Burdinus 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 Rome¹, 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 monastery².

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,

¹ Vita Calixti II. ex Card. Aragon. Murat. t. iii. pt. i. p. 367.

² 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 ¹, yet that an investiture which should be clearly understood to relate to the secular appendages to that office, might reasonably be permitted ². 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 ³ which might be agreed upon for the purpose, and which should clearly bear this meaning, and no other ⁴. 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 ⁵. 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,

¹ *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 altiore.*—Goffridi Vindocinensis *Tractatus de Investituris* ap. Goldasti *Apologias*.

² Hugo Floriacens. *tract. de regiâ potestate et sacerdotali dignitate.*—Baluz. *Miscell. lib. iv. p. 9.* Ed. Mansi, t. ii. p. 184.

³ Pandulph. *Pisan.*

⁴ Goffrid. *Vindocinens. ut supra.*

⁵ 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 ¹.”

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 legate of Calixtus, Lambert, bishop of Ostia, on the other. The legate 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 ².

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 ³. 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

¹ Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. v. Udalrici Babenb. Cod. No. cccv. ccvii.

² 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 Domno 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.

³ 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 interwoven¹.

¹ 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 ¹.” “The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister

¹ Isai. xlix. 23.

“ unto thee ; for in my wrath I smote thee, but in My
“ favour have I had mercy on thee ¹.” “ 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 ².”

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

¹ Id. lx. 10.

² 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.

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.

APPENDIX No. IV.

Extracts from the Book of Berengarius de Sacrd Cœnâ, 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.

Scripti 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, inquit 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 cœperit, 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, Galliae 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 praesentia, negata tantum modo transubstantiatione, id quod patet tum ex Guimundo, tum ex hoc praesenti 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, Praefatio in saecul. 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 impugnandae transubstantiationi militent: denique quod Christi Domini in Eucharistia adorationem, quam nostri temporis haeretici catholicis impropere solent, nusquam objecerit. Haec 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 mensae dominicae, 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 praedicto 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 substantiae 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
Fraudenti 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
Porrige solatium,
Ne insurgant inimici
Mecum ad opprobrium.

Destruantur 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.

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. PAPE ET CONFESSORIS.

Duplex.

Omnia de Communi Confessoris Pontificis præter sequentia.

Oratio.

Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, qui beatum Gregorium Confessorém 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 abjurationem 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 ætate 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 cælo 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 cœlestia regna. Ipse intercedat.

Gloria Patri. Ipse intercedat.

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