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in

A  
COMPLETE HISTORY  
OF  
**THE POPES OF ROME,**  
FROM  
SAINT PETER, THE FIRST BISHOP, TO PIUS  
THE NINTH, THE PRESENT POPE:  
INCLUDING  
THE HISTORY  
OF  
SAINTS, MARTYRS, FATHERS OF THE CHURCH,  
RELIGIOUS ORDERS, CARDINALS, INQUISITIONS, SCHISMS,  
AND THE GREAT REFORMERS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

LOUIS MARIE DE CORMENIN.

VOL. I.



PHILADELPHIA:  
PUBLISHED BY JAMES L. GIHON,  
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1880

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE want of a history of the popes of Rome, at once complete, concise, and written in a popular style, has long been felt as a desideratum in our language. That void is supplied in the following work. At this juncture, when the struggle of the church of Rome for future power, has been transferred from the shores of Europe to our own land, it seemed desirable that such a book should be placed within the reach of all.

This work opens to our view a clear exposition of the public history and private practices of the men, who, from the position of simple pastors of a single church, advanced their authority, step by step, until they became not only the ecclesiastical, but in fact the temporal lords of Christendom. It treats with comprehensive minuteness of their onward march to greatness from their first usurpations over the surrounding churches, until, in the zenith of their pride and power, they trampled emperors and kings beneath their feet, absolved nations from their allegiance, took away and bestowed kingdoms, and parcelled out a world to whom they would. The craft of the first Leo—the steady perseverance of the early popes in their settled policy of aggrandizement—the bold daring of Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, the master spirit of his age—the public infamy and private debaucheries of Borgia—the reckless audacity of the Farnese, and the voluptuous licentiousness and philosophical atheism of the tenth Leo, are painted by a master's hand. The actors in the scenes recounted, live and move and have a being, as they pass in review before us.

A short but spirited review of the political condition of the world until Christianity was placed on the throne of the Roman empire, with the various heresies that have occurred, with their leading doctrines and principal actors, are set forth with great clearness and comprehensiveness. In a word, the reader of this work will find himself, at the close of its perusal, acquainted with all the leading facts connected with the history of the Christian church, and the accompanying political history of the world.

Coming from the pen of a Roman Catholic, but one who is enabled to see that good may be found out of the pale of his own church, it may be read without the suspicion of its truth, naturally attendant on such a production from the pen of one of adverse faith. The vices of the men who claim to be the vicars of Christ on earth are not slurred over; the horrors attendant on religious bigotry and fanaticism in the persecution, torture and murder of fellow men, are truthfully portrayed; and the claim for the popes to infallibility best exposed by the record of their ambition, avarice, public dishonesty and private turpitude.

All are not portrayed as base; for in the long catalogue of the rulers of the church of Rome, it would indeed be strange, if there were not found, as there are, men endued with noble natures, lofty aspirations, and generous desires for the benefit of their fellows: these shine forth as brilliant lights in the surrounding darkness.

The strong republican feelings of the author have led him to watch with a close and critical eye all movements having a tendency to the concentration of power, either in church or state, in the hands of a single individual, and will meet with a ready response in the only large and powerful nation of the world in which civil and religious freedom may be truly said to exist in a pure form.

His views, however, on any subject treated of, and more especially concerning the so-called philosophers of the eighteenth century, are not, of course, endorsed by the translator. It was his aim to set his author down as he found him, and nothing more. One word of explanation may be necessary. Whenever the words "priest" and "priesthood" occur they refer exclusively to the ministry of the Roman church, as do the words "church" and "religion" to that church and its tenets.

That some portions of the work are calculated to excite disgust in the minds of the readers can readily be understood. In dealing however with impurity we cannot avoid bringing many things to light which a fastidious taste will deprecate. The horrid corruptions of the Roman church would however never be known unless the tinsel covering which gilds it is removed, and the putrid mass of corruption lying beneath the veil of its infallibility can never be exhibited without the removal of that veil. Private vice as well as religious corruption have marked its progress, and to expose the one it is necessary to lay bare the other.

An earnest desire to place the history of this all-aspiring church, and the true character of its infallible heads, before his countrymen, as a beacon and a warning, led him to undertake this task. Should he succeed in this, his object will be accomplished.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY, 1846.

## PREFACE.

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**THE HISTORY OF THE POPES** is an immense work, which embraces within its scope the political, moral, and religious revolutions of the world. It runs through a long series of ages, during which the bishops of Rome, whose mission was to announce to men a divine religion, have forgotten it in their pride of power, have outraged the morality of Christ, and become the scourge of the human race.

Formerly the thunders launched from the Vatican by sacrilegious priests, overthrew kingdoms, and covered Europe, Asia and Africa, with butcheries, wars and conflagrations. But the times are changed; religious passions are softened; philosophy has overthrown absolute thrones, and broken down the colossal power of the popes.

A brief analysis of these epochs precedes our history, and offers a frightful picture of monstrous debaucheries, bloody wars, memorable schisms, and revolutions. It prepares, by its wonderful recital, for the long succession of pontiffs and kings celebrated for their crimes, or illustrious for their exploits.

In the past ages the **HISTORY OF THE POPES** introduces us to the butcheries of the inquisition, which we now hope will receive the honours of excommunication from posterity.

## THE HISTORY OF THE POPES.

THE wisdom of nations has caused blind fanaticism to disappear; reason and tolerance have replaced the religious passions which drove men to the most horrible extremes, and caused them to resemble tigers, gorged with blood, rather than human beings.

The pride of the popes, and their insatiable ambition, found in absolute monarchs powerful and frequently docile auxiliaries, in imposing upon the people their execrable wishes, in overwhelming the weak, in aggrandizing their estates, and at length in reaching so great a height of audacity, that they called themselves the representatives of God upon earth, and arrogated the right of giving away kingdoms, deposing princes, and dividing the world.

The shades of ignorance then obscured the mind; the people, stupified in a frightful slavery, rent each other like wild beasts, in order to please their tyrants, and subserve their ill-regulated passions. Ages of misfortune, massacres, incendiarism and famine!

Abusing the credulity of the people, kings destroyed empires in their senseless sway, and made a desert alike of the city and the country.

The popes, more loose and savage than the tyrants of ancient Rome and Byzantium, seated upon the pontifical chair, crowned with a triple diadem of pride, hypocrisy and fanaticism—surrounded by assassins, poisoners, and courtiers—surrendered themselves to all kinds of debauchery, and insulted the public misfortunes.

But the darkness is dissipated; murder, assassination, misery, and devastation, have given place to truth,—eternal truth, which the policy and the cruelty of kings had buried under the rubbish of empires!

History—great and magnificent lesson! it wanders through the past when the pitiless barbarity of priests, aided by the ignorance of men, overwhelmed the world; when the inhabitants of the country, naked and ragged, caused horror in the brigands themselves, who found nothing left to pillage but dead bodies. It recalls the epochs of disaster, confusion and solitude, when the smallest farm houses among English, French and Romans, were armed against the wretches in the pay of kings and nobles, who were greedy for their prey; all were bent on pillaging the labourer and massacring the people: and, astonishing and horrible to relate, the very animals, accustomed to the sound of the tocsin, a signal of the arrival of the soldiery, ran without guides to their hiding-places.

Nations will learn to judge of emperors and kings, inflexible and inexorable despots, who drove on millions of men to cruel wars, in order to sustain the most unjust pretensions, augment the number of their slaves, increase their wealth, satisfy the unbridled luxury of their courtiers, satiate the avidity of their mistresses, or perhaps occupy the unquiet and restless spirit of a king devoured with ennui.

The people will learn great truths from history; they will learn by what bold impiety, what sacrilegious deeds, popes and kings have been the causes of the greatest misfortunes to Europe, during two thousand years of tyranny and fanaticism.

During the reign of Tiberius appeared a man, the son of Mary, called Christ. The nations were plunged in ignorance; the law of Moses was obscured by human traditions; the morals of the Israelites, and of those of other people, were in a like degree of corruption. This man, all extraordinary, all divine, did not content himself with mourning over the human race. He preached, he dogmatized, he taught a code of severe morality, opposed to the corrupt maxims of the age.

His disciples, chosen from among the people, taught, as they had learned from their divine Master, sage precepts, a holy and rigid morality, a mysterious doctrine, and incomprehensible dogmas. The disciples of Christ did not employ force to cause men to receive their precepts; on the contrary, they were persecuted in all ways, and their preaching, aided by their example, made the most rapid progress.

They persecuted the man of God. They pursued him with a fury equal to the zeal with which he bore witness against vice; and he terminated his divine mission by an infamous punishment.

The first Christians were distinguished by the names of brethren,—holy, faithful; they were humble, obscure, and poor, working with their own hands for their subsistence. They spread themselves secretly in peace; some went to Rome, mixed up among the Jews, to whom the Romans permitted the exercise of their worship in their synagogue.

It was towards the year 60 of our era, that the Christians commenced separating themselves from the Jewish communion. They separated themselves on account of the violent quarrels among the Jews scattered through Rome. Nicetas raised to the throne



## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

were accused of atheism by their Jewish brethren, and excommunicated three times on the Sabbath day.

Many churches were formed, and the separation became complete between the Jews and Christians. The Romans had an equal contempt for both. This people, the most tolerant on the earth, permitted their extravagance so long as they did not interfere with the order of things established by law; but when these obscure sectarians became persecutors—when they spat upon the images of the gods—when they overthrew their statues, then the prefect of Rome gave them up to the axe of the victors.

In the first age the apostles and their successors concealed themselves in the catacombs of Rome, wandering about in villages and caverns. The popes had not yet an episcopal throne; they did not step upon the heads of kings; they did not yet overthrow empires.

The aims of the Neophytes rendered the place of bishops in the great cities very lucrative; their credit extended itself, because of their wealth; their insolence and audacity increased in a like proportion, and their formidable power raised itself by a deception of the people.

When the churches received a form, they recognized five orders; the superintendents of souls, the bishops; the elders of the society, who were the priests; the servants or deacons; the initiated or believers, who partook of the love feasts; the catechumens, who were awaiting baptism: all these dressed like the rest of mankind, nor were they constrained to preserve celibacy.

Becoming more numerous, they raised themselves up against the Roman empire, and forced the magistrates to act with severity against a sect which troubled the public order. They did not punish the Jews, who were separated from the Christians, and who shut themselves up in their synagogues; they permitted to them the exercise of their religion, as that of all other worships.

But the Christians, declaring themselves enemies of all other religions, and especially of that of the empire, were many times punished by its laws. From this crowd of martyrs have the priests of Rome filled their legends. Historians affirm that few Christians perished as martyrs; no one was persecuted for his religious belief, but for acts forbidden by all laws.

Councils even were tolerated; they recount five in the first century, six in the second, and thirty in the third. The emperors beheld with contempt, sometimes with indignation, the progress of this new religion, which was elevating its worship on the ruin of the gods of the empire.

Diocletian, who passes for a persecutor, was, during more than eighteen years, the avowed protector of the Christians; they occupied important places about his person; he even married a Christian, and permitted them in Nicomedia to build a superb church of Constantine.

Diocletian that this sect, which he protected, was intoxicated with fanaticism and fury.

The emperor published an edict for the destruction of the church in Nicomedia; a fanatic tore it to pieces. Information was laid and proof found of a wide-spread conspiracy, which extended itself from one extremity of the empire to the other. Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea and Alexandria, were filled with these intolerant innovators. The hearth of this fire was in Italy, Rome, Africa and Asia Minor. More than two hundred thousand of the conspirators were condemned to death.

We arrive at the epoch when Constantine placed Christianity upon the throne. From thence we see Christians, animated by a furious zeal, persecuting without pity, fanning the most extravagant quarrels, and constraining pagans, by fire and sword, to embrace Christianity.

Constantius Chlorus had a Christian concubine, the mother of Constantine, and known as Saint Helena. Cæsar Constantius Chlorus died at York in England, at a time when the children, whom he had by the daughter of Maximilian Hercules, his legitimate wife, could make no pretensions to the empire. Constantine, the son of his concubine, was chosen emperor by six thousand German, Gallician, and British soldiers. This election, made by the soldiery, without the consent of the senate and Roman people, was ratified by his victory over Maxentius, chosen emperor at Rome,—and Constantine mounted a throne soiled with murders.

An execrable parricide, he put to death the two Licinii, the husband and son of his sister; he did not even spare his own children, and the empress Fausta the wife of this monster, was strangled by his orders in a bath. He then consulted the pontiffs of the empire, to know what sacrifices he should offer to the gods in order to make expiation for his crime. The sacrificing priests refused his offerings, and he was repulsed with horror by the high priest, who exclaimed, "Far from hence be parricides, whom the gods never pardon." After this a priest promised him pardon for his crimes, if he should become purified in the water of baptism, and the emperor became a Christian.

He then left Rome, and founded his new capital of Constantinople. During his reign the ministers of the Christian religion commenced showing their ambition, which had been concealed during three centuries. Assured of impunity, they cast the wife of Maxentius into the Orontes, murdered his relatives, massacred the magistrates in Egypt and Palestine, drew from their retreat the widow and daughter of Diocletian, and threw them into the sea.

Constantine assembles the council of Nice, exiles Arius, recalls him, banishes Athanasius, and dies in the arms of Eusebius, the chief of the Arians, having been baptized on the bed of death, in order to escape the torments of hell.

Constans, the son and successor of Constantine, imitates all his barbarity; like him, he assembles councils, which proscribe and anathematise. Athanasius sustains his party in Europe and Asia by combined skill and force; the Arians overwhelm him. Exiles, prisons, tumults and assassinations, signalize the termination of the abominable life of Constans.

Jovien and Valentinian guarantee entire liberty of conscience. The two parties exercise against each other hatred and merciless rage.

Theodosius declares for the council of Nice. The empress Justine, who reigned in Illyria and Africa, as the tutress of the young Valentinian, proscribes him.

The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Franks, hurl themselves upon the provinces of the empire; they find the opinions of Arius established in them, and the conquerors embrace the religion of the conquered.

The pope Anastasius calms, by his justice and his toleration, the religious quarrels which separate the churches of the East and the West; but the hatred of the priests soon terminated, by crime, a life which had been glorious for religion, and dear to humanity.

Mahomet appeared in the seventh century. A skilful impostor, he founds a new religion, and the greatest empire of the world. Banished from Mecca, he re-assembles his disciples, establishes the foundation of his theogony, and marches to the most surprising conquests.

The Christians were divided by gross heresies. The Persians made a terrible war on the empire of the east, and pursued Jews and Catholics with an implacable hatred. All was confusion in church and state.

The bishops had not yet arrogated to themselves temporal jurisdiction; but the weakness of the empire of the west gave rise to this scandalous usurpation, which has covered Europe with butcheries, disasters, and ruin.

Pepin, king of France, allies himself in secession with popes Zachary and Stephen. In order to cloak from the eyes of the people his usurpation of the crown of France, and the murder of his brother, he surrenders to the Holy See the domains in Romagna, taken from the Lombards.

Stephen the Third, an hypocritical priest, does not delay to signalize his new power, by the excess of the most frightful ambition.

Under Stephen the Sixth, fury is at its height. The clergy are divided into factions, and the pope is chosen in the midst of the carnage. The pontiff, after his victory, put out the eyes, and tore out the tongue, of Constantine the Second, his predecessor.

Charlemagne invades Lombardy; deprives his nephews of their inheritance; despoils his brother-in-law to punish him for having undertaken their defence, carries him to Lyons in chains, and condemns him to terminate his days in prison. Then Leo the Third placed a crown of gold upon his head, and a mantle of purple on his shoulders. But the descendants of Charlemagne could not preserve at

Rome the influence this usurper had acquired, by granting to the popes the land he had taken away from the Lombards.

Paschal the First, by a criminal boldness, put out the eyes and cut off the heads, in the patriarchal palace of the Lateran, of Theodorus, a high officer of the Roman church, and of Leo his son-in-law, because they had remained faithful to Lothaire. On the death of this pope the people endeavoured to prevent his burial, and wished to drag his dead body through the streets of Rome.

Eugenius, his successor, occupies himself in transporting from the sepulchres of Italy putrefied bones, the frightful vestiges of human nature. He sent them into France, Germany and England, and sold them to Christian Europe.

Leo the Fourth has the impudence to assure the bishops of immunity for the most frightful crimes.

After the death of Leo, a woman mounts the chair of St. Peter, celebrating mass, creating bishops, and giving her feet to be kissed by princes and people. The popess Joan becomes enceinte by a cardinal, and dies in the pangs of child-birth, in the midst of a religious ceremony.

In the ninth century, the Greek and Latin churches separate. Ridiculous differences cause five centuries of murders, carnage, and frightful wars; and twenty-five bloody schisms in the west soil the chair of Rome.

The Arabs and Turks overwhelm the Greek and African churches, and elevate the Mahomedan religion upon the ruins of Christianity.

The Roman church maintains itself, amidst troubles, discords and ruin. During this epoch of anarchy, the bishops and abbots in Germany became princes, and the popes obtain absolute power in Rome.

Stephen the Seventh, driven on by a pitiless rage, orders the sepulchre of Formosus to be despoiled, causes them to take out from it the dead body, and, horrible to relate, has it brought into the synod assembled to degrade him. Then this frightful body, covered with the pontifical habits, is interrogated in the midst of scandalous and infuriate clamour. "Why hast thou, being bishop of Portus, usurped, through ambition, the universal see of Rome?" Then the pope, pushed on by an execrable barbarity, orders his three fingers and head to be cut off, and his dead body to be cast into the Tiber.

Sergius invades the pontifical chair. He leads publicly a life, soiled with debaucheries, with the famous courtesan Marozia. Their son becomes pope, under the name of John the Twelfth, and surpasses them by his monstrous crimes. Cardinals and bishops accused him of incest with his mother—of violating the holy virgins—of adultery, homicide, profanity and blasphemy.

Gregory the Fifth cuts off the feet, hands, tongue and ears of John and Crescentius, and makes them walk, thus mutilated, through the streets of Rome.

Benedict the Ninth is raised to the Holy See at

twelve years of age, by the intrigues and gold of the Count of Tuscanella. He immediately surrenders himself to excess of depravity, and the most shameless debaucheries. The Romans, worn out by his outrages, drive him from Rome, and name another pope, Sylvester the Third. Benedict, by the assistance of his relatives, seats himself anew in the Holy See; but perceiving himself to be an object of universal execration, and fearing a terrible fall, he, by an infamous simony, sells the Holy See, and consecrates a third pope, John the Twentieth. He then retires into the palace of his father, in order to surrender himself to the most infamous pleasures.

After having made this odious traffic, the desire of ruling re-enters his soul, and places him a third time in this dishonoured chair. Alone, against the Romans, who held him in horror—alone against the two other popes, producing a triple schism—he proposes to his adversaries to divide between them the revenues of the church.

These three anti-popes, by a shameful traffic, divide into three parts the patrimony of the poor, and boldly rule; the one at Saint Peter's, the other at St. Mary Majeura, and the third at the palace of the Lateran; an execrable triumvirate.

A bold, avaricious and dissolute priest, purchases from the three popes their infamous titles to the papacy, and succeeds them under the name of Gregory the Sixth.

Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, the poisoner of popes, the most deceitful of priests, usurps the pontifical see, under the name of Gregory the Seventh. He launches his anathemas against kings; excites public wars; fills Germany and Italy with disorder, carnage and murder. He excommunicates the emperor of Germany; takes from him the title of king; frees his people from the oath of obedience; excites princes against him, and at last reduces him to such a state of misfortune, that the force of his mind is shattered. At length—extreme of pride and degradation—the king sought the pope “in the depth of winter, fasting, with naked feet and in his shirt, having a pair of scissors and a hair-brush in his hand.”

Adrian, the son of an English friar, causes the emperor Barbarossa to hold the stirrup of his palfrey; and in order to add barbarity to his triumph, demands that the famous Arnold of Brescia should be delivered up to him to be burned alive, because he had preached against the luxury of priests, and the abominations of pontiffs.

Alexander pushes still further than his predecessors his outrages against kings. The emperor Frederick, in order to free his son Otho, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans, supplicates the pope to absolve him from excommunication. The inflexible Alexander demands that the emperor should come in person to ask for his pardon, in the presence of the assembled people, without his robes or his crown, having the rod of a

beadle in his hand, and that he should prostrate his face to the earth. When he was extended on the ground at the entrance of the church, Alexander put his foot on his neck and trampled on him, exclaiming, “Thou shalt tread upon the serpent and the cockatrice, and shalt crush the lion and the dragon.”

Celestin the Third, affords a frightful example of insatiable avarice. Alexander had trampled under his feet Frederick Barbarossa, who demanded the liberation of his son. This new pope, for money, crowned the emperor Henry the Fourth, an execrable monster, who renewed the impious sacrifice of Stephen the Seventh, by exhuming the dead body of Tancred, that his head should be cut off by the public executioner. He put out the eyes of William, the young son of Tancred, after having made him an eunuch. He condemned the count Jourdan to an horrible punishment, having caused him to be affixed to a chain of heated iron, and to be crowned by a circle of hot iron, which they fastened on his head.

Innocent the Third preached the crusades against the infidel, and increased his treasury from the riches of the people. This crafty, sacrilegious pope, established the monstrous tribunal of the inquisition. Then he preached a crusade against the Albigenes, and deplored the estates of Raymond the Sixth, count of Toulouse. He sent forth St. Dominick, with power to persecute with fire, sword, and unheard-of torments, the unfortunate Waldenses. The crusaders stormed the city of Beziers. The frightful Dominick, Christ in one hand and a torch in the other, creates the carnage, and sixty thousand dead bodies were buried under the ruins of that city, which was reduced to ashes. Toulouse, Carcassonne, Alby, Castlensaudary, Narbonne, Arles, Marseilles, Aix, Avignon, were devastated by the armies of the pope.

Gregory the Ninth, in order to maintain his ambitious projects and the unbridled luxury of his court, levies imposts on France, England and Germany. He excommunicates kings, frees people from their allegiance, and is driven from Rome by his subjects. Raymond the Seventh, though a Catholic, but the son of a heretic, is pursued by him and deplored of his estates. The pope sends a legate into France, to sustain this abominable war in Languedoc and Provence. Raymond defends himself gallantly; and the people, tired of the insatiable avarice of Gregory the Ninth, refuse to pay the imposts, and force the pope to conclude a peace.

The pontiff, arrested in his progress, condemns Raymond to pay ten thousand marks of silver to his legate, two thousand to the abbey of Citeaux, a thousand to that of Grand Ligne, and three hundred to that of Belle Pouche, all for the remission of his sins, as the treaty signed at the door of the cathedral of Paris witnesses.

Innocent the Fourth, in the midst of his crimes performed a generous action, which reconciles humanity to him. He undertakes the

defence of the Jews of Germany, whom the princes and priests persecuted, in order to enrich themselves with their spoils. In that barbarous age, a false zeal for religion served as a pretext for the most revolting injustice. They invented calumnies against the Jews, accused them of eating the heart of a new-born infant at the passover supper; and, when they found the body of a dead man, they put them to the torture, and condemned them to perish by the most frightful torments.

Urban the Fourth signs a shameless treaty with St. Louis and Charles of Angou, to enrich themselves with the kingdom of Naples, and divide the estates of the young Conradin. The pope overcomes the scruples of the king of France, and causes the duke of Angou to swear that he will abandon to the Holy See the domains to which he laid pretensions, and pay eight thousand ounces of gold every year.

Clement the Fourth continues the policy of his predecessor. The young Conradin returns to his estates, and fights a decisive battle, and is made prisoner, together with Frederick of Austria. After a rigorous captivity, Charles of Angou, by the order of the pope, condemns them to perish by the hand of the executioner. The young duke of Austria was the first executed. Conradin seized the head of his friend, and received the mortal blow holding it in his embrace.

Martin the Fourth mounts the chair of St. Peter, and makes a sacrilegious agreement with Charles of Angou; the one a political tyrant, the crafty usurper of Sicily, the other the consecrated tyrant of Rome. Their cruelties excite general indignation. A vast conspiracy is formed; John of Procida, a Sicilian gentleman, is the soul of it. He engages Michael Paleologus to join it; goes to Spain to obtain the aid of Peter of Arragon, and hastens through the cities of Sicily to excite their minds to vengeance.

On the third day of Easter, 1282, at the hour of vespers, is the signal for the carnage given. At the sound of the bell, a cry of death resounds through all the cities of Sicily. The French are massacred in the churches, in the public places, and in private houses; every where is murder and vengeance. Ten thousand dead bodies are the trophies of the Sicilian vespers.

Boniface the Eighth becomes pope, after having assassinated his predecessor. He outrages the people, defies kings, pursues with hatred the Ghibelins, the partizans of the emperor of Germany, invents the jubilee to draw the wealth of the nations into his treasury, and excites so profound a hatred against himself, that the states assemble at Paris, by order of Philip the Handsome, to judge the pope. The archbishop of Narbonne accuses him of being a simoniac, an assassin, and an usurer; of not believing in the eucharist, nor the immortality of the soul; of employing force to cause the secrets of the confessional to be revealed; of living in concubinage with his two nieces, and of having children by them; and, last of all, of having employed

the riches acquired by the sale of indulgences to pay the Saracens to invade Sicily.

Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna are charged to carry to the pope the order to appear at Lyons to be judged by a general council. They arrive, at the head of three hundred horsemen, at the city of Anagni, the residence of Boniface. Meeting with resistance, they force an entrance into the palace, and present to the pope the accusations against him. Boniface, transported by fury, charges Nogaret with injuring him, and curses the king of France and his descendants to the fourth generation. Then Sciarra Colonna struck him on the face with his iron gauntlet, until the blood flew.

Clement the Fifth and Philip the Handsome accuse the templars of enormous crimes, and condemn them to the most frightful punishments, in order to enrich themselves with their immense wealth. By the order of the king, the grand master of the Templars, accompanied by his knights, is conducted to punishment, to be burned alive in the presence of cardinals and priests, who cruelly contemplate these bloody stakes.

After having divided with the king the spoils of the Templars, Clement the Fifth established his court at Avignon, and publicly abandoned himself to the most depraved debauchery, with his nephew and the daughter of the Count de Foix. He preached a new crusade against the Turks, sold indulgences, and, joining ridicule to infamy, gave to each crusader the right of delivering four souls from purgatory; and the people have been scourged for eighteen hundred years under the pitiless rod of these criminal popes.

John the Twenty-second seized the tiara, seated himself on the pontifical throne, and said, "I am pope." In order to strengthen this usurpation, he launched his anathemas against the emperor of Germany and the king of France, persecuted sectarians, burned heretics, freed people from their allegiance, armed princes, inundated kingdoms with his monks, preached new crusades, sold benefices, and drew into his treasury twenty-five millions of florins, collected from all parts of the Christian world.

Benedict the Twelfth stops the depredations, arrests the imposts which his predecessor had levied upon the people, practises a severe morality, reforms the morals of the clergy, and dies in the midst of his apostolical labours.

Clement the Sixth buys from the celebrated Joanna of Naples, the country of Avignon, promising therefor three hundred thousand florins of gold, which he never paid, and declares her innocent of the murder of Andress, her husband, whom she had caused to be assassinated.

Under Urban the Sixth commenced the great schism which divided the west; two popes were elevated to the pontifical chair.

Urban the Sixth ruled at Rome; Clement the Seventh, the anti-pope, at Avignon. During a period of fifty years the two popes and their successors excited cruel wars, and excommunicated each other. Italy, Naples, Hungary

and Spain, espoused the cause of Urban; France sustained Clement the Seventh. Every where brigandage and cruelty abounds, produced by the order of Clement, or the fanaticism of Urban.

The unfortunate and guilty Joanna sent forty thousand ducats to the pope, in order to strengthen her cause. By way of thanks, Urban caused her to be strangled at the foot of the altar. The pontiff had induced Charles de Duras, the adopted son and heir of Joanna, to commit this horrid parricide.

The prince having refused to divide with the pope the spoils of Joanna, the fury of Urban was turned against six cardinals, whom he supposed to form the party of Charles. They were thrown, laden with chains, into offensive dungeons; their eyes were put out, the nails of their feet and hands wrenched off, their teeth broken, their flesh pierced with rods of heated iron, and at length their bodies, frightfully mutilated, were tied up in sacks, whilst still alive, and thrown into the sea.

Clement the Seventh held his seat at Avignon, and levied enormous imposts on the church of France, in order to enrich the cardinals and satisfy the unbridled luxury of his court. His conduct was not at all inferior to that of his competitor in violence, deceit and crime.

The two popes desolated Europe by their armies and those of their partisans; fury had blotted out the sentiments of humanity; every where were treason, poisoning, massacre. An endeavour was made to remedy the public calamities, but the two popes opposed all propositions which could restore peace to the church.

The schism continued under their successors; the cardinals not being able to overcome the obstinacy of the two popes, cited Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth to appear before a general council, convened at Pisa; and, when they refused to do so, the patriarch of Alexandria, assisted by those of Antioch and Jerusalem, pronounced, with a loud voice in the church, whose doors were opened, and in the presence of the assembled multitude, the definite sentence of deposition against them.

Alexander the Fifth endeavoured to strengthen the union of the church, to reform the morals of the clergy, to give the sacred charges to virtuous men, and died of a poisoned clyster, administered by the orders of the cardinal Baltheazar Cossa. This base assassin assembled the conclave, and, seizing the pontifical mantle, placed it on his shoulders, exclaiming, "I am the pope."

The affrighted cardinals confirmed the election of John the Twenty-third; but the deposed popes, Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, revived their pretensions to the see of Rome; an horrible war, excited by anathemas, fills Prussia and Italy with blood. The empire has three emperors, as the church has three popes, or rather the church and the empire have no heads.

A general council assembles, and proceeds

to the deposition of Pope John the Twenty-third. The bishops and cardinals accuse him of murders, incest, poisoning and sodomy; of having seduced and carried on a sacrilegious intercourse with three hundred religious women; of having violated three sisters; and of having confined a whole family, in order to abuse the mother, son and father.

Martin the Fifth burned alive John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the leaders of a new sect, which preached against the disorders of the priests and the ambition of the pontiffs, and led men back to sentiments of humanity. He then organizes a crusade against Bohemia; but the inhabitants of this wild country, exalted by generous principles of liberty, contend with courage against fanaticism. Embassadors are sent to Prague, with proposals for peace, and the Bohemians reply, "that a free people have no need of a king."

The legates of the pope and the emperor command in person the armies sent against the Bohemians, to prevent their communing in the two kinds, bread and wine. Frightful madness. For a subject so trifling Germany is given up to the horrors of a civil war; but the cause of the people is triumphant. The troops of the emperor are defeated in many engagements, and the army of the legates is cut to pieces.

Eugenius the Fourth mounts the Holy See; he confirms as legate in Germany Julian Caesar, in order to exercise cruel persecutions against the Hussites. During his reign an important act transpires; a struggle takes place between the powers of the church; the council of Basle endeavours to bring under subjection the power of the popes, and the pope declares that his see is beyond the reach of councils. The fathers make a terrible decree, declare Eugenius the Fourth a profanator, incorrigible, and a scandal to the church, and depose him from the papacy.

Felix the Fifth is nominated as pope, and Eugenius becomes the anti-pope. The councils of Florence and Basle excommunicate each. Depositions, violence, cruelty succeed. Vitteleschi, archbishop of Florence, is assassinated by the orders of Eugenius; divided kingdoms take the part of one or the other, and a schism is renewed which lasts until the death of Eugenius the Fourth.

During the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, took place the celebrated capture of Constantinople by the Turks; the pontiff, solicited by the Grecian ambassadors to grant them succours of men and money, harshly refused, and we must attribute the loss of this powerful city to the perfidy of the Roman court, which sacrificed the rampart of Christianity, and basely betrayed a people whom they should have succoured.

The merits and the piety of Calixtus the Third, elevate him to the pontifical throne, which he honours by his genius.

Sextus the Fourth employs all his care and solicitude in increasing his wealth. He augments the imposts, invents new charges, and sells them at auction to satisfy the avarice of

Peter Riére, of Savana, and of his brother Jerome, whom he had created cardinals, and who ministered to his horrid pleasures.

This shameless pope established at Rome a brothel, the courtezans of which paid him a golden Julius weekly. This revenue amounted to twenty thousand ducats a year. An execrable act committed by him is alone sufficient to render his memory for ever odious. The family of the cardinal of Saint Lucia having presented to him a petition, that he (the cardinal) should be permitted to commit sodomy during the three warmest months of the year, he wrote at the bottom of the petition, "Let it be as desired."

He then formed a conspiracy against Laurent and Julian de Medicis, sends Raphael Riére to Florence, and during a solemn mass, and whilst the cardinal was elevating the host, the conspirators stabbed Julian de Medicis. Laurent courageously defends himself, and, although wounded, gains the sacristy. The people precipitate themselves upon the conspirators, disarm them, and hang them from the windows of the church, as well as Salviato, archbishop of Pisa, in his sacerdotal robes.

Innocent the Eighth succeeds Sextus. His election cost him more than all the treasures of the Holy See; the resources were exhausted, but the genius of the pope remained. He appointed fifty-two vendors of bulls, whom he charged to squeeze the people, and joined to them twenty-six secretaries, who each lodged with him two thousand five hundred marks of gold. His private life was defiled by the vilest scandals. Educated at the court of king Alphonso, of Sicily, he had contracted the frightful vice of sodomy. His remarkable beauty had procured him admission into the family of Phillip, cardinal of Bolonga, as the minister to his monstrous pleasures. On the death of his protector he became the minion of Paul the Second, and of Sextus, who elevated him to the cardinalship.

The grand master of Rhodes delivered to Pope Innocent the young prince Zizimus, to protect him from the pursuit of his brother Bajazet. The sultan of Egypt sends ambassadors to offer to the pope four hundred thousand ducats and the city of Jerusalem in exchange for prince Zizimus, whom he wishes to place at the head of his troops, in order to march against Constantinople, and engages to restore that city to the Christians; but the sultan Bajazet bid higher, and the pontiff retained Zizimus a prisoner in his states.

We enter now upon the reign of a pope who, by the admission of all historians, is the most dreadful of all men who have affrighted the world. A depravity hitherto unknown, an insatiable cupidity, an unbridled ambition, a cruelty more than barbarous—such were the horrid qualities of Roderick Borgia, chosen pope, by the title of Alexander the Sixth. His passions were so unbridled that, having become enamoured of a widow who had two daughters, not content with the mother, he bent the daughters also to his desires; he caused one of them to be placed in a convent,

and continued his incest with the most beautiful, whom they call Rosa Vanozza.

She bore him five children, one of whom was the famous Cæsar Borgia, who would have surpassed the crimes of his father, if the devil himself could have equalled them.

During the pontificate of Innocent, assassins and bandits had so increased in number, that the cardinals, before entering the conclave, fortified their dwellings with musketry, and pointed cannon along the streets. Rome was become a public market, where all holy charges were for sale; Roderick Borgia publicly bought the suffrages of twenty-two cardinals, and was proclaimed pope.

Armed with the sacerdotal power, his execrable vices daily increased; he delivered himself up to the most monstrous incest, and horrible to relate, the two brothers, Francis and Cæsar, mingled their infamous pleasures with their father's in the embraces of their sister Lucretia.

The immoderate ambition of the pope knew no bounds; all laws, human and divine, were trampled under feet. He forms alliances and breaks them; he preaches crusades, levies imposts in Christian kingdoms, inundates Europe with his legions of monks, enriches himself with the wealth they carry to him, and calls Bajazet into Italy to oppose the king of France. Later, his policy causes him to seek the aid of Charles; and, protected by the French, he undertakes the ruin of the petty sovereigns of Romagna. He puts some to death by the dagger, others by poison, fills all minds with dread, and prepares for Cæsar Borgia the absolute dominion of Italy:

His insatiable avarice invented the most sacrilegious means of enriching itself; he sold the sacred charges, the altars, even Christ himself, and then took them back again to sell again the second time. He nominated the cardinal of Modena as distributor of his graces and dispensations; in the name of this minister of iniquity he sold honors, dignities, marriages, divorces; and as the simony of the cardinal did not bring in sums sufficiently large to sustain the extravagance of the family of Alexander, he administered to him the fatal poison of the Borgias, to obtain for himself the immense riches which he had amassed.

He made promotions to cardinalships, receiving payment therefor; then declaring the Holy See the heir of the property of prelates, he poisoned them, in order to enrich himself with their spoils. All these crimes still did not afford him sufficient money, and he published that the Turks were about to wage war against Christianity, and under the veil of religion he extorted sums so enormous, that they surpass belief. At last Alexander the Sixth, soiled with murders, debaucheries and monstrous incests, having invited to sup two cardinals, whose heirs he wished to become, took the poison destined for them, and rendered up his execrable soul to the devil.

The people, tired of the insupportable yoke of the bishops of Rome, and ruined by the insatiable avidity of the priests, commenced

waking from the lethargic sleep into which they had been plunged. Luther, a monk of the order of the Augustines, sallies from his retreat, rises against Leo the Tenth and the indulgences, draws people and rulers to his new doctrine, strengthens it with all the power of his genius, and snatches from the tyranny of the popes the half of Europe.

Clement the Seventh, by his perfidy, excites the wrath of the emperor, Charles the Fifth. Rome is delivered up to pillage during two entire months; houses are sacked, females violated. The army of the Catholic king committed more atrocities than pagan tyrants had invented against the Christians during three hundred years. The unfortunate Romans were suspended by the feet, burned, beaten with leathern straps in order to compel them to pay ransoms; in fine, they were exposed to the most frightful punishments, in order to expiate the crimes of their pontiff.

Catholics and Protestants cover Germany with embarrassments, murders and ruin.

The mass is judicially abolished at Strasburg.

Paul the Third had obtained a cardinal's hat by surrendering Julius Farnese to the monster Alexander the Sixth; became pope—he poisoned his mother, in order to enrich himself as her heir, and joining a double incest to a second parricide, he put to death one of his sisters through jealousy of her other lovers, and poisoned Bosa Sforza, the husband of his daughter Constance, whom he had corrupted.

He launches anathemas against the unfortunate Lutherans. His nephews became the executioners of his cruelties, and they boasted publicly of having caused rivers of blood to flow, in which their horses could swim. During their butcheries the pope was plunged in his monstrous debaucheries with his daughter Constance.

During his reign Ignatius Loyola founds the order of the Jesuits.

Calvin, sublime spirit, causes his powerful voice to be heard, and continues the progress of the religious reformation.

Julius the Third fulminates his anathemas against the Lutherans, and puts them to death in the most cruel manner. Joining depravity to cruelty, he elevates to the cardinalate a young lad employed about his palace in the double capacity of keeper of the monkeys and minion to the pope.

Paul the Fourth excites the fury of the king of France against the Protestants, forms an execrable league for their destruction, and fills all Europe with his ravages. At his death the Roman people, freed from his frightful yoke, force the dungeons of the inquisition, set fire to the prisons, knock down the statue of the pope, break off the head and the right hand, drag them during three days through the streets of Rome, and cast them into the Tiber.

Pius the Fourth terminates the Council of Trent, and this great event does not produce any sensation among the people. This pontiff, desirous of arresting the downfall of the Holy See, excites the fanaticism of Charles the Ninth

and Phillip of Spain, and these two princes meet at Bayonne to devise means to exterminate the Calvinists.

The beginning of the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth was signalized by the most horrible of all crimes, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew; an execrable plot, brought about by the counsels of Spain and the suggestions of Pius the Fourth. Persecutions, butcheries, and wars had increased astonishingly the number of Calvinists; Catharine de Medicis, that cruel and infamous Jezebel, not being able to exterminate them by force, had recourse to perfidy. Charles the Ninth, accustomed to cruelty, and furiously violent, adopted the criminal desires of his mother, and a general massacre of the Protestants was decreed.

At midnight, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, the clock of the palace gives the signal; the tocsin is rung at St. Germain's, and at its doleful sound, soldiers surround the dwellings of the Protestants, and kill in their beds children and old men. They seize the females, and after having violated them, open their wombs and draw out half formed children, tear out their hearts, and with savage ferocity rend them with their teeth and devour them.

A thing almost incredible, so horrible is the action, occurred: this Charles the Ninth—this king, to be execrated to all ages, armed with an arquebuss, fired from one of the windows of the Louvre upon the unfortunate who saved themselves by swimming the river. One window still remains, an imperishable monument of the barbarity of kings. Gregory the Thirteenth addressed his felicitations to Charles on the remarkable success of the enterprise.

On the death of the pope, the cardinal of Montalto entered the conclave, old, broken down, and supported upon a crutch. The ambition of the cardinals concentrated their suffrages upon this old man, who appeared so nigh to death. They summed up the votes, and scarcely had half of them voted, when, without waiting for the conclusion, Montalto cast his crutch into the midst of the hall, drew himself up to his full height, and thundered forth the Te Deum with a voice so loud and clear, that the vault of the chapel resounded with it.

He becomes pope, under the name of Sixtus the Fifth. Hypocritical and inflexible, he allies himself secretly with queen Elizabeth, and launches anathemas against her kingdom; he then excommunicates the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, in order to revive in France the forms of fanaticism.

Clement the Seventh renews the proud scenes of his predecessors; he wishes to compel Henry the Fourth to come to him in person, with naked feet, in order to undergo a proper discipline, and to learn that he held his crown as a gift from the pope. But ambassadors were received in his stead, and this humiliating ceremony took place in the church of St. Peter's, at Rome, in the presence of the people.

Gregory the Fifteenth excites Louis the Thirteenth to persecute the Protestants. He

renews the war in Bohemia, and not being able to corrupt the people of Geneva, orders the duke of Savoy to destroy them.

Under Urban the Eighth, the celebrated Galileo, that old man who had passed seventy years in the study of the secrets of nature, is brought before the inquisition, condemned, cast into prison, and forced to retract this great truth, "that the earth moves around the sun."

Clement the Ninth, of a lofty soul and prodigious knowledge, encourages the arts, recompenses *savans*, and surrounds the pontifical throne with all the lustre of the age. He diminishes the imposts, employs his treasures in succouring the Venetians and the Isle of Candia against the infidels; he suppresses the religious orders which pressed heavily on the people, and who, under the guise of piety, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

By his eloquence and moderation he appeased the interminable quarrels of the Jansenists and Mollenists, and arrested the ill-regulated ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, who was desolating Europe by his destructive wars. The intrigues of the Jesuits give up to the Turks the Isle of Candia; this generous pope, struck to the heart by the treason of these unworthy priests, launches an anathema upon them, and dies, after a reign of three years. The Holy See has never been occupied by a more virtuous man than Clement the Ninth; his memory should be dear to Christianity, and the mind reposes in contemplating it from the long catalogue of crimes which the history of the popes offers to us.

Under Innocent the Eleventh, the persecutions against the Lutherans and Calvinists recommence; churches are demolished, cities destroyed, eighteen thousand Frenchmen are put to death, and the Protestants driven from the kingdom.

Innocent the Eleventh, as Gregory the Thirteenth, had done on the occasion of Saint Bartholomew, addresses his congratulations to the king of France, and commands public rejoicings to be made in his honour at Rome.

The reign of Clement the Eleventh is agitated by religious quarrels. The Jesuits in China are accused of offering there the same worship to Confucius as to Jesus Christ. The pope sends the cardinal Journon to Pekin, charged to reform this culpable idolatry. This virtuous prelate dies, a victim to his zeal, in the midst of the cruel persecutions which the Jesuits excite against him.

This terrible congregation, encouraged by the pope, extends its odious power over kingdoms, and inspires terror among all people.

Clement the Eleventh publishes the famous bull *Unigenitus*, which excites general indignation, and continues religious quarrels up to his death.

Benedict the Thirteenth wishes to renew the scandal occasioned by this bull of disorder; but philosophy now commences to make progress, and his pretensions, which at other times would have caused torrents of blood to flow, only excited contempt.

The moderation of Benedict the Fourteenth repairs the evils occasioned by his predecessors. He terminates the religious quarrels, repulses the Jesuits, moderates the bull *Unigenitus*, and puts an end to the troubles which were afflicting France. This pope, one of the luminaries of the church, carries into the chair of the pontiffs a spirit of toleration, which extends a salutary influence every where. The religion of Christ is no longer imposed on the world by persecution and fanaticism. Benedict exhibits, in the high functions of the priesthood, an enlightened mind, great maturity of judgment, a profound wisdom which no passions trouble, a perfect disinterestedness, and an extreme love of justice.

He reforms the morals of the clergy, suppresses orders of monks who were odious to all, employs his treasures in founding hospitals, establishing public schools, and rewarding magnificently the arts. He calls upon all to profit by the advantages of science, and to come forth from the shades of ignorance.

Clement the Thirteenth imitates neither the virtues nor the moderation of his predecessor; he openly protects the Jesuits, launches forth anathemas, and prepares the ruin of the Holy See.

The excesses of the Jesuits had tired out the people, their crimes and their ambition affrighted kings, universal hatred demands their expulsion; they are driven from France. They are banished from the states of the king of Spain in Europe, Asia and America; driven from the two Sicilies, Parma and Malta. The order is exterminated in almost all the countries which had been the theatre of its power, in the Philippines, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay and Brazil.

France bestows upon the pope Avignon and the county of Venaisin, as an appurtenance to his crown. The king of Naples, on the other hand, seized upon the cities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo.

The famous bull in *Cena Domini*, a monument of madness and pride, which the popes yearly fulminated from Rome since the time of Paul the Third, is proscribed. The pontifical darkness commences to be dissipated; princes and people no longer prostrate themselves at the feet of the servant of servants of God.

Clement the Thirteenth sees the colossal power of Rome falling to pieces, and dies of chagrin in not being able to retard its fall.

Clement the Fourteenth causes philosophy to mount the seat of the popes. For a short period he retains the pontifical power of the Holy See; his character and moderation restoring to him the power which the absurd fanaticism of his predecessors had alienated.

Portugal broke with the See of Rome, and wished to have a patriarch of her own. The courts of France, Spain and Naples were indignant at the ridiculous excommunication of the duke of Parma, by the Holy See. Venice reformed, without the assent of the pope, the religious communities which impoverished the nation.

Poland wishes to diminish the authority of



the Holy See. Even Rome permits its indignation to shine forth, and appears to have forgotten that she had been mistress of the world. Clement, by skilful policy, and consummate wisdom and prudence, arrests this movement; but the priests, the enemies of toleration, did not pardon the pontiff, and he died of poison.

Then liberty, that rock of reason, imparted its sublime light to all minds; men commenced to break the dark chains of superstition. An universal disquiet manifested itself in the masses, a happy presage of moral revolutions.

Pius the Sixth wishes to seize upon the wonderful power of the pontiffs of Rome, and pursues the execrable policy of his predecessors.

The emperor of Austria, Joseph the Second, stops the increase of convents, which threatened to overrun his kingdom, suppresses bishoprics, forms seminaries, and protects his states against the rule of the Holy See.

The grand duke of Tuscany prepares the same reforms; dissolves the convents, abolishes the authority of the nuncios, and prohibits his priests from appealing to Rome for judgment.

At Naples, a philosophical minister takes from the avarice of the pope indulgences, the collection of benefices, his nomination to vacancies. He refuses the tribute of a hackney, richly caparisoned, shod with silver, and carrying a purse of six thousand ducats—a disgraceful tribute, which the nation paid to the pontiff.

The sovereign approves the policy of his minister, prohibits the introduction of bulls into his states, orders the bishops to give up the dispensations they had purchased at Rome, takes away from the pope the power of nominating bishops for the Two Sicilies, and drives the internuncio from his kingdom.

The French Revolution is at hand. The States General, at Versailles, ordain reforms in the clergy, abolish the monastic vows, and proclaim liberty of conscience.

The pope excites bloody troubles in Avignon, in order to reattach it to the Holy See. His pretensions are repulsed by the National Assembly, which solemnly pronounces the reunion of this city to France.

Italy is conquered by the French armies. Pius the Sixth, a coward and a hypocrite, begs for the alliance of the republic. But the justice of a great nation is inflexible. The assassination of general Dupont demands great reparation. The pontiff is carried from Rome, conducted to the fortress of Valence, and terminates his debased career by cowardice and perfidy.

The conclave assembles at Venice. After an hundred and four days of intrigue, the Benedictine Chiaramonti was chosen pope, under the name of Pius the Seventh.

The pontiff forms an alliance with the republic, and signs the famous concordat.

A new era commences for France; the republic gives place to the empire, and Napoleon mounts the throne. The pope is forced to go to Paris, in order to consecrate the emperor, and augment the magnificence of this imposing ceremony. The weakness of character of Pius the Seventh, delivers him up defenceless to the plots which the hatred of the clergy contrive with the enemies of the emperor. Napoleon, indignant at the machination directed against his power by the counsellors of the pope, makes a decree, which changes the government of Rome, declares the reunion of the estates of the church to the empire, and the sovereign pontiffs deprived of temporal authority.

The ancient boldness of the clergy has survived revolutions; Pius the Seventh essays the thunder of the Vatican. The bull of excommunication is affixed during the night in the streets of Rome; it calls the people to revolt, excites them to carnage, and designates the French for public vengeance. But Rome, delivered from the sacerdotal yoke, is deaf to the appeal of fanaticism.

Wars succeed in Europe, kingdoms are conquered, old governments overthrown, and Napoleon at length falls beneath the blows of the kings whom he has crowned. His catastrophe changes the destinies of nations, and restores to the pope the inheritance of St. Peter.

Pius the Seventh makes a triumphal *entree* into Rome, and at length dies, surrounded by cardinals, in the pomp and magnificence of power.

Since him, three popes have occupied the chair of St. Peter, but their silent passage marks no place in the history of nations.

The proud pontiffs, who launched anathemas on kingdoms, gave or took away empires, extended over the people the yoke of fanaticism and terror, now, protected by Austria, protected by the oppressors of the people, basely seek the protection of kings, in order to trample upon the Romans, and maintain upon their head the pontifical tiara.

People of Italy, arise from your lethargic slumber—contemplate the capitol—recall the remembrance of ancient Rome and her glorious destiny! Let but your legions arouse, and the shades of the great will march at their head to conquer in the name of liberty.

## P R E F A C E .

THE entire want of truthful historians—and the multitude of apochryphal books, both in Greek and Latin—are an impediment to our own judgment of the first ages of Christianity.

We are but faithful translators of the opinions of the Fathers of the Church, religiously pursuing the order of transactions, and the obscure style of their writings.

But, after we have passed through this epoch of darkness, we shall unroll a long series of extraordinary events and horrible crimes, worthy of fixing attention upon the marvellous history of the Pontiffs of Rome.

# H I S T O R Y O F T H E P O P E S .

## T H E F I R S T C E N T U R Y .

### SAINT PETER, THE FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[A. D. 1.—TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA and NERO, Emperors.]

*The birth of Christ—St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, and first Bishop of Rome—He becomes the disciple of Christ—Miraculous draught of Fishes—He walks on the Sea—Character of St. Peter—Punishment of Annanias and Sapphira—He founds the Church at Antioch—St. Peter never at Rome—False Legends—Impiety of Simon Magus—Pretended contest between him and St. Peter—He is carried off by the Devil—Council of Jerusalem—Error of St. Peter—He is reprimanded by St. Paul—His Travels—Martyrdom of St. Peter established by false traditions—The sect of the Nicolaites, and their infamous habits.*

CHRIST was born in a little city of Judea; poor and deserted, a stable was his dwelling, a manger his cradle.

The child grew in knowledge; the divine wisdom of his preaching extended his name through Judea, and Jesus became the apostle of the people. An innumerable multitude listened to the eternal truths he taught, and were converted to the new doctrine.

The princes of Judea pursued with fury this glorious apostle, who elevated himself against the vices and corruptions of the age, against the pride of the great, the debaucheries and luxury of the priests. The man of God was seized by their fierce satellites, condemned to humiliating punishments, and fixed to the cross as an infamous criminal.

But his precepts, preserved by his disciples, have traversed ages and revolutions; his sublime morality has spread itself through the universe, and Christ has become the God of nations.

The first of the apostles of Jesus was Simon Peter, and with him commences the succession of the bishops of Rome.

Simon was born in Bethsaida, a small town of Galilee, upon the bank of lake Genesaret. A fisherman by occupation, the products of his labour supported his family: He had a brother named Andrew, who, being a disciple

of John the Baptist, had heard from his master an eulogium on Jesus of Nazareth. He learned from him that this extraordinary man was the Messiah, predicted by the prophets and so long waited for by the Jewish nation. Andrew communicated this great news to Simon his brother, and went with him to Jesus; and Christ, regarding Simon, gave to him the surname of Peter, which in the Syriac signifies a stone or rock. The two brothers passed the rest of the day with the Saviour, and became his disciples. It is thought they were with him at the wedding at Cana.

Some months after, Jesus, returning from Jerusalem, encountered them on the borders of lake Genesaret, where they were mending their nets. He entered into their boat, and told Simon to cast their nets into the sea. Simon observed that they had laboured unsuccessfully all night; but, nevertheless, he did as he was ordered, and their nets were filled with so great a quantity of fish, that two boats were loaded with them. Simon, whom we shall call Peter surprised at this miracle, cast himself at the feet of the Messiah, begging him to depart from him, for he was a sinner. His humility the more endeared him to Jesus, who gave him the first place among his disciples.

One day, when the apostles were traversing the lake of Tiberias, they saw Jesus, whom

they ran left upon the bank, walking to them on the waves. Surprised at this prodigy, they took him for a phantom, and Peter cried out, "Lord, if it is you, command that I shall come to you, walking upon the water. Christ replied, "Come." At this Peter jumped from the bark, and walked upon the water as it had been land. But his faith not being strong enough, he commenced sinking, and would have been drowned, if he had not called to his Master. The Saviour, taking him by the hand, said to him, "Man of little faith, why hast thou doubted?"

St. Peter afterwards displayed the most ardent zeal for his Master. Jesus seeing that many of his disciples, rebuffed by the severity of his morality, had abandoned him, addressed himself to the twelve apostles, "and you, why do you not also leave me?" Peter replied in the name of all, "Whither should we go Lord? you have the words of eternal life; we believe and know that you are the Messiah, the Son of God." On another occasion, Jesus demanding from his apostles, whom they believed him to be, Peter was the first to reply: "You are the Word, the Son of the living God." The Saviour said to him, "You are most happy, Simon, son of Jonas, for flesh and blood have not revealed this unto you, but my Father, who is in heaven. And I say unto you, thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and all that you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven, and all that you shall bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven." This reply of Jesus to St. Peter has given rise to three difficulties, concerning which theologians have for a long time disputed.

The first is founded on these words: "Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church."

The second arises from the promise of the Saviour, in which, in speaking of his church, he says, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The Catholics affirm that these words give to the pope the privilege of infallibility. The Protestants, on the other hand, maintain, that a church, which always chooses its chief from among men subject to error and falsehood; cannot claim for its pontiff the divine wisdom, which is never deceived.

The third arises out of the power which the priests claim for themselves of absolving sinners. The Protestants recognize none but God alone as having power to absolve men of their sins, and regard as an intolerable abuse the indulgences granted by the bishops of Rome.

After the glorious confession of faith made by St. Peter, and the sublime promises made to his apostles, Jesus foretold to his disciples that he was about to suffer death at Jerusalem. Peter represented to him that the Son of God could not die, and the Lord called him *satan*, imposed silence upon him, and made him walk behind the apostles. This mortifi-

cation was the only punishment inflicted on him, and it caused him to lose none of the favour of his master, who chose him to be a witness of his transfiguration.

On the eve of the day on which Jesus was about to suffer death, Peter and John prepared the supper. The Saviour, being about to wash the feet of his disciples, the chief of the apostles refused to submit to this act of humility on the part of his Master; but his resistance ceased, as soon as the Messiah declared to him that he could not have a part in the kingdom of heaven unless he submitted to this ablution. Then Peter presented to Jesus not only his feet, but also his hands and his head.

During this last supper, the Saviour said to Peter, that the devil had demanded leave to try him, but that he prayed his Father that his faith should not fail him. The supper finished, Jesus went forth, and Peter asked him whither he was going. "I go," said the Lord to him, "whither you cannot follow me." but Peter replied, "Lord I am ready to go with you to prison, or to death itself."

A generous resolve, in which he did not persevere long; for though he had the courage to cut off the ear of Malchus, a servant of the high priest Caiphas, he had the cowardice to deny his Master three times before a servant maid, who asked him if he was not also one of the disciples of Jesus. He at once effaced this mark of his weakness by the sincerity of his repentance, and by the abundance of his tears, and became from thenceforth the most zealous preacher of the Christian faith.

The members of the new church having then but one heart and one soul, all their goods were in common. Those who possessed lands or houses sold them, and brought the money to the apostles for distribution to the poor. It happened that a man named Annanias, in concert with Sapphira, his wife, having sold an inheritance, retained a part of the price, and brought the rest to the apostles. But Peter, enlightened by the divine Spirit, reproached them for their fault, and they fell dead at his feet.

It would be difficult to decide upon the year in which the church of Antioch was founded; nevertheless there can be no doubt that St. Peter took up his residence in that city, of which he has always been considered the first bishop.

After having preached some time at Antioch he returned to Jerusalem, at the period at which the famine foretold by the prophet Agabus, was beginning to afflict the country. Then Herod Agrippa, wishing to conciliate the affection of the Jews, by affecting a great zeal for the law, excited against the church a persecution more terrible than that which followed the martyrdom of Stephen.

St. James, brother of John the Evangelist, was one of the first victims. Peter himself was cast into prison and condemned to death; but an angel of the Lord opened the gates of his prison, broke his chains, and set him at liberty. From that time to the council of Jerusalem, a period of about seven years, the

Scriptures are entirely silent in regard to the actions of St. Peter. It is most likely he was employed in revisiting the churches he had founded in Asia, and confirming the faithful in the faith.

It is supposed that he then came to Rome, to combat idolatry; and the orthodox place the time of his first journey towards the end of the forty-eighth year of Jesus Christ. Others fix this celebrated time during the first year of the emperor Claudius, or at the commencement of the reign of Nero. Before discussing the time of its occurring, it would be best to prove the actual fact of the journey. There is no mention of it in the New Testament; and if it is alleged that the early writings are cited against the Protestants on this subject, they will reply that it is not the first error they have authorized. In fine, the disagreements which we find in the chronology of different authors, who have spoken of this journey, cause great doubts in relation to it.

We are compelled to admit the force of reasoning of the Protestants, who steadily deny the existence of the journey of St. Peter to Rome. They deny also to the pope a primacy over his colleagues, and fortify their position by these words of Jesus to his apostles: "He who would be first among you, let him be the last. Nations have princes who rule them, but it shall not be so with you."

When one shall undertake to prove that St. Peter was the prince of the apostles, and that he had authority over all the church, the Protestants have a right to demand that it should be demonstrated, that he established the exercise of his jurisdiction at Rome, and that the popes have succeeded to all his privileges, how far soever they may have departed from the sublime precepts of the evangelist.

Besides, as far as we can judge from the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and from all the Epistles of Saint Paul, we must believe that he came into the capital of the empire before St. Peter; but the pontiffs have a great interest in maintaining the contrary, and persuading the world that they are the heirs general of St. Peter and his immediate successors. They have even dared to affirm that the papal seat of this apostle was of wood, and they expose it to view in a church to the veneration of the people; a falsity not worthy of being refuted. Let us, however, now glance through the opinions of sacred authors in relation to this pretended journey of St. Peter to Rome.

According to their legends there was, in the capital of the empire, a celebrated impostor called Simon the Magician, who dared to announce himself as the eternal father. In Tyre he had procured a prostitute named Helena, whom he proclaimed as the thought or word which the rebellious angels had retained upon earth, causing her to pass from one body to another of various females. He assured the world that she was the famous Helen of Troy, and that those who believed in her would obtain salvation. He maintained,

with matchless impudence, at Jerusalem, that he was the son of God; at Samaria, that he was the Father, and among other nations, that he was the Holy Spirit.

Such was the doctrine, as ridiculous as impious, of Simon the Magician. Tradition assures us that this impostor came to Rome during the reign of the emperor Claudius; and Justin Martyr, in his second apology, reproaches the Romans with having adored him as a god, and raised a statue to him with this inscription: "To Simon, the Holy God." Baronius observes, that during the reign of Gregory the Thirteenth, there was found in an island of the Tiber, a stone on which was engraved this inscription, "To Simon, Holy God." There is little question that the ancient Romans raised a statue to a god whom they named indifferently, sometimes Saucus, or Sanguis, Fidius and Semo. Justin, deceived by the early Christians, may have imagined that this statue was erected in honor of Simon the Magician. This conjecture has to our mind the force of proof, and destroys entirely the fable of the contest between St. Peter and Simon.

The Legends of the Saints affirm that the apostle went to Jerusalem to combat the magician, and that having convinced him of falsehood in the presence of the people and the emperor Nero, he commanded an angel to strike him, and that the impostor perished miserably. Others say, that Simon vaunted himself on having performed more miracles than St. Peter, and that he raised himself in the air, borne up by the devil; but that the true apostles Peter and Paul, having prayed, invoked the name of Jesus; and that the demons, frightened, dropped the magician, whose legs were broken by the fall. If this fable had any foundation, and the Romans had seen Simon perish at the prayer of the apostle, would they not rather have erected a statue to him than to the magician. Thus the proof which is drawn from this supposed performance, entirely destroys it. Besides, the contradictions which are to be found in the different authors upon whom reliance is placed to sustain it, proves that this journey is a pious fraud.

The first Epistle of St. Peter is dated from Babylon, which has led some visionary to declare that he gave this name to the capital of the empire. A short time after the apostle wrote his first epistle, the emperor Claudius drove the Jews from Rome, because they excited violent seditions on account of the doctrines of Christ. It is supposed that the edict of the emperor obliged Peter to return to Judea; for he was at Jerusalem when St. Paul, deputed by the church of Antioch, came thither with Barnabas and Titus to consult the apostles and elders. Some converted Jews maintained the necessity of circumcision in order to salvation. They had been reduced by Cerinthus, a false brother and false apostle, who, through blind zeal, excited religious quarrels, and desired to exact from the faithful all the observances of the Mosaic

law. The apostles resolved to assemble, in order to deliberate concerning it; and they formed the first Christian assembly which made statutes to aid the scruples of weak consciences.

Not only did the apostles and priests take part in the council, but the mere faithful voted, and the question was decided by the unanimous voice of the church of Jerusalem. This usage is now abolished, and the pontiffs of Rome order the people to follow blindly the decrees which are prescribed for them.

St. Paul and St. Barnabas returned to Antioch, where Peter joined them soon after. He conformed to the decree of the council of Jerusalem, living as the Gentile converts, without regarding the distinctions prescribed by the law. This apostle was so little infallible, that some Jewish Christians having come there from Jerusalem, he separated himself from the Gentiles, and no more ate with them; which induces us to suppose that the observance of the law was necessary, at least for the Jews. "He destroyed to some extent that which he himself had built up in the council of Jerusalem, and overthrew the discipline which he had established." But St. Paul set him right, and resisted him, as he wrote to the Galatians he had done.

St. Peter received this remonstrance with admirable mildness and humility. He did not pride himself upon his primacy; he did not consider that St. Paul had persecuted the church; was his inferior, and younger than himself in the apostolate. He yielded to the remonstrance addressed to him, and changed his sentiments, or rather his conduct. This first pontiff did not arrogate to himself the right of imposing his will upon the faithful, and of constraining the church to submit to his decisions.

Having given a recital of the actions of St. Peter, according to the Scriptures, we will relate the different traditions which exist concerning this apostle. Lactanus pretends that he made a second journey to Rome, twenty-five years after the passion of the Saviour; it is this which has given rise to the error of the twenty-five years in his pontificate. He adds, that he made a last journey to Jerusalem towards the year 62, in order to nominate a successor to St. James the Less, who was the first bishop of that city; and that he returned from thence to Rome, where he continued to preach with success. We know, however, nothing positive in relation to this first chief of the church, from the year 51 to the time of his death, a period of fifteen years. The orthodox pretend that he received the crown of martyrdom as Christ had predicted, but there is no proof that his blood was shed at Rome, despite the assertions of Baronius, Fleury, and others. Baillet affirms

that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were martyred on the same day, and conducted to the prison of Mamertin, which was at the foot of the capitol. But, according to the view of a Benedictine, who resided a long time in the capitol of the Christian world, it appears that the place still designated under this name resembles very little a prison, and is opposite to one or two ancient sewers, through which the filth of the city was discharged. The general opinion in regard to the martyrdom of St. Peter is, that he was crucified, head downwards. They fix the period of his death in the year 66. St. Augustin says that this apostle went to his punishment, exhibiting great marks of weakness.

The second epistle which he wrote before his death, presents the same uncertainty as his first letter from Babylon. We are even ignorant of the year in which this precious treasure was entrusted to the church. It is addressed to the faithful dispersed throughout Asia, Pontus, Cappadocia and the neighbouring provinces. It recommends to them to follow the morality of the prophets and apostles, to preserve themselves from false priests who deny Jesus Christ, blaspheme the Divinity, and abandon themselves to the most infamous debaucheries. The apostle thus designates the Nicolaites, who took their name from Nicholas, one of the seven first deacons of Jerusalem, the chief of a sect in which the men despise marriage, and deliver themselves up to the most monstrous acts of sodomy.

These heretics ate without scruple the food offered to idols; they maintained that Christ was not the Son of God the Father; that the Creator had committed the chief power to the goddess Barbelo, who inhabited a heaven eight times higher than the Christian heaven. They pretended that she gave birth to the God Jaldabaoth or Sabaoth, who inhabited the seventh heaven, and who cried out to the inferior gods, "I am the first and the last, and there exists no other ruler besides me." They published books, and pretended revelations under the name of Jaldabaoth; and assigned barbarous titles to a multitude of princes and powers, whom they located in every heaven.

These fanatics considered the divine acts and persons, the Trinity, the Virgin, original sin, the incarnation of Christ, and even the dogmas of religion, as mysteries, of which they gave explanations, frequently ridiculous, and sometimes sublime.

To the thinking man and the philosopher, the existence of the Nicolaites, in the first ages of Christianity, is an irrefragable proof that the Catholic religion has not been established in an immutable manner by its author, and that it must undergo an organization which requires many ages to accomplish.

## ST. LINUS, THE SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 67.—NERO, GALBA, VITELLIUS, and OTHO, Emperors.]

THERE is nothing positive in the first ages concerning the pontifical see. The chronology of authors is full of astonishing variations, and there is no uniformity among them in relation to the order of succession of the first bishops of Rome. The wisest part is to follow the opinions which make St. Linus the successor of the apostle Peter, in the government of the church.

If we can believe the pontifical books, St. Linus was of Tuscan origin, and his father was named Hereulan. He was invested with the apostolical ministry at the same period as St. Peter, which is an irrefutable truth, that this apostle was not the sole bishop of Rome, and could not pretend to the title of universal bishop. Other historians affirm that St. Linus, Anaclet and Clement, were all three charged with the government of the faithful, and that St. Peter had fixed upon Clement for his successor, in preference to Linus and Anaclet; but Clement, who was without ambition, fearing lest the faithful, who had been under the charge of his colleagues, would not submit to his authority, modestly drew back. Anaclet followed his example, and Linus found himself alone in the government of the church, after the death of the apostles Peter and Paul.

There is no agreement as to the duration of the pontificate of St. Linus, and all his actions are buried in obscurity. He died towards the year 67, and was the first bishop of the church of Rome, in the opinion of the ancients, who fixed the duration of his reign at eleven years, nine months and five days; but in this first age of the church, every thing is uncertain.

As long as St. Linus laboured for the increase of the faith, religion enjoyed great tranquillity. During his pontificate, a law was passed prohibiting females from appearing in the congregations without having the head veiled. We must accord him honour for this rule, which modesty has perpetuated.

At this period Christians were not allowed to assemble in churches for the exercise of their religion. A most common opinion is that St. Linus received the crown of martyrdom towards the close of the year 78, the duration of his episcopate only counting from the death of St. Peter. Baillet avows that this opinion has difficulties, and that St. Linus did not survive Peter but a year or two, or that he even died before that apostle. Father Pagé believes that he perished in the frightful persecution of Nero, and that he was condemned to death by the consul Saturnin, after having delivered his daughter, who was possessed of a devil.

We should observe in the midst of these contradictions, that Linus has only been honoured in the church as a martyr since the ninth century, and that before this epoch St. Telesphore was regarded as the first saint who perished by the sword.

Writers differ as to the order of succession to St. Linus. Some say that St. Clet succeeded him. Others, that it was Clement who became the immediate successor of St. Peter. All these variations cast great obscurity over history, and hinder us from arriving at the truth.

Two works, written in Greek, on the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, for the edification of the eastern churches, are attributed to him. But scholars know that these books, which are full of gross errors and ridiculous fables, are not the productions of this bishop. Platinus affirms with a singular good faith, that Linus wrote a life of St. Peter, in which he speaks of the combat of this apostle with Simon the Magician.

Some years before the death of St. Linus, Jerusalem was taken by Titus. This unfortunate city, delivered over to the fury of religious wars, overrun by bands of fanatics, who murdered old men, violated females and delivered themselves up to the most frightful crimes, filled the measure of its disorders by revolting against the Roman empire. Titus marched at the head of his troops to conquer the rebels. He invaded Palestine, attacked Jerusalem, rendered himself successively master of the first and second walls which surrounded the city; but at the last he met with so desperate a resistance, that he was obliged, after having tried seven assaults, to undertake a regular siege. All communication between the city and country was intercepted. Soon provisions failed and famine began; but the hatred which the Jews entertained for the Romans was so great, that they resisted the horrors of famine, and sustained themselves with the flesh of horses and dogs; when this failed, they seized upon every thing. They ate straw, hay, even the leather of their saddles. They even devoured dead bodies. It is related that during the siege, a noble woman named Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, not being able to resist the tortures of famine, roasted her own child; she had eaten the half of it, when a band of soldiers attracted by the smell, entered her house, and threatened her with death if she did not deliver to them the food she had concealed. This unfortunate mother then opened the door of an apartment where were the remains of this horrible repast, and said to them: "Lo, I have preserved for you the best part, take it," and immediately fell dead.

The Romans now made a new assault, and carried the third wall. All the inhabitants were put to the sword, the temple destroyed, the city entirely razed, and, according to the usage of the Romans, the ploughshare was passed over it. Titus left but a span of the western wall, and the towers Hippicus, Phazael and Mariamne, that they might serve to transmit to future generations the recollection of his victories.

## SAINT CLET, THE THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 79.—VESPASIAN, TITUS, and DOMITIAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of St. Clet—Actions attributed to him—Falsehood of the priests, in the falsification of the texts of the Evangelist—St. Luke married—Death of St. Clet—False decretals.*

THE succession of St. Clet or Anaclet is very uncertain. Some authors place this pontiff after St. Clement, but this is not the best established opinion. He was an Italian; his father's name Emilianus; he came to Rome during the reign of Nero. The apostles converted him to the Christian faith, and soon took him out of the ranks of the disciples to associate him with them in the holy ministry. Some fix the duration of his episcopate at twelve years and some months. Father Fagi, following the pontiff of Damasus, affirms that he only governed the church of Rome six years.

The actions of this bishop are concealed in profound obscurity; but there is no doubt of his holiness, and his zeal for the propagation of Christianity. They attribute to him the ordination of twenty-five priests, and the division of Rome into parishes, (that is, of the houses in which the faithful assembled to celebrate divine worship.) The Chronicle adds, that he established seven deaconates. The pontiff of Damasus furnishes us with these particulars, and insinuates that the church of Rome had been carried on up to this time by bishops and priests, without deacons. St. Luke, the author of an evangelical book and the Acts of the Apostles, lived at this epoch, and his writ-

tings teach us, was married. But the bishops of Rome have falsified the text of Scripture, in order to destroy an authority so imposing, in favor of the marriage of priests.

Though the church honours St. Clet as a martyr, it is nevertheless probable that he died in peace towards the year 90 of Jesus Christ. Seven hundred years after the death of this bishop, a knave advised them to attribute to him the decretals which we yet possess.

It was about this time that the apostle St. John was, according to the sacred chronologists, cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by order of the cruel Domitian. They gravely relate that God, not having destined John to a martyr's death, he came forth from the cauldron without being in the least injured. Nevertheless this miracle did not put an end to the persecutions of Domitian, and the apostle was exiled to the isle of Patmos, one of the Sporades of the Archipelago, where he composed his Apocalypse or prophetic documents, which he addressed to the seven principal churches.

After the death of Domitian, John obtained permission to return to Ephesus, where he wrote his Epistles and his Evangelist, which form the last part of the sacred writings recognized by the councils.

## SAINT CLEMENT THE FIRST, FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 91.—DOMITIAN, NERVA, and TRAJAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of St. Clement—Visions of Hermas—Popes Zozimus and Jerome contradictory in relation to the martyrdom of Clement—His principles in the desert—Apocryphal books.*

CLEMENT was a Roman; his father, whose name was Faustus, inhabited the Celian quarter. Some authors call him a relative of the Cæsars. This error is founded on the resemblance between his name and that of the consul S. Flavius Clement, nephew of the emperor Vespasian, who was put to death by the orders of his cousin Domitian. The pontiff called himself a child of Jacob, which induces us to suppose he was a Jew rather than a Gentile.

The life of Clement is found in the so-called constitutions of the apostles; but these works are not authentic, although they contain some truths which are imbibed from the tradition of the first ages. They attribute to this pope the appointment of seven notaries, directed to write the acts of the martyrs.

The emperor Domitian having determined

to declare war against the Christian religion, Hermas was advised of it in several visions, whose recital is found in the book of the pastor, and he received an order to give information to the pope, in order that he might advise the other churches, and fore-strengthen them against the tempest. Clement continued to govern the church during the persecution, and lived into the third year of Trajan's reign, which is the 100th year of Jesus Christ. Rufin and pope Zozimus bestow on him the title of martyr, and the church in its canons places him among the number of saints who have shed their blood in his behalf. But Eusebius and Jerome induce us to suppose that he died in peace.

St. Ireneus, towards the close of the twelfth century, in an enumeration of the first popes, also recognizes Telesphorus as the first pope

who had been crowned with glorious martyrdom.

An ancient history, whose correctness however is very doubtful, relates that St. Clement was banished by Trajan into the Chersonesus, beyond the Euxine sea, and that by means of his prayers he caused a fountain to flow out of a rock, which furnished water to the other confessors. He remained about a year in the desert, and converted all the inhabitants of the country. After this Trajan sent thither an officer, by whose orders Clement was cast into the sea with an anchor attached to his neck. The next day the waters retired more than a league from the shore, and discovered to the faithful a temple of marble, under which they built the tomb of the martyr; and every year the miracle is renewed on the day of the festival of the saint. This extraordinary legend has been adopted by Platinus and father Pagi.

The great reputation of Saint Clement has caused them to attribute to him all the writings which are esteemed the most ancient, after the canonical Scriptures, and which have no certain author. They still produce in his name five pontifical letters; the first two are addressed to James the brother of Christ; the third to all the bishops, priests and faithful; the fourth to Julius and Julianus; and the fifth to the Christians of Jerusalem. But all are apochryphal, as well as the canons of the apostles and the apostolic constitutions, which are a collection of all the discipline of the church. He passes also for the author of the recognitions which contain a pretended history of his life; the author recounts many journeys of St. Peter, and relates at length his dispute with Simon the Magician. This work is also called the Itineraries of St. Peter.

During the reign of Clement died the venerable Barnabas, an apostle of the second order, and author of a very singular doctrine which he divides into two parts. The first was di-

rected against the Jews; the second contains the prophecies which appear to be drawn from the Indian doctrine of the metempsychosis, which had been carried into Greece by the Pythagorians.

St. Barnabas explains, by moral allegories, the prohibitions of the Jewish law with regard to the animals called impure. "The hog," says he, "designates the voluptuous and ungrateful, who are not grateful to their masters but in their need; birds of prey are the powerful, who live without labour at the expense of the people; the fish which remain at the bottom of the water, figure impenitent sinners; the hare and the weasel are symbols of impurities; the animals which ruminate, and which we are permitted to eat, represent the just, who meditate upon the precepts which God gives them; their cloven foot teaches us that whilst travelling through this world they wait for a future life."

In speaking of Genesis he affirms "that the six days of the creation represent as many periods of a thousand years; and that at the seventh period, which is figured by the Sabbath, Christ will come to judge the living and the dead, and time shall be accomplished. Then (adds he) the sun, the moon and the stars, shall be destroyed, and the commencement of the eighth day will be the aurora of a new creation."

In speaking of the future ages of the church he makes this singular prophecy: "It shall enter upon an oblique path, the road of eternal death and punishment; the vices which lose souls shall appear; idolatry, audacity, pride, hypocrisy, duplicity of heart, adultery, incest, apostasy, magic, avarice, murder, shall be the portion of its ministers; they will become the corrupters of the works of God, the adorers of the rich, the oppressors of the poor." They attribute to St. Barnabas the foundation of the church at Milan.



## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

*The Emperor Tiberius—His hypocrisy—The vices of Caligula—He names his horse as Csesonia—Violence of his passion for Csesonia—He is assassinated by Cassius—The Emperor Claudius—His faults—He is poisoned by Agrippina—Infamous Excesses of Nero—He puts to death his mother and his preceptor Seneca—He marries a man—Delivers himself up in open day before his Court to the most shameless debauchery—His cruel persecution of the Christians—He drives his chariot through his garden by the light of human torches—The burning of Rome—Death of Nero—Character of Galba—He is massacred—Otho seduces the people by liberality and mounts the throne—His abandoned morals—Vitellius—His cruelty and gaudy—Vespasian declared Emperor—His good qualities—His defects—The Emperor Titus—The vices of Domitian—His cruelty—A new persecution against the Christians—New virtues—Good qualities of Nerva—His liberality to the poor—He sells his palace in order to be a charge on the people.*

TIBERIUS reigned at Rome when the church was sprinkled by the blood of Jesus Christ. It is pretended that after having taken cognizance of the proceedings against Christ, the emperor proposed to the senate to receive him into the number of their gods.

This prince, endowed with extreme dissimulation, understood perfectly the art of governing men, and by his art he extended his sway over Rome and the empire; he knew how to accustom his subjects to slavery, and received from them eulogiums on his mildness, whilst he was exercising his tyranny and his despotism with the greatest violence, but always under the appearance of justice.

The infamous Caligula succeeded Tiberius. This prince, in order to insult the senate, wished to bestow the honours of the consulate on his horse. He built a temple which he solemnly dedicated, and in which he immolated peacocks, Numidian fowls, and birds of rarest plumage. His cruelty was even greater than his other vices. In the Cæsars of the emperor Julian, he is treated of as a ferocious beast. This monster had compassed the death of Tiberius, pushed on by ambition and a desire to reign, in order that he might plunge with impunity into the most horrible excesses. Cruel even in the arms of his mistresses, he threatened Csesonia, whilst in the midst of the excess of his lust, "to employ tortures to extract from her by what artifices she made him love her with so much ardour."

Caligula united in his own person the vices of all men, and had no virtues; but it is more easy to imagine the horrors of such a reign than to describe them. At length he was killed by Cassius, surnamed Chereesees, the captain of his guard, and chief of a conspiracy against his life. The entire people rejoiced in the death of the emperor, and gave evidence thereof by fetes and rejoicings. This prince had been so basely servile towards Tiberius, and so cruel to those who had given him the crown, that the citizens said of him, "No one could make a better slave and more treacherous master." It would have been very stupid to have shed tears for one who paid fifty thousand crowns to a coachman as a new-year's gift, and condemned an innocent man to pay a like sum. He was so

shameless as to mourn that his reign had been signalized by some horrible calamity as an earthquake, a famine or a pestilence, and he dared to say, "I wish the Roman people had but one head, that I might cut it off with a blow,"—an execrable thought, which kings alone are capable of forming.

The emperor Claudius, the successor of Caligula, was irresolute, credulous, timid and cruel. He loved without restraint wine and women, and when intoxicated, surrendered without reflection and judgment every thing that his courtizans demanded of him. His memory was treacherous, his mind weak, and his heart so base that he suffered Caligula to spit upon and horsewhip him. He massacred his friends, domestics and relatives, and became the slave of his freedmen and mistresses. At length Agrippina poisoned him and he died on the 13th of October, A. D. Domitii 55.

Nero having come to the throne, improved upon his vices, and committed the greatest crimes without any sense of shame. I cannot read his history without being struck with horror. He bathed his hands in the blood of all persons of distinction, and put to death Agrippina his mother, and Seneca his preceptor. Incestuous and pederast, he married a man, and had the shamelessness to commit in open day, and before all his court, actions which the obscurity of the night conceals in legitimate marriages. In order to enjoy the frightful spectacle of the burning of the ancient city of the Dardanians, he spread cohorts of slaves, armed with torches, through all the streets of the city, with orders to fire in every quarter. During this frightful incendiarism, Nero, crowned with flowers, and surrounded by courtizans, sung to the accompaniment of his own lyre the verses of Virgil on the burning of Troy. The flames devoured the ten quarters of the capital of the world and only left in the suburbs some houses unburned. This fire took place on the 19th of July, in the year 64 of our era.

In order to cast off on the innocent the public hatred which rested on him, Nero accused the Christians with being the authors of the conflagration, they having become odious to the professors of a new religion. They a

rested some of the faithful, whom they accused of many crimes without examining the truth, and the judges condemned them to death, not as incendiaries, but as the enemies of the human race. They joined cruel insults to their punishment; they covered them with the skins of beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; they were hung on crosses, or affixed to stakes, which pierced their necks, and in this position they clothed them in garments covered with pitch or other combustible matter, which they set on fire, in order that the victims should serve as burning torches to give light by night. Nero made an exhibition in his gardens, through which he himself drove a chariot by the lights of these human torches.

Historians speak indignantly of the cruelty of this prince, who sacrificed thousands of men to his execrable tyranny. It was the first persecution of the church by the emperors. In the end, the Christians regarded it as honourable, saying with Tertullian, "What has Nero ever condemned that was not good?" His atrocities at length excited a general revolt; the people penetrated into the palace of the Cæsars, demanding with loud cries the death of the tyrant. Then Nero, despairing of escaping from his enemies, and fearing a cruel end, ordered one of his slaves to pierce him with his sword.

On the death of this monster, Galba, who had taken up arms on the news of the revolt of Vindex in Gaul, was elevated to the throne. This prince, broken down with age, as weak in mind as in body, abandoned the government of the empire to his freedmen, which caused Tacitus to say that his reign was precarious. His great age and his infirmities prevented him from exercising the functions of supreme chief of the state, and he resolved to adopt the young Piso, more illustrious even for his virtues and misfortunes than his birth. But Otho, who had so disgraced himself by permitting Poppea his wife to become the mistress of Nero, laid claims to the honour of the adoption. He gained the army by his liberality, and putting himself at the head of his partizans, stormed the palace of Galba, massacred the unfortunate old man, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This infamous usurper was a voluptuary, prodigal, weak, effeminate, and was cherished only by the wicked on account of the similarity of his morals to those of Nero.

At the last, however, Otho effaced the prejudices disadvantageous to his courage, which his conduct had produced, by a glorious end, which a poet has placed above that of Cato.

Vitellius, though altogether incapable of reigning, was named emperor by the army of Germany, which conducted him in triumph to Rome. This prince abandoned himself to every vice, but especially to those of intemperance and cruelty. In a repast given to him by his brother, two thousand of the most exquisite fish, and seven thousand of the rarest birds, were served up. The roads between the two seas were continually traversed by his purveyors. In order to attain to fortune

or honours, it was only necessary to discover the means of appeasing his appetite, which was not only insatiable but disgusting. At the sacrifices he seized upon the half-cooked entrails of the victims; and in his journeys he devoured all the broken and half-eaten food which he found in the taverns. Insensible and cruel, he shed blood for the pleasure of seeing it flow; and put to death, under various pretexts, the old companions of his studies. What must have been the frightful state of Rome and of the empire, after having suffered in the same year from the tyranny of Otho and the cruelty of Vitellius?

Vespasian, whom Nero had sent into Palestine to quell the rebellious Jews, having learned that the empire was torn to pieces in the west by a civil war, resolved to avail himself thereof to seize the government. He united his legions to those of Mucianus, and drove Vitellius from Rome. Becoming master of the empire, he re-established military discipline, which the civil wars and the debaucheries of the emperors had dreadfully corrupted, and applied himself with equal zeal to reform the laws of the state. Vespasian was the enemy of courtiers, loved the truth, and had no secret enmities. Naturally kind, he detested the cruelty of his predecessors; but his good qualities were tarnished by his passion for women, which led him to commit acts of violence; and by his sordid avarice, which caused him to sell justice.

Titus, his son, succeeded him, and was the best of princes. He is called "the delight of the human race." If in the course of the day he had found no occasion of doing good, he is related to have said mournfully these beautiful words, worthy of the greatest men of the republic: "I have lost a day." He was the enemy of vengeance, and showed himself as virtuous, as those who preceded him were cruel and corrupt. When he died the Romans said of him, "that he ought never to have lived at all, or to have lived for ever."

Domitian, the son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, inherited his sceptre but not his virtues; for Providence rarely gives good kings, as if to indicate to nations that the supreme power ought never to be entrusted to the hands of a single man. History teaches us that Domitian was proud, vain, presumptuous, avaricious, prodigal and cruel. He excited a long and inhuman persecution against the church, in which a great number of Christians were put to death; others were banished into the island of Patmos, where St. John wrote his Visions or his Apocalypse. This cruel emperor took great pleasure in causing men to be devoured by dogs. Every day almost some senators were put to death; and the hands of the brave men who had refused to aid him in the civil wars, or who had followed him with a bad grace, were cut off by his orders. At last, by a new method of torture, of which we have no knowledge, he caused his friends to be burned in the part which was offered to Pollio.

Petronius Secundus and Parthenius, leaders of the guard, assassinated Domitian, and declared Marcus Cocceius Nerva emperor. This prince was benevolent, generous, modest and sincere. Martial, in the *Cæsars* of Julian, pronounces him the mildest of sovereigns; and Silenus has nothing with which to reproach him. Appolonius, attached to his court, bears witness, in Philostatus, that he never saw him abandon himself to pleasure; and according to Xiphilin, this emperor said of himself, "that he did not find himself, on a self-examination, culpable of any thing which would prevent him from living in repose and safety, if he quitted the empire." He restored to the citizens of Rome all the wealth which

he found in his palace, and which Domitian had taken from them. He gave a million crowns of gold to poor citizens, and trusted the distribution of it to the senators. At a time when the public misfortunes called for sacrifices, he sold his furniture, garments, vessels of gold and silver, his palace, and all that he regarded as superfluous, in order that he should not be a charge to the nation. In grateful return the people bestowed upon him great honours, and wished to erect statues to him; but he refused, from an admirable sentiment of modesty. He died, according to Aurelius Victor, at the age of 63, after a reign of sixteen months.

### ANACLET, THE FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 103.—TRAJAN, Emperor.]

*Different opinions regarding Popes Clet and Anaclet—He forbids the priests to wear their beard, and their hair—Uncertain period of his death.*

MANY authors suppose St. Clet and St. Anaclet to have been two different popes, who have found a place in the calendar as martyrs. They rest this upon the opinion of the Greeks, who have always preserved the name of Anaclet or Anenclet, whilst the Latins have kept that of Clet. Other historians, on the contrary, give two names to one and the same pope. But as it is impossible to arrive at the truth with positive certainty, in this case, we will shun discussion, and follow the usually received opinion.

Anaclet was a Greek, born at Athens, the son of a man named Antiochus. We are ignorant of the time at which he came to Rome, and of the precise period with which he was charged with the government of the church. Baronius assures us that it was on the 3d of April, in the year 103. This pontiff prohibited ecclesiastics from wearing their beard and their hair; he ordained that bishops should not be consecrated but by three other prelates; that they should invest candidates for the sacred orders with them in public; that all the faithful should partake of the eucharistic bread after its consecration; and that those who should refuse to receive the communion

should be obliged to leave the Christian assemblies: but it is very difficult to guarantee the authenticity of these various rules.

Three decretals are produced in the name of St. Anaclet, which are evidently supposititious, as are all those attributed to his successors up to the time of Siricus. Different writers have demonstrated this falsity, and Father Pagi has supported their reasoning with much force and ability. The author of this hypothesis, who is concealed under the name of Isidore Mercator, or Le Marchant remains unknown. We only know that Fcaud, Bishop of Mayence, was the first who brought this work from Spain, and that he made it public towards the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.

The pontifical writings assure us that Anaclet governed the church of Rome for nine years, and that he suffered martyrdom on the 13th of July, Anno Domini 112, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Trajan. Father Pagi, of a contrary opinion; he makes him die the year 95, during the reign of the emperor Domitian. This opinion appears to us as being founded as the others.

### SAINT EVARISTUS, THE SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 112.—TRAJAN and ADRIAN, Emperors.]

*The birth of Evaristus—Obscurity of the Martyrological documents—False decretals.*

ACCORDING to the pontifical writings, Evaristus was a Greek by birth; his father, named Judah, was a Jew, and originally from the city of Bethlehem.

Many ancient writers make mention of this

bishop, and inform us that he succeeded Anaclet; but they cite nothing particular of the functions of his ministry. It is believed that this pontiff established the ecclesiastical division of the city of Rome, by divid-

into quarters, and distributing titles and parishes. It was probably a new distribution, which the increase of the faithful rendered necessary. He performed three ordinations, and conferred the order of the priesthood on six persons, the episcopate on five, and the diaconate on two. Very uncertain traditions attribute to him the establishment of new institutions, which were not, however, introduced into the church until succeeding ages.

According to chronology, Saint Evaristus died during the reign of the emperor Adrian, *Anno Domini* 121. According to the martyrologists he governed the church of Rome nine years and three months. The chronicle of Eusebius allows him but nine years of episcopacy.

Following the opinion which has confounded St. Clet and St. Anaclet, the pontifical writings fix the death of St. Evaristus in the year 109; but it has not been proved that he suffered as a martyr, though the church honours him as such.

The priests attribute to him two decretals which are not his work, and they deduce from

this bishop the custom of dedicating or consecrating churches, a custom imitated from the pagans, and which had only of late been introduced into the Christian religion.

During the pontificate of Evaristus a new sect arose, which recognized as its chief a priest named Basilides. This heretic taught that God the Father existed alone; that he had produced the spirit, which in its turn had created the world; that this latter had engendered providence, from whence proceed wisdom and power, from whom the forces, princes and angels issued; and that finally these last had formed the world and the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, from whence came the days of the solar year. He maintained that these angels, having subdued the work of their hands, God the Father, or the supreme Sovereign, had sent his first-born to deliver the world; and that the Spirit was incarnate under the human form. Basilides affirmed that Christ, in the sacrifice of the cross, had miraculously taken the form of Simon, the Cyrenian, whom the Jews had crucified in his stead.

## ALEXANDER THE FIRST, SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 121.—ADRIAN, Emperor.]

*Elevation of Alexander to the Episcopate—The Fathers of the Church and St. Ireneus differ as to the martyrdom of this Pontiff—The priests attribute to him the institution of holy water in imitation of the lustral water of the Pagans—Trickery of the Popes—The relics of Alexander the First would form an hundred bouées, of natural size—False decretals.*

We will follow, during these obscure times, the same chronology as the Cardinal Baronius, and place the elevation of Alexander to the chair of St. Peter, towards the year 121, and in the second of the reign of Adrian. He was a Roman; his father's name was Alexander. During his pontificate the emperor put an end to the persecution which Trajan had excited against the church, and the Christians commenced to breathe freely.

We know nothing particularly of the life or death of this pontiff. The acts in which are found related the captivity and martyrdom of Alexander, appear to us too suspicious to merit the confidence which should be reposed in original and authentic documents. We suppose, with St. Ireneus, that he died in peace, though the church places him in the number of her martyrs, and grants to him the honours of canonization.

The institution of holy water is attributed to this father, as well as that of bread without leaven for the communion, and that of the admixture of water with wine in the chalice for the celebration of the mass. Platinus and Father Pagi have been simple enough to adopt this fabulous tradition. The Cardinal Baronius confidently asserts that the institution of holy water does not belong to Alexander the First, and the reason which he gives is

curious. According to him, an invention so sacred could only come from the apostles, and he wishes that we should accord to them the honour of it. The Protestants pretend, with more reason, that the holy water is but an imitation of the lustral water, which the church has borrowed from the pagans, as well as many other of their ceremonies.

The epoch of the death of Alexander is placed towards the year 132. Many cities of Italy, France and Germany, preserve the remains of this pontiff; but if all these bones were gathered together, one hundred bodies of natural size might be formed from them.

At the same time, and during the reign of the emperor Adrian, took place the destruction of Jerusalem. Fifty fortresses were levelled to the ground, nine hundred and eighty-five villages were given to the flames, and more than a million of Jews were put to death or reduced to slavery.

As the Christians were no less odious to the Romans than the other Jewish sects, Adrian destroyed the holy sepulchre. He raised on the very spot on which Christ had expired a statue of Venus Callipyga; and transformed the grotto in which Jesus had been born into a temple, which he dedicated to the beautiful Adonis.

## SIXTUS THE FIRST, EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 132.—ADRIAN and ANTONINUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Sixtus the First—Uncertainty as to the duration of his pontificate—Fables as to the institution of Lent, and several religious practices.*

AFTER the death of Alexander, the See of Rome remained vacant for twenty-five days. Sixtus was chosen by the faithful to exercise the functions of the episcopate. He was a Roman, the son of a man named Helvidius, according to some, or, if we believe the pontifical writings, of Pastor. Baronius supposes that the father of Sixtus was probably Junius Pastor, of whom a pagan author makes mention.

We know of none of the acts of this bishop. The learned are not agreed concerning either the beginning or the end of his pontificate. He governed the church of Rome for ten years according to some, a few months less according to others, who rely on the authority of Eusebius. Sixtus, despite the uncertainty of his very existence, has been placed in the list of martyrs, and the epoch of his death is fixed towards the year 142.

Sacred historians attribute to him the institution of Lent, and pretend that he commanded the priests to make use of a linen communion cloth, on which was placed the body of Jesus Christ. They add, with equally little foundation for their story, that he introduced the custom of singing the "Holy of holies," and prohibited the duty from touching the holy vessels. Though these things are said on the authority of the pontifical writings, it is impossible, in the opinion of those who wish to

judge dispassionately, to pass them off as the doings of this holy father.

The two decretals which appear in the name of this pope, are evidently fables, as Marin and Baluze have proved. The title of one of these decretals is too proud for the times of the primitive church: "Sixtus, Universal Bishop of the Apostolic Church, to all Bishops, health, in the name of the Lord." Father Pagi himself is convinced that this title was unknown to the pontiffs of the first ages.

The Catholics have involved themselves in this error, in their contest with the Protestants, who refuse to yield to the pope the title of universal bishop, as unworthy of a bishop who assumes the title of servant of the servants of God. The place of bishop of Rome was then regarded as a post which could satisfy neither the ambition nor the passions of priests, and those only were elevated to this dignity who joined holiness of morals to contempt of death.

The church pretends to have preserved the mortal remains of St. Sixtus, but we ought not to yield any credence to these uncertain traditions. We also refuse credit to the authenticity of the relics which Clement the Tenth sent to Cardinal de Retz, to be placed in deposit in the Abbey of St. Michael in Lorraine.

## SAINT TELESOPHUS, THE NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 142.—ANTONINUS, Emperor.]

*Birth of Telesophus—New fable on the institution of Lent—On the Midnight Mass—Death of the Pope.*

TELESOPHUS was a Greek by birth, and had been reared in the cloisters from his earliest youth, which is all we know of this bishop.

According to a glossary inserted in some editions of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius, it is said that the church is indebted to this holy father for the institution of Lent. The priests, who wish to derive from the apostles the present usages of the church, tell us that Telesophus only re-established it. Cardinal Baronius boasts that he has demonstrated this pretended truth, but the reasons which he adduces are very weak. Others affirm that this pontiff was neither the restorer nor the institutor of it, and that he only established the seventh week, which we call *Quinquagesima*. We will demonstrate, that this ceremony was

not in use in the church until five hundred years after the death of this holy father. The church also attributes to him the institution of the midnight mass at Christmas. Platinus and some historians have transmitted to us this fable.

It is generally believed that St. Telesophus suffered martyrdom in the year 134, and several authors assure us of the fact; but there is no agreement as to the year in which this event is said to have occurred. Legends fix the martyrdom of Symphoroëa and her seven sons during the pontificate of Telesophus.

According to the versions of the fathers, the emperor Adrian, having built a splendid palace on the banks of the Tiber, wished to dedicate it to the proper deities, with religious

ceremonies, and addressed himself to the pagan priests; they refused to obey him unless a Christian widow, who lived in the neighbourhood, should be surrendered to them. They add, that Adrian acceded to their demand, and that Symphorosa was seized, with her seven children, who were attached to stakes around the temple of Hercules, whilst the mother herself had her flesh torn from her by red-hot

pincers, by four executioners, who demanded, at each new torment, if she would consent to sacrifice to the false gods. It is difficult for us to reconcile this act of cruel fanaticism with the tolerance the Romans always displayed for the religion of others; and we are obliged to doubt this legend, as well as the acts of the martyrs during the first ages of the church.

## SAINT HYGINUS, THE TENTH POPE.

[A. D. 154.—ANTONINUS, Emperor.]

*Character of St. Hyginus—Rules attributed to him—Falsehoods of the priests, in relation to this new martyr—He introduces godfathers and godmothers in baptism—Apocryphal writings.*

Hyginus was an Athenian, and the son of a philosopher whose name history has not preserved. Authors speak of him as a holy man, who preferred a retreat and obscurity in the forest to the splendour of the palace. Nevertheless he made a great many rules for the order and distinction of ranks among the Roman clergy. Authors liberally bestow upon him the quality of a martyr, but it is doubtful whether he shed his blood for his religion; and ancient writers have either not known of it or not spoken of it.

The usage of having godfathers and godmothers at the baptism of children, is derived from St. Hyginus, as well as that of consecrating churches. Authors assure us that he wrote a treatise on God, and the incarnation of his Son; but this work is apocryphal, as well as the two decretals which pass under his name; the first is addressed to all the faithful, the second to the Athenians. Cardinal Baronius

places the death of this holy father Anno Domini 158, and in the nineteenth of the reign of Antoninus.

Alexandria was always the brilliant hearthstone of the lights which illuminated the Christian world, and the seat of the heresies which desolated the church. During the pontificate of St. Hyginus the subversive ideas of the philosophers of Alexandria took a decided character, and were propagated in other churches by the preachings of the Gnostics. These heretics followed the errors of Epiphanius, the disciple of Basilides and son of Carpocras, who defined the reign of God as the reign of commonalty and equality, affirming that commonalty was a natural and divine law, and that property in goods and the distinction of marriage were the greatest curses of humanity. After his death Epiphanius was honoured as a god in the island of Cephalonia.

## SAINT PIUS THE FIRST, ELEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 158.—ANTONINUS PIUS, MARCUS AURELIUS, and CELIUS VERUS, Emperors.]

*Contradiction among the Fathers of the Church, in relation to the order of succession of Pope Pius the First—His birth—The Roman Martyrology makes him a martyr—Decretals attributed to him.*

THE fathers of the church are not agreed as to the order of succession of Pius the First. Some place him next after Anicet, and Jerome favours this opinion, counting Anicet, however, as the tenth pope after St. Peter. The same order is found in some old chronicles; but the opinion which gives the first rank to Pius, is generally adopted. It is founded on the authority of Hegesippus, St. Ireneus, Tertullian, Eusebius, the two Nicophori—in fine, on the unanimous agreement of the Greeks and Latins. We ought to adhere to the opinion of Hegesippus and St. Ireneus, who were the contemporaries of Pius the First.

He was an Italian, born in the city of Aquileia, and the son of a man named Rufinus. There is no doubt he lived a holy life, and laboured zealously for the increase of Christianity; but his particular actions are unknown. He held the See of Rome for ten years, up to the year 167, and the tenth year of the reign of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Caelius Verus. The Roman martyrology numbers him among the martyrs, and Baronius supports this opinion by reasons destitute of truth. The ancient writers who speak of this bishop, make no mention of his career having been terminated by violence, from

whence we are led to suppose he died peacefully.

Gratian speaks of several decrees published in the name of Pius the First, the falsity of which it is easy to detect. Fabulous traditions add, that Hermes or Hermas, the same of whom we have spoken under the pontificate of Clement, was a brother of Pius the First, and the author of a book which he wrote by command of an angel, who appeared

to him in the form of a shepherd. This was a visionary, who, in his book of Pastor, relates ridiculous histories, and piously invented fables.

We must also pass by two decretals in name of Pius the First, which are evidently false; the one addressed to all the faith the other to the Christians of Italy. These pieces are unworthy of the holy bishop whom they have been attributed.

## ANICET, THE TWELFTH POPE.

[A. D. 167.—MARCUS AURELIUS and CELIUS VERUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Anicet—Dispute between the Pope and St. Polycarp—Heresies of Basilides and pocras—They allow all pleasures—The martyrdom of Anicet controverted—The martyrs Lyons and Vienna.*

THE learned have made many researches, in order to learn the beginning, the duration, and the end of the pontificate of this bishop. We are nevertheless compelled to avow that we know nothing positive of Anicet. We only know that he was originally from a small town in Syria, and that his father's name was John.

At the commencement of his pontificate, he was visited by St. Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, and the disciple of St. John the Evangelist. They talked over many questions of discipline, on which they agreed. But it was not so on a point of less importance. Polycarp, following the custom of the Asiatics, established by the example of the evangelists, St. John and St. Philip, celebrated the festival of Easter, as did the Jews, on the fortieth day succeeding the first moon of the year. But Anicet, attached to the traditions of his church, did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the fortieth day. The tranquillity which the church then enjoyed, permitted the bishop to extend his authority over the faithful, and Anicet wished to compel all Christians to follow this practice. This was the first violation of the usages established by the apostles.

Nevertheless, the bishop of Smyrna resisted the pontiff, and preserved the privileges of his see. The holy father was obliged to yield; and they agreed to follow the usages established in the two churches: an evident proof that it was then understood, that difference of opinion, in regard to exterior ceremonies, should not disturb the quietude of conscience, nor serve as a pretext to attack a received doctrine.

St. Polycarp affirmed, that the discipline of the church should not be arbitrary; that is, that nations should be permitted to serve God, in accordance with such rites as they thought to be most agreeable to the majesty of the Supreme Being. They appear to have been convinced of this truth, in the early ages of Christianity; and they shunned breaking the bonds of charity in relation to subjects which did not render any one criminal in the sight of God.

The pontificate of Anicet has been rendered illustrious, in ecclesiastical history, by the strous heresies against which he was called to contend. The doctrines of Basilides and pocras, the chiefs of the Gnostics, come despite their extravagance, to make head. These heretics maintained, that we abandon ourselves to every pleasure; women ought to be in common; that there is no resurrection of the body; and that was but a phantom. They permitted sacrifice to idols, and the denial of the Christian in times of persecution. Such a doctrine room for an exercise of zeal on the part of the bishop of Rome, who wished to preserve his flock from the contagion of these heresies. The individual actions of this pontiff are known to us.

His death is said to have occurred August 175; but he did not suffer martyrdom although Baronius assures us he did, and an extremely curious story in regard to his relics. Anicet was the first pope who commanded the priests to shave their heads in form of a crown. During the latter years of his pontificate, there took place in Gaul a violent persecution against the Christians.

Attala, Biblia, St. Pothinus, St. Blandin, Epiphodus, St. Alexander, St. Symphonius, and some others, who have been called martyrs of Vienna and Lyons, perished in the midst of the most dreadful tortures. We still have a letter, addressed by the faithful in the provinces to their brethren in Phrygia, Asia, which runs thus:

"Peace be unto you, and thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ. The animosity of the pagans against us is great, that we have been driven from our homes, the baths, and the public places. The weakest among us have saved themselves, the boldest have been led before the tribunals, and magistrates, who have publicly executed them. Several slaves have been produced as false witnesses against us, who have testified that we practise the festival of Thyestes, the marriage of Cœdippus: that is, the

abandon ourselves to incest, and eat human flesh. These accusations have exasperated the people against us; and the cries of death, from an enraged crowd, have become the signal for punishment. The deacon Sanctus, who was the first tortured, sustained the violence of his punishment, and avowed himself a Christian. In his rage the judge, who interrogated him, caused them to apply plates of heated brass to all parts of his body. His legs and arms were crisped up, and the martyr no longer preserved the human form. The next day, as he was still alive, in order to conquer his firmness by the intolerance of his sufferings, they renewed the same torture, and the executioners applied the hot plates of brass upon the gaping wounds of the deacon. But suddenly the deformed body was miraculously restored—his wounds healed—the bones

which had been broken were marvelously reunited, and the martyr retook his original form. Then the executioners, seized with fright, suspended the punishment, and reconducted him to prison, near to the venerable Pothinus, bishop of Lyons.

Maturus, Blandinus, and Attalus were, in their turn, led before the judge; and, on their refusal to sacrifice to idols, they were led to the amphitheatre, where they were tortured with extraordinary cruelty. At length the pagans, seeing that torments, far from changing our belief, increased the number of Christian worshippers, ordered a general massacre of the faithful who were in the prisons. Epiphodus was decapitated; Alexander crucified; Symphorien had his throat cut. All the dead bodies were placed on one funeral pile, and the ashes cast into the Rhone."

## SOTER, THE THIRTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 175.—MARCUS AURELIUS, Emperor.]

*The birth of Soter—Uncertainty as to the duration of his pontificate—Thoughts on the charity of the Protestants towards the poor—Scandalous riches of the priests—Their sordid avarices—Sect of the Montanists—Female priestesses—St. Jerome a calumniator—Death of Soter.*

ACCORDING to the pontifical writings, Bishop Soter was born in Fondi, and was the son of Concordius. The learned are not agreed upon the commencement, or the duration of his pontificate; they only praise the charity of the holy father, and say that he did not suffer the pious custom, established by the first bishops of Rome of making collection for the wants of the poor, to be abolished. The avarice of the clergy has drawn these severe reflections from one of the most distinguished writers of the last century: "The custom of distributing alms to the poor is still preserved among the Protestants, and is abolished in the Catholic church. The presents made to churches are no longer, as in the early ages, employed to succour those in need; the priests regard themselves as the first poor, and absorb immense revenues. A revolting abuse, which should be repressed with severity."

Soter had to contend against the Montanists or Cataphrygians, whose heresy made progress during his pontificate. Montanus was a Phrygian or Mysian by birth, and chief of this sect; he proclaimed himself inspired by the spirit of God, fell frequently into extasies, and prophesied. Priscilla and Maximilla, women of remarkable beauty, became his disciples, and accompanied him in all his journeys—for, in the sect of the Montanists

women administered the sacraments, and preached in the churches.

They condemned second marriages, admitted a distinction of food; and had three fasts, which they kept very rigorously. But as if all these accusations were not sufficient to render Montanus and his sectaries odious, Jerome has calumniated them in supposing that they adored but a single person in the divinity; for it is a habit of theologians to magnify the faults of an adversary at the expense of truth, in order to overwhelm him.

The Martyrologists indicate the feast of Soter as that of a martyr, the 22d April, 179, and their opinion has been followed by Baronius. But it does not appear that this pope shed his blood for his religion, or that he died in prison, or that he even suffered punishment for the cause of Christ.

He ordered that priests should celebrate mass fasting, and prohibited religious women from touching the sacred vessels, or approaching the altar whilst the priest was celebrating the holy mysteries; but all these rules appear to be fabulous. A law is also attributed to him, prohibiting a woman from being recognized as a legitimate wife until after the priest blessed the marriage. Two epistles and some decretals, which are given to the world under his name, pass, in the opinion of all the learned, for supposititious works.



## ELEUTHERUS, THE FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 179.—MARCUS AURELIUS, and COMMODUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Eleutherus—He is accused of having joined the heresy of the Montanists—They adore thirty gods—Deliver themselves up to monstrous debaucheries—Knavery of sacred historians—Falsehood as to the martyrdom of Eleutherus. •*

ST. ELEUTHERUS WAS a Greek by birth, and originally from Epirus. Nicopolis was his country, and his father's name Abundantius. At the commencement of his pontificate, he received the celebrated deputation from the martyrs of Lyons, on the subject of the Montanists, who were exciting great troubles among the faithful of Asia, and which threatened even to invade Gaul. St. Ireneus, who had been chosen bishop of Lyons after the death of St. Photinus, was charged with the letters addressed to the pontiff, in order to engage him to oppose the progress of the new heresy of the Montanists.

Some authors believe that Eleutherus was himself led away by the Montanists, who affected a great exterior piety; but the holy father soon found full occupation in the bosom of his own church. Blastus and Florinus, apostate priests, who had been deposed for their errors, raised themselves up against the received doctrine, and propagated the heresy of the Valentinians, whose chief, Valentin, professed the Platonic philosophy.

This heretic and his followers received the words of Scripture in a figurative sense, and condemned the holy books. They worshipped three eons, whom they regarded as gods, born one after another. They permitted the greatest impurities, and maintained that no one could attain to perfection until he had loved a woman.

About the same time the king Lucius, who reigned in some part of Great Britain, sent an embassy to St. Eleutherus to demand from him the means of becoming a Christian. Fleurent and some authors have adopted this story as true, rejecting only the fabulous circumstances of the conversion of Lucius. But truthful historians have shown that Gregory was the first pontiff who was occupied in the conversion of the English. It is possible that there were then Christians in Great Britain, but it is false that Eleutherus sent thither preachers at the request of the king of that country.

The holy father combatted the opinions of Tatien, who insisted on abstinence from certain food, and commanded the faithful to eat the flesh of all animals. Since then, they have reformed this as well as many other things in the system of the first Christians, and even in that of the apostles.

Eleutherus, after having governed his church with great prudence for fifteen years and twenty-three days, died in peace, in the year 194, and was buried in the Vatican, if we are to believe the pontifical of Damasus. The Modern Martyrology and the Roman Breviary accord to him the quality of a martyr, and indicate the day of his fête in the offices of the church.

His body is preserved in the Vatican, where great solemnities are celebrated in his honour. The city of Nozes also claims to possess the body of this bishop. This, however, is not the first example of the rascality of the priests, who have multiplied relics, in order to extort offerings from the faithful.

During the pontificate of Eleutherus, St. Clement of Alexandria wrote the Stromates, or titles of Christian Philosophy. One of the most remarkable passages in his work is that which treats of marriage. St. Clement thus speaks of the different opinions of the philosophers: "Democritus and Epicurus regarded marriage as the principal source of our misfortunes; the Stoics regarded it as an indifferent act; and the Peripatetics as the least of all evils. But all these philosophers could not properly judge of it, being addicted to the infamous practice of sodomy.

"In the Christian religion, marriage is a moral institution; the natural formation of the body demands it; and the Creator has said, 'increase and multiply.' Besides, is not the power of engendering beings, who shall succeed us in the long series of ages, the greatest perfection to which man can attain? Marriage is the germ of a family, the corner-stone of the social edifice; and the Christian priest should be the first to set an example, by contracting holy unions.

"The Nicolaites, the disciples of Carpocrates and of his son Epiphanius, taught promiscuous concubinage, and rendered themselves guilty of a great crime in so doing; the sight of God; nevertheless, they are less culpable than the Marcionites, who, falling into a contrary excess, renounce the delight of a married life, in order not to increase the number of the sons of humanity.

"I blame Tatien, who pretends that commerce with females diverts us from prayer, and I condemn equally Julius Capien, who, from hatred to generation, declares that Christ had only the appearance of the virile parts of the human body.

"All these heretics are equally condemned by those who maintain, with reason, that we ought to use the liberty which God has given them in taking a wife. Some pretend that the pleasures, even the sin against nature, is permitted to the faithful; others, differing from these, push conscience so far, as to regard sacrilegious every union of the flesh, and condemn even their own origin. These senseless creatures wish to imitate Christ, forgetting that Jesus was not an ordinary man, and obstinately refuse to follow the example of the apostles St. Peter and St. Philip, who were married, and had each a large family of children."

SAINT VICTOR, THE FIFTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 194.—PERTINAX and SEVERUS, Emperors.]

*Dates become more certain—Election of St. Victor—Heresy of Theodotus—Heresy of Albion—The Pontiff approves of the schism of Montanus—He favours the female Montanists—Proud conduct of Victor—He is rebuked by St. Ireneus, who refuses to obey him.*

VICTOR was an African by birth, the son of one Felix. The apostate Theodotus having returned into the bosom of the church, became the chief of a new sect, which caused great scandal at the commencement of this pontificate. His doctrine taught that Jesus Christ was human, and his disciples published abroad that bishop Victor thought with them.

The pontiff soon put an end to this calumny, by excommunicating Theodotus, with Arteman, his disciple, who formed then a new sect. He condemned at the same time the old errors of Albion and some other heretics, who appeared desirous of reviving them, through the means of the peace which the church then enjoyed.

But as infallibility was not then established, Victor allowed himself to be seduced by the Montanists. Tertullian, who had declared in favour of these innovators, assures us that the bishop of Rome approved of the prophecies of Montanus and of the two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, who followed him.

Another heresy soon after broke out in the church. Praxeas, who had aided in the proscription of the prophecies of Montanus, invented patripassianism, which destroyed the distinctions of the persons of the Deity. Victor attacked this new schism, and held a coun-

cil at Rome, which condemned Praxeas, who acknowledged his error.

About the same time, took place the celebrated struggle in relation to the festival of Easter. Up to this time, the difference of opinion and usage on this point of discipline, had not disturbed the peace of the Christian churches. Victor unjustly claiming a right of superiority over his brethren, wrote to all the churches of Asia vehement letters, threatening them with excommunication if they did not adopt his opinions.

This conduct of the holy father discontented a great number of bishops; even those who opposed the opinions of the Asiatics, refused to adhere to the opinions of the pope, and as they had sufficient power to tell the pastor of Rome what they thought of his pretensions, they reprimanded him in sharp and energetic terms. St. Ireneus also censured him in a letter, which he wrote in the name of the Christians of Gaul.

St. Victor was obliged to submit to the remonstrances and censures of the bishops of the west. He lived some years after; the pontifical writings assure us that he terminated his life by martyrdom, towards the year 202; but the martyrologies, in the name of St. Jerome, only bestow on him the title of confessor.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

*The Emperor Trajan—His good qualities and vices—His death—Adrian—His extraordinary liberality—His cruelties—He puts to death six hundred thousand Jews—Antoninus, called the Pious—He permits the licentiousness of his wife—Antoninus the philosopher succeeds him—Scandalous debaucheries of Faustina—His death—Poisoned by his son—Character of Commodus—His shamelessness—His incests—He is poisoned by Marcia, and strangled by an athlete—Pertinax succeeds him—The soldiery assassinate him, and put up the empire at auction.*

ULPIUS TRAJAN, by birth a Spaniard, had been adopted by Cocceius Nerva, whom he succeeded. This prince was of a handsome form, with a just, sage, moderate and prudent mind, and understood the art of ruling in times of peace. It was on this account that the senate eulogized his mildness, his liberality, his magnificence, and his love for the republic. In imitation of Nerva, he swore that no good man should be killed or covered with ignominy by his orders. In giving a poignard to Saburinus, chief of his guard, he said to him, "If my orders are just, employ this in my service; if unjust, direct it against me."

He gained two signal victories over the Da-

cians, reduced their country to the condition of a Roman province, drove Chosroes king of Parthia from Armenia, tamed the Jews, conquered Assyria, and wished to pursue his career of conquest to the Indies, when he died at Selinus in Silicia. A magnificent column was erected over his tomb, which is every where known as the column of Trajan. This prince was endowed with the best qualities; but it is pretended he was addicted to wine and debauchery, and was superstitious, which is dangerous in a sovereign, for superstition has always caused great disorders in a state.

During his reign the Christians underwent a

violent persecution. Pliny the Younger, then governor of Bithynia, obliged by the duties of his office to persecute the new religion, wrote to the emperor, representing to him, that the Christians were accused of atrocious crimes, of which they were innocent. He also demanded from him, in what manner he should behave towards men whom the edicts of the prince condemned as culpable. Trajan replied, that he need make no inquiries, for if they were accused of being Christians, and convicted of it, it was right to punish them.

The crime of acting against the ordinances of the state, was made a pretext for this proceeding, the pretence being that the emperor had prohibited the assemblies, and that the Christians had violated the laws.

After the death of Trajan, Adrian, surnamed Elius, the son of one of his relatives, obtained the empire through the artifices of Plotina, whom he espoused in gratitude therefor. At the commencement of his reign, he burned the obligations of the people due to the imperial treasury, to the amount of twenty-two millions five hundred thousand crowns of gold. He visited the most beautiful provinces of the empire, and built in Great Britain a wall twenty-five thousand paces in length, with fortresses, to strengthen the Roman garrisons against the inhabitants of the island whom they could not entirely conquer. Then changing his conduct, he retired to his palace on the Tiber, to abandon himself to voluptuousness, and put to death a great number of citizens by the sword or poison.

This prince had great virtues, as well as great vices. He was liberal and laborious, and maintained order and discipline. He aided the people, applied himself laboriously to the administration of justice, and punished severely those who did not faithfully fulfil their duties. He composed several works in verse and prose, and we have still some fragments of his Latin poetry and Greek verses in the anthology. There is also in the Commentaries of Sparticus, an epitaph which this emperor composed in memory of a hunting horse, to which he was much attached.

But Adrian was cruel, envious, jealous of those who excelled in the arts, shameless, superstitious, and addicted to magic. Despite his vices, divine honours were rendered him by a decree of the senate.

He put an end to the wars which had been commenced; conquered the Jews, a nation always obstinate, massacred six hundred thousand, and prohibited the rest from returning to their country, and they were constrained to purchase with money the sad privilege of returning for one day in each year to weep over the ruins of Jerusalem.

Titus Fulvius Antoninus, called the Pious, succeeded Adrian, whose daughter he had espoused, and for whom he showed a weak compliance. This prince was remarkably handsome, sober, liberal, with a judicious mind and elevated sentiments. He governed the empire with so much wisdom, that his reputation spread through all the world.

Kings sought to engrave in letters of gold on their palaces his beautiful maxim: "It is better to save a single citizen, than kill a thousand enemies."

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, called the Philosopher, was the son of Antoninus Verus, whom Adrian caused Antoninus Pious to adopt, and whom he succeeded. He had espoused Faustina, the daughter of his predecessor, whose adulteries caused great scandal in the empire.

Antoninus triumphed over the Parthians, conquered Avidius Cassius who had rebelled in the east—subjugated the Marcomans and the Quadi—established at Athens professors to teach the sciences—broke down the Scythians, and performed great actions. He associated with him in the government, Lucius Antoninus Verus, who had married Lucilla his daughter. This coadjutor in the empire, very different from Marcus Aurelius, abandoned himself to pleasure and debauchery. Historians regard it as extraordinary, that in a government divided between two princes, whose inclinations were so opposite to each other, that ambition and jealousy had not broken off their intimacy; but it must be attributed to the merit of Antoninus, who by his virtues compelled his son-in-law to have some guard over his conduct. Verus died before his father-in-law; supposed to have been poisoned by Faustina.

During the reign of these two princes the church underwent a fourth persecution, in which many of the faithful suffered martyrdom, among whom were the martyrs of Lyons who are as famous in ecclesiastical history as in our legends. Some years after the death of Verus, Antoninus was himself poisoned by his physicians, who executed the orders of Commodus his son.

Lucius Commodus Antoninus occupied the throne after this parricide. Historians teach us, that he was the handsomest and most cruel of all men. He had a well-proportioned body, advantageous height, a grand and imposing air, eyes pleasant and full of spirit. The Romans said he was the son of Faustina and a gladiator.

This monster concealed, under this seducing exterior, the most frightful cruelty. At the age of twelve, he caused the master of the public baths, to be cast into a heated furnace, because he had made the water warm. Become emperor, he ordered that to render him divine honours while still alive. His palaces contained three hundred boys and three hundred young girls, destined to gratify his passions.

During his reign the Moors, the Dacians, the Pannonians, the Germans, and the inhabitants of Great Britain, were conquered by his generals; and whilst the people were cutting throats for the glory of the sovereign, he himself was improving on the cruelties of Domitian and Caligula, and surpassing them in infamous debauchery.

The most faithful ministers of the last reign were massacred by his orders, and the

venerable senators became his victims. He condemned an unfortunate man, who was accused of having read the life of Caligula, written by Suetonius, to be thrown to wild beasts in the circus. In his walks, when he met very corpulent citizens, he caused them to be split in the middle by a single blow, and delighted in seeing their entrails escape through the passing wound. This caused a writer of much celebrity to say, that the monks of our day, so gross and fat, could not escape death under such a peril, unless they observed more rigorously the fasts prescribed by their rules.

This cruel emperor spared neither his wife Crispina, nor his sister Lucilla. The Christians alone enjoyed repose during his reign. Gifted with herculean strength, he combated himself in the amphitheatre seven hundred and thirty-five times; carried off from his combats a thousand trophies, and boasted that he had slain twelve thousand men with his right hand. At length, after a reign much too long, Marcia, his favourite concubine, gave him a poisoned drink; and, as he ejected the poison he had taken, she caused him to be strangled by an athlete named Narcissus.

After the death of the infamous Commodus, the senate chose, as the man most worthy of the empire, Publius Helvius Pertinax, who was sprung from a plebeian origin. The new emperor supported the privileges of the senate, punished informers, proscribed the buffoons of Commodus, and made useful regulations for the good of the citizens. But wishing to retain the troops in their duty, and remedy the disorders of the camp, he was assassinated by his soldiers. These wretches cut off his head; and having carried it through

the camp, mounted the ramparts, crying out that the empire was for sale.

Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax, wished to buy it; but P. Didius Julian, who was richer, offered more, and promised six hundred crowns to each soldier; but he could not pay them. Severus having then penetrated into Italy, at the head of the army of Hungary, the senate declared Julian a parricide and usurper, and caused him to be put to death.

The extinction of the family of the Antonines, in the person of Commodus, brought upon the empire similar troubles to those which were before occasioned by the fall of the family of the Cæsars, in the person of the infamous Nero. From that time, a frightful military despotism ensued. The nomination of the emperors appertained exclusively to the soldiery of the prætorian guard, who made or unmade the elections according to their caprice or interest.

Later, the legions claimed, in their turn, the right of proclaiming emperors, and revolted against the Prætorians. Yet the empire was still in all its force; wise laws, moderate imposts, a certain degree of political liberty, an unlimited civil liberty, a vigorous population, rich provinces, flourishing and magnificent cities, a very active internal and external commerce, were the important advantages which the citizens of Rome then enjoyed, and which soon disappeared before the frightful despotism of the sword. The senate lost all influence in the state, and rude soldiers became the dispensers of the imperial crown; on all sides sprung up civil wars, invasions of barbarians and famines, which were the baneful presages of the ruin of the Romans.

## THE THIRD CENTURY.

### ZEPHYRINUS, THE SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 203.—SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, MARCIAN and HELIOGABALUS, Emperors.]

*The Bishops of Rome usurp despotic authority over the other Churches—Birth of Zephyrinus—Ridiculous fable of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove—The Pope becomes a heretic—New persecution—Cowardice of the Pontiff—He excommunicates the Montanists—His lenity towards adulteresses.*

It is a generally admitted truth, that the best and wisest laws are corrupted, whenever they grant too much power to a single individual; and the institution of the episcopate offers us a striking proof of it. The high dignity of pontiff changed the spirit of those who were clothed with it, inspired them with pride, and so flattered their ambition, that they regarded themselves as superior to other ministers of religion. Above all, we remark this change at Rome, as if this mistress of the world could not suffer within her bosom but princes and kings.

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The bishops of the holy city commenced, towards the close of the second century, to claim for themselves a jurisdiction over other churches, which they had not received from the apostles; and in the third had already abandoned the precepts of humility taught by Christ. The first was the golden age of the church, if we may borrow the expression from Cardinal Lorraine; but in proportion as we are removed from the apostolic times, has corruption increased, and the despotism of the clergy weighed down the people. Victor had prepared the way for the dominion of

the pontiff, and his successors did not neglect on any occasion to extend their power.

Zephyrinus, who governed the church of Rome after St. Victor, was a Roman, and the son of Abundius. His election is attributed to the miraculous appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove.

Some historians affirm, that the holy father fell a victim to the arts of the Montanists, and that Praxeas undeceived him, before he fell himself into the same error. During the pontificate of Zephyrinus, the persecutions were redoubled by order of the emperor Severus, and the bishop of Rome abandoned his flock in order to avoid martyrdom. When the calm succeeded the tempest, the pontiff reappeared, and in order to cause his cowardice to be forgotten, persecuted the heretics. He excommunicated the Montanists, and among them Tertullian, who had joined the party of these innovators.

The fall of this great man deeply afflicted the faithful, who attributed his apostacy to the bad treatment he suffered, and the envy of the ecclesiastics. The excommunication of the pope excited general indignation; and the evil reputation which his clergy had acquired, brought upon him universal blame.

At the same time Origen, banished for his Christianity, came to the capitol of the empire to see Zephyrinus, by whom he was favourably received. Authors preserve the most profound silence in relation to the actions of this holy bishop; they say, nevertheless, that he received kindly adulteresses who repented of their sin; and accuse him of relaxation of discipline, in treating mildly culpable females, whilst he closed the doors of the church to idolators and homicides.

We cannot ascertain with any certainty the day nor even the year of the death of Zephyrinus; and although the church decrees to him the honours of martyrdom, there is rea-

sonable doubt whether he shed his blood for the Christian faith. The pontifical books have fixed the time of his death about the year 221. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus in the Appian Way.

As we have already spoken of Origen, it becomes useful to know more of this new chief of heresies, whose sect increased greatly towards the end of the century. He had been educated by the care of a rich Christian lady, whom he afterwards left, in order to live in the most absolute solitude and most rigorous fasting, drinking nothing but water, and eating only vegetables. He pushed his fanaticism to such an extent, as to mutilate his privy parts, an operation prohibited by the laws of the church. "In spite of this great fault (adds the pious legendary) he was ordained bishop by Alexander, primate of Jerusalem, on account of his eloquence and his great learning, which made him one of the great luminaries of the church."

The doctrines of Origen were, however, very singular. He maintained, that in the beginning of the creation God had created a great number of spirits, equal in power, different in essence, and that the great number of them had sinned. That in order to punish them for their fall, God had enclosed them in bodies of divers forms, and that then these spirits became souls, angels, stars, animals, or men. As a consequence of this first idea, he maintained that souls were material; that angels were subject to good or evil. He maintained that the happy could still sin in heaven, and that the demons were not perpetual enemies of God. "But this conversion of the spirit of evil, (adds Origen,) will not happen until after a long series of ages, and when a considerable number of worlds shall have succeeded ours; for time never has been, nor never will be without a world, for God cannot rest idle."

## CALLISTUS THE FIRST, THE SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 221.—HELIOGABALUS and ALEXANDER SEVERUS, Emperors.]

*State of the Church—Cemetery of Callistus—General depository for the relics of all Christianity Indulgences of the Pope for depraved Priests—His death.*

CALLISTUS, or Callixtus, was a Roman, and the son of Domitian; he was elevated to the Holy See, and took great pains to profit by the calm which the clergy enjoyed during the reign of Heliogabalus, a prince entirely occupied by his debaucheries. The death of this emperor yet more augmented the tranquillity of the church, and the faithful began to enjoy the public exercise of their religion under Alexander Severus. This prince openly favoured the Christians, loved their discipline, and gloried in following most of their maxims. A pagan author relates a discussion which took place between the priests and the tavern

keepers of the city of Rome, on the subject of a spot on which the last wished to hold their revels, and which the Christians had selected to hold their religious meetings. The emperor adjudged it to the priests, although they had trespassed on the public property, and permitted Callistus to build a temple in the same place. Traditions add, that it was dedicated to the Holy Virgin; which is not presumable, as the custom of religious dedications had not then been established.

The most remarkable work attributed to this pontiff, is the famous cemetery which bears his name, and which is frequently

spoken of in the martyrologies and the legends: it is, beyond all contradiction, the most extensive and renowned of all the cemeteries of Rome; and the priests affirm that there are interred in it, sixty-four thousand martyrs and forty-six popes. It was in existence before the reign of the holy father, but the name of Callistus has been given to it, because he increased it in size, and was himself interred in it. Other traditions, on the contrary, say, that Christians and pagans were buried together in it, and that the church had no separate cemetery until towards the fifth century.

The actions of Callistus remain in the most profound oblivion, and the fast of Ember week has been falsely attributed to him, a usage of which no trace can be found before the pontificate of Leo, who lived towards the close of the fifth century.

The holy father prohibited the reception of accusations against the clergy, made by persons of bad character, or enemies of the accused; a wise precaution which was nevertheless rejected by the inquisitors of the faith when they pursued the unfortunate heretics. The pontiff regarded as heretical, such of the faithful as maintained that priests could no more exercise their pastoral duties, after they had fallen into certain crimes, and after they had repented of them. These rigid principles were repressed by Callistus, who foresaw that the ecclesiastics of all ages would have need of the indulgence of the church.

The acts of the martyrs teach us, that after having been a long time in prison, Callistus was thrown from a window into a very deep well, and that the faithful obtained permission to carry away his body, which was buried in the cemetery of Calepodus, in the Aurelian Way. It is supposed, but wrongfully, that he died in 226, after having governed the church five years and a month; for nothing is less authentic than the martyrdom of this pontiff. On the contrary, it is proved that there was no persecution during the reign of the emperor Alexander, and that this monarch protected Callistus, and granted him authority to found the first Christian church which was built in Rome.

Alexander was a Syrian by birth, and the surname of the Arch Synagogueist, which the Romans gave him, attests that he protected all Jewish sects, and especially the Nazarenes. Origen affirms, that Mammea, his

mother, was a Christian, and that she passed her days in receiving instructions in the truths announced by the apostles. Thus the authors of the martyrology, not being able to establish, in an incontestible manner, the martyrdom of Callistus, pretend that the prefect of Rome had persecuted him without the knowledge of the emperor. But in order to demonstrate the falsity of this allegation, it is enough to relate, that this magistrate, by name Ulpian, was a model of equity; and moreover, an action of this kind could not have been concealed a long time, since Alexander had prohibited, by an edict, governors of provinces, and other officers of the empire, from exercising any act of violence against his subjects on account of their religion, no matter what might be the rank, fortune, or belief of the accused. Thus it appears there were no martyrdoms during this reign; but on the contrary, the sectarians of the new religion were protected in high places.

Already had the Christian ideas, taught through numerous writings and spread by the indefatigable zeal of the fathers, penetrated into pagan society. Many of the rich citizens of the empire admitted some of the new dogmas, and had a great veneration for the ministers of its worship. A great man named Ambroisus, of a consular family, is particularly cited, who protected publicly at Alexandria, Christian literature, and who maintained at his own expense a considerable number of writers, who were occupied in transcribing the works of the ecclesiastics. Origen alone had seven notaries, who wrote at his dictation; twenty librarians made fair copies of his works, and female calligraphers then transcribed them for the other churches.

Those were called notaries, who possessed the art of writing abridged notes; each sign represented a word, in order that they might follow with facility an animated discourse. They were entrusted with the charge of reducing to writing depositions of witnesses, judicial proceedings and the deliberations of the senate, as in our day stenographers are charged with the task of reproducing all the words spoken in a discourse, even the acclamations and interruptions. Those were called librarians, or antiquarians, who transcribed in elegant characters, and for the common use, the notes and discourses preserved by the notaries.

## URBAN THE FIRST, THE EIGHTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 226.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS, Emperor.]

*Uncertainty as to the pontificate of Urban—Piety of the emperor—He wishes to receive Jesus Christ into the number of gods of the empire—The Pope, in contempt, spits upon a statue of Mars—His death—He augments the revenues of the clergy—Wealth of the bishops.*

URBAN WAS a Roman by birth, and the son of one of the first men of the city, named Pontianus. Nothing is known of the commencement, termination, or duration of his pontificate.

Whilst he governed the church of Rome, the Christians were not persecuted. Alexander Severus, who then reigned, so far from being hostile to them, favoured them under all circumstances, and was governed entirely by the advice of his mother Mammaea, who was a Christian. He placed the image of Christ in his library, among the great men whom he venerated, and even thought of placing him among the gods of the empire. Urban, profiting by the favourable dispositions of this prince, made a large number of conversions, and extended Christianity even into the dwelling of the emperor. In the meantime another Urban, who was the prefect of Rome, and a sworn enemy to the Christian name, cited the holy father before his tribunal and ordered him to burn incense to Mars. The pontiff, having been led before the idol, dashed the censor to pieces in contempt, and spat upon the god. The prefect condemned, at once, the holy bishop to die under the torture. Urban was led to prison, with several

of the faithful, and they died in martyrdom. But the writings from which we have drawn this life of the holy father, are pronounced false, and place his death in the year 233, which was the tenth of the reign of Alexander Severus. He was interred in the Cemetery of Pretextatus, in the Appian Way.

Authors say, that this bishop introduced into the church the use of precious vessels; if this be so, it places his conduct in strong contrast with that of Alexander Severus, who wanted neither gold nor silver in the temples of the idols, and said with reason, "that gold could not be of any advantage to religion."

The origin of the temporalities in churches is deduced from this bishop; it is added that he appropriated to the wants of the clergy the goods and lands which Christians offered to him, and that he divided the revenues proportionably to the labours of the ministers of religion. But now, the usage is much changed! the priests who perform their duty the most carefully, are the worst paid; those who have charge of a numerous parish, receive a moderate recompense; whilst bishops and archbishops are the possessors of immense wealth, which is daily accumulating.

## PONTIANUS, THE NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 233.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS and MAXIMIN, Emperors.]

*Birth of Pontianus—He is exiled to Sardinia—His abdication—He dies under blows from a club.*

AUTHORS who speak of Pontianus, teach us that he was a Roman by birth, and the son of Calpurnius. He governed his church tranquilly for some months; but then he was troubled in the functions of his ministry by the enemies of Christianity, and was banished to Sardinia. This unhealthy country, covered with marshes, was chosen as a place of banishment for those whom they wished to put to death. Before his departure, the holy father, unwilling to leave his church without a head, and in order that the faithful at Rome might choose another bishop, solemnly abdicated the pontificate.

The emperor Alexander Severus had condemned Pontianus to exile, not on account of his religion—for this prince was no persecutor—but because he had permitted himself to listen to the artifices and calumnies of the ene-

mies of Pontianus, who accused him of a desire to disturb the empire. This bishop governed the church of Rome some months, and when Maximin excited a new persecution against the Christians, St. Pontianus was brought back from Sardinia, in order to receive the crown of martyrdom, and expired under the scourge, towards the year 237.

The chroniclers relate a wonderful story, received from the sacred historians, and which shows the charlatanism of the priests in the very first ages of Christianity. According to them, there existed in Cappadocia a woman possessed of a devil, who counterfeited the part of a prophetess. She seduced, by false miracles, many of the faithful, who regarded her as a saint. A priest named Rusticus, and a deacon, were even carried away by her delusions. She had the boldness to baptize, and

administer the Eucharist, with the same ceremonies which were observed in the church. But a man of great piety, publicly maintained that this woman was possessed of a devil, and by his prayers drove from her the demon Asaroth, who escaped, vomiting fire upon the assembled people.

The death of the celebrated Tertullian, priest of Carthage, and the worthy rival of

Origen, is fixed at about this period. He was, like his contemporary, a heretic, and became one of the most ardent propagators of the doctrines of the Montanists. His numerous writings attest the extent of his information, and the profundity of his knowledge. On this subject we will remark, that the fathers of the church have almost all of them been heretics.

## ANTEROS, THE TWENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 237.—MAXIMIN, Emperor.]

*Election of Anteros—His death—Supposititious writings—Avarice and ambition of the prelates of our age.*

WHEN Pontianus abdicated the episcopate, the faithful at Rome had so profound a respect, and so great an attachment for him, that they refused to choose another bishop during his life. But after his death they proceeded to an election, and chose Anteros, a Greek by birth, and the son of a man named Romulus.

Whilst he was occupied with the care of his flock, the persecution, which was continued with fury, did not spare him; and it is believed that he suffered martyrdom in the year 238, after having governed the Holy See during a single month only.

The letters attributed to him, were never written by him; and we can place no confidence in historians, who affirm that permission was given by him to bishops, to take other sees, not for their own advantage, but from the necessity of the case, or the advancement of religion; for, at this period, these prelates would not have recourse to the bishop of Rome, to authorize these arrangements, since the jurisdiction of the pontiffs was confined within the bounds of their diocese. Nevertheless, we ought to know that this usage, then unknown to the faithful, has been scandalously introduced into the church. Most prelates do not seek new bishoprics with a view to the advancement of religion, which is the last thing in their thoughts.

They do not inquire how many souls are to be conducted into the way of safety; but they know how much revenue a bishopric can yield—how many domestics, horses, or equipages they will be enabled to keep; and, by this insatiable avarice, they show themselves unworthy of the majesty and sanctity of the episcopate.

Julius the African, published then his universal history, which commenced with the origin of the world, and terminated with the fourth year of the reign of Heliogabalus. This historian, who was the most learned genealogist of his time, tells us that he has endeavoured to reconcile the two contradictory genealogies of Jesus Christ, given by the evangelists St. Luke and St. Matthew; and that he had even made a journey to Palestine, in order to consult the Jews, who pretended to be of the family of Christ; but that they could show nothing which attested the origin of Jesus. This same father, whose orthodoxy has been recognized by the church, affirms that the greatest part of the Bible is apocryphal; and cites, among others, the history of Susanna, and that of Bel and the dragon; which, he affirms, he could not find in the Jewish annals, anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the ruin of Judea.

## FABIANUS, THE TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 238.—MAXIMIN, PHILIP GORDIEN, and DECIUS, Emperors.]

*Wonderful election of Fabianus—New story of the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove—Seventh persecution of the church—Death of Fabianus.*

SOME days after the death of St. Anteros, Fabianus, who was a Roman or Italian by birth, and the son of Fabius, was chosen pope, in a singular manner, if we can believe Eusebius, and the authors who have followed his account. They say that Fabianus had returned to

Rome from the country, in order to be present at the elevation of the new pontiff. The faithful had assembled in a church, for the purpose of the election; and several persons of consideration were proposed, without any thought of Fabianus, though he was present.



## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

Of a sudden, a white dove descended from above, and alighted on his head. Then the faithful, recalling to their recollection that the Holy Spirit had manifested itself, in a like form, at the baptism of Jesus Christ, exclaimed that God had exhibited to them his will. Immediately Fabianus was proclaimed pope, and conducted to the Episcopal See, without other formality than the imposition of hands. At this time, the custom of prostrating themselves before the pontiff of Rome, immediately on his election, nor of kissing his feet, had not been adopted.

According to some traditions, the holy father introduced the use of renewing the holy oil every year, on Holy Thursday, and of burning in the church that of the preceding year. But antiquity has preserved nothing important, nor certain, of the actions of Fabianus, nor of the rules which he introduced for the government of his charge. He excommunicated Privatus, bishop of Lambesa, a man of scandalous conduct, and pernicious doctrine, who had been already condemned, in Africa, by a council of ninety bishops. We are ignorant

of the dogmas which the heresy of Privatus taught, nor of the men who were drawn in by him; and it would be desirable were we ignorant of most of the schisms which have overwhelmed the churches.

According to the history of Eusebius, the emperor Phillip and his son were Christians; and the acts of the martyrdom of St. Pontianus, affirm that the bishop Fabianus baptized these two princes. But it is not likely that the soldiers, the grandees, and the people, would have suffered the rule of Phillip, if he had embraced Christianity. Besides, the senate, composed of the sworn enemies of the new religion, would not have placed him in the number of the gods of the empire.

After the death of these two princes, Decius, who succeeded them, troubled the church with a furious persecution, which is enumerated as the seventh. Many of the faithful, with the pontiff at their head, received the crown of martyrdom; but a very large number apostatized. Authors place the death of Fabianus in 253; but chronology, more correct, fixes it in the year 250.

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### [A. D. 250.]—VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

*The persecution continues—The great Cyprian bishop of Carthage flies disgracefully—St. Gregory Thaumaturgus abandons his flock—A Christian miracle, in imitation of paganism.*

PLATINUS is deceived in his chronology, when he says that the Episcopal See remained vacant only six days after the martyrdom of St. Fabianus. Historians are agreed, that before choosing another pontiff, they waited until the violence of the persecution had passed away; and this opinion is the better founded, since a large number of the ecclesiastics of Rome, and of the neighbouring bishops, were either prisoners, or had been driven away, or were lying in concealment. Thus the Holy See was not occupied for several years, and the clergy took charge of the church.

The persecution continuing to make great ravages, both in the eastern and western churches, the great Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was obliged, as he bears witness in his letters, to abandon his diocese, by the order of God. He was proscribed, and his goods confiscated. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocesarea, in Pontus, also took flight, and escaped, with his deacon, to a desert hill.

The persecutors pursued the two priests, and having discovered the place of their retreat surrounded the mountain. Some guarded the passages from the valley—others sought them through the caves with which it abounded. Gregory told his deacon to unite with him in prayer, and to put his trust in God. He himself commenced praying, standing upright with his arms extended, looking steadfastly to heaven. The pagans, after having searched all the most secret places, returned to the valley, convinced that they had only four trees, near each other.

This astonishing metamorphosis affrighted the shepherd, who had served as a guide to the enemies of Gregory. During the night he returned to the mountain, and perceived the bishop and his deacon, motionless, in prayer on the same spot where the persecutors had seen the two trees. He at once prostrated himself at their feet, and demanded to be baptized.

## SAINT CORNELIUS THE FIRST, TWENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 252.—DECIVS, GALLUS, and VOLUSIAN, Emperors.]

## NOVATIAN, FIRST ANTI-POPE.

*The emperor Decius, hostile to the Christians—Election of Cornelius—The people then ratify the election of the popes—Schism of Novatian—Quarrel between the pope and anti-pope—Novatian consecrated bishop of Rome, in the midst of a debauch—Schism of Fortunatus, in Africa—Crimes of the priests—They violate the holy virgins—The persecution continues—Bishop Cornelius exiled—His martyrdom a falsehood.*

It is not surprising, that the Holy See remained vacant during a year and a half, and that the clergy did not choose another pontiff; for the emperor Decius would have preferred a revolt in the state, to the election of a bishop of Rome, who was capable of sustaining the Christian religion.

The priest Cornelius, a Roman by birth, and the son of Castinus, was not elevated to the chair of St. Peter, until a short time before the death of that prince.

Cornelius was of virgin purity, and of remarkable modesty and firmness. After having passed through all the degrees of the ecclesiastical offices, he had neither intrigued for—as so many other popes have done—nor even desired the Episcopate. He was chosen, as the most worthy, by sixteen bishops, who were by chance in the city. All the clergy bore witness to his merit, and the people who were present, consented to his ordination.

During these disastrous times, he had a dangerous persecution to sustain, whilst the Episcopate had already become the object of ambition to the clergy. Novatian, a priest of the Roman church, jealous of the elevation of Cornelius, declared against him. He affected great severity of morals, and complained that, at Rome, apostates were received to penitence with too much readiness. A portion of the members of the clergy, who were still prisoners, allowed themselves to be seduced by this apparent zeal for discipline. Novatus, a schismatic of Africa, aided his plans, and the two spread abroad calumnies against pope Cornelius. They accused him of having joined in the communion with bishops, who had sacrificed to idols, and of having abjured between the hands of the magistrate, in order to avoid persecution.

Novatian, in separating from the communion of Cornelius, drew off many confessors, and a large number of the faithful into his schism. He became the chief of those who called themselves *the pure*, because they maintained, that those who had fallen away during persecution, could no more hope for safety, nor obtain pardon for their faults. A council of sixty bishops, priests, and deacons, having assembled at Rome, to try this question, Novatian was condemned, and excommunicated.

Cornelius wrote to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, to apprise him of the result of this council. He speaks with bitterness of the spirit and morals of his opponents. Behold the portrait which he drew.

“I will tell you, how Novatian, that wonderful man, burning for a long time, with the desire of being a bishop, concealed his ill-regulated ambition, under the veil of sanctity, from the confessors, whom he had engaged in his interests. But, having discovered his artifices, deceit, falsehood, and perjury, they have renounced his friendship, returned to the church, and have publicly proclaimed, in the presence of bishops, priests, and many of the laity, the wickedness which he concealed, under a show of false humility. They have mourned over the misfortune into which they fell, of being separated from the faithful—of having been deceived by the falsehoods of this imposter.

“We have seen, my very dear brother, a wonderful change take place in his conduct. This priest, who affirmed, with execrable oaths, that he had no ambition, has become of a sudden, a bishop. This doctor—this defender of the discipline of the church—wishing to usurp the episcopate, to which God had not called him, associated with himself two abandoned men; sent them into a corner of Italy, to deceive three very simple and very ignorant bishops; beseeching them to come to Rome, for the purpose of appealing, with the aid of other prelates, a difficulty which had occurred there. When they had arrived, he caused them to be shut up, with wretches like himself, unto the tenth hour of the day; and having made them drink to excess, he constrained them to consecrate him bishop, by a vain and imaginary imposition of hands. It is from this he draws all the right which he has, however unjustly, to the episcopal dignity.”

Novatian, nevertheless, maintained his authority, against that of Cornelius, and drew from him a large part of his flock. In the letters, which he wrote after his ordination, the anti-pope did not evince any respect for the holy father; and his testimony was authorized by that of the confessors who had declared for him.

Some time after, Fortunatus, who had been driven from the church, was ordained bishop of Carthage, by some schismatic prelates, in order to dispute that place with St. Cyprian. The usurper sent to Rome to demand communion with the holy father. Felicissimus, his deputy, presented himself at the gates of the church, accompanied by a band of furious heretics, who pretended to recognize Fortunatus as bishop of Carthage. But the pope would not hear them. He drove them from the church

with sacerdotal rigour, and treated them as he would have desired to do to Novatian. The faithful approved of the conduct of the father, toward Felicissimus, who had been lawfully condemned, of having appropriated, to his own use, money which he had on deposit—of having corrupted virgins, and committed adultery.

The persecution, which had relented towards the end of the reign of Decius, recommenced with more fury, on account of a violent pestilence, which extended over several provinces of the empire. The emperor Gallus, and his son, Volusian, had recourse to their idols, and sent edicts into all the provinces, to order sacrifices. But the Christians refused to take part in those superstitions, and they were blamed, as the cause of the public misfortunes, which were regarded as the effect of the anger of the gods.

Cornelius was the first, at Rome, who, during this persecution, confessed the name of Jesus Christ, and was sent into exile, by order of the emperor Gallus, to Centum Cellæ, now called Civita Vecchia, a very pleasant place, forty-five miles from Rome.

In spite of the honours which the church decrees him, we must presume that his death was natural, and that it happened in 253. St. Jerome, following the erroneous testimony of ancient traditions, affirms that the pontiff shed his blood in Rome; and that he was beheaded, after having governed the church for one year and some months.

Decius had impressed so profound a terror on the new Christians, that a great number abandoned the empire, to take refuge in the deserts of Egypt. During these migrations, many died of hunger and thirst; some were devoured by lions and tigers; others, after having passed the mountains of Arabia, fell into the power of the Nomade hordes. Those who were happy enough to escape all these dan-

gers, peopled the solitude of the Thebais, and became Eremites.

The legends relate a very curious history of the first of the Anchorites of the lower Thebais: "A young Christian, of Alexandria, named Paul," says the legendary, "the heir of a rich patrimony, profoundly versed in Grecian and Egyptian literature, had retired to one of his estates, in order to live far from the world, with his brother-in-law, and a young sister, for whom he had conceived a violent passion. But one day his brother-in-law, having detected him in incest, threatened to surrender him to the commissioners of the emperor.

"Affrighted by the threat, Paul fled to the solitude of the mountains, where he recovered, little by little, tranquillity of mind. His tears having softened the justice of God, he had a dream, in which an angel appeared to him, who promised him pardon for his crime, on condition he would pass his life in solitude.

"The next day, on awakening, Paul decided to follow the divine inspiration. He climbed a hill, which he found in his path; arrived at the top, he perceived a great cavern, closed by a stone; he penetrated it from curiosity, and found in the interior a spacious saloon, open to the day, and shaded by a venerable palm tree, which extended its protecting branches over all the grotto. A limpid fountain bubbled forth from the foot of a rock, and having flowed some paces onward, lost itself in a mazy winding, formed by two blocks of granite. Paul chose this place for his retreat, and lived there ninety years, although he was already thirty-three at the time of his flight from Alexandria."

The founding of the church of Toulouse, by St. Saturninus, and that of Paris, by St. Denis, are both recorded as occurring during the latter part of the pontificate of Cornelius.

## LUCIUS, THE TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 253.—SALLUS, VOLUSIAN, and EMILIAN, Emperors.]

*Eulogium on Lucius—He is exiled—Return to Rome—Uncertainty as to his martyrdom.*

LUCIUS, the successor of Cornelius, was a Roman, and the son of Porphyry. He had accompanied the late pontiff into exile; and after his death was adjudged, by the faithful, the most competent to fill his place. But the holy father did not long exercise the duties of his charge, being banished from Rome by the persecutors. He was, however, recalled from exile, and permitted to return to his church, which he governed for five months. We are not satisfied that Lucius suffered martyrdom; and historians are in the same doubt as to the duration of his pontificate; but they are agreed that he died in the same year as that of his election, which was in 253.

Cyprian had been bishop of Carthage only

a few years, and his writings had already made him one of the pillars of the church in Africa. Previously to his conversion to Christianity, he had taught rhetoric, and acquired great wealth. Not only did he divide his goods among the poor, but he devoted his life entirely to his new belief. He is the author of a treatise on an extremely rigorous in regard to discipline; which shows that some of them, already become immoral.

The bishop Eucratius has been mentioned in order to know if he should be permitted to practise his art, altho

Christianity, "Drive this actor from the temple of God," replied the holy man, "the divine law prohibits men from clothing themselves in the garments of females, and imitating their steps and gestures." This impious person must cease to play the part of courtezans, and shameless queens upon the stage, or remain separate from the communion of the faithful. If he pleads his poverty, as his excuse, the church will grant him aid, as she does to her other children, provided he will be content with a frugal support, and not pre-

tend that we owe him a reward for drawing back from a sin, which is his affair, not ours.

Another story, still more curious, is related in regard to St. Cyprian. A bishop, named Pomponus, had consulted with him by letter, whether he should bestow the communion on holy females, who, having taken the vow of virginity, pretended to exercise themselves in conquering the spirit of evil, by sharing their beds with young priests and deacons. Cyprian replied, that if they had, in truth, preserved their virginity, he should not refuse them communion; but, that it would be better that they should not in future renew so dangerous a proof, in order to shun scandal.

\* The female parts were performed, on the Roman stage, by lads, or effeminate looking men. Women did not appear on it.

## STEPHEN THE FIRST, TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 253.—VALERIAN GALLIENUS, Emperor.]

*Birth of Stephen—Faults of the pope—He unjustly protects two bishops, accused of great crimes—His ambition—St. Cyprian assembles a council, and condemns the pope—Boldness of Stephen—Firmilian publicly reproaches him with crimes—St. Cyprian brings atrocious accusations against the pontiff—Fables in regard to the martyrdom of Stephen—Despotism of the pope.*

STEPHEN WAS a Roman by birth, and the son of a priest, named Julius. He was chosen bishop, in recompense for the services he had rendered the church.

At the beginning of his pontificate, he permitted himself to be seduced by two bishops of Spain, who, after having been legitimately deposed, came to supplicate the holy father to re-establish them. Those prelates, by name, Basilica, bishop of Leon and Astorga, and Martial, bishop of Merida, had been convicted of being libellatici—that is of having been of the number of those who had not sacrificed to idols, but who had given or received letters of abjuration—in order to save their lives, liberty, or property. They were, besides, accused of enormous crimes, which rendered them unworthy of the episcopate, and had obliged the bishops of Spain to give them suc-

cess. He excluded from his communion the bishops of Africa; and he wrote to them in a manner so arrogant, that his pride excited the indignation of the Orientals.

Firmilianus, bishop of Caesarea, addressed a long letter to St. Cyprian, in which he testified the great esteem, and profound affection, he entertained for him; at the same time he exhibited his indignation against the pope, and spoke of him in the following words:

"Can we believe, that this man has a soul, and a body? Apparently, his body is crushed, and his mind disordered. He dares not even to speak of his brother Cyprian as a false Christ, a false prophet, a fraudulent workman; and, in order, not to be understood as speaking from himself, he has the audacity to reprimand him, in the name of others."

This letter appears, to Pamphilus, to be so violent, that he avows he would not have inserted it in his edition, if Method and Tertullian had not related it before he did. Firmilianus did not dare to translate it. He, also, passed in silence, the atrocious accusations which Cyprian hurled against the pontiff, reproaching him with being "arrogant, ambitious, the enemy of Christianity, the calumniator of the church, and with perverting human words to divine inspiration."

These men, even in the first ages of Christianity, were engaged in their disputes, that were and intercourse, which we always religious contents. But then the simple and people, unburdened with the weight of their bishops, and the necessity to maintain the respect of their

varying opinions of the same page bishops.



arrive at the truth. An ancient pontifical relates that he was condemned to banishment, as well as St. Cyprian, and St. Denis, of Alexandria. And that, afterwards, having returned to his church, he was arrested, and thrown into prison with two other bishops, nine priests, and three deacons. It is added, that he obtained from the magistrates permission to assemble in his prison, the principal ecclesiastics, and, with their consent, placed the sacred vessels, and the treasure of the church, in the hands of his deacon, Sixtus, whom he designated as his successor. He was then beheaded on the public square.

The acts of the martyrs, according to Baillet, are still less authentic than this pontifical. They relate that the holy father was taken, on the second day of August, before the emperor Valerian, who condemned him to be devoured in the circus, by wild beasts. But the sudden, and miraculous fall of a temple of Mars, having put to flight the guards, who accompanied him, the pontiff was enabled to escape into a neighbouring cemetery. Believing himself safe from their pursuit, he commenced offering divine sacrifices, when the soldiers found him, and cut off his head, upon

the altar. Father Pagi has followed these acts. We adopt, as more truthful, the opinions of the learned, who assure us that St. Stephen died in prison, in the fourth year of his pontificate, and in the beginning of the year 257.

His doctrine on baptism is very curious. He affirmed, that this regenerative sacrament, environed the soul of the Neophytes, and entered into them in two forms; strengthening himself with these words of John the Baptist: "He who shall come after me, shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."

He cites then, as an irrefragable proof of the orthodoxy of his doctrine, the example of the centurion Cornelius, who received the Holy Spirit before he did the re-invigorating water, and that of the apostles, who, on the other hand, were baptized with water long before they had received the Holy Spirit. In fine, he demonstrates, by passages from the Evangelists, that this sacrament has a multiplied form; a doctrine entirely opposed to the decisions of oecumenical councils, and which would be sufficient to cause us to regard him as an heretic, if the church had not canonized him.

## SIXTUS THE SECOND, TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 257.—VALERIAN GALLIENUS, Emperor.]

*Eulogium on Sixtus—His Election—He puts an end to the ridiculous quarrels about baptism—Heresy of Sabellius—The persecution continues—Death of the pope.*

SIXTUS, whom some authors call Xystus, and whom they consequently make the last of that name, was an Athenian by birth. He had exercised, with much charity, zeal, and fidelity, the duties of a deacon, under Etienne; and when that pope was arrested, he asked permission to follow him to prison. After that, he became the guardian and depository of the vases, furniture, and all the money of the church. After the death of Stephen, he was elevated to the episcopal dignity.

The fatal question of the baptism of heretics, continued to divide the faithful, after having scandalously separated St. Cyprian and St. Stephen. But Sixtus, less violent, or less ambitious than his predecessor, terminated this ridiculous quarrel, by yielding to the bishops of Africa. Hence, St. Ponce, deacon of Carthage, calls him in his works, a good and pacific prelate.

Dennis, of Alexandria, advised pope Sixtus, by letter, of an heresy which was beginning to appear. He wrote to him: "There has broken out at Ptolemaides, in Penasopolis, a doctrine, truly impious, containing many blasphemies against God the Father. It teaches us not to call Jesus Christ his only Son; and not to recognize the Holy Spirit."

The chief of this sect, named Sabellius, taught that the persons of the Trinity were

but three names; and that there was but one person in the Godhead, called in heaven God the Father; on earth, Jesus Christ; and in the creatures, the Holy Spirit. And that the Father, under the notion of the Son, had been born of the virgin, and suffered death.

Several bishops, having partaken of the sentiments of Sabellius, propagated them in their dioceses. This heresy was similar to that of Praxeas, and the Patropassians, who denied the Trinity, and the real distinction of the divine personages. It was transmitted to Sabellius, by Noetus, his master, and extended into all the provinces, to Rome even, and into Mesopotamia, where it found numerous partizans.

The violence of the persecution increased during the consulate of Memmius Fuscus and Pomponius, when the emperor Valerian, occupied in the East, by the war against the Persians, had left the government of Rome to Marcian, the declared foe of the religion. This latter, in the absence of the sovereign, gave orders to the senate, to pursue the Christians, and condemn to punishment the bishops, priests, and deacons; to punish senators and Roman knights, by taking from them their rank, and property, and to put them to death, if they persisted in their professions of Christianity. He made, besides, two other edicts; one against women of quality, whom he

threatened with exile; the other, against the Cæsareans, or freedmen of Cæsar, whom he declared confiscated as slaves to the prince, if they did not return to the religion of the empire.

Pope Sixtus was one of the first victims of this cruel persecution. He was seized, with a part of his clergy, whilst praying, at the cemetery of Callistus, and conducted to torture. St. Laurence, the principal deacon of the Roman church, followed him in tears, and said to him: "Whence go you, father, without your son? You are not accustomed to offer sacrifice without the minister. How have I displeased you? Prove if I am worthy of the choice you have made, in confiding to me the dispensation of the blood of our Lord." Sixtus replied to him: "I do not leave you, my son. A greater contest is prepared for you. You will follow me in three days."

The martyrdom of St. Saturninus, and St. Denis, are placed in the reign of Valerian. Saturninus, says the legend, had established his church at the capitol, at Toulouse, near to a temple dedicated to Jupiter, and celebrated throughout all Gaul, for its oracle. But after the arrival of the holy man, the demons ceased to speak, the reputation of the idol received a great shock, and the offerings were very much diminished. Then the pagan priests proposed to Saturninus to build him a splendid temple, without the city. Upon his refusal, they resolved to rid themselves of this pious bishop, by violence. On the day of a great festival, when the people had assembled

for a solemn sacrifice, they saw Saturninus going towards his church: "Behold," they cried, "the enemy of the gods, and the champion of this new religion! Behold him, who draws the anger of Jupiter upon us! Shall he sacrifice, or shall he die?"

Immediately the fanatical people seized on the holy bishop; they dragged him to the temple, forced him to kneel before the statue of the god, and presented incense to him, to burn in honour of Jupiter. But, instead of obeying them, the martyr spat upon the idol. The pagan priests, bound him by the feet to the tail of a savage bull, destined for the sacrifice. The animal, excited by the cries of the multitude, broke away with a bound, ran about the city, precipitated himself into the country, dragging in his course the corpse of Saturninus. At length, the cords breaking, some bloody fragments were left upon the ground, and were collected together by a poor female, who secretly buried them.

The legends of the saints, are filled with acts so singular and marvellous, that the strongest faith cannot admit their authenticity. Serious minds regard the martyrdom of Saturninus as a fable, invented by the priests; and we shall place in the same rank, the beheading of St. Denis, who, according to our martyrology, was decapitated with Eleutherus and Rusticus, on Mount Montmartre, took up his head after the execution, and carried it during a journey of more than a league, even to the chapel, which, at this very day, bears the name of this illustrious martyr.

## [A. D. 258.]—VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

### MARTYRDOM OF SAINT LAWRENCE.

AFTER the martyrdom of Sixtus the Second, the See of Rome remained vacant for a year; the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, is the only remarkable event which occurred in this interregnum.

The holy deacon, on the day of the pontiff's death, distributed among the poor, the wealth of the church, not even excepting the vases used in the celebration of the Eucharist, which he sold to prevent them from falling into the hands of the pagans. The report of these great alms, excited the cupidity of Cornelius Secularis, the prefect of Rome, who supposed that the Christians had immense treasures in reserve; and in order to obtain them, he arrested Lawrence, who had them in his charge, as the deacon of the Roman church. The holy priest was led before the tribunal, and Cornelius interrogated him in these words: "We are assured, that in your ceremonies, the ministers offer the libations in vessels of gold, and catch the blood of the victim in cups of silver; that in order to lighten up your nocturnal sacrifices, you have

chandeliers of gold, in which you place candles, made of wax and perfumes; we know that to supply these offerings, the brethren sell their inheritances, and frequently reduce their children to poverty. Bring to the light of day, these concealed treasures; the prince has need of them to maintain his troops, and you ought, according to your own doctrine, to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. I do not suppose your god coins money; he brought none when he came into the world, he brought only words; render up, therefore, your money, and be rich in words."

St. Lawrence replied, firmly to the judge: "I own that our church is rich, and that the emperor has not so great treasures. Since you demand it, you shall see our most precious goods; yield me only a few days to place all things in order, to make straight the state of our wealth, and prepare the calculations."

The prefect, trusting in this promise, and hoping to enrich himself from the treasures of the church, granted him three days. St.

Lawrence, traversed the whole city, in order to find every where the poor, whom the church maintained, the lame, the infirm, the mutilated; he assembled them, wrote down their names, and on the third day, having ranged them in the square before the church, sought out the prefect: "Come contemplate the treasures of our God; you will see a great court, full of vases of gold, and all our wealth heaped up under the galleries."

When Cornelius, perceived this troop of poverty-stricken wretches, who begged alms from him, he turned towards Lawrence, with threatening eyes. "False priest (said he) you shall be punished for your temerity!"

"Why are you offended, my lord?" replied the holy man; the gold which you desire so ardently, is a vile metal, drawn from the earth, and which excites us to the commission of all crimes. The true gold is the light of which these poor ones are disciples; the great ones of the earth are poor, truly miserable and contemptible. Behold the treasures which I promised you; behold these virgins and widows, who form the crown of the church. Avail yourself of these riches for Rome, for the emperor, and for yourself." The prefect, in a transport of rage, exclaimed, "Wretch! do you dare to despise the laws of the emperor, because you do not fear death—but the vengeance will be terrible!"

Then he ordered the executioners to bring a bed of iron, under which were placed, half-extinguished coals, in order to burn the martyr more slowly; they despoiled Lawrence of his garments, and fixed him on the gridiron. The resignation, and the courage he evinced, during this horrible punishment, converted several pagans, and among them persons of high distinction. The poet Prudentius related, that the Neophytes, or newly-baptized Christians, affirmed, that his face was sur-

rounded by an extraordinary brilliancy, and that a sweet odour exhaled from his consuming bones; he adds, also, that the infidels, and the impious, did not perceive the light or the odour. We must regard this, as a poetic ornament. It may be, that in the midst of his frightful torments, the blessed martyr did not cease to sing the praises of the Most High, and encouraged the faithful, to confess with him the holy doctrine of Jesus Christ. When he was calcined on one side, he said to the prefect, in order to sport with his cruelty, as he had before done with his avarice: "Agent of the devil, cause them to turn my body on the other side." When it was done, he had the stoical courage to say to him: "As I am now cooked, you can eat me."

After the death of St. Lawrence, the persecution increased, and very many were martyred throughout the empire. It carried off St. Cyprien, bishop of Carthage, and many very distinguished of the faithful. But history throws no light on the combats which the clergy of Rome, had to maintain in this time of difficulty, and we are even ignorant of the state of ecclesiastical discipline.

Nevertheless, the legends relate at length the martyrdom of twelve Christians of Utica, who were cast into a bed of quick lime, and whose relics, the faithful afterwards collected; as the bodies formed a substance mixed with the lime, they enclosed, says the historian, this compact mass in an immense coffin, which was placed in the principal church.

According to the same chronicles, Theogenes, bishop of Hippona, was decapitated without the walls of the city, and three noble females, Maxima, Donatilla and Secunda, having refused to sacrifice to idols, were first violated by the executioner, and then beheaded.

## DENIS, THE TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[GALLIENUS and CLAUDIAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of Denis—His humanity—He ransoms Christians taken prisoners by the Barbarians—Pursues the ambitious projects of his predecessors—Errors of the Millenarians—Heresy of Paul of Samosata—Zenobia, queen of Palmyra—Excommunication of Paul—Death of the pope.*

DENIS, was a Greek, and of a birth so obscure, that nothing is known of his family. In his early youth, he entered upon a cloistered life, and afterwards, was made a priest of the church of Rome, by St. Stephen. He had adopted the opinions of his bishop in relation to the baptism of heretics, but it appears, that he did not conduct himself with the same violence in this quarrel.

The emperor Valerian, having been vanquished, and taken prisoner by the Persians, Gallienus, his son and successor, took the reins of government. The inaptitude of this new prince, exposed the provinces of the empire

to the ravages of the barbarians. The city of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia was ruined, sacked, and its citizens carried into slavery. As soon as Denis was informed of this disaster, he hastened not only to write to this afflicted church, but to send money into Cappadocia by safe hands, to ransom the Christian captives from the barbarians; and he did not cease his charity, from the recollection of the old contest of Firmilian, with his predecessor, Pope Stephen.

St. Athanasius, whose testimony is of great weight, relates several honourable acts of this pontiff, whom he regarded as among the an-

cient fathers, who were the most capable of informing us of the doctrine of the church, and of establishing rules for the government of general councils.

Some years after, the faithful in Egypt carried their complaints to Rome against Denis, bishop of Alexandria, whom they accused of advocating impious maxims, in the books which he wrote against the Sabellians, in order to establish the distinction in the divine persons. This accusation was frivolous, but the pope making use of it, in order to extend his power over the churches, and follow up the system of Stephen, consented to give judgment. He was somewhat guarded, however, in his measures, and not wishing to decide of his own authority in the matter, assembled a council, which disapproved of the doctrines of the bishop of Alexandria, and ordered that prelate to submit to the Holy See, and to go to Rome, to clear up the points which had been condemned.

The error of the Millenarians, had been for a long time established in Egypt, and threatened to overrun the west. The principal author of this sect, Bishop Nepos, rendering too judaically the text of the Holy Scriptures, maintained that Jesus Christ would reign on earth for a thousand years, and that the saints would enjoy in heaven, all the pleasures of the senses. Nepos founded his opinions upon the Apocalypse of St. John, and drew after him a great number of the faithful; history does not apprise us of the steps taken by Denis, the bishop of Rome, to put a stop to this heresy.

Soon after, the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, excited a violent controversy in the church. Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, a princess of ability beyond her sex, wishing to know the principles of the Christian religion, addressed herself to bishop Paul, in order to be instructed in its mysteries. But this prelate had singular opinions for the age. He called Christ a man, and not a God. He taught the people the sublime morality of the evangelists, and neglected to instruct them in the dogmas of religion. The bishops of the east, scandalized at his con-

duct, assembled at Antioch, and pursued him as "a wolf, which ravaged the flock of the Lord." The council, animated by the fanatical zeal which has always distinguished ecclesiastical assemblies, proceeded to judge Paul of Samosata. By his eloquence, the philosophical priest prevailed on them to suspend the condemnation, which they were on the point of pronouncing against him and his doctrine. Finally, it was perceived, that Paul had used dissimulation, and that he had corrected neither his sentiments nor his morals.

They then assembled anew, to the number of seventy, and condemned him for having trifled with their credulity, and the pacific intentions of Firmilian, who had presided over the first synod.

Paul, convinced of error of doctrine, and looseness of morals, was deposed and excommunicated by the council.

Pope Denis died on the 26th of December, in the year 269, during the reign of the emperor Claudius the Second and Paternus, after filling the episcopal chair for ten years and some months. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

During the pontificate of Denis, the philosopher Plotinus, celebrated for his great learning, flourished at Rome. This extraordinary man had not only drawn among his disciples a great number reared in the doctrines of paganism, but he even led off the sectarians of the new religion, and caused the churches of the Christians to be deserted, whenever he delivered his public instruction.

He pretended, like Socrates, to have a familiar demon; and affirmed, that by the light of reason alone, one could elevate himself as high as the sovereign God; who had, according to him, neither form nor essence, and was undefinable by human words. He combated all the Christian sects, and especially the Gnostics, who believed in spirits or secondary demons, among whom figured Christ.

Historians relate, that just before he died, Plotinus, turning to his disciples, said to them: "I go to reunite that of the divine, which existed in me, to that of the divine which exists in the universe."

## FELIX THE FIRST, THE TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 270.—CLAUDIUS the Second, and AURELIAN, Emperors.]

*Elevation of Felix—Paul of Samosata resists the decree of the council—He is driven from his See—Death of the pope.*

FELIX was a Roman, and the son of Constantine. He succeeded Denis, on the last day of the year 269. We know of none of the actions of his life, until his arrival at the pontificate. On mounting the chair of St. Peter, he found the church tranquil without, but torn within by the heresy of Paul of Samosata, of whom we have spoken, in the history of the

preceding reign. This bishop, supported by the favour of the idolatrous magistrates, and the credit which he had at Antioch, refused to submit to the decree of the council, which, having condemned and deposed him, had named to fill his place Domnus, the son of Demetrius. Paul, refusing to quit the episcopal residence, recourse was had to the



authority of the emperor Aurelian, who judged the affair with great justice. The prince decided, that the possession of the episcopal palace pertained to those who entertained relations with the bishop of Rome, and the other prelates of Italy, and that pope Felix, having refused to hold communion with Paul

of Samosata, he should consequently be driven from his See.

Felix died, according to general belief, on the 22d of December, in the year 274, having governed the church five years. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

## EUTYCHIANUS, THE TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 275.—AURELIAN, TACITUS, FLORIAN, PROBUS and CARUS, Emperors.]

*Election of Eutychian—Numerous fables in regard to him—Heresy of Manes—Curious history, and extravagant quarrels—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Felix the First, the clergy, and the faithful people of Rome, chose Eutychianus to govern the church. The city of Luna, in Tuscany, was the country of the pontiff, and his father was named Marinus. History teaches us nothing positive of the actions of his life; nevertheless, we might form volumes, were we to believe the fables which are related of the holy father, and of which all the pontifical writings could not guarantee the authenticity.

During his reign sprung up the famous heresy of Manes; but without entering into the details of the life of this wretch, we will content ourselves with explaining his extravagant doctrine. He maintained, that there existed in the universe two principles, contrary to and co-eternal with each other; God and matter, light and darkness; the author of good, and the author of evil; the one the author of the New Testament, the other of the Bible. He rejected the holy evangelists, and called himself the spirit, sent by Jesus Christ. He affirmed that the Saviour had only the appearance of humanity, and had not suffered in reality. According to him, good and evil were substances. He regarded the earth, flesh, magistrates, kings and sin, as the creation of the evil principle. He denied that the actions of men were free, prohibited marriage, and blamed the people who made war. He forbade his disciples to eat flesh or eggs, or to drink milk, or wine, which he called the gall of the devil.

The Manicheans administered the eucharist in one kind, and profaned it by mingling with it human seed. They pretended that Jesus Christ was the Sun, and that he revealed his divinity by plunging the earth into darkness, on the day of his death. They regarded the moon as the abode of the Trinity, and the air as a river, on which the souls of the dead were wafted to eternal light. They did not believe in a general resurrection, and maintained that the souls of those they called followers, passed into the souls of the chosen, and returned to God, after having been purified; that the souls of the wicked were enclosed in the bodies of beasts, in plants and trees; and they regarded labourers as homicides.

This doctrine extended itself into all the provinces of the empire, and lasted several years; perchance it would not have made so great progress, but for its wildness and extravagance, for the nature of men leads them to follow after things which are the most singular, and least reasonable. The followers of Manes announced, that they did not wish to imitate the Catholics; that they employed not persecution, but simple reason, to free men from error, and lead them to God. Their teachers were powerful in argument, and their mild and insinuating manners inensibly attracted men to their ideas. We translate one of their dialogues in the style of the period.

"A Catholic was complaining of the flies, and said to a Manichean, that he could not endure these insects, and that God should destroy them. The Manichean demanded of him 'Who made them?' The Catholic in his wrath dared not reply that it was God. *The Manichean*—'If it is not God, who then has made them?' 'I believe it is the devil.' 'If the devil made the flies, as your good sense causes you to declare, who made the bees?' The other dared not say, that God had made the bee and not the fly. From the bee, the other led him on to the grasshopper, the lizard, a bird, a sheep, an ox, an elephant, and at last to man; and finally, persuaded him that God had not made man."

History does not teach us what measures Eutychian took to check this heresy. The Martyrology only tells us, that the holy father ordered the priests to consecrate upon the altar figs, apples and grapes, in order to overthrow the doctrine of Manes, who prohibited from eating fruits. He ordered, also, that the bodies of martyrs should be enveloped in purple, and he himself performed this last duty to three hundred and forty martyrs; but the sacred historians leave us in ignorance in what persecution the church lost so great a number of the faithful. At length the pontiff Eutychianus went to receive the fruit of his labours, on the 8th of December, in the year 283.

Orosius and Sozomenes have left us a picture descriptive of the misfortunes of the empire, during these last pontificates. "The

armies, said they, disposed at their will, of the supreme power. Their leaders by turns seized the power, and the infamous Cyriades, a Persian by birth, was the chief of these thirty tyrants, who ruled the world for a period of several years.

"During their execrable rule, evils of all kind weighed down the empire; Britain was conquered by the Caledonians and Saxons; Gaul, by the Franks, the Germans and the Burgundians; Italy, by the Germans, the Sævi, the Marcomans and the Quadi; Media, Macedonia and Thrace, by the Goths, the Heruli, and the Sarmatians; the Persians over-

ran, even to the very borders of Syria; civil war, famine, and pestilence, ruined cities and destroyed populations, which had escaped the sword of the barbarians; towns were overthrown by earthquakes, which lasted several days; the sea flowed up from its bed, and inundated entire provinces; in Nubia, in Achaia, and at Rome, the earth opened, and swallowed up fields and houses."

Thus, add the ecclesiastical historians, did God commence to show forth his vengeance against the persecutors of his church, which increased in fecundity through the blood of its glorious martyrs.

### CAIUS, THE TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 283.—CARUS, CARINUS, NUMERIAN and DIOCLETIAN, Emperors

*Election of Caius—Cruelty of Maximian—Martyrdom of the Theban legion—Remonstrances of the soldiers—Cowardly flight of the pope—Extravagant rules—Death of Caius.*

If the ancient pontificals are to be credited, Caius was a Dalmatian, and a relative of the emperor Diocletian. During the early period of his reign, the church enjoyed an apparent tranquillity, and the emperors gave no formal order to persecute the Christians. There were, nevertheless, executions—and the pontificate of Caius was rendered illustrious, through the martyrdom of St. Maurice, and of the celebrated Theban legion.

Maximian, on whom the emperor had bestowed the title of Cæsar, had passed over into Gaul to combat the factions of Amandus, Elienus, and the Bagaudi. After having conquered his enemies, the Cæsar brought from the east a legion called the Theban, composed of Christians, whom he wished to employ, together with his other soldiers, in persecuting the faithful; but the legion refused to march, and formed its camp at the foot of the mountain, now called the great St. Bernard. Maximian, irritated at this disobedience, demanded troops from the emperor to conquer the rebels. Diocletian sent reinforcements to him, ordering him to decimate the soldiers, and to reiterate his commands for the persecution of the Christians. The Thebans declared that they persevered in their resolution; then Maximian commanded them to be decimated a second time, and that the survivors should obey. This second execution did not quell their courage.

These soldiers of Christ were commanded by three principal officers—Maurice, Euxperus and Candidus, who exhorted them to die for their religion, and recalled to their recollection the example of their comrades, whom martyrdom had already conducted to heaven. Still they wished to avert the wrath of the tyrant, and addressed to him a remonstrance, full of nobleness and firmness.

"We ask your soldiers, my lord, but we

freely confess that we are the servants of God; we owe to our prince duty in war, to God our innocence; we receive from you pay, He has given us life; we cannot obey you and renounce God our creator, our master and yours. If you ask of us nothing injurious, we will obey your orders as we have done to this time; otherwise, we shall obey Him rather than you. We offer the services of our arms against your enemies, but we do not believe we are permitted to bathe them in the blood of the innocent. We took an oath to God, before we did to you, and you can have no confidence in the second, if we violate the first. You command us to seek out Christians, in order to punish them; you have no need of seeking others, behold we are such. We confess God the Father, author of all things, and Jesus Christ his Son. We have seen you put to death our companions without mourning, and we have rejoiced that they have been honoured in suffering for their God. Despair has not driven us to revolt; we have arms in our hands, but we have not used them, because, we prefer to die innocent, rather than live culpable."

Maximian, not being able to conquer a courage so heroic, ordered his officers to put them all to death; troops were marched to surround them, and cut them in pieces; but instead of offering the least resistance, these unfortunate soldiers laid down their arms, and offered their necks to their persecutors. The earth was inundated by streams of blood. Six thousand men, the usual number of a legion, were put to death by the orders of the tyrant. During the persecution which Diocletian then caused the church to undergo, the pontiff Caius had the prudence to save himself by flight.

Some authors attribute to him extravagant rules. According to them, he ordained

a pagan or a heretic should not accuse a Christian; but such a decree would have been the signal of revolt against the secular power, and we cannot admit that Caius had the rashness to wish to brave the legitimate authority of the pagan magistrates, or that he ordained

a rule which he had no power to cause to be obeyed.

He died on the 24th of April, in the year 296, after having occupied the Episcopal See for twelve years. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

## MARCELLINUS, THE THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 296.—DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIAN, Emperors.]

*Election of Marcellinus—Persecution by Diocletian—Reflections on the priests of the nineteenth century—Horrible torments and sufferings of martyrs—the pope abjures Christianity—His death.*

MARCELLINUS was a Roman, and the son of Projectus; he was chosen to succeed Caius during the reign of Diocletian. Some years after his exaltation, the emperor excited the most cruel persecution against the Christians, which had occurred since the apostles' times. It broke out in the year 303, and all the provinces of the empire were inundated with the blood of the martyrs.

We give a passage from Eusebius, to put the reader in possession of the situation of the church, before this persecution. "The doctrine of Christ was held in great esteem and respect among the Greeks and barbarians," wrote the holy bishop; "the church enjoyed the free exercise of its worship; the emperors bore a lively affection to the Christians, and entrusted them with the government of provinces, without compelling them to sacrifice to idols; they were to be found in the courts of princes, and were permitted to practise, together with their wives, children and slaves, the duties of their religion.

"Dorotheus, one of the most renowned Christians, had been honoured with the friendship of the sovereign; an enlightened magistrate, and skillful governor of a province, he had evinced for the emperors, great proofs of his fidelity and zeal. The illustrious Gorgonus, and with him all those who had imitated their zeal for religion, partook of his power and credit. The bishops were honoured and cherished by the people, and the governors of the provinces. Multitudes of pagans came daily to make a profession of faith; churches were erected in every city; the people rendered to God solemn acts of thanks, and the temples were not large enough to contain the faithful.

"But too great liberty caused a relaxation of discipline, and the war commenced with outrageous language; the bishops, animated the one against the other, excited quarrels and disorders; at length, when falsehood and deceit were carried to the utmost excess, Divine justice lifted its arm to punish, and permitted that the faithful, who had entered upon the profession of arms, should be the first to be persecuted. Still they remained in a culpable insensibility; instead of appeasing the anger of God, they added crimes to crimes;

the priests despising the holy rules of piety, contended and quarrelled among themselves, fomented enmities and hatred, disputed for the first place as in secular affairs——"

Such was the corruption of the ecclesiastics towards the end of the third century. Since that period, the derelictions of the clergy have increased; the priests show themselves always the same—always avaricious, ambitious, debauchees, proud, vindictive—always enemies of repose and of true piety—always dissimulators. Such at least was the opinion of Platinus; and that which we see in our own day, should convince us of the truth of these accusations.

Nevertheless, there were still found holy souls, who imitated the heroic example of the Theban soldiers. Many faithful gloried in the name of Christ, and terminated their lives by a sad martyrdom. Diocletian, the persecutor, declared in his edicts that the executioners were permitted to invent new tortures for the Christians; they were beaten with heavy clubs, with pliant sticks, with scourges, with leathern lashes, and with cords; they were bound with their hands fastened to posts, or quartered by machines; then they rent them with iron hooks, and tore off their flesh from their thighs, their bellies and their cheeks some were suspended by one hand, other were bound to columns, so that their feet could not touch the earth, in order that the weight of the body should pull upon the bonds and augment their sufferings; in this state they underwent the interrogatories of the governor, and remained in torture for entire days. When the judge passed on to other patients, he left officers to watch for those who, yielding to the power of their torment would consent to deny Jesus Christ; as when they were foiled in their effort, the executioner mercilessly tightened the bonds on the martyrs were ready to die, when they loosened them from the posts, and dragged them to the earth, in order to revive them; new punishments.

The pope Marcellinus, during this unfortunate period, solemnly abjured the Christian religion; authors affirm, that according to the most authentic testimony, he offered incense to idols in the temples of Isis and Vesta,

the presence of many of the faithful, in order to induce them to imitate the example of cowardice which he set them. They add, that afterwards a council, assembled at Sienna to judge the pope, dared not condemn him. The bishops, who were at the synod, said to him, "condemn yourself by your own mouth, but you will not be excommunicated by our judgment." Marcellinus died on the 24th of October 304, after having held the Holy See for eight years and three months. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

*Septimus Severus—Puts to death senators—His vices and virtues—Debaucheries of his wife—Caracalla—Shamelessness of Julia his mother—Espouses her—Kills his brother—Buries alive four vestal virgins—Macrinus a debauched prince—Heliogobalus—Human sacrifices—Incest with his mother—Marcus Aurelius—Assassinated, because of his virtues—Maximin—His gluttony—His cruelty—His prodigious strength—The three Gordians—Philip usurps the empire—Decius—Gallus—Aurelian—Valerian falls into the power of the king of Persia—Gallienus—His defects—Claudius causes them to render divine honours to Gallienus—Aurelian—He is assassinated—Tacitus—His virtues—His generosity—Assassinated by the soldiers—Florian, his brother—Seizes on the empire—Is slain by the soldiery—Probus chosen emperor—Assassinated by the soldiers—Carinus—Numerian—Arrius—Aper massacres Numerian—Diocletian puts Aper to death—His cruelty—His avarice—His passion for building—Maximian Hercules, associated in the empire—He violates young females—His vices—Opinion upon absolute monarchies.*

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, after having been declared emperor by the army of Pannonia, combated those who made pretensions to the empire, and massacred forty senators, who had supported Albinus his rival. After that, he was occupied by the war against the Parthians. He travelled over different provinces of the empire, and caused an entrenchment of a hundred and thirty-two thousand paces in length to be constructed in England. He died at York, in the year 212. Shortly before his death, he called to him his two sons, Bastianus and Geta, and said to them, as his last paternal advice: "My children, remain united, live well together, and do not trouble yourselves beyond that." This prince had great virtues; he was fond of philosophy and belles lettres; he did not pardon the least faults, and his severity retained his officers in their duty. He was humane and generous, but was too indulgent towards his wife, of whose debaucheries he was not ignorant, and who had even conspired against his life.

Septimus Severus left his empire to his son Antoninus Bastianus, surnamed Caracalla, because he wore a long robe, after the fashion of the Gauls. This prince, in the early part of his reign, having accidentally encountered the empress, his mother, clothed in a loose costume, and with her bosom bare, cried out in an amorous transport, "I would, if I were permitted." The shameless princess replied, "You can, my son, if you will; for there exists no law for emperors and kings."

Of a base and furious character, Caracalla had already drawn the sword to slay his father; afterwards he assassinated his brother Geta, who reigned conjointly with him; and caused four vestal virgins to be buried alive, in order to atone himself with this frightful punishment. The memory of Alexander was

so dear to him, that he threatened the most severe punishments against philosophers, who adopted the sentiments of Aristotle; and he wished to burn all the works of that historian, because he was suspected of having aided the poison that conqueror. One day, he informed the senate that the soul of Alexander had entered into his own body, and ordered his courtiers to call him the conqueror of Darius. During his reign, he put to death twenty thousand persons in punishments, and laid enormous imposts on all the provinces of the empire. He was slain, after a reign of six years and two months.

On the death of Caracalla, Opilius Macrinus, a man of very obscure birth, seized upon the empire; but his debaucheries having rendered him odious to the army, he was slain, after a reign of one year and two months.

Marcus Antoninus Varius Heliogobalus, the son of Caracalla and Julia, succeeded Macrinus. This prince was another Sardanapalus. Like him, a priest of the sun, he sacrificed to his idol the handsomest children in Italy. He was killed by his soldiers, in the year 222; and his mother, who had become the wife of this monster, was put to death at the same time.

Marcus Aurelius Septimus Alexander succeeded him, and was friendly to the Christians. He drove from his court flatterers and buffoons; and not being willing, that justice should be venal, he prohibited the judges from receiving presents. Maximin, one of his principal officers, excited some legions to revolt, and killed this virtuous prince.

Caius Julius Verus Maximin, after this murder, seized upon the empire. He was more than eight feet in height, and so large, that the bracelet of his wife served for a thumb-ring for him. His strength was extra-

ordinary, and no horse could run so fast. In his gluttonous appetite, he ate sixty pounds of meat, and drank twenty-four measures of wine, in a day. The senators, fearing to become the victims of his cruelty, declared him an enemy of the republic; and he was put to death—together with his son, whom he had associated with him in the empire—by the soldiery.

The oldest of the three Gordians was declared emperor by the army, which he commanded in the name of the senate. His son, Gordian the Second, having been conquered and slain in battle with the enemies of the empire, he strangled himself through despair. The young Gordian, son of Gordian the Second, was chosen in his place. This prince had the qualities, of both mind and body, necessary for a good governor. He gained great victories, which appeared to preage a happy reign; but he encountered a traitor in his army who slew him, in order to seize upon the empire.

The senate did not wish to recognize Philip as emperor, nevertheless, it confirmed his election, in order to avoid a revolt of the legions.

Decius, in his turn seduced the soldiers, who massacred Philip in his camp at Verona.

Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, after having conquered Philip, was chosen emperor by the suffrages of the army. His reign was signalized by a violent persecution, which he excited against the Christians.

Trebonianus Gallus marched against him, at the head of his legions, and having surprised him in an ambuscade, pursued him into the marshes, where Decius perished, without their being able to recover his body.

Gallus then entered into a disgraceful alliance with the Goths, and notwithstanding his cowardice, he was saluted as emperor by a legion; but soon after, the soldiers murdered him, together with his son.

The Scythians and Persians continued to make irruptions into the Roman provinces. Julius Emilianus, alone dared to encounter these barbarians, and gained over them brilliant victories. He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, who massacred him three months afterwards.

Licinius Valerian, a man of superior merit and great excellence, was elevated to the imperial dignity. His good qualities, gave promise of a reign of justice, mildness and equity. Unfortunately, he permitted himself to be corrupted by Macrian, a celebrated Egyptian magician, who caused him to commit great faults, and excited him against the Christians. This same Macrian, repaid his benefits by the most infamous treason. He led him into an ambuscade, and delivered him into the hands of Sapor, king of the Persians. The emperor was condemned to the most cruel slavery. Historians affirm, that the Persian monarch, used the back of Valerian as a stool, whenever he wished to mount his horse. After several years of suffering, the unhappy prince was condemned to be flayed, and buried alive in a vat of salt.

Licinius Gallienus, after the death of his father, was chosen emperor. He was cruel, cowardly and luxurious. He laid pretensions to the character of a man of learning, and delivered speeches and poems. During his reign, the empire was given up to pillage, and his bad conduct placed the management of affairs in a council of thirty tyrants, who ruled the state according to their caprice and their interest; at last he was surprised, and put to death by Aureolus.

Flavius Claudius the Second, having been declared emperor in 268, caused divine honours to be rendered to the celebrated Gallienus. Historians extol this prince highly, and maintain, that had he lived longer, he would have surpassed the Camilli and the Scipios. He conquered the Goths, exterminated thirty-two thousand Germans in a battle fought in 269; defeated Aureolus near Milan, and vanquished Zenobia, who had subjugated Egypt.

Valerius Aurelian, a man of obscure birth, was chosen emperor, after the death of Claudius the Second. He was as successful as that prince in his wars, and equally distinguished himself by his virtues. The victories which he gained over the enemies of the empire, procured for him a magnificent triumph at Rome. He then passed over into Sclavonia, with the intention of subjugating the Persians, whom he had already conquered. Whilst on his march, Mnestheus, his secretary, whom he had threatened, on account of some indications of treason, counterfeited his handwriting, and seeking out some officers, who were friendly to him, showed them, on a forged list, the names of those whom Aurelian purposed to put to death, and his own among them, which he had placed there, in order to render the counterfeit more resembling the truth. On this, they resolved to be before-hand with the emperor, and assassinated him in his camp, between Byzantium and Heraclea. The historians, Aurelius Victor and Eutropus, say, that Aurelian was cruel and sanguinary, and did not keep within bounds, in the punishments he inflicted.

Marcus Aurelius, or Claudius Tacitus, was chosen by the senate, after a contest of six months, to succeed Aurelian. This prince, a man of letters, vaunted himself on having for a relative, the admirable Aurelius Tacitus, the historian. By his orders, ten copies of the annals of his ancestor were transcribed every year, which he placed in the archives. To other great qualities, he added sobriety, and moderation. Before his elevation to the throne, he was worth seven million crowns of gold, which he generously distributed to the people, and payed his soldiers with his savings; nevertheless, he was assassinated by them, they having killed his cousin, and feared they would be punished for the crime.

Marcus Aunius Florian, the brother of Tacitus, seized the empire which he kept, however, but a month or two. He was conquered by Probus, near the city of Tarsus, and was massacred by the army.

Aurelius Probus, the son of a gardener or labourer, was chosen emperor in spite of himself. Before clothing himself with the imperial mantle, he assembled the legions and said to them, "Soldiers, you know not what you do; as it is impossible for me to flatter you, we will not live well together." But the army having proclaimed him three times the most worthy of the crown, he covered his shoulders with the purple, and received the oaths of the legions, as chief of the state. In the course of his reign he defeated four hundred thousand Germans; subjugated seventy cities, and would have pushed his conquests still further, if nine of their kings had not prostrated themselves at his feet to sue for peace. He then subjugated Clavonia, Russia, and Poland, and passed over into Thrace, where he gained brilliant victories, which procured for him the honour of a triumph. This prince, of a severe disposition, never allowed his soldiers to be idle; he employed them constantly on works useful for the safety, the ornament, or the advantage of the province in which they were. The legions, fatigued by discipline, massacred him, after a reign of six years and four months. This glorious inscription was placed on his tomb: "Here lies the emperor Probus, the conqueror of barbarian nations, the conqueror of the tyrants of nations."

Marcus Aurelius Carus, merited the empire, from his good qualities, and his great actions. He had two sons—Numerian, esteemed for his virtues, and Carinus, despised for his vices. It was unfortunate for his people, that this good prince reigned but two years. His death was so great a stroke to Numerian, that it was feared he would lose his life, from the quantity of tears which he shed. Carinus, the younger of his sons, was slain in Dalmatia, in a battle against Diocletian; and Arins Aper, massacred Numerian, in the hopes of succeeding him; but Diocletian disputed the power with this new pretender, and remained sole master of the empire.

Aurelius Valerius Diocletian, the son of a freedman, or of the secretary of a senator, associated with him in the government, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian, his intimate friend. In the course of his reign, he exhibited great qualities, as a soldier and a statesman, in successfully defending the empire against the incursions of the barbarians. His avarice was, however, excessive. He overburdened the people with imposts, in order to increase his treasures, and accused senators of conspiracies against the state in order to seize upon their goods. His passion for buildings, caused him to be called, the mason of the empire, and he compelled the provinces to furnish workmen and materials, to build his palaces. Abusing the sovereign power, this prince, cruel, shameless, destitute of faith

and honour, caused them to carry off young girls and boys, for his debauches, and abandoned himself publicly to his ill-regulated passions.

The people, were not only compelled to suffer from the tyranny of the execrable Diocletian, but they had to deplore still greater evils when he associated with him the cruel Maximian and the two Cæsars, Gallerius and Constantine Chlorus. Instead of one master, they had four, who had each his court and army, which quadrupled dignities and places, and consequently, the public expenses. In order to supply this frightful increase of expenses, the emperors oppressed and massacred the citizens, and ransacked the provinces, until the fields and cultivated grounds were converted into solitudes; they then abandoned these devastated territories, in order to commit elsewhere the same ravages.

As for Diocletian, that proud upstart, he seated himself on a throne of massive gold, shining with precious stones, and caused himself to be adored as a god, as well as his associates in the empire. In the official language of the time, the public orators even did honour to their letters and decrees; all that appertained to them, partook of a divine character, as well as their persons. The exchequer was, in sacrilegious mockery, called the sacred largesses; and the apartment in which they slept, the holy chamber.

This community of dignity, brought about a new sign of reverence, very ridiculous; neither acted nor governed, but in the name of all; the petitions and discourses addressed to them, and all public and private relations with each of them were obliged, necessarily, to conform to this rule of unity. One was spoken to as representing three others, and individual actions were no longer distinguished; and this close union which united them in indivisible praise, was rigorously observed. Flattery seized upon this political precaution, and shortly habituated itself to clothe each prince, individually, with this collective importance. The grammar even was changed, and they were taught in the schools to say, "you," to a single person. As inferiors, seek always to exalt themselves by an imitation of the great, this absurdity, became a general form of distinction and compliment, which, from the Latin, has passed into modern languages.

Diocletian, in corrupting the manners and customs, which are the basis of all government, prepared the way for the fall of the Roman empire, and taught nations this grand truth, that monarchies fall under their own weight, when the lights of reason and philosophy illumine the people, and teach them to know, that they are not destined to be the slaves of kings.

## THE FOURTH CENTURY.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 301.—CONSTANTINE CHLORUS, Emperor.]

*Usages introduced in the first ages—Assembly of the faithful—Ceremonies of the Eucharist, one of baptism—Fasts—Rigor of discipline—Imaginary rights of the popes—Council of Cirthe composed of bishops, defiled with the greatest crimes—The debauchery of St. Boniface—Fabulous history of his martyrdom—Knavery of the priests.*

AFTER the death of Marcellinus, the Roman clergy governed the church of that city, for the space of three years.

During the first three centuries, religion, oppressed by the pagans, made slow and difficult progress. The faithful were forced to assemble by night, in private houses, in upper rooms, in the baths, under porticos, in the cemeteries, and even in the tombs, in order to administer the eucharist, and pray.

But Christians, animated by a holy zeal, assembled at these places, regardless of a shameful and violent death. The priests read the Old and New Testament, as the Protestants now do. The people brought bread and wine, for the administration of the eucharist. The communion was distributed, in both kinds, to all who were baptized, and the ceremonies terminated with a collection for the poor of the church.

In the first century, fountains and rivers supplied the baptismal water. Then this sacrament was administered to the sick, and children, in private houses, and in prisons. Next they went further from apostolic simplicity; for, in the time of Tertullian, infants were anointed, and they presented honey and milk, making many signs of the cross, and the baptized were clothed in a white garment.

The communion was administered indifferently; either in the morning, fasting, or in the evening, after supper. The eucharist—that is, the consecrated bread and wine—was carried to the sick and absent. As for fasts, they were discretionary, and no one was constrained to observe them.

In the second century, the faithful adopted the custom of praying for the dead; and, according to Tertullian, the prayers were preceded by many signs of the cross. In order to distinguish themselves from the pagans, they also abstained from eating the flesh of animals which had been strangled.

In the third century, a difference arose as to the administration of baptism to children; and, at the same time, the fast of Saturday, in commemoration of the burial of Jesus Christ, was introduced at Rome. But this custom was not approved of by the Orientals.

Christian worship had not yet altars. A single table of marble, served for the communion of the faithful. The discipline was, however, very severe against those who had committed homicide, adultery, or incest—or who had been convicted of apostasy. In the first

ages, a public confession was exacted. The Grecian, and Eastern churches had appointed a penitential priest, who compelled the culpable to wait without the gates of the church, clothed in sackcloth, mourning, and on their knees. Fasts, of several years, were imposed, according to the magnitude of their sins.

Sub-deacons were then established in the church; but history makes no mention of patriarchs, archbishops, or metropolitans. The bishops of the principal sees, unjustly arrogated to themselves superiority over those of the same country, and sometimes over those of several provinces, when these were dependent on the great cities. The popes, in their turn, put in the same pretensions, and the cowardice of the magistrates has rendered too real, their imaginary rights of jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal.

The persecution of Diocletian commenced to subside, in Italy, soon after the death of pope Marcellinus, and terminated shortly after in Africa. Then the bishops of Numidia, assembled at Cirthe, to give a pastor to that city; but these prelates were all apostates: some had surrendered the holy books to the pagans—others were soiled with great crimes. They soon agreed, and elevated to the see of the capital of Numidia, a bishop, celebrated in ecclesiastical history for his debauchery and his incests.

The sacred authors fix the martyrdom of St. Boniface, as occurring at this period. We give the legend: "A woman of illustrious birth, named Aglaa, dwelt in Italy, where she possessed wealth so enormous, that she had three times exhibited public games to the Roman people. Seventy-three supervisors had charge of her estates; and above all the others, she had placed a general supervisor, named Boniface, her favourite. He carried on a criminal intercourse with his mistress, and abandoned himself to all kinds of debauchery. But divine grace descended on his wicked soul, and initiated him into the truths of the Christian religion. Aglaa, touched with repentance for her past errors, surrendered herself to the most extreme practices of devotion; and, as her faults were great, she wished to keep fair with God by means of powerful protection. Not finding at Rome martyrs sufficiently distinguished, she sent Boniface to travel in the East, to bring back relics of illustrious martyrs.

"As soon as Boniface had arrived at Tarsus, in Cilicia, where the persecution still warmly

raged, he hastened, according to the orders of his mistress, to go to the public square, in order to see the martyrs in their torments. Some were hung, head downwards, before a slow fire; others quartered, upon four stakes, sawn asunder by the executioners—torn with hot pincers. Their hands were cut off, and tongues torn out. Others were fastened to the earth by stakes, driven through the throat, and were beaten by the clubs of the executioners. Boniface approached these martyrs, twenty in number, and exhorted them to combat, as true champions of the faith, in order to carry off an immortal crown. He was immediately arrested, and conducted before the tribunal of the governor. But, far from retracting, he had the courage to call him 'an infamous wretch—a serpent of darkness—a man veiled in crime.' Language so energetic, in the mouth of a new Christian, drew upon this stranger frightful punishment, and Boniface was condemned to be beheaded.

"The next day, his companions sought him through the city, and not finding him, said, 'Our superior is in a tavern, enjoying himself, whilst we trouble ourselves with hunting for him.' Whilst thus discussing, they met the brother of the jailer, and asked him if he could aid them in their search after a stranger, but now arrived from Rome. He replied to them: 'Yesterday, an Italian was martyred for Jesus Christ, and his head has been thrown into the arena.' 'He, whom we seek, is a thick set man, of light complexion, who wears

a scarlet mantel, a roué, and a debauchee, who has nothing in common with a martyr.' They followed him, however, and the jailer showed them the dead body of Boniface. Then he took up the head of the martyr, and gave it to them. Then the mouth of the martyr smiled, through the aid of the Holy Spirit. Then his friends mourned bitterly over his unfortunate end, and carried away his corpse with them.

"On the same day, an angel appeared to Aglaa, and said, 'He who was your slave, is now our brother. Receive him as your lord, and treat him with honor, for all your sins will be remitted, by means of his intercession.' Aglaa immediately transformed her palace into an oratory; and shutting herself up with holy priests, she prepared, with prayers, to receive the body of the martyr. When her envoys came near the city, she walked with naked feet, and in her chemise, before the precious relics, which she deposited, in the midst of flowers and perfumes, in a magnificent tomb, which she had erected at fifty stadia from Rome."

The legend adds, that the saint performed great miracles—that he drove out devils, and healed the sick.

During this vacancy in the Holy See, many other executions of the faithful are related, which took place in Theassalonica. Among others, the martyrdom of the young Irene, who received the glorious palm upon a high mountain, where she was burned alive.

## MARCELLUS THE FIRST, THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 308.—MAXENTIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Marcellus—He excites seditions in Rome—He is made an ostler, by order of Maxentius—His death.*

AFTER a vacancy of three years, the clergy and faithful of Rome placed themselves under the guidance of a holy man named Marcellus, a Roman by birth.

This new bishop wished to avail himself of the calm which religion enjoyed, at the commencement of his pontificate, to ordain rules, and re-establish in the church the discipline which the troubles had altered. But his severity rendered him odious to the people, and caused divisions among the faithful. Discord degenerated into sedition, and the quarrel terminated in murder.

Maxentius, seeing that the Christians were troubling the peace of Rome, laid the cause

of the disorders on the pope Marcellus, and condemned him to groom post-horses in a stable, on the high road. The holy father performed the duties of groom for nine months. Then the priests, having carried him off during the night, he was taken to the house of a Roman lady named Lucilla. The faithful assembled in arms to defend the pontiff; but the emperor marched his troops against the rebels, and dispersed them; and by his orders the house of Lucilla was converted into a stable, where Marcellus again performed the duties of a groom. The holy bishop, worn down by the fatigues of this wretched state, died after two years of pontificate, in the first month of the year 310.



## EUSEBIUS, THE THIRTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 310.—MAXENTIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Eusebius—His exile—Ridiculous story of the cross, of Christ, found by the mother of Constantine.*

In spite of the divisions which then reigned in the church of Rome, the clergy and the people had still a deliberative voice in the elections. They chose unanimously Eusebius, a Greek by birth, and the son of a physician. The tyrant Maxentius banished the new pontiff into Sicily, where he died some months after, in the same year as that in which he was elected, viz. 310.

The priests affirm that, during the pontificate of Eusebius, Helena, mother of Constantine, caused excavations to be made at Jerusalem; and that this princess found the cross on which the Saviour of the world had suffered.

But all serious historians have refuted this ridiculous story.

The acts of the martyrs, during the first years of the fourth century, are filled with miraculous legends of confessors and saints who suffered martyrdom; but the uniformity of the narrations deserves attention. There is always a Christian resisting the most frightful punishments, and finishing, by being beheaded, or thrown to wild beasts. Then the pagans always wish to annihilate the body, and the faithful, always, through the particular intervention of God, carry it off, unharmed by fire or water, in order to make relics of it.

## MELCHIADES, THE THIRTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 310.—MAXENTIUS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors.]

*Election of Melchιάdes—Debaucheries of Maxentius—Hypocrisy of Constantine—Liberty of worship—Schism of the Donatists—Condemnation of Donatus—The pope is accused of having surrendered the holy books to pagans, and of having sacrificed to idols.*

We enter now upon a vast career, less obscure than that of the preceding ages. History will lighten up, with her sublime torch, the enormous crimes and scandalous debaucheries which we shall find on the throne of the emperors, or the chair of the popes.

Melchιάdes, the new pontiff, was an African. During his reign, the church commenced enjoying a little tranquillity. Maxentius only persecuted religion at intervals; and then only to gratify his ill-regulated passions. Thus, he carried off Christian girls and women, whom he made subservient to his infamous pleasures. The conduct of the tyrant excited the indignation of the faithful, and Melchιάdes wrote to Constantine, who had advanced to Treves, to come and combat Maxentius.

Constantine had been providing, for a long time, the means to mount the throne, and his policy rendered him favourable to Christianity. He yielded to the entreaties of Melchιάdes, and his army marched on Milan.

His first act of power was to make an edict in favour of the Christian religion; but at the same time, he left to the pagans the free exercise of their ceremonies: "Because," said he, "I have learned that religion should be free; and that each one should be left to worship God as he judges proper." At this time, those who professed Catholicism, were still ignorant that we are permitted to force men to worship God, contrary to their convictions.

The popes were the first to put in use these execrable means, which they employed in the succeeding ages, with audacious tyranny.

Constantine, and Licinius his colleague, approached Rome. Maxentius, despairing of conquering them by force, notwithstanding his numerous forces, employed stratagem; but he fell himself into the snare which he had laid, and was drowned in the Tiber. After the death of the tyrant, Constantine entered the city in triumph; and the Christians celebrated, by public rejoicings, the victory which he came to gain.

In order to augment his power, this prince feigned to be zealously occupied about the wants and interest of the church, and mixed himself up in all the religious quarrels. The Donatists then commenced their famous dispute, the origin of which is very curious. A priest named Cecilian, had been chosen bishop of Carthage, by the faithful; but a party composed of deacons, who had received in deposit the vessels of this church during the persecution, opposed his ordination. These unworthy priests, hoping to divide among themselves these rich spoils, raised altar against altar.

Botrus and Calensius, enraged at not having been chosen to fill the see, joined them, and drew into their party a lady of illustrious birth, named Lucilla. Women always give a great impulse to all the plots which are formed, in church or state. Lucilla was rich, beautiful—surrounded by numerous friends. For a

long time her conduct had brought scandal upon the church. This woman was anxiously desirous to be avenged on Cecilian, who had reproved her, in a full assembly, for her levity and vices.

The three parties, united, formed a powerful faction, which declared against Cecilian, and refused to communicate with him.

Seventy bishops seconded their culpable designs. Having assembled in council at Carthage, they condemned Cecilian, because he had refused to appear before them, to justify himself; because he had been ordained by traitors; and lastly, because he had hindered the faithful from taking provisions to the martyrs, who were imprisoned during the last persecution.

After this decision, the fathers, regarding the see of Carthage as vacant, proceeded to a new election; and ordained a man named Majorin, a domestic of Lucilla, and who had been a reader in the deaconate of Cecilian.

Such was the origin of the schism of the Donatists in Africa. They derive their name from Donatus, of Casæ Nigræ, and from another, Donatus, still more renowned, who succeeded Majorin in the title of bishop of Carthage.

The Donatists carried their complaints before the emperor, and besought him to drive Cecilian from Carthage; but the prince, wishing to render an equitable decision, ordered

the bishop, and his adversaries, to appear before a council for judgment.

Cecilian went to Rome, with ten bishops of his party; Donatus, with an equal number of prelates. The synod assembled in the palace of the empress Fausta, called the house of the Lateran. The fathers declared Cecilian innocent, and approved of his ordination. Donatus was alone condemned, as the author of all the scandal of this accusation, and was convicted of great crimes, by his own confession. The other bishops were confirmed in their dignities, and permitted to return to their sees, though they had been ordained by the schismatic Majorin.

The pope and the other bishops rendered an account to Constantine, of the judgment which the council of Rome had pronounced upon the affair of the Donatists, by sending him a copy of the record of their proceedings. Melchiades died three months after, in the course of the year 314.

In spite of the condemnation which they had encountered, the Donatists persevered in their schism. They had the boldness to complain of the council of Rome, affirming that the judges had been corrupted by Cecilian; and even in the time of St. Augustine, under the emperor Honorius, they accused pope Melchiades of having delivered up the sacred books to the pagans, and of having offered incense to idols.

## SYLVESTER, THE THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 314.—CONSTANTINE, EMPEROR.]

*Birth of Sylvester—Council of Ancyra—Council of Neocæsarea—Celibacy of the priests—Disorders in convents—Heresy of Arius—He is exiled—Sect of the Valesians—The priests desire to imitate them—A holy bishop opposes the law of celibacy—His opinion adopted by the council—Knavery of the priests, in relation to the true cross—Pope Sylvester is accused of having abjured the Christian religion, by sacrificing to idols—His death.*

SYLVESTER, a Roman by birth, was the son of Rufinus and Justa, a woman of great piety. On his arrival at the pontificate, the church was occupied by no affair of more importance in the West, and in Africa, than that of the Donatists. The holy father obtained from the emperor permission to hold a new council in the city of Arles, and the heretics were anathematised, and driven from the communion of the faithful.

At the same period, a council was held at Ancyra, which has become famous for its canons. The tenth runs thus: "If deacons, at the ordination, have made protestation that they intend to marry, they shall remain in the ministry, by the permission of the bishop. But, if they have not made any protestation before their ordination, and they contract a second marriage, they shall be driven from the ministry." This confirms us in the opinion, that the celibacy of the priesthood was unknown in the apostles' times, and for a long

period after. Still, it is impossible to determine from what period it was that ecclesiastics have preferred "to burn than to marry." Historians show that, during the third century, priests, being more exposed to the fury of the persecutions than the laity, with difficulty found wives, and were accustomed to live in a state of celibacy.

The council of Neocæsarea took place some months afterwards, and a part of the same bishops assisted at the new assembly. The fathers enacted many regulations for ecclesiastical discipline. In the first canon, they prohibited priests from marrying under pain of being deposed. In the eighth, they permit those already married, to continue to live with their wives, and to leave them only on conviction of adultery. This usage still prevails in the Grecian church.

The famous Cornelius Agrippa blamed severely the law, which compelled ecclesiastics to deprive themselves of wives. He accused

the bishops, opposed to the marriage of priests, of permitting concubinage, in order that they might draw from it large revenues. He adds, that a certain bishop boasted that he had in his diocese, eleven thousand priests, living in a state of concubinage, who paid him a crown of gold yearly, to tolerate their mistresses. This motive alone, had induced him to oppose the marriage of priests.

In the synod, the fathers observed that marriage drew after it terrestrial and sensual occupations, which turned away ministers from the duty which the priesthood imposed on them. Unfortunately, the promoters of this jurisprudence had not studied human nature sufficiently, when they passed the law of celibacy. With more indulgence for human passions, they would have prevented the scandalous debaucheries of the priests, and the disorders of the convents.

During the reign of Constantine, the church entered upon a state of grandeur and prosperity, which was soon troubled by Arius, chief of a sect, who was born in Lybia. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, took the new heresy under his protection, and contributed powerfully to its propagation. This prelate, adroit and skilful, had drawn to his party Constantia, sister to the emperor, whose good opinion he had obtained; and by her aid, it made rapid progress. Daring bishops listened favourably to the new schism, and terrible disputes and bloody combats took place. Then the emperor Constantine, in order to put a stop to the disorders, assembled the first general council at Nice, which condemned the doctrine of the Arians.

Arius taught a Trinity, in which God, the father, was elevated above other persons. He regarded Christ as the first of created beings, and affirmed that God had adopted him for his son; but, that the son did not partake of the paternal consubstance; nor was he equal to the father—nor consubstantial with him; nor eternal, nor co-eternal. That the son was not, until he was made; that he had been created out of nothing, as all the other beings of creation; and that he was not the true God, but made one by participation.

Some authors maintain, that the obscurity of the matter, aided much in the establishment of the heresy. They add that, at the last, Arius, having abjured his sentiments, in the presence of a council, remained at peace with the church. Others maintain, with more truth, that he was exiled, and cite a decree of Constantine, which ordered his writings to be burned, and threatened with death those who should have the boldness to preserve them—a singular decree, which condemned to banishment Arius and his disciples, and ordained penalty of death against those who preserved the heretical works.

The great question, in relation to the celebration of Easter, was also agitated, and decided by the council of Nice. The fathers determined to celebrate the same day, throughout all the church; and the Orientals engaged to conform to the practice of Rome, of Egypt,

and the West. They then made a canon in relation to eunuchs. They permitted those who had been mutilated by surgeons, or barbarians, to remain in the ranks of the clergy, and pronounced an interdict against those who had operated on themselves. The judgment of the fathers teaches us, that a badly understood zeal for purity, had led many priests to imitate Origen. The sect of the Valerians was distinguished for this cruel practice. They were all eunuchs, and prohibited their disciples from eating the flesh of animals until they had themselves undergone the same operation. Then they gave them every liberty, regarding them as safe against temptations.

An ecclesiastical writer, of a later age, urges the bishops of our communion, who have made vow of living in a state of celibacy, to make a law, which should constrain monks and abbots to follow the example of the Valerians. This cruel precaution would arrest the disorders of the clergy. But we fear that marriages would not be as fruitful as they are now, if all the priests were eunuchs.

“The grand council pushed its severity so far, as to prohibit bishops, priests, or clerks, from keeping in their houses women, sub-introduced, but a mother, sister, aunt, or other person, who could not excite suspicion.” They denominated sub-introduced, those who dwelt with the ecclesiastics as nieces, cousins, or young and handsome serving-women. The council of Eliberis had already made the same decree. At Nice, a law still more severe was proposed. It prohibited those who were in sacred orders—that is, bishops, priests, or deacons—from living with the women whom they had espoused when laymen. But the confessor Paphnuces, a bishop in the upper Thebais, rose and said, with a loud voice, “My brethren, we would not impose a yoke so heavy upon priests and clerks. Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled. Too great severity would be injurious to the church; for all men are not capable of so perfect a continence. It should be sufficient, to prohibit priests from marrying, without forcing them to surrender the wives they had espoused, before entering into holy orders.” The opinion of Paphnuces had greater weight with the council, from the fact, that the holy confessor, having never married, had preserved great continence in the Episcopal see. His opinion was adopted. The question of marriage was abandoned, and the priests were left entirely at liberty.

The council, having closed its sittings, the emperor Constantine wrote two letters, in order to enforce its decrees. Those who refused to submit to the decisions of the fathers, were pursued by the secular authority, which was more fearful than the canons of a council. The cares of the prince were not confined to the persecution of heretics. Constantine was engaged in extending the Christian religion into all parts of his dominions. He even wished to erect a splendid church on the very spot where Jesus Christ had been buried; and Helen, his mother, undertook a journey to the East, during the pontificate of Eusebius,

in order to build at Jerusalem the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Legends affirm, that in digging the earth to lay the foundation of the temple, they found the cross of the Saviour. The princess sent a portion of this precious relic to her son, but left the trunk of the cross at Jerusalem. Since that period, the wood of the true cross has so multiplied itself, that if we could collect all the pieces which are exposed for the veneration of the people, they would make fire wood enough to warm all the inhabitants of Paris during the most severe winter; for there scarcely exists a church, which does not boast of being enriched with these precious relics.

All that we have related, belongs rather to ecclesiastical history than to the life of pope Sylvester. The actions of this pontiff remain in oblivion; and the legends transmitted by the monks, since the fifth century, are less adapted to put us in possession of the truth, than to convince us that the history of a man so celebrated has been corrupted nearly up to its very source. We would not adopt the fictions of authors, who represent Sylvester as the catechist of Constantine and pretend that this prince was cured of a leprosy, and baptized by the pontiff. They add, that the emperor, in gratitude, made him a donation of the city of Rome, and ordered all the bishops of the world to be submissive to the pontifical see. They affirm that the council of Nice assembled by the orders of Sylvester; and that he first granted the right of asylum to churches.

Romuald, and some undiscerning compilers, give us all these ridiculous fables as facts, of which celebrated historians have proved the falsity.

In the council of Rome, held in 378, under pope Damasus, the fathers wrote to the emperor Gratian that Sylvester, having been accused by sacrilegious men, had pleaded his cause before Constantine, because there was

no council before which he could appear. They adduce this example to show that Damasus and the popes, his successors, could defend themselves before the emperors—a new proof that, in the first ages of the church, the pontiffs regarded themselves as secondary to the secular authority.

We will also remark, that the council of Nice granted to the bishop of Alexandria the same privileges as to the pastor of Rome. The authority of the pope was then enclosed within the bounds of his diocese; he had no jurisdiction nor power over the other bishops; on the contrary, he was compelled to submit to the decrees of councils, and the judgment of his colleagues.

In all the persecutions which St. Athanasius underwent from the Arians, the bishop of Rome was never consulted; nor did they submit to his decision the articles of faith which caused the disorders in the East, because he was only regarded as any other metropolitan bishop, to whom was due primacy in the rank of his see.

The liberality of the emperor Constantine produced great evils in the church, as the legend of Sylvester teaches us. It affirms, that on the day of the pretended donation of Constantine, a voice was heard from heaven, exclaiming, "To day is poison spread through the church."

The Donatists, who persevered in their schism, tarnished the memory of Sylvester. They accused him of having dishonoured the priesthood during the reign of pope Marcellinus, in delivering up the Holy Scriptures to pagans, and in offering incense to idols. Their accusations were supported by terrible and irrefragable proofs.

Sylvester died on the last day of the year 335, after a pontificate of twenty-one years. His body was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, a short league from the city of Rome.

## MARK, THE THIRTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 336.—CONSTANTINE, Emperor.]

*Election of Mark—Obscurity of his history—Supposed writings—Refutation by the Protestants.*

ACCORDING to the most exact chronology, Mark, a Roman by birth, and the son of Priscus, was chosen on the 18th of January, in the year 336, to govern the church. His pontificate lasted eight months, and we are ignorant of any of his actions.

In the works of St. Athanasius is found a letter from the bishops of Egypt to pope Mark, in which they ask of him copies of the proceedings of the council of Nice—but the Protestants regard it as suppositions. The learned of our own communion deny the authenticity of this letter; and of the pretended reply

of the pope, in which he takes the proud title of universal bishop.

The holy father died on the 7th of October, 336, and was interred in the cemetery of Calistus.

During the pontificate of Mark, and under the reign of his successors, the new capital of the empire, built upon the site of ancient Byzantium, continued to make considerable progress. According to the historian Sozomenes, its circumference was already fifteen stadia. The interior of the city was divided, like ancient Rome, into fourteen quarters: the

public squares were surrounded by covered galleries; the principal streets came together at a magnificent forum, in which was raised a column of porphyry, supporting a statue of Constantine. The emperor inhabited a splendid palace, in advance of which he had constructed an immense circus; an hippodrome for horse-racing; a course for foot races; and an amphitheatre for the combats of wild beasts. Constantine built besides several theatres, porticoes or galleries for promenades, baths, aqueducts, and a great number of fountains. This prince also constructed a building, in which polite literature and the sciences were taught; a palace of justice; and public granaries, for the distribution of grain to the citizens who built the city, and to whom Constantine had allowed a perpetual rent, payable to them and their families, in grain. The capital was also enriched, at the expense of

other cities, with the most beautiful statuary of Greece. The Pythian Appollo, the Sminthian, and the Tripod of Delphos, decorated the Hippodrome. The Muses of Helicon, and the celebrated statue of Rhea, from Mount Didymos, were placed in the imperial palace. But that which most particularly characterized this reign, was the great number of Christian churches which were built at Constantinople. The cathedral called St. Sophia; and the church of the Twelve Apostles, built in the form of a cross, attracted admiration from the splendour of their architecture. The prince, destining this last for his burial place, had built a tomb of rich marble in the midst of the twelve sepulchres of the apostles, "hoping," says Eusebius, of Cæsarea, "to participate, after his death, in the glory of these princes of the church."

## JULIUS THE FIRST, THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 337.—CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS and his BROTHERS, Emperors.]

*Election of Julius—Baptism of Constantine before his death—He is canonized in the Greek church—St. Athanasius is accused of several crimes—Council of Antioch—The pope is maltreated by the bishops of the East—Deplorable state of the church—Death of the pope—His infallibility in danger.*

THE Holy See remained vacant several months, when Julius, a Roman by birth, was chosen to occupy it. Soon after the elevation of the holy father, Constantine retired to Byzantium, to escape from the execration of the senate, the Roman people, and even the Christians, whom he had overwhelmed with benefits. Baptism, which he had deferred to the last period of his life, was then administered to him, and he embraced Christianity—not from conviction, but from policy. Scaliger says, in speaking of this prince, "He was as much a Christian as I am a Tartar." The historian Zozimus also accuses him of having been converted to the new religion, because the priests of paganism refused him expiation for the enormous crimes which he had committed, whilst the Christian religion offered him full and entire absolution. The Grecian priests have, nevertheless, placed this monster in their menology, and honour him as a saint. He died soon after his baptism, and left by his will his empire to his three sons and two nephews.

The followers of Arius increased daily; they seduced Constantius, who had obtained, in the division of the empire, Asia, the East, and Egypt. But the emperor Constantine the Younger, who reigned in Spain, Gaul, and all the country beyond the Alps, protected the orthodox. St. Athanasius was re-established in his church at Alexandria, where he was again exposed to the calumnies of his enemies, who accused him of having committed

murders, and excited violent seditions in his diocese.

In order to put a stop to the scandal, the patriarch Eusebius assembled, in the city of Antioch, a council, composed of eighty-seven bishops, in order to judge Athanasius. No bishops from Italy or the West presented themselves in the name of Julius; and the council, presided over by Eusebius, was again desirous of driving St. Athanasius from his see. They decided the different articles of faith in favour of the Arians, and composed twenty-five canons of discipline, which have since been received by the whole church. The second canon is particularly remarkable. The fathers condemned those who entered the churches in a spirit of disobedience or singularity, and refuse to join in prayer and the communion. They ordered that they should be driven from the church. This demonstrates that, in the first ages of Christianity, the faithful, taking part in Christian assemblies, were accustomed to participate in the mysteries of the eucharist.

The partizans of Eusebius addressed to Rome letters, filled with complaints of the intimacy which the holy father maintained with Athanasius, and of his pretensions to re-establish in their sees the bishops deposed by the councils. They sent these letters by the deacons Elpidius and Philoxenes, whom the pope had sent to Antioch, ordering them to bring back, as soon as possible, the reply of the pontiff. Julius immediately assembled

a new council, to judge the cause of Athanasius, and wrote to the emperor Constans, to apprise him of the treatment which this prelate, and Paul of Constantinople, had suffered. The prince wrote to Constantius, his brother, beseeching him to send three bishops, to render an account of the deposition of Paul and Athanasius. The ambassadors went to Gaul, in obedience to the emperor's orders; but the bishop of Treves was unwilling to receive them to his communion; and they, on their side, refused to enter into a conference with the bishop of Alexandria, pretending that they did not justify the judgment of the Orientals, and contented themselves with placing in the hands of Constans the new profession of faith which had been composed since the council.

The church was then in frightful disorder. Bishops and fathers launched at each other terrible anathemas. The assembly at Sardes pronounced a condemnation against the enemies of Athanasius, and eight of the principal chiefs of the faction were deposed and excommunicated. The Eusebians, on their side, confirmed the proceedings against Athanasius and his adherents. They deposed Julius, bishop of Rome, for having admitted them to his communion; and Osius, of Cordova, for having formed an intimate friendship with Paulinus and Eustathes, bishops of Antioch.

They excommunicated Maximin, bishop of Treves, and deposed Protogenes, bishop of Sardes—the one because he favoured Marcel, who had incurred a condemnation—the other because he had sustained the deposed priests. The churches of the East and West were thus divided, and did not communicate for several years. At length Gregory the usurper of the see of Alexandria, being dead, the emperor recalled St. Athanasius, and re-established him at the head of his flock.

Other new heresies broke out, during the pontificate of Julius; but history does not teach us whether the holy father protected or combatted them. He died on the 12th of April, in the year 352, after having governed the church of Rome during fifteen years, and was interred on the Aurelian Way, in the cemetery of Callipodus.

Julius, before his death, had allowed himself to be deceived by the hypocrisy of Ursaces and Valerus, who had simulated a reconciliation with Athanasius, in order to labour the more efficaciously for his downfall; and the Holy Spirit, according to the promise of the evangelist, did not discover to the pontiff the artifices of these bishops, whom he received to his communion.

Gratian and Yvon have preserved several decrees of Julius, in which the holy father condemns usury.

## LIBERIUS, THE THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 352.—CONSTANS, JULIAN, JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN, and VALENS, Emperors.]

*Election of Liberius—He cites St. Athanasius before his tribunal—He excommunicates him, and is then reconciled to him—Council of Arles—Disgraceful fall of the pope—The extraordinary affection of the Roman ladies for him—Liberius excommunicates St. Athanasius a second time—The pope becomes a heretic, and draws several bishops with him, into the doctrines of Arius—He changes his sentiments through policy—He returns to Arianism, and dies a heretic—The priests have made a saint of him.*

AFTER a vacancy, of which the precise duration is unknown, Marcellinus Felix Liberius was chosen to govern the church of Rome, in the room of Julius the First. He was a Roman by birth. As soon as the Orientals were advised that Liberius occupied the pontifical see, they wrote to him against Athanasius. The pope eagerly seized upon the opportunity afforded him of augmenting the influence of his see. He sent Paul, Lucius, and Emilius, to St. Athanasius, citing him to appear at Rome, to reply to the accusations against him; but Athanasius, doubting the issue of a judgment, whose preparation announced the triumph of his enemies, refused to appear. Then Liberius condemned the holy bishop, and launched against him the most terrible anathemas.

The bishops of Egypt assembled immediately in a synod, declared their metropolitan orthodox, and sent back to the pontiff the excommunication launched against him.

Liberius discovered that his ambition led him into a dangerous path; and in order to lead back the bishops who had repulsed his pretensions, he addressed to St. Athanasius, his early friend, a letter full of friendship and respect.

He then assembled a synod of the bishops of Italy, and read in their presence the letter of the Orientals against Athanasius, and that of the bishops of Egypt in his favour. The council, comprising more of the partisans of St. Athanasius than his enemies, decided that it was contrary to the law of God, to favour the views of the Orientals, and advised the pope to send to the emperor Constans, Vincent, bishop of Capua, and several fathers, to beseech him to assemble a council at Aquileia, to put an end to these differences.

The new council was convoked in the city of Arles, whither the emperor went, after the defeat and tragical death of the usurper Magnentius. The deputies of the pope, Vin-

cent of Capua, and Marcel, bishop of another city of Campania, not sharing with him in the privilege of infallibility, had the baseness to urge earnestly that the fathers should pronounce condemnation of the heresy of Arius, themselves engaging, on this condition, to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius. The Orientals refused to condemn the doctrines of Arius, and maintained that they ought themselves to excommunicate Athanasius. Vincent of Capua, was seduced by the gold of the heretics, and ranged himself on the side of the Arians. Liberius, afflicted by this weakness, wrote to the celebrated Osius of Cordova, to express to him his grief, and protested that he would rather die in defence of the truth, than become the accuser of St. Athanasius. But he did not persevere long in this generous resolution; and his disgraceful fall spread scandal and desolation through the church. The conduct of Vincent greatly embarrassed the pope, in regard to the condemnation of the Arians, a constant aim of the Holy See. The pontiff, before entering on a path which might prove dangerous, determined to take the advice of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari. This prelate despised the world, a virtue very rare in persons of his rank. He was well informed, an extraordinary thing among bishops. His life was pure, and he was not wanting in firmness. Besides, he was well informed in religious controversies, and did not believe that the Orientals designed to attack the faith. His advice was, that the holy father should send deputies to the emperor to obtain permission to treat of all the articles of the faith in a general council, offering himself as one of the ambassadors.

Liberius accepted thankfully this proposal; then Lucifer, a priest called Panacrus, and the deacon Hilarius, were charged to hand to the emperor a respectful but firm letter. Constantius, solicited by the Catholics and the Arians, agreed to the wishes of the two parties, and by his orders a general council assembled at Milan. St. Athanasius was there condemned, on the accusations of his enemies; which decree the prince sustained with all his authority, and the orthodox prelates who refused to submit to the will of the emperor, were exiled to Chalcedon.

Constantius, irritated in seeing that his pacific dispositions, so far from appeasing the fury of the orthodox, only augmented the more their pride, and that his states continued to be troubled by religious quarrels, which the obstinacy of the pope excited, wrote to Leontius, governor of Rome, to take Liberius by artifice, and send him to his court; or to employ force, if necessary, to tear from his flock this priest of discord.

Leontius arrested the pope during the night, and conducted him to the emperor, at Milan, who interrogated the holy father on the disputes of the church; but Liberius was intracutable on all his propositions. The prince, in a transport of rage, exclaimed: "Are you then, the fourth part of the Christian world, being willing alone to protect an irreligious man, and

trouble the peace of the universe." The pope replied, "When I shall be alone, the cause of the faith will not be less good, and I will oppose your orders. Besides, three generous persons were found to resist the unjust commands of Nebuchadnezzar, and I will imitate those bold Israelites." Two days after this conference, on a formal refusal to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius, he was exiled to Beræ, in Thrace; and Constantius, whom the ultra Montanes regard as a persecutor, sent him five hundred crowns of gold for his expenses.

The Arians then elevated Felix to the papal see; but two years afterwards, Constantius, having come to Rome, many ladies, of illustrious birth, engaged their husbands to beseech the emperor to restore the shepherd to his flock, threatening to go themselves to seek for their bishop. The senators, fearing to excite the wrath of the emperor, did not dare to take so bold a step, and permitted their wives themselves to demand the pardon of Liberius. The Roman ladies presented themselves before the emperor, clothed in their richest garments, and covered with precious stones, in order that the prince, judging of their quality by their appearance, might have the more regard for them.

Arrived at the foot of the throne, they prostrated themselves before Constantius, and besought him to have pity on this great city, deprived of its shepherd, and exposed to the incursions of the wolves. He permitted himself to bend. After having consulted with the bishops who accompanied him, he gave orders, that if Liberius entered into their views, he should be recalled, and should govern the church.

Fortunatian, bishop of Aquileia, went after Liberius, to engage him to subscribe to the wishes of the emperor. The pontiff, wearied by exile, and desirous of returning to Rome, hastened to yield a full and entire adhesion to the third council of Sirmium, which had published a profession of faith, favourable to Arianism. The letter, in which he expresses his acceptance of the entire heretical formula of the Arians, has been preserved. He then excommunicated St. Athanasius, the greatest defender of the church; and this example of cowardice drew into the heresy a great number of bishops.

After this shameful apostacy, Liberius wrote to the bishops of the East in these terms:

"I defend neither Athanasius nor his doctrine. I received him to my communion in imitation of Julius, my predecessor, of happy memory; and in order not to deserve to be called a prevaricator. But, it has pleased God to cause me to know that you have justly condemned him, and I have given my consent to his excommunication. Our brother Fortunatian is charged with the letters of submission which I have written to the emperor. I declare my intention to repel Athanasius from our communion; nor do I even wish to receive letters from him; desiring to have peace and union with you, and with the bishops of all the Eastern provinces.

"To the end that you may know clearly the sincerity with which I speak to you, our brother Demophilus, having desired to propose to my acceptance the true and catholic faith which many of our brethren, the bishops, have examined at Sirmium, I have received it entire, without curtailing a single article. I beseech you then, since you see me agreed with you in all things, to address your prayers to the emperor, that I may be recalled from my exile, and be restored to the see which God has confided to me." That was the aim of the pontiff's desires.

As soon as St. Hilarius was apprised that the pope was become an Arian, he launched against him three terrible anathemas, calling him apostate, and prevaricator from the faith. Indeed, it was difficult, after a fault so disgraceful, to apologize for the holy father. The priests even avow that Liberius was an heretical pope; that he had abjured the Catholic faith in openly proclaiming himself an Arian; and that the infallibility of the Holy See is gravely compromised by his apostacy, and his adhesion to the heretical council of Sirmium.

The abjuration of the pontiff having been accepted, Liberius returned to Rome, where he was received with great honours. His friends pushed on the people to new seditions, and drove Felix from the city. The holy father then sustained the new doctrines which he had embraced, and caused the Arians to triumph. But he soon perceived that he could not long maintain himself on the see of Rome if he did not change his policy. Then the Arian council of Rimini, having demanded his approval, he refused to sign the formulary, and concealed himself until the death of the emperor Constantius.

Three years afterwards, the demi-Arians, persecuted by Eudoxius and the pure Arians, held a synod, and agreed to submit their doctrines to the judgment of the bishop of Rome. The pope made a difficulty about receiving them, regarding them as Arians who had abolished the faith of Nice; but when they consented to recognize the consubstantiality of the word, he gave them a letter of communion, in which he bears witness, that he receives with great joy, the proofs of the purity of their faith, and of their union with all the Western churches.

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The pope did not long survive this re-union of the demi-Arians; he died on the 24th of September, 366, after having governed the church of Rome for fourteen years and some months. His apostacy has not prevented the very illustrious bishops St. Epiphanius, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose from eulogizing him highly. The Roman Martyrology has even inscribed his name among the saints whom the church honours. But through an excess of prudence, on the part of cardinal Baronius, it has of late years been suppressed.

During the reign of pope Liberius, died, aged one hundred and five years, the great St. Anthony, who is regarded as the founder of the religious orders of the East. The visions of this monk, rather than his piety, rendered him celebrated among the anchorites of his age, and gave him an immense reputation for holiness, which extended even to the extremity of Gaul. Although he could neither read nor write, St. Anthony has left many works, which he dictated, in the Egyptian language, to his disciples; among others, seven letters, filled with the true apostolic spirit, which were translated first into Greek, and then into Latin. In the midst of the extravagant and incoherent recitals of his ecstasies, and his temptations, we have been struck with the singular revelation which he had a few days before his death, and which has been transmitted to us by one of his disciples. "The holy man was seated," thus speaks the legendary, "when the divine Spirit descended upon him. Then he entered into an ecstasy; his eyes raised to heaven, and his attention fixed. He remained for five hours in complete immobility, groaning from time to time; at length he fell upon his knees. We all, seized with dread, besought him to tell us the subject of his tears. 'Oh, my children, replied he, the wrath of God will fall upon the church; we will be delivered over to men like to unclean beasts; for I have seen the holy table surrounded by mules and asses which overturned the altars of Christ by rude kicks, and which defiled the sacred body of the Saviour! I heard a voice cry out, Thus my altar shall be profaned, by abominable ministers, who shall call themselves the successors of the apostles.'"

## FELIX THE SECOND, THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE—OR ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 366.]

*Election of Felix—He is ordained pontiff, in the presence of the eunuchs of the emperor—Two popes at Rome—Felix is exiled—His death—He is regarded as a saint—Trickery of the priests.*

Orators are divided on the subject of Felix, as to whether he merits the name of pope, or that of anti-pope and schismatic. Authors, respectable for their knowledge, speak of him with contempt. The church maintains, on

the contrary, that he was legitimately chosen bishop of Rome, and has decreed to him the honours of martyrdom. This authority, without convincing us of the holiness of Felix, compels us, at least, not to neglect his history.



A Roman by birth, and the son of Anastasius, he was still a deacon when the pope Liberius was sent into exile. The Arians wished to place another bishop over the see of Rome; but the clergy having sworn that they would not receive any other whilst Liberius was living, it was necessary to use address to render this oath useless. The emperor Constantius employed Epictetus, a young neophyte, bold and violent, whom he had created bishop of Centumcella, now Civita Vecchia, situated upon the Tuscan gulf. It was from the hands of this prelate that Felix received episcopal ordination. If we can believe St. Athanasius, the sacred ceremony took place in the imperial palace, although it should have happened in the church. Three eunuchs represented the faithful people of Rome, and three bishops laid their hands on Felix.

Authors have different opinions as to his conduct, and his orthodoxy. Some say he was an Arian; others maintain that he preserved the Nicean creed, and that he did not hold intercourse with heretics, except upon matters foreign to religion; but all agree that his elevation displeased the friends of Liberius, who were very numerous; and when the Roman ladies had obtained the recall of this latter, the emperor ordered that he should govern the church in connection with Felix.

Then the prelates, assembled in council at Sirmium, wrote to the clergy of Rome to receive Liberius, who had sworn to forget the past, and live in peace with Felix. But one had tasted the joys of episcopal grandeur; the other was ambitious; both had partizans, who excited in Rome violent quarrels and bloody combats. At length, the legitimate chief triumphed over his competitor, drove him from the city, and reduced him to the state of a bishop, without a church.

Felix, whose faction was not destroyed, returned soon after to the city, daring to call the people together, in a church beyond the Tiber; but the nobility forced him to quit Rome a second time. The prince, who was always desirous of maintaining a good standing with Liberius, was then obliged to give him up; and Felix, having lost his protector, retired to

a small estate which he owned, where he lived nearly eight years.

The faithful now honour him as a holy martyr, driven from his see by the Arian, Constantius, in consequence of his defence of the Catholic faith. The pontificate of Damasus adds, that he was massacred at Ceri, in Tuscany, by the orders of the emperor, whom he had excommunicated. Nevertheless, it has been proved, that the title of saint was given him by Gregory the Great, and that he was on the point of losing it under Gregory the Thirteenth, by an incident, of which the cardinal Baronius has transmitted to us the relation. He relates, that in the year 1382, whilst they were labouring, by order of the pope, on the reformation of the Roman Martyrology, they were deliberating if they should give to Felix the title of martyr, or strike him from the catalogue of saints. Baronius composed a long dissertation, in order to show that Felix was neither saint nor martyr. He was applauded by all judicious men, and the fathers affirmed that he had been inserted by accident, into the sacred catalogue. The cardinal Santorius, undertook the defence of Felix, but met with no success. This religious discussion led several priests to dig secretly under the altar of the church of St. Comus, and St. Damian, where they discovered a great marble sepulchre, in which were enclosed, on one side, the relics of the holy martyrs, Mark, Marcellinus, and Tranquillin; and on the other, a coffin, with this inscription: "The body of St. Felix, pope and martyr, who condemned Constantius."

This discovery, having been made on the evening of his fete, when he was on the point of losing his cause, and falling from heaven, they attributed to a miracle, that, which can safely be called, a monkish trick. Baronius regarded himself as blessed in finding himself defeated by a saint, and retracted at once, all that he had written. The name of Felix was then re-established in the Martyrology, where his worship was confirmed. It is difficult to reconcile this judgment with that of Athanasius, who regarded the new pontiff as a monster, whom the malice of anti-Christ had placed in the Holy See.

## DAMASUS, THE THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 366.—VALENTINIAN, VALENS, GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Damasus—He embraces the party of the anti-pope—Violent sedition excited by the two popes, Damasus and Urban—Damasus victorious—He sets fire to a church—Luxury of the bishops of Rome—Debaucheries of the priests—Hypocrisy of the pope—Impostors make a saint of him—Frightful scandal, caused by the pope—He is accused of adultery—Law against the insatiable avarice of the clergy—The Arians persecute the orthodox—Death of St. Athanasius—The Luciferians—The Donatists—Ambition of the popes—Heresy of the Priscillianists—Women embrace this new sect with enthusiasm—Debaucheries in their assemblies—Another accusation of adultery against pope Damasus—His death.*

DAMASUS WAS a Spaniard by birth, and the son of a writer, named Anthony, who estab-

lished himself at Rome as a scribe. The young Damasus, having been educated with great

care in the study of polite literature, entered into orders, and followed pope Liberius, when exiled to Berea, a city of Thrace. He returned afterwards to Rome, and abandoned his protector, to join the party of Felix.

After the death of Liberius, the factions which divided the clergy, excited a violent sedition, in giving him a successor. Each party assembled separately. Damasus, who was sixty years old, was chosen and ordained in the church of Lucina, whilst the deacon Ursin was proclaimed in another church. When it came to mounting the papal see, the two competitors sharply disputed the throne, and the people, taking part in the schism, a serious revolt ensued. Juventius, prefect of Rome, and Julian, prefect of provisions, exiled Ursin, as well as the deacons Amantius and Loup, the principal leaders. They then arrested seven seditious priests, whom they wished to banish from the city. But the party of Ursin rescued them from the hands of the officers, and conducted them in triumph to the church of Julius. The partisans of Damasus, armed with swords, and clubs, with the pontiff at their head, re-assembled, in order to drive them off. They besieged the church, and the gates being forced, they murdered women, children, old men, and the massacre was terminated by incendiarism. The next day there were found, under the ruins, the dead bodies of one hundred and thirty-seven persons, who had been killed by arms or strangled in the flames. The prefect Juventius, not being able to quell the sedition, was forced to retire.

The author who relates these facts, blames equally the fury of the two factions; he adds: "When I consider the splendour of Rome, I comprehend that those who desire the office of bishop of that city, would use all their efforts to obtain it; it procures for them great dignity, rich presents, and the favours of the ladies; it gives them splendid equipages, magnificent garments, and a table so choice, that it surpasses that of kings."

Damasus was yet more sensual than his predecessors. He loved to enjoy the pleasures of a soft and voluptuous life. Pretextatus, who was then prefect of Rome, said to him in pleasantry: "If you desire me to become a Christian, make me bishop in your place." And truly, so rich a lord would not have been ambitious of the chair of St. Peter, if the conduct of Damasus had been more apostolical.

The luxury of the Latin church was odious to St. Jerome and St. Gregory, of Nazianzus, who indignantly complained of it. They called the Roman clergy, a senate of Pharisees, a troop of ignorant, seditious fellows, a band of conspirators; they blamed, without concealment, the prodigalities, the debaucheries, the rascalities of the priests, and condemned the elevation of Damasus to the Holy See, as having been brought about by force and violence.

As to the anti-pope Ursin, his consecration was still more irregular, having been done by a single prelate, Paul, bishop of Tibur, a gross and ignorant man. Nevertheless, the schis-

atics continued to assemble in the cemeteries of the martyrs, and preserved a church, where they held their assemblies, though they had neither priests nor clerks in the city.

Damasus not being able to force them to submission, had recourse to the authority of the prince, to obtain an order to drive them from Rome. Joining then hypocrisy to fanaticism, he made a solemn procession, to beseech from God, the conversion of these obstinate schismatics. But, when he had received from the emperor authority to destroy his enemies, the pontiff, suddenly changing his tactics, assembled his partisans, and with his tiara on his head, and arms in his hands, he penetrated into the church, and fell upon the heretics, giving the signal for combat. The carnage was long and bloody; the temple of the God of clemency and peace was soiled by violence and assassination.

This terrible execution could not yet break down the faction of the followers of Ursin. Then the holy father, taking advantage of the anniversary of his birth, assembled several bishops, from whom he desired to force the condemnation of his competitor. These bishops, firm and just, replied, that they had assembled to rejoice with him, and not to condemn a man unheard.

Such was this pope, whom impostors dare to call "a very pious, and a very holy person."

The accusation of adultery, which was afterwards brought against the holy father, by Calixtus and Concordius, appears to be established upon the strongest proof. The synod which freed him from this accusation, did not change the convictions in relation to this frightful scandal; for if the calumny of the charge had been established, the accusers would have been handed over to the secular arm, to be punished in accordance with the rigour of the Roman law; and we know, on the contrary, that they were sustained by the principal magistrates.

In order to understand the morals of the clergy, of this period, it is important that we should make mention of a law which was passed by the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, towards the end of the year 370. It prohibited ecclesiastics and monks from entering the houses of widows, or of single women living alone, or who had lost their parents. In case of a breach of it, it permitted relatives or connections to summon the culpable priest before the tribunals. It also prohibited ecclesiastics, under penalty of confiscation, from receiving, by donation or testament, the property of their penitents, unless they were the legitimate heirs. This law was read every Sunday in all the churches of Rome. It is supposed that the pope himself had asked for its passage, in order to repress, by aid of the secular arm, the avarice of many priests, who seduced the Roman dames in order to enrich themselves with their spoils. The avarice of the ecclesiastics had led them to frightful corruptions; they surpassed the most skilful in the art of extorting property, and their prudence was so marvellous, that no

one dared bring them before the tribunals. St. Jerome openly condemned this law against the avarice of the priests, which fixed a mark of infamy on the clergy. Still it appeared to him just and necessary. "What a disgrace," he exclaimed, "to see pagan ministers, jugglers, play actors, hackney coachmen, depraved females, inherit, without obstacles, whilst the clergy and monks are alone prohibited from acquiring inheritances. This prohibition is made, not by pagan princes, nor by the persecutors of Christianity, but by Christian emperors! I dare not complain of the law, for my soul is deeply afflicted in being obliged to confess that we have merited it, and that religion, lost through the insatiable avarice of our priests, has forced our princes to apply a remedy so violent."

The disorders of the clergy were not, however, arrested by this law. The emperors were constrained to make a new one, by which widows were prohibited from parting with their jewels or rich furniture, under pretence of religion. They ordered that they should leave them to their children, and that no one, when dying, should name as his heir, the priests, the poor, or the churches.

At Constantinople, the Arian sect, by turns persecuting or persecuted, still ruled, under the protection of the emperor Valens. It pursued the orthodox with bitterness, and using reprisals, inflicted on them all the evils it had undergone. St. Athanasius, Eusebius of Samosata, Meleceus, and St. Basil, wrote to Damasus touching letters, in regard to the wretched state of affairs in the East. The pope made them no reply, being too much occupied at Rome to give any attention to the Christians of the East; or, rather, his great age began to weaken his ambition. Perchance, he also feared that the emperor Valens might sustain the interests of Ursin, his enemy, if he declared himself with too much warmth against the Arians; besides, he did not love St. Basil, who had opposed Paulinus, the favourite of the pope, and sustained Meleceus, his competitor for a bishop's see.

Damasus sent back the letters by the same bearer, charging him to say to the bishops, that he ordered them to follow, word for word, the formulary which he prescribed. Basil, despising these airs of hauteur, broke off all intercourse with the pontiff, and exhibited, in several letters, his indignation against the Holy See.

Egypt remained peaceful during the life of St. Athanasius, who exercised, for forty-six years, episcopal functions in the city of Alexandria. As the bishop had entered on a very advanced age, the faithful besought him to designate his successor. He named Peter, a venerable man, esteemed by all for his great piety. On this occasion, the Roman pontiff wrote to the new prelate, letters of communion and consolation, which he sent by a deacon. The prefect of Alexandria, fearing that Damasus only sought the alliance of the bishop to excite anew the old religious quarrels, arrested his envoy, and caused them to bind

his hands behind his back, ordering that he should be beaten by the executioners with stones, and thongs of leather, loaded with lead. After the punishment, the unhappy deacon, still covered with blood, was immediately put on shipboard, and sent to the remote mines of Phœnicia. Peter, fearing himself, escaped during this execution, avoiding his persecutors, took refuge in a vessel, which carried him to Rome, where he remained for five years in the tranquillity of a safe and honourable retreat.

At Rome, the party of Ursin was reduced to the last extremities; but the Luciferian and other schismatical, held still criminal assemblies, and the vigilance of Damasus could hinder them from having a prelate. Ursin had chosen Aurelius; after his death Eusebius succeeded him, and maintained him in the city, in defiance of the pursuit of the pope.

The faction of the Donatists had also a bishop. They assembled beyond the walls of the city, in the caves of a mountain. The heretics received from their brethren in Africa a pretended Roman patriarch, who, faithful in spite of himself, to the precepts of the evangelists, had nothing but humility and poverty for his lot.

After several years of expectation, Peter of Alexandria, who had been driven from his see, by the violence of the Arians, was called to assist at a council, convened by Damasus at which he had the satisfaction to see Appolinarius, and his disciple Timothy, who claims to the metropolitan see of Alexandria, condemned. Up to this time, the here Appolinarius had not been anathematized; his errors had been tolerated by the patriarchs of the East, who evidenced no found respect for his personal character.

The anti-pope Ursin, had been engaged in constant intrigues, since the death of Valentinian the First, to sustain his party, and to mount the Holy See. Three years had elapsed in these vain efforts, when Damasus resolved to destroy entirely the remains of this faction, and profiting by the interregnum which placed after the death of Valens, he convened a council at Rome, at which a large number of Italian bishops were present. The emperor addressed a letter to Gratian and Valentinian to beseech the emperors to suppress the errors of Ursin. They announced at the same time that they had resolved, that the Roman pontiff should judge the other chiefs of the sect, and that mere priests should remain respectful to the ordinary tribunals, but that they should not be liable to be put to the torture.

The princes replied favourably to the request of the council, in a letter addressed to the prefect Aquilainus. They ordered the vicars of Rome to execute the orders received from the popes, to drive the heretics from the holy city, and to expel them from the provinces. Thus the emperors, by sending to the council of Rome all that it had despoiled themselves of a part of the authority, with which they invested the

Damasus. In succeeding ages we shall find the pride of the successors of the bishop of Rome elevated even to audacity—to madness; and the slothfulness of princes descend even to degradation.

At this period, the frequent irruptions of the Germans into Gaul, obliged Gratian to return to the West, where he had established the seat of his empire, abandoning to Theodosius Illyrium, and the East. The two emperors were equally favoured by fortune; Gratian, in his contests with the Germans, and Theodosius, in his with the dwellers on the borders of the Danube. This prince, having defeated their armies, constrained them to sue for peace. The sacred historians affirm, that he then returned to Thessalonica, where he fell dangerously ill. The priests hastened to instruct him in the Christian religion, and Ascolius, bishop of that city, administered to him the sacrament of baptism, which procured for him a miraculous cure.

But, if religion was strengthened in the East, by the conversion of an illustrious prince, it was menaced in the West, by greater perils, through the heresy of the Priscillianists. Mark, an Egyptian of Memphis, chief of this new sect, had come into Spain to preach his impious doctrines, and his eloquence had drawn into the schism the rhetorician Elpidius, and a woman of high birth, named Agapa. The new convert, by the influence of her rank, her wealth, and her beauty, attracted a great number of sectarians, and among them, the noble and celebrated Priscillian, from whom the sect took its name. Born of one of the first families in the state, well made in his person, eloquent, well educated, zealous, sober, disinterested, Priscillian had all the qualities of a reformer, and his energy rendered him capable of sustaining the persecutions which in all states are the recompense of the apostles of the people.

His doctrine was embraced by great numbers of the nobility, and the army. Above all, the women, desirous of novelty, and shining in faith, ran in crowds after him. He taught the errors of the Manicheans and the Gnostics; he affirmed, that souls were a part of the essence of God; that they descended voluntarily upon earth, traversing the immensity of the heavens, and all the degrees of principalities; and that the great architect of the universe placed them in different bodies, in order to combat the evil principle. According to his doctrine, men were connected with different fatal stars, and their bodies were dependant on the twelve signs of the zodiac. The ram governed the head; the bull the neck; the twins the shoulders; in fine, he re-

called all the reveries of the astrologers. Not recognizing the Trinity, he maintained, with Sabellius, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were the same God, without any real distinction of persons. His dogmas differed from those of the Manicheans, in his not rejecting openly the Old Testament, and in which he explained the most licentious passages by chaste allegories. He admitted, with the canonical books, many apochryphal works. He prohibited his disciples from eating that which had had life, as being unclean food; and in hatred of generation, he anathematized marriage, maintaining that the flesh was not the work of God, but of evil angels.

In this sect, men and women assembled by night, and prayed entirely naked, in order to mortify their bodies. The maxim of Priscillian was, "swear, perjure yourselves, but do not discover the mysteries." Thus, their enemies not being able to convict them of real crimes, made use of this formula of initiation against them, and accused them of committing the most horrid impurities—of making use of men and children for their debaucheries, and of outraging nature, even with their women. The Catholics affirmed, that their priests, in their hatred of marriage, drew from the wombs of pregnant women the fetus, half formed, and piled them up in the midst of the church, in iron mortars.

The Priscillianists, fasted on Sundays, and at Easter and Christmas, and concealed themselves in order not to attend church. This heresy had already infected Spain, and drawn off a large number of bishops, amongst others Justantius and Salvian, who formed a party to sustain it; but after many years of struggle, the orthodox, sustained by the prince, convoked a council at Saragossa, where it was condemned in the absence of its followers.

At the same time took place, by the orders of Gratian, the famous synod of Aquileia. St. Ambrose presided over this assembly, and condemned Arianism. It then examined into the charges against the bishop of Rome, and especially the accusation of adultery, which two deacons devoted to Ursin, had before brought against him, and which was founded on the attachment of the Roman ladies to the holy father. The council examined juridically, all the accusations against Damasus, and bore an authentic testimony to the innocence of the pope.

Damasus died at length, on the 11th of December, 384, after having governed the See of Rome about eighteen years. He enriched the church of St. Lawrence with many splendid presents, which were the gifts or inheritances to him from the Roman ladies.

## SIRICUS, THE FORTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 384.—THEODOSIUS, ARCADIVS and HONORIUS, Emperors.]

*Election of Siricus—Celibacy of the priests—Corruption of the clergy of Rome—Avarice of Ecclesiastics—St. Jerome calls the pope, the scarlet woman—Debased morals of the clergy—Doctrine of Jovinian—Death of Siricus.*

AFTER the death of Damasus, Siricus, a Roman by birth, and the son of Tiburcus, was chosen pope, notwithstanding the opposition of the old schismatic, Ursin. The new pontiff, was no sooner seated on the holy seat, than he displayed his ambition, and in order to try his power, he made new laws on a subject which the great Council of Nice, had left undecided, the celibacy of the clergy. He made a decree to exclude from the clerical ranks, those who preserved intimate connection with their wives, applying unjustly to the married clergy the words of St. Paul: "Those who are in the flesh, cannot please God."

Siricus wished to imitate the Pagans, who regarded, with great veneration, virginal purity; but these latter had recognized it as an axiom, that no man could preserve it without resorting to extraordinary means; and the hierophants, who were the first ministers of religion among the Athenians, drank hemlock, for the purpose of rendering themselves impotent; and as soon as they were elected to the pontificate, they ceased to bear about them marks of virility.

St. Jerome, in one of his writings, puts the following words into the mouth of a Stoic, named Cheremon, who is describing the life of the ancient priests of Egypt: "Their priests have no commerce with women from the time they attach themselves to the service of the divinities; in order to quench the flames of unlawful desire, they abstain entirely from flesh and wine, and the ministers of Cybele were all eunuchs." Jerome appears to insinuate, that priests and monks, who rashly take upon themselves vows of chastity, and engage to guard a virginal purity, should use the infallible process of the pagan ministers, when they discovered that the spirit was too weak to arrest the desires of the flesh.

Soon after the death of Damasus, Jerome was obliged to quit Rome, in order to return to Palestine. His reputation for sanctity had excited the jealousy of many of the clergy; and the freedom with which he exposed their vices had excited against him the sacerdotal hatred. In a little treatise which he wrote on the mode of preserving virginity, he advises the virgin Eustochia, daughter of St. Paul, "to avoid the hypocrites who seek the priesthood, or the deaconate, for the purpose of freer commerce with women, or to clothe themselves in rich habits, and perfume their locks.

"These bad priests," he adds, "wear brilliant rings on their fingers, and walk on their

toes; their whole occupation is to learn names and residence of handsome women and to inform themselves of their inclinations."

"In order that you may not be deceived by the appearance of a false piety, I will send you the portrait of one of these priests, master of his trade. He rises with the sun; the order of his visits is arranged; he frequents the greatest thoroughfares; he enters even the chamber where the females sleep; he sees a pillow-case, or a napkin, or some other piece of furniture to his taste, he examines them attentively, and admires their beauty; he feels them, mourns that he has none of them, and steals them rather than no them."

"Bishops even, under a pretext of begging their benediction, put out their hands to receive money, become the slaves of the rich, and render them, by their assiduity, services the most base and unchristian, in order to obtain their inheritance.

Several prelates, furious at seeing themselves unmasked by the criticisms of St. Jerome, revenged themselves by scandalizing him. They censured his gait and visage; his simplicity even was suspected, and at length the calumny extended so far as to blacken his character in regard to some women and girls, to whom he explained assiduously the Holy Scriptures.

The exemplary conduct of Jerome, and his lofty piety, should have served to have placed him above such suspicions; but the people of Rome were prejudiced against monks who came from the East; regarding them, as impostors, who sought to seduce the girls of quality. The holy doctor obliged to yield to the storm, quitted Italy in order to get away from the chagrin it excited in him, and complained bitterly in his letter to the cella, of the outrages he had endured in his holy city. "Read," said he, "read the story of the woman clothed in scarlet, who bears upon her forehead the name of blasphemy; at the end of that proud city; of a truth which stains a holy church, where may be seen the trophies of the apostles and martyrs, the name of Christ and his apostolic doctrine are professed; but ambition, pride, and avarice divert the faithful from true piety."

About the same time, a council at Constantinople condemned the heresy of Jovinian. This monk had passed the first years of his life in the austeries of a convent, fasting, living on bread and water, walking with naked feet, and wearing a coarse garment, and labouring

his own hands. But afterwards, he left his convent near Milan to come to Rome, where he taught his doctrines. He maintained, that those who had been regenerated by baptism, could not again be overcome by the devil; he affirmed, that virgins had less merit in the eyes of God than widows or married women; he taught that men should eat all kinds of food, and enjoy the good which the divinity has granted to them.

Jovinian lived in conformity with his principles; he dressed with great refinement, wore white and fine clothes of linen and silk, curled his hair, frequented the public baths, loved the games, splendid repasts, rich cookery and exquisite wines, as was apparent from his fresh and ruddy complexion, and his *en bon point*. Nevertheless, he vaunted himself on being a monk, and he preserved his celibacy in order to shun the vexatious consequences of marriage. His heresy found many partizans at Rome. Several persons, after having lived for a long time in continence and mortification, adopted his opinions and quitted the austerities of the cloister to return to the ordinary life of a citizen.

After his condemnation, Jovinian returned to the city of Milan; but pope Siricus sent three priests to the bishop to advise him of the excommunication of this heretic, and to beseech him to drive him from his church.

History teaches us nothing of consequence in the life and actions of Siricus. It is supposed that he died in the year 308.

During his reign, the reputation of St. Augustine began to spread through all Christian countries; and the numerous works which he wrote against the Manicheans and the Donatists, caused him to be regarded as one of the pillars of the church. He was then very different from the young Augustin of the school of Tagasta, his country, whom his school-fel-

low regarded as the most debauched of the students; for we must avow, that the first part of the life of the saint was passed in the midst of the greatest disorder, and that his irregularities were such, that his mother was obliged to drive him from her house. He had besides embraced the opinion of Manes, in relation to nature worship, and had publicly professed this heresy. At length, tired of his unsettled life, he married, and left Africa to settle at Milan. In this city he contracted an intimacy with the venerable Ambrose, who converted him to the Christian religion, and baptized him and his young son Adeodatus. Some years after, on returning to Africa, he was made a priest at Hippo, and afterwards became bishop of that city. From that time he showed himself to be intolerant and a persecutor, and pursued with the utmost rigour all Christians who held doctrines differing from his own.

Among the numerous works of St. Augustin, his treatise on labour occupies the first place; in it he takes for his motto these words of the apostle Paul: "Whosoever is unwilling to labour, let him not eat." They cite also his work on baptism; his work on the City of God, or the defence of the church against the children of the age; his treatise upon the Trinity, in which he establishes the equality of the three divine persons; and finally, his various tracts upon original sin, the soul, grace, free-will, predestination of saints, perseverance, &c. It would be difficult to enumerate the works of this father of the church; for according to the catalogue which Possidius has left of them, their number amounts to more than one thousand and thirty. All these writings were composed in the interval of forty years, which took place between the conversion and the death of St. Augustine.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

*Abdication of Diocletian—His opinions in regard to the ministers of princes—Exploits of Constantine Chlorus—Galerius Maximin—Morals of the tyrant Maxentius—He violates Christian virgins—Sophronia stabs herself to escape him—Victory of Constantine—Maxentius is drowned in the Tiber—Constantine unites with Licinius—Massacres him—Portrait of Constantine—His good qualities—His cruelties—He causes his son Crispus to be assassinated—He condemns Fausta, his wife, to be strangled in a bath—The sons of Constantine divide the empire—Cruel war between the brothers—Frightful disorders in the empire—Magentius kills himself—Decentius strangles himself—Exploits of Constans—Julian the apostate—Jovian emperor—He gives permission to espouse two wives—Vallus is burned alive in his tent—Gratian is assassinated—Valentinian re-established on the throne, is strangled by his eunuchs—History of the reign of Theodosius.*

THE cruel Diocletian, elated with glory after the defeat of his enemies, pushed his impudence so far as to cause those who came before him to kiss his feet, and was impious enough to cause himself to be adored as a God. At length, however, he perceived that this excess had rendered him an object of public hatred, and he resolved to abdicate his

power, fearing that the apparent submission of Constantine and Galerius might be powerless to preserve him from the violent death with which he was threatened by the people. This remorse of conscience compelled him to quit the empire, and to seek in retreat a repose of which he was deprived by the cares of government. In spite of his tyrannical

corrupt, this prince frequently gave utterance to beautiful sentiments, and said truly, "That nothing is more difficult than to govern well; for the ministers who serve princes are only united to betray them,—they conceal or disguise the truth from them, the first thing which they ought to know; and by their flatteries, deceive and sell their sovereigns, who pay them, in order to receive from them wise counsels."

Valerius Maximian, the successor of Diocletian, following his example, abdicated the empire after a reign of eighteen years; but he soon repented of this step, on discovering that a philosopher in solitude has less power than an emperor. He abandoned his retreat and returned to Rome, under the pretext of assisting the counsels of Maxentius, his son. Times were changed. The old emperor, perceiving that his design of seizing again the power, was penetrated, passed over into Gaul, to Constantine, his son-in-law. He formed a conspiracy, which was discovered by his own daughter, Flavia Maxima—and fled, in order to escape the chastisement of his perfidy. Constantine sent emissaries in pursuit of him, who took him at Marseilles, and strangled him in a dungeon.

After the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantine Chlorus and Valerius Maximian divided the empire between them. Constantine Chlorus made his reign renowned by his great exploits. He recovered Britain, defeated sixty thousand Germans, and built the city of Spire, on the Rhine. His dominion extended over England, which he had conquered, Illyria, Asia, and all the provinces of the East. This prince loved men of letters, was liberal, and so great an enemy of ostentation that his table was served on earthen dishes. On great festivals of ceremony, he besought his friends to lend him services of plate.

During his reign the Christians enjoyed a profound peace. It is even related of him, that having made a decree, in which he ordered the faithful, who held places in the state, to sacrifice to idols, or to quit them, some preferring exile to place, retired; but the prince recalled them, naming them before the court, "his true friends," and sent away those who had had the weakness to sacrifice to idols, reproaching their apostasy with bitterness, and adding, "No,—those who are not faithful to God, cannot be devoted servants to the emperor." Constantine Chlorus died at York, in England, after having crowned Constantine, his son.

Galerius Maximin, before coming to the empire, had gained two great battles over the Persians, and had lost a third by his imprudence when he was yet but Cæsar. His first act of power was a declaration of war against this people; he conquered them, pillaged their camp, seized the person of king Nora, with his family, and by his conquests extended the frontiers of the empire to the Tigris.

He chose as his successors his two nephews. C. Valerius Maximin, called Daza

before he was made Cæsar, had for his share the East; and Flavius Valerius Severus obtained Italy and Africa. Soon after he made these dispositions, Galerius died of an ulcer, in which were engendered a prodigious quantity of worms, which almost devoured him alive.

Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian, called the elder, having learned that Constantine had been proclaimed emperor, caused the same title to be given to him at Rome, by the soldiers and the Prætorian guards, whom he permitted to violate females and murder citizens. This prince, entirely addicted to magic, dared not commence any enterprise without consulting oracles and divinations. He overbore the provinces with extraordinary tributes, and despoiled the richest inhabitants of their patrimony. Wine, that perfidious liquor which destroys the reason, maddened him; in his fits of drunkenness he gave cruel orders, and made them mutilate his fellows at the table. His avarice was insatiable; his debaucheries and cruelties equalled those of Nero. Not being able to conquer the resistance of a Christian lady, named Sophronia, whom he wished to dishonour, he sent soldiers to bring her from her house—when this courageous female, feigning compliance with his desires, demanded only time to clothe herself richly, to appear before him, and entered her dressing chamber; as she did not return, the impatient soldiers forced the door, and found her dead body with a poignard in her bosom.

A Christian virgin, of Antioch, named Pelagia, with her mother and sisters, also slew themselves, to avoid the danger to which they were exposed from the pursuit of Maximin, the colleague of Maxentius.

War was then declared between Maxentius and Constantine. The latter approached Rome, and issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he came not to make war upon the Romans, but to deliver the capital from a monster, who caused the people to be massacred by his Prætorian soldiers.

Maxentius, on his side, sought to procure victory by magical operations. He immolated lions in impious sacrifices, and caused pregnant women to be opened, in order to examine the children in their wombs, and consulted auguries. The oracles being unfavourable, the affrighted prince quitted the palace, with his wife and son, to retire to a private house. Nevertheless, he caused his troops to rally forth from Rome. They consisted of an hundred and sixty thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry. His army having passed the Tiber, encountered that of Constantine which numbered eighty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, and the battle commenced.

At the same moment, a violent sedition broke out in Rome. The people, indignant at the conduct of Maxentius, whom superstition and cowardice had retained in the city, precipitated themselves towards the Circus, where the prince was giving public games,

honour of his advent to the empire, and made him hear this terrible shout, "Death to the traitor! Death to the coward and the traitor! Glory to the invincible Constantine!" Maxentius, alarmed by these shouts of admiration for his rival, fled from the circus, and ordered the senators to consult the Sybilline books. They replied, that they announced that on that very day the enemy of the Romans would perish miserably; then the prince, regarding the victory assured, rejoined his army. On his leaving Rome, however, screech owls reposed themselves on the walls of the city, and followed him even to the field of battle. This sinister presage, seen by all the army, abated the courage of his soldiers. Their ranks give way before the legions of Constantine, and the route commences. Maxentius himself, drawn along by the crowd, regains the bridge of boats which he had built; by chance or treason, the boats separate, and he falls into the river, where he is drowned. Maxentius thus became the victim of the snare which he had laid for Constantine, for the bridge was built in such a way, that in case of route, his enemies traversing it, it would break in the middle, and submerge them in the Tiber. The next day his body was found, and his head was cut off and carried through the streets of Rome on the point of a pike.

Constantine, master of the empire, associated with him Licinius, who had espoused his sister, Constantia. These two princes destroyed the army of Jovius Maximin, who affected the title of emperor.

Licinius was the son of a peasant of Dacia; by his courage he had advanced, step by step, in the army, to its highest dignities, and had been made Cæsar by the emperor Galerius. Become prince, he showed himself avaricious, transported, intemperate, shameless; as if the supreme rank must bestow all vices, at the same time it does the power of gratifying them. In his extreme ignorance, he called literary men "a poison, a public pest," and caused them to be put to death, though guiltless of any crime.

He soon became suspected by his colleague, because he renewed the persecution against the Church, and sought to rally to his side the pagan priests. He was conquered by the troops of his brother-in-law, and beheaded.

After the defeat and death of this brutal man, Constantine enjoyed in peace the sovereign authority. This prince had a majestic port and a great soul; he was brave, hardy, provident in his enterprises; but he joined great vices to these good qualities. Our design is not to enter into the details of a life so illustrious, and we will only comment on the partiality of the friends or enemies of the first Christian monarch. The one has been prodigal of extreme eulogiums on him; the others have charged his memory with every crime. Envy and hatred furnished to Julian, the apostate, the colours which he has employed in painting the portrait of his predecessor, and the fathers of the church have

frequently given excessive praise to this emperor, the first who declared himself the protector of the Christian religion.

Constantine truly merited the surname of great, if we take this epithet in its entire acceptation. What prudence did he not display in avoiding the perils which he encountered on his route towards the empire! What intrepidity in confronting the most frightful perils! What valour in attacking and conquering enemies, equally redoubtable for their bravery and their numbers! What courage and wisdom in holding, during thirty years, the reins of an empire which was offered at auction! What consummate skill, to govern, in peace, so many different people, and to assure their happiness by causing them to submit to equitable laws!

The portrait of Constantine, seen on its handsome side, presents so many brilliant qualities, that it serves to exhibit his defects in greater contrast.

Little scrupulous as a Christian, he did not receive the sacrament of baptism until a few minutes before his death.

An unnatural father, he put to death his son, Crispus, on the mere accusation of a step-mother, interested in procuring it.

An inflexible husband, he commanded Fausta to be strangled in a bath. Lastly, a cruel politician, he shed the blood of the young Licinius, an amiable prince, who had not participated in the crimes of his father, Licinius, and who was the only consolation of the unfortunate Constantia. This last act of cruelty furnishes an evident proof that the Christianity of Constantine was but the reflection of his policy. He had need of partisans to resist his enemies, and as the Christians were disposed to sustain the interest of a prince who afforded them tranquillity, he took them under his protection.

After his death, his children divided the empire between them. Flavius Claudius Constantine the Second, had Spain, Gaul, a part of the Alps, England, Ireland and the Orcades; Flavius Julius Constantius obtained Italy, Africa and its islands, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the Peloponnesus, or Morea and Greece. Flavius Julius Constans had Asia and Thrace, and Flavius Delmatius, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces.

Delmatius was slain by his soldiers, after a reign of a few years.

Constantine the Second wished to despoil his brother, Constantius, of the provinces which he possessed, declared war against him, and sent troops to combat him; but having been himself surprised in an ambuscade, near Aquileia, he was thrown from his horse and pierced with several mortal wounds.

Upon the news of this victory, Constantius crossed the Alps, entered Gaul, and in two years rendered himself master of all the provinces of his brother. He soon forgot the cares of empire in pleasures and debauchery. Then the officers of his army of Rhetia gave the title of emperor to Magnentius. This ungrateful and rebellious subject forgetting that



Constantius had generously covered him with his own shield, in order to defend him against the soldiers, who were desirous to kill him, sent assassins against his sovereign and benefactor, who massacred the prince in his tent.

Flavius Nepotianus, in his turn, usurped the empire for some days, but the senator, Heraclidus, who was devoted to the interests of Maxentius, demanded of him a private interview, at which he stabbed him, and having cut off his head, caused it to be carried through the streets of Rome.

Flavius Veteranion, on his side, took the title of emperor in Pannonia. He then submitted to Constans, voluntarily despoiled himself of the purple, and received in return the government of Bithynia, in which he was treated with the greatest honours to the time of his death.

Flavius Silvanus, after having repulsed the Germans, who made irruptions on the frontiers of Gaul, wished also to be named emperor by the army, but Constans corrupted his principal officers, who massacred him at Cologne, after a reign of about a month.

Magentius made each day fresh progress, and advanced towards Rome by forced marches. This usurper, a monster of ingratitude, whom St. Ambrose calls "a sorcerer, a Judas, a second Cain, a fury, a devil," was at last defeated in a great battle. Constans pursued him to Lyons, and constrained him to kill himself. Decentius, who had been named Cæsar by Magentius, also put an end to his days, and strangled himself in despair.

Constantius Gallus, whom Constans had made Cæsar, wishing to abandon himself to acts of cruelty and insolence towards the conquered, was beheaded, by order of the emperor, who put Julian, his brother, in his place. He then declared war against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, whom he overcame; but he was in turn conquered by Sapor, the second son of Homeidas, who retook Mesopotamia and Armenia. As he was marching against Julian, to whom the army had given the title of Augustus, he was attacked by a violent flux, and died, near Mount Taurus, in Mesopotamia.

Flavius Claudius Julian, surnamed the apostate, was chosen emperor. This prince, after having abjured Christianity, which he professed in his early years, bestowed upon pagans the cares of the magistracy, closed the schools of the Christians, and prohibited them from teaching their children rhetoric, poetry and philosophy. The Catholics relate that this prince, having determined to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, in order to falsify the prophecies, was compelled to abandon his rash enterprise, by the bursting forth of subterranean fires, which miraculously destroyed the new foundations.

Some historians have elevated Julian above Constantine, and affirm that this prince had a more brilliant and better cultivated understanding than his predecessor. His reign was of short duration, and was terminated by his unfortunate expedition against the Persians.

In a battle with these people he was wounded with a poisoned javelin, and died on the field of battle. The priests affirm that it fell from heaven, as a sign of the wrath of God, and that Julian exclaimed, whilst plucking out the slaughtering steel, "Thou hast conquered, O Gallilean."

With this emperor ended the dynasty of Constantine, a dynasty which had given to Christianity a great protector and a redoubtable enemy. Julian, from the different versions of authors, offers one of the most embarrassing problems to be solved by history. By turns humane and sanguinary, rash and wise, avaricious and prodigal, severe towards himself and blameably indulgent towards his favourites, he appears to unite in his own person all contrasts. Nevertheless, the priests, in heaping upon his memory the gravest accusations, convince us that he was endowed with good qualities, and that his faults were consequent upon his admiration for rhetoricians. Among his principal works, which have come down to us, may be cited as remarkable, an allegorical fable, a writing entitled *Misopogon*, a discourse in honour of Cybele, another in honour of Diogenes, and a collection of sixty letters, among which is a long epistle to Themistius, which is regarded as one of the most complete treatises extant of the duties of a sovereign towards his people. This last composition is, beyond doubt, the best conceived and most elevated, as regards style. His *Book of the Cæsars* forms a necessary addition to the critical history of the Roman empire. Julian condemns, with finesse, the mysteries of Christianity, and blames Constantine and his descendants for the intolerance they had shown, in order to assure the triumph of the new religion. At the last, in his indignation, the philosophic emperor does not hesitate to add, that the greatest misfortune for a people is to confide their destiny in the hands of priests and kings.

Julian, when dying, designated Procopius his cousin, as his successor, but the soldier offered the crown to Flavius Jovian, of Pannonia, who refused the honour, declaring that being a Christian, he could only command men of his own religion. The legions exclaimed that they would consent to be baptized, if he would accept the empire. His first care was to conclude a peace, for three years, with Sapor the Second, to whom he restored five provinces, which Galerius had taken, and engaged not to succour Arsaces the Armenian. He then occupied himself with the interests of religion, made terrible decrees against the Jews, and prohibited them from worshipping in public. The prince reversed the edicts of his predecessor re-established St. Athanasius and the bishop banished by Constans and Julian, restored the faithful and to the churches the proper honours, revenues and privileges which had been taken from them.

All these beautiful actions certainly merit the honours of saintship, if, in the first age of Christianity, they had been accustomed.

this sort of apotheosis. The prince died suddenly, after a reign of seven months, and the church has forgotten to canonize him.

Flavius Valentinian, the son of Gratian, the rope maker, who sold ropes, near Belgrade, was chosen emperor by the soldiers, after the death of Jovian. His strength was so extraordinary that he overthrew, at once, five of the strongest men of his army. During his reign a law was enacted, giving permission to espouse two wives. This prince died of apoplexy.

Valens, who was associated with him in the government, conquered the tyrant Procopus, a relative of Julian the apostate, and gained a great victory over Athanaric, king of the Goths; but his wife having drawn him off to Arianism, he persecuted the faithful, which caused the soldiers to burn him alive in his tent.

After him the crown fell to Flavius Gratian, the son of Valentinian the First and of Severa. This prince, brought up by the poet Ausonius, of Bordeaux, divided the empire with the young Valentinian. He was generous, sober and laborious. He made war successfully on the Alani, the Huns and the Goths. Then he gave himself up to sloth, abandoning to his courtiers the affairs of government, to devote himself entirely to pleasure, the chase and debauchery—Magnus Maximus, who was desirous of seizing on the sovereignty of the British Isles, availed himself of the improvidence of Gratian to assassinate him.

Valentinian the Second, or the young, had

to sustain a terrible war against the tyrant Maximus, who passed the Alps, and obliged him to take refuge in Thessalonica, and even in the East.

Theodosius arrested the progress of this dangerous enemy, gave him battle under the walls of Milan, in which Maximus was slain, and re-established Valentinian upon his throne. This unfortunate prince did not long enjoy his power. He terminated his days wretchedly, at Vienne, in Dauphiny, where he was strangled by his eunuchs, who announced that he had committed suicide from despair.

Valentinian and Theodosius, in order to attach the clergy to them, and to strengthen their authority, made laws which prohibited the offering of sacrifices to false gods, from opening the pagan temples, from preserving idols, or even burning incense to the household gods.

During his whole reign Theodosius had no other desire than that of rendering his subjects happy, and of honouring the Deity by the worship of the true religion. This prince, elevated to the throne on account of his merit, had the good fortune to raise up the empire when near its fall, and not only had the valour to conquer his own empire; but, what is still more glorious, fortune having given him another empire, he had sufficient grandeur of soul to restore it to the young Valentinian. In fine, his life was filled with generous actions, and his acts of weakness, taking their source in goodness of his heart, rendered his virtues still more brilliant.

## THE FIFTH CENTURY.

### ANASTASIUS THE FIRST, FORTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 398.—ARCADIUS and HONORIUS THE FIRST, Emperors.]

*Ordination of Anastasius—Two women, celebrated for their beauty, Melania and Marcella, excite a schism in the church—History of Rufinus of Aquileia, and of Melania—Rufinus is pursued by Marcella, who causes the pontiff to excommunicate him—Death of Anastasius.*

A few days after the death of pope Siricus, Anastasius the First, a Roman by birth, was chosen pope.

At the time of his advent to the Holy See, the church was troubled by the errors of Origen, and two ladies of illustrious birth, Melania and Marcella, divided the faithful into two hostile factions.

Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, who had lived at Jerusalem about twenty-five years, with Melania, came to Rome, to publish a Latin version of the Apology of Origen, attributed to the martyr St. Pamphilus. He then produced a letter to show that the works of Origen had been falsified, and that the new translation, called Periarchon, was the only true one. After having propagated his doctrines, Rufinus retired to the city of Aquileia, his country, with a letter of communion,

which pope Siricus had granted him without difficulty. But, during the reign of Anastasius, a Roman lady, named Marcella, who was furious against Rufinus for having despised her favours, pointed out to the pontiff the doctrines of the philosophical priest.

He was accused of having propagated the errors of Origen; his translation of the Principia was produced, and as he had not put his name to the work, his enemies pointed out copies corrected by his own hand. He, warned of what was plotting against his writings, refused even to reply to the pontiff, and remained in Aquileia.

Anastasius, St. Jerome, and the other opponents of Rufinus, in spite of the protests of his disciples and the orthodoxy of his confession of faith, condemned him, in order to satisfy the demands of a courtesan.

The whole reign of Anastasius was passed in the midst of theological quarrels between the Donatists and the Catholics of the church of Carthage. The holy father died on the 4th of April, 402, after four years of pontificate.

## INNOCENT THE FIRST, FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 402.—ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, and THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, EMPERORS.]

*Election of Innocent—Victory of Stilico—Schism in the Eastern church—The pope defends St. John Chrysostom—Celibacy of the priests—Incontinence of monks—Violence towards monks and virgins—The pope writes to the emperor Honorius—Vigilantius declares against the celibacy of the priests—He blames the avarice of the popes—Monks the scourge of nations—Death of St. Chrysostom—First siege of Rome by Alaric—The pope permits the senators to sacrifice to false gods—Second siege of Rome—Victory of Honorius—The emperor refuses a just satisfaction to the Gothic king—Capture and sack of Rome—New pillage of Rome—The pope cowardly abandons his flock—He returns to Rome—Birth of Pelagianism—Satire on the monks—Celestius and Pelagius in Palestine—Trickery of St. Augustin—Violent character of St. Augustin—The council of Diospolis approves the doctrines of Pelagius—Virgins violated—Ambition of popes—Council of Carthage—Reply of the pontiff—He is accused of favouring the heresy—Decretals of Innocent—Not true that he excommunicated the emperor Arcadius, and the empress Eudoxia—Death of the pope—His character.*

INNOCENT the First was from the city of Albano, near to Rome. After his elevation to the Holy See, the Goths, who threatened Italy with a frightful desolation, were repulsed by Stilico, who gained over them a brilliant victory.

Delivered from fear of the barbarians, the priests recommenced their religious quarrels, and new schisms soon broke out in the Eastern church. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, sustained by the emperor, had deposed St. Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, and in advising the pope of his judgment had refused to explain the motives of the excommunication. Innocent received also a letter from Chrysostom, informing him of all that had passed in the first synod, which had pronounced his deposition, and in the second assembly, which had condemned him to banishment. The pope received, with great honours, the deputies from the patriarch, and those from Theophilus; but in order not to compromise the dignity of his see, on a question so important, he referred its examination to an approaching council of the bishops of the East and the West.

Many decisions on the celibacy of priests are attributed to this holy father, prohibiting ecclesiastics from living in carnal intercourse with their wives, and ordering monks to live in continence. But nature is stronger than the laws of men; and the bulls of the pontiff, like the decrees of his successors, will be always impotent in arresting the disorders of ministers, and the debaucheries of convents.

In his rules, Innocent prohibits ecclesiastical orders from being conferred on the officers of the emperor, or on persons filling public charges. He orders priests to refuse penitence to virgins solemnly consecrated to God, when they should be desirous of engaging in the bonds of matrimony. "If a woman," says the holy father, "during the life of her

husband, espouses another man, she is an adulteress, and is repulsed by the church. Observe the same rigour with respect to her who, after having been united to an immortal spouse, shall pass to human marriage." It is to a decision so ridiculous, that we owe the slavery of the convents.

Nevertheless, the pontiffs admit of relaxations from vows extracted by violence. But the unfortunate victims, in order to be unbound from their oath, must offer to the holy father presents and money. Complaints the most legitimate were then admitted or rejected, in accordance with the amount of the sums sent to Rome. Now, nations more enlightened have learned that the vows of celibacy could be broken, even without the authority of the pope; and the example of our priests proves that no one can dispense with obedience to the laws of nature.

Innocent appeared to have forgotten the quarrels of the Orientals, when he received a letter from twenty-five bishops, who sustained the cause of Chrysostom. At the same time, Domitian and Vallagus arrived at Rome, charged to submit to the holy father the complaints of the churches of Mesopotamia. The two priests rendered to him an account of the violence used by Optatus, prefect of Constantinople, against Olympia and Pentadias, women of high birth, and of consular families. They brought with them, also, monks and virgins, who exhibited their backs black and blue, and the marks of the scourge upon their shoulders.

The pontiff, touched with their misfortunes, wrote to the emperor Honorius, beseeching him to assemble a council, which should put an end to the cruel discussions which distracted the church.

The deputies of the pope, and of the bishops of Italy, directed their steps toward Constantinople, in order to place their cle

patches in the hands of the prince; but the enemies of the patriarch rendered the deputation odious, accused Innocent of wishing to calumniate them, and drove away his ambassadors in disgrace.

During the year 406 appeared the first book of Vigilant, a learned priest, versed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, nourished by wholesome reading of profane authors, and joining to profound knowledge an eloquence which enchanted the masses. He declared boldly against the abuses introduced into religion, blamed the celibacy of ecclesiastics, condemned the worship of relics, called those who honoured them cineraries and idolaters, and treated as a pagan superstition the custom of lighting wax tapers in honour of saints.

In his writings, Vigilant maintained that the faithful should not pray for the dead. He besought them not to send alms to the pope, nor to sell their goods to give them to the poor, maintaining that it was better to preserve and distribute the revenues themselves. He condemned the licentious life of the cloisters, and opposed the celebration of nocturnal masses in the churches, where sacrilegious impurities were committed.

This admirable man, who dared to speak a language so firm, in ages of slavery and fanaticism, could not abolish any of the ridiculous practices introduced by the avarice and ambition of the monks, who multiplied among all nations, of which they became the most terrible scourge.

St. Chrysostom died at Comana, on the 14th of September, in the year 407; but this event did not terminate the discussions of the Eastern and Western churches.

At the commencement of the year 408, the redoubtable Alaric proposed a treaty of alliance with the emperor Honorius. His advances having been repulsed, the Goths approached Rome and besieged it, blockading it entirely, by land and sea, so as to prevent provisions from entering it.

The inhabitants, decimated by famine and pestilence, made lamentable complaints, and wished to open the gates to the conqueror. In this extremity, the senators thought it necessary to sacrifice in the capitol and other temples, in order to rouse the courage of the people. They consulted Innocent, who gave an example of noble disinterestedness, preferring the safety of the city to the rigorous observance of the Christian faith, and permitted them to make public sacrifices, in honour of the ancient gods.

The pagan sacrifices were as useless as the religious processions, and they were obliged to devise means to appease Alaric. They treated with him, and agreed to purchase peace from him, paying a ransom of five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand tunics of silk, three thousand skins of scarlet colour, and three thousand pounds of pepper. This contribution was levied on the fortunes of the citizens, because there was no public treasury. They were still obliged, in order to complete the

sum demanded by the barbarians, to despoil the temples of their idols, and to melt down the statues of gold and silver. The Romans promised, beside, to cause the emperor to conclude an alliance with him.

The king of the Goths having raised the siege, came to Rimini to meet Honorius, and propose to him peace on advantageous terms. Jovius, prefect of the Prætorians of Italy, who was charged to confer with Alaric, broke off the negotiation, by refusing him the general command of the armies of the emperor.

The senate, fearing the consequences of this rupture, sent a solemn embassy to the Gothic king; but Innocent, chief of the deputation, not being able to obtain any thing from the irritated monarch, and fearing the effects of his vengeance, hastened to take refuge at Ravenna, near Honorius, and abandoned his flock to the rage of the conqueror.

Alaric a second time besieged the holy city, and having rendered himself master of the port, forced the Romans to declare as emperor, Attala, prefect of the city. The new Cæsar, elated by his good fortune, no longer consulted the sage Alaric. He sent to Africa a general named Constant, charged to cause his authority to be made known, without giving him the forces necessary to sustain his pretensions. He himself, deceived by vain hopes, marched towards Ravenna. Honorius, frightened, sent to him his highest officers, offering to receive him as his colleague; but Attala repulsed the ambassadors, ordering the emperor to choose an island, or designate a province, to which to retire.

Honorius, having then disposed of his vessels, did not wait a favourable wind to fly to his nephew Theodosius, when he received from the East unexpected succours. At the same time Attala learned that Constant had been defeated by Heraclian, governor of Africa, and that the fleet of his enemy guarded so well the ports of Rome, that provisions could no more be brought into the city. He then retraced his steps to defend his capitol. But the Gothic king, irritated by the ingratitude with which he had repaid his benefits, reconciled himself to Honorius, and despoiled his protégé of the imperial purple, after a reign of a year.

Alaric then directed his steps towards the Alps, and came to within three leagues of Ravenna, to show that he really desired peace. He announced that he no more demanded great provinces, nor the command of the armies of the emperor, but only a small sum of money, a certain quantity of wheat for the support of his troops, and two small provinces at the extremity of Germany, which paid no tribute to the empire, and were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians.

Honorius, yielding to bad advice, refused to grant him these. The king, furious at this new insult, laid siege a third time to Rome, took the city by treason, on the 24th of August, 410, and gave it up to his soldiers to be pillaged. The church of St. Peter was alone spared, by order of the conqueror. But the

pontiff, who had foreseen the misfortune of the holy city, for the second time cowardly abandoned his see, and took refuge at Ravenna with the emperor.

The pillage lasted three days. Then Alaric sallied from Rome, and passed into Campania, where his troops sacked Nola. After having ravaged all that part of Italy, the king of the Goths died at Cosenza, in returning from Reggio. His step-brother Ataulf having succeeded him, passed again through Rome, which he pillaged anew. The greater part of the inhabitants were reduced to a deplorable indigence; almost all the Christians were dispersed, and constrained to seek refuge in the neighbouring cities of Tuscany, in Sicily, Africa, Egypt, the East, and Palestine.

Innocent returned to his see when the danger was passed, and availed himself of the general desolation to crush the remains of idol worship, and strengthen his spiritual authority. He drove the Novatians from the city, and pursued with extreme rigour all unfortunate heretics.

The noise of the conference at Carthage, in 411, between the orthodox and Donatists, had attracted into Africa Pelagius and Celestius, two divines of great Britain, who had dwelt for a long time in Italy. Celestius was of an open character; Pelagius, on the contrary, was tricky, politic, and fond of good cheer, like all other monks, whom Jerome thus criticises: "They treat their bodies with great regard; but the Christian should war against the flesh, which is the enemy of the soul. But perhaps they do this in order to obey the precept of the evangelist, which orders us to love our enemies."

Celestius rejoined his friend Pelagius in Palestine, where their works were favourably received. Count Marcellinus, the governor of the province, wished to examine into their doctrine, and addressed himself to St. Augustin. The bishop of Hippo replied by this captious proposition: "Yes, man can be without sin, by aid of the grace of God, but it never happens." The English monk taught the same doctrine, affirming that God could grant this grace to his elect. Thus the difference in the two sentiments consisted in a dispute on words; but fearing to draw on himself this redoubtable adversary, he wrote to St. Augustin a letter, full of protests on the orthodoxy of his faith, and was prodigal of excessive praise towards him. The holy bishop being flattered in his vanity, received him to the communion.

Pelagius had as yet published nothing but a small commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, and a letter, addressed to a beautiful woman named Demetria, who made a profession of virginity. This piece has been attributed to St. Jerome or St. Augustin, so subtle was the venom of his errors.

But when his treatise appeared, entitled "The natural power of man to build up again the right of free will," a general reprobation greeted the daring innovator. St. Jerome refuted it by dialogues, and St. Augustin accu-

mulated mountains of volumes against this new heresy.

Pelagius having demanded permission to justify his doctrines before a council, forty bishops assembled at Diospolis in Palestine. After having taken cognizance of all the contested articles, the fathers rendered the following decree: "We are satisfied with the declarations of the monk Pelagius here present, who agrees in holy doctrine, and condemns that which is contrary to the faith of the church. We declare that he is in ecclesiastic and Catholic communion."

Theodore of Mopsuesta, celebrated for his profound learning and great wisdom, was one of the most powerful supporters of Pelagius in the East. John, bishop of Jerusalem, also favoured the new doctrine. In order to render the Pelagians odious, St. Jerome brought an atrocious accusation against them. He wrote to the pope, that their furious band had attacked him in a monastery, which they had delivered to the flames, after having pillaged it; that he himself had been constrained to save himself in a fortified tower.

The pontiff addressed a long letter to John of Jerusalem, in order to point out to him the author of these violences, and to engage him to put a stop to them by his authority. He also wrote to St. Jerome a letter of consolation, undertaking to bring his accusation before his see, in order that judgment might be rendered upon it. This letter is a convincing proof of the ambition of the popes, who allowed no opportunity of usurping new rights in the church to escape them.

The bishops of the province of Africa assembled as usual at Carthage, in their annual council. The fathers, yielding to the solicitations of the bishop of Hippo, decided that Pelagius and Celestius should be anathematized, in order that the fear of excommunication might bring back all whom they had deceived, even if it should not have that effect upon themselves. The council then wished to inform the pope of the judgment which it had decreed, in order to give it more solemnity, through the aid of the authority of the see of Rome, and sent to the holy father the proceedings of the synod, as well as the writings of the bishops Heros and Lazarus.

The synod, governed by St. Augustin, refuted, summarily, the principles attributed to Pelagius, and finished its bulls of excommunication as follows: "We ordain that Pelagius and Celestius disavow this doctrine, and the writings produced in its defence, although we have not been able to convince them of falsehood; for we anathematize in general those who teach that human nature can of itself avoid sin; and those who show themselves to be the enemies of grace." The anathema could not reach Pelagius, who maintained, on the contrary, the necessity of grace, in order to live without sin.

The pope replied to the synodical letter of the council. He bestowed great eulogium on the bishops, for the vigour with which they had condemned error, and for the respect they

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had evaded for the Holy See, in consulting it in regard to their decisions. He added, with intolerable pride, that they had conformed to the laws of the church, which commanded that all ecclesiastical causes, before being definitely decided in the provinces, should be submitted to the judgment of the successor of St. Peter.

"The Africans repulsed this pretension of the bishop of Rome. They declared they had not written to him to ask his confirmation of that which they had decided, but only to pray him to approve of what they had done, which he could not refuse to do, without being suspected of heresy."

In effect, they accused Innocent of favouring Celestius; and he, in order to set aside their suspicions, replied in a second letter, that he detested the opinions of that heretic. He declared that he approved of his condemnation by the bishops of Africa, and joined his suffrages to theirs. Then the holy father produced several decretals on the necessity of grace from Jesus Christ, who was not born of the person, because the contrary opinion was deduced from the writings of Pelagius and Celestius, a consequence which the two monks disavowed. He launched his anathemas upon heretics who maintained that they had no need of the grace of God to make them good, declaring them unworthy of the communion of the faithful, and separate from the church as rotten members. He adds, however, that if they wish to acknowledge their errors, and to admit the grace of Jesus Christ in sincere conversion, it is the duty of the church to aid them, and not refuse its communion to those who have fallen into sin.

A great number of the decretals of this pontiff, addressed to divers bishops of Italy, but

without any date, have been preserved. One of them, addressed to Felix, bishop of Nocera, is in relation to ordinations. The holy father declares that the mutilation of a finger, or other part of the body, does not render it irregular, unless it is voluntary. The second is addressed to Florentinus, bishop of Tibur, accused of having encroached upon his neighbour. The pope summoned him to Rome after the festival of Easter, to decide upon his claims. In another decretal, Innocent decided that a second marriage, contracted during the captivity of a first wife, should be declared null, on her return to her husband.

As to the apocryphal letter, addressed to the emperor Arcadius, it has evidently been fabricated by the monks, to sustain the fable of the excommunication of the emperor and empress. The author of this letter supposes that Eudoxia lived after the death of St. Chrysostom; but it has been proved that she died shortly after the exile of that bishop. Besides, the popes at this period would not have dared to excommunicate princes, from fear of the chastisement which would have followed.

St. Innocent had governed the church of Rome, and given laws to all the other churches, during nearly fifteen years, when he died on the 12th of March, 417.

This pope, skilled in ecclesiastical laws, knew how to invoke traditions into use, in order to make new rules from them. He exhibited a jealous desire to increase the grandeur of the church of Rome, and aggrandize the prerogatives of his see. His works were written with elegance, though at times he employed expressions slightly inelegant. He knew how to give an adroit turn to his thoughts and reasoning, which were frequently wanting in soundness.

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## ZOZIMUS, THE FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 417.—HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, Emperors.]

*Election of Zozius—He condemns the accusers of Celestius—Receives Pelagius to his communion—His inconsistency—He condemns those whom he had absolved, and absolves those whom he had condemned—He persecutes the Pelagians—Wishes to exterminate them—Is convicted of a criminal imposture—His death.*

Zozimus, the successor of St. Innocent, was a Greek by birth, and the son of a priest named Abraham. Though very aged, he knew how to profit skilfully by the occasions which offered of augmenting his authority, and extending the rights of his church, in discussions with the bishops of Gaul.

Celestius, after his condemnation by the bishops of Carthage, had appealed to pope Innocent. The Africans were not disquieted by this irregular step; and Celestius himself, not attaching any great importance to his appeal, passed over into Palestine. But Pelagius, more crafty, did not despair of bringing

Rome into his interests, by flattering the ambition of the pontiff.

Innocent was dead, and Zozimus had succeeded him. Informed by Pelagius of this change, Celestius, driven from Constantinople, hastened to the West with the design of gaining the good graces of the new pope, by accepting him as a judge of his cause. Zozimus, finding it an opportunity to increase his influence, and to draw before his tribunal cases of appeal, listened favourably to Celestius, and consented to hear his justification. He hoped besides, that this monk, who was of a bold spirit, would minister to his hatred against the

Africans, whom he wished to humble. He declared Celestius to be a good Catholic, condemned Heros and Lazarus, who were the accusers of the Pelagian doctrine, and deposed them from the pontificate.

Emboldened by this success, the heretics sent to Zozimus letters of communion. Praylus, bishop of Jerusalem, recommended him to examine the doctrines of Pelagius; and Pelagius himself addressed the holy father, in order to justify his principles. These writings having been publicly read at Rome, all the assistants and the pontiff declared that they contained nothing but the doctrine of the church. The fathers, filled with joy and admiration, could scarcely restrain their tears, and blamed themselves for having calumniated men of a faith so pure. But Zozimus was not long in contradicting himself, and proving by his conduct that the Holy See is not infallible.

After having received Pelagius into his communion, and overwhelmed him with enlogiums; after having launched anathemas against his enemies, the holy father, shaken by the firmness of the bishops of Africa, condemned authentically the Pelagians, under the pretext that Celestius had absented himself from Rome without his permission. He wrote to the bishops of Africa and all the churches, to advise them of this new decision. In his bulls he explained the errors of which Celestius had been accused by Paulinus, and did not omit any of the calumnies with which the two authors of Pelagianism had been overwhelmed, declaring them excommunicated, and reduced to the rank of penitents. Following the custom of courts, the will of the master changed the opinion of the synod, and all the clergy of Rome confirmed the judgment of the pope.

Zozimus wished to make his zeal, against the heresy which he had protected, brilliant, in order to stifle the complaints of the victims of his inconsistency. He sent to the emperor Honorius a copy of the judgment which he had pronounced against Pelagius and Celestius, and demanding that the heretics should be immediately driven from Rome. The emperor dared not resist the wishes of the pontiff, and gave a rescript against the Pelagians, ordering that their followers should be denounced to the magistrates, and those guilty of the heresy should be sent into perpetual banishment, and their property be confiscated.

The pope, become more powerful by the weakness of Honorius, pursued with bitterness the design which he had formed of exterminating the friends of Pelagius. He deposed all the bishops who refused to subscribe to the condemnation of the new heresy; gave orders to drive them from Italy, and to tear them from their dwellings by a rude soldiery. This persecution caused the conversion of a large number of priests, who consented to submit to the Holy See, to re-enter their churches. But eighteen bishops firmly maintained their opinions, and among them is found the famous Julian, bishop of Eclana.

The pope having signified to them that they must condemn Pelagius and Celestius, they boldly replied, that they refused to subscribe to the last letter of Zozimus, and did not recognize the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Zozimus, whose adventurous spirit delighted in difficulties, had to maintain a violent quarrel with the bishops of Africa, in which he was convicted of imposture. The fact presents some curious incidents, which deserve to be related. A priest named Apianus, refusing to submit to a punishment which had been inflicted on him by Urban, bishop of Sicca, in Eastern Mauritania, appealed from his excommunication to the bishop of Rome. This step appeared irregular in Africa, because the council of Miletus had prohibited this kind of appeal; but the pope, without much examination, as to whether the means which offered themselves to subvert his ambition were legitimate, availed himself of the opportunity, and sent three legates into Africa.

The deputies, on arriving at Carthage, found the bishops assembled in a synod, presided over by Aurelius. They presented the instructions with which they were charged, and demanded permission to read them in the council. The letters of the holy father contained four articles: the first authorized appeals from bishops to the pope; the second prohibited the journeys of bishops to court; the third permitted priests and deacons to appeal from the excommunication of their bishop to neighbouring prelates; the fourth commanded the bishops to excommunicate or cite bishop Urban to appear before the pontiff, if he did not receive Apianus into his communion.

The fathers adopted the second article without any difficulty, for the bishops of Africa had already made a canon in the council of Carthage, to prevent bishops and priests from resorting to the court of Rome. But on the first article, which permitted bishops to appeal to the pope from the judgments which condemned them, and on the third, which sent back the causes of the clergy to neighbouring bishops, the prelates repulsed the pretensions of the pope.

To put an end to opposition, Zozimus had the impudence to assert that the canons of the council of Nice declared that all Christian kingdoms were, in the last resort, under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of Rome. The Africans, surprised at hearing canons quoted of which they had no knowledge, ordered researches to be made into the copies of the decrees of the council of Nice, which were in the archives of the church at Carthage; and having discovered that Zozimus relied upon decisions which were not in existence, they declared, in full synod, that the pontiff was an infamous usurper.

The act of the pope was a piece of knavery of the most criminal character, and which we cannot too much condemn. But he had not the grief to survive his shame. He died on the 28th of December, 418, before the return of his ambassadors, and was interred on the

road to Tibur, near the body of St. Lawrence.

Zozimus is accused of having trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, to satisfy his unbridled ambition. Skilful in divining the weak point of his adversaries, he forgot nothing which could injure them. Of an excessive pride, he pushed his audacity to its extreme limits, and when he perceived that the bow was about to break from the force of its tension, he suddenly relaxed it. His conduct was artificial; and he always

showed himself the enemy of repose and tranquillity. The zeal which he bore for religion was the effect of his ambition, which seconded marvellously a great skill in public affairs, and a tortuous policy, which Machiavel would not have disowned.

The church has, nevertheless, conferred upon the pontiff the title of saint; but if God has received Zozimus into his royal kingdom, and pardoned his execrable ambition, his revolting injustice, and his bold impostures, no one need fear eternal damnation!

## BONIFACE THE FIRST, FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 418.—HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Schism in the church—Eulalius and Boniface—The two popes excite revolts in the holy city—The emperor declares against Boniface—The partizans of Boniface write to the emperor against Eulalius—Council of Ravenna—Eulalius enters Rome in opposition to the decree of Honorius—He is driven from the city, and Boniface re-established as pope—Rescript of the emperor—Elections of popes in the fifth century—Sixth council of Carthage—The ambition of the pontiffs repressed by Theodosius—Death of Boniface.*

AFTER the death of pope Zozimus, Symmachus, prefect of Rome, harangued the people, to warn them that they should leave to the clergy the freedom of election. He threatened, at the same time, the trades-people and chiefs of the quarters with terrible punishments, if they troubled the peace of the city.

Some priests then assembled, according to custom, to proceed to an election; but before the funeral of Zozimus took place, the archdeacon Eulalius resolved to usurp the pontifical chair; and at the head of his faction he took possession of the church of the Lateran, closing all the entrances to it. His party was composed of deacons, some priests, and a very large number of citizens, who remained two entire days in the church, waiting for the solemn moment of ordination, that is, the next Sunday. The other faction of the clergy and the people assembled in the church of Theodore, resolved to elect Boniface, and sent to Eulalius three priests, to order him not to undertake any thing without the participation of the majority of the clergy; but the ambassadors were maltreated and detained as prisoners.

Eulalius, supported by the aid of Symmachus, was ordained by the bishop of Ostia, and Boniface received the imposition of hands in the church of St. Marcel.

The prefect Symmachus wrote to the emperor Honorius, who was at Ravenna, to advise him of what was passing in Rome. He condemned the election of Boniface, and demanded his orders, in order to execute his judgment, addressing him at the same time favourably to the cause of Eulalius.

The emperor, prejudiced by the story of Symmachus, declared for Eulalius, and by his rescript, ordered Boniface to leave Rome, commanding the prefect to drive him out, if

he resisted, and to punish the rebellious as they deserved.

Symmachus sent his secretary to inform Boniface that he was coming to find him, to advise him of the will of the emperor; but the latter, who held his meeting in the church of St. Paul, despised his orders, and caused his people to beat the officer whom Symmachus had sent, and entered the city in defiance of the prefect and his people. The troops then came to disperse the people who accompanied the pope, and to disengage their officer, who had been almost killed in the tumult. An account was rendered to the emperor of all these disorders, and the pontiff Boniface was accused of having excited them.

Eulalius always exercised the functions of the episcopate in the part of the city which had recognized him as pontiff; but the priests, the partizans of Boniface, wrote to the prince to set him against Eulalius, affirming that he had been misadvised. They besought him to revoke his first orders, and to order to his court the anti-pope and those who sustained him, promising that Boniface would render himself there with his clergy. They besought him, besides, to drive from Rome the faithful who refused to conform to his decision.

Honorius consented to suspend his first decree, and signified to Boniface and Eulalius that they should come to Ravenna, under pain of deposition, accompanied by the prelates who had ordained them both.

The bishops, convoked to Ravenna, assembled in council, and put off the decision of this affair to the first day of May, after the celebration of the festival of Easter. The emperor prohibited Boniface and Eulalius from entering Rome under any pretext, before judgment was pronounced, and ordered that the



holy mysteries should be celebrated by Achilles, bishop of Spoletta, who had not declared for either party.

Eulalius, yielding to bad advice, re-entered the city without the knowledge of Symmachus, and lost by his imprudence the place which he might have advantageously contended for. Honorius, who was favourable to him, irritated by this disobedience, made a decree in these terms: "Since Eulalius has returned to Rome in defiance of the orders which prohibited the two pretenders from approaching the city, he must instantly leave his church, to remove all pretence for sedition; otherwise we shall declare him deprived of his dignity. It will not be received as an excuse, that the people retain him by force; for if any one of the clergy communicates with him, he shall be punished himself, and the laity be banished from our states. We charge the bishop of Spoletta to celebrate divine service during the holy days of Easter, and for this purpose the church of the Lateran shall be open to him alone."

Symmachus, having received this decree, informed Eulalius of it on the same day; the latter replied that he would think of it, and did not wish to leave Rome in spite of the urgency of his friends. The next day he assembled the people, and seized upon the church of the Lateran, where he baptized and celebrated Easter. The prefect was then compelled to drive him away by his troops, and placed officers to guard the church, that Achilles of Spoletta might celebrate the solemnity in tranquillity. Eulalius was arrested and sent into exile, with several clergy of his party, which excited new seditions.

The emperor Honorius, informed of all these disorders, declared Eulalius excluded from the Holy See, and Boniface at liberty to return to Rome to take the government of the church. The senate and people evidenced great joy in finding an end put to these bloody quarrels, and two days afterwards Boniface, amid general acclamations, entered the city in triumph. Peace was then restored to the church, and Eulalius, having promised to renounce all his pretensions, received in recompense the bishopric of Nepi.

Boniface then wrote a letter to the emperor, beseeching him to make an edict which should prevent, in future, the intrigues and cabals which had taken place on the death of a pope, in order to seize upon the bishopric of Rome.

Honorius replied to the wishes of the holy father by the following decree: "If, contrary to our desires, your holiness should quit the earth, let all the world know they must abstain from intrigues to be elevated to the papacy; thus, when two ecclesiastics shall be ordained contrary to the rules, neither of them shall be considered as bishop; but only he whose election shall be confirmed anew by the consent of all;" which shows us that the bishop of Rome was elected by the clergy and the people, and consecrated by a bishop, with the consent of the emperor.

The legates whom Zozimus had sent into Africa on the affair of Apianus, had assisted at the general council held in Carthage, in the hall of the church of Fausta, and in which new debates were entered upon, on the subject of the canons falsified by the pope. After the conclusion of the synod, the legates returned to Rome, and rendered an account of the outrage which had been committed on the Holy See. Boniface, furious, resolved to exterminate the Pelagians, and solicited from the emperor a precept, of which mention is made in a letter which Honorius wrote from Ravenna to the bishop of Carthage. It says, "That in order to restrain the obstinacy of the bishops, who maintain still the doctrine of Pelagius, it is enjoined on Aurelius to warn them that if they do not subscribe to the condemnation, they shall be deposed from the episcopate, driven from their cities, and excommunicated." Aurelius, a submissive slave of the court of Rome, hastened to execute these orders, threatening the bishops with all the wrath of the prince.

But Theodosius, shortly after his marriage, issued a precept against the authority of the pope, in which he declared the sees of Illyria were not subjected to the judgments of the bishops of Rome, and that the prelates of Constantinople enjoyed the same privileges as the Roman pontiffs. The prince also ordered a council to be held at Corinth, to examine into several disputes which had occurred between the churches. Boniface complained of this to the patriarch of Constantinople, and wrote to him: "If you read the canons you will see that yours is the second or third see after the Roman church. The great churches of Alexandria and Antioch guard their authority by canons, and yet they have recourse to our see in important affairs, as in those of Athanasius and Flavian of Antioch. I prohibit you then from assembling to discuss the ordination of Perigen. If, since his ordination, he has committed crimes, our brother Rufus will take cognizance of them, and report to us, for we alone have the right of judging him." He then recommends them to obey Rufus, and threatens with excommunication those who shall go to the council.

Boniface then sent a deputation to the emperor, to beseech him to sustain the ancient privileges of the Roman church. Honorius wrote to Theodosius, who replied, that "the ancient privileges of the Roman church should be observed according to the canons, and that he had charged the prefects of the Prætorians to cause them to be executed."

In the course of the same year, the holy father repressed in Gaul the pretensions of Patroclus of Arles, who had ordained out of his province a bishop, who was asked for neither by the clergy nor the people of his residence. At length the pope Boniface died in the month of October, in the year 423, and was interred in the cemetery of St. Felicità.

St. Simon the Stylite, who lived during the pontificate of Boniface the First, had taken up his dwelling on the summit of a column forty

cubits high, on which he lived thirty years. This fanatic was born at Sisan, a city situated on the confines of Cilicia and Syria. He had entered into a Greek monastery, by the advice of a priest, and had been expelled from it by the abbot, who believed him insane, from the cruel macerations and injurious abstinences to which he condemned himself. On leaving the monastery he retired into a grotto, at the foot of Mount Telenissus, where he resolved to imitate Jesus Christ, by passing lent without taking any nourishment. A pious Cenobite of the neighbourhood, whom he had apprized of his intentions, wished to dissuade him from them. Simon fell into a passion with him, and prohibited him from coming to visit him during that period. The poor monk, thinking that he had lost his reason, left for him ten loaves of bread and a jug full of water, and did not go again to the grotto until the forty days had expired. His astonishment was great on finding the provisions untouched, and the fanatical Simon extended on the earth and giving no signs of life. He immediately caused him to take some drops of water, and administered to him the eucharist. At the same moment, says the legend, Simon

rose with his full strength, and appeared as satiated, as if he had passed lent in the midst of feasting. Since that period he had preserved the same abstinence, and had preached for thirty years from the top of his column, exhorting the faithful to follow his example. His preachings, and the singularity of his sacrifice, had unfortunately too much influence in stimulating the imagination of devotees and exciting imitators of him. The most distinguished of these was Simon the Second, who mounted on a column at the age of fifty years, and who remained there sixty-eight years without ever descending.

The exaltation of the faithful was then carried to such an extreme for macerations, that fanatics entered into ditches, only keeping their heads above them, and waited for death in this position; others made a vow not to wear clothing; they remained entirely naked, exposed to the heat of summer and the cold of winter; men and women lived in herds like beasts, and slept at night, pell-mell in grottoes, in form of a stable, in order to exercise themselves in conquering all kinds of temptations.

## CELESTIN THE FIRST, FORTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 423.—THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, and VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, EMPERORS.]

*Eulalius refuses the pontifical see—Election of Celestin—Accusations against Anthony, bishop of Fusela—The bishops of Africa depose him on account of his crimes—The pope reinstates him—Nestorius—He is calumniated by St. Cyril and Evagars—Council of Rome—Council of Ephesus—Nestorius unjustly condemned—Eulogium on Nestorius—New condemnation of the Pelagians—Celestin defends the doctrine of St. Augustine—Death of the pope—his character—He persecutes the Novatians—Extortions of the priests.*

AFTER the death of Boniface the First, many members of the clergy wished to recall Eulalius, who had before disputed with him the pontifical see. But this priest, having become a philosopher, refused the tiara, and remained in his retreat, in Campania, where he lived another year. The chair of St. Peter remained vacant for nine days, when Celestin, who was a Roman by birth, and the son of Priscus, was chosen without opposition.

Scarcely elevated to the pontifical see, the sad affair of appeals from beyond the sea, the rock on which the humility of the popes was wrecked, was renewed by the appeals of the priest Apinarius, and of Anthony, bishop of Fusela. This last was a young man whom St. Augustine had brought up in his monastery. He had only attained to the degree of a reader, when his protector imposed his hands upon him, and made him bishop of Fusela, a small city at the extremity of the diocese of Hippo. Anthony was received by the faithful with entire submission, but soon the disorders and scandal of his conduct became so great that the people revolted against his authority.

A council of bishops assembled to judge

him. The Fuselians accused him of pillage, exactions and debauchery, and furnished proof of their accusations. The fathers, not being able to refuse a condemnation, yet desiring to exhibit indulgence for a protégé of St. Augustine's, left him the title of bishop, though depriving him of the government of his bishopric.

Anthony, emboldened by the weakness of the synod, presented a request to the pope, in which he demanded to be re-established in his church, maintaining that he could not be rightly deprived of it, or that he should have been deposed from the pontificate. Celestin wrote to the prelates of Africa in favour of the young bishop, but demanding his re-establishment only in case a true recital of facts had been made to him. Anthony, strong in the judgment of the bishop of Rome, threatened them that he would cause it to be executed by the secular power, or by an armed hand. Then Augustine, to shun the effects of general indignation, determined to send to Celestin all the proceedings, beseeching him to interpose his authority, to hinder manifestations of violence.

The letter of St. Augustine was written at a time when the bishops of Africa still showed a deference for appeals to Rome; but when they had acquired an entire knowledge of the Canons of Nice, they declared, that they were unwilling to suffer appeals beyond the sea, and the affair of Anthony of Fusela terminated to the disgrace of the pope.

Celestin wished also to re-instate Apiarius, and sent him back into Africa with bishop Faustin. On his arrival, the African prelates assembled a new council, over which Aurelius of Carthage presided. They examined into the affair of Apiarius, and he was convicted of so great crimes, that Faustin himself, not daring to defend him, wrapped himself in his cloak of office, as the advocate of the Holy See, and opposed the council, under the pretext that it was trespassing on the privileges of the bishop of Rome. At last he declared to the fathers that they ought to receive Apiarius to their communion without examination, and solely because the pope had re-instated him.

After three days of contest, the guilty man, pressed by remorse of conscience, confessed all the crimes of which he had been accused, infamous crimes, which excited the general indignation and aggravated the excommunication. Then the fathers, in council, demanded, ironically, from Faustin, where the Holy Spirit which inspired the pope came from, since Celestin had granted his communion to so great a culprit; and they ordered him to write to the pontiff that they prohibited him from receiving those whom they had excommunicated.

Celestin, seeing his authority rejected in Africa, turned his attention towards the West. He sent several decretal letters to the prelates of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, for the purpose of correcting abuses. In a very remarkable letter, he condemns the bishops who wore a distinctive dress, and were known from the other faithful by a mantle and a girdle. "You ought to distinguish yourselves from the people, wrote he, not by dress, but by your doctrine and the purity of your morals; the priests should not seek to impose on the eyes of the faithful, but to enlighten their minds."

What would have been his indignation if he could have foreseen that the earth would one day be covered with monks, which chequered it black and white; with friars ridiculously clad, shod or unshod; with dominicans, their heads shaved, or wearing long hair, and all distinguished by the particular marks of their order.

The second abuse condemned by the pope was the custom of refusing repentance to the dying; the third, the habit of ordaining bishops from simple laymen, who had not filled the different degrees of the clerical order. "You are not content with ordaining the laity, he writes, but it happens that you ordain as bishops persons accused of crimes; thus, we learn that the monk Daniel, after having been superior of a nunnery in the

East, has retired into Gaul; we have also learned that he has been accused by the inmates of his nunnery of infamous crimes and odious debaucheries. We have sent all this information to the bishop of Arles, to cite Daniel before his council, and yet at the very same time you ordained him a bishop."

Towards the end of the same year, the celebrated Nestorius commenced spreading his doctrines. Evagrius speaks of him with the bitterness and bad faith which fanaticism never fails to inspire in the slaves of the Roman Court. "This tongue, the enemy of God, writes he, forges blasphemies, sells Jesus Christ a second time, divides the body of the Saviour, and rends it. Nestorius refuses to the Holy Virgin the name of Mother of God, although the Holy Spirit has consecrated to her this title, through the councils and the holy fathers. He calls her only Mother of Christ, and this outrage fills with consternation the hearts of all the faithful. Anastasius, his disciple, that heretical priest, becomes the obstinate defender of the opinions of his master, wishes to lead us back again to Judaism. He does not fear to profane the temple of the Lord, and in the church, at Constantinople, in the presence of all the people, he dared to teach this impious doctrine, 'that no one could call Mary the mother of God, for Mary was a woman, and God could not be born of a woman.'"

"On hearing these abominable words, the scandalized faithful murmured against the sacrilegious priest; but the patriarch Nestorius, the original author of the blasphemy, sanctioned, in place of condemning it, and outdoing the impiety of his disciple, was abandoned enough to say, 'I will carefully guard myself from calling God an infant of two or three months old.'"

The pope, advised by St. Cyril of the rapid progress which the new heresy was making, assembled a council at Rome to examine the writings of Nestorius. The Patriarch of Constantinople was condemned, and Cyril was charged with the execution of the sentence.

Celestin then sent into Great Britain St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, to resist Agricola, the son of a Pelagian bishop, who was spreading false doctrines on the subject of grace; St. Louis, bishop of Treves, was also nominated ambassador by a numerous council, which assembled in Gaul. During their journey, the two prelates performed, by the aid of the Spirit of God, a great number of miracles. We will be content with relating the most remarkable.

When they had entered upon the conference with the heretics, a philosopher of the time proposed a singular expedient in order to put an end to the discussion; he presented to them a blind girl to cure. The proposal appeared insidious, and the two parties declined the proof,—but St. Germain, recollecting that he was fortified by precious relics, accepted the offer, applied his talisman to the eyes of the blind girl, and restored her to sight. At the same moment, the Pelagians,

enlightened by an heavenly inspiration, abjured the errors which they had maintained!!!

Whilst the Pelagians were being converted in Great Britain, St. Cyril, in execution of the orders of the pontiff, assembled a general council in the East. As soon as they had celebrated the festival of Easter, the bishops of the different provinces of the empire assembled at Ephesus. The parties were warm in their discussions—the holy fathers villified each other, and in the midst of disorder and confusion, Nestorius was deposed by the bishops, who adhered to St. Cyril. The latter, in his turn, was excommunicated by the bishops who adhered to John of Antioch. Never was a judgment more precipitous nor suspicious than that rendered by the council of Ephesus against Nestorius; a single sitting only was consumed in the examination of his writings and those of his adversary, and the president of the council, St. Cyril, the avowed enemy of the patriarch, had opened it, without even waiting for the legates of the pope.

But posterity has freed Nestorius from the accusations brought against him by St. Cyril and his calumniator, Evagér,—for it has been shown that the meaning which he attributed to the epithet, Mother of God, was reasonable and orthodox. Thus, the pretended heretic underwent an unjust condemnation.

Cyril, who had been the persecutor, was re-instated in his see by the emperor, and ensuing ages have honoured him as a great saint. Nestorius, on the contrary, a victim to the hatred of his enemies, remained all his life exposed to their persecutions, and his memory is still held in execration in the writings of ignorant priests.

Nevertheless, the doctrines of Nestorius have victoriously traversed fourteen centuries, and his followers, under the name of Chaldeans, inhabit still Syria, Chaldea, Persia, and the coast of Malabar, and have preserved their symbol, which differs in nothing from that of the great Grecian church, but in the belief in two natures, distinct and separate, in Jesus Christ. The Nestorians of Malabar are better known as the Christians of Mark Thomas, a title which they acquire from the name of the apostle who converted their ancestors. The Catholics, not willing to attribute to him the merit of these conversions, have changed the name of their missionary into that of St. Thomas, who, according to them, had travelled as far as India to preach their faith; but it has been historically proved that Thomas fled from Constantinople to escape the persecutions of the emperor Theodosius, the enemy of Nestorianism, and that he settled in that country.

During the sixth century, the Christian colony which he had settled became of so much importance that frequent mention is made of it in the chronicles of Malabar. These Chaldeans reject a belief in the divine nature of Christ; consequently, they do not call Mary the Mother of God, and deduce the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. They have but three sacraments, baptism, the eucharist and

ordination, and place in their churches no image but that of the cross. Their priests can marry, and in their ceremonies they still preserve the Chaldean or Syriac language.

After the condemnation of Nestorius, the ambassadors of Celestin arrived at Ephesus, and subscribed, without examination, to the decrees of the council. The Pelagians were excommunicated in the same assembly. These unfortunates, whose heresy on the subject of grace was no more real than the impious sentiments on the incarnation attributed to Nestorius, became the objects of public hatred. Prosper made an epitaph on Pelagianism and Nestorianism, comparing them to two idolatrous females, mother and daughter, who should be buried in the same tomb. This triumph was but an illusion of pride, for the two sects which the council of Ephesus believed to be crushed by the same blow, have infinitely multiplied, traversed centuries, and exist even in our own day.

Towards the end of this unfortunate year, 431, the pope wrote to the bishops of Gaul in defence of St. Augustine, whose doctrines had been attacked by the priests of their dioceses. He addressed to them severe reproaches on their negligence, in not repressing this scandal. In what terms, then, would he have expressed his indignation, if, by a prophetic spirit, he could have foreseen that one of his successors would one day reject, as impious and sacrilegious, the doctrine of St. Augustine.

The letter of the pontiff, on the subject of grace, contains nine articles, in which jansenism exhibits itself in all its purity, and without equivocation, so that if the Bull *unigenitus* could have a retrospective effect, pope Celestin would find himself in heaven, excommunicated by Clement the Eleventh.

The year 432 was marked by the death of St. Pallas, whom the pope had sent into Scotland and Ireland to the apostolic mission of St. Patrick, and to preach the faith of Jesus Christ. This apostle introduced the use of letters among the Irish, who had not before any other literature than rythmic verses, composed by their bards and containing their history.

Celestin died on the 6th of April, 432, after having governed the church of Rome for eight years. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla.

This pope wrote in an earnest and succinct manner, but his style is sententious and confused. He is reproached with having been ambitious and fanatical, common defects with those who have occupied the pretended seat of St. Peter. He persecuted the Novatians, took from them several churches, and compelled Rusticulus, their bishop, to hold his meetings in a private house. This sect, established for a long period in Rome, had attracted the respect of the people by a holy morality and regular morals. They possessed magnificent churches, where an immense multitude of the faithful assembled.—Unfortunately for the Novatians, their prosperity excited the jealous hatred of the popes, who

were beginning to usurp an authority too absolute; they no longer permitted their public assemblies, and whilst praising the purity of their faith, they deprived them of their wealth. The patriarchs of Constantinople did not imitate the bishops of Rome in their persecution of the Novatians; on the contrary,

they evidenced a great respect for their doctrine, and permitted their assemblies in the capital of the empire.

The dedication of the famous church of Julius is attributed to Celestin, who enriched it with superb vases of silver and gold, bought with the gifts of the faithful. and "

## SIXTUS THE THIRD, FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 432.—VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Fanaticism of Sixtus before his pontificate—He persecutes the heretics—The emperor puts an end to the quarrels of Cyril and John of Antioch—The pope is accused of having violated a sacred virgin, and of having committed an incest—Sixtus poisons his accuser—Ambition of the popes—Death of Sixtus—He gives the church great riches, torn from the unfortunate people.*

SIXTUS, the third pope of that name, was an Italian by birth, and a priest of the church of Rome. During the pontificate of Zozimus he had pursued the unfortunate Pelagians with inveteracy, and by his fanaticism had merited the title of maintainer of the faith.

After his advent to the Holy See, Sixtus the Third, who united hypocrisy to intolerance, wrote to St. Cyril to treat with John of Antioch, whose powerful party was vigorously opposed to the decrees of the council of Ephesus. This prelate had assembled at Tarsus a new synod, in which the fathers had deposed St. Cyril, Arcadius, the legate of the pope, and the other prelates, who had gone to Constantinople to ordain Maximian. The bishop of Alexandria, in conformity with the wishes of the pope, took steps towards a reconciliation, but they could not calm John of Antioch, who, immediately on his arrival at his metropolis, held a second synod, in which all the depositions of the first were confirmed. The Orientals then wrote to Theodosius, to inform him that they detested the doctrines of Cyril, and to beseech him not to suffer them to be taught in the churches of the empire.

The prince, worn out with the complaints of both parties, and fearing that the schism with which the church was menaced would trouble the public tranquillity, wished to reconcile John of Antioch and St. Cyril. He flattered the ambition and pride of these two prelates, and terminated their disputes to the satisfaction of all of the enemies of the unfortunate Nestorians. The illustrious old man preserved, however, some friends, who boldly condemned the treason of John of Antioch.

This triumph of Sixtus the Third was not of long duration. He was soon after accused by Bassus, a commendable priest, and of distinguished birth, of having committed an incest, and introduced himself into a convent, to violate a religious woman, named Chrysogonia. The accusation becoming public, appeared atrocious, and caused so great a scandal that Valentinian, emperor of the West, was obliged

to convoke a council, at which assembled fifty-six bishops, to examine into the conduct of the pope. The gold of the holy father corrupted the judges, and the assembly declared that the crimes not having been established by material proof, the accuser should be condemned. In consequence of this judgment, the emperor and empress Placidia, his mother, proscribed Bassus and confiscated all his goods to the church.

Three months after the sentence the priest died of poison! Historians add, that the pontiff, covering himself with the hypocritical veil of religion, assisted himself during his sickness, administered to him the holy sacrament, and wished, after his death, to place him in his shroud with his own hands, in order to conceal the dead body disfigured by poison. The priests, on the other hand, affirm that Sixtus came forth from this accusation pure as gold from the furnace, and that it served to augment the favourable opinion entertained by the people of the holiness of the pontiff.

Church history leaves a void of some years in its recital of the actions of Sixtus, and we cannot undertake to draw them from the profound oblivion in which they are buried. We only know that he maintained the jurisdiction of his See over Illyria, and that he confirmed the sentence of Iddius, condemned by Proclus. At this period the bishops of Asia refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, or rather the double dealing priests, well knowing the ambition of the popes, disobeyed the judgment of their legitimate superiors, in order to carry their causes to Rome; where their complaints, no matter how unjust, would be favourably received, provided they favoured the policy of usurpation pursued by the Holy See.

Julian of Eclana, the famous defender of Pelagius, worn out by the persecution which the hatred of the priests of the East constantly excited against him, came to make his submission to the pontiff, and demanded permission to retake possession of his see; but

Sixtus, after having consulted with the archdeacon Leo, the most important person in the church, and whom we shall soon see succeed him, sharply repulsed the proposals of Julian, and commenced a new persecution against the unfortunate Pelagians.

Pope Sixtus died soon after, on the 28th of March, 420, having held the Holy See about eight years. He was buried on the road to Tibur, near to St. Lawrence.

During his pontificate he rebuilt the church of St. Mary, placed in the interior an altar of silver, weighing three hundred pounds, gave to it many vases of silver, weighing eleven hundred and sixty-five pounds, a vase of gold, of fifty pounds, and twenty-four chandeliers of copper, and he appropriated for the support of this church, in houses and lands, a revenue of seven hundred and twenty-nine sows of gold. He gave to the baptistry of St. Mary vases of silver, and a stag, from whence flowed the water, of thirty pounds weight.

He adorned the confessional of St. Peter with ornaments of silver, weighing four hundred pounds, and that of St. Lawrence with balustrades of porphyry. He placed upon the altar columns of massive silver, weighing four hundred pounds, sustaining a silver arch, surmounted by a statue of St. Lawrence in massive gold, weighing two hundred pounds. The church of the saint was encumbered with vases of silver and gold, adorned with pearls and precious stones. St. Sixtus had equally ornamented the baptistry of the Lateran with columns of porphyry, and upon the marble architecture he caused verses to be sculptured, which pointed out the virtues of baptism and the faith of original sin. In fine, this pontiff gave to the churches, during his life more than two thousand six hundred and eleven pounds weight of gold and silver, which he had extracted from the faithful by means of alms and testaments.

## LEO THE FIRST, FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 440.—VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Birth of Leo—He excommunicates bigamist bishops—Laws in favour of celibacy—Ravages of Genseric in Italy—Persecutions of the Manicheans—The pope accuses them falsely—Leo attacks the Pelagians—He wishes to extend his rule over Illyria—Death of St. Cyril—Cruel punishment of Priscillian in Spain—St. Martin, bishop of Tours, condemns the intolerance of the pope—Leo encourages the fanaticism of the emperor against the heretics—Eutyches—his doctrine—his condemnation—The pope sustains the heresy—General council of Ephesus—Eutyches is absolved—The pope excommunicated—He demands from the emperor a general council—Exploits of Attila—Leo arrests his career—Miracle of the holy father—Quarrel between the patriarch of Constantinople and Leo—Rome sacked by Genseric—The pope prohibits any one from taking the veil under forty—Fasts established by St. Leo—History of the bloody hand—Death of the pope.*

Leo was born at Rome towards the end of the reign of Theodosius the Great; his father's name was Quintian. Authors are silent in regard to his birth, and Leo first appears in history on the occasion of a violent quarrel which had broken out between Aetius and Albin, the leaders of the Roman armies sent into Gaul to repulse the barbarians, who threatened the frontiers. The misunderstanding between these generals might have brought about the greatest disasters, and perhaps the ruin of the empire. Leo, sent by the pontiff to negotiate an agreement between the two armies, happily terminated this difficult negotiation, and reconciled Aetius and Albin, who reunited their forces against the barbarians.

The ambassador was still at the camp when Sixtus died, and though absent, he was unanimously elected chief of the church, and a deputation brought to him the announcement of this good news.

Arrived at the sovereign pontificate, he at once applied himself with great assiduity to the instruction of his flock. He then sent an envoy to bishop Potentian, in Africa, to make to him an exact report of the situation of the

churches, which were said to be governed by persons unworthy of the episcopate, and who had been elevated to this dignity by means of bloody seditions. The legate discovered that discipline was entirely abandoned, and that the sacred orders were bestowed on the laity—bigamists and heretics.

The pope immediately wrote to the bishops of Eastern Mauritania, to recommend to them to follow the ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with the intent of the councils. In this letter he calls those bigamists who had married widows, or who had two wives at a time, or who had espoused a second after having repudiated a first.

He permitted the mere laity, who had been elevated to bishoprics, to hold their sees; he also confirmed in their dignities Donatus of Salicina, who had abjured with his people the heresy of the Novatians, and Maximus, a Donatist convert, who had been ordained bishop without having received orders; but he surrendered to the judgment of the prelates of the provinces Aggar and Tiberien, who had been consecrated in consequence of revolts, reserving, nevertheless, to himself the re-  
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sion of the process and the right of final decision.

St. Leo judged the nuns innocent who had been violated when their convents were pillaged by the Arabs, counselling them, nevertheless, not to compare themselves with those who still had their virginity, and advising them to mourn for the residue of their lives over the irreparable loss they had sustained.

He then wrote to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, to prohibit him from exposing to public penitence a priest who had been found guilty of enormous crimes, adding that it was his duty to conceal the faults of the clergy, in order to shun a scandal which might bring dishonour on the church.

In a decree which he made at the beginning of the year 442, the holy father ordered mere priests to follow the same law as the bishops, in regard to continence; that is, he enjoined them to keep their wives, without having any intimate connection with them. The deacons refused to submit to the observance of this strange decree; and it was later, and by employing the greatest circumspection, that the pontiffs were able to make the laws of celibacy acceptable in the West. In the East they were equally disappointed.

In another bull the pope established this invidious proposition, that a clergyman could give his daughter to a man living in concubinage, without incurring the ecclesiastical censure, as if he gave her to a married man; because, adds the holy father, concubines are not legitimate wives, and the daughters do not sin in yielding themselves to their husbands. The last article of this bull concerns the faithful who had been prisoners among the pagans, and who had lived like them. He permitted the bishops to purify them by fasting and the imposition of hands, in case they had only eaten of the sacrificial food; but he ordered that, like homicides and adulterers, they should submit to public penance, if they had adored the idols.

During the year 443, Genseric, after having ravaged the provinces of the empire, and established his dominion in Africa, made a descent on Sicily, where, at the instigation of Maximian, chief of the Arians, he cruelly persecuted the orthodox. In the peril in which the church was placed, St. Augustine thought it was his duty to abandon his diocese, to go to Rome to combat the Arians. He, by chance, took up his residence in the house of a Manichean, which sect was then making great progress, and had increased very considerably from the Africans, who had taken refuge in Italy after the destruction of Carthage by the king of the Vandals.

St. Augustine, betraying the duties of hospitality, discovered to Leo the places of meeting of this new sect, and pretended that the Manicheans were the authors of the corruptions which were gliding into his flock. Then the holy father warned the faithful in his sermons that they ought not only to guard against these dangerous heretics, but to denounce them, and he pointed out the means of recog-

nizing them. He accused them of fasting on Sunday, in honor of the sun, and on Monday in that of the moon; he affirmed that they received the communion in only one kind, that of bread, regarding wine as the production of an evil principle.

After having rendered them execrable in the eyes of the people, the pope Leo ordered the strictest search to be made for them in the city; he prohibited their secret assemblies, ordered the books which contained their doctrine to be seized, and burned them publicly in the square in front of the church of St. Peter. Then, in order to increase the horror he was desirous of inspiring against these unfortunates, he held a synod, composed of the neighbouring bishops, to whom he added the principal members of the clergy, the senate, the nobility and the people, and in the presence of this assembly several Manicheans and one of their bishops, seduced by the money of the pontiff, made a public confession of the abominable acts of lewdness of which they had been guilty. But the testimony of these cowardly apostates will appear always suspicious to conscientious minds, who desire to judge with impartiality; and we know by recent examples in religion, as well as in politics, that zeal, or the fear of tortures, induce new converts to calumniate their brethren, frequently to persecute them.

The pope, not being yet satisfied, excited the magistrates to exterminate the Manicheans, and was constrained in his cruel pursuits by the imperial laws. Valentinian the Third published an edict, in which he confirmed and renewed all the ordinances of his predecessors against these sectaries, declaring them to be infamous, incapable of exercising any charge, of carrying arms, of bearing testimony, of contracting or doing any lawful act in civil society, prohibiting all the subjects of the empire from affording them an asylum, and ordaining that, when denounced, they should be punished according to the rigour of the laws.

Thirteen centuries later will produce another execrable example, in the person of Louis the Fourteenth, authorising persecutions against the Protestants.

Many bishops of the East and West, at the instigation of the pontiff, proceeded with equal zeal against the Manicheans in their dioceses. Thanks to these violent remedies, Rome was soon purged of this heresy, and Leo could turn his arms against Pelagianism, which Julian of Eclana, his implacable foe, favoured in Campania and Italy; but not wishing to engage in theological discussions in which he feared a failure, it appeared to him more certain to excite the bishops against the Pelagians, and put in force the cruel ordinances of the emperors.

During the course of the same year, Leo gave a new proof of his excessive ambition. The emperors, in the division of Illyria, had taken away from the popes the jurisdiction of primacy, which they claimed over that province. In spite of the prohibition of the

sovereign, the holy father established in Illyria, as vicar for his see, Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica. It is true, that in this transaction, he had to display all his political skill, and that he was obliged to write to the prefects of the East letters of condescension to excuse his conduct. Experience had taught the pontiffs that they could more easily bend to their will the bishops of the West than those of the East, who knew how to maintain themselves in possession of their privileges; and prudence advised them to show, in their intercourse with them, great address.

Leo showed no regard for the decisions of the prelates of Gaul, and imperiously ordered them to submit to the will of the court of Rome.

St. Hilarius, and St. Germain of Auxerre, having been charged by the prince to reform the abuses which had been introduced into some provinces of Gaul, went to Vienne to receive the complaints of the people and the nobles, who accused Celidonius, their bishop, of rape and murder, and of having finally married a woman whose husband he had caused to be assassinated.

These two prelates ordered the witnesses to assemble, and convened several ecclesiastics of great merit, to examine into this affair. The accusation having been proved, they decided, according to the rules of scripture, that Celidonius himself should renounce the episcopate. The condemned bishop appealed to Rome from this sentence, and was listened to with favour by the pontiff. St. Hilarius, in order to avoid scandal, went himself to Italy, to beseech Leo to maintain the discipline of the churches. He represented to him, with great wisdom, that it was necessary for the Holy See to renounce its pretensions of elevating to ecclesiastical functions bishops deposed in Gaul by the orders of the magistrates. "I am come, holy father," added he, "to render you my duty, and not to plead my cause; I advise you of that which has passed, not in form of accusation, but in simple recital; if your opinion differs from mine, I shall urge it no more, and will follow up before the prince the deposition of the guilty."

The pope, through ambition for the prerogative of his see, not only repulsed the demand of St. Hilarius, but gave orders to his guards to retain him as a prisoner, being desirous of constraining him to justify himself before the council which he had convoked. Fortunately, the prelate was enabled to deceive the spies of the holy father, sallied secretly from Rome, and returned to his church. Leo, furious at seeing his prisoner escape him, caused him to be excommunicated by his council, and reinstated Celidonius in all his rights. The synod, it is true, was composed of his slaves; that is to say, of bishops contiguous to Rome. With such people, add historians, the pontiff would have been enabled to condemn the apostles, and Jesus Christ himself. The emperor, Valentinian the Third, lending himself to the vengeance

of Leo, had the weakness to give an order, addressed to the patrician Aetius, who commanded the troops in Gaul, ordering him to imprison, as a traitor and seditious person, the holy shepherd of the city of Arles.

This act of despotism was a mortal blow to the liberty of the French churches, and its ecclesiastical affairs, which had before been judged by national synods, were, from that time, carried before the bishop of Rome.

St. Cyril, one of the most violent persecutors of the Novatians, died on the 9th of June, in this same year, after having governed the church of Alexandria for thirty-two years. He had designated as his successor the bishop Diosconus.

In spite of the vigilance of the pope, the heresy of the Priscillianists continued to make the most surprising progress in Spain and Gaul.

These sectarians were but a continuation of the Gnostics, and by the accounts of their enemies, were subdivided into many fractions, distinct from each other, and having each their particular belief. Thus, the Massalians did not believe that the sacraments were at all efficacious in driving away demons, and maintained that the only mode of exorcising the faithful possessed with evil spirits, was to sneeze, in order that the demons might be expelled with the discharge. The Sethians, or Ophites, placed the serpent before Christ, and adored him for having taught man the knowledge of good and evil. The Adamites taught a community of women, because, according to them, promiscuity was the true mystical community of the Christian. The Cainites honoured Cain, as the one who had taught men to labour, and regarded the murder of Abel as an allegory, signifying that people could destroy the idle, who were a charge on society. They venerated the memory of Judas, because this apostle, by betraying Christ, had saved the world from universal damnation. They believed that every sin had a guardian angel, who presided over its accomplishment, and they detested chaste men, as beings without force or energy; finally, they invoked, in their prayers, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the Hebrews of the Old Testament, who had been signalized for their impiety.

How great soever may be the trust reposed by priests in the assertions of the fathers of the church, those among the ecclesiastics who have written upon this heresy, have not been able to avoid doubting the exactitude of the statements of St. Epiphanius on the different sects of the Priscillianists or Gnostics; and if they do not accuse him of having wished to calumniate them, in order to increase the number of their enemies, at least they reproach him for having shown himself too credulous in adopting the popular fables invented against them by ignorance or hatred. St. Ireneus and St. Clement of Alexandria, themselves, refused to believe in their alleged turpitude, and accused them only of an affection of too great purity and chastity.



The monks, the docile instruments of the fanaticism of Leo, after having brought before the prefect Evodius, atrocious accusations against the venerable Priscillian, demanded that he should be incarcerated in one of their prisons, and submitted to the most terrible proofs.

The unfortunate heretic was bound with cords and chains: then the priest commenced the interrogatory:—

“Abjure thy errors, Priscillian; submit thyself to the sovereign pontiff of Rome.”

The sufferer refusing to reply, the executioners made his limbs to crack under the pressure of his chains, and plunged both his feet into a heated brazier.

“Abjure thy errors, Priscillian, and glorify Leo, the father of the faithful.”

Priscillian, during this horrible suffering, addressed his prayers to God, and refused still to glorify the pope.

Then the monk charged with the execution gave the orders to the executioners to commence the punishment. They tore from him his hair and the skin of his skull, they burned with hot iron all parts of his body, and poured upon his wounds boiling oil and melted lead, and at last plunged into his entrails a rod heated in the fire; and this martyr expired, after two hours of frightful suffering.

Leo still pursued the residue of the sect, and abandoned them to the implacable hatred of the priests. Their vengeance not being satisfied by the condemnation of Priscillian, they soon abused their credit and the favour of the court, by persecuting people of wealth. It was enough to be suspected of fasting and loving a quiet retreat, and the greatest crimes then were to be wise and honoured. Citizens who had displeased the clergy were accused of Priscillianism, especially when their death might be agreeable to the prince, or their riches could fill the treasury of the holy father.

St. Martin, bishop of Tours, loudly condemned the intolerance of the pontiff, who, under the cloak of religion, sought to gratify his ambition and avarice by sacrificing the quiet of the people. At first, he refused to communicate with the bishops of Spain, who had executed the orders of Leo; but in the end, fatigued by their protestations, he permitted them to extort an act of communion from him. He was much afflicted, in consequence of it, during the rest of his life, and was persuaded that this act had hindered the grace of miracles from shining forth in his person.

The pope not only dared to glorify himself for having ordered the punishment of Priscillian, but he even wrote to Maximus, to demand from him his assistance to extend the massacres through all the provinces of the empire; he expressed himself in these terms, “My lord, the rigor and severity of your justice against this heretic and his disciples have been of great aid to the clemency of the church. We have heretofore been content with the mildness of the judgments which the

bishops delivered in accordance with the canons, and we did not desire bloody executions; now, however, we have learned that it is necessary to be aided and sustained by the severe constitutions of the emperors—for the fear of religious punishment frequently makes heretics recur to a spiritual remedy, which can cure their souls from a mortal malady by a true conversion.”

This impious pope, thus separating himself from the tolerant precepts of Christianity, endeavored to extirpate heresies by the most violent means.

Soon the affair of Eutyches gave the world a new proof of the cruelty of Leo, and showed the ridiculous spectacle of a pretended heresy, against which the East and the West were up, without knowing the dogmas which would encounter the anathemas of the Holy See.

Eutyches, a priest and abbot of a great convent of three hundred monks, near Constantinople, had written to the pope to inform him that Nestorianism was recovering new strength, under the protection which the patrician, Flavian, granted to it. Leo approved of his zeal, and encouraged him to pursue the heretics. Domnus of Antioch wrote, in his turn, to the emperor Theodosius, and accused him of renewing the heresy of Apollinarius, by maintaining that the divinity of the Son of God, and his humanity, were but one nature, and attributed his sufferings to his divinity. This heresy was founded on the consequences drawn from the terms of Eutyches, which did not differ from the orthodox opinions but in the mode of interpreting them. He recognized, in fact, two natures in Jesus Christ, but he maintained that it was better to explain the mystery of the incarnation by saying that there existed but a single nature; because Jesus Christ was at once God and man. Those who declared against this sentiment spoke of those two natures as if they had been separate, and the pretended heretic was condemned, because he was not understood, or because they refused to understand him.

The Eastern prelates assembled in council at Constantinople, to judge Eutyches, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication, which does not inspire a great respect for the abilities of the fathers who composed the synod. He, believing himself unjustly condemned, wrote to the pope, “I beseech you, holy father, to decide upon the faith, and not permit the decree which has been ordained against me by a cabal to be executed. Have pity on an old man, who has lived sixty-five years in continence, in the exercise of piety, and whom they drive from his retreat.” The emperor Theodosius, who favoured Eutyches, wrote at the same time to the pontiff on the troubles which were agitating the church at Constantinople.

These letters, which flattered the ambition of Leo, already at variance with Flavian of Constantinople, sufficed to engage him to undertake the defence of Eutyches. He thus

wrote to Flavian, "I am astonished, my brother, that you have sent me no information of the scandal which troubles the church, and of which you should have been the first to advise me. We have read the expose of the doctrine of Eutyches, and we do not see for what motive you have separated him from the communion of the faithful. Nevertheless, as we desire to be impartial in our judgments, we will make no decision without understanding, perfectly, the reasons alleged by both parties. Send us, then, a relation of all that has passed, and teach us what new error has sprung up against the faith, that we may be able, in accordance with the will of the emperor, to put an end to the division—and thus we shall be easily enabled to do, since the priest Eutyches has declared that if we should find any thing reprehensible in his doctrine, he was ready to correct it."

Some days after the receipt of the letters of the pope, a new council was held at Constantinople, to revise the first judgment. The emperor wished the patrician Florentin to represent him in this assembly, in order to prevent the hatred of theologians from oppressing innocence; as he learned that his precautions were powerless, he transferred the council to Ephesus.

The pope, and Flavian of Constantinople, who had been reconciled, fearing to lose their influence over the fathers, used their efforts to engage the emperor to countermand his last orders. But all their endeavours were useless. Leo, unwilling to go to Ephesus, contented himself with sending, as his legates, Julius, bishop of Pouzzola; René, a priest of the order of St. Clement; Hilarius, a deacon; and Dulcinius, a notary.

When all the fathers convoked by the emperor were assembled at Ephesus, the opening of the council was fixed for the 8th of August. Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the government of the church of Alexandria, was named president of the assembly. The sentence of deposition pronounced against Eutyches in the council of Constantinople, was declared null by the fathers; they re-established the venerable abbot at the head of his monastery, and rendered him entire justice, as to the purity of his faith and the sanctity of his morals. His accusers, Flavian, and Eusebius, bishop of Dorylea, were condemned and deposed, despite of the opposition of Hilarius, the deacon of the Roman church, who spoke in the name of the pope; and despite of the efforts of several bishops, who evinced a strong attachment to the interests of Flavian.

After the council, Dioscorus even pronounced a sentence of condemnation against pope Leo, as a punishment for his pride and despotism. The emperor Theodosius confirmed, by an edict, the second council of Ephesus, and prohibited new sees being given to bishops who should sustain the heresy of Nestorius and Flavian.

In the interval, Leo received a letter from the bishops of the province of Vienne, which

advised him of the election of Ravennius to the archbishopric of Arles, which shows that they did not wait for the consent of the holy father to consecrate a bishop, and that they advised him of their elections for the sole purpose of maintaining the bonds of fraternal union.

The pope was still ignorant of what was passing in the East, from whence he had received no news. He wrote then to Flavian, to testify his inquietude. Some time after, the deacon Hilarius, having returned to Rome, advised the holy father of the great outrages which had been committed against his see by the council of Ephesus. Leo, transported with rage, immediately convoked the bishops of Italy to a synod, and, in his turn, excommunicated the fathers of Ephesus; then he wrote several synodical letters against Eutyches, and demanded at once from the emperor authority to preside over a general council.

After the death of Theodosius, the empress Pulcheria, seconding the pontiff in his desire to draw down vengeance on Eutyches and his friends, ordered the patriarch Anatolius, who had been placed in the see of Constantinople in the stead of Flavian, to embrace the party of Rome, and to merit the affection of the pope, if he wished to preserve his bishopric. Anatolius, intimidated by this threat, assembled a council, to which he invited the legates of the pontiff, to take cognizance of the famous letter of Leo to Flavian. The fathers of the new council declared that they entirely approved of its contents. Then Anatolius pronounced an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches, condemned their doctrine, and by this unjust sentence, merited to be received as the legitimate bishop of Constantinople.

Political affairs were in as deplorable a state as ecclesiastical. The redoubtable Attila, the king of the Huns, after having reduced to ashes the city of Aquileia, and ravaged all the country over which he passed, caused all Italy to tremble. Pavia even, and Milan, those two great cities, could not resist the efforts of his victorious arms, and had become the frightful theatre of all the disorders of war.

This new distress caused the greatest consternation at Rome. The Senate assembled to deliberate whether the emperor should quit Italy, since it appeared to be impossible to defend the capital against the deluge of barbarians who seemed to have inundated the empire. In this extremity, they resolved to try the effect of negotiations, and sent to Attila a pompous embassy, with pope Leo, whose persuasive eloquence they well knew, at its head. The pontiff sallied from the city with an imposing cortège to meet this redoubtable enemy, and when he was near the tent of Attila, he astonished him with the solemn chants of the church, and humbly prostrated himself before the majesty of the barbarian chief; then the conferences commenced. The chronicles relate that the king of the Huns was so struck by this strange spectacle, that he submitted to every thi-

Leo demanded, as to orders from Heaven; that he consented to peace, and retired with his armies beyond the Danube. Some historians even add, that the Hunnish chieftains having openly expressed their contempt for their prince, who had honoured the pope by obeying him even as a slave, he, to justify himself affirmed, that he had seen in a dream a venerable old man, holding in his hand a drawn sword, who menaced him with death if he did not conform to the orders of Leo.

This story was formerly found in the *Breviary of Paris*. During the seventeenth century, one of our most learned archbishops has suppressed it, as well as other grosser fables which it contained. The true motive for the retreat of Attila was the desire of possessing the gold which the pope made to glitter before his eyes; an unpardonable fault for a conqueror at the head of victorious troops, and especially for an Attila, the scourge of God, the enemy of the human race, whose look filled the bravest with fear, and at whose name nations trembled.

Leo, who had disarmed the invincible king of the Huns, could not, nevertheless, conquer Anatolius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who, not having need to preserve any address with him, wished to extend his sway over the Eastern churches, and imitated the pope, who had already made his authority felt in the churches of the West.

In order to humiliate the bishops of Rome, Anatolius favoured the partisans of Eutyches and Dioscorus, and repulsed the friends of the holy father; the latter complained to the emperor Marcian and the empress Pulcheria; but the emperor, who desired to maintain peace in the church, refused to give any satisfaction to either of the two parties, and forced them to feign an official reconciliation.

The pope was charged, during the following year, with an important embassy, which resulted deplorably, and in which his eloquence did not produce a second miracle.

The empress Eudoxia, after the death of Valentinian the Third, had been forced to espouse Maximus, the usurper of the throne and the assassin of her husband. As the princess refused to yield to the desires of this monster, he had the barbarity to order his soldiers to bind her with cords, and to strip from her her garments, that he might be enabled to glut his brutal passion. Eudoxia, outraged by this horrid violence, secretly demanded assistance from the king of the Vandals. Genseric seized upon the pretext, disembarked in Italy, and marched towards Rome, whose gates were opened to him by treason.

St. Leo, seeing his flock exposed to the vengeance of the Arians, cast himself at the feet of the king of the Vandals, and entreated him to spare the holy city. All his endeavours failed before the obstinacy of Genseric; Rome was delivered up to pillage during fourteen days, and the inhabitants had only the liberty of retiring with their families into

three churches, which served for an asylum, and where there was no bloodshed.

The king then returned to his vessels, which were filled with booty, taking with him the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, whom he treated with distinction. This prince was not as cruel as ecclesiastical historians maintain; and the faults with which they reproach him were the inevitable consequences of supreme power. We shall find actions much more condemnable in the lives of monarchs whose memory is venerated in the church.

After the death of the emperor Marcian, the party of Eutyches made great efforts in the East to obtain the protection of his successor, surnamed Macellus; but the pontiff, who had aided by his cabals and intrigues in placing him on the throne, so preserved his credit at court as to repress the enemies of the church, and maintain the authority of the Holy See.

Leo then occupied himself with ruling several points of discipline on the subject of the inhabitants of the city of Aquileia, who had been carried away prisoners by Attila. During their captivity, the faithful had eaten impure food and consented to receive new baptism; others, on their return, had found their wives married. Nicetas, bishop of Aquileia, having consulted St. Leo in cases of conscience, the pope replied in the following decretal:—He orders women who have contracted new unions, in the uncertainty as to the existence of their husbands, to return to them, under pain of excommunication, and excuses the second husbands. He condemns to public penitence those whom fear or hunger had induced to eat unclean food, and orders those who had been re-baptised, to reconcile themselves with the church by the imposition of the hands of the bishop. In another decretal, Leo prohibits virgins from receiving the solemn benediction and the veil until they had been tried to the age of forty. It is believed that it was at his solicitation that the emperor Magorian passed a law against parents forcing their daughters to consecrate themselves to God; the same law blames, severely, widows who, not having children, renounce a second marriage, through libertinage, and not virtue.

The church owes to this holy father the establishment of four solemn fasts during the year, to wit: Lent, Pentecost—the fasts of the seventh and the tenth months. Legends fix at this period the origin of "Rogations," which were first celebrated in Dauphiny, and in the end adopted by the churches of all countries. Marners, bishop of Vienne, was the inventor of this superstitious practice, which, according to the priests, has the power of bending Divine Justice, arresting earthquakes, fires, and other scourges which desolate nations.

Authors relate a singular anecdote in regard to the custom of kissing the foot of the pope. A woman of remarkable beauty had been admitted, they say, on Easter day

to kiss the hand of the pontiff; when she was near to Leo, his holiness felt the flesh revolting against the spirit, and she desired to possess the beautiful penitent. But, almost immediately after the commission of the crime, repentance took possession of his soul, and he cut off the hand which had caused this mark of weakness. This mutilation preventing the holy father from celebrating mass, the people began to murmur; then Leo addressed fervent prayers to God for the res-

toration of his hand, which was granted him on condition he would change the custom of giving the hand to kiss, and that he would introduce the practice of presenting the feet of the pontiff for the adoration of the faithful. Thus does the legend relate the miracle of the bloody hand!!

St. Leo held his see twenty-one years, and died on the 11th of April, in the year 461, the day fixed in honour of his memory in the church.

## HILARIUS, THE FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 461.—LEO THE FIRST, SEVERUS, and ANTHEMIUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Hilarius—The affair of Hermes, bishop of Beziers—He persecutes St. Mamers—Violence of the pontiff—He extends his sway over Gaul and Spain—Intolerance of the pope—His death—Character of his pontificate.*

HILARIUS was a Sardinian, and the son of Crispinus. Nothing is known of his education, nor of the private acts of his life, before his arrival at the pontificate. History truly speaks of his embassy to the council of Ephesus, where he had been sent by Leo, to sustain the rights of the bishop of Rome.

The old scandal of appeals to Rome was renewed in the first year of his reign. A man named Hermes had, by means of intrigue, been ordained bishop of Beziers, in opposition to the wishes of its inhabitants, who did not want him, on account of the crimes of his past life, which rendered him unworthy of the episcopate; but the new prelate having addressed himself to the court of Rome, the pontiff wrote to Leo of Arles, to obtain from him a report on the morals and conduct of Hermes, in order to interpose his judgment in the affair. Then, without even waiting for the reply of Leo, he assembled a council, and confirmed Hermes in his bishopric, prohibiting him, however, from ordaining priests.

St. Mamers, bishop of Vienne, celebrated through all Gaul for his piety, acquired new glory from a persecution he endured from the pontiff on the following account. An ambitious priest had carried complaints to Rome against Mamers, who, having repelled his pretensions to the bishopric of Dia, had given the see to a venerable old man. In it, he was sustained by Leo of Arles and the synod of the province, who hastened to inform the pope that the act of Mamers was just and equitable; but Hilarius, desirous of augmenting the power which his predecessor had arrogated to himself in Gaul, on this occasion broke through the bounds of equity. He called the act of Mamers an unpardonable outrage; he accused him of pride, presumption, and prevarication; he threatened even to take from him his privileges if he should persevere in the just exercise of his rights; and he even charged bishop Veranus to execute his orders, as the delegate of the Holy See.

Mamers repelled these attacks of the pontiff with dignity and moderation; he refuted the accusations of his enemies, and declared that he would maintain the rights of his church. The cardinal Baronius himself, when speaking of this scandalous dispute, says, "Do not be astonished if the pope acted with too much vehemence against Mamers, a prelate of exemplary piety; for, in contested affairs, every one may be deceived, even although he is the successor of St. Peter; and a like difficulty had before taken place during the reign of St. Leo."

Two important affairs occurred in the same year, (462,) which increased the influence of the Holy See. Sylvanus, bishop of Calahorra, had selected a priest of the church of Tarra-gona, and had ordained him a bishop, notwithstanding the opposition of his metropolitan. The chiefs of the clergy of the province having assembled in council to decide upon the dispute, could not agree, and they had the weakness to write to the holy father, to ask from him what should be their decision.

The other regarded Nundinarius, bishop of Barcelona, who, when dying, had designated as his successor, Ireneus, who was already the shepherd of another city, and had bequeathed to him all his property. The prelates of the province, in conformity with the will of the deceased, and with the consent of the clergy, the people, and the nobles, consented to the transfer of Ireneus, and bound themselves only to demand for it the confirmation of the pontiff. The ecclesiastics thus committed two great faults, which rendered them dependent on the Holy See, and by their imprudence, furnished the popes with the means of increasing their authority daily.

The new emperor, Anthemius, having come to Rome in the beginning of the year 467, to take possession of the empire, Hilarius feared lest the heresies of the East should be introduced into the church of the West, through the protection of Philotheus, an heretical

Macedonian, and favourite of the prince, who had already permitted all sects to hold assemblies. The pope declared himself opposed to liberty of conscience, and dared even to reproach the emperor before the assembly of the people in the church of St. Peter; he threatened the monarch to excite the provinces against him, unless he engaged, by a solemn oath, to drive all heretics from his states.

Some time after having thus manifested his spirit of intolerance, Hilarius died, in the month of September, 467, and was interred in the grotto of the monastery of St. Lawrence.

Historians affirm, that the pontiff had partaken with the barbarians of the riches obtained from the pillage of Rome by Genseric, and that these treasures enabled him to purchase the Tiara. When he became pope he conformed to the customs of the age, and built magnificent churches, which he enriched with precious vases. His pontificate affords nothing remarkable, if we except the same perseverance in the uniform plan pursued by the bishops of Rome, to weaken the imperial power, and trample down the liberties of the people.

## SIMPLICIUS, THE FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 467.—LEO THE FIRST and ZENO, Emperors.]

*Birth of Simplicius—He opposes the wishes of Leo—Troubles in the East—Zeno is driven from the throne—He regains the crown—The pope persecutes the Eutychians—Serious quarrel between Simplicius and the patriarch of Constantinople—Audacity of the pope—His death.*

TIVOLI, a city situated in ancient Latium, and now called Tivoli, was the birth place of Simplicius, the son of Castinus.

As soon as the emperor Leo was informed of the election of Simplicius, he wrote to him to congratulate him, and pressed him at the same time to confirm the decree of the council of Chalcedon, which elevated the see of Constantinople to the second rank in the episcopal dignity. Simplicius obstinately opposed the wishes of the prince.

After the death of Leo, Zeno, his successor, mounted the throne. But soon the usurper Basilicus, having produced a revolt among the troops, drove off the new monarch and seized upon the empire of the East. His first act was to re-establish the Eutychian prelates, whom Leo, at the instigation of the pope, had persecuted with great rigour.

Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, alone, among the bishops, refused to obey the orders of the tyrant, and was sustained in his resistance by the priests and people. The holy father at first approved of the conduct of the generous Acacius, but the monks having advised him of the return of Timotheus Eleurus, who endeavoured to excite troubles, in order to re-establish himself in the see of Alexandria, Simplicius was weak enough to write that he advised him to imitate the example of his legate, and rally around the throne of Basilicus, if that prince would exclude Timotheus from the see of Alexandria.

His holiness accused this prelate of partaking of the heresy of an African monk, who, after profound and minute researches as to the authenticity of the coming of the Son of God on the earth, had arrived at this remarkable conclusion: "Jesus has not existed!" In support of his opinion he invoked the silence of Philo, a celebrated Jewish doctor, who wrote at the time at which the mission of

Christ is placed. He proved that in the works of Flavius Josephus, who flourished in the middle of the first century of our era, the passage in which mention is made of Jesus, contains gross interpolations, which did not exist in the time of Origen, that is, in 253, since that father in his book expresses great surprise at the absolute forgetfulness of Jesus by Josephus. He draws also the improbability of the condemnation of the Son of God, whom the evangelist says was judged by Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, then by Herod, who had no judicial authority in Judea, and was finally condemned and punished by Caiaphas, all in the space of six hours. The learned monk maintained, that even admitting the authenticity of the passage of Josephus, the divinity of Jesus cannot be deduced as a consequence from it; "For," says he, "this historian speaks of the revolt of the Jewish people against Pilate, of the courageous resistance of the chiefs of the insurgents; of their constancy in the midst of punishment. He enumerates at length the names and qualities of Simon and Judas, proclaimed kings during the revolt; of Judas of Galilee, and of Zadoc the Pharisee, founders and chiefs of the patriotic zealots; of James; of Manasses; of Jonathan Thaumaturgus; of Simon the magician, and of Simon Barjona; whilst on the other hand he devotes but a few lines to relating that a person of low order, called Jesus, had announced the destruction of the temple, and the sack of the city of Jerusalem, and says nothing of his doctrine, disciples, miracles, death nor resurrection." The African monk, besides, objected that Justus Tiberius, a contemporary of Flavius, and of the pretended disciples of Christ, had made no mention of the Saviour, nor of his apostles, in his history of the Jews.

The letter of the holy father against Timotheus Eleurus and his protégé, acted power-

sally on the spirit of Acacius, who immediately began to pursue the heretics.

Zeno, profiting by the disorders which the orthodox and the Eutychians fomented in the provinces of the empire, returned to Constantinople at the head of an army, drove away in his turn the usurper, and remounted the throne. Acacius hastened to send to the holy father an account of this counter-revolution, and of all the efforts of the heretics to again seize upon their influence. He asked from him, at the same time, a plan of conduct. Simplicius, changing his opinion with an astonishing versatility, replied that it was no longer from Basilicus, but from Zeno, from whom, under God, they must expect aid to the church; and he urged him to beseech the prince to publish an ordinance, exiling the bishops whom Timotheus Eleurus had ordained. The emperor, fearing to excite the wrath of the bishops of Rome, of whose assistance he had need, to maintain himself upon the throne, yielded to his wishes, and persecuted the Eutychians with the greatest violence.

The see of Alexandria having become vacant by the death of Timotheus, the priests nominated as his successor, John Talala, with-

out even waiting for the permission of the emperor. Zeno, irritated by their boldness, drove away the new prelate who, in order to avenge himself, appealed to the pope. But the formidable influence of Rome was already beginning to diminish in the East, and the holy father wishing to reprimand the patriarch of Constantinople on this subject, received simply for answer, that the Orientals did not recognize John Talala as bishop of Alexandria, because it was not agreeable to them to do so.

The affairs of the East occupied much of the pontiff's attention, nevertheless, he did not neglect those of the West, as appears from the reprimand which he addressed to John, metropolitan of Ravenna, who had ordained Gregory, bishop of a church without his consent. Of his own authority he transferred the new prelate into the diocese of Modena, and freed him from dependence on the archbishop.

This apostolic boldness gave great disquietude to John of Ravenna and the patriarch Acacius, who were fearful of creating new disorders in the church. Soon, however, all their fears ceased, from the death of the pontiff, which took place in the beginning of the year 483.

## FELIX THE THIRD, FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 483.—Zeno, Emperor.]

*Birth and marriage of the priest Felix—His election—He pursues the policy of his predecessor—Maintains the pretensions of John Talala—His legates are arrested—Condemnation of the legates—The patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated—Insolence of the monks—State of the church in Africa—Death of Acacius—Deceit of Flavita—Euphremus, patriarch of Constantinople—Death of the emperor Zeno—Rashness of Euphremus—Death of Felix.*

CELIUS FELIX was a Roman of senatorial family. His father, a venerable priest of the order of Fasciola, had caused him to embrace the ecclesiastical state, though he was married and had children. After the death of Simplicius, the clergy assembled with the magistrates in the church of St. Peter; they proceeded to the election of a pope, and Felix received all the votes.

The new pontiff embraced the views of his predecessor on the affairs of the East, and profited by the sojourn of John Talala in Rome to learn the secret plots of the patriarch. John, who desired vengeance on his enemies, exaggerated his wrongs and the bad faith of Acacius. He accused him of secretly protecting Peter Mongus, and irritated the pride of the pontiff, by representing to him that the letters of Simplicius had produced no effect in Constantinople. He added, that it would be a great disgrace to the Holy See, if they thus continued to brave, in the East, the authority of Rome.

The pontiff, following his councils, sent ambassadors to Zeno, to beseech him to drive away Peter Mongus as a heretic, and to send

Acacius to Rome, to reply to the accusations preferred against him by John in his memorial to the Holy See. But the legates Vitalus and Misenus, on arriving at the city of Abydos, were arrested by the orders of the emperor. Their papers were taken from them, and they were thrown into prison. Zeno even threatened them with death if they persisted in their refusal to communicate with Acacius and Peter Mongus. They remained unshaken, for violence increases courage and intrepidity, and it is the nature of man to resist obstacles.

Nevertheless, the legates, who had resisted threats, were seduced by caresses and presents, and declared their willingness to communicate with the patriarch if they were set at liberty. They were then taken from prison and embarked for Constantinople, where they performed their promise, by recognizing Peter Mongus as the legitimate bishop of Alexandria.

The ambassadors then returned to Rome, charged with letters from the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople. Felix, irritated against them on account of their cowardly submission to his enemies, refused to receive

them, and convoked a council to judge them. They were convicted of having communicated with the heretics of the East, and for having done so, were condemned to deposition, and excommunicated.

In the same synod Peter Mongus was a second time declared an heretic and prevaricator. It was, however, judged prudent to deal cautiously with the patriarch, and Felix contented himself with writing to him in the name of the council, to persuade him to ask pardon for his past conduct. Acacius replied with spirit, that he would not humble himself before the Holy See, and that he would perform no act of submission. The pontiff then pronounced against him a terrible sentence, which deprived him of the honour of the priesthood, and declared him excommunicated, and beyond human power to be absolved from the anathema.

The bull of excommunication was carried to Constantinople by an old clergyman of the Roman church, named Tutus, by whom the pope sent at the same time two letters, one for the emperor, the other addressed to the clergy and people of Constantinople. Felix complained of the violence shown his legates, in contempt of the rights of nations, which were respected by the most barbarous people. He then declared that the Holy See could never communicate with Peter of Alexandria, who had been ordained by heretics; he finished by threatening the emperor, and invited him to choose between the communion of the apostle St. Peter, and that of Peter of Alexandria.

The lofty pretensions of the pontiff were treated with scorn at Constantinople; Acacius even refused to receive the letters addressed to him. Some mischief-making monks, alone, had the boldness to attach the anathema of the holy father to their cloaks during divine service; but the justice of the prince repressed their insolence, and their heads fell under the axe of the executioner. The ambassador, after having acquitted himself of his mission, imitated the first legates. He allowed himself to be seduced by offers of money, and communicated with the enemies of Rome. The holy pontiff, on the news of this defection, transported with fury, launched forth three anathemas: one against Tutus, the other two against Acacius and the emperor. All his thunders did not, however, hinder the patriarch of Constantinople from continuing to exercise his ministry, and from suppressing the name of Felix in the sacred registers.

The church in Africa was also agitated by violent religious quarrels. Huneric, who ruled its provinces, professed Arianism, and persecuted the orthodox by way of reprisal. After the death of that prince, Gonthamond, his successor, treated with more lenity the faithful who adhered to the Nicean faith. The pope then convoked a council of thirty-eight bishops, to regulate the discipline which the African prelates should pursue in regard to apostate priests, and to the faithful who had been baptized anew. The fathers declared

that there was a great difference between those who had been baptized of their own accord by heretics, and those who had suffered it through constraint. They condemned the first to perform penance, and to submit to religious practices, in order to show the sincerity of their repentance; they ordered the second to make a public profession. They exhibited more severity towards the bishops, priests, and deacons who had accepted Arian baptism. They condemned them to remain in penitence during the rest of their lives, separate from ecclesiastical assemblies, and excluded from the prayers of the church, granting them, as the only grace, laical communion when at the point of death.

The council inflicted twelve years of repentance on the clerks, monks, and virgins dedicated to God, who had ranged themselves on the side of the heretics; three years in the ranks of hearers, seven in that of penitents, and two years of consistence, permitting their pastors, nevertheless, to aid them if in danger of death. The last article concerns the young, whose age might excuse their apostasy. The fathers ordered the bishops to lay their hands on them, without subjecting them to penitence, and prohibited priests from receiving to their communion clerks or laymen from another diocese, unless they presented testimonial letters from their bishop or pastor.

Acacius died during the year 849, and the emperor elevated to the see of Constantinople a priest named Flavita, who, desirous of being on good terms with the pope, and Peter of Alexandria, wrote at the same time to both the bishops, that he would accept no communion but theirs. His knavery was soon discovered, and Felix drove away his deputies in disgrace. A few days after, Flavita drew his last breath, in the midst of sufferings, caused, according to some, by poison, and according to others, produced by an unknown malady. He had held the patriarchal see but four months.

Euphemius, his successor, desirous of re-establishing peace in the church, consented to erase the name of Peter of Alexandria from the sacred registers, and replaced that of the bishops of Rome; after which he sent deputies to the pontiff to request his communion. Felix repelled his advances, because the patriarch wished to preserve in the registers the names of Acacius and Flavita; and his obstinacy retarded still longer the reunion of the churches of the East and the West.

After the death of Zeno, a prince named Anastasius, devout even to superstition, mounted the throne. At Constantinople, as well as at Rome, the boldness of the clergy had so augmented by the weakness of the emperors, that the patriarch dared accuse Anastasius, before an assembly of the people, of being an heretic unworthy to command Christians, and refused to crown him, until the prince had given his profession of faith in writing, and had engaged himself by a solemn oath to change nothing in religion.

Pope Felix wrote to the emperor to felicitate him on his elevation to the throne, and to assure him of his respect and obedience. But he had not the satisfaction of seeing in the affairs of the church the change which he desired. He died on the 25th of February,

492, after a pontificate of nine years. An insupportable pride, and a spirit constantly in revolt against the authority of the emperors were the principal traits in the character of Felix, now honoured by the church as among its saints.

## GELASIUS, THE FIFTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 492.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor.]

*Birth and election of Gelasius—His reply to Euphemius—The rigour of the pope causes a schism—Letter from Gelasius to Honorius, against the Pelagians—He elevates the sacerdotal above the princely power—Decretals of the pope—Festivals in honour of Pan, at Rome—Persecution of the Manicheans—Death of the pope.*

GELASIUS was an African by birth; the Roman clergy and people elevated him to the Holy See, some days after the death of Felix.

As soon as the patriarch Euphemius heard of this election, he wrote to Gelasius to complain that he had not been advised of his ordination, according to established usage. He sent him at the same time his profession of faith.

The pope replied to Euphemius: "It is true that ancient usage ordered our fathers who were united in communion, to advise their colleagues of their ordination; but why have you preferred the society of strangers to that of St. Peter? You say that I ought to use condescendence towards you. But if we should raise up the fallen, we are not commanded to precipitate ourselves with them into eternal fire. You condemn Eutyches and you defend Acacius. You demand in what council Acacius was condemned, as if a particular condemnation were needed to reject from the church a Catholic who communes with people soiled with heresy." At last Gelasius terminates his letter by declaring to Euphemius that his reply is not a mark of communion, and that he writes to him as to a stranger.

The intolerance of the holy father produced the effect which must always attend extreme measures; it augmented the evil. The patriarch, persuaded that there would be injustice, and even harshness, in the condemnation of Acacius, refused to submit to the orders of the pope; and the first two sees of Christianity remained separated in communion some years longer.

Gelasius persisted in an invincible obstinacy on the subject of Acacius. The smallest concession could easily have restored peace to the church; but he preferred seeing trouble and disunion among the faithful, rather than abandon his unjust pretensions.

The pope then learning that Pelagianism was reappearing in Dalmatia, wrote to a bishop of that country named Honorius, that he should caution his brethren to separate themselves from those who were infected with the heresy. The prelate fiercely replied, that he was astonished at the excess of his zeal for the churches of Dalmatia, and that there

was no need of recalling them to their duty to watch over the progress of the schism.

Gelasius, recalled to sentiments of humility by the vigour of Honorius, replied that the Holy See had a care over all the churches of the world, to preserve the purity of the faith, and that he had no intention of imposing his will on the bishops of Dalmatia.

Thus the ambition of the pope exposed him a second time to severe reproaches from strange prelates. Soon, however, the heretics whom he sought out to combat with in distant countries, rose up under his very eyes in Picenum. An old man named Seneca taught Pelagianism, and drew to his side a great number of priests, and even some bishops. The pope then wrote to the prelates of Picenum, to arrest the progress of the heresy, and sent them a treatise against the Pelagians, with the view of combatting the doctrine which they preached, and of demonstrating to the faithful that man could not live sinless.

Some months after, the ambassadors whom king Theodoric had sent to the East, came to Rome on their return from their mission: they engaged the pontiff to write to the emperor Anastasius, who complained that he had not been yet apprised of his ordination.

Gelasius, not daring to disobey the deputies of Theodoric, wrote a long letter to the emperor of the East, in which he showed to what a degree of audacity the Roman pontiff had already arrived: "There are two powers," said he, "who have sovereign rule over the world; the spiritual and the temporal authority; the sacred authority of the bishops is so much the greater, as on the day of judgment they must render an account of the actions of kings. You know, magnanimous emperor, that your dignity surpasses that of other princes of the earth; nevertheless you are obliged to submit to the power of the ministers in sacred things, for it is to them you address yourself to know what are the sources of your safety, and the rules which you ought to follow in receiving the sacraments, and in disposing of religious things.

"The bishops persuade the people that God has given you a sovereign power over



temporal things, and they cause them to submit to your laws. In return you should obey, with entire submission, those who are destined to distribute to you the holy sacraments. If the faithful ought blindly to follow the orders of bishops who acquit themselves worthily in their functions, so much the more ought they to receive the decree of the pontiff of Rome, whom God has established as the first of his bishops, and whom the church has always recognized as its supreme chief."

This letter, a master-piece of pride, hypocrisy, and impudence, is a lesson for those who shall meditate on the causes of the tyranny of priests and kings.

Gelasius, always pushed on by his ambition, wished to extend his authority over all Christian countries, and convoked at Rome a council of seventy bishops, to establish, as is alleged, the distinction between the authentic books and the apocryphal books. The Protestants deny the existence of the pretended decree, which was rendered in this council: "At least," says one of their famous authors, "it was not known until the middle of the ninth century, and we are surprised to see that in this decree of Gelasius, there is no mention made of but one book of Esdras, and one book of the Maccabees. In many manuscripts, the book of Job even, has been omitted; and in others, the two books of the Maccabees have been entirely suppressed." Fleury, who has written at length upon this decree, has been compelled to speak of these contradictions, to afford a proof of his fidelity and correctness.

John, bishop of Ravenna, having advised the pope of the deplorable state in which many churches of Italy were, who were destitute of pastors, Gelasius wrote to the prelates of Lucania, to the bishops of the Brutians, and to those of Sicily, authorizing them to confer the sacred orders on monks who had not committed crimes, or who had not been twice married.

The holy father recommends not to admit laymen into the ranks of the clergy, until after they have been examined with the greatest care, in order that they should not bestow the sacred orders on vicious men. He prohibits bishops from dedicating newly built churches, without permission from the Holy See, and forbids them from exacting from the faithful, pay, for conferring baptism or confirmation, and especially from not demanding money from heretics newly converted.

Gelasius also recommends to priests not to exalt themselves above their rank; not to bless the holy oil; not to confirm, and not to discharge any sacred function in the presence of a bishop. He reminds them that they should not sit down, or celebrate mass in the presence of a bishop, without his permission; and that priests could not ordain sub-deacons. He proscribed, also, to the deacons, to keep themselves within the bounds of their ministry, prohibiting them from discharging the functions appertaining to priests, or even from baptizing, but in cases of necessity. He adds,

that deacons, not being of the rank of priests, ought not to distribute to the faithful the consecrated bread and wine.

The holy father prohibited from baptizing, except during the festival of Easter, and at Pentecost, unless he on whom the baptism was to be conferred should be in danger of dying. He wished virgins to take the veil on the day of the Epiphany, at Easter, or at the festival of the apostles. He regards widows as unworthy of being consecrated to Jesus Christ, and refuses them admission into monasteries.

He condemns ecclesiastics ordained for money to be driven from the ranks of the clergy, and submits to public penitence, for the rest of their lives, those who had been convicted of entertaining criminal connection with the virgins consecrated to God.

The pontiff does not impose any penance on widows who had married after having made a profession of celibacy; but desires that they should be publicly reproached with the fault they had committed. In conclusion he blames severely the custom which existed in the churches, of having the mass served by females.

The pontiff also treats of the question of the property of the church. He orders it to be divided into four parts: one for the bishop, one for the priests, one for the poor, and one for the building; prohibiting the bishop from diminishing at all the part reserved for the clergy, or the clergy from taking any of the part of the bishops. "The prelate," says he "ought faithfully to employ the part destined for the building of the church, without turning any of it to his own profit. In regard to the portion of the poor, he will one day render account to God, if he has not faithfully performed his duties upon earth."

This decretal appears to have been the result of the last council of which we have spoken. The pope then wrote to the bishop of Dardania, to convince them that the judgment of the Holy See against the famous patriarch of Constantinople, was a confirmation of the council of Chalcedon; and the father having condemned the Eutychians, had consequently excommunicated, through futurity, those who favoured these heretics.

We would relate among the honourable actions of the pontiff, his courageous opposition to the senators of Rome, who wished to re-establish the infamous fete of the Ludi, during which the priests of the god ran naked through the city, striking with thongs of goat skin, women who pressed forward to meet them, believing that these blows would render them fruitful. Gelasius prohibited a superstition so criminal from being renewed in the midst of Christianity; and the Romans attributed the public misfortunes and the maladies which desolated the city to the suppression of the fete, he wrote a work to show them the ridiculous nature of fanaticism. This writing still exists, under the title of "A discourse against Amalthe."'

But the people still murmured for the re-establishment of this old pagan custom: then Gelasius determined to replace it by the fete of the Purification of the Holy Virgin. This opinion has prevailed in the church, though it does not appear to be founded on very authentic chronicles.

It is however certain, that Gelasius introduced new fetes into the church, and regulated the liturgy, divine service, and all that relates to exterior worship. He included all these rules in a book, known to us as the *Old Sacramentarium*. This work was published at Rome, in 1680, from a copy of more than nine hundred years old, which had been saved from the monastery of St. Benedict, on the Loire, after its pillage, which took place in 1562, during the religious wars. This manuscript afterwards belonged to Paul Petan, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, before it passed into the possession of the celebrated Christina, queen of Sweden.

The pontiff discovered Manicheans still in Rome. Guided by a pernicious policy, he

burned their books before the church of St. Mary; and to prevent these dangerous heretics from avoiding the penalties inflicted upon them by the imperial laws, he published a decree, in which he ordered all the faithful to commune in the two kinds, anathematizing as sacrilegious those who had the temerity to wish to reform the symbol of the death of Jesus Christ. At this period, the communion in both kinds was regarded as rightfully (Roman), though cardinals Baronius and Bossa have wished to establish a contrary opinion.

Gelasius at length died, in the midst of his apostolical labours, on the 8th of September, 496, after having occupied the see four years and eight months. This pontiff, gifted with a subtle mind, knew how to strengthen his authority. The style of his works is obscure, but they show that he understood perfectly the customs and usages of the church of Rome. He loved order and discipline, and joined prudence to firmness; but his excessive ambition is liable to reproach.

## ANASTASIUS THE SECOND, FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 496.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Anastasius—He writes to the emperor on the reunion of the churches—Receives to his communion a partizan of Acacius—Bad faith of cardinal Baronius—Political conversion of Clovis, king of France—Singular death of Anastasius—His moderation—Eulogium on his character.*

AFTER the death of Gelasius, the clergy and people of Rome chose Anastasius the Second, a Roman by birth, and the son of Peter, to govern the church. The new pontiff, animated by laudable intentions, endeavoured to put an end to the schism which separated the East from the West. He wrote to the emperor Anastasius, beseeching him to procure peace for the churches, and declaring that he recognized the validity of the ordinations performed by Acacius, and of the baptisms which he had administered. This letter was sent by two bishops, who accompanied the patrician Faustus, a deputy from Rome, going to Constantinople on public business. The pope then received to his communion Photius, deacon of Thessalonica, a zealous partizan of Acacius. This act of toleration excited murmurs among the false devotees of the clergy, and a great number of priests and bishops separated themselves from the communion of Anastasius.

Cardinal Baronius and several ecclesiastical historians, have endeavoured to place this fact in doubt, by altering the truth. These adorers of the Roman purple regard an act of toleration as a blemish on the Holy See, and prefer that the memory of a pontiff should descend to posterity laden with an accusation of cruelty, rather than avow his serious intention of putting an end to difficulties which fomented an interminable schism.

During the sojourn of the legates at Constantinople, two monks came from the bishop of Alexandria to present a memorial to obtain the communion of the pope. They maintained that the division between the two churches had been caused by a faulty translation of a letter from St. Leo to Flavian, and in order to show their orthodoxy, they inserted a profession of faith, in which they declared that they received the decrees of the first three councils, and condemned Eutycheas as well as Nestorius. But they made no mention of the council of Chalcedon, and maintained that Dioscorus, Timothy, and Peter had no other creed than their's. They refused steadily to erase the names of those bishops who were odious to the clergy of Rome. This refusal prevented the reunion of the churches, and afforded a new proof that the hatred of priests is implacable, and that the ministers of a God of peace never forgive those who oppose their ambitious projects.

An important event soon fixed the attention of the pope and of the Western church. Clovis, king of the Franks, became a convert to Christianity. The ceremony of his baptism was performed at Rheims, with all the pomp and magnificence which the wary St. Remi knew how to display before the astonished eyes of the hordes who accompanied his Neophytes. The streets were tapestried with rich hang-

ings; the church was lit by the brilliant glare of several thousand perfumed tapers, and the baptistery filled with aromatic perfumes, exhaled the most delicious odours. Young virgins and beautiful youths, crowned with flowers, carried the Sacred Writings, the cross, and the banners, whilst the prelate, holding Clovis by the hand, entered the sanctuary, followed by queen Clotilda and the leaders of the Frank army. At the moment when St. Remi poured the consecrated water on the head of the new Christian, he pronounced these words, "Bow thy head proud Sicamber; henceforth thou shalt adore that which thou deliverest to the flames, and shall burn that which thou adorest." In imitation of the Jews, the bishop anointed the forehead of Clovis with an odoriferous oil, which he said was brought to him by a white dove. This pious knavery of the holy oil is due to the celebrated Hincmar of Rheims. He first exhibited the holy phial for the adoration of the faithful, which was nothing more or less than a lachrymatory, which is frequently found among the Roman tombs, and which appears to have contained the balm which they used in their expiatory ceremonies to sprinkle the ashes of the dead. Three thousand of his warriors were baptized with Clovis and his sisters Albofede and Laudechilda.

After the ceremony, the chief of the Franks gave to the bishop of Rheims many domains, situated in the provinces of Gaul, which he came to conquer. Many Armorican cities, in consequence of the agreement between the Frank king and the prelate, consented to submit to the authority of the new Christian, and so augmented his forces, that he found himself in a situation to combat the Burgundians and the Visigoths.

This conversion resembled, in its circumstances and political reasons, that of Constantine. The holy father hastened to write to Clovis, to felicitate him on the grace which God had granted to him, in allowing the light of the faith to shine on him.

The negotiations of the patrician Faustus were terminated at Constantinople, the legates engaging, in the name of the pope, to subscribe to the Henoticon of Zeno, and received from the emperor of the East a promise of the reunion of the two sees. But on their return to Rome they learned that Anastasius had died during the month of March, 498, after having filled the Holy See a year and some months.

Some sacred historians affirm, that God had caused him to die suddenly, as a punishment for having received Photius to his communion. Others maintain that his death was shocking and that his entrails came out, whilst he was obeying a law of nature. In all points of view we reject the sentiments of the ultra-montanes who regard the death of this pontiff as a chastisement from Divine Justice; for it is most probable he was poisoned by the priests, whose intolerant passions he repressed. If Anastasius had lived some years longer, he would have repaired the evils which his predecessor through their excessive rigour, had inflicted on the church. The pontiff loved peace, administered his affairs with an enlightened zeal, and his letters are full of moral thought and judicious applications of passages from the Scriptures. He was interred in the church of St. Peter's.

After his death discords broke out in the see of Rome, and disturbances recommenced among the faithful.

## SYMMACHUS, THE FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 498.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Ambition of the clergy—Symmachus and Lawrence are chosen popes—Violent seditions in Rome—Judgment of king Theodoric—Holy virgins violated and murdered—Council at Rome to hear the accusations against Symmachus—His pretensions—He presents himself to the council—acquitted without examination—The senators Festus and Probinus appeal to the people against the judgment—Quarrel between Symmachus and the emperor Anastasius—State of the Eastern church—The Orientals implore the aid of the pope—They are repelled—Death of Symmachus—His character.*

THE frightful confusion of political affairs and public calamities, did not arrest the ambition of the clergy, so ardent is this passion among them.

Priests already could not arrive at the sovereign pontificate but by intrigue, audacity, or bribery. To obtain the tiara, they put in peril the reigning pontiffs, or poisoned them themselves, when they were employed about their persons. They did not fear to employ deceit, murder, treason, and perjury to obtain their wishes.

A schism, whose author was the patrician

Festus, broke out after the death of Anastasius. That generous citizen, animated by a love for the public good, wished to re-establish peace between the churches of the East and West, and caused Lawrence, who had agreed to subscribe to the Henoticon of Zeno, to be elected bishop of Rome. Unfortunately a greater part of the clergy declared against the protégé, and chose the deacon Symmachus the son of Fortunatus, born in Sardinia.

Both were ordained popes on the same day. Symmachus in the church of Constantine, and Lawrence in that of St. Mary. The schism

and the people took part according to their caprice or their interest, and the result was a violent sedition, during which all the horrors of civil and religious war were displayed in Rome.

To put an end to the schism, the chief citizens compelled the two rivals to go to Ravenna, to submit to the judgment of king Theodoric.

The prince decided that the Holy See should appertain to him who was first ordained, and from the information given him, he elevated Symmachus to the pontificate, and excluded Lawrence. The first care of the new pope was to remedy the evils in the church. He assembled a council of seventy-two bishops, who held their first session on the first day of March, in the year 499, and he proposed to them to take steps to prevent the intrigues of the bishops and the popular tumults which took place on the ordination of pontiffs.

After acclamation several times repeated, he caused the decrees rendered by the fathers, to be read by the notary Emilianus. The first was as follows: "If any priest, deacon or clerk, during the life of a pope, and without his participation, dares to give his signature, to promise his suffrage in writing or by oath, or to deliberate on this subject in an assembly, he shall be deposed or excommunicated." The second was: "If any pope dies suddenly, without having provided for the election of his successor, he who shall have the suffrages of all the clergy, or of the greater number, shall be the only legitimately consecrated bishop." The third: "If any one discovers the intrigues which we condemn, and proves them, not only shall he be absolved as an accomplice, but he shall be magnificently recompensed."

The council evidenced its consent by new acclamations; the pope and seventy-two bishops subscribed them, as well as sixty-seven priests, of whom the first was Celius Lawrence, arch-priest of the order of St. Praxedes, the same who had been elected anti-pope, and who, in the end, obtained the bishopric of Nocera.

The disorders, however, continued in Rome: houses were pillaged, citizens murdered under a pretext of religion, and for the glory of the church; the holy virgins themselves were even violated and murdered.

Lawrence was recalled to the city, under favour of this confusion, and his presence augmenting the fury of the two parties, they were compelled again to have recourse to king Theodoric. Festus and Probinus besought the prince to send to them a visiting bishop, as if the Holy See were vacant.

Theodoric charged Peter, bishop of Altinum, with this important mission, with orders, that on his arrival at Rome, he should go at once to the church of St. Peter, to salute pope Symmachus, and demand that his accusers should be produced, that they might be interrogated by the prelate, but without being put to the torture. The bishop of Altinum did not obey his orders; he refused to see the pontiff, and joined himself to the schismatics. The Ca-

tholics, indignant at the conduct of the visiting bishop, wished to drive him from the city, regarding his nomination as a violation of the canons of the church.

The prince, then obliged himself to come to Rome to re-establish tranquillity, ordered the convocation of a council to examine the accusations against Symmachus.

In obedience to his orders, the bishops of various provinces of the empire, came to the capital of Italy; but some, incited by Symmachus, dared to address remonstrances to the monarch. They accused him of having troubled the order of ecclesiastical discipline, by assembling the bishops. They represented to him that the pope alone had power to convocate councils by his primacy of jurisdiction, transmitted from St. Peter and recognized by the authority of the fathers of the church, and that it was unexampled, that a pontiff should be submitted to the judgment of his inferiors!

Already did the tyranny of the clergy weigh heavily upon people and kings; and Theodoric by his weakness, rendered still more formidable the power of the bishops of Rome.

The bishops of Italy, assembled in council in the church of Julius, abstained from openly visiting Symmachus, in order not to render themselves suspected; but they always made mention of him in their public prayers, to show that they were in his communion. The pope demanded from the fathers, that they should cause the visiting bishop to withdraw, called in contrary to the rules by a part of the clergy and principal citizens, and that all the treasures which he had lost should be restored to him. Theodoric refused his demands, ordering that Symmachus should first reply to his accusers, and transferred the sittings of the council to the church of the palace of Sessorius.

Several bishops, from a desire to do justice, proposed receiving the declaration of his accusers; but their opinion was rejected as derogatory to the dignity of the Holy See, and under the pretext that two essential defects had been discovered in it. Symmachus, reassured of the dispositions of the prelates whom he had gained to his side by promises or money, went to the council, followed by a numerous crowd of partizans. Then the enemies of the pope, despairing of obtaining an equitable judgment, and rendered furious by his bold attitude, hurled a shower of stones at the priests who accompanied him, and would have massacred them, if the tumult had not been arrested by the troops of the king, who charged upon the rebels. The partizans of Symmachus, using reprisals in their turn, spread themselves through the city, forced the gates of convents, massacred priests and monks, drew from their retreats the sacred virgins, and caused them to pass through the streets, despoiled of their clothing, entirely naked, and striking them with rods.

The holy father was then cited four times to appear before the council; but he excused himself by alleging the dangers to which he would be exposed, should he quit the church

of St. Peter, where he had taken refuge; and the fathers declared they could not condemn an absent man, nor judge as contumacious one who was willing to appear before their tribunal.

Thus was declared innocent of the accusation of adultery, this pope, who had dared to present himself in the council chamber with a strong retinue, composed of ruffians, who had already committed so many acts of violence and murders. This execrable judgment, rendered by priests proud of their power, was conceived in these terms: "We declare Symmachus freed from the accusations brought against him, leaving all to the judgment of God."

"We ordain that he shall administer the holy mysteries in all the churches dependant on his see; and we restore to him, in virtue of orders from the prince, all that belongs to the church, within or without Rome. We exhort all the faithful to receive from him the holy communion, under the penalty of rendering an account to God."

"The clergy who have brought about the schism, by giving satisfaction to the pope, will obtain pardon, and will be reinstated in their functions; but, after this sentence, those who shall dare to celebrate mass in any of the Roman churches, without the consent of Symmachus, shall be punished as schismatics."

This decree was subscribed by seventy-two bishops; but many others, persuaded that the pope, not having justified himself, could not be absolved from the crimes imputed to him, refused to sign it. The first preferred to shun a scandal by rendering a judgment contrary to their consciences, in order that the Arians and other adversaries of the church should not have such powerful motives for condemning the Catholics. The cardinal Baronius himself says, that the fathers of the council "desired to bury in profound silence the marks of infamy with which the enemies of the pontiff desired to tarnish him."

This edict, however, proves that at this period the bishops of Rome still recognized the authority of kings; that they addressed themselves to them to obtain permission to assemble national councils; that they presented themselves before other bishops to justify themselves from crimes of which they were accused, and that they submitted to their judgment.

The people having refused to submit to the decision of the council, the friends of Lawrence attacked the validity of the decree. Symmachus despairing then of being enabled to appease the troubles which were becoming still more violent, assembled a new synod. Eighty bishops, thirty-seven priests, and four deacons composed this assembly; the deacon Euzodius, one of the most pitiful flatterers of the see of Rome, charged with refuting the accusations of the followers of Lawrence, acquitted himself of this duty as a true slave of the pope, and concluded his harangue by pronouncing him the most virtuous, the purest, and the holiest of men. This writing, which

has been preserved, is a tissue of the most outrageous flatteries, and of false or ridiculous principles. It resembles the apologetic verses of furnished poets, who exalt the virtues of the princes who sustain them.

Won by the subtle dialectics of the deacon Euzodius, and by motives of interest still more powerful than eloquence, the synod of Rome gave a second decree in favour of Symmachus. This assembly was composed of prelates entirely devoted to the Holy See, from which they received, alternately, injuries or benefits, according to their conduct towards its pontiffs.

The emperor Anastasius protested against the judgment of the council, and accused the holy father of many crimes, in a libel which he circulated throughout Italy.

Symmachus refuted these accusations in an apostolical letter, in which he declares to the emperor, that the interest of his dignity obliging him to put an end to the scandal, he will reply in a brief essay to the injuries that have heaped upon him. He takes all the city of Rome to witness, that he is not infected with Manicheism, and that he has never departed from the faith of the Holy See; he accuses the prince of being himself an Eutychian, or at least of favouring the partisans of Eutyches, and of communing with them. He treats as an audacious revolt the contempt which Anastasius evidenced for a successer of St. Peter, and pushed his insolence so far as to maintain that his chair was more elevated than all the thrones of the universe. "Compare," said he, "the dignity of a bishop with that of an emperor. There exists between them the same difference as between the rich of the earth which a sovereign administers, and the treasure of heaven, of which we are the dispensers. You receive baptism from a bishop; he administers to you the sacraments; you ask for his prayers, you wait for his benediction, and you address yourself to him to submit yourself to penitence. In fine, you govern the affairs of men, and we dispose the goods of heaven. You see, my lord, that our dignity is superior to all the grandeur of earth."

He finishes his letter by these threats against the emperor: "If you shall be able to prove the accusations against me, you will be enabled to obtain my deposition. But do you equally fear you will lose your crown, if I cannot convict me? Recollect that you are a man, and that this cause will be discussed before God. It is true that a priest should respect the powerful of the earth, but those who demand things contrary to the will of the church. Respect God in us, and we will respect him in you. If you have no regard for our person, how can you strengthen your will over the people, and avail yourself of the privileges of a religion whose laws you despise? You accuse me of having conspired with the senate to excommunicate you. I do not then, in that, followed the example of my predecessors? It is not you, my lord, who have anathematized; it is Acacius. Separate

self from him, and you will also separate yourself from his excommunication; otherwise it is not we who will condemn you—but yourself.”

Symmachus then complained of the persecution which the emperor caused the Catholics to suffer, prohibiting them from the free exercise of their religion, and tolerating all heresies. “Although we should be in error, our worship should be tolerated as well as that of all others; or if you attack us, you should attack all the heresies.” Finally he exhorts the prince to reunite himself to the Holy See, and to separate himself from the enemies of truth and the church.

The exploits of Clovis, in Gaul, had so increased the reputation of the warriors of the Franks, that the emperor Anastasius wished to make a treaty of alliance with this new conqueror, and had sent him, for this purpose, ambassadors, charged with rich presents, among which was a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with precious stones, which the king of the Franks sent to the pontiff to be deposited in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

This kind of liberality has been in the end the source of intolerable abuse, and Philip Commines, who was wanting in neither piety nor religion, but who had great experience in political affairs, strongly condemns the munificence of kings towards priests. He thus expresses himself when speaking of Louis the Eleventh: “The gracious monarch gave much to priests during his life; and in this he had better have done less; for he took from the poor to give to those who had no need of it.” Princes should drink in these words of sage advice, and not enrich an insatiable clergy by ruining the people.

The church of the East was always in trouble and confusion. The Catholics exercised against the heretics all the cruelties which vengeance inspires. These, in their turn, sustained by the emperor Anastasius, pursued their adversaries with fury. The monasteries became the theatres of the most cruel wars, of which zeal for religion served as a pretext, and of which ambition, or the vengeance of the priests was the true motive.

The following passage from Juvenal describes perfectly the situation of affairs in the East: “The citizens of the city of Omba, and those of Teutyris, have been for a great number of years irreconcilable enemies. They have never been willing to form alliances; their hatred is inveterate, immortal;

and this incurable wound is yet more bloody to-day. These people are animated by an extreme fury, the one against the other, because the Ombians adore a God, whom the Teutyrians execrate. Each maintains, that the divinity they respect is the true and only one.” The hatred of the Orientals, as ridiculous in its motives, and as ill founded as that of Omba and Teutyris, drew a deluge of calamities upon the church of Constantinople.

At length the Orientals implored the aid of Symmachus, in an epistle, which, according to ancient usage, they addressed to Rome and the bishops of the West. They demanded to be reunited in communion with the Holy See, and not to be punished for the faults of Acacius, since they accepted the letter of St. Leo and the council of Chalcedon: “Do not reject us,” they wrote, “under the pretext that we commune with your adversaries, for our prelates are less attached to life, than tormented by the fear of leaving their flocks a prey to heretics. Those who have approved of the conduct of our patriarch, and those who are separate from his communion, wait for your succour next to that of God, and beseech you to render to the East the light which you yourselves originally received from it. The evil is so great that we cannot go to seek the remedy, and you must come to us.”

Then, in order to show that they are Catholics, they finish by an exposition of their doctrine, and condemn Nestorius and Eutyches. The orthodoxy of the Orientals, and the compassion which their misfortunes inspired, were powerful motives to determine the pontiff to relax in his rigour, and to engage to procure them peace, of which they had so great need. But Symmachus repelled all their advances, and by his harshness showed that the popes know not how to pardon any one who resists their ambitious designs. Should religion inspire such implacable hatred, and shall it be always the cause of the misfortunes of the people? Let us hope that reason and philosophy will replace, in future, religious fanaticism, which, during almost two thousand years, has served as a veil to conceal from men, the baneful passions of the princes of the church.

Symmachus died, according to the opinion of modern chronologists, on the 19th of July, 514, toward the end of the sixteenth year of his pontificate, without having been able to disprove the accusations of adultery, which had been brought against him. His ashes were deposited in the church of St. Peter.

## HORMSIDAS, THE FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 514.—ANASTASIUS and JUSTIN, Emperors of the East.]

*Picture of the misfortunes of the church—The priests excite seditions—Martyrdom of St. Proteus by the people of his diocese—Disorders at Antioch—Revolt of Sabas—Excesses at Constantinople—The emperor writes to the pope to convoke a council—Reply of the pope—Pretensions of Hormsidas—His legates received with great honours—He refuses the condemnation of Acacius—Second embassy to Constantinople—The pope exacts from the bishops an anathema against Acacius—The emperor sends back the fathers without assembling the council—Reign of Justin, an ignorant and Catholic prince—Reunion of the churches of Rome and Constantinople—Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, opposes the reunion—The legates of the pope ill treated—Famous controversy—The monks driven from Rome—Death of Hormsidas—His character.*

BEFORE speaking of the successor of Symmachus, it is necessary to trace the picture of the deplorable state of the church in the beginning of the sixth century. Father Louis Doucin has left us a description so touching, and so conformed to the truth, that no one can study it without being penetrated with the most lively compassion for the unfortunate people who are submitted to the despotism of emperors, or the domination of priests. Wise men had failed in all their efforts to pacify the church, and their counsels had only irritated the passions of the clergy. Cities were constantly troubled by bloody seditions, and the prelates, far from appeasing them, frequently even excited them; every where murders and sacrileges were committed in holy places were the themes of discourse and the capitals of the provinces had become the theatres of the most horrible cruelties.

The massacres commenced in the city of Alexandria. The holy martyr Proteus, bishop of that city, was murdered in his very church, and only from hatred to the council of Chalcedon.

This venerable old man, besieged in his house by a troop of furious wretches, was obliged to take refuge in a chapel adjoining the metropolitan church; but neither the majesty of the place, nor the sanctity of the day (Holy Thursday) could protect him against the rage of his enemies. He was assassinated by the baptismal font, and his blood coloured the steps of the sanctuary.

These cannibals then mutilated his body in an infamous manner—tore out his entrails, ate his heart, and dragged through the streets his mutilated remains, striking them with sticks. As fanaticism, excited by the vindictiveness of priests, places no bounds to its vengeance, the remains of the flesh of the martyr were hung to a gibbet, and his horrid funeral rites celebrated upon a scaffold.

Antioch was disgraced by like executions, and four orthodox patriarchs were massacred during the seditions. The heretics were not the sole authors of these atrocities; the Catholics exercised like violence, and on their side preserved no measure in their vengeance. Under the pretext of assembling a synod to discuss religious affairs, they drew into the city a great number of Eutychian monks,

“and there, as on a field of battle, they maintained religion by massacring all the heretics. The blood which was shed on this fatal day caused the Orontes to overflow, and dead bodies arrested the course of the river for some days.”

At Jerusalem the famous Sabas, a Catholic bishop, carried away by religious zeal, had assembled in the desert more than four thousand Arabs, and at their head attacked the troops of the emperor, routed them, and caused religion to flourish, not by force of anathemas or miracles, but by the terror which his bandits inspired.

The clergy rendered themselves still more terrible at Constantinople. The majesty of the throne was not even spared; the priests overwhelmed with outrages the unfortunate emperor Anastasius; they stabbed his best friends almost under his very eyes, massacre a religious female whom they accused of advising him; drew from his retreat a poor Eremitic, and after having killed him, parade his head through the city on the point of a lance, crying out, “Behold the confidant of him who has declared war on the adorable Trinity! Thus perish all the blasphemers of the three divine persons.”

Then they secured the gates of Constantinople, and forming a camp in the midst of the city, organized troops of assassins to murder those who were suspected of heresy; burn their houses and destroy the statues of the emperor. The senators sent by the prince to calm this irritated multitude were driven off by blows from stones, and Anastasius himself was besieged in his palace by a species of army, composed of monks, priests, and devotees, marching in order of procession with the cross and scriptures. The affrighted monarch only saved his life from the fury of these inexorable wretches, by disgraceful submission.

The priests would desire, beyond doubt, to weaken the recollection of those horrible cruelties, but God has permitted the sad remembrance of them to come down to our times to teach nations that they ought to suppress with severity the ambition of the clergy.

The authority of the popes was strengthened daily by these disorders, and by the complaisance of the emperors, who, far

moved from the ancient capital, showed an extreme submission to the pontiffs, in order to retain the people under their despotism.

The barbarians who had invaded the provinces of the empire, equally sought the friendship of the bishop of Rome. Then the holy father flattered the ambition of rival princes, and sold his alliance to the two parties. On their side, the heretics, like bad herbs or foul plants, banished and driven away, now from Africa and now from the East, had still resource to the Holy See, and addressed to it their appeals; and all complaints, as all alliances, were favourably received, provided they favoured the proud project of universal monarchy, entertained by the pontiffs of Rome.

Finally, at this period, the policy of the popes had rendered them the dispensers of all grace; there was not a single bishop who did not seek the friendship of the holy father for the interests of his diocese or his personal glory. The pontiffs availed themselves skillfully of all these circumstances. If they were consulted—if very humble requests were addressed to them, or if they themselves even gave advice, they made it pass for a command. Finally, if prelates named them as arbiters in their differences, their arbitration was immediately changed into a judgment.

Such was the position of the church at the beginning of the sixth century! We ought to add that the faithful were divided on the subject of a council, which was principally accused of having approved of the epistle of Ibas, the faith of Theodore, and the writings of Theodoret.

It was in the midst of these disorders, so fatal to the church, and so advantageous to the Holy See, that Celsus Hormsidas, the son of Justus, a native of the small town of Frusilona, in Campania, was chosen at Rome, to replace Symmachus. His election was as peaceful as that of his predecessor had been tumultuous; all voices were reunited in his favour, and no more was heard of the schism of the followers of Lawrence. The political skill of Hormsidas contributed much to this happy event.

Cassidorus, who was then consul, felicitated king Theodoric on this reunion of the clergy, and the people of Rome congratulated themselves on it, as the greatest happiness which could render his consulate illustrious, and as an incontestable proof of the mildness of the government of his prince.

But through the whole East fanaticism was changed into religious phrensy. Religion, which is frequently a pretext for ambition, concealed from the eyes of the Catholics, the criminality of the revolt of Vitalian, the general of the cavalry of the emperor. This rebellious subject advanced even to the gates of Constantinople, and constrained Anastasius to sue for peace from him, imposing as its condition that all the property of heretics should be surrendered to the orthodox, and that a council should be assembled to excommunicate them.

The prince, in order to accomplish his promises, wrote to Hormsidas, beseeching him to labour with him to pacify the troubles, and reunite the churches of the East and West, laying upon the harshness of the popes, his predecessors, all the disorders which desolated his states. The holy father replied to the emperor with empty congratulations: "I am delighted, my lord, to see in you opinions so favourable, and thank God that he has inspired you to break silence. I rejoice in the hope of seeing the church of Jesus Christ in peace and union; but I shall not be able to write to you more at length until I shall have been informed of the motive for the convocation of the council."

The bishop of Thessalonica also addressed a long epistle to the pope, exhorting him to labour for the glory of religion, and testifying that he would consent, on this condition, to condemn the heretics, and to recognize in the Holy See a right of sovereignty over the other prelates. The pontiff approved his zeal, and promised to contribute, on his side, to the reunion of the churches, without at all replying in a positive manner to the observations of the bishop.

At length the emperor, tired of the tardiness shown by Hormsidas, sent him another letter, apprising him that the council would assemble in the city of Heraclea, and inviting him to go there by the 1st of July, in the same year, (515). Vitalian had sent him ambassadors for the same purpose, and king Theodoric solicited him to yield to the desires of the Orientals. The pontiff, pressed on all sides, found himself obliged to assemble a synod to name legates. His choice fell upon bishop Fortunatus and Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, the same who, whilst deacon, had declared himself the defender of Symmachus, and had been provided with a bishopric as a recompense therefor.

The instructions of the legates obliged them to obtain from the council a promise that the bishops accused of heresy should be sent to Rome, to demand the re-installation of those who were in communion with the Holy See, and the condemnation of those who had persecuted the Catholics. Hormsidas thus appeared to evince mildness, whilst in reality his policy had no other end but to augment the rights of his see.

Anastasius penetrated the secret intentions of the pontiff, and discovered that he had not consented to be represented at the council of Heraclea, but on condition of guiding it at his pleasure. Nevertheless, he hoped that by temporising, the holy father would return to ideas more equitable, and more in conformity with the wretched state of the established churches, he received the legates most favourably, rendering to them every honour, in order to convince the Holy See of the honesty of his purposes. The single point of the anathema of Acacius was rejected by the prince. He wrote to the pope that he condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, and that he acknowledged the council of Chalcedon; but in



reference to Acacius, said, he "found it wholly unjust to chase the living from the church on account of the dead;" adding, that the fathers would decide all questions in the council, and that he would advise the Holy See of the result of its deliberations.

In the following year (516) the emperor sent to Rome, Theopompus, captain of his guards, and Severianus, a counsellor of state, hoping that persons so eminent might conduct the affair with more wisdom than ecclesiastics, always urgent for the interest of their caste.

The ambassadors were charged with a letter for the holy father, and another for the senate of Rome, whose assistance it claimed in soliciting king Theodoric and the pontiff to labour seriously for the peace of the church. The senate, under the influence of Hormisdas, replied to the emperor that the Roman clergy would never consent to a reunion of the churches, if the name of Acacius was preserved in the sacred books. On his part, the pontiff added, that "far from having need of being exhorted by the senate, he cast himself at the feet of the emperor, to beseech him to have pity on religion."

This hypocrisy rendering the advances of the emperor fruitless, a second legation went from Rome to Constantinople. The pope then chose for his legates Ennodius of Pavia, and Peregrinus of Mycenium. He gave them six letters, with a formula of reunion for schismatics, and nineteen copies of a protest, to be scattered through the cities, if the letters were not received.

In these different writings the holy father showed himself always the same; always inflexible, always resolved to follow up the condemnation of Acacius, whose memory was held in veneration through a great part of the East. This second legation insisting on the same principles, could not achieve any result. Anastasius refused the reunion on the conditions imposed on him, declaring that he was unwilling to charge his conscience with an infamous action, in blackening the reputation of many holy bishops, and in condemning as heretics men whose crimes existed in the chimerical ideas of their adversaries.

Then the mischief-making monks were charged by the legates to spread through all the cities, the protests of the Holy See; but the bishops arrested their distribution, and informed the emperor of it, who, justly provoked by the obstinacy of Hormisdas, sent back the prelates who had come to the council of Heraclea, broke off all negotiations with the inflexible pontiff, and recommenced the war.

The Archimandrites and monks of Second Syria, then addressed a request to the holy father, complaining of a persecution by Severus, patriarch of Antioch and chief of the Eutychians. They expressed themselves thus: "As we were on our way to rejoin our brethren, of the monastery of St. Simeon, to defend with them the cause of the church, the heretics placed an ambuscade on our route, and calling on us unprepared, slew three hundred

and fifty of our people, wounded even a greater number, and massacred, even at the very foot of the altar, those who had hoped to find a place of refuge in the churches. Besides, during the night, our caves were pillaged, sanctuaries violated, and buildings given to the flames.

"You will be advised of all these circumstances by the memorials which our venerable brothers, John and Sergius will place in your hands. We sent envoys to Constantinople to obtain justice from our enemies; but the emperor, without deigning to reply to them, drove them in disgrace from the city. His officers, even, were unwilling to listen to our complaints, maintaining that we were justly punished for our rebellion. Then we turn to you, most holy father, to beseech you to sympathize with the wounds of the body of the church of which you are the chief, by revenging the contempt which has been shown for religion and yourself, who are the successor of Peter, and who have power to bind on earth and in heaven."

Then they finished their letter by anathematizing Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter of Alexandria, Peter the fuller, and Acacius. The pope replied by a letter, addressed not only to the Archimandrites of Greater Syria, but to the Catholics of the whole East, exhorting them to remain firm in the Roman faith, whose purity, he said, had been attested by many miracles.

During the same year (519) the emperor Anastasius died, struck by lightning. The priests, availing themselves of this circumstance, frightened the superstitious multitude and threatened the heretics with the vengeance of God. Their intrigues were so well conducted, that they placed on the throne Justin, a very ignorant man, and from this very cause, a good Catholic. The prince, his elevation, gave a direction to affairs entirely opposite to that of his predecessor. The pretended heretics were punished, and populace by reiterated acclamations made Catholic faith triumphant. The will of a fatal mob having been confirmed by a council held at Constantinople, the Catholics exercised their vengeance against the Eutychians.

But the church of Constantinople was yet reunited to that of Rome; and this appearing to be of the highest importance the eyes of the orthodox, the emperor Justin wrote to the pontiff, to advise him of his election, and to pray him to concur in the election of John of Constantinople, who recognized the sovereign authority of the Holy See. Hormisdas went to Ravenna, to confer with Theodoric on this subject. The Gothic king ordered him to send to Constantinople a third legation of five persons, who were chosen from among the prelates of whose zeal and fidelity the holy father was well assured. In the different provinces through which they passed, the legates assured themselves of the aid of the bishops whom they had occasion to visit, and on the Monday of the holy week, a

was the day of their arrival at Constantinople, they gave information of the nature of the formulary of which they were the bearers, and delivered a speech in full senate, in the presence of four bishops who represented the patriarch. Their propositions were accepted without discussion, and some days after, the reunion of the two churches was solemnly declared. The names of Acacius, of the patriarchs Flavita, Euphemius, Macedonius, and Timothy, as well as those of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were effaced from the sacred records.

Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, alone refused to sign the formula of faith brought from the West, and also to approve of the condemnation of Acacius. Following his example, the people rose against the legates whom the pope had sent into his diocese, and they were obliged to escape by night to avoid the dangers which threatened them. The deacon John was wounded by many blows of a dagger in his head and veins; and a Catholic also, called John, was slain and torn to pieces for having received the legates into his house.

The peace restored to the church after so many years of bloody quarrels, was again on the point of being troubled by the famous proposition, "One of the Trinity has been crucified." The monks of Scythia sustained this dogma, despite of the decisions of the orthodox prelates: as they refused to yield to the judgment of their bishops, they came to

Rome to demand the opinion of the holy father; but the count Justinian and Dioscorus, one of the legates who had already judged the affair, wrote to Hormisdas against these mischief-making monks, who were driven in disgrace from the city.

Thus the Catholics triumphed every where. Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, even had been arrested and conducted to Heraclea by order of the emperor, that his affair might be investigated; but the legates wishing to exact that he should be re-conducted to Rome with the priest Aristides, that both should be excommunicated and deposed, Justin refused to give them such satisfaction, and contented himself with obliging Dorotheus to send envoys to the pontiff to make his submission. He then re-installed him in his see.

The holy father died in the month of September, 523, having governed the church for nine years.

Hormisdas, in the exercise of his functions, showed an excessive ambition and an implacable fanaticism. We do not find, however, that the church has granted him the honours of canonization; at least she has been unwilling to glorify the generosity of the pontiff in building convents and churches, and to recompense him for having persecuted the unfortunate heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, Arians, Pelagians, and Manicheans, whom he caused to be publicly scourged, both men and women, before sending them into exile.

## JOHN THE FIRST, FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 523.—JUSTIN THE FIRST, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of John—The emperor Justin persecutes the Arians—Theodoric sends the pontiff to the East—Miracle of the pope's horse—Another miracle of John's—He receives great honours at Constantinople—His pride—His Knavery—The pope is arrested by Theodoric—He dies in prison.*

THE Holy See remained vacant for six or seven days, when John, surnamed Catelinus the Tuscan, son of Conatantine, was chosen to fill it. He reigned two years and nine months, according to the learned Holstein. Other writers maintain that this chronology is not exact, and that it is impossible to fix the duration of the pontificate of John.

The peace which the church began to enjoy after the reunion with the Orientals, was soon troubled by the fanaticism of the emperor Justin, who had sworn to exterminate the heretics and Arians; a foolish enterprize, worthy of a stupid prince, who understood neither his own interests nor those of his subjects. He published edicts to compel the Arians to be converted, and threatened them with the most cruel punishment.

In their despair, the unfortunate persecuted had recourse to Theodoric, who wrote to the emperor Justin in their favour, but his letters not being able to change the disposition of the

emperor, he, irritated by the contempt they evinced in the East from his mediation, and suspecting that Roman politics were not ignorant of the blows aimed at Arianism, obliged John to come to his court, and ordered him to go as ambassador to Constantinople, to cause Justin to revoke his decree. He even threatened the pontiff to treat with rigor the Catholics of Italy, if they still persecuted the ministers of his creed, and if the emperor did not consent to restore to the Arians the churches taken from them.

This prince was the more disposed to see reprisals, from seeing with what ingratitude the important services which he had rendered to the Roman church were regarded, and from the extreme tolerance which he had always shown to the orthodox in his dominions.

Theodoric, in removing the pontiff, under the pretext of a pompous embassy, not only desired to restore the exercise of their religion to the unfortunate victims of the fanatics

of Justin, but also wished to put an end to the plots against his life, and of which the holy father was the most ardent favourer.

John dared not resist the orders of the king, and went with the other ambassadors.

The legends relate several miracles performed by the holy father during his journey: "When John had arrived at the city of Corinth," says the pious chronicler, "he had need of a saddle-horse to continue his journey. They brought him one belonging to one of the principal ladies of the country, and the next day, after having used him, he sent him back to his mistress. But, oh, wonderful to relate! the lady who before had been accustomed to mount the horse, could no longer rule him, and was obliged to send him to the pontiff."

Gregory the Great piously explains this fable, and adds, besides, one still more extraordinary. He says, "that when the holy father was entering Constantinople, a blind man besought him to restore his sight, which he did by placing his hands on his eyes, in the presence of all the people."

Anastasius the librarian does not speak of these miracles; he tells us only that great honours were rendered to John, and that the populace went out twelve miles to meet him, with banners and ensigns displayed. The emperor, overjoyed at being enabled to see the successor of St. Peter, prostrated himself at his feet, and demanded to be crowned by his hand.

The patriarch Epiphanius then invited pope John to officiate; he, through a sentiment of inconceivable pride, was unwilling to accept the honour until he had received the assurance that he should not only be seated in the

highest place, but even on a throne. The patriarch of Constantinople yielded to the wishes of the holy father, not because he regarded him as his superior in dignity, but because he viewed him in the light of an ambassador from a powerful king.

Crazed by his fanaticism, the emperor rejected all remonstrances on the subject of the Arians. Then John, having recourse to tears, represented to him that his conduct towards the heretics would produce terrible consequences to the Catholics of Italy, and drew from him a promise to yield to the Arians freedom to worship. Other historians, on the contrary, maintain that the pontiff, so far from acquitting himself of the mission with which he was charged by king Theodoric, encouraged the emperor in the extravagant design he had formed of exterminating the Arians.

All, however, agree, that on his return from his embassy, John was arrested at Ravenna, with the senators who accompanied him. Theodoric, whose moderation had never failed during a very long reign, would never have committed this act of violence, if he had not had certain proof of the treason of his ambassadors.

The pontiff was condemned to finish his days in prison, in which he died on the 27th of March, 526. His body was transported to Rome, and interred at St. Peter's.

The church honours his memory as that of a holy martyr; nevertheless we must avow, that it is difficult to account for the motives which have decreed the honours of canonization to a pope who was justly punished for his ill-directed ambition, and who, besides, did not suffer a violent death.

## FELIX THE FOURTH, FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 526.—JUSTIN THE FIRST and JUSTINIAN, Emperors.]

*Election of Felix by king Theodoric—Bad faith of Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History—The election of bishop of Rome appertained to the people—Corruption of the clergy—Condemnation of the Semi-Pelagians—Rigor of the pope against a monk—Death of Felix.*

FELIX, fourth of the name, was elevated to the Holy See by the authority of king Theodoric. He was a Samnite by birth, and the son of Castorius. Ancient and modern authors, who have spoken of this election, lead us to suppose that the ambition of the priests had excited intrigues and disorders among the clergy, in order to give a successor to John, and that Theodoric interposed his authority to maintain the peace in Rome. This is confirmed by a letter from king Athalaric, in which he exhorts the senate to place themselves under the government of the pope whom his predecessor had selected, and to put an end to their quarrels.

Fleury has cited this letter of Athalaric, concealing the facts which it contains, and in

his love for the Holy See prefers to blacken his own reputation as a historian, and incite that of a forger, rather than avow the truth.

It is proved by the most authentic testimony, that at this period the election of the popes was still a right of the people, and that in order to enjoy their dignity, the pontiff must be confirmed by the prince. The judicious Fra-Paolo makes this same remark in his excellent treatise on beneficial affairs, which critics attribute to father Fulgentius, his companion.

History teaches us nothing of the action of Felix the Fourth; only Cassiodorus says, that the emperor Valentinian the Second had formerly enacted a law, by which the pope was submitted, in certain cases, to the jud

ment of the secular magistrates, and that this law, degrading to the Holy See, was revoked by king Athalaric, at the prayer of Felix the Fourth. This prince then published an edict exhorting ecclesiastics to reform their morals, and to place bounds to the frightful corruption which prevailed among the clergy of Rome.

The sect of semi-Pelagians continued to make progress, and spread even into Gaul. The bishops of the country then assembled a council at Orange to condemn the heresy, and sent their decree to be submitted to the approbation of the holy father; but the synodical letter of the council of Orange did not arrive in Italy until after the death of Felix; and Boniface, his successor, subscribed it without any observation on the sentence pronounced against the Pelagians.

In the same year (528) a monk named Equitius, pretending that he had received power from heaven to exercise pastoral functions, travelled through the cities and country, solemnly dedicating churches, consecrating priests, administering confirmation, and causing himself to be adored by the faithful. His boldness excited the indignation of the clergy of the Roman church, who wrote to Felix, "Most holy father, a monk has taken upon himself authority to preach, and ascribes to himself your functions, all ignorant as he is! . . . We beseech you to cause him to be arrested, that he may be taught the force of discipline! . . ." The pope ordered Julian, then the defender of the Roman faith, and afterwards bishop of Sabium, to seize him and put him to the most cruel torture. During the night the orders were changed, and Julian having demanded the cause of it, was answered that the pontiff had been terrified by a vision, and that an angel had prohibited him from persecuting the servant of God.

It is not wonderful that pope Gregory the Great, whose writings are filled with prodigies, has adopted this fable; but we are astonished that Fleury has related it as a true history. These kind of miracles should find no place but in legends; or at least the faithful should be warned that such pious tales, so far from elevating the majesty of the Ca-

tholic religion, and affording a proof of its divinity, only serve to spread ridicule over it.

Felix died on the 12th of October, 520, after a pontificate of three years. Among the most remarkable monuments built during his reign, were the churches of St. Cosmus and St. Damian and that of St. Saturninus, which had been entirely consumed by fire, and was now rebuilt.

During this pontificate, St. Benedict, the celebrated founder of a great number of religious orders in the West, published his monastic rule, which reposes upon this principle: "Those are true Christians who live from the fruits of their labour." All the articles of these admirable rules tend to form congregations of laborious men, on whom the pious abbot imposes the obligation of employing their activity or intelligence in useful productive labours.

Benedict was descended from an illustrious family of Nosca, a city of the duchy of Spoleto. He studied at Rome, and was distinguished for his rapid progress in science and letters. In spite of the brilliant career which his name and fortune could have opened to him in the world, he abandoned, at the age of seventeen, parents, friends and country, to retire to a cavern in the midst of the desert of Subiaco, forty miles from the holy city. After having passed three years in prayer and meditation, he associated with him some pilgrims, who, attracted by his reputation for sanctity had come to visit him, and constructed cells for them to sleep in. His little flock increasing day by day, the pagan population of the neighbourhood took umbrage, and obliged them to retire to Mount Cassino, where they encountered other idolaters. St. Benedict converted them by his eloquent preaching, and transformed their temple, which had been consecrated to Apollo, into a Christian church, dedicated to the true God. He then built an immense monastery adjoining the new church, which he governed for forty years. Following his example, his companions, heirs of his thoughts continued to clear up the land, to drain the marshes, and to copy ancient manuscripts, those treasures which antiquity has left to future ages.

## BONIFACE THE SECOND, FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 529.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Ambition of the clergy—Election of Boniface—Schism of Dioscorus—Anathema against him—The other popes accused of simony—Boniface violates the canons—Stephen of Larissa—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Felix, the intrigues for a successor were renewed. At this period the ambition of the priests had grown to be very great; liberty began to be banished from the elections, and those who had riches or pow-

erful friends could alone hope to aspire to the episcopate.

Boniface the Second, a Roman by birth, son of Sigisvult, of the race of the Goths, was chosen to succeed Felix the Fourth, and

was ordained in the church of Julius. But another party chose the deacon Dioscorus, whom we believe to be the same who was sent on the embassy to Constantinople by Hormisdas. Boniface, the tranquil possessor of the Holy See, pursued his vengeance against his competitor, and anathematized him even after his death. The bull of excommunication was signed by the clergy, and deposited in the archives of the church, as an eternal monument of his apostolic vigour. The pontiff accused Dioscorus of simony, and it appears by a rescript of king Athalaric, that the accusation was well founded; but Boniface, according to the report of Anastasius the librarian, was guilty of the same crime.

Then the pope assembled a council in the church of St. Peter, and made a decree which gave him the power of designating his successor; and he compelled the bishops, by oath and in writing, to recognize the deacon Vigilius in this capacity. Shortly after another

council was held, and the decree was erased as contrary to the canons and dignity of the Holy See. The pontiff acknowledged himself guilty of lese-majesty, an usurper of the sovereign authority, and cast his bull into the flames, in the presence of the bishops and clergy.

The same year (531) during the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, Stephen, bishop of Larissa, addressed a complaint to the pope on the subject of a new heresy, the name of which has not descended to us. On this occasion a third council was held, to which Theodosius, bishop of Echnicum, in Thessaly, preferred the complaint of Stephen. The decision of the fathers is not known.

Boniface died towards the end of the year 531. This pope showed himself during his reign to be a very religious observer of the worship of angels, and built a magnificent church in honour of the archangel St. Michael.

## JOHN THE SECOND, SURNAMED MERCURY, FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 530.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Avarice of the priests—Election of John—Complaints against simoniacal elections—State of the Eastern church—Justinian sends rich presents to the pope—John condemns the Acemetae and approves of the doctrine anathematized by Hormisdas—He declares "that one of the three persons of the Trinity was crucified"—Contradictory judgments of the Holy See—Contumeliosus—Death of John.*

THERE existed so little good faith and true religion among the clergy of Rome, that in order to obtain the pontificate, some priests distributed all their money; others mortgaged their palaces; whilst some, less scrupulous, promised the property of the church. At length the Holy See being put up at auction, John the Second, surnamed from his eloquence, Mercury, paid enormous sums to his competitors, and obtained the pontifical tiara.

Corruption had then so increased, that the senators sold their votes openly; and in order not to profane the Divinity, we will say, that the Holy Spirit did not govern the election of the popes of this period; for God could not preside over a council where the chair of St. Peter was adjudged to the highest and last bidder.

John the Second was ordained on the 22d of January, 532; he was born at Rome, and his father was named Projectus. Shortly after his enthroning, a supporter of the church wrote to king Athalaric, that during the vacancy of the Holy See the partizans of the pontiff had sold their votes for the election, and had extorted from him promises of the property of the church, and that in order to satisfy these engagements, John had publicly exposed for sale the sacred vessels.

To remedy this abuse, the king wrote to the pope, the patriarchs, and the metropolitan

churches, to observe a decree of the senate, made during the pontificate of Boniface, and conceived in these terms: "Those who have promised houses, land or money to obtain a bishopric, shall be regarded as simoniacal and sacrilegious; their engagements shall be annulled, and all that they have taken from the church shall be restored. Officers of the palace are nevertheless permitted to take three thousand pennies of gold to expedite despatches when there shall be a dispute in the election of a pope; but rich officers shall not accept any thing, because these largesses are taken from the patrimony of the poor."

"In the elections of patriarchs (a name given to bishops of great cities) they shall take as much as two thousand pennies of gold, and in that of mere bishops, five hundred pennies of gold shall be distributed to the people."

The king then ordered the prefect of Rome to cause this decree to be engraven on a slab of marble, and to be placed at the entrance of the court of St. Peter's.

Platinus affirms that John the Second condemned Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople, who had become an Arian. On the other part, the emperor Justinian pursued with great rigor the heretics of the East, whose conversion he had sworn to effect.

The prince sent to Rome Hypacrus, arc

bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, bishop of Philippi, to consult the pope on the propositions laid down by Cyrus and Eutogus, deputies from the monastery of the Acemetæ. In a letter he wrote to the holy father, he testifies for him great respect, and informs him that the monks rejected the dogma, "That Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, born of Mary, is one of the persons of the Trinity." Justinian besought the pontiff to address him a bull, declaring that he received to his communion all those who partook of his sentiments, and that he condemned those who did not conform thereto. To give more weight to his demand, the emperor sent rich presents, destined for the church of St. Peter: a vase of gold, weighing five pounds, garnished with precious stones; two chalices of silver of six pounds each; two others of five pounds, and four veils in tissue of gold. This liberality disposed the clergy of Rome favourably towards Justinian, and the pope condemned the Acemetæ without being even willing to listen to their complaints.

According to father Louis Doucin, the bad faith of the monks was the only cause of their condemnation. John, indignant at seeing the monks take advantage of the judgment rendered by Hormisdas, approved, without examination, the dogmas which the emperor maintained against them, and declared as most orthodox the same proposition which his predecessor had excommunicated.

Nevertheless, the holy father deliberated more than a year, and even wrote to Africa to enlighten himself by the opinions of the learned. Ferrand, a disciple of St. Fulgentius, a skilful theologian, replied to the consultation with all the subtlety of the priests of our days. He concluded in conformity with the doctrine of his master, and very favourably to the emperor, in saying, "that it is not one of the Trinity who suffered and died, but one of the three persons of the Trinity."

The pope launched anathemas against the heretical Greeks who had come to Rome to defend their doctrine, and particularly against Cyrus, the deputy of the Acemetæ monks. In humiliating, also the Nestorians, John sustained the Acephali, who were protected by the empress, and caused the two parties to comprehend that, of which in the end they were not forgetful, that the Holy See was not inflexible, and that for money the retraction of a former judgment could be obtained.

About the same period, John received letters from St. Cosar of Arles, and other prelates of Gaul, in relation to Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, convicted, on his own confession, of enormous crimes. He ordered that this bishop should be interdicted from all his functions, and be confined in a monastery, in order to repent for the rest of his life.

Pope John died on the 26th of April, 535, after having held the see three years and four months.

## AGAPETUS, THE FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 535.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Education of Agapetus—His election—Letter from the emperor to the pope—Sentiment of Agapetus on the alienation of the goods of the church—He recognizes the superiority of councils—He is sent by Theodatus as ambassador to Constantinople—Poverty of the pope—He is received with great honours—Refuses his communion to the patriarch Anthimus—Reflections on the authority of the popes—He persuades the emperor that Anthimus is an heretic, and makes him drive him from his see—He neglects the affairs of Theodatus and troubles the quiet of the Eastern churches—Death of the pope.*

The priest Gordian, the father of Rusticus Agapetus, had educated his son with much care. He placed him when very young among the clergy of Rome, where he exercised the first duties of the clerical order in the church of the martyrs St. John and St. Paul; then he was made a deacon; afterwards rector of the same church, and, finally, his great virtues caused him to be judged worthy to fill the chair of St. Peter on the death of John the Second. The clergy and the people having united their suffrages in his favour, he received the episcopal ordination, and was recognized as sovereign pontiff.

He commenced his administration by an act of justice. He publicly burned, in the midst of the church, the anathema which Boniface had extorted by knavery from the

bishops and priests against Dioscorus, his competitor. He blackened, by this circumstance, the memory of his predecessor, and by an admirable generosity, preferred an equitable justice to the vain glory of the Holy See, to which he did not attribute the divine privilege of infallibility.

As soon as the emperor was apprised of the election of Agapetus, he sent the priest Heraclius as his ambassador to congratulate him. In his letter he explained to the holy father, that in order to facilitate the conversion of the Arians, it was necessary to offer them the same rank in the church that they held in their own sect. The pontiff, in replying to the compliments of the emperor, approved of his zeal for the reunion of the Arians, but represented to him that the popes themselves had

no power to change the canons, which prohibited reconciled heretics from preserving holy orders.

The affair of Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, was not terminated by the judgment of John the Second, and that prelate appealed to the Holy See from the sentence of his colleagues and the decision of John the Second. Agapetus then wrote to St. Cœsar, that in accordance with the demand of Contumeliosus, he had appointed judges to examine into the decision of the bishops of Gaul, and that whilst waiting the result of their inquiries, that prelate should have permission to return to his church, but not to exercise any episcopal functions. He ordered the council of the province to restore to him his own private property, in order that he might have the means of living; without, however, placing in his control the disposition of the property of the church, which should be managed by a visiting archdeacon.

St. Cœsar of Arles then consulted the holy father on a point of discipline, which divided the bishops of Gaul, and demanded of him, if pastors had the right of alienating the church funds in difficult circumstances. Agapetus replied, that the constitutions prohibited this sort of alienation, and that he did not dare authorize an infringement of them: "Do not think, adds the pope, that my councils are dictated by avarice or temporal interest; but considering the terrible account which I must render to God of the flock which he has confided to my care, I seek to direct it into the way of eternal life, and cause it to observe the decisions of the last council."

The assembly of which he spoke was but a national synod, held in Italy, under the pontiff Symmachus. Agapetus, by declaring that he is obliged to submit to the judgment of councils, condemns the ambition of the bishops of Rome, his successors, who have endeavoured to elevate themselves even above universal councils.

Animated by the most laudable intentions, the holy father established public schools, for the instruction of youth, and was occupied in exterminating the ignorance which had reached even to the highest ranks of society. Very different from his predecessors, he maintained that the best dispositions, if not nourished by study, would insensibly alter, and frequently change into gross vices. The celebrated Casiodorus joined with him to facilitate this noble enterprise; but war soon drew off their attention to other objects. Justinian had confided the command of his armies to Belisarius, a great captain and consummate tactician. The Grecian general pursued his conquests with surprising rapidity; wrested Africa from the Vandals, and was about to carry his victorious arms into Italy, where he spread terror among the Goths.

Theodatus, affrighted at the march of the conqueror, thought of flying from his states, but yielding to the councils of his ambassadors, who knew the stupid devotion of the emperor, he resolved to make religion sub-

serve as the means of arresting the victorious progress of Belisarius. He ordered Agapetus to go to Constantinople to negotiate a peace or a truce, threatening to put the Romans to the sword if he failed in his mission.

The holy father excused himself on account of his great age and extreme poverty, refusing to undertake so long a journey; but new orders from the prince were accompanied with menaces so frightful, that the pope was obliged to obey. Agapetus, to defray the expenses of his suite, pawned the beautiful chalices, the sacred vessels of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, with which the piety of the faithful had ornamented the churches; and upon these precious pledges, the money necessary for the journey was obtained. We should add, to the praise of Theodatus, that on being informed of it, he reimbursed the necessary funds, and restored to the churches all their ornaments.

On his arrival in Greece, the pontiff, according to St. Gregory, performed an astonishing miracle, by curing a man who could neither walk nor stand up. We leave the particulars of this prodigy to the credulity of the legendaries.

Epiphanius, the Catholic patriarch of Constantinople, had been dead about a year, and Anthimus, bishop of Trebizond, had been elevated to his place, through the influence of the empress Theodora. He was believed to be as orthodox as his predecessor; and this belief had procured for him the honour of being named commissary in the conferences with the Severite heretics. But Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, who suspected him of secret concert with the Acephali, wrote to unmask him, and to publish manifestoes, which were scattered through the churches. He even addressed a petition to the emperor, to compel the new chief of the clergy of the capital to make a profession of the orthodox faith, in his synodical letters. Anthimus, in obedience to the prince, made a declaration in conformity with the doctrines of the church and sent it to the bishops of the East and West, who immediately admitted him to their communion. Nevertheless, his spirit of tolerance, well known to the Acephali, determined the chiefs of that sect, Severus of Antioch, a prelate named Peter of Apamea, and a Syrian monk called Zora, to re-enter Constantinople. These heretics, at first, held their assemblies in private houses, whither the empress and Comita her sister, frequently went with their lovers, and a crowd of young lords of the court of Justinian. Their boldness increased with their success: they built temples, administered the sacraments, received offerings, and made numerous proselytes. The Catholic priests, who saw the importance and their revenues daily diminishing, complained to the emperor against Anthimus, and sent several deputies to meet the holy father, then on his route to the city, to prejudice him against the patriarch.

Agapetus was received in Constantinople with great demonstrations of respect, which

led him, on the very day of his entrance into the city, to abuse the deference shown him, by refusing to receive the patriarch Anthimus, whom the orthodox accused of favouring the Eutychians; and even without knowing his profession of faith, to reject him as an intruder.

This condemnable action is cited by the priests of the West, as an example of the supreme authority which the old popes exercised: "Thus the pontiff alone," say they, "and without assembling any council, deposed the bishop of New Rome." Father Doucin, although a Jesuit, admits that this example is badly chosen; for the deposition was of no effect. "He could not depose," adds he, "until after a legitimate election; and as the elevation of Anthimus to the patriarchate had not been recognized by the clergy of Rome, Agapetus had no need of a council to refuse him his communion. The pope and each patriarch had a right to act of himself, when the election of their colleagues appeared to be vicious, or even suspicious. In a like circumstance no one could be ignorant of the causes which rendered Anthimus unworthy of the patriarchal see. . . .!"

Severus, and all the Acephali, outraged at the pride of the pontiff, went immediately to the empress, to concert with her the method of destroying the bishop of Rome. They endeavoured to inspire Justinian with suspicion as to the belief of the pope, and to cause him to pass for a partisan of Nestorianism, as his predecessors had been accused of it.

Notwithstanding his extreme devotion, the emperor listened to these accusations against Agapetus with the more attention, inasmuch as he was dissatisfied with the hauteur with which he had treated the patriarch, and the correction he had bestowed on himself. In the preceding year, when he had sent to Rome an edict with his profession of faith, the holy father replied to him, "that every one should remain in his place, and that he could not approve of the authority which a layman arrogated to himself of publicly teaching the faithful."

In this frame of mind the emperor pressed the pontiff with questions in relation to his doctrines; not to satisfy his passion for religious controversy, but to obtain proofs of his heresy.

On the other hand, the bishops of the faction of Severus, sent by the empress, did not cease to represent to Justinian, that the bishop of Rome was come to trouble the peace of the East: "Since the election of Anthimus, have you not seen, my lord," they said to him, "the Acephali perfectly well disposed, and ready to do all that you demand of them? Severus himself promised freer clemency, to submit his doctrine to the judgment of the Roman church; but he did not expect to find on the throne of that church an old man as hard and inflexible as this one. Consider, my lord, on what all this scandal is founded; upon a mere formality, which reduces itself to this,

whether it is for the greatest good of the universal church, that the city of Constantinople can dispense with Anthimus, or whether it prefers to give him the title of patriarch, rather than that of bishop."

Justinian, convinced by the reasoning of the prelates, abandoned himself to his resentment against Agapetus, and at the first conference he had with the pontiff, said to him with emotion: "I am determined to reject your unjust pretensions, holy father, and no longer to weigh them. Receive us to your communion; or prepare to go into exile." This threat did not alarm Agapetus, who replied boldly: "It is true, I deceived myself, my lord, when I was received by you with so much earnestness. I hoped to find a Christian emperor, and I have met with a new Diocletian. Well! let Diocletian learn that the bishop of Rome does not fear his threats, and refuses to submit to his orders."

The emperor, naturally good and devout, in place of punishing this temerity, changed the discourse; and when the conversation had become more peaceful, the pope said to him: "To convince you that your pretended bishop is a very dangerous man to the cause of religion, I beseech you to permit me to interrogate him on the two natures of Jesus Christ. Be persuaded," added the wary priest, "that it is neither to shun exile, nor to seek an accommodation, that I propose to put him to this test, but that you may know the patriarch Anthimus."

Justinian gave orders to the two adversaries to come before him, and the conference commenced. The pontiff broached the religious questions on the mysteries of the incarnation. He developed, at length, the points of theology which had reference to the question; and when he had exhausted all the resources of controversy, he summoned the patriarch to recognize the orthodoxy of his doctrine. Anthimus replied to the arguments of the pontiff, and concluded by declaring that Jesus Christ did not possess two natures. Agapetus, in a fury, hurled anathemas against Anthimus, Severus, Peter of Apama, Zora, and several other prelates, whose names would have rested in oblivion but for the excommunication. Then he obtained from the monarch an order for the deposition of Anthimus, and consecrated the new patriarch of Constantinople.

After having troubled the East for four months, the holy father was struck with an unknown malady, which carried him off in a few days. His funeral was celebrated with songs of gladness; and when his body was transported to the cathedral, the porticoes, the public places, the windows and roofs of houses were encumbered with the multitude, who wished to look at him. Historians place the period of his death on the 25th of November, 526. They assure us that no patriarch, bishop, nor emperor, had been buried with so great pomp, and with so extraordinary a solemnity of fêtes. The corpse was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin, and transported to Rome.



The priests exalt the virtues of this pope. Liberatus, deacon of Carthage, represents him as a holy personage, endowed with profound wisdom and great skill, especially in ecclesiastical matters. He however admits, that it was at his instigation that the bishop of Syria and the abbots of Constantinople rose against the emperor Justinian, and compelled him to proscribe Severus and his friends. He avows that the rebellious prelates dared to threaten the emperor to extend the revolt to the provinces; and that the emperor, always at the solicitation of the pope, had the cowardice to make a decree, which prohibited the Acephali from entering into large cities; enjoined on the magistrates to burn heretical books, and condemned those who transcribed them to have their hands cut off by the executioner. These avowals show into what deplorable excesses Justinian fell, by yielding to the counsel of the holy father.

It results, from the narrative of the death of Agapetus, who went as ambassador to king Theodatus, only occupied himself with ecclesiastical affairs. How did he fulfil his political mission to the emperor? How did he open the negotiations? With what address did he conduct them? What was his success? There is no reply. The pope did nothing. He only submitted to Justinian the subject of his embassy, without insisting on a favourable conclusion, foreseeing that the Roman emperor would be happier under the dominion of a Catholic prince, than under that of an Arian monarch. Not only was Agapetus perjured to his prince, but even to his religion, troubling the repose of the Eastern church, and by showing a base jealousy against a prince, whose only crime consisted in having dared to compare his see with that of the bishop of Rome.

## SILVERUS, THE SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 536.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Intrigues at Rome to obtain dignities—Silverus buys the pontificate from king Theodatus—The son of the pope—He delivers Rome to Belisarius—He is deposed and shut up in a monastery*

THE intrigues by which the sovereign pontificate was obtained, recall the transactions in pagan Rome, when those who aspired to office in the republic bought the suffrages of the people: "Instead of a wise discretion, a disinterested equity, and a true elevation in sentiment, the chair of St. Peter was become the price of boldness, corruption and avarice." The pretenders marched openly to their end, offering gold to some, dignities to others—pledging the property of the church to those who had no confidence in their promises, and setting to work all the seductions which could augment the number of their creatures.

Priests sold their suffrages; cabals struggled, raised upon their competitors, and carried off the partisans of their adversaries; and at length victory remained with the richest, the most skilful, or the most corrupt.

In the midst of these scandalous intrigues and criminal practices, Silverus, son of the former pope Hormisdas, led away by the ambition of occupying the chair of St. Peter, offered a considerable sum to king Theodatus, and was chosen pontiff of Rome.

Anastasius, the librarian, furnishes the most authentic documents in relation to this disgraceful proceeding, on which Baillet and Dupin have endeavoured to throw doubts. But father Doucin himself is convinced of the infamy of Silverus, and deploras the conduct of the holy father.

The election of this pope was a masterpiece of policy. The king, fearing to be driven from Italy by the victorious army of Belisarius, wished to assure himself of the fidelity

of the Romans, by giving them a bishop devoted to his interest, and who had need of aid to maintain himself on the Holy See. Neither the clergy nor the people were permitted to deliberate on this election. Theodatus merely announced to the Romans, that those who should dare to nominate another bishop, must prepare to die. Then Silverus took upon himself the government of the church, and fear of punishment constrained the people to recognize him. Some ecclesiastics alone refused to sign the decree of election; time passed on, however, and they soon ranged themselves under the orders of the new pope.

But Theodatus was deceived in his hope. The traitor Silverus, practising on this man of the priests, "it is permitted to break faith with heretics," betrayed his benefactor, and opened the gates of Rome to Belisarius.

Justinian, become master of the ancient capital of the world, revived the religious quarrels which had taken place during the pontificate of Agapetus. The empress Theodora, who was favourable to the Acephali of the East, wrote to the pope, to prevail on him to re-establish the patriarch Anthimus, and drive Mennas from the see of Constantinople. At the same time Belisarius received orders to engage Silverus to subscribe to his project, and in case of refusal he was enjoined to accuse the pontiff of having maintained secret intelligence with the Goths, and of having desired, by a new treason, to deliver up the city to them. The holy father was sent to the palace. Belisarius, and his wife An

nina, the confidant of the empress, informed him of the orders they had received, and endeavoured to induce him to obey, by denouncing the council of Chalcedon, and approving, in writing, the belief of the Acephali.

Silverus, placed between two perils, having on the one side to fear the anger of the prince, and on the other the vengeance of the clergy, demanded permission to assemble his council. The priests decided unanimously against the proposition, and threatened him with deposition as a traitor and prevaricator, if he should obey the orders of their enemies. Then, ruled by fear, he refused to yield to the demand of Belisarius; and to shun the vengeance of the Greeks, sought refuge in the church of St. Maria Sabina.

Belisarius publicly accused him of perfidy toward the emperor, and produced as witnesses an advocate named Mark, and a soldier of the Prætorian guard, who affirmed that they had remitted letters for him, addressed to Vitiges, king of the Goths. They summoned the pontiff to appear a second time at the imperial palace, promising him, under oath, not to deprive him of his liberty. Silverus yielded to the invitation of the Grecian general, and after a conference was reconducted to the church in which he had established his retreat.

Having been commanded to appear a third time before Belisarius, he learned that his enemies wished to surprise him, and that it would be impossible for him to resist much longer.

His conjectures were correct; for the empress had written to hold him as a pledge.

She besought him instantly to re-establish Anthimus, or to come to examine the cause of this patriarch, unjustly condemned. Silverus, after reading this letter, heaved a deep sigh. "Behold," says he, "that which informs me that I have not a long time to live." He then went to the Grecian general. Those who accompanied him were arrested; some at the entrance of the saloon, others at the door of the antechamber; and Silverus was introduced into the apartment of Antonina, who was still in bed. "Truly, my lord bishop," she said to him, "I know not what we have done to you, and you Romans, to cause you to deliver us, as you have essayed to do, into the hands of the barbarians. Please advise us of your motives." The pontiff had no long time given him to reply. A sub-deacon entered quickly, and tore from him his mantle; then having taken him into an adjoining apartment, they despoiled him of his marks of dignity, and clothed him in the garb of a monk.

After this ceremony, another sub-deacon entered the antechamber, where the clergy remained, and said to them, "My brethren, we have no longer a pope; he has been deposed, and condemned to do penance in a monastery." Alarmed at this news, they all fled precipitately, leaving the holy father in the hands of his enemies.

Belisarius then occupied himself in having the priest Vigilius, who had been long ambitions of the honour of the episcopate, chosen.

We pass on to the following reign, before speaking of the death of the unfortunate Silverus.

## VIGILIUS, THE SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 537.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Character of Vigilius—His vices—He swears to obey the orders of Theodora—The empress compels him to give seven hundred pieces of gold to buy the votes of the clergy—Election of Vigilius—Silverus exiled to Patara, obtains from the emperor permission to return to Rome—The pope seizes him and condemns him to be starved to death on a desert island—Roguery of Vigilius—He becomes suspected by the emperor—King Theodebert consults the pope on the validity of his marriage with a sister-in-law—Fanaticism of the emperor Justinian—His discussions with the pontiff—He orders Vigilius to go to Constantinople to assist at a council—The pope insulted by the people of Rome—Anathemas against the Acephali—The pope condemns the three chapters—Bad faith of Fleury in his ecclesiastical history—Contradictions of Vigilius—He is excommunicated by a council—Excites disorders at Constantinople—Constrained to take refuge in a church—His hypocrisy—Returns to his palace—Is dragged through the streets of Constantinople with a cord about his neck—Escapes to the palace of Placidius—Is sent into exile—His recantation—Knavery of the Jesuits—Death of the pope—This monster, soiled with crimes, has found apologists who have made a martyr of him.*

VIGILIUS was a Roman by birth, and the son of a consul named John. During the pontificate of Boniface the Second, he had obtained a decree which assured to him the chair of St. Peter; but the clergy opposed this scandalous step, and his hopes were blasted. This check did not discourage Vigilius; obstacles excited his enterprising spirit, and he pur-

sued his intrigues with more vigour than before.

History represents him as a man of unmeasured ambition, capable of committing all crimes, to elevate himself to power. "His character," writes an author of that day, "was violent and passionate; in a burst of rage he killed with blows, with a club, a young child

who refused his infamous carresses. He was so avaricious that he dared to avow, that if he had broken off his relations with the empress, it was less through zeal for religion, than not to be obliged to restore the money she had lent him to aid him in his election as pope." Besides, the course of his life was a long train of perfidy, debauchery and crime; and yet the priests have placed this monster among the saints of the church!

Vigilius had accompanied pope Agapetus on his journey to Constantinople. After the death of the pontiff the empress demanded from the young priest, if he would consent to reverse all the decrees of Agapetus, to condemn the council of Constantinople which was about closing; to depose Mennas, and reinstate in their sees Anthimus, Severus, and Timothy; and finally excommunicate the three chapters, the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of St. Leo.

None of these propositions frightened the ambitious Vigilius; and he swore to obey the orders of the empress, if he was elected pope. She counted out to him immediately seven hundred pieces of gold, on the security of his note, by which he promised to restore this sum when he should be master of the treasures of the church. Then letters were sent forward to Belisarius, to whom the empress recommended the deacon Vigilius as the successor of Agapetus.

All these precautions assured him success; but on his arrival at Naples he learned that the Romans had already received a pontiff whom king Theodatus had imposed upon them. This new check did not stop Vigilius in his projects. He first studied calmly the obstacles which opposed themselves to his elevation, and calculated the chances which remained of overthrowing a man rejected by the clergy, as being the creature of the Goths, the enemies of the empire. Then he informed the empress of his hopes, and besought her to second his efforts. The princess wrote to Belisarius, ordering him to examine all the plans of Vigilius, and to excite complaints against Silverus, that he might be deposed. "If you cannot succeed," added she, "arrest him, and send him to Constantinople without any delay, for we send you a priest, of whose devotion we are assured, and who is bound to reinstall Anthimus, and cause the Acephali to triumph."

Belisarius feared that the execution of this enterprise might produce confusion in Rome, and bring about a dangerous schism. Not being entirely confirmed in his conquest, he did not wish to expose himself to the danger of losing, in a moment, the glory which he had acquired by the defeat of the Vandals and Goths. But his wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, determined to execute the orders of the princess, and the result was the deposition of Silverus, and the shameful election of Vigilius.

In obedience to the command of the Grecian general, the clergy assembled to choose a successor to the deposed pontiff. They first

agitated the question, whether the Holy See was to be regarded as vacant. Their suffrages having been paid for in advance, it was decided in the affirmative. Some then wished to exclude Vigilius, and protested against his pretensions. Their small number caused them to be treated with contempt; and those who had been bought proceeded without delay to the consecration of the new pope.

Vigilius also exacted that the unfortunate Silverus should be placed in his charge, under the pretext that he was bound to answer for the tranquillity of the city. He banished him from Rome, and sent him under safe custody to Patera in Lycia. Contrary to his expectation, the bishop of the country received him as a prisoner as a confessor; and not only did he render him the honours due to the pontiff but even undertook to reinstall him in his office. For this purpose he made a journey to Constantinople, represented loudly to the empress the injustice of the condemnation of Silverus and obtained from the prince the promise that the accused should return to Rome to undergo a new trial. Justinian pledged himself, that if he was innocent of the treason of which he had been accused, he would replace him in the pontifical chair; and that if he were guilty he would only banish him from Rome, with degrading him.

But the empress Theodora had too much interest in maintaining Vigilius in his usurpation, to permit that the will of the empress should be executed; and on his side, Vigilius was too active to sleep in the midst of the dangers that threatened him. He then wrote to Belisarius, that he could not pay the sum agreed upon, unless his adversary were placed in his hands as an hostage. Silverus was then taken from his retreat, and placed in the hands of the infamous Vigilius, who caused him to be conducted by his ferocious satellites to a desert island, called Palmaria, where those were exiled whom it was desirable to put to death promptly and quietly.

The executioners, whom Vigilius called the defenders of the holy church, executed the orders which they had received, which he joined them to put an end to their priors promptly. The unfortunate Silverus was deprived of food during nine entire days, and as death did not happen as fast as the impatience of the priests who guarded him required, they strangled him and returned to Rome. Such was the punishment of the crime of which Silverus had been guilty, that of usurping the first see of the church.

The clergy remained uncertain for five days as to the choice of a pope. The distribution of money at last united their suffrages upon Vigilius; and after some days of intrigue he was recognized as the most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter. The priests proceeded to his exaltation notwithstanding the anathema of him by Silverus, and notwithstanding the frightful complication of crimes and rogues which he had put in execution to reach the pontificate.

Even after the death of his predecessor

Vigilius found himself placed in a very difficult position. On the one side the Roman clergy pressed him to condemn the Acephali; and on the other, the empress imperiously demanded the execution of his promises. In order to avoid the most imminent peril, his holiness remitted to Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, and who was regarded as the favourite of the empress, several letters destined for Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus of Constantinople, and Severus of Antioch, in which he declared that he professed the same faith as they. At the same time he besought them to keep his letters secret until he was confirmed in his authority; and he recommended to them to avoid suspicion, by saying openly, that the bishop of Rome was suspected by them.

In the confession of faith which he sent to them he rejected the two natures in Jesus Christ, refuted the letter of St. Leo, and declared those excommunicated who did not believe in one person and one essence. It is thence incontestable that Vigilius was an apostate priest, and a hypocritical pontiff; for at the same time that he approved of the opinions of the Acephali in a letter secretly written to them, he made a public profession of the faith of the orthodox.

Justinian, irritated because Vigilius had not written to him on his entrance to the pontificate, interpreted unfavourably his silence, and sent into Italy the patrician Dominicus, with letters expressing suspicions of the pope. The ambassador was besides charged to summon him to explain the relations he was accused of entertaining with the heretics. In his reply, Vigilius passed a high eulogium to the prince on the purity of his sentiments: he declared to him that his belief was that of his predecessors, Celestin, Leo, Hormisdas, John, and Agapetus; that he acknowledged the four councils, and the letter of Leo; and that he anathematized all who held contrary opinions; lastly, he besought the emperor to preserve the privileges of the Holy See, and to send him as ambassadors irreproachable Catholics. His holiness also wrote to the patriarch Menas, to congratulate him on having performed the promises he made to pope Agapetus, before his ordination, in acknowledging the four councils, and in excommunicating schismatics.

Profuturus, bishop of Braga, in Lusitania, consulted Vigilius upon several points of discipline. The holy father, in his reply, condemned the Priscillians, who abstained from flesh. Since that period the church herself has introduced this superstition among the faithful. He expresses himself at length on the mode of converting the Arians, and on the consecration of churches; he recommends them to celebrate the mass in the new temples, and prohibits the use of holy water in the ceremonies.

Theodobert, king of Anstrasia, who had sent troops into Italy during the war between the Romans and the Goths, also consulted Vigilius on the penance which should be imposed

on a man who had espoused the wife of his brother. The pope replied to the king, and at the same time wrote to St. Cœsar of Arles, that he should inform himself of the fact, and of the disposition of the penitent, in order to advise king Theodobert of the time necessary for such repentance, and to beseech him to prevent like disorders in future. The motives which induced him to send back this affair to St. Cœsar, are remarkable: "We ought," said he, "to commit to bishops of provinces the measure of repentance, that they may be enabled to grant indulgence according to the compunction of the penitent."

Justinian, as he advanced in age, abandoned himself more and more to religious fanaticism, and to his passion for controversy. He composed a crowd of works on theology. But in wishing to fathom the mysteries of religion, he finished by insensibly departing from the orthodox principles which he had professed. He published edicts condemning the three chapters of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodoret, and finally the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril.

The edicts of the emperor were received by all the bishops in the East; and Vigilius alone, ruled by the Roman clergy, opposed the propagation of his principles in the West.

Irritated by the obstinacy of the pontiff, the prince resolved to submit the questions to a general council. He wrote to Vigilius to inform him of the convocation of a synod, and to order him to come without delay to Constantinople.

The popes have always dreaded general councils, especially when they were held beyond their jurisdiction. Thus the holy father made every effort to change the determination of the emperor, or at least to avoid appearing at the council. Justinian was inflexible; and new orders compelled the pontiff to obey.

Before his departure the clergy excited seditions among the people, and gave him a foretaste of the fate which would attend him at Rome, if he should abandon the interests of religion. On the very day on which he quitted the city, the monks stoned him, and heaped maledictions and insults on him. Notwithstanding, Vigilius, desiring to conciliate them against his return, landed in Sicily and purchased grain, which he sent to Rome, to be distributed to the people in his name; after which he continued his route to Constantinople.

The emperor and the bishops who were at his court, received the holy father with great honours, and after the usual ceremonies, the council opened. At the very first conference, Vigilius, having declared that Menas and Theodorus were excluded from his communion in consequence of their support of the principles of Justinian, the prince let loose his anger, and ordered the guards to tear from his throne the unworthy priest whose presence dishonoured the assembly. It was done at once, notwithstanding the entreaties of the empress, who besought her husband to suspend his vengeance.

This princess, who was constantly studying over her project of driving away Menas to reinstall Anthimus on the see of Constantinople, hoped that the pope would resolve to fulfil the promises he had before made to her on this important affair. Vigilus, who had the threats of the clergy of Rome always before him, refused to ratify his old engagements, and preferred reconciling himself with Menas; on the condition, however, that the patriarch should subscribe to all that the Latin bishops should determine in the matter of the three chapters.

Theodorus of Cesarea, also made his peace by accepting the same conditions. Still, in order to show that his reconciliation with these two prelates should not be taken as a declaration in favour of the Eutyrians and Acephali, Vigilus solemnly excommunicated the followers of the heresy.

This first mark of deference did not entirely satisfy Justinian, who was willing that Vigilus should condemn the three articles. The pontiff then protested against the violence which had been used towards him, and refused to make any determination without the consent of the Latin bishops. On his side, the emperor preserved no restraint towards the holy father; and matters were carried so far, that the pope one day said, in a full assembly, "I perceive that I am regarded here as a slave, whom you think you have a right to eat. It is true that I am in chains; but recollect that Peter, whose place I occupy, has lost none of his liberty."

On another occasion he recalled to the prince the words of Agapetus: "I thought I was coming to the court of a Christian emperor, and I find myself in that of Diocletian, the most cruel of tyrants." The firmness of the pontiff bent the emperor, and he permitted the bishops to assemble to deliberate on the affair of the three articles.

Seventy prelates then assembled, when the pope declared the council dissolved, before they had arrived at any decision. The fathers received orders to give their opinions in writing, and he sent the bulletins to the palace of the emperor. After some days, Vigilus himself gave his own opinion, which was in condemnation of the three chapters, without prejudice to the council of Chalcedon. Fleury has maintained that this last clause was a question of fact, in which the church was not interested. Such an insinuation can only show prodigious ignorance or wonderful bad faith; for the affair of the three chapters was so important for religion, that a large number of bishops separated themselves from the communion of Vigilus because he had condemned them.

Nevertheless, the judgment of the pontiff contented neither the Acephali nor the orthodox, who regarded it as a mark of the apotaxy of the pope. Dacius, bishop of Milan, who was the last who remained attached to his fortunes, abandoned him, and refused to take part in the new constitution. Two of his deacons, Rusticus and Sebastian, followed the same example, and published through the

provinces, that the pope had abandoned the council of Chalcedon.

Vigilius, always contradicting himself his measures, gave utterance to the sentiment of the orthodox, and favoured the heretics; the interests of his grandeur demanded. On the other hand, the defenders of the three chapters remained firm in their belief. They held a synod in Illyria, at which they condemned Benenatus, bishop of the first Justinian. The following year, the prelates of Africa assembled in council, showed still more rigour. They excommunicated the holy father as a traitor and apostate, undertook the defence of the doctrine of the three chapters, and sent their letters to the emperor by Olympius the Magistrate.

At length Vigilus, comprehending that his tortuous policy had not succeeded in deceiving either party, consented to receive the three chapters, and proposed a general council to terminate the difficulty.

Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Cesarea, profoundly afflicted by the disorders and sects which all these disputes excited in the empire, cast himself at the feet of Justinian and in the name of the clergy addressed him this discourse: "Is it not a shameful thing, my lord, that the master of the universe after having reduced so many different nations, should be so reduced as to bend before the caprice of a priest who knows not his own mind? Vigilus said yesterday: 'I anathematize all who do not condemn the three articles.' To-day, he says, 'I anathematize whomsoever condemns them!' And, under pretext of serving them for the judgment of a council, he dares, on his own authority, to reverse the edicts of the emperor, and impose his belief even on Constantinople. The whole world knows your great piety; your edicts have been received by all the churches! And now, will you will people think, when they see a strange reverse, by a single word, acts so solemnly in your own presence, in contempt of four patriarchs and a great number of bishops, who have come together at your bidding, to carry the edicts to be executed? What has become of your authority, great prince, if you can command your subjects until they have received the permission of Vigilus? Would the empress, that virtuous prince whose recent loss we mourn, say, if she saw Justinian so far abase his royal dignity, publicly to be contradicted by a proud priest?"

This harangue changed the disposition of the emperor. The edict against the three chapters was put in force, and sustained the writings of Theodore, who had conducted the affair with so much address. On this occasion Vigilus wished to address his complaints to Justinian; but the prince refused to hear him. He threatened with excommunication those who should dare disobey his orders. They replied to him by fixing the edict in all the churches, to the rage of the pontiff and his followers. They despised his threats. P

convoked, in the palace of Placidius, all the bishops who were in Constantinople, the deacons, and even the inferior clergy. He protested, in their presence, against the measures of the emperor, and launched terrible anathemas against those who followed the doctrine of the three chapters, and did not submit to the decision of the Western bishops.

They no longer preserved any circumspection, and both parties delivered themselves up to all the fury of fanaticism. The pope, not thinking himself in safety in the palace of Placidius, took refuge in the church of St. Peter, where he composed the famous decree of excommunication against Theodore, Mennas, and their adherents. Still he kept it secret, to manage still some means of safety, and confided it to a monk to publish it, in case they menaced his life or liberty.

The emperor refused to consider the church of St. Peter an inviolable asylum for a criminal and audacious priest, who dared to brave him even on his throne. He ordered the prætor, charged with arresting robbers and murderers, to draw Vigilius from his retreat, and sent the ordinary officer of justice, with a detachment of soldiers, as his guard.

The troop having penetrated into the church with drawn swords and bended bows, advanced to seize the pope, who was concealed under the high altar, the pillars of which he embraced. Then the prætor, on the refusal of the pontiff to obey the orders of the prince, was obliged to employ violence. He ordered the soldiers to drive out the deacons and clerks with blows of their halberds, and to bring forth the holy father from his sanctuary; drawing him by the feet, the hair and the beard. As Vigilius was large and vigorous, he broke two pillars of the altar in the struggle; so that, unless the clerks had upheld the holy table, it would have fallen upon him and crushed him. But, during the arrest, the people, excited to revolt by the priests, assembled in array, attacked the prætor with fury, drove the troops from the church, and maintained Vigilius in his asylum.

Justinian, in his turn, was obliged to propose terms of accommodation. Three persons of the court came, in his name, to represent to the pontiff that, in taking refuge in a church, he had committed an outrage on the emperor, whom he appeared to regard as a tyrant. They engaged him to repress the fanaticism of his priests, who incited revolts, and designated the prince to the vengeance of the people. They warned him that, if he refused, otherwise, Justinian, to put an end to disorders, would be compelled to employ violent means, and to march against St. Peter. Finally, they offered him, if he would consent to give up the palace of Placidius, to give him a more secure asylum; he should receive a pension, and they would yield to him all the honors which they should give him.

demanded to guarantee the terms of the clauses of the oath. It was not sufficient for him, that if he were unwilling to accept the conditions offered him, he would be driven from the church by soldiers and compelled to finish his days in a dungeon. The pope determined him to return to the palace of Placidius.

Scarcely was he installed in his residence, when a conspiracy in the palace against the holy father was discovered with outrages, and exposed in the most ignominious manner. The officers of the emperor were driven from the palace and set him to wander in the streets of the city, and striking him on the cheek, said to the people "Behold the punishment with which our most illustrious emperor punishes the rebellious and disobedient priest; this odious pontiff was struck by the unfortunate Silvanus, the numerous murderer, who killed with a club a poor man who resisted him." After this ceremony he was reconducted to the palace, and guarded as a prisoner by the soldiers of the prince.

Two days before Christmas he managed to deceive the vigilance of those who guarded him. He climbed, during the night, a small wall which had been constructed around the prison, fled from Constantinople, and took refuge in the church of St. Euphrosimus at Cæcedon. To escape the wrath of the emperor, he feigned to have fallen dangerously ill.

As soon as Justinian was apprized of the flight of Vigilius, he sent several emissaries of distinction to induce him to return to Armenia, and return to Constantinople, where he should receive all the attentions of the emperor. This time the pope refused the offers of the prince, and threatened to publish, on his own authority, the decrees of the three chapters, and to require the bishops of the West to submit to the judgment of the council which he called at Constantinople, and to it from the former anathemas which he addressed to the emperor and his adherents. He anathematized those who were attached to the emperor, and those who were attached to the emperor.

Notwithstanding the offers of the emperor, and his secret wishes, the pope did not return to Constantinople, but fled to Rome.

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still more unfavourable to the Holy See; nevertheless, it is curious to see an adorer of the Roman purple, a cardinal, avow that the decision of a pope had been condemned by an ecumenical council.

The three chapters having been anathematized, Vigilius was pressed to subscribe to the judgment of the fathers; and on his refusal, the emperor condemned him to exile. His domestics were taken from him; the bishops, priests, and deacons of his party were dispersed in the desert, and the pope was abandoned, during six entire months, without any assistance, to the pains of the gravel, a disease from which he had suffered constantly during his seven years sojourn in Constantinople.

Theodore of Cæsarea, guided by honourable sentiments, and desirous of elevating to the Holy See a venerable man, announced that Vigilius was declared a heretic, and urged upon the Romans to choose another pope; but by one of those eccentricities of the human mind which we see, without the power of explaining, he found the contempt they had so long borne for the pope was changed into respect and veneration. The Roman clergy and people regarded him as a confessor of the faith of Jesus Christ, banished and persecuted for the defence of his church; and they refused to nominate a new pontiff, notwithstanding the order of Narses, who commanded for the emperor in Italy.

At length the holy father was tired of exile. The evils which he suffered, surmounted the terror with which the Latin bishops inspired him, and he declared that he gave his approval to the council. We should add, that this tardy resolution was inspired through fear of seeing elevated to the see of St. Peter the famous deacon Pelagius, who, after having defended the three chapters, had made his submission, and had engaged to execute the will of the prince.

Vigilius wrote a letter to the patriarch Eutychius, in which he admitted himself to have been wanting in charity in separating from his brethren. He adds, that we should never be ashamed of retracting when we have fallen into error. He cites the example of St. Augustin, and thus terminates his letter: "We advise the whole Catholic church, that we condemn and anathematize Theodore of Mopuestia, and his impious writings, as well as all other heretics; the works of Theodoret against St. Cyril, against the council Ephesus, and those who have written in favour of Theodore and Nestorius, as well as the letter to Maris the Persian, which is attributed to Ibas. We submit to the same excommunication, those who maintain and defend the chapters, or who shall undertake to do so. We recognize as our brethren and colleagues those who condemn them, and we reverse, by this new bull, all that has been done by ourselves or others, in defence of the three chapters."

The letter of Vigilius is still found in Grecian works; but the sacred historians have judged it prudent to leave it in oblivion. There

remains only in Latin a constitution, much more in detail, in which the holy father condemns the three chapters. He confesses that the letter of St. Leo was not approved by the council of Chalcedon, until after it had been examined and found conformable with the faith of preceding councils; a very important avowal, which the priests now deny.

Thus the pontiff accomplished this great iniquity, and solemnly condemned the memory of prelates who had died in the peace of the church.

The testimony of nine Grecian, Latin, and Arabian authors, several of whom wrote during the reign of Justinian, guarantees the authenticity of these facts. We will refer to those who doubt the accuracy of history, to convince them of the infamy of the holy father to the very terms of the sixth general council of which we relate the substance.

"The emperor Marcian approved of the letter of St. Leo; Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, also approved of it; and it was generally received by all the council of Chalcedon, which condemned the sentiments of Eutyches. Vigilius so understood it also, when the emperor Justinian, and the fifth council was convoked to anathematize the abominable libels which were secretly spread abroad."

All this testimony shows that Vigilius formally condemned the three chapters, and approved of the council of Constantinople, though he might obtain permission to return to Rome and remount the Holy See. Before his departure he obtained from Justinian a decree in favour of Italy, in which the prince confirmed all the donations made to the Romans Athalaric, Almasontus and Theodatus, and revoked those of Totila. He also declared that the marriages of ecclesiastics with virgin consecrated to God, were null in the eye of the law. At this period they were unused to celibacy, and the priests even married nuns.

Vigilius was returning to Rome to weigh down the people under a yoke of despotism and terror. Happily he did not realize the reveries of his ambition. During his journey poisoned beverage was given to him, and he died at Syracuse in the beginning of the year 555, after having held the Holy See for eighteen years and a half, carrying with him to his tomb the hatred of the Latins and the execration of the Greeks. His body was carried to Rome, and interred in the church of St. Marcellus.

The ancient martyrologists ranked him among the saints, with the title of martyr; but the church has not confirmed this canonization.

The holy father, elevated to his greatness by an odious murder, underwent in the course of his pontificate incredible sufferings, without even exciting compassion. His history is a long catalogue of horrors and abominations. A knave, a miser, a suborner, and an assassin, Vigilius died, abusing religion and deceiving men.

## PELAGIUS THE FIRST, SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 557.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East; and CHILDEBERT, King of France.]

*Birth of Pelagius—See of Rome—Politics of Pelagius—Pillage of Rome by Totila, king of the Goths—Pelagius goes to Constantinople—His fanaticism against the Origenistes—Violent disputes between Pelagius and Theodore of Alexandria—Pelagius usurps the sovereign pontificate—The priests accuse him of poisoning Vigilus—The bishops refuse to consecrate him—Pelagius purges himself, by oath, of the crimes imputed to him—He distributes great largesses among the people with the money brought from Constantinople by his predecessor—The holy father excites Narses to persecute the heretics—Reflections upon the genius of persecution, which has always distinguished Catholicism—Pelagius sends relics to king Childebert—Council of Paris—Death of the sovereign pontiff.*

PELAGIUS was by birth a Roman, and the son of John, an ancient vicar of the prefecture. When Vigilus was compelled to leave Rome to go to Constantinople by command of Justinian, he sent from Sicily several vessels laden with grain, to lighten the sufferings of the people; but as the Goths were then besieging the city, the vessels were captured at Porto, and Rome continued in a state of famine. Pelagius, who had already made his preparations to become the sovereign pontiff, seized upon this occasion to increase his popularity. He bought from the Goths the grain they had captured, and distributed it to the poor and sick. The Romans, in gratitude, named him chief of an embassy charged with demanding from the king of the Goths a truce of some days, at the end of which they would surrender at discretion, unless relieved from Constantinople.

Totila refused to listen to the offers of the Roman deputies—their embassy having put him in possession of their desperate situation—pushed the siege with vigour, and three days after stormed the city. Above all things, the barbarian wished to enter the church of St. Peter, "to render," as he said, "solemn thanks to God for the success of his army." Pelagius received him at the head of the clergy, holding the Bible in his hands. He prostrated himself at the feet of the king, whilst the priests exclaimed, in mournful tones, "My Lord, spare your own! The God of armies has submitted us to your authority. Spare your subjects." Totila listened to their entreaties. He prohibited the Goths from continuing their massacres or violating females, and only permitted them to plunder. He broke down the walls of the city, and destroyed many fine buildings. The sack of Rome continued forty days, and the Goths retired from this expedition on the receipt of the intelligence that Belisarius was coming, with a powerful army, to the succour of Italy.

Pelagius was then sent by the clergy to Constantinople, to have a surveillance over Vigilus. He obtained at the court of Justinian the title of the nuncio of the church of Rome, and was honoured with the confidence of that prince. Soon after the emperor sent him to Gaza with Ephraim of Antioch, Peter of Jerusalem, and Hippacius of Ephesus, to carry the pallium to Paul of Alexandria, and to consecrate there Zoius patriarch of that city.

He acquitted himself faithfully in his mission, and returned to Constantinople the following month. During his sojourn in that city, several monks presented to him extracts from the writings of Origen, whence they wished to obtain from the emperor the condemnation of the monks of New Lama, who had adopted the singular opinions of this father of the Greek church, and who excited trouble in the convents of Palestine. Pelagius, who was the avowed enemy of Theodore of Cappadocia, the partisan of Origen, and who had constantly opposed his intrigues for the pontificate, hastened to seize this opportunity of avenging himself. He joined himself to Mennas, the patriarch of Constantinople, to obtain from the emperor an assent to the request of the monks of Palestine, to condemn the heretics. But his attempts were frustrated by Justinian, who published the famous edict on the three chapters, composed by Theodore of Cappadocia. Pelagius, foiled in his revenge, excited against this decree all the Catholics whom he could find ready to second him. Thanks to the nuncio, the scandals and disorders were so great, that the bishop Theodore said, "that Pelagius and himself deserved to be burned alive, for having excited in the church so violent disputes, and for having made use of religion, that mantle which covers all sins, to gratify their feelings of hatred and jealousy."

Pelagius was condemned to exile, and did not obtain his pardon from the emperor until after he had subscribed to the edict, and made his submission to the council. Justinian then restored him to his favour, and promised to cause him to be consecrated bishop of Rome after the death of Vigilus.

At length, the sovereign pontiff, having obtained permission to return to Italy, Pelagius demanded permission to accompany him on his journey, and we know that Vigilus died at Syracuse from the effects of a poisoned beverage! Pelagius immediately clothed himself with the pontifical mantle, and without waiting the result of a regular election, declared himself bishop of Rome, by the authority of the emperor Justinian. Nevertheless, on his arrival in the holy city, the bishops refused to ratify his usurpation, and publicly accused him of the death of his predecessor. The Roman clergy, the religious orders, and the people refused the communion of the pontiff,



The priests exalt the virtues of this pope. Liberatus, deacon of Carthage, represents him as a holy personage, endowed with profound wisdom and great skill, especially in ecclesiastical matters. He however admits, that it was at his instigation that the bishop of Syria and the abbots of Constantinople rose against the emperor Justinian, and compelled him to proscribe Severus and his friends. He avows that the rebellious prelates dared to threaten the emperor to extend the revolt to the provinces; and that the emperor, always at the solicitation of the pope, had the cowardice to make a decree, which prohibited the Acephali from entering into large cities; enjoined on the magistrates to burn heretical books, and condemned those who transcribed them to have their hands cut off by the executioner. These avowals show into what deplorable excesses Justinian fell, by yielding to the counsel of the holy father.

It results, from the narrative of the deacon, that Agapetus, who went as ambassador from king Theodatus, only occupied himself with ecclesiastical affairs. How did he fulfil his political mission to the emperor? How did he open the negotiations? With what address did he conduct them? What was his success? There is no reply. The pope did nothing. He only submitted to Justinian the subject of his embassy, without insisting on a favourable conclusion, foreseeing that the Roman clergy would be happier under the dominion of a Catholic prince, than under that of an Arian monarch. Not only was Agapetus perjured to his prince, but even to his religion, by troubling the repose of the Eastern churches, and by showing a base jealousy against a prelate, whose only crime consisted in having dared to compare his see with that of the bishop of Rome.

## SILVERUS, THE SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 536.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Intrigues at Rome to obtain dignities—Silverus buys the pontificate from king Theodatus—Treason of the pope—He delivers Rome to Belisarius—He is deposed and shut up in a monastery*

THE intrigues by which the sovereign pontificate was obtained, recall the transactions in pagan Rome, when those who aspired to office in the republic bought the suffrages of the people: "Instead of a wise discretion, a disinterested equity, and a true elevation in sentiment, the chair of St. Peter was become the price of boldness, corruption and avarice." The pretenders marched openly to their end, offering gold to some, dignities to others—pledging the property of the church to those who had no confidence in their promises, and setting to work all the seductions which could augment the number of their creatures.

Priests sold their suffrages; cabals struggled, raised upon their competitors, and carried off the partisans of their adversaries; and at length victory remained with the richest, the most skilful, or the most corrupt.

In the midst of these scandalous intrigues and criminal practices, Silverus, son of the former pope Hormisdas, led away by the ambition of occupying the chair of St. Peter, offered a considerable sum to king Theodatus, and was chosen pontiff of Rome.

Anastasius, the librarian, furnishes the most authentic documents in relation to this disgraceful proceeding, on which Baillet and Dupin have endeavoured to throw doubts. But father Doucin himself is convinced of the infamy of Silverus, and deploras the conduct of the holy father.

The election of this pope was a masterpiece of policy. The king, fearing to be driven from Italy by the victorious army of Belisarius, wished to assure himself of the fidelity

of the Romans, by giving them a bishop devoted to his interest, and who had need of his aid to maintain himself on the Holy See. Neither the clergy nor the people were permitted to deliberate on this election. Theodatus merely announced to the Romans, that those who should dare to nominate another bishop, must prepare to die. Then Silverus took upon himself the government of the church, and fear of punishment constrained the people to recognize him. Some ecclesiastics alone refused to sign the decree of election; time passed on, however, and they soon ranged themselves under the orders of the new pope.

But Theodatus was deceived in his hope. The traitor Silverus, practising on this matter of the priests, "it is permitted to break faith with heretics," betrayed his benefactor, and opened the gates of Rome to Belisarius.

Justinian, become master of the ancient capital of the world, revived the religious quarrels which had taken place during the pontificate of Agapetus. The empress Theodora, who was favourable to the Acephali of the East, wrote to the pope, to prevail on him to re-establish the patriarch Anthimus, and drive Mennas from the see of Constantinople. At the same time Belisarius received orders to engage Silverus to subscribe to his project, and in case of refusal he was enjoined to accuse the pontiff of having maintained an intelligence with the Goths, and of having desired, by a new treason, to deliver up the city to them. The holy father was sent to the palace. Belisarius, and his wife

nina, the confidant of the empress, informed him of the orders they had received, and endeavoured to induce him to obey, by denouncing the council of Chalcedon, and approving, in writing, the belief of the Acephali.

Silverus, placed between two perils, having on the one side to fear the anger of the prince, and on the other the vengeance of the clergy, demanded permission to assemble his council. The priests decided unanimously against the proposition, and threatened him with deposition as a traitor and prevaricator, if he should obey the orders of their enemies. Then, ruled by fear, he refused to yield to the demand of Belisarius; and to shun the vengeance of the Greeks, sought refuge in the church of St. Maria Sabina.

Belisarius publicly accused him of perfidy toward the emperor, and produced as witnesses an advocate named Mark, and a soldier of the Prætorian guard, who affirmed that they had remitted letters for him, addressed to Vitiges, king of the Goths. They summoned the pontiff to appear a second time at the imperial palace, promising him, under oath, not to deprive him of his liberty. Silverus yielded to the invitation of the Grecian general, and after a conference was reconducted to the church in which he had established his retreat.

Having been commanded to appear a third time before Belisarius, he learned that his enemies wished to surprise him, and that it would be impossible for him to resist much longer.

His conjectures were correct; for the empress had written to hold him as a pledge.

She besought him instantly to re-establish Anthimus, or to come to examine the cause of this patriarch, unjustly condemned. Silverus, after reading this letter, heaved a deep sigh. "Behold," says he, "that which informs me that I have not a long time to live." He then went to the Grecian general. Those who accompanied him were arrested; some at the entrance of the saloon, others at the door of the antechamber; and Silverus was introduced into the apartment of Antonina, who was still in bed. "Truly, my lord bishop," she said to him, "I know not what we have done to you, and you Romans, to cause you to deliver us, as you have essayed to do, into the hands of the barbarians. Please advise us of your motives." The pontiff had no long time given him to reply. A sub-deacon entered quickly, and tore from him his mantle; then having taken him into an adjoining apartment, they despoiled him of his marks of dignity, and clothed him in the garb of a monk.

After this ceremony, another sub-deacon entered the antechamber, where the clergy remained, and said to them, "My brethren, we have no longer a pope; he has been deposed, and condemned to do penance in a monastery." Alarmed at this news, they all fled precipitately, leaving the holy father in the hands of his enemies.

Belisarius then occupied himself in having the priest Vigilius, who had been long ambitious of the honours of the episcopate, chosen.

We pass on to the following reign, before speaking of the death of the unfortunate Silverus.

## VIGILIUS, THE SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 537.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Character of Vigilius—His vices—He swears to obey the orders of Theodora—The empress compels him to give seven hundred pieces of gold to buy the votes of the clergy—Election of Vigilius—Silverus exiled to Patara, obtains from the emperor permission to return to Rome—The pope seizes him and condemns him to be starved to death on a desert island—Roguary of Vigilius—He becomes suspected by the emperor—King Theodebert consults the pope on the validity of his marriage with a sister-in-law—Fanaticism of the emperor Justinian—His discussions with the pontiff—He orders Vigilius to go to Constantinople to assist at a council—The pope insulted by the people of Rome—Anathemas against the Acephali—The pope condemns the three chapters—Bad faith of Fleury in his ecclesiastical history—Contradictions of Vigilius—He is excommunicated by a council—Excites disorders at Constantinople—Constrained to take refuge in a church—His hypocrisy—Returns to his palace—Is dragged through the streets of Constantinople with a cord about his neck—Escapes to the palace of Placidrus—Is sent into exile—His recantation—Knavery of the Jesuits—Death of the pope—This monster, soiled with crimes, has found apologists who have made a martyr of him.*

VIGILIUS was a Roman by birth, and the son of a consul named John. During the pontificate of Boniface the Second, he had obtained a decree which assured to him the chair of St. Peter; but the clergy opposed this scandalous step, and his hopes were blasted. This check did not discourage Vigilius; obstacles excited his enterprising spirit, and he pur-

sued his intrigues with more vigour than before.

History represents him as a man of unmeasured ambition, capable of committing all crimes, to elevate himself to power. "His character," writes an author of that day, "was violent and passionate; in a burst of rage he killed with blows, with a club, a young child

who refused his infamous caresses. He was so avaricious that he dared to avow, that if he had broken off his relations with the empress, it was less through zeal for religion, than not to be obliged to restore the money she had lent him to aid him in his election as pope." Besides, the course of his life was a long train of perfidy, debauchery and crime; and yet the priests have placed this monster among the saints of the church!

Vigilius had accompanied pope Agapetus on his journey to Constantinople. After the death of the pontiff the empress demanded from the young priest, if he would consent to reverse all the decrees of Agapetus, to condemn the council of Constantinople which was about closing; to depose Mennas, and reinstate in their sees Anthimus, Severus, and Timothy; and finally excommunicate the three chapters, the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of St. Leo.

None of these propositions frightened the ambitious Vigilius; and he swore to obey the orders of the empress, if he was elected pope. She counted out to him immediately seven hundred pieces of gold, on the security of his note, by which he promised to restore this sum when he should be master of the treasures of the church. Then letters were sent forward to Belisarius, to whom the empress recommended the deacon Vigilius as the successor of Agapetus.

All these precautions assured him success; but on his arrival at Naples he learned that the Romans had already received a pontiff whom king Theodatus had imposed upon them. This new check did not stop Vigilius in his projects. He first studied calmly the obstacles which opposed themselves to his elevation, and calculated the chances which remained of overthrowing a man rejected by the clergy, as being the creature of the Goths, the enemies of the empire. Then he informed the empress of his hopes, and besought her to second his efforts. The princess wrote to Belisarius, ordering him to examine all the plans of Vigilius, and to excite complaints against Silverus, that he might be deposed. "If you cannot succeed," added she, "arrest him, and send him to Constantinople without any delay, for we send you a priest, of whose devotion we are assured, and who is bound to reinstall Anthimus, and cause the Acephali to triumph."

Belisarius feared that the execution of this enterprise might produce confusion in Rome, and bring about a dangerous schism. Not being entirely confirmed in his conquest, he did not wish to expose himself to the danger of losing, in a moment, the glory which he had acquired by the defeat of the Vandals and Goths. But his wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, determined to execute the orders of the princess, and the result was the deposition of Silverus, and the shameful election of Vigilius.

In obedience to the command of the Grecian general, the clergy assembled to choose a successor to the deposed pontiff. They first

agitated the question, whether the Holy See was to be regarded as vacant. Their suffrages having been paid for in advance, it was decided in the affirmative. Some then wished to exclude Vigilius, and protested against his pretensions. Their small number caused them to be treated with contempt; and those who had been bought proceeded without delay to the consecration of the new pope.

Vigilius also exacted that the unfortunate Silverus should be placed in his charge, under the pretext that he was bound to answer for the tranquillity of the city. He banished him from Rome, and sent him under safe custody to Patera in Lycia. Contrary to his expectation, the bishop of the country received his prisoner as a confessor; and not only did he render him the honours due to the pontiff, but even undertook to reinstall him in his see. For this purpose he made a journey to Constantinople, represented loudly to the emperor the injustice of the condemnation of Silverus, and obtained from the prince the promise that the accused should return to Rome to undergo a new trial. Justinian pledged himself, that if he was innocent of the treason of which he had been accused, he would replace him on the pontifical chair; and that if he were guilty he would only banish him from Rome, without degrading him.

But the empress Theodora had too much interest in maintaining Vigilius in his usurpation, to permit that the will of the emperor should be executed; and on his side, Vigilius was too active to sleep in the midst of the dangers that threatened him. He then wrote to Belisarius, that he could not pay the sum agreed upon, unless his adversary were placed in his hands as an hostage. Silverus was then taken from his retreat, and placed in the hands of the infamous Vigilius, who caused him to be conducted by his ferocious satellites to a desert island, called Palmaria, where those were exiled whom it was desirable to put to death promptly and quietly.

The executioners, whom Vigilius called his defenders of the holy church, executed the orders which they had received, which joined them to put an end to their prison promptly. The unfortunate Silverus was deprived of food during nine entire days, and as death did not happen as fast as the impatience of the priests who guarded him required, they strangled him and returned to Rome. Such was the punishment of the crime of which Silverus had been guilty, that of usurping the first see of the church.

The clergy remained uncertain for five days as to the choice of a pope. The distribution of money at last united their suffrages to Vigilius; and after some days of intrigue he was recognized as the most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter. The priests proceeded to his exaltation notwithstanding the anathema of him by Silverus, and notwithstanding the frightful complication of crimes and crimes which he had put in execution to reach the pontificate.

Even after the death of his predecessor

Vigilius found himself placed in a very difficult position. On the one side the Roman clergy pressed him to condemn the Acephali; and on the other, the empress imperiously demanded the execution of his promises. In order to avoid the most imminent peril, his holiness remitted to Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, and who was regarded as the favourite of the empress, several letters destined for Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus of Constantinople, and Severus of Antioch, in which he declared that he professed the same faith as they. At the same time he besought them to keep his letters secret until he was confirmed in his authority; and he recommended to them to avoid suspicion, by saying openly, that the bishop of Rome was suspected by them.

In the confession of faith which he sent to them he rejected the two natures in Jesus Christ, refuted the letter of St. Leo, and declared those excommunicated who did not believe in one person and one essence. It is thence incontestable that Vigilius was an apostate priest, and a hypocritical pontiff; for at the same time that he approved of the opinions of the Acephali in a letter secretly written to them, he made a public profession of the faith of the orthodox.

Justinian, irritated because Vigilius had not written to him on his entrance to the pontificate, interpreted unfavourably his silence, and sent into Italy the patrician Domitius, with letters expressing suspicions of the pope. The ambassador was besides charged to summon him to explain the relations he was accused of entertaining with the heretics. In his reply, Vigilius passed a high eulogium to the prince on the purity of his sentiments: he declared to him that his belief was that of his predecessors, Celestin, Leo, Hormisdas, John, and Agapetus; that he acknowledged the four councils, and the letter of Leo; and that he anathematized all who held contrary opinions; lastly, he besought the emperor to preserve the privileges of the Holy See, and to send him as ambassadors irreproachable Catholics. His holiness also wrote to the patriarch Menas, to congratulate him on having performed the promises he made to pope Agapetus, before his ordination, in acknowledging the four councils, and in excommunicating schismatics.

Profuturus, bishop of Braga, in Lusitania, consulted Vigilius upon several points of discipline. The holy father, in his reply, condemned the Priscillians, who abstained from flesh. Since that period the church herself has introduced this superstition among the faithful. He expresses himself at length on the mode of converting the Arians, and on the consecration of churches; he recommends them to celebrate the mass in the new temples, and prohibits the use of holy water in the ceremonies.

Theodobert, king of Austrasia, who had sent troops into Italy during the war between the Romans and the Goths, also consulted Vigilius on the penance which should be imposed

on a man who had espoused the wife of his brother. The pope replied to the king, and at the same time wrote to St. Cæsar of Arles, that he should inform himself of the fact, and of the disposition of the penitent, in order to advise king Theodobert of the time necessary for such repentance, and to beseech him to prevent like disorders in future. The motives which induced him to send back this affair to St. Cæsar, are remarkable: "We ought," said he, "to commit to bishops of provinces the measure of repentance, that they may be enabled to grant indulgence according to the compunction of the penitent."

Justinian, as he advanced in age, abandoned himself more and more to religious fanaticism, and to his passion for controversy. He composed a crowd of works on theology. But in wishing to fathom the mysteries of religion, he finished by insensibly departing from the orthodox principles which he had professed. He published edicts condemning the three chapters of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodoret, and finally the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril.

The edicts of the emperor were received by all the bishops in the East; and Vigilius alone, ruled by the Roman clergy, opposed the propagation of his principles in the West.

Irritated by the obstinacy of the pontiff, the prince resolved to submit the questions to a general council. He wrote to Vigilius to inform him of the convocation of a synod, and to order him to come without delay to Constantinople.

The popes have always dreaded general councils, especially when they were held beyond their jurisdiction. Thus the holy father made every effort to change the determination of the emperor, or at least to avoid appearing at the council. Justinian was inflexible; and new orders compelled the pontiff to obey.

Before his departure the clergy excited seditions among the people, and gave him a foretaste of the fate which would attend him at Rome, if he should abandon the interests of religion. On the very day on which he quitted the city, the monks stoned him, and heaped maledictions and insults on him. Notwithstanding, Vigilius, desiring to conciliate them against his return, landed in Sicily and purchased grain, which he sent to Rome, to be distributed to the people in his name; after which he continued his route to Constantinople.

The emperor and the bishops who were at his court, received the holy father with great honours, and after the usual ceremonies, the council opened. At the very first conference, Vigilius, having declared that Menas and Theodorus were excluded from his communion in consequence of their support of the principles of Justinian, the prince let loose his anger, and ordered the guards to tear from his throne the unworthy priest whose presence dishonoured the assembly. It was done at once, notwithstanding the entreaties of the empress, who besought her husband to suspend his vengeance.

This princess, who was constantly studying over her project of driving away Menas to reinstall Anthimus on the see of Constantinople, hoped that the pope would resolve to fulfil the promises he had before made to her on this important affair. Vigilus, who had the threats of the clergy of Rome always before him, refused to ratify his old engagements, and preferred reconciling himself with Menas; on the condition, however, that the patriarch should subscribe to all that the Latin bishops should determine in the matter of the three chapters.

Theodorus of Cesarea, also made his peace by accepting the same conditions. Still, in order to show that his reconciliation with these two prelates should not be taken as a declaration in favour of the Eutychians and Acephali, Vigilus solemnly excommunicated the followers of the heresy.

This first mark of deference did not entirely satisfy Justinian, who was willing that Vigilus should condemn the three articles. The pontiff then protested against the violence which had been used towards him, and refused to make any determination without the consent of the Latin bishops. On his side, the emperor preserved no restraint towards the holy father; and matters were carried so far, that the pope one day said, in a full assembly, "I perceive that I am regarded here as a slave, whom you think you have a right to eat. It is true that I am in chains; but recollect that Peter, whose place I occupy, has lost none of his liberty."

On another occasion he recalled to the prince the words of Agapetus: "I thought I was coming to the court of a Christian emperor, and I find myself in that of Diocletian, the most cruel of tyrants." The firmness of the pontiff bent the emperor, and he permitted the bishops to assemble to deliberate on the affair of the three articles.

Seventy prelates then assembled, when the pope declared the council dissolved, before they had arrived at any decision. The fathers received orders to give their opinions in writing, and he sent the bulletins to the palace of the emperor. After some days, Vigilus himself gave his own opinion, which was in condemnation of the three chapters, without prejudice to the council of Chalcedon. Fleury has maintained that this last clause was a question of fact, in which the church was not interested. Such an insinuation can only show prodigious ignorance or wonderful bad faith; for the affair of the three chapters was so important for religion, that a large number of bishops separated themselves from the communion of Vigilus because he had condemned them.

Nevertheless, the judgment of the pontiff contented neither the Acephali nor the orthodox, who regarded it as a mark of the apostacy of the pope. Dacius, bishop of Milan, who was the last who remained attached to his fortunes, abandoned him, and refused to take part in the new constitution. Two of his deacons, Rusticus and Sebastian, followed the same example, and published through the

provinces, that the pope had abandoned the council of Chalcedon.

Vigilius, always contradicting himself in his measures, gave utterance to the sentiments of the orthodox, and favoured the heretics, as the interests of his grandeur demanded. On the other hand, the defenders of the three chapters remained firm in their belief. They held a synod in Illyria, at which they condemned Benenatus, bishop of the first Justiniana. The following year, the prelates of Africa assembled in council, showed still more rigour. They excommunicated the holy father as a traitor and apostate, undertook the defence of the doctrine of the three chapters, and sent their letters to the emperor by Olympius Magistriani.

At length Vigilus, comprehending that his tortuous policy had not succeeded in deceiving either party, consented to receive the three chapters, and proposed a general council to terminate the difficulty.

Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Cesarea, profoundly afflicted by the disorders and seditions which all these disputes excited in the empire, cast himself at the feet of Justinian and in the name of the clergy addressed him this discourse: "Is it not a shameful thing, my lord, that the master of the univers after having reduced so many different nations, should be so reduced as to bend before the caprice of a priest who knows not his own mind? Vigilus said yesterday: 'I anathematize all who do not condemn the three articles.' To day, he says, 'I anathematize whomsoever condemns them!' And, under pretext of serving them for the judgment of a council he dares, on his own authority, to reverse the edicts of the emperor, and impose his beliefs even on Constantinople. The whole world knows your great piety; your edicts have been received by all the churches! And now, will people think, when they see a stranger reverse, by a single word, acts so solemn in your own presence, in contempt of four patriarchs and a great number of bishops, who have come together at your bidding, to carry the edicts to be executed? What has become of your authority, great prince, if you can command your subjects until they have received the permission of Vigilus? Would the empress, that virtuous prince whose recent loss we mourn, say, if she Justinian so far abase his royal dignity publicly to be contradicted by a proud priest?"

This harangue changed the disposition of the emperor. The edict against the three chapters was put in force, and sustained the writings of Theodore, who had conducted the affair with so much address. On this occasion Vigilus wished to address his complaints to Justinian; but the prince refused to hear him. He threatened with excommunication those who should dare to break orders. They replied to his menaces, by fixing the edict in all the churches. The rage of the pontiff vented itself in imprecations. They despised his outrages as he had his threats. Pushed to an extreme

convoked, in the palace of Placidius, all the bishops who were in Constantinople, the deacons, and even the inferior clergy. He protested, in their presence, against the measures of the emperor, and launched terrible anathemas against those who followed the doctrine of the three chapters, and did not submit to the decision of the Western bishops.

They no longer preserved any circumspection, and both parties delivered themselves up to all the fury of fanaticism. The pope, not thinking himself in safety in the palace of Placidius, took refuge in the church of St. Peter, where he composed the famous decree of excommunication against Theodore, Mennas, and their adherents. Still he kept it secret, to manage still some means of safety, and confided it to a monk to publish it, in case they menaced his life or liberty.

The emperor refused to consider the church of St. Peter an inviolable asylum for a criminal and audacious priest, who dared to brave him even on his throne. He ordered the prætor, charged with arresting robbers and murderers, to draw Vigilius from his retreat, and sent the ordinary officer of justice, with a detachment of soldiers, as his guard.

The troop having penetrated into the church with drawn swords and bended bows, advanced to seize the pope, who was concealed under the high altar, the pillars of which he embraced. Then the prætor, on the refusal of the pontiff to obey the orders of the prince, was obliged to employ violence. He ordered the soldiers to drive out the deacons and clerks with blows of their halberds, and to bring forth the holy father from his sanctuary; drawing him by the feet, the hair and the beard. As Vigilius was large and vigorous, he broke two pillars of the altar in the struggle; so that, unless the clerks had upheld the holy table, it would have fallen upon him and crushed him. But, during the arrest, the people, excited to revolt by the priests, assembled in array, attacked the prætor with fury, drove the troops from the church, and maintained Vigilius in his asylum.

Justinian, in his turn, was obliged to propose terms of accommodation. Three persons of the court came, in his name, to represent to the pontiff that, in taking refuge in a church, he had committed an outrage on the emperor, whom he appeared to regard as a tyrant. They engaged him to repress the fanaticism of his priests, who incited revolts, and designated the prince to the vengeance of the people. They warned him that if he should do otherwise, Justinian, to put an end to the disorders, would be compelled to employ more violent means, and to besiege the church of St. Peter. Finally, they promised the pontiff, if he would consent to go to the palace of Placidius, to give all the guaranties and sureties he should require. Vigilius replied, that he would yield to their wishes, on condition that they should force neither him nor his to approve of articles of faith which their conscience rejected. Justinian consented to take this solemn engagement, but the proud pontiff

demanding to prescribe the terms, and the clauses of the oath. It was then signified to him, that if he were unwilling to accept the conditions offered him, he would be taken from the church by soldiers, and condemned to finish his days in a dungeon. This threat determined him to return to the palace of Placidius.

Scarcely was he installed in his old residence, when, in contempt of the pledged word, the holy father was overwhelmed with outrages, and exposed to the most infamous treatment. The officers of the emperor tore him from the palace, and led him through the streets of the city, and striking him on the cheek, said to the people, "Behold the chastisement with which our most illustrious emperor punishes this rebellious and obstinate priest; this odious pontiff, who strangled the unfortunate Silverus; this infamous sodomite, who killed with a club a poor child who resisted him." After this ceremony he was reconducted to the palace, and guarded as a prisoner by the soldiers of the prince.

Two days before Christmas he managed to deceive the vigilance of those who guarded him. He climbed, during the night, a small wall which had been constructed around his prison, fled from Constantinople, and took refuge in the church of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon. To escape the wrath of the emperor, he feigned to have fallen dangerously sick.

As soon as Justinian was apprised of the flight of Vigilius, he sent several persons of distinction to induce him to leave St. Euphemia, and return to Constantinople, where he should receive all the satisfaction he desired. This time the pope rejected the advances of the prince, and threatened him with deciding, on his own authority, the religious question of the three chapters, if he should refuse to submit to the judgment of a council of bishops of the West. In fact, he made a decree, which he called a constitution, to distinguish it from the former judgment; and in this bull, addressed to the emperor, he revoked the anathemas he had before launched against those who adopted the three chapters. Another proof that the Holy See is not infallible.

Notwithstanding the absence of Vigilius, and his declared opposition, the fifth council of Constantinople continued its deliberations, condemned the three chapters, and rejected the pretensions of the pope as outraging the liberty of the church. It results from these debates between the bishops of the East and the holy father, that the councils of the first ages examined, frequently even rejected and condemned, the decisions of the sovereign pontiff. An evident proof that they did not regard his decisions as clothed with the character of infallibility.

Cardinal Baronius has wished to contest the authority of the council of Constantinople; but cardinal Novis has apologized for it in a beautiful and learned historical dissertation, in which he notices several errors of father Hallois. It is true that an impartial author would have deduced from it consequenc

still more unfavourable to the Holy See; nevertheless, it is curious to see an adorer of the Roman purple, a cardinal, avow that the decision of a pope had been condemned by an œcumenical council.

The three chapters having been anathematized, Vigilius was pressed to subscribe to the judgment of the fathers; and on his refusal, the emperor condemned him to exile. His domestics were taken from him; the bishops, priests, and deacons of his party were dispersed in the desert, and the pope was abandoned, during six entire months, without any assistance, to the pains of the gravel, a disease from which he had suffered constantly during his seven years sojourn in Constantinople.

Theodore of Cæsarea, guided by honourable sentiments, and desirous of elevating to the Holy See a venerable man, announced that Vigilius was declared a heretic, and urged upon the Romans to choose another pope; but by one of those eccentricities of the human mind which we see, without the power of explaining, he found the contempt they had so long borne for the pope was changed into respect and veneration. The Roman clergy and people regarded him as a confessor of the faith of Jesus Christ, banished and persecuted for the defection of his church; and they refused to nominate a new pontiff, notwithstanding the order of Narses, who commanded for the emperor in Italy.

At length the holy father was tired of exile. The evils which he suffered, surmounted the terror with which the Latin bishops inspired him, and he declared that he gave his approval to the council. We should add, that this tardy resolution was inspired through fear of seeing elevated to the see of St. Peter the famous deacon Pelagius, who, after having defended the three chapters, had made his submission, and had engaged to execute the will of the prince.

Vigilius wrote a letter to the patriarch Eutychius, in which he admitted himself to have been wanting in charity in separating from his brethren. He adds, that we should never be ashamed of retracting when we have fallen into error. He cites the example of St. Augustin, and thus terminates his letter: "We advise the whole Catholic church, that we condemn and anathematize Theodore of Mopsuëta, and his impious writings, as well as all other heretics; the works of Theodoret against St. Cyril, against the council Ephesus, and those who have written in favour of Theodore and Nestorius, as well as the letter to Maris the Persian, which is attributed to Ibas. We submit to the same excommunication, those who maintain and defend the chapters, or who shall undertake to do so. We recognize as our brethren and colleagues those who condemn them, and we reverse, by this new bull, all that has been done by ourselves or others, in defence of the three chapters."

The letter of Vigilius is still found in Grecian works; but the sacred historians have judged it prudent to leave it in oblivion. There

remains only in Latin a constitution, much more in detail, in which the holy father condemns the three chapters. He confesses that the letter of St. Leo was not approved by the council of Chalcedon, until after it had been examined and found conformable with the faith of preceding councils; a very important avowal, which the priests now deny.

Thus the pontiff accomplished this great iniquity, and solemnly condemned the memory of prelates who had died in the peace of the church.

The testimony of nine Grecian, Latin, and Arabian authors, several of whom wrote during the reign of Justinian, guarantees the authenticity of these facts. We will refer those who doubt the accuracy of history, to convince them of the infamy of the holy father, to the very terms of the sixth general council, of which we relate the substance.

"The emperor Marcian approved of the letter of St. Leo; Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, also approved of it; and it was generally received by all the council of Chalcedon, which condemned the sentiments of Eutyches. Vigilius so understood it also, with the emperor Justinian, and the fifth council was convoked to anathematize the abominable libels which were secretly spread abroad."

All this testimony shows that Vigilius formally condemned the three chapters, and approved of the council of Constantinople, that he might obtain permission to return to Rome and remount the Holy See. Before his departure he obtained from Justinian a decree in favour of Italy, in which the prince confirms all the donations made to the Romans by Athalaric, Almasontus and Theodatus, and revoked those of Totila. He also declares that the marriages of ecclesiastics with virgins consecrated to God, were null in the eye of the law. At this period they were unused to celibacy, and the priests even married nuns.

Vigilius was returning to Rome to weed down the people under a yoke of despotism and terror. Happily he did not realize the reveries of his ambition. During his journey poisoned beverage was given to him, and he died at Syracuse in the beginning of the year 555, after having held the Holy See for eighteen years and a half, carrying with him his tomb the hatred of the Latins and the execration of the Greeks. His body was carried to Rome, and interred in the church of Marcellus.

The ancient martyrologists ranked among the saints, with the title of martyr, but the church has not confirmed this canonization.

The holy father, elevated to his great by an odious murder, underwent in the course of his pontificate incredible sufferings, without even exciting compassion. His history is a long catalogue of horrors and abominations. A knave, a miser, a sower, and an ass, Vigilius died, abusing religion and deceiving men.

## PELAGIUS THE FIRST, SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 557.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East; and CHILDEBERT, King of France.]

*Birth of Pelagius—See of Rome—Politics of Pelagius—Pillage of Rome by Totila, king of the Goths—Pelagius goes to Constantinople—His fanaticism against the Origenistes—Violent disputes between Pelagius and Theodore of Alexandria—Pelagius usurps the sovereign pontificate—The priests accuse him of poisoning Vigilus—The bishops refuse to consecrate him—Pelagius purges himself, by oath, of the crimes imputed to him—He distributes great largesses among the people with the money brought from Constantinople by his predecessor—The holy father excites Narses to persecute the heretics—Reflections upon the genius of persecution, which has always distinguished Catholicism—Pelagius sends relics to king Childebert—Council of Paris—Death of the sovereign pontiff.*

PELAGIUS was by birth a Roman, and the son of John, an ancient vicar of the prefecture. When Vigilus was compelled to leave Rome to go to Constantinople by command of Justinian, he sent from Sicily several vessels laden with grain, to lighten the sufferings of the people; but as the Goths were then besieging the city, the vessels were captured at Porto, and Rome continued in a state of famine. Pelagius, who had already made his preparations to become the sovereign pontiff, seized upon this occasion to increase his popularity. He bought from the Goths the grain they had captured, and distributed it to the poor and sick. The Romans, in gratitude, named him chief of an embassy charged with demanding from the king of the Goths a truce of some days, at the end of which they would surrender at discretion, unless relieved from Constantinople.

Totila refused to listen to the offers of the Roman deputies—their embassy having put him in possession of their desperate situation—pushed the siege with vigour, and three days after stormed the city. Above all things, the barbarian wished to enter the church of St. Peter, “to render,” as he said, “solemn thanks to God for the success of his army.” Pelagius received him at the head of the clergy, holding the Bible in his hands. He prostrated himself at the feet of the king, whilst the priests exclaimed, in mournful tones, “My Lord, spare your own! The God of armies has submitted us to your authority. Spare your subjects.” Totila listened to their entreaties. He prohibited the Goths from continuing their massacres or violating females, and only permitted them to plunder. He broke down the walls of the city, and destroyed many fine buildings. The sack of Rome continued forty days, and the Goths retired from this expedition on the receipt of the intelligence that Belisarius was coming, with a powerful army, to the succour of Italy.

Pelagius was then sent by the clergy to Constantinople, to have a surveillance over Vigilus. He obtained at the court of Justinian the title of the nuncio of the church of Rome, and was honoured with the confidence of that prince. Soon after the emperor sent him to Gaza with Ephraim of Antioch, Peter of Jerusalem, and Hippacius of Ephesus, to carry the pallium to Paul of Alexandria, and to consecrate there Zoticus patriarch of that city.

He acquitted himself faithfully in his mission, and returned to Constantinople the following month. During his sojourn in that city, several monks presented to him extracts from the writings of Origen, whence they wished to obtain from the emperor the condemnation of the monks of New Lama, who had adopted the singular opinions of this father of the Greek church, and who excited trouble in the convents of Palestine. Pelagius, who was the avowed enemy of Theodore of Cappadocia, the partisan of Origen, and who had constantly opposed his intrigues for the pontificate, hastened to seize this opportunity of avenging himself. He joined himself to Mennas, the patriarch of Constantinople, to obtain from the emperor an assent to the request of the monks of Palestine, to condemn the heretics. But his attempts were frustrated by Justinian, who published the famous edict on the three chapters, composed by Theodore of Cappadocia. Pelagius, foiled in his revenge, excited against this decree all the Catholics whom he could find ready to second him. Thanks to the nuncio, the scandals and disorders were so great, that the bishop Theodore said, “that Pelagius and himself deserved to be burned alive, for having excited in the church so violent disputes, and for having made use of religion, that mantle which covers all sins, to gratify their feelings of hatred and jealousy.”

Pelagius was condemned to exile, and did not obtain his pardon from the emperor until after he had subscribed to the edict, and made his submission to the council. Justinian then restored him to his favour, and promised to cause him to be consecrated bishop of Rome after the death of Vigilus.

At length, the sovereign pontiff, having obtained permission to return to Italy, Pelagius demanded permission to accompany him on his journey, and we know that Vigilus died at Syracuse from the effects of a poisoned beverage! Pelagius immediately clothed himself with the pontifical mantle, and without waiting the result of a regular election, declared himself bishop of Rome, by the authority of the emperor Justinian. Nevertheless, on his arrival in the holy city, the bishops refused to ratify his usurpation, and publicly accused him of the death of his predecessor. The Roman clergy, the religious orders, and the people refused the communion of the pontiff,



and he found but three priests who consented to proceed with his ordination.

In this general abandonment, Pelagius addressed himself to the patrician Narses, and demanded his protection. The latter, in order to obey the orders of his prince, consented to sustain the new pope. He ordained a solemn procession, in which he displayed all the luxury and all the pomp of great ceremonies, in order to attract a crowd.

The procession, starting from the church of St. Pancras, directed its route towards that of St. Peter. When it had arrived in the interior of this church, the holy father took the Gospels in one hand, the cross in the other, placed them above his head, and in this position he mounted the pulpit, in order to be seen by the whole assembly. Then he protested his innocence, took God as his witness, and swore by the holy mysteries and the body of Jesus Christ, that he was not culpable of the death of Vigilius, and that he had not aided at all in the sufferings he had undergone at Constantinople. He besought the faithful to unite with him to put an end to the disorders which existed in the church, and demanded from them their children, in order to increase the number of the clergy.

Pelagius then created new officers, and made great largesses to the people, with the money which Vigilius had brought with him from Constantinople. Nevertheless, the schism was not healed. The supporters of the three chapters were numerous, especially in Tuscany, Lombardy, and the other provinces. They did not pardon the holy father for having subscribed to the acts of the fifth council, and for having committed an abominable parricide, in order to elevate himself to the pontificate.

In despite of the clamors of the Romans, Pelagius, sustained by the imperial authority, maintained himself on the chair of St. Peter. He gave the superintendence of the property of the church to Valentine, his secretary, and presented to all the churches vessels of gold and silver, as well as the veils which had been carried off by the priests during the troubles. He applied himself to repress the heresies in Italy, and incited Narses to persecute the unfortunate schismatics.

"Do not listen," said he, "to the idle talk of timid men, who blame the church when it commands a persecution for the purpose of repressing error, in order to save souls. Schisms are violent evils, which must be cured by strong and terrible remedies; and Scripture and the canons authorize us to call in the aid of magistrates to compel schismatics to re-enter into the bosom of the church. Do, then, that which we have frequently asked from you; send to the emperor, well guarded, those who have separated themselves from the apostolic see. Have no fears for your eternal safety; the examples of the great saints will teach you that princes ought to punish heretics, not only by exile, but also by the confiscation of property, by severe imprisonment, and even by torture."

The eunuch Narses, an excellent soldier, and personally brave, constantly opposed the violent measures which the holy father proposed. He sought, on the other hand, by his mildness and tolerance, to induce a disposition more conformable to the precepts of the Bible. In fact, it was said that the man-of-war acted as the shepherd; and the shepherd as the man-of-war. We are about to discover that the clergy have always found great pleasure in swimming in blood and contemplating carnage; and that they have even surpassed kings in their cruelty when they have possessed the sovereign power. It is a truth, unfortunately established by history, that religious intolerance, during more than two thousand years, has depopulated the most flourishing states, lighted among all nations the torches of fanaticism, excited in all countries butcheries, murders, and incendiarism; and has, above all, led to violations and massacres. What is the most deplorable is, that the ministers of all these cruelties have veiled them from the eyes of the people, under the specious pretext of maintaining the orthodoxy of the church, and have caused a religion sublime in its morality to be execrated. The misfortunes under which humanity has groaned, have had no other origin than the ambition of priests, or the pride of sovereigns. Nevertheless, the partisans of theocracy affirm, that the priests are not persecutors when they force men to enter upon the true path; and they rely upon the famous words of the evangelist "Constrain them to enter."

But from this odious principle the orthodox furnish arms against themselves; for, according to their own maxims, heretics should cause torrents of blood to flow in those countries which their power is supreme.

People! repulse these impious men, whose avarice and ambition are concealed under the mask of hypocrisy. Return to sentiments more elevated, and believe, whatever may be your creed, that love and charity for your brethren are the only acts agreeable to God.

Pelagius, who was entirely opposed to sentiments of tolerance, renewed his entreaties to Narses to second his projects of vengeance. The heretics, on their side, excommunicated the Grecian general, because he seemed to protect the infamous Pelagius. The holy father hastened to congratulate Narses that Providence had permitted him to be anathematized in order to cause the purity of his faith to shine forth; at the same time he induced to take a brilliant vengeance for the ascending the guilty, and particularly Paul, bishop of Aquileia, whom he called an usurper, hand and foot, to Constantinople. He also pointed out to the wrath of the patrician another schismatic bishop named Euphrasius, who was accused of homicide and incest and adultery.

To show the effects of the vengeance of the pontiff, the prelates of Tuscany wrote him in justification of their separation. Pelagius replied to them: "How is it that you do not believe yourselves separate from

communion of the faithful, when you do not recite my name in your prayers, according to the established usage of the church? For all unworthy as I am, it is in my person that are lodged the powers granted by God to the successors of St. Peter. But, to put an end to the evil thoughts which must exist in your minds, and among your people, as to the purity of my faith, I declare to you, that I conform to the decisions of the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; that I anathematize all who doubt the orthodoxy of these four œcumenical assemblies, as well as the letter of pope Leo, confirmed by the synod of Chalcedon."

A large number of the bishops of Gaul also expressed their discontent with the holy father, and complained to king Childebert of the scandal which his condemnation of the three chapters caused in the church. The prince charged Rufinus, his ambassador at Rome, to demand an explanation of this judgment, in order to submit it to the clergy of France. Pelagius hastened to reply to the king, and at the same time sent him relics of the apostles and martyrs, which he commended to his piety. His profession of faith explained the mysteries of the Trinity, and of the incarnation, as well as the dogma of the resurrection of the dead. In his private letter, addressed to the sovereign, he praised the greatness of Childebert, and said to him, "that, according to the words of the Holy Scripture, "the Levites of the Lord should be in submission to the powers of the earth."

In the third council of Paris, which was held the same year, the fathers made several canons to prevent the usurpation of church property. At this period of barbarity and ignorance, some lords despoiled their families, through devotion, to enrich the monasteries, whilst others pillaged monasteries to seize on their wealth. Among their benefactors the monks cite duke Crodin. According to their legends, it appears that this lord employed his immense treasures in building, every year, three palaces; that he called in the neighbouring prelates to inaugurate them; and after having bestowed on them sumptuous repasts, he distributed among them, not only vessels of silver, rich hangings, costly furniture, and domestics, but also the palaces, farms, lands, cultivated ground, vineyards, and the serfs who cultivated them.

• Still, the greater part of the nobles, far from imitating the example of the pious Crodin, seized upon the convents with armed hands, pillaged the churches, and drove the priests or the monks from their residences. The synod pronounced the penalties of excommu-

nication against those who should retain the property of the clergy, regular or secular; and declared them anathematized, and murderers of the poor, until they should have restored the domains of which they had robbed them. The laity were prohibited from taking possession of bishoprics, under the pretext of supervising the administration during a vacancy; and if the usurper resided in another diocese, the council commanded the priests to address their reclamations to the prelates of the province, to constrain the ravisher to restore the patrimony of the ecclesiastics.

The fathers declared that the bishops were the guardians of the charters of the churches, and the protectors of the property of the clergy. They prohibited the espousal of a widow or young girl against her consent, even with the authority of the prince. They condemned marriages between kinsfolk, and persons consecrated to God. They also prohibited the ordination of bishops without the approbation of the citizens; and in case a priest should seize upon the see by order of the sovereign, they commanded the prelates of the province to reject the usurper, under penalty of being themselves excluded from the communion of the faithful. Finally, the last canon sent back to the metropolitan, judgment on ordinations already made, and which were tainted with irregularity. Such were the important decisions of the synod of Paris.

Among the prelates who assisted at that synod, one of the most illustrious was St. Germain of Paris, bishop of that city. He was born in Autun, of very religious parents, who placed him, when very young, in a cloister in the little city of Avalon, where he obtained his early education. In the course of time he was elevated by his merit to the dignity of abbot of St. Symphorien, a monastery situated in one of the faubourgs of Autun. Then his community sent him to the fifth council of Orleans, where his learning and great piety acquired for him the esteem of his colleagues, and procured for him the episcopal see of Paris, which was vacant through the death of Eusebius. Greatness did not change the habits of the pious abbot: he was as simple, as detached from the world, as before; and it appeared that he had not accepted the high distinction of bishop, but to show to other prelates that it was possible to practise at once, the duties of the episcopate and the austerities of the convent.

Pelagius died in 559, after having reigned three years and ten months, in the midst of schisms, which separated from his see the church of the East, and a part of that of the West.

## JOHN THE THIRD, SIXTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 560.—JUSTINIAN AND JUSTIN THE SECOND, Emperors of the East.]

*The obscurity of the history of John the Third—Election of the pontiff—Two bishops of Gaul condemned and deposed for their crimes, appeal to the pope, and are reinstalled in their sees—They are a second time condemned by the council of Chalons—Death of John.*

THE chronicles of the church towards the end of the sixth century are barren of events, and the history of the pontificates, the most important in their duration, is developed in a few pages.

After the death of Pelagius, John, surnamed Cateline, was chosen to succeed him. The new pontiff finished the churches of St. Philip and St. James, commenced by his predecessor, and enriched them with mosaics and paintings, whose subjects were drawn from the Holy Scriptures. He dedicated those temples; and it is believed that he instituted the fêtes of the apostles Philip and James. The cemetery of the martyrs was also increased by his care; and he ordained that on Sundays the church of the Lateran should furnish this oratory with bread, wine, and lights.

Six years after the election of the pontiff, two bishops of the kingdom of Gontran, scandalized the community by their abominable lives. The prince assembled a council at Lyons, which declared the two prelates deposed for the crimes of adultery, rape, and murder.

Instead of submitting to this decision, these

unworthy prelates accused the synod of having exceeded its powers, and appealed from it to the pope, who had the boldness to reinstall them in their sees. Thus the court of Rome justified the most condemnable actions, when those who committed them aided in augmenting the pontifical power!

The guilty prelates, finding themselves sustained by the Holy See, persevered in their excesses, and their debaucheries were such, that the clergy of Burgundy anathematized them anew, in an assembly held at Chalons, where they were declared prevaricating bishops, traitors to their country, and guilty of lèse-majesty.

Some authors affirm, that John the Third did not approve of the fifth œcumenical council. Cardinal Norris has demonstrated that this is untrue; and father Francis Pagi agrees with him. Both found their opinions on the testimony of esteemed authors, but who have not made it as authentic as history demands.

The pope died in 572, after a reign of thirteen years, and was interred in the church of St. Peter's at Rome.

## BENEDICT THE FIRST, SIXTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 573.—JUSTIN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Benedict the First—Famine at Rome—Death of the pontiff.*

AFTER the death of the pontiff John, the Holy See remained vacant for ten months. Fleury, in his Church History, attributes this long interregnum to the baneful effects of the ravages which the Lombards then exercised in Italy. It is, however, nearer the truth to refer the cause to the intrigues which always preceded the election of the popes.

Benedict the First, surnamed Bonosus, a Roman by birth, and the son of Boniface, having triumphed over his competitors, mounted

upon the see of St. Peter. During his pontificate the misery of the people was extreme and Rome would have succumbed to the horrors of famine, if the emperor Justin the cond had not sent from Egypt vessels laden with wheat, to succour the holy city.

The actions of the holy father remained enveloped in oblivion. We only know that he died in 577, after having occupied the apostolic throne for four years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Rome

## PELAGIUS THE SECOND, SIXTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 577.—TIBERIUS THE SECOND and MAURICE, Emperors of the East.]

*Considerations on the elections of popes during the sixth century—The emperors reserve the right of confirming the nominations of prelates—Election of Pelagius the Second—He receives the monks of Mount Cassino—The pontiff endeavours to reunite the church—Obstinacy of the bishops of Istria—They are persecuted by order of the pope—The emperor prohibits violence against schismatics—Gregory of Antioch accused of incest—He justifies himself by oath—John the Faster, archbishop of Constantinople, takes the title of Universal Bishop—Death of Pelagius.*

THE pontiffs of Rome had considerably augmented their wealth since the commencement of the sixth century, by declaring themselves the dispensers of a fourth part of the property of the church; and they were soon able to form a powerful party in the holy city. The elections then lost their religious character; the ambitious, who desired to elevate themselves upon the throne of St. Peter, were prodigal of their gold to the factious, and intrigues degenerated into seditions.

Up to this period, the princes had not occupied themselves in the choice of the pontiffs; but, seeing the authority of the Holy See increase, they became alarmed at the power of the popes, and resolved no longer to permit the clergy and people to be independent in the election of their bishops.

Under the specious pretext that this liberty drew in its train seditions, massacres, and that it sometimes even drove the rivals to form secret alliances with the enemies of the state to sustain their pretensions, the emperors ordered that the prelates chosen by the suffrages of the laity and clergy, could not be consecrated, nor exercise their sacerdotal functions without their approval. They reserved chiefly the right of confirming the elections of the bishops of Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, and left to their ministers the care of the other sees.

Nevertheless, when an eminent ecclesiastic, known to be agreeable to the prince, had been chosen by the people as chief of their diocese, he was solemnly consecrated, without waiting for the reply of the emperor. It was the same when war or pestilence interrupted the communication between the East and the West. Thus the ordination of Pelagius, the successor of Benedict the First, was accomplished. Rome, besieged by its enemies, was so closely surrounded that no one could leave the city. The deplorable state of the church compelled the clergy to consecrate their chief, without waiting for the authority of Tiberius. After the siege was raised, however, they sent the deacon Gregory to Constantinople to obtain the approval of the emperor for the enthroning of the new pontiff—the Greek emperor preserving the right of confirming the elections of the prelates of Italy until the middle of the eighth century.

Pelagius was a Roman by birth, and the son of Vinigildus. In the beginning of his reign the Lombards ravaged Italy, massacred the ministers of religion, and ruined the mo-

nastery of Mount Cassino. The monks of this convent, who escaped the swords of the barbarians, found an asylum in Rome, where the pope permitted them to build a new retreat, near the palace of the Lateran.

To arrest the incursions of the hordes who sacked the Latin cities, Pelagius demanded troops from Tiberius. Unfortunately the war, which this prince was maintaining against the Persians, rendered this negotiation useless. Fearing that if he should weaken his army by dividing his forces, he would not be able to defend the empire against his formidable adversaries, he refused to send soldiers to the succour of Italy. The pontiff then turning to another side, sought the aid of the Frank kings, and besought them to declare war on the Lombards. His projects failed in Gaul, as they had done in Constantinople; and his letters addressed to the bishop of Arles and the prelates of Auxerre, to obtain the protection of Gontran, did not produce any effect.

After the death of Tiberius the Second, the new emperor, Maurice, was more favourable to Pelagius than his predecessor. At the solicitation of the deacon Gregory, he sent troops to the pontiff, and even made a treaty with Childebert the Second, king of Austrasia, by which he paid him fifty thousand pennies of gold to drive the Lombards from Italy. The Frank king advanced immediately against them, but they arrested him on his march, and bought his alliance for a sum double that which the Greek emperor had paid him. Childebert accepted the bribe, and suspended hostilities, under the pretence of waiting for reinforcements. He then returned into Gaul, and the Roman peninsula was delivered up to the mercy of its conquerors.

The bishops who had separated themselves from the communion of the Holy See on account of the fifth council, persevered in the schism, notwithstanding the efforts which John the Third and Benedict the First had made to bring them back into unity. Pelagius the Second, solicited by his deacon Gregory, undertook a new contest with them, and wished to constrain them to return to the bosom of the church. He wrote to the prelates of Istria, obstinate heretics, and besought them to send deputies to Rome, to settle a schism which scandalized Christianity. They replied that they would not reunite with the apostolical see, which was dishonoured by popes who persisted in culpable errors, and wished to impose them on the faithful. The metropo-

litan of Aquileia accused the holy father of having betrayed the faith of Christ, and of anathematizing the doctrine of the councils. This primite, imitating the examples which his predecessors, Paulinus and Macedonius, had left him, vigorously opposed the pretensions of Pelagius; and in the end his successor, Severus, was as resolute as he in the defence of the three chapters.

The pontiff having vainly displayed against them the resources of his eloquence, and the menace of ecclesiastical thunder, then had recourse to the temporal power, and Smaragdus, governor of Italy, seconded the criminal intolerance of the pope in persecuting the clergy of Iстриa. He drove Severus from the see of Aquileia; tore him from his cathedral, and led him a prisoner to Ravenna, with three other prelates and an old man named Anthony, a zealous defender of the church. These unfortunate victims of the violence of Smaragdus were delivered to the hands of the executioners, and by force of torments were obliged to commune with one of the slaves of the Holy See, John the apostate, bishop of Ravenna, who had himself, in former times, approved of the three chapters, and had been separated from the court of Rome for that crime. After their abjuration, Severus and the other prisoners obtained permission to return to Grada; but the schismatical people and clergy, regarding them as apostates, did not wish to receive them into the city, nor to hold communion with them.

The heretics, convinced of the excellence of their doctrines, resisted with firmness the persecution of Pelagius, and animated by religious enthusiasm, they openly proclaimed themselves the defenders of the three chapters, in order to obtain the palm of martyrdom. The courage they exhibited in their punishments, determined the usurper to suspend the executions. He ordered Smaragdus to put an end to the violence exercised against them, and to repress the fanaticism of the holy father, until Italy should be delivered from the Lombards, and should have recovered its liberty. He promised then to convoke the bishops of the West in council, to judge the guilty and to continue the persecutions.

Three years after, in 589, Gregory of Antioch, accused of incest with his sister, by a layman, exculpated himself by oath before a synod, held at Constantinople. The accuser of the prelate was declared a calumniator, condemned to banishment, dragged ignominiously through the streets of the city, and beaten by the executioner with a thong of ox hide stuck with sharp points. The assembly before which Gregory had justified himself was presided over by John the Faster, patriarch of the imperial city, who took the title of universal bishop, to show that the chiefs of the Eastern clergy had submitted to his authority. As soon as Pelagius was advised of the ambitious pretensions of John, he sent letters to Byzantium, declaring that, by virtue of the powers granted him by St. Peter, he annulled the acts of the synod of Constantinople, and prohibited the discourses

of the emperor from assisting at divine service celebrated by a proud priest, who would destroy the equality of the church, and who took a title so contrary to episcopal humility.

During that same year, Recaredus, king of the Visigoths, after having publicly adopted, in concert with the grandees of his kingdom, the Catholic religion, assembled a council at Toledo, to which were convoked the lords and prelates of all the countries of his sway, to condemn the Arian heresy with which the people were infected. Seventy-four bishops and six representatives of prelates assisted at this synod, over which the king presided in person. The session was opened by reading a profession of faith, subscribed by the king, and queen Baddo, his wife, in which were formularies of violent accusations against the doctrine of Arius and his accomplices, and which terminated by a defence of the four great œcumenical councils recognized by the church. The king then invited the fathers to deliberate upon reforms capable of remedying the disorders. The council decreed that priests and bishops, instead of living publicly with their wives, as they had before done, should maintain more mystery in their carnal intercourse, and should not sleep in the same chamber with them. They also prohibited children who were the fruit of illicit unions from being put to death. He compelled the clergy, under pain of the most severe censures, not to prosecute their brethren nor the laity, before the secular judges; but to call them before the ecclesiastical tribunals—a usage which soon spread throughout all Christendom.

The session of the council had scarcely terminated, when a new assembly was convoked at Narbonne, in the part of Gaul belonging to the Goths, to judge the Arian doctrines. Different decisions were made against the heretics; amongst others they were prohibited from regarding Thursday as fête de Jupiter. They were interdicted from working on Fridays, under penalty, if freemen, of a fine of six cents of gold; and if slaves, of receiving a hundred lashes. The different encroachments of the clergy on the secular power, show with what readiness they hastened to use the privileges granted them by the council of Toledo.

At this period the priests already maintained that kings should learn from them how to govern their people. At length the fact of the council terminated their ridiculous opinion by a decree which ordered them to sing the Gloria Patria, after they had sung the psalms, to show that they were not Arianism. Such were the great events which illustrated the reign of Recaredus the First. Europe was then ravaged by a calamity hitherto unknown, to which the name of the part of the body was affected by it. Pelagius was attacked in 590, after having held the throne for twelve years and three months.

Yves, of Chartres, and Gratian, several decrees as attributed to

which Dupin assures us are authentic. In the first of these decretals the holy father prohibits the election of monks to govern churches, regarding the functions of the secular clergy as distinct from those of the regular. According to the opinion of the pontiff, prelates living with the laity should be well advised of the actions and interests of the world. Whilst the religious orders, following the rules of a monastic life in the midst of cloisters, have not acquired the necessary experience, and are incapable of directing the faithful. In the second decretal he permits, in consideration of the small number who dedicate themselves

to clerical life, to bestow orders on those who shall have had children by their servants after the death of their legitimate wives, recommending that the culpable female shall always be shut up in a convent, to perform penance for the fault of the priest.

Historians affirm that this pontiff has merited the title of saint, in consequence of his possessing the greatest virtues, which have been shown by those whom the church has canonized; and they place him among the most commendable bishops who have filled the chair of St. Peter.

## SAINT GREGORY THE FIRST, SIXTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 590.—MAURICE and PHOCAS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Gregory—His character—He retires into a monastery—Knavery of the Benedictines—Zeal of Gregory for the conversion of the English—He is ordained deacon, and sent ambassador to Constantinople—Returns to Rome—Governs his monastery with great severity—Charity to the people—Is elected pope—Refuses the pontificate—Mounts the Holy See—Accused of hypocrisy—His intolerance—His quarrel with the patriarch of Constantinople—War with the Lombards—Rome is besieged—Gregory proposes peace to the Lombards—The pope flatters queen Brunehaut—Conversion of the English—Gregory accused of having poisoned a bishop—Pomp of religious ceremonies—Discovery of purgatory—Incontinence of the clergy—Faults of Gregory—The heads of six thousand newly born children found in the fish-ponds of the pope—Death of Gregory—His character—He persecutes enchanters and sorcerers—He destroys through fanaticism the pagan monuments—He burns the works of profane authors—The policy of the priests covers the world with the shades of ignorance.*

The father of Gregory, named Gordian, was a member of the senate, and was possessed of immense wealth; his mother, Silvia, since canonized by the church, was of a patrician family, and descended in a direct line from pope Felix the Fourth.

Our first historian, Gregory of Tours, the cotemporary of St. Gregory, assures us that Rome contained no man better instructed than this bishop in literature and eloquence. "From his infancy," says the historian, "he attached himself to the grave and profound maxims of the ancient authors. He was pleased with the conversation of the old, and evinced in his studies a mind and judgment very matured. Destined by his birth to the most important dignities of the empire, he was instructed in rhetoric and jurisprudence; and when he arrived at manhood his talent procured for him the title of senator. The skill which he exhibited in this charge, attracted the attention of the emperor Justin the Second, who named him prætor of Rome, the principal magistrate of that city.

"But Gregory, wishing to unite the love of letters with that of virtue, cultivated science and piety in the midst of greatness, hoping that his soul would resist the vanities of luxury. But he soon learned that it is difficult to serve God in the midst of the pomps of earth, and his thoughts turned towards the holy retreat of the cloisters. The death of his father having rendered him the possessor

of the great wealth which his ancestors had for a long time accumulated, he found himself in that situation of mind in which the world places itself between God and man.

"Nevertheless, though able to make the most illustrious alliance in Rome and the empire, and to elevate himself to the very steps of the throne, he did not hesitate in his resolution; he laid aside his dress, glittering with gold and precious stones, renounced his great dignities, employed his immense wealth in founding convents in Sicily, and gave to the inhabitants of these holy dwellings the revenues, which they dispensed in alms.

"Charmed by the excellence of the Christian faith, he distributed to the poor his vessels of gold and silver, his precious furniture, his rich hangings; he put on the coarse habit of a monk, and quitted the world—an action more admirable than the abdication of kings, who lay aside their crowns when they can no longer sustain the weight of them."

The different religious orders have disputed the honour of having had this pontiff in their rule, and the Benedictines have shown themselves the most ardent in the strife. Baronius and Anthony Gallon, a learned priest of the oratory at Rome, have opposed the pretensions of these monks, and the polemical controversy which sprang up on this subject has exposed the knavery of the order of St. Benedict. Father Gallon exhorted from the libraries of these monks a great number of false

deeds, fabricated at the monastery of Mount Cassino, and printed at Venice. These title-deeds bear the apocryphal signatures of popes and princes, and assign numerous domains, and even entire villages, to the monks of that convent.

St. Gregory remained several years under the direction of Valentius, whom he had called to him to govern the cloister of St. Andrew, where he had retired; and his intention was to pass his whole life in humility and obedience. Nevertheless, after the death of Valentius, the brothers having chosen him superior of the monastery, he yielded to their entreaties, and accepted the charge of the abbey. In the fervour of his zeal for religion, he condemned himself to the rigours of the most absolute fasting, and he so applied himself to the study of the sacred books, that he weakened his body, and fell into a languor. His mother, retired to a place called the Cella-Neuva, where an oratory and the celebrated convent of Labas have since been built, sent to him to nourish him raw vegetables, soaked in water, which were carried in a cup of silver. It is related that Gregory, having nothing else to give, offered them to a poor man who asked alms of him.

His abstinence soon caused him horrible corporal suffering, which, however, did not hinder him from writing or dictating the sentiments with which the reading of the sacred books inspired him.

One day, whilst traversing the slave market, his attention was arrested by the appearance of some youths of remarkable beauty and extraordinary fairness, who were exposed for sale. The saint demanded from what country they came; the merchant replied, that he had bought them in Great Britain, and that they were still enveloped in the darkness of paganism. This reply excited a profound sigh in Gregory. "What a cause for the tears of a Christian," he exclaimed, "to think that the prince of the abyss still enchains in his empire people of form so beautiful! Why must it be, that they have a soul deprived of the treasures of grace, which alone can give men true beauty."

Then he went to the palace of the Lateran, and besought the pope Benedict to send missionaries into England, to carry thither the word of God. No ecclesiastic being willing to embark on this dangerous mission, Gregory offered to the holy father to go alone to this remote country. The pope only yielded to his request after an earnest petition, fearing that the clergy and people would excite a sedition, when they should learn that Gregory had left the holy city.

The venerable abbot left Rome during the night, for the purpose of avoiding any obstacles which might oppose his journey. Notwithstanding his precautions, his absence became known to the Romans, who assembled tumultuously. After consultation, they formed themselves into three threatening companies, to block up the streets through which Benedict went to the cathedral, and cried out on

his passage, "Have a care, holy father, you have offended the blessed apostle Peter, and caused the ruin of our city, by permitting Gregory to quit our walls." Benedict, frightened by these cries, and fearing a seditious still more violent, pledged himself to send couriers to recall the zealous missionary. Gregory, who was only thirty miles from Rome, was brought back in triumph. The following year he was named deacon of the church, refused, however, to abandon his solitude, and remained within the monastery of St. Andrew. At length, on the arrival of Pelagius the second on the pontifical throne, having been appointed ambassador from the Holy See to Constantinople, to obtain from the emperor succours against the Lombards, he quitted his retreat, and went on his journey followed by several monks of his community.

On his arrival he had to combat the trine of the patriarch Eutychius, who taught that after the resurrection our bodies cease to be palpable, and become more subtle than air—a sentiment then regarded by the church as a remains of the heresy of Origen.

During his residence at the imperial court the legate formed intimate friendships with the most commendable personages, and attracted their esteem by the profundity of his judgment, and the purity of his morals. He was then recalled to Rome by the pope, whom he rendered an account of the progress of his negotiations.

Pelagius wished through gratitude to do him to his person, in the capacity of his secretary; but Gregory besought the holy father to permit him to return to his retreat at St. Andrews. He then returned to his monastery, and submitted them to a discipline so severe, that his severity degenerated into cruelty, and excited a rebellion amongst the monks. The abbot then returned to sentiments of humanity, and his charity found infinite resources in alleviating the miseries of the people during the scourge which transformed the holy city into a frightful solitude. He pledged the monks of the convent to sustain the citizens during the famine by the overflow of the Tiber, and at the same time he traversed the streets, and took off the dead bodies of the unfortunate who had fallen victims to the pestilence.

Pelagius the Second having died of a contagion, the senate, clergy and people elected to the sovereign pontificate the deacon Gregory, in acknowledgment of his ardent prayers and the services he had rendered. But from humility he refused the charge. He even wrote to the emperor to confirm his election, but to cause to be chosen one more worthy in his place. The emperor, persuaded that his wishes would be complied with by the court of Constantinople, resolved to conceal himself from the emperor, until after the exaltation of Pelagius he might be able to return to his monastery of St. Andrew. The governor accepted the letter of Gregory, and his emissaries spread themselves throughout the country to discover the retreat.

At length some shepherds found him in a cavern, and led him back to the city, where he was consecrated, notwithstanding his resistance.

The conduct of Gregory has not been able to preserve him from suspicions of dissimulation and hypocrisy; and respectable authors affirm that the proud deacon wished to add to the honour of the supreme dignity the glory of having refused it. Without admitting the truth of this accusation against Gregory, we will nevertheless say, that the most unbridled ambition sometimes conceals itself under the appearance of humility.

The ceremony of the consecration took place in the church of St. Peter, and the Romans placed on the throne of the church a pious and enlightened man, capable of affording instruction to the faithful, by his writings and his preaching; and whose skilful policy could favourably dispose the minds of the sovereigns towards the temporal interests of religion.

At this period bishops, after their ordination, sent their professions of faith and synodical letters to the chiefs of the great sees. Gregory, to conform to this usage, convoked a council and addressed letters to the most important prelates of the East and West.

From the commencement of his pontificate, his solicitude extended to the clergy of Sicily, whom he ordered to convoke a council every year, to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. He then wrote to Justin, governor of that province, complaining of his negligence, and threatening to accuse him before the emperor, notwithstanding the friendship which united them, of having been the cause of the ruin of an immense city, from not having furnished the grain destined for the people of Rome. In those ages of barbarity, the want of foresight in princes and governors frequently occasioned the pestilences and famines which desolated the unfortunate people.

St. Gregory wished to profit by the profound terror which the scourge had excited, to bring back the heretics; and in his declamations exhibited to them the gates of hell open to receive them. His projects failed, however, and his exhortations on the rigor of the judgments of God, did not hinder the bishops of Istria from persevering in their disorder and their schism. He also undertook to reform the scandalous conduct of the priests throughout all Christendom; but the clergy opposed invincible obstacles to him in Spain, Lombardy, Naples, and even in France.

The pontiff convoked a council in the holy city to judge Severus, patriarch of Aquileia, whom the emperor Maurice had ordered to submit to the decision of Gregory. Notwithstanding the dangers to which they were exposed, the bishops of the province urged Severus to resist the will of the sovereign. They wrote to Maurice that the Latin pontiff did not be their judge, being already their superior. They complained of the violence done towards them, and of his desiring them to dissent the three chapters, which the fifth oecumenical assembly had approved.

† The emperor, fearing that the schismatics might place themselves under the protection of the Lombards, wrote to the pope that in consequence of the confusion into which Italy was plunged, he could not permit violence to be used towards the prelates; that they must wait a more fitting season to subdue them, and he charged Romain, exarch of Ravenna, to prevent all persecution against them, with an express injunction to obey his orders. Gregory thus seeing the projects which he had conceived for the reunion of the chiefs of the clergy of Istria fail, exclaimed, "the arms of the barbarians are less injurious to religion than the culpable weakness of the exarch and the emperor." Thus Gregory, who had condemned the persecution of the Jews, wished, nevertheless, to constrain the heretics to re-enter the bosom of the church; so much contradiction does the spirit of intolerance produce among priests!

The paths of force being closed to him, he had recourse to caresses, seductions, and presents. He addressed letters to a large number of schismatics, and finished by obtaining their reunion with his see. Still, as it is difficult for men to be consistent on subjects opposed to reason, he wished to surcharge imposts upon those who refused to adhere to his sentiments, and ordered Colomb, bishop of Numidia, and the governor of Africa, to repress the pride and insolence of the Donatists. He then sought an alliance with the Lombards, to obtain their protection for the provinces of the West and the chair of St. Peter. Finally, king Antuaris being dead, he wrote to queen Theodelinda, to beseech her, in the name of Christ, to consent to an union with the prince of Turin, for the purpose of augmenting the glory of religion by converting the monarch to the Catholic faith.

Seduced by the charms of his new spouse, the young duke consented to embrace Christianity, and by his example drew to his belief those of his subjects who were still idolaters or Arians.

Gregory evinced an extreme joy on the success of his policy, and in a letter addressed to Theolinda, he exalts her virtues, bestows high eulogiums on the ardor of her zeal, and thanks her for having destroyed Arianism, by reattaching the Lombards to the Roman church.

At this time the emperor made a decree by which he prohibited public functionaries, as well as citizens marked on the right hand as enrolled soldiers, from entering the ranks of the clergy, secular or regular. The pope, always alive to the interest of the Holy See, wrote to Maurice, "I, who am less than the worm which buries itself in the sand, can not avoid raising my voice when I hear a law proclaimed which is opposed to the precepts of God. You should know that power has only been granted to sovereigns to direct the kingdoms of the earth, and not the kingdom of heaven; nevertheless, the orders which you have given touch upon sacred things. Your decree, my lord, has caused me profound



grief; still, submitting to the imperial decision, I have sent your edicts, which I condemn, through all parts of the East and West. Thus I fulfill the double duty of a Christian, by obeying the monarch and boldly declaring to him my sentiments on the injustice of his actions."

In the same year, 593, the holy father made the first use of the authority which he wished to arrogate over the other churches, by re-establishing in his sacerdotal functions, a priest whom the metropolitan of Milan had excommunicated, and by affirming that the Holy See had the surveillance of all elections before they could be regular or canonical. The archbishop of Milan submitted; but the bishop of Ravenna was less obedient; he refused to yield to the warning of Gregory, and adopted for himself the custom of carrying the pallium, to show that his dignity was in no wise inferior to that of the bishop of Rome. St. Gregory resisted this new pretension, and addressed two vehement letters to the proud pastor; which did not, however, induce in him sentiments more in conformity with ecclesiastical humility.

The publication of his dialogues is placed at the end of the year 593. It is a work unworthy of sacerdotal severity, full of gross miracles and ridiculous fables, which was received with enthusiasm in the empire, and especially in Italy. The Benedictines aver that they were written at the request of queen Theolinda, to convert the Lombards, then plunged in profound ignorance, and whose savage intelligence could not be excited but by strange prodigies and most extraordinary miracles. We should blame Gregory for having had recourse to superstition to convert idolaters, and especially for having wished to constrain even the faithful to put faith in his superstitious fables. The empress Constantina, having demanded from him the relics of St. Paul, he replied to the ambassador, that he dared not satisfy her orders; because it was impossible to touch or behold the body of the blessed apostle, without being instantly punished for the sacrilegious temerity. In support of his deceit, the holy father related many miracles, to which he appeared to accord full credit.

Some time after, John the Faster, chief of the clergy of Constantinople, sent to the pontiff the record of a judgment rendered against a Greek priest, accused of heresy. As in the recital, he took the title of Universal Bishop, the pope wished to repress his ambition, and prohibited him, in the name of the church, from elevating his see above those of other bishops. Maurice wrote to the holy father in favour of the patriarch, and endeavoured to induce him to retract; but he regarding this question of pre-eminence as an article of faith, denounced the title of universal bishop as a crime of usurpation, and replied to the prince: "John the Faster will find in me an intractable adversary, until he shall renounce his pride." He addressed letters on the same subject to Eulogius of Alexandria and St. Anas-

taeus of Antioch, prohibiting them from giving to any prelate the title of "universal." He also wrote to the empress, to complain of Maximus of Salma, who treated with contempt his prohibitions and his excommunications.

At the beginning of the year 595, an affair of more importance than a struggle for the title of universal, gave lively disquiet to the pontiff. The exarch of Ravenna had broken the treaty with the Lombards, and had wrested from them several important cities which so irritated Agilulfus, their king, that he left Pavia, his usual residence, marched with a powerful army against Prousa, sacked it, and notwithstanding the respect which he entertained for the holy father, laid siege to Rome. The pope, fearful of the effect of the vengeance of the emperor, if he should consent to an alliance with the barbarians, dared not open the gates of the city, and resolved to support the horrors of a siege. He encouraged the Romans to a vigorous defence, gain time to wait for the succours which the emperor should send from Greece. At length finding himself reduced to the last extremity he made to king Agilulfus proposals for peace which were accepted, and the Lombards tired, laden with spoil, carrying away all gold which the holy city contained.

Maurice severely blamed Gregory for being treated with his enemies, in which he calls the confidence of the holy father in veneration for his sacred person, simplistic. The pope, wounded in his vanity, reproached the monarch with vivacity, for having accepted him of ignorance and simplicity.

His holiness then sent letters to king Clotaire and queen Brunehaut, under the pretext of recommending a priest whom he sent to the bishops of Gaul, but in reality to solicit their aid.

John the Faster, the irreconcilable enemy of the pontiff, being dead, Maurice elevated to the see of Constantinople a priest named Cyriacus, a man of peaceful character. The new patriarch having, as usual, assembled a council, sent his synodical letter of profession of faith to the holy father. The letters were received with honour by the pope, and notwithstanding the title of universal which the patriarch still bore, he replied mildly to the letter, warning Cyriacus to renounce the proud and profane name of universal bishop. At the same time, he sent from the imperial court his legate, the Sabinianus, and sent to replace him in this difficult post the priest Anatolius, who was prohibited, however, from communicating with the patriarch until that prelate should renounce the title of universal.

The epistles of Gregory written to the emperor and the chiefs of the clergy of Alexandria and Antioch, for the purpose of enforcing the orders which he had given to be proved that he rejected as false, the claims of Sozomenes, and that he did not approve of the praises which that author has bestowed on Theodore of Mopuestia. These let-

us to suppose that he did not believe in the existence of Eudoxus, the ancient chief of the pure, whose sect dated back to the reign of Constantine, preferring, through an inconceivable caprice, to incur the reproach of a gross ignorance of the sacred writers and the fathers, to the shame of recognizing as a heretic one of the greatest luminaries of the church. The actions of Gregory, however, establish in so incontestable a manner the extent of his knowledge, that they force us to cast back on his policy the ramblings of his mind, and oblige us to believe that he was capable of daring every thing to preserve to religion the aureole of majesty with which he wished to surround it.

When he was only abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew, Gregory had already employed all his efforts to establish missions in the British isles. When he became chief of the church, he resolved to put his projects into execution. England was then troubled by bloody wars, excited by Ethelbert, who reigned in that country, and who had demanded in marriage Aldeberge, daughter of Caribert, king of France. This monarch had replied that he would consent to an alliance with him when he had overthrown the power of king Coelin, whose vassal he was. Soon after Ethelbert, having declared his kingdom of Kent independent, was united to the daughter of the French monarch. The young princess was a Christian; and as it is in the nature of man to yield to the influence of woman, the king soon showed a favourable disposition for the new religion. Aldeberge advised the court of Rome of it, and missionaries received orders to go into Great Britain to the queen.

After a perilous journey, Augustine, abbot of St. Andrews, the chief of the mission, disembarked on the shores of Kent, and advised Ethelbert that he came from a region very remote from his kingdom, to instruct him in sublime truths which would assure him eternal happiness. The king, accompanied by his wife and the officers of his court, went to meet the missionary, whom he did not wish to listen to but in the open country, through fear of yielding to his sorcery, which he believed he could prevent by this singular precaution.

Augustine spoke to the sovereign at length on the sacred dogmas of the Scriptures. The prince having had the words of the holy man explained to him, replied: "What I hear is grand, and your promises attract me to you; still I have not yet determined to abandon the belief I have received from my ancestors, especially for a religion founded on the testimony of men who are unknown to me. But as you have undertaken this long and painful journey to bring to my people the good you believe to be true, I will not send you away without again listening to you, and I will take care that you shall be treated with honour in my dominions. If my subjects, convinced by your discourse, desire to partake of your belief, I will not oppose their being baptized."

The missionaries established themselves at

Canterbury, and made a great many converts. Aldeberge, on her part, pressed her husband to inform himself in the dogmas of the Christian religion, and threatened to break off her conjugal relations with him if he persevered in his idolatry. The prince, worn out by the entreaties of the queen, then consented to be baptized. The example of a chief has always a great influence over a barbarous people, and the English came in crowds to receive the holy water, which was to regenerate them.

Augustine was made the bishop of the church which he had founded. In a few years the success of his conversions had recruited a numerous clergy, whom he desired to submit to the authority of the pontiff. He then assembled all the prelates of England to advise them of the orders he had received from Rome. In his quality of legate he opened the sitting without rising from his seat. The assembly, offended at the impudence of Augustine, offered invincible obstacles to his wishes, and the celebrated Dinot, abbot of Bangor, thus addressed him:

"You propose to us, proud prelate, to submit to the throne of the apostle. Are you then ignorant that we have submitted to Christ, to your pope, and to all Christians, by the liens of love and charity? We seek after evangelical humility with ardor; we employ all our care in succouring men, and causing them to become the children of God, and we know of no other duty we have to fulfil toward him whom you call holy father.

"What need have we to seek for a superior at Rome, since we are governed under the power of Jesus Christ, by the bishop of Caerleon, whom we have chosen to direct our churches and our consciences? Insist no more upon it. We refuse your supreme chief."

Augustine, despairing of overcoming their resistance, after a long discussion, exclaimed, "Since you refuse the peace which I propose with your friends, abbot Dinot, you shall have war with your enemies, and their swords shall put you to death." These words have been interpreted as a prediction, which was accomplished in the massacre of the monks of Bangor. Still, in supposing the reality of this prophecy, it is very probable that Italian vengeance, or that which is called the hatred of the priests, had concurred in accomplishing the prediction of the prelate.

Gregory wrote to queen Brunehaut, to thank him for the charity which she had exercised towards Augustine. In all the letters which the pontiff addressed to that execrable female, he overwhelmed her with emphatic praises, affirming that France was the happiest of nations, in possessing a queen endowed with the rarest virtues and the most brilliant qualities. . . . It is the truth to say, that Brunehaut, allying superstition to cruelty, expended immense sums on the clergy, for the purpose of appeasing divine vengeance. Churches and monasteries multiplied by her orders, and she bent her forehead to the dust whenever she entered into church to ask from God pardon for her poisonings and her infanticides!!!

About the same time Romain, the exarch, died at Ravenna. The pope, having no longer to fear the scrutiny of a man who had opposed all his projects of aggrandizement, established friendly relations with the Lombards, and concluded a treaty with king Agilulfus, which assured the Holy See of his powerful protection.

Gregory then received deputies from the faithful of Capri. The bishop of that island, situated at the bottom of the gulf of Venice, complained that he had been drawn into the schism of the prelates of Istria in the defence of the three chapters, and testified his desire to reunite himself with the see of Rome; but before even receiving the reply of the holy father, he changed his mind. Then his people, who were favourably disposed towards unity, sent to demand from the pontiff another director. The pope wrote to Marinianus, the metropolitan of Ravenna, charging him to ordain another bishop for Capri, if the titular one refused his communion, and enjoining on him solemnly to depose the heretic, without disquieting himself about the orders of the emperor Maurice, who had prohibited violence against schismatics.

Gregory employed all the resources of his policy to bring about the reunion of the heretics with the throne of St. Peter. Anatolius, his legate at the court of Maurice, had orders to listen favourably to the Christians who went to Constantinople to abjure the schism of Istria; and he was also recommended to solicit for them the protection of the emperor, and to obtain pensions for new converts. Thus interest on the one hand, and the fear of torture on the other, seconded the views of the pontiff and produced numerous conversions.

The bishop Maximus alone, despising the gold and the thunder of the Holy See, persisted in his heresy, continued the exercise of his episcopal functions in the city of Salona, and even accused Gregory of having poisoned bishop Malchus, who also opposed his designs. The pope replied, that the prelate had suddenly died on the day of his excommunication, in the house of the notary Boniface, to which he had been conducted after his condemnation. Then Maximus called the holy father a traitor and a hypocrite, a poisoner and a murderer. He renewed his accusation, offering to furnish proof that Malchus had been sacrificed to the hatred of the holy father.

Gregory, pushed on by insatiable ambition, wished to extend the pontifical authority over all Christendom. He sent Cyriacus, abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew, into Gaul to assemble the clergy of that province, and to dispose them to recognise his authority. The prelate being about to stop at Marseilles, the pope wrote to Serenus, the bishop, "We send to you our ambassador, beseeching you to receive him with all the honours due to our see."

"We praise you in Jesus Christ, my very dear brother, for the zeal which you have shown in breaking the images which your

people adored; and we applaud you for having cast forth from the holy place the idols made by the hands of men, since they usurp the adoration due only to the Divinity.

"Still your ardor has carried you too far; you should have transformed them by some mutilations into holy representations of our martyrs, and preserved them in the temples. For it is permitted to place pictures in the churches, that the common people may learn the divine mysteries of our religion, which they are unable to study in the holy books."

Serenus, on the reading of this letter, expressed his surprise at the singular doctrine which the bishop of Rome expounded in it. "It was not thus, thought the fathers," he said to the envoy of Gregory. "Moses has formally prohibited us from making modelled or painted images; nor to attach any consequence to the material, so as not to occupy the minds of men but by subjects which are conceived by intelligence, without the aid of our corporeal senses. St. Clement of Alexandria affirms that we are expressly prohibited from exercising a proper art in deceiving men, or in making any representation of that which is in heaven, on the earth, or in the water. 'because,' said he, 'he who adores visible gods, and the numerous generations of those gods, is more contemptible than the object of his worship.' Did not St. Epiphanius break in pieces the statues of silver and gold which represented Christ and the Virgin? Has not Origen proscribed the worship of images from the mere consideration that they are the work of men of bad morals? What would all those great saints say, if they saw as we do, exposed in our churches, to the insensate adoration of the crowd, statues of our Saviour which are the exact portraits of the thief who have served as models to the painter or paintings of the Virgin, which represent the features of infamous prostitutes? Finally added the pious bishop, "has not the holy council of Eluria decreed, that objects of worship should not be seen on the wall? This categorical decision is the law which must follow; it is the doctrine of the fathers and of the primitive church." The abbot Cyriacus replied to him, "that Evaginus his ecclesiastical history, relates, that John himself had sent to king Abgarus his portrait painted in heaven; and that this image saved the city of Edessa from the fury of the Persians, during the reign of Justinian." His authority did not appear unanswerable to the prelate, who persisted in his opinion, and subscribed images in his church.

But the people of Marseilles, then plunged in profound ignorance, opposed the refusal of the bishop, and even abandoned the communion of Serenus.

The abbot Cyriacus then went to Autun, place in the hands of Stagnus, bishop of the city, the letter of the pope, which granted him the pallium, and gave to his see the rank in the province after the metropolitan see of Lyons. The holy father recommended to the prelates of Gaul to assemble the c

frequently for the purpose of regulating ecclesiastical affairs. He prohibited priests from keeping in their houses other women than those authorized by the canons, and condemned simoniacal ordinations, as well as the elevation of the laity to episcopal functions.

After having fulfilled divers missions in Gaul, Cyriacus went to Spain, to which country he carried several letters. One was addressed to St. Leander, another to Claudius, a person of great piety, and a skilful soldier, and the third was destined for the sovereign of the country, named Recaredus. Gregory passed great eulogiums on the prince for the zeal which he had manifested for religion in the conversion of the Goths, his subjects, and especially because he had refused the gold which the Jews offered him in exchange for the revocation of the cruel laws enforced against them. The pontiff terminated his letter by advising him the most odious policy. "Be careful, prince," said he, "not to allow yourself to be surprised by anger, and not to execute too promptly that which your power permits. In chastising the guilty, anger should walk after reflection, and obey it as a slave. When reason governs the actions of a king, it knows how to make the most implacable cruelty pass for justice, and keeps the people in subjection."

To thank Recaredus for the rich presents which he had made to the pontifical church, the pope sent him a small key made out of the iron of the chains of St. Peter, a crucifix inclosing some wood of the true cross, and some hair of St. John the Baptist!!!

About the same time Gregory wrote to John of Syracuse, on the subject of the religious ceremonies practised at Rome, and which he wished him to adopt in his church. This remarkable epistle witnesses, that they had already reformed the celebration of divine worship, and had introduced very many abuses into the Christian religion. The worship founded by the apostles on the simplicity of the primitive ages, has been encompassed, since the sixth century, with the pomp of the ceremonies of paganism; and St. Gregory, whose policy consisted in dazzling the senses of men to bind them to the church in the bonds of superstition, materialized the worship even more than his predecessors had yet done. He ordered new religious practices, whose splendor imposed on the common people; he filled the churches with tableaux and precious ornaments, and even temporized with the belief of idolatrous nations, by introducing their rites and their dogmas into the religion of Christ.

Educated in the knowledge of the Latin authors, he had learned from Virgil, "that human souls are enclosed in the obscure prison of the body, where they acquire a carnal defilement, and that they preserve some corruption even after they have left the life of the world." The poet had said, "To purify them, they must suffer different kinds of punishment; some, suspended in the air, are the sport of the tempests; others expiate their

crimes in the abyss of waters; flames devour the most guilty; none are exempt from chastisement.

There are some shades placed in the delicious plains of Elysium, where they wait, until a long revolution of years has purified them from the defilements of their terrestrial existence, and has re-established them in their first purity. Supreme essence, emanation from divinity. After a thousand springs spent in this profound sojourn, they quit it, and God recalls them to the borders of Lethe."

In the dialogues, and in the psalms of penitence, Gregory thus expresses himself: "When they are delivered from their terrestrial prison by death, the guilty souls are condemned to punishment, whose duration is infinite. Those who have committed, during their passage through the world, but light faults, arrive at life eternal after having been regenerated by purifying flames. . . ." In recalling these two passages, one evidently sees that the holy father took from paganism his doctrine of purgatory, which was unknown to the apostles and the early Christians, and of which we find no trace in the works of the doctors of the church, not even in the prayers for the dead, which were in use in the time of Tertullian.

St. Gregory, always faithful to his policy of encroachment, skilfully profited by the habits of the pagans to lead them to Christianity, as he himself testifies in a letter addressed to Augustine, the apostle of England. After different considerations of the manner in which prelates ought to consecrate profane temples for divine service, he says to him: "Do not overthrow these edifices; it suffices to break in pieces the idols which they contain, and to purify the enclosure with holy water. You can then rear Christian altars, and deposit the relics under the consecrated roof. Recollect, also, that we should tear from the devil the monuments of his worship, and not destroy them. Besides, by preserving them, you will do an useful act to the cause of God; for the pagans, whose steps frequently crowd the thresholds of these houses, will become converts for the purpose of praying still in places accustomed to their voices; and those who are accustomed to immolate victims to the infernal deity, will be turned from their impious sacrilege by the splendor of your religious ceremonies.

"On the day of the dedication, or of the death of the holy martyrs, whose sacred remains shall be deposited in the new church, you will make tabernacles of branches of trees about the church, and the festival will be celebrated by pious banquets. In these solemnities you will permit the people to immolate animals according to ancient use, that they may return thanks to God, and not to evil spirits. You will preserve some of their ancient customs, and thus they will more readily consent to practise the new worship which we wish to impose on them."

The pontiff also applied himself to reform the psalmody of the church. He composed

the famous Gregorian chant, on which ecclesiastical writers have passed the highest eulogium. Some authors even affirm that there is nothing more admirable than the conception of his Antiphonal. Notwithstanding the sufferings he endured, and the occupations of government, he himself regulated the music of the psalms, orisons, verses, canticles, epistles, the Scriptures, and the Lord's prayer. He instituted an academy for singing; where the clergy studied religious music, up to the period of their entry on the diaconate. The holy father was the principal professor in it, and there was preserved, in the palace of the Lateran, for a long time, the bed on which, being sick, he taught the chant of the sacred hymns, and the whip with which he threatened the young clergy and the children of the choir who did not keep time.

Gregory having learned that a council had been convoked at Constantinople by the enemies of the Holy See, hastened to warn the principal bishops of the ambitious projects of Cyriacus. He exhorted them to maintain the authority of Rome over Byzantium, and to refuse to the patriarch the proud title of universal bishop.

At the same time he wrote to the emperor Maurice, to thank him for the thirty pounds of gold he had sent to the poor of Rome: "We have," said his holiness, "faithfully divided your alms among the unfortunate families, the necessitous ecclesiastics, and the religious females, whom we have received into our city, and who fly persecution. Also, to put an end to the murmurs of the soldiery, and to draw upon you their thanks, we have paid them the money which has been due to them for several months."

In the following year (600) the pontiff assembled a synod to condemn the sect of the Agoneta. These heretics maintained that Jesus Christ, by his incarnation, had taken human nature, enjoyed the same faculties as other men, and that during the course of his mortal life he could not obtain the gift of languages, nor the revelation of the last judgment. Eulogius of Alexandria, equally declared himself against the new heresy, and Gregory wrote to him on this subject: "I have admired your doctrine, whose conformity to that of the fathers has made me understand that the Holy Spirit is revealed in the same manner in all idioms. Thus it is manifest, that a man who is not a Nestorian cannot be an Agoneta. Do not allow your zeal for orthodoxy to languish; you, to whom health of body gives power to accomplish the desires of the will, courageously proscribe heretics." As for me, I feel that I am succumbing under the sufferings which bear me down; for two years my feet have not touched the earth; on the day of solemn feasts, I can scarcely remain standing for a few minutes to celebrate divine service. My life is a burthen to me. I wait for, and call on death as the only remedy for my ills."

In fact, the sufferings of the holy father, which were the consequences of the austeri-

ties he had imposed upon himself, augmented daily, and he wrote to a Roman lady named Justinicerna, tormented by the illness which rent him: "You know how powerful was my stature, and how vigorous my health; nevertheless, the frightful evil of the gout has consumed me like the worm of the sepulchre. If these incessant pains have been thus able to impoverish my body, what would become of your's, already so frail, before this cruel malady."

Still Gregory, notwithstanding his constant sufferings, did not cease to watch over the interests of the Roman church; he prohibited bishops from diminishing the domains or the revenues, or from altering the title deeds of monasteries; and he took from them jurisdiction over the convents of their dioceses. He ordered the monks to submit themselves to all the severities of their rules, and made a decree, commanding priests to separate from the women with whom they lived. The severity of the pontiff produced terrible consequences, and a prodigious number of infanticides.

An historian relates, that a year after the publication of this edict, Gregory, having given orders to fish in the ponds which he had constructed to preserve the fish, six thousand heads of new-born children were drawn from the water. The holy father thus learned that his decree was contrary to the laws of nature. He immediately revoked it, and imposed a severe penance to obtain from God pardon for the abominable cruelties of which the priests of his church were guilty, and of which he was the first cause.

At this period Gregory sent back into England the ecclesiastic Lawrence, whom bishop Augustine had deputed to Rome three years before. He charged him with replies to the questions which had been addressed to him by the prelate of Canterbury, and sent by him letters for the king of Kent and his wife Bertha, who is called Aldeberge. He thanks this princess for the protection she accorded to Augustine; he compares her to St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, whom God had employed as a means to convert the Romans to Christianity; he exhorts her to strengthen the king her spouse, in religion, and urges her to occupy herself above all things in converting her subjects to Christianity. "Your good works," he said to her, "are known not only in our apostolic city, where they pray with ardor for the duration of your reign, but even at Constantinople, where their renown has carried them even to the throne of the emperor.

He recommends to king Ethelbert to preserve faithfully the grace which he had received in baptism; to abolish the worship of idols, to which his people yet showed themselves attached; to establish good morals at his court, by employing menaces and caresses, and principally by his example. Finally, he beseeches him to give his entire confidence to bishop Augustine, and to follow faithfully the instructions of the church.

In the following year (603) he wrote in

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these terms to the prelates of the province of Byzantium: "It is commendable, my brethren, to respect superiors; still the fear of God does not authorize us to hide their faults. I have known for a long time of accusations against Clement, your primate, and I have not been able to test the truth of them. The care of my people, and the vigilance I have found necessary to employ against the enemies who environ us, have not left me any time to examine into complaints so weighty. We exhort you zealously to inquire into the conduct of your brother. If he is guilty, he must be punished according to the canons; if innocent, it is your duty to acquit him. He among you who shall show in this trial cowardice or weakness, how does he know but that God will condemn him for the same crimes which he shall have wished to conceal from our justice."

In France, queen Brunehaut and king Theodoric, her grandson, sought the mediation of Gregory to conclude a peace with the empire. They also consulted the holy father upon a point of discipline in relation to a bishop of France, who suffered such violent pains in his head as to render him insensate, and prevented him from filling his episcopal functions. The pontiff gave instructions to the metropolitan of Lyons as to the course which he should pursue towards his suffragan in this particular circumstance. In his reply to Brunehaut he followed his habitual policy towards the powers of the day, addressing high eulogiums to this princess on her piety, and gross flatteries upon the munificence which she displayed towards the clergy. He informed her at the end of his letter, that he granted the privileges asked for the two monasteries which she had founded at Autun. The deeds of these convents contain clauses so singular, that they have been declared apocryphal by a great number of historians.

In the East, Phocas had seized upon the imperial throne, after having murdered Maurice and his children. The usurper sent his portrait to Gregory, who placed it, with that of the empress Leontia, in the oratory of St. Cosmar, in the palace of the Lateran. His holiness then wrote to the monarch to congratulate him on his happy advent to the throne. Maimbourg, after having traced a frightful picture of the crimes of Phocas, thus expresses himself on the policy of Gregory: "I avow that all who shall read these three epistles, addressed to this prince and to Leontia his wife, will feel an indignation equal to that which I entertain towards the Roman pontiff. The shameful cause of these flatteries was the declaration made by the emperor Maurice in favour of the patriarch of Constantinople, in the contest raised by the holy father for the title of universal bishop. The death of the legitimate sovereign affording the pope a hope of gaining the new sovereign, he employed all the resources of his mind and his policy to gain from Phocas a decree elevating his see above that of Byzantium."

At the beginning of the year 604, queen

Theodelinda advised the court of Rome on the birth and baptism of her son Adoaldus: the same time she submitted to the holy father some observations of the abbot Secondinus upon the fifth council, and besought him to resolve the questions which the prelate dressed to him. Gregory congratulated the queen on having baptized in a Catholic church a prince destined to reign over the Lombards, and he thus terminated his reply: "I am worn down by suffering from the gout, therefore can no longer walk, as your deputies will be firm to you. If God shall grant me a few days less painful, I will reply more at length to the requests of the abbot Secondinus. I will send to him, however, the decisions of the council held during the reign of Justinian, reading them he will recognise the falsity of the assertions made against the Holy See. God preserves us from falling into the error of a heretic, and from separating ourselves from the sentiments of St. Leo, and the four councils."

"I send to prince Adoaldus, your son, a crucifix made of the wood of the true cross, a bracelet to the princess, your daughter, a bible enclosed in Persian wood, and three consecrated rings. Return thanks to the king, your husband, for us for the peace which he has given us, and beseech him to preserve it."

This is the last letter which Gregory wrote. He died on the 12th of March 604, after a reign of thirteen years and some months. His body was deposited without pomp, near to the ancient sacristy of the church of St. Peter, at the extremity of the great portico, where we already placed the sepulchres of several pontiffs. His remains have been preserved, with his pall, the reliquary which he wore around his neck, and the girdle which he wore in the ceremonies of the church.

The deacon John has left us a portrait of Gregory, which was traced from the ancient paintings in the monastery of St. Andrew, where the pope was represented with his father and mother. "His height was well proportioned and elegant; his face united the length of his father's to the roundness of his mother's; his beard was light-colored and thin. He was bald; nevertheless there remained on the very top of his forehead tufts of hair, which curled naturally, and which he suffered to fall on his temples. He had a vast forehead; his eyebrows were low, elevated, and straight; his eyes were wide opened, though not large; the pupil of his eye was red; his nose strongly aquiline, and his nostrils large; his mouth, vermilion; his lips strong; his chin raised, and his complexion livid; his aspect was mild; his hands beautiful, and his fingers rounded and well placed for writing. The painter has represented him clothed in a brown chasuble over his dalmatic. He holds in his left hand the sacred books of the Evangelists, and his modesty prevented him from allowing to be placed above his head the luminous aureole given to the saints to distinguish them from the ordinary faithful!"

As to the qualities of his mind, all historians agree in saying, that Gregory was ingenious in setting forth Christian morality, and in causing heretics and idolaters to adopt it. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of ascetic thoughts, and expressed them in a noble manner, by periods, rather than by sentences. What he said was always true, solid; but common places and vulgar maxims abound in them. He is frequently diffuse in his long dissertations, and assuming in his allegories: finally, we constantly find the style of the rhetorician in the writings of the pontiff.

Some authors affirm, that he was gifted with an extreme modesty, and that he was sincerely grieved at the literary renown which he acquired. Having learned that his uncle Maurice, bishop of Ravenna, publicly recited at the night services his commentaries on the book of Job, he complained of it to that prelate, and prohibited the priests from reading any of his works in the churches. It is also recounted, as a proof of his modesty, that he wrote to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria: "Your beatitude tells me, you will execute that which I have commanded. I beseech you retract the word command, for I know who you are and who I am. You are my brother in dignity and my father in merit. I have not given orders; I have simply apprised you of that which seemed to me useful for religion. I never shall glorify myself in that which shall strike a blow at the grandeur of my brethren, and my glory is that of the church."

Other reliable authors assure us, on the contrary, that he exhibited jealousy of his reputation as a writer. They relate that a Grecian monk, named Andrew, who was confined in a cell, near to the church of St. Paul, composed several discourses in the name of the pontiff, in order to give them greater importance; and that his knavery having been discovered, Gregory, irritated that he had attributed to him such language, punished the forgery with the greatest rigor.

According to the rule established in the orthodox churches of the East, the pontiff divided the revenues of the Holy See into four parts: the first pertained to himself; the second was given to the priests; the third to the poor; and the last to the church-building. In replying to several questions addressed to him by Augustine, bishop of the English, he confirms the division before approved by several popes, and adds that the part of the revenue set aside for the prelate did not belong to himself alone, but to all his servants; and that it should serve for the expenses of hospitality, then in use in episcopal dwellings.

St. Gregory recommended to the people submission to their superiors; nevertheless, he added, that obedience did not draw after it a blind approbation of the orders of princes. "We should warn the people," he wrote, "not to push too far the deference which they owe to their chiefs, from the fear that they may be carried away to respect the crimes of their kings." This principle, in which he was fre-

quently wanting himself, has appeared of so great a necessity, that it has been placed as a rule in the canon law. Thus the church admits of resistance to unjust power; it calls indiscreet obedience that which is not authorised by the apostles, and decides that we should judge of the actions of kings, and refuse to obey measures contrary to the great interests of humanity.

Paul and John, two deacons, who wrote in the ninth century the history of Gregory the First, relate, devoutly, that this pontiff, struck with the exactness which the emperor Trajan had shown in rendering justice, prayed for the repose of the soul of this great prince; and that he obtained from Christ permission for him to leave the infernal regions to enter into the kingdom of heaven!

They also guarantee the reality of that other miracle, which took place in the church of St. Peter. A Roman woman having approached the holy table, the pontiff recited to her the ordinary formula in presenting to her the eucharist: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, may it give you remission from all your sins, and eternal life." These sacramental words having made the communicant smile, the holy father drew back the consecrated bread which he presented to her, and gave it to the deacon to replace upon the altar. After having celebrated divine service, he called to him this woman, who was the keeper of the pantry of the church, and demanded from her what guilty thought had entered into her mind at the very moment of receiving the sacrament of the altar. She replied, "I could not repress a smile, on hearing you give to a piece of bread, which I myself had made, the name of the body of Jesus Christ."

Gregory, seeing the incredulity of this woman prayed, and asked the people to pray with him. His prayer being finished, he rose up, uncovered the host placed under the communion cloth, and found it changed into flesh, with spots of blood. "Approach now," he said to the sinning woman, "and regard the consecrated bread which I give you, which is really the blood and the body of Christ." Then he ordered the assistants to prostrate themselves, and ask from God, that the bread of the eucharist might retake its ordinary form, that the woman, who had appeared moved by the prodigy, might commune: and a new miracle was accomplished at the bidding of the pontiff.

Dom Denis of St. Martha, who refuted the fable of the salvation of Trajan, cites this as an irrefutable proof of transubstantiation. The same monk combated the imputations of historians who accused Gregory of having been superstitious, resting his opinions on this command of the holy father. "I am apprised that there are spread among the faithful the errors of the Jews, relative to the prohibition of labouring on Saturday. If we must observe to the letter the precept of the Sabbath, we must also practise circumcision, notwithstanding the will of the apostle St. Paul. . . ."

Not only was the pontiff superstitious and

trustful in magicians, but he also was intolerant, and persecuted enchanters and sorcerers. Maximus, bishop of Syracuse, as ignorant as were all the bishops of that period, had found in his diocese some Greeks infected with witchcraft; he attributed their imaginary power to the devil; caused them to be imprisoned, and commenced a process against them. He died before judging them. The pope wrote to the deacon Cyprian to continue the trial. "Send us those guilty ones," he said, "when you shall have convicted them of their crimes. If the resources of their infernal art conceal from you the truth, punish them severely; even although the secular judge shall oppose himself to your justice. We must strike without pity all those who are attainted by the spirit of darkness."

The intolerance of the pontiff equally revealed itself in acts of cruelty and Vandalism; he destroyed the monuments of Roman magnificence; he set fire to the Palatine library, founded by Augustus; and he burned in the public square the works of Titus Livy, because that author opposed in his writings superstitious worship. He destroyed the works of Afranius, Nævius, Ennius, and other Latin poets, of whom there only remain fragments. He constantly showed himself the declared

enemy of all the human sciences; proscribed at Rome pagan books, and pushed his hatred against the learned, even to the excommunication of Didier, archbishop of Vienne, because the holy prelate permitted grammar to be taught in his diocese.

Thus the historians of this period affirm, that the priests were more baneful to letters than the wars of the Goths and Vandals; and that we owe to their fanaticism that profound ignorance which spread itself for several centuries over all the provinces of the empire. Gregory not only destroyed the works of the philosophers of Alexandria and Rome, who showed the knavery of the leading Christian ministers, and who could enlighten the nations; but the church militant following the example of its chief, attacked with fury every thing which bore the name of science and art. The rarest manuscripts were burned; pictures of an inestimable price were destroyed; the master-pieces of sculpture were broken or mutilated, and splendid buildings fell before the axes of the priests. Finally, the new religion established its throne on the ruins of the noblest treasures of antiquity, to found its power upon the ignorance and brutality of the people!!

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## THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

### SABINIANUS, THE SIXTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 602.—PHOCAS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Sabinianus—His harshness to the poor—He accuses St. Gregory of having bought the title of saint—He endeavours to condemn as heretical the books of his predecessor—St. Gregory appears to the pontiff, and strikes him dead.*

DURING the seventh century, the bishops of Rome commenced extending their dominion, spiritual and temporal, employing by turns craft and audacity; they humbly bow the head before the masters of the empire when these latter are powerful, and revolt against their authority when they see them conquered by their enemies, or unable to punish them. It is true that the emperors drew upon themselves, by their faults, the hatred of the people and the contempt of the clergy; first, by abusing themselves to sustain theological theses, and then by espousing the most ridiculous quarrels on the dogmas of catholicism; and finally, by doing that which was most odious, by pushing the violence of their controversies even to the persecution of the unfortunate, who held adverse opinions to theirs. In the midst of those idle disputes, the material interests of the provinces were neglected, and the citizens who were separated from the creed of the monarch, naturally accustomed themselves to regard him as an enemy, and sought to free themselves from his yoke.

The popes profited by this infatuation of the emperors for religious questions, and rendered the disputes between them and their subjects more violent and bitter, now by ranging themselves on the side of the princes, now by adopting the opinion of the subjects. They thus acquired a real power, which they knew how to render more and more formidable, by leaning it for support on superstition and fanaticism.

The consequence of this state of things was, that the shades of ignorance covered the entire world. The popes even prohibited the faithful from learning to read, under penalty of excommunication. By their orders the monuments of antiquity fell under the axes of the priests; the most precious manuscripts were cast into the flames by Vandals, wearing the tiara, and humanity can only veil its face to deplore the rich treasures snatched from her.

Thus the sublime doctrines of Jesus Christ became trampled upon, despised, spit upon. Thus the intention of the Revealer was inter-



preted! The popes substituted their caprices for the laws of the Bible, and preserved the authority they had usurped by fraudulently employing the name of Christ to oppress men. At length their boldness became such, that they dared to say, "People, listen! We, who are the interpreters of Supreme Wisdom, declare to you, that truth flows from our mouth; that we have the right to impose on you our belief; and he, who shall not preach and teach that which we preach and teach, shall be excommunicated, were he Jesus Christ himself!!"

The pontiff who commences the series of Roman bishops of the seventh century, was the Tuscan, Sabinianus, the son of Bonus, who was of illustrious birth, and who had drawn upon himself the contempt of the Romans for his dissolute morals. Anastasius, the librarian, informs us that he was the nuncio of Gregory at the court of Maurice; and that he was chosen by the clergy, not as the most worthy to govern the church, but as the most capable of augmenting the power of the priests, and the splendour of the pontifical throne.

His conduct was very different from that of his predecessor; for in a famine which desolated the pontifical city, he sold the grain which Gregory had distributed as a gratuity. As the poor could not pay a penny of gold for thirty measures of grain, and were dying of hunger close by the abundant granaries of the Holy See, the principal people went in procession to the palace of Sabinianus, to beseech him, in the name of Christ, not to suffer those to perish miserably, whom he should nourish in the monasteries during the afflictions of the dearth. But without even listening to them, the pontiff drove them from his presence, exclaiming, "Turn from me, ye wretches. Do you suppose me willing to imitate the conduct of the last pope, and pur-

chase from you the title of saint by my prodigalities."

Nero also blamed his ancestors for having drained the public treasury by excessive largesses to the citizens! Strange aberration of the human mind! A Sabinianus and a Nero dared to make themselves censors of the conduct of their predecessors, as if they had no cause to fear, in turn, the judgment of their posterity!

Sabinianus, the possessor of the treasures of St. Peter, not content with showing himself as hard to the poor as Gregory had been charitable, wished to destroy the witnesses which had procured for him so great a reputation, and pretended that they were full of heresy. The synod convoked by the holy father, had already given an order to deliver them to the flames, when a deacon, named Peter, rose from his seat, and affirmed with an oath, that during the life of Gregory he had seen the Holy Spirit, under the form of a dove, light upon the head of the saint, and dictate to him his works. This strange incident prevented Sabinianus from executing his desire!

At length, the harshness of the pontiff and his insatiable avarice, rendered him so odious to the Romans, that a plot was formed against his life. Several priests penetrated secretly into his apartments, and assassinated him.

An author of the time relates another version of his death. He affirms that at the moment when Sabinianus was occupied in counting his treasures in a secret chamber St. Gregory appeared to him, reproached him with the misfortunes of Rome, and ordered him to change his conduct; and that on his refusal he struck him on the head with so much violence, that the holy father died of his wound, on the 15th of February, 605, after having reigned six months. It is believed that his body was cast without the walls of the holy city.

## BONIFACE THE THIRD, SIXTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 606.—PHOCAS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Boniface—His ambition—Phocas gives him the title of universal bishop—Constitution at Rome—Despotism of Boniface—His death.*

THE struggles and intrigues which followed the death of Sabinianus, prolonged for a whole year the vacancy of the see of Rome.

At length the faction of Boniface the Third prevailed. He received the episcopal ordination, and was elevated upon the apostolical chair. Born in the holy city, and deacon of this church, he had been sent, during the pontificate of Gregory, to the court of the emperor, in the quality of nuncio. This proud pope was the first who dared to bear the title of universal bishop, so long refused by the Roman pontiffs to the Greek patriarchs.

At this period Phocas governed the empire. This prince, irritated against Cyriacus, had refused him admission into the city after the murder of the empress Constantina and her daughter, resolved, in order to aveng himself on that prelate, to elevate the see of Rome above that of Byzantium, and nominated Boniface as universal bishop of all the churches of Christendom.

The pontiff immediately convoked a synod and caused it to confirm the title which the emperor had given him, by declaring the pre-eminence of his see over that of Con-

nople. This same council prohibited the renewal of the intrigues which took place for the election of the popes, and ordered that the clergy, the grandees, and the people, should assemble three days after the death of the bishops of Rome, to name their successors.

Boniface also decreed that the nomination of prelates, in all the kingdoms, should not be canonical until after confirmation by the court of Rome. His bull commences in these words: "We will and ordain that such an one be bishop; and that you shall obey him

without hesitation in all he shall command you. . . ."

Thus the authority of the successors of the fisherman Simon increased in a single day by the will of an execrable murderer, and the popes raised themselves from obedience to despotism.

But Boniface did not long enjoy his absolute power; he died in the very year of his election, on the 12th of November, 806. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

## BONIFACE THE FOURTH, SIXTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 607.—PHOCAS and HERACLIUS, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Boniface the Fourth—The Pantheon changed into a Christian temple—A council declares that monks can be promoted to the episcopacy—The pope changes his residence to a monastery—His death.*

THE disorders which were the precursors of the election of a pontiff recommenced on the death of Boniface the Third, notwithstanding the decrees of the last council, and retarded for six months the nomination of a new pope. At length intrigue and simony elevated to the pontifical throne a priest of the Roman church, who took the name of Boniface the Fourth. He was the son of a physician named John, and had been educated from his youth by the monks, who had instructed him in the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. Thus, to show his thanks to his old companions, he overwhelmed them with riches, and spread his favours over all the religious orders.

The tyrant Phocas, desirous of preserving the aid of the bishop of Rome, offered to Boniface the Pantheon, built by Marius Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, thirty years before the Christian era, and consecrated, formerly, to all the divinities of paganism. The pontiff thankfully accepted the offer of the emperor, and transformed this splendid building into a Christian church, which he solemnly dedicated to the Virgin, under the name of our Lady of the Rotunda.

Mellitus, bishop of London, came at this period to Italy, and assisted at a council held by Boniface, in 610, to determine rules for, and the form of, government of the English churches.

Holstenius maintains, that the synod made a decree authorising monks to be named bishops, and to discharge the sacerdotal functions. The same authority cites a letter from Boniface the Fourth to king Ethelbert, in which he threatens with excommunication the successors of the prince who should oppose the ordination of monks. "The monastic profession," adds the pontiff, "is the most favourable to prepare men for the ministry of Christ. By the sanctity of a cloistered life, they deserve to be compared to angels; and as angels are the messengers of God in heaven, so should the monks be his ministers upon earth. Besides, do they not resemble the glorious cherubims in their external forms? The cowl, which covers their heads, resembles two brilliant wings; the long sleeves of their tunics form two others; and we may affirm that the extremities of the garment which envelopes their body, represent two more wings. They have thus six wings like the seraphims, and belong to the highest hierarchy of the angels!"

The holy father pushed his monastic fanaticism so far as to change his paternal mansion into a convent. At length he died, in 614, after a pontificate of seven years. Like his predecessor he was buried in the church of St. Peter.

## DEODATUS THE FIRST, SEVENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 614.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His origin—Letters attributed to him—Uncertainty of the duration of his pontificate—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Boniface the Fourth, Deodatus arrived at the papacy. He was the son of a sub-deacon of the church of Rome, who had given him a pious education. From

his very youth he had acquired, by his humility and regular morals, a great reputation for sanctity.

Soon after his elevation to the throne of the church, an epidemical leprosy extended its ravages among the poor, who were always numerous in the holy city. This cruel malady communicated itself without touch, and merely by the breath of those who were infected with it. Notwithstanding the danger, the virtuous pontiff visited the sick, and showed an evangelical charity in solacing their sufferings.

A pious legend adds, that "One day, Deodatus, desirous of encouraging the clergy to imitate his example, kissed a leper on the forehead, and the sick man was immediately cured." We are entirely ignorant of the other actions of the pontiff.

A letter addressed to Gordianns, bishop of Seville, is attributed to him. But it is evidently apocryphal, as the see of that city was occupied by Isidore, from 600 to 636, an interval which includes the reign of Deodatus. The author of this piece declares that, according to the decree of the Holy See, the husband and wife who held their children at the sacred fount of baptism, should be separated, under pain of excommunication. He adds, however, that after having accomplished

the penance imposed by the church, they could be reunited by submitting anew to the sacrament of marriage.

We are ignorant of the exact period at which Deodatus came to the apostolical throne. The duration of his pontificate is not more certain, and it is believed that he died in the month of November, in the year 617. His body was placed in the church of St. Peter.

Deodatus has left the reputation of a wise and virtuous man; and the affection which he always exhibited for the poor has justly merited for him the name of saint. He was the first pontiff whose bulls were sealed with lead.

During his reign the Persians conquered Jerusalem and all Palestine. They immolated, by thousands priests, monks, and nuns. They burned all the churches, seized upon an innumerable quantity of the sacred vases and precious shrines, and led into slavery the patriarch Zachary, and very many people. But that which above all spread universal grief among the Christians, was the loss of the precious cross of gold, which enclosed a model of the true cross. This sacred relic was taken away from the adoration of the faithful. There remained of all the instruments of the passion of our Saviour, but the sponge and the lance, which had been sent to Constantinople.

## BONIFACE THE FIFTH, SEVENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 617.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His letters—Conversion of the princess Ethelberge and her brother Ethelbert, king of Kent—Boniface sends presents to the king and queen of Northumberland—He makes churches a place of asylum for the wicked—His death—Miracles published by John Moschus.*

BONIFACE the Fifth was originally from Naples, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Sixtus. He was chosen to succeed Deodatus the First, in the month of December of the year 617. We are ignorant of the greater part of his actions.

Bede reports three letters which the pope wrote during his reign. One is addressed to Justus, metropolitan of Canterbury; he congratulates the prelate on the success of his apostolical labours, and exhorts him to persevere in his missions for the conversion of the people of England. He grants to him the power of ordaining bishops to facilitate the propagation of the gospel; and as a recompense for his zeal, he sends him the pallium.

At this time Edwin, the fifth sovereign of Northumberland, espoused the princess Ethelberge, sister of Ethelbert, king of Kent. The principal condition of the marriage was, that the young queen, who had already embraced the Christian religion, should be accompanied by monks, charged to explain to the monarch the new dogmas, for the purpose of converting him. But, if the prince persisted in the

belief of his ancestors, she was to enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and to be allowed to hold intercourse with the priests of her suite, and to practise her acts of devotion.

Boniface being apprised of the favourable disposition of Edwin, wrote to him, "King of Northumberland, I thank the true God for having enlightened your mind, by making you comprehend the vanity of idols. May your soul soon be stricken with the rays of his grace, so that your example may draw after it the other princes of England, and cause them to abandon the superstitions of paganism, to lay down at the feet of Christ their wisdom and power."

Another letter of the holy father was addressed to the queen. He congratulated her on having joined, as well as her brother Ethelbert, the ranks of the faithful. He exhorted her to apply herself by her example and persuasion, to convince the sovereign, her husband, of the truth of the holy Scriptures, and to render him more ardent for the propagation of the faith. He sent to them, as presents, in the name of the holy apostle Peter, the pro-

lector of the kingdom of Northumberland, a shirt embroidered with gold, and a rich mantle to king Edwin. Ethelberge received a silver mirror, and an ivory comb, enriched with carvings, and embossments in gold.

The pope wishing, as his predecessors, to make religion subservient in extending the temporal authority of the Holy See, published in all Christian states a bull, providing that malefactors, whatever might be their crimes, could not be dragged from the churches where they had taken refuge. The churches had already become a place of inviolable asylum for all the wicked; but Boniface the Fifth was the first who converted into a law this usage, established by the policy of the priests.

The holy father died on the 25th of October, 625, after having occupied the pontifical chair for seven years and six months. He was interred in the cathedral of St. Peter, at Rome.

During his pontificate appeared the famous book of John Moschus, called the *Spiritual Meadow*, in which the burlesque contends with the cynical. This John was an Egyptian anchorite, who, after having been saved, when his country was invaded by the Persians, had obtained the government of a convent at Rome. In his work he professes to be an eye-witness of all the marvels he relates. It is well, in order to know the spirit of that century, to give a literal translation of some of his miracles. "In a journey which I made to Cilicia," says the legendary, "I contracted a friendship with a priest who saw the Holy Spirit descend upon the altar at the hour of divine service. This priest resolved never again to celebrate mass, until he was visited by this glorious person of the Trinity; so that if the Holy Spirit was engaged, he waited until afternoon prayers before performing the ceremony. Near to Egina, in Cilicia, I was witness to another very singular miracle, which confounded the enemies of our holy religion. A Catholic monk sent to be-

seech a monk of the Severian communion to send him a consecrated wafer, consecrated by a priest of his communion. The latter believing that he had made a convert, hastened to carry him a wafer himself. Then the Catholic heated some water in our presence, and when the liquid was in a boiling state, cast in the wafer, which immediately dissolved. Then he took an imperceptible part of a wafer, consecrated by an orthodox priest; he cast it into a boiling pot, and immediately the water lost its heat. To avenge himself for his defeat, the Severian monk fell upon his adversary, tore from him the rest of the wafer, rolled it up in his fingers, cast it on the earth, and trampled it under his feet; but suddenly a thunderbolt annihilated him, and the eucharist, glittering with light, mounted gently towards heaven." The *Spiritual Meadow* is entirely composed of like recitals, as burlesque, obscene, and altogether extraordinary. John dedicated his work to his dear disciple Sophronius, which has led some historians to cite this latter as the author of the collection. After his death his body was transported to Jerusalem, and deposited in the monastery of the abbot, saint Theodosius.

In France, flourished another monk, named St. Riquier, founder of the famous monastery of Centula. This pious cenobite, who had been converted to the Christian religion by two Irish priests, named Caidoc and Frisco, pushed so far the fanaticism of penance, that he only ate barley bread, spread with ashes, twice a week, and only slept one night in four. This existence made so great a noise in the province, that the faithful came together from all parts to receive his benediction. Among other visits, it is said he received that of Dagobert, who came to ask absolution for his sins; but the saint refused to grant his request, and declared to him that the gates of heaven would never open before kings, oppressors of the people.

## HONORIUS THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 625.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The election of Honorius—Conversion of king Edwin—Honorius addresses letters to the Scotch—Festival of the exaltation of the cross—History of Monothelism—The pope becomes a heretic—The council condemns the pontiff—Infallibility of the Holy See—Death of Honorius.*

HONORIUS, the son of a consul named Petronius, was originally from Campania. He had scarcely been installed in the Holy See, when he learned that the Lombards had driven away their king, Adalwodus, an orthodox prince, and had proclaimed Ariovaldus, an Arian, in his place.

Fearing the influence of the new monarch on the religion of his people, the pontiff wrote to Isacius, exarch of Ravenna, that he should re-establish the dethroned king, and order the Italian bishops who had approved of this re-

volution, to go to the court of Rome to be judged and condemned, according to the canons of the church. But the exarch, wiser than the holy father, did not even reply to his request, and made a treaty with Ariovaldus.

Towards the end of the year 625, the king of Northumberland, yielding to the solicitations of queen Ethelberge, and the preaching of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and of Paulinus of York, determined to embrace the Christian religion. Honorius recompensed

these two prelates for this brilliant conversion, by authorising them to bear the pallium. He then addressed a letter to Edwin to exhort him to inform himself in the dogmas of religion, and to propagate it among the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk. He also wrote to the Scotch, to induce them to follow in their ceremonies the customs of Rome, and to conform to the decision of the council of Nice, in celebrating the festival of Easter.

In the interval, the emperor Heraclius conquered the Persians and re-entered Constantinople in triumph, leading back the Christians who were in captivity, and to whom he had restored their liberty. He also brought back the true cross which Chosroës had carried away from Jerusalem fourteen years before. This precious relic was deposited in the cathedral of Constantinople, until the emperor could carry it back to Jerusalem. In the following year, at the commencement of the spring, Heraclius embarked for Jerusalem, to thank God for his victories, upon the very spot of his passion. When he entered the holy city, the patriarch Zachary came to meet him at the head of his clergy, and received from his hands the cross of the Saviour, which was then enclosed in its case of gold, as it had been carried away. The holy prelate examined the seals, discovered that they were unbroken, and after having opened the case with the keys, he drew from it the sacred wood, to show to his assistants. The Latin church celebrates this glorious event on the 14th day of September, under the name of the exaltation of the cross. The Grecian church celebrates on the same day an analogous festival; not in honour of the return of the holy cross, but to recall the recollection of the apparition of the Labarum to Constantine the Great. This last version has induced the supposition, that the true cross had been really destroyed by the Persians, and that the act attributed to Heraclius was but an invention of the bishops of Rome.

The heresy of the Monothelites soon caused a new scandal in the church, in consequence of the publication of the famous *Echtheses* of the emperor Heraclius. It commenced in these words: "Wishing to conform to the wisdom of the holy fathers, we recognise in Jesus Christ, the true God, but one will . . ." This bold proposition cast the church into a frightful confusion, and we will say with St. Augustine, that in these times of darkness, religion was obscured by the multitude of scandals which raised themselves against it.

Cyrus, the venerable bishop of Alexandria, desirous of putting an end to the disputes, convened a great council, which examined the sentiments of the Monothelites, and decreed that their opinions were in conformity with the doctrines of the orthodox. They summed up the decision of the assembly in nine articles. The seventh, which is the most remarkable, establishes, that the fathers recognise with Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, that there exists in Jesus Christ but one will or operation. This opinion was adopted by the pre-

lates, under the specious pretext of leading back the Severites to unity.

Sergius, on his part, convoked a synod in his diocese, and approved of the proceedings of the council held by Cyrus. But Sophronius, a monk of Jerusalem, condemned this error, which he treated as a heresy, and wished to constrain the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople to a solemn retraction. Sergius, who was aware of the mischief-making spirit of the monks, addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, to oblige this monk to keep silence upon questions which might make streams of blood to flow in the East.

Honorius replied to the patriarch: "Your letter informs us of new disputes from words started by a certain Sophronius, formerly a monk, now bishop of Jerusalem. We approve of our brother Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who teaches with you, that there is but a single operation in Jesus Christ; and we severely blame this monk for having gone near you to combat your doctrines, and whose pride has been humbled by the force of your eloquence. The letter which you have addressed to us, shows that your decisions are the dictates of much circumspection and foresight, and we praise you for having abridged the new word, which might scandalize simple minds.

In accordance with your example, we confess a single will in Christ, because, by his incarnation he did not receive original sin; he took only the nature of man as it was created before sin had corrupted it. The wisdom of councils and the Scriptures, does not authorize us to teach one rather than two operations, and our intelligence does not conceive of this double faculty in the divine and human will of Christ.

"We should reject the word operation, because it appears to express at once, cause and effect, and may lead the faithful to confounding the work with the will, which has produced it. Still, if I condemn the double sense of this word, it is on account of the scandal which it would introduce into the church, by permitting common minds to confound us with the Nestorians and Eutychians; for it would import but little to admit the word operation. We profess these sentiments to you, that you may teach them in unison with us.

"Those who attribute one or two natures to Christ, and affirm that it accomplishes one or two operations, outrage the majesty of God; for the Creator, not having been created, cannot have one or two natures. I declare to you this principle, to show the conformity of my faith with yours, and that we may remain always animated by the same spirit.

"We have written to our brothers Cyrus and Sophronius, to put an end to their idle quarrels, and not insist upon new terms, will or operation. We invite them to say with us, that Christ is an only God, who, by the aid of two natures, does that which is divine, or that which is human. We have also commanded the envoys who brought us the synodical letter from the bishop of Jerusalem, not to speak in future of two operations; and

they have promised to conform to our will if the patriarch of Alexandria ceased to write or speak on the unity of the operation of Jesus Christ."

The letters of the pontiff were received without opposition from the bishops of the East, and the heresy of the Monothelites, sustained by the entire Greek church, found itself still more powerful under the protection of Honorius the First.

The pope died in 638, after a pontificate of twelve years, according to the chronology of Anastasius the Librarian.

Honorius, according to an Arabic version, gave, during his reign, an orthodox patriarch to the Maronites.

Vicelinus assures us, that this pope was distinguished for the purity of his morals and his charities to the poor. He conformed, at least, to the spirit of his age, which made the

virtues and merits of the pontiffs to consist in their love for founding churches and monasteries; for he gave more than three thousand Roman pounds to convents; he covered the dome of St. Peter's with copper plates, which he took from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and renewed the sacred vases of that cathedral.

Honorius, dead in the odour of sanctity, was not at first censured by any ecclesiastical authority; but some years after the sixth general council declared that this pontiff wholly participated in the impiety of Sergius. His letters were publicly given to the flames, with those of other Monothelites, and the fathers exclaimed, "Anathemas upon Honorius the heretic." The seventh and eighth œcumenical synods confirmed this judgment, and declared that popes were not infallible!!!

## SEVERINUS, THE SEVENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 639.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Severinus—He is besieged in the palace of the Lateran—The soldiers pillage the treasury of the Holy See—The pope suspected of being a Monothelite—His character—His death—Vacancy in the Holy See.*

AFTER the death of Honorius, a bishop named Severinus, a Roman by birth, arrived at the sovereign pontificate; but he could not exercise the sacerdotal functions until the following year, his election not having been confirmed by the emperor.

The holy father, by his steadiness in refusing his approbation to the Ectheses of Heraclius, having excited the wrath of the cartulary Maurice, the latter assembled the soldiers and thus addressed them: "Comrades, Honorius died without paying you the arrears due to you, and the treasures have been increased by sums sent from Constantinople for the pay of the troops. The successor of this avaricious priest, in contempt of solemn engagements, refuses to pay a legitimate debt, and repels our just reclamations. Now, if we wish to receive the price of the blood which we shed for the empire, we have but one way, that of employing force and of doing justice to ourselves."

Rendered furious by this discourse, the soldiers seized their arms and hastened to the palace of the Lateran to pillage it; the massive gates resisted their efforts for three days, and Severinus, at the head of his clergy, courageously defended the treasures of the church. At length, worn out with fatigue and wounds, the servants of the pope demanded a capitulation. Maurice suspended the combat, calmed the sedition, and accompanied by the judges of Rome, penetrated beneath the roof of this rich edifice. They placed seals on the vestry, upon the saloons of ornaments, vases, and crowns; upon the

treasure chamber, upon the bullion chamber, and upon the galleries, filled with immense treasures, sent by emperors and kings, or deposited by patricians and consuls, to nourish the poor, or to bring back the captive. Then they discovered how the intentions of the pious donors had been treated with contempt, since their presents, shut up in the treasury of the popes, served, not to solace the miseries of men, but to indulge the luxury and debauchery of the Roman clergy.

The cartulary wrote to the exarch at Ravenna, to render him an account of what he had done, and Isaluis immediately came to Rome, to confirm, as he said, the election of Severinus to the episcopal see of that city. He drove off the principal clergy, who might have been able to excite the populace against acts of military despotism, and sent them into exile in different provinces. Then he made his troops hem in the approaches to the palace of the Lateran, and during eight days, the soldiers were employed in carrying off the gold, furniture, ornaments, and precious vases, which filled the dwelling of the pontiffs. Severinus at length, discerning that the power of the sword was still more redoubtable than that of the cross, determined to subscribe to the Ectheses of the emperor; and, in return, received from the exarch authority to govern the church.

Some historians maintain that the pontiff was not a Monothelite, and that he did not partake of the heresy of the prince. Others rely upon irresistible proofs, and cite a letter from Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, which

indicates positively the sending of the *Ectheses* of Heraclius to the sovereign pontiff, and of his forced adhesion after the attack on the palace of the Lateran, by the soldiers of Maurice. Thus it is proved, that Severinus was a heretical pope, were it not for the objection that, not having been ordained at the time of his abjuration, the Holy Spirit had not been able to communicate to him the light of infallibility, which would then submit the divine will to the caprice of princes.

Apart from this, the pontiff was esteemed for his virtues, his mildness, his love for the poor, and the care which he took in renewing the famous Mosaics of the roof of the cathedral. The duration of his reign has not been exactly determined; still, the general opinion places the epoch of his death in the year 640. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Rome.

After the death of Severinus, the Holy See remained vacant for four months and twenty-nine days, in consequence of the intrigues of Heraclius, who protracted the elections to gain time to submit the Greeks and Latins to his *Ectheses*. Still, the difficulty for the emperor was not to cause his belief on Monothelism to be accepted by the Christians of the East, sufficiently prompt of themselves to cling to decisions formerly made, and always disposed to discuss and seek for modifications of dogmas, but he wished besides to impose his opinions on the Latin bishops.

These finding themselves sustained by the nobility and the people, rejected the adoption of the *Ectheses*, and sought to name a pontiff who partook of their sentiments. The agents of the emperor on their side, in conformity with the orders they had received, put intrigue and corruption to work, and rejected the candidates who refused to engage in advance to conform to the wishes of Heraclius. St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and one of those who had most strongly opposed the prince, engaged, in consequence of this, in a violent polemical controversy with the Monothelites. He had traversed the East to examine the libraries, and had already made three enormous volumes, with passages from the fathers, favourable to his opinions; when, at the very moment he was about to go to Rome to present his labours to the Italian clergy, he fell dangerously sick and foresaw that his end was approaching. He then called to Jerusalem, Stephen of Dora, the first of his suffragans; he climbed with him on Calvary, and after having made him swear by the consecrated host, that he would obey him faithfully, he said to him, "go to the bishops of Italy and do not cease to press on them the condemnation of the impious novelties which Heraclius wishes to introduce into Catholicism." Stephen of Dora obeyed his metropolitan, and immediately embarked for Rome.

## JOHN THE FOURTH, SEVENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 640.—HERACLIUS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of John—Birth of the pontiff—Ectheses of the emperor Heraclius—John condemns the heresy of the Monothelites—Disputes between the monks and the priests—Death of John the Fourth.*

JOHN the Fourth, the son of the scholastic Venantius was born in Dalmatia. He was named bishop of Rome by the people, the clergy, and the grandees; and his election having been confirmed by the chief of the empire, he immediately mounted the Holy See.

Before pursuing the recital of the religious wars, it is necessary to give a definition of the *Ectheses* of Heraclius, which then caused so great disorders in the church. This famous edict commenced by a profession of the orthodox faith in the Trinity; then it explained the incarnation by establishing the distinction of the two natures; and preserving the unity of the two persons. The author thus concludes: "We attribute to the word of God, that is to say, to the incarnate Word, all the divine and human operations of Christ. From the doctrine of the councils, we say that a single power executes these two operations; and that they both proceed from the incarnate Word, without division, confusion, or succession.

"We do not employ the term, 'a single operation,' but as it is found in the writings of the fathers; because it might seem strange to common minds; and because we fear that our enemies might seize upon it to combat the established belief in the double nature of Jesus Christ. We reject the term, 'two operations,' because this expression is not found in the works of the doctors of the church; and because it would admit being interpreted, to recognize in Christ two contrary wills; that is to say two persons, the one wishing the accomplishment of the sacrifice of the cross, the other opposing itself to the punishment—an impious thought and opposed to the doctrine of the fathers.

"The heretic Nestorius, in dividing the incarnation, did not dare to say that the two Sons of God, imagined by him, had two wills: he recognized, on the contrary, a single volition in these two persons. Thus the Catholics, who do not conceive but a single nature in Christ, cannot admit in him two powers

which are combative. Then, we confess, with the fathers, a single will in the incarnate word; and, we believe, that his flesh, animated by a soul, possessing activity with reason, has never accomplished a particular action, and opposed the divine Spirit which is united to him hypostatically."

This formula of Monothelism was composed by the patriarch Sergius, and published in the name of the emperor Heraclius, who supported it with all his authority until his death. After the death of this prince, the political face of affairs changed in the East. Heraclius had left the empire to his son Constantine; but, before he was fairly seated on his throne, the empress Martina, sustained by the patriarch Pyrrhus, poisoned the young prince, to elevate to his place her younger son. The senate and people punished the assassins, placed a new emperor on the throne, and forced Pyrrhus to resign the see of Constantinople in favour of the patriarch Paul, a fanatical supporter of Monothelism.

The church of the West renewed its efforts to extinguish the schism, and lanced terrible anathemas against the Greeks. John the Fourth, at the instigation of Stephen of Dora, assembled a numerous council and condemned the Ecthesis, as well as all its favourers and adherents. The bishops of Africa hastened to follow this example, and the pastors of the provinces of Byzacenum, Numidia, and Mauritania, did not spare, in their sentences, neither the ancient Monophysites, nor those who had succeeded them.

After the adjournment of the council, the pope hastened to expedite its proceedings to the court of Constantinople, with an apostolical letter, in which his holiness sought to attenuate the enormity of the heresy of his predecessor Honorius, admitting all the while that he had partaken of the errors of the

schismatics. This singular apology, in which the most authentic proceedings were denied by pope John, thus terminated: "We have learned that there has been sent from Constantinople an edict, to constrain the bishops of the West to condemn the council of Chalcedon and the letter of St. Leo; but the efforts of the enemies of God have been fruitless, and we trust that the emperor, inspired by the Holy Spirit, will declare himself in favour of orthodoxy, and publicly cancel the infamous Ecthesis of Heraclius, which is yet affixed to the gates of all the churches of new Rome, to the great scandal of the faithful."

During the following year, 641, John sent the abbot Martin, a pious and faithful man, to ransom the Christian captives who were in slavery. He instructed him at the same time to transport from Illyria and Dalmatia, the relics of the holy martyrs Venantius, Anastasius, and Maur; and when the sacred remains were brought to Rome, he received them with great pomp, and interred them in an oratory which he had constructed in the midst of the church of the Lateran.

During this pontificate, violent religious quarrels occurred between the secular and regular clergy, who pursued each other with an implacable hatred. The ecclesiastics, not being able to endure that the monks should have the right of placing priests in churches which had been given to them by the bishops, complained to the pope of the scandal of this abuse; but the politic John refused to admit their claims, and solemnly confirmed the privileges granted to the monks, in consideration of the services they had always rendered to the Holy See.

This pontiff died at Rome in 641, after a reign of eighteen months and some days, and was interred in the cathedral of St. Peter.

## THEODORE THE FIRST, SEVENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 641.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His letter to the patriarch of Constantinople—He condemns the Ecthesis of Heraclius—Paul of Constantinople treats with contempt the remonstrances of the pope—The pope appoints Stephen of Dora his vicar in Palestine—Retraction of Pyrrhus—Profession of faith of the patriarch of Constantinople—Condemnation of Pyrrhus—Excommunication of Paul of Constantinople—Death of Theodore the First.*

THEODORE obtained the Holy See some time after the death of John the Fourth; his election was confirmed by the exarch of Ravenna. This pope was by birth a Greek, and the son of a patriarch of Jerusalem. At the commencement of his pontificate, he received synodical letters from Paul, recently elected to the see of Constantinople, and from the bishops who had ordained him.

The holy father replied to the patriarch in these terms: "The reading of your letters, my dear brother, has apprised us of the pu-

rity of your faith; but we are surprised that they do not condemn the edict affixed, to the great scandal of the faithful, in all the streets of your city. The dogmas, confirmed by so many councils, should not be corrected by Heraclius nor Pyrrhus,—for thus the fathers, who prescribed, would have usurped the name of saints, and should be deprived of their celestial beatitude.

"Our astonishment is increased by learning that the bishops who consecrated you have, three times, called the heretical Pyrrhus,



holy. This unworthy priest made, as a pretext for quitting the see of Constantinople, his great age and his infirmities; whilst we know that he obeyed the terror with which the hatred of the people inspired him. Thus, this voluntary abandonment of his church, does not deprive him of his episcopate, and during his whole life, unless he is regularly condemned, you may expect a schism, or fear lest he should lay pretensions to the see which you occupy.

"Still, through a sentiment of affection for your person, we have given instructions to the archdeacon Siricus, and to Martin our deacon and nuncio, to represent us in a council, which you will assemble, to examine canonically the case of this heretic. Do not defer his examination under the pretext that you cannot equitably judge an absent bishop; his presence at the synod is not necessary, since you have his writings. Besides, have not his excesses brought scandal on the faithful? Has he not praised Heraclius? An abominable crime, since that prince has censured the faith of the fathers. Has he not approved of the subscription to the infamous Ecthesis, which encloses a pretended symbol? Has he not surprised the vigilance of many bishops, by inducing them, by his example, to subscribe to this condemnable letter? Finally, has he not insolently caused it to be put up in the streets of Constantinople, in contempt of the severe warnings of our predecessor.

"Thus, when you shall have examined these accusations in your assembly, you will excommunicate him, and depose him from the priesthood, not only for the preservation of the faith, but even the security of your own ordination. If his partisans offer obstacles to your justice, and wish to excite a schism, you will render their efforts impotent by obtaining from the emperor an order which will constrain the guilty to appear before us, as we have already demanded from the prince."

The opinions of Theodore were not listened to, and the patriarch Paul affected even a contemptuous disdain for the remonstrances of the Holy See.

Sergius, metropolitan of the island of Cyprus, wrote to the pontiff, complaining of the conduct of the clergy of Constantinople. For himself, he declared that he recognized the primacy of the church of Rome, founded on the power given to the apostle Peter. He boasted of his attachment to the faith of St. Leo, and anathematized the Ecthesis affixed in the Grecian capital. "Until to-day," says he in his letter, "we have preserved silence on the errors of our brethren, hoping that they would abandon their heresy to return to the Catholic faith; but their obstinacy has forced us to break with them, to follow the opinions of Arcadius our holy uncle, by conforming to the orthodox communion of your greatness. Such are our own sentiments, as well as those of our clergy and province!"

Stephen, chief of the diocese of Dora, and first suffragan of Jerusalem, also addressed complaints to the pope on the disorders

which the faction of Paul of Constantinople caused in Palestine. "Sergius," he wrote, "bishop of Joppa, after the retreat of the Persians, seized upon the vicariate of Jerusalem, without any ecclesiastical form, and is only sustained by the secular magistrates: he has even ordained several bishops, dependant on that see. Still, these latter, though well knowing that their election was irregular, and desirous of being maintained in their bishoprics, have not attached themselves to the patriarch of the imperial city by approving of the new doctrine."

The pontiff, to thank Stephen for his submission, named him his vicar in Palestine; and, by the same letters, he granted him power to arrest the disorders of the churches of that province, by deposing the prelates irregularly appointed by Sergius of Joppa. Stephen executed the orders of the holy father; still, he refused to nominate to the vacant sees; not recognizing in Theodore the right to create bishops without the permission of the prince.

The prelates of Africa then declared against Monothelism, and addressed their letters to the court of Rome. The abbot Maximus, a man celebrated for the sanctity of his morals and the purity of his faith, undertook the conversion of Pyrrhus, and the force of his reasoning was such, that in a conference he compelled the latter to retract. Ten years later, the venerable Maximus expiated his attachment to the church by an atrocious punishment, and the executioner was a pontiff of Rome! The converted heretic quitted Africa and came to Italy to demand from God pardon for his sins. According to custom, he performed his devotions at the tomb of the apostles. He was then admitted to present to the holy father a writing, in which were anathematized the doctrines that he or his predecessors had sustained against the faith.

This public manifestation of the return of Pyrrhus to orthodoxy, filled Theodore with joy. He opened to him the treasures of St. Peter, to make largesses to the people, and seated him on one side of the altar, honouring him as bishop of Constantinople. The holy father defrayed all his expenses, and furnished him with the means necessary to maintain, with pomp, the dignity of patriarch.

Thus Pyrrhus, having voluntarily descended from his see, soon repented of having abdicated his power, and abjured his belief to return to greatness! So ardent is the desire for rule among priests, and so many inexplicable contradictions does the ecclesiastical spirit offer.

His apostasy induced the defection of other oriental bishops. The three primates, Columbus of Numidia, Stephen of Byzacenum, and Reparatus of Mauritania, addressed a synodical letter to the pontiff, with the approbation of all their suffragans, in favor of Pyrrhus, and reclaimed his reinstatement in the see of Constantinople.

Paul, menaced by a deposition, and urged by the legates of the pontiff who exhorted

him to explain in what sense he understood the symbol of a single will in Jesus Christ, resolved then to send to the court of Rome, a dogmatical letter, for the purpose of deciding the question which divided Christendom. After having glorified his own charity towards the faithful, and his patience towards his enemies, who overwhelmed him with injuries and calumnies, he declared his faith in the incarnation, and added, "we believe that the will of Christ is single, because our intelligence rejects the idea of attributing to God a double action, and of teaching that he himself combated himself by admitting persons into himself.

"Still we do not wish to confound these two natures, in order, by establishing the one, to revoke the existence of the other. But we will say, that his flesh, animated by a reasonable spirit, and enriched with all its divine power by the personality, has a volition inseparable from that of the Word, which caused it to accomplish all its actions.

"Thus the flesh does not perform any operation natural to it, and cannot act by its own impulse against the order of the Word; it was obedient to its law, and only produced the phenomena which emanate from him. We do not wish to blaspheme the humanity of Christ by saying, that it was ruled by the necessities of nature, and that in rejecting the sufferings of the cross, it merited the same reprimand as the apostle St. Peter.

"Behold the sense in which we interpret the refusal of the passion, and these words of the evangelist, 'I descended from Heaven, not to do my will, but that of Him who sent me.' We are taught by these words negatively: we believe that Christ does not say who he is, but only who he is not, as in this passage, 'I have committed neither sin nor iniquity.' Paul, to give more force to his decisions, cites in his own favour the authority of the fathers, and thus closes, 'The bishops Sergius and Honorius, the one of the new, the other of the ancient capital of the empire, were of the opinion which I profess.' He names the patriarch of Constantinople before the Roman pontiff, to show the supremacy of the Greek metropolis over the Holy See.

This letter did not appease the discontent of the pope, nor suspend the complaints of the bishops of the West, and of Africa. Then Paul besought the prince to arrest the disorders, by publishing an edict which should put an end to the disputes and impose silence on the two parties.

In this decree, called *Typus*, the emperor first stated the question, then cited summarily the reasons for and against Monothelism, and then added, "we prohibit our Catholic subjects from disputing upon the dogmas of one will and one operation, or of two wills and two operations. We approve of the decisions of the fathers upon the incarnation of the Word, ordering all to follow the doctrines taught by the Holy Scriptures, the œcumenical councils and the works which are the rule of the church. We prohibit from adding any

thing to the dogmas, and of desiring to interpret them according to irreligious sentiments or private interests.

"We desire that the state of tranquillity, which reigned before these discussions commenced, should be re-established, as if they had never been; and to leave no pretext to those who wish to dispute without any termination we order the writings affixed to the vestibule of the cathedral of Constantinople, and of the other metropolises of the empire, to be taken down.

"Those who shall dare to contravene the present ordinance, will be submitted to the terrible judgment of God, and will encounter our indignation. Patriarchs, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, shall be deposed; monks excommunicated and driven from their monasteries; the great shall lose their dignities and places; the principal citizens shall be despoiled of their property, and others corporally punished and banished from our states."

The emperor Constantius was no more fortunate than his predecessors, and could not arrest the troubles of the church, for the priests are obstinate in evil; they maintain the most extravagant and ridiculous errors, and when they have been a long time debated, they adopt them as articles of faith, and impose them on human credulity.

Theodore evinced great intolerance in the theological discussions about Monothelism; and upon the simple suspicion that Pyrrhus retired, since his retraction, to Ravenna, professed the heresy anew, he assembled some bishops in the church of St. Peter, and pronounced a terrible anathema against him.

We are assured that he profaned the wine of the consecrated cup by mixing with it the ink which he used to sign the condemnation of Pyrrhus. Ecclesiastical authors justify this sacrilegious act, under the pretext that this use was confined to Greek prelates. The existence of this custom proves, at least, that the Christians of the East did not yet admit the dogma of the real presence in the eucharist, and did not believe in transubstantiation. If they believed that the bread and wine were the body and blood of God, would the pontiff have dared, in the presence of a synod, to mingle the Christ with profane matter?

Cardinal Baronius maintains, that Theodore condemned in a new council the formulary of the emperor Constantius, and anathematized the patriarch of Constantinople. Still, authors who have narrated the holding of this assembly, do not speak of the *Typus*, nor of the excommunication of Paul, which induces us to presume that he was anathematized shortly after, and only when the holy father had learned that the letters and warnings of his legates were unable to lead him back to the Roman faith.

As soon as Paul was apprised of his deposition, he closed the church of the Orthodox, situated in the palace of Placidius; he prohibited the nuncios, who inhabited this magnificent residence, from celebrating divine service, and pursued them with bitterness, as well as

the Catholic bishops and the simple faithful. Some were banished, and others thrown into prison; and some were beaten and rent with blows from rods.

Whilst his ambassadors were exposed to the fury of his enemies, the pontiff was occupied with transferring the bodies of the holy martyrs Primus and Felician into the magnificent church of St. Stephen, and erected an oratory to St. Sylvester in the palace of the Lateran, and another to the blessed martyr Euplus, beyond the gate of St. Paul's.

Notwithstanding the care which he gave to his controversy with the Monothelites, and which absorbed almost all his time, Theodore did not neglect any occasion of extending the influence of the see of Rome over the churches of the West. He entered into active intercourse with the Spanish clergy, and his opinions ruled the seventh council of Toledo. He also corresponded with the ecclesiastics of Gaul, and directed the third council which was

held in that country by order of Clovis the Second. By his instigation the creed of Nice was approved of, and thus the Monothelite heresy was prevented from being propagated in France.

Theodore even carried his solicitude to the provinces of the Low Countries, where St. Omer laboured for the conversion of the infidels with Mommolin, Eberitan, and Bertin. It was by his councils that these missionaries converted some influential lords, and founded different religious houses; amongst other, the celebrated monastery of Siffien or Saint Bertin, in which, a century later, the usurper Pepin the Gross confined the last heir of the Merovingian dynasty.

In the midst of this active life, the pontiff was attacked by a grievous malady, of which he died in 649, after a reign of about eight years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## MARTIN THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 649.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Martin the First—His birth and education—Council at Rome—Discourse of the pope—Second session of the council of the Lateran—Examination of the Eccheses—Judgment of the council—Letter of the pope to the emperor—The prince wishes to arrest the pontiff—Corruptions of the clergy—Martin is carried off from Rome—Insults offered to the pontiff—Paul of Constantinople obtains the favour of the pope—Martin the First sent into exile—His death.*

MARTIN the First was of a distinguished birth, and originally from Tudertum or Todi, in the province of Tuscany. From his early infancy he had been confided to skillful masters, who developed his aptitude for study. He terminated his philosophic course, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the art of eloquence; still, his piety having led him to examine the vanity of human affairs, he learned that the wisdom of an orator and a philosopher, was a dangerous rock for the safety of the soul. He then determined to renounce the grandeurs of the age, and to consecrate himself entirely to God, by embracing the ecclesiastical state, in which, besides, he hoped to obtain an honourable post.

In all the functions which he performed, the holy minister exhibited a great zeal for religion, and was distinguished for his ability and profound wisdom. In a month and a half after the death of Theodore, in spite of the intrigues of his rivals, he was nominated as pontiff by the people, the clergy, and the grandeurs of Rome, and his election was immediately confirmed by the emperor Constantine, who ordered his agents to use all their influence to render the new head of the church favourable to the Typus. But the purity of his faith, and the councils of St. Maximus, who was then in the holy city, determined him to take a contrary resolution; and to

destroy the last hopes of the heretics, he assembled in the palace of the Lateran, in the chapel of the Saviour, called Constantienne, a council of five hundred bishops, and submitted to their judgment all the religious questions which troubled the churches.

The synod remained together several months, and held five sessions, which are each called "secretarium," in the style of the day, perhaps from the place, perhaps, because, the convoked prelates alone had the right of entering the assembly. The first sitting took place on the 5th of October, 649, Theophylactus, prothonotary of the Roman church, spoke and besought the pontiff to explain the cause of the convocation of the council. Martin thus expressed himself, "My brethren, we have to examine the errors introduced into Christianity by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, Cyrus and Sergius, and by their successors Paul and Pyrrhus. Eight years have passed since the publication of this bull of scandal, in which Sergius decided in nine different propositions, that there existed in Jesus Christ but a single person, in which the divinity and humanity blended themselves; a condemnable heresy which fortified the errors of the Acephalites. This patriarch then pronounced an anathema against those who did not partake of his culpable belief; and not only did he spread

abroad this doctrine, but he even composed, in the name of the emperor Heraclius, that famous *Echesees* of scandal. It maintains, with the impious Apollinarius, that there exists in Christ but a single will as the consequence of a single operation; he dared to affix this sacrilegious bull on the gates of his church, and caused it to be approved by several chiefs of the clergy, whose religion he overreached.

"Pyrrhus, the successor of this patriarch, also subscribed to this culpable edict, and through the influence of his example, illustrious prelates were drawn into the schism. Later, repentance led him to our feet; he presented a petition, written with his own hand, abjuring the heresy which he and his predecessors had maintained against the Catholic faith; but, he has since returned like a dog to his vomit, and we have been obliged to punish his crime by a canonical deposition.

"The new patriarch openly accepts the *Echesees* of Sergius, and has undertaken to prove its orthodoxy. As a punishment for his audacity, we have pronounced our anathema against him. In imitation of Sergius, he has overreached the religion of the prince, and has persuaded him to publish, under the name of Typos, a decree, which destroys the Catholic faith, by prohibiting the faithful from employing the terms, 'one or two wills,' and which leaves us to suppose that Jesus Christ is without will, and has not accomplished any operation. Still further, far from being touched with repentance on learning his deposition, he has given way to sacrilegious violence; has closed our church in the palace of Placidius; has plunged into prison the legates of our see; has stricken with rods orthodox priests; and has, finally, condemned to the torture a great number of monks.

"Our predecessors displayed all Christian charity and prudence, by using prayers and reprimands towards the bishops of Constantinople; but these prelates have closed their minds against apostolical counsel and remonstrance. I have then thought it necessary to assemble you, that all being assembled in the presence of God, who sees and judges us, we might deliberate upon the guilty and their sacrilegious errors. May each one then pronounce freely, according to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."

The letter of the metropolitan of Ravenna, who excused himself for not being able to come to the synod, was publicly read; then they regulated the forms by which to proceed to the condemnation of the Monothelites.

The second session was held on the eighth of the same month. The holy father ordered that the accusation against the heretics should be drawn in proper form by the parties interested, or by the dean and notary of the Roman church. Theophylactus thus spoke; "I announce to your beatitude, that Stephen, bishop of Dora, first suffragan of Jerusalem, is at the door of the church in which we are assembled, and asks permission to present himself before you." The pontiff gave orders to admit him to the council.

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The doors were opened and the prelate, introduced by the master of ceremonies, presented his request to the synod. The notary, Anastasius, read the address, translating it from Greek into Latin. It contained an explanation of the first troubles in the East; the articles published by Cyrus of Alexandria; the letter of St. Sophronius, who ordered him to come to Rome to condemn the heretics; and finished by recalling the complaints which had been already made to Theodore against Sergius of Joppa. We will cite the last words of his request. "I have executed the orders of the defunct holy father against heretical prelates, and I have not consented to admit them to the orthodox communion, until I received a retraction written with their own hand. All these abjurations have been remitted to pope Martin the First.

"Still, I beseech you, my brethren, to be willing to listen to the demand which my humility addresses to you, in the name of the prelates, the Catholic people of the East, and the glorious Sophronius. We beseech you to dissipate, by your wisdom, the remains of the heresy, and cause evangelical charity to succeed the blind fanaticism which impels the faithful into interminable wars."

The synod also received the complaints of many abbots and Greek priests, or monks, who asked for the condemnation of the Monothelites. The old petitions, addressed to the Holy See, against Cyrus, Sergius, and their adherents, were then read. Then the pontiff, rising from his chair, thus expressed himself: "There are enough complaints, my brethren, against these culpable wretches. Time would fail us to produce before you all the remonstrances which have been addressed to us by Catholics. We are sufficiently instructed in the guilt of the heretics, and we can remit to the coming session the canonical examination of the writings of each of the accused."

The assembly having met nine days afterwards, the sitting was commenced by an examination of the works of Theodore, bishop of Pharan. Martin cited several passages from the fathers, which condemned the errors of this prelate. The seven articles of Cyrus of Alexandria, were then examined, as well as the letter of Sergius of Constantinople, which approved of them, by pronouncing an anathema against those who did not recognize in Jesus Christ a single theandric operation. They commented on the passage of St. Denis, bishop of Athens, cited by Cyrus, and drawn from the letter of Caius. He finished thus: "Finally, Christ has done neither divine actions as a God, nor human operations as a man; but he has shown to the world a new species of operation of an incarnate being, which we must call theandric acts."

These words were in reality those of St. Denis the Areopagite; and the pontiff not being able to explain them, accused Cyrus and Sergius of having falsified this passage, by placing in the seventh article the words, "new operation," instead of "theandric ope-

ration," which should be placed there. He endeavoured to show that Sergius had destroyed the sense of these words, by suppressing, in his letter, the word "theandric," in order to write only that of "operation." Remarks worthy of the most subtle theologian!

Thus were the faithful edified by prolonged and violent disputes, founded upon terms which the sophistical spirit of the Greeks had introduced into the language of the church. Martin, after having maintained that the word "theandric," included, necessarily, the idea of two operations, added, "If this expression signifies a single operation, it would say that it is simple or compound—natural or personal.

"If simple, the Father also possesses it, and he will be like Christ, God and man. By admitting this operation as compound, we declare the Son to be of another substance from the Father, who cannot comprise a compound operation. If we call it natural, we declare the flesh to be substantial with the Word, since it executes the same operation—thus, in place of the trinity, we should proclaim the quaternity. When we admit the theandric operation to be personal, we separate, on the contrary, the Father and the Son, since they are distinguished by individual operations.

"Finally, the heretics maintain that the union of the divine and human nature, brings back the theandric operation to unity; in other words, they avow that the Word, before its union with the flesh, possessed two operations; and that, after its hypotheosis, it only accomplished one; and, consequently, they curtail it of one of its operations by confounding them together. These contradictions prove that St. Denis, by the word compound, which he used, has wished to designate the union of two operations in the same person; and, that he has wisely said, that Jesus Christ accomplished neither divine actions as God, nor human actions as a man; but, that he has shown the perfect union of operations and natures. The sublimity of this union is the execution, humanly, of divine actions; and, divinely, of human actions: for, the flesh of Christ, animated by a reasonable soul, and united personally to him, performed miracles which made an impression on the people; and, by his all-powerful virtue, he submitted voluntarily to the sufferings which have given to us the life of heaven. Thus, he possessed that which is natural to us, in a super-human manner; and, we will say with St. Leo, that each operation performed in Christ its own particular part; but, with the participation of the other."

This singular explanation of the theandric operation, was approved of by the assembly without opposition. They then read the *Ectheses* of Heraclius, and declared, the extracts from the two councils of Constantinople, held by the patriarchs Sergius and Pyrrhus, which affirmed that the *Ectheses* had been approved of by the pontiff Severinus, to be false and deceitful.

The fourth sitting of the synod was held on

the 19th of October. Martin noticed the contradictions which resulted from the pieces which had been read in the preceding session, and explained the articles in which Cyrus anathematizes those who do not say with him, that Jesus Christ acts by a single operation. "Sergius and Pyrrhus approve of this doctrine," added he, "and still these three prelates adhere to the *Ectheses*, which prohibits the use of the terms, *one* or *two operations*. Thus they cast themselves out from the bosom of the church, since it is a contradiction to speak of an operation, and to prohibit deciding upon it."

The sovereign pontiff fell into a grievous error; for he attributed to the *Ectheses* a prohibition which was found in the *Typos*; and, either through ignorance of the question, or through an oratorical ruse, he placed the heretics in contradiction to themselves, whilst the edict of Heraclius supported Monothelism, and these prelates had been able to approve of it without contradicting themselves, and without anathematizing themselves.

At length, in the last session, the pontiff brought in the books of the fathers and caused passages to be read from them, in opposition to the heresy; and, after this reading, he said, "My friends, it is known to all the world, that innovators calumniate the fathers and the councils, who have taught two wills, two operations, and two natures in Jesus Christ; the fathers have not only decided this, but they have proved it by the number, the name, the pronouns, the qualities, the properties—by all possible means. We approve of this doctrine without adding to, or taking away any thing from it."

In order to render more apparent the conformity of the sentiments of the innovators with the heretics, the pope compared the words of one with the other, and concluded by saying, that the first were more culpable than the second, since they wished to persuade ordinary minds that they followed the writings of the fathers, whilst the heretics openly declared that they opposed them. He fortified his conclusions by the authority of St. Cyril and St. Gregory of Nazianzes, and demonstrated that Christ, by his incarnation, had taken human nature entire; and, consequently, with it, the will which is essential to a reasonable soul.

After a long deliberation, the council rendered its judgment in twenty canons; it condemned all those who did not confess the trinity and the incarnation of the Word; who refused to recognize Mary as the mother of God, and Christ as consubstantial with the Father and the Virgin his mother. The fathers decided that Jesus Christ was himself of one nature with his incarnate word; that two distinct natures existed in him, which were united hypostatically, and preserved their properties; and, that he executed two wills and two operations, the one divine, the other human. Finally, they condemned those who rejected these dogmas, or who did not pronounce anathemas against the heretics who

attacked the trinity and the incarnation. Sabellius, Arius, Origen, Didymus, Erager, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, and his successors Pyrrhus and Paul, were excommunicated; terrible anathemas were lanced against those who accepted the Ectheses of Heraclius, or the Typos of Constantius; against priests who submitted to orders given by the impious, who were infected with Monothelism; and, against the heretics who should maintain that their doctrine was similar to that of the fathers, or who should produce new formulas of belief about the incarnation. The subscription of the decree is conceived in these terms: "I, Martin, by the grace of God, bishop of the Catholic and apostolic church of the city of Rome, have subscribed, as judge, the definition which confirms the orthodox faith, as well as the condemnation of Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, the patriarchs Pyrrhus and Paul his successors, with their heretical writings, with the Ectheses, and the impious Typos which has been published at Byzantium."

The proceedings of the council were written in Latin and Greek, on the request of the monks of Palestine, and the pontiff sent them to the churches of the East and West, with several synodical letters. He addressed circulars to all the faithful of Christendom to inform them of the errors of the Monothelites, and of the necessity of assembling a council to condemn this heresy. "We send," he wrote, "the proceedings of the synod to all Christians to justify our conduct before God, and to render inexcusable those who shall refuse the obedience they owe us. Do not listen to the innovators, and do not fear the power of those crowned men whose life passes as the herb which withereth, and none of whom has been crucified for us."

He then informed the emperor of the decisions of the council, saying to him: "Our adversaries, my lord, have dared to write to the bishops of Africa that you have published the Typos, to arrest the violence of our theological discussions, and to give to truth time to establish itself. The fault of these discords should fall on those who have departed from the precepts of the church; for the fathers affirm, that the least change in the exposition of divine truth, is condemnable in the eyes of God. We address to you the proceedings of our council, translated into Greek, and we beseech you to read them attentively, in order that your pious laws may proscribe heretics, and cause the doctrines of the holy fathers and the councils to triumph."

At this period, the new bishop of Thessalonica, Paul, sent his synodical letters to the court of Rome; the pontiff pronounced them Monothelical: still, at the request of the deputies, he consented to suspend the effects of the excommunication which the prelate had incurred; he only noticed the error into which he had fallen, and sent to him by his legates the profession of faith which he

should follow. Paul fearing lest his submission to the holy father might draw on him the enmity of the bishops of the East, deceived the deputies of Martin, and sent back by them an exposition of his belief, in which, in speaking of the will and the operation of Christ, in which he had left out the word "natural," as well as the formula of the anathema pronounced against heretics.

The legates of the court of Rome, seduced by the artifices and the flatteries of the bishop of Thessalonica, accepted this writing, which they carried to the pontiff. Martin, having discovered the trickery, was enraged at his envoys, called them traitors, sacrilegious, infamous, and shut them up in a monastery, clothed in sackcloth, with their heads covered with ashes. He then wrote to Paul this threatening letter:

"Know, knavish and deceitful bishop, that thou art deposed from all sacerdotal dignity, until thou shalt have confirmed, by writing, without any restriction or omission, that which we have decided in our council; and thou shalt have anathematized these new heretics, their sacrilegious Ectheses, and their odious Typos. If thou shalt desire to re-enter into our communion, thou must, at the same time, repair the injury thou hast committed against the canons, in not recognizing thyself as the subject and vicar of the Holy See." Martin addressed, at the same time, an order to the clergy of Thessalonica, prohibiting all communication with Paul if he persisted in his heresy, and also to nominate another bishop.

Amandus, or St. Amand, prelate of Maëtritch, sent a letter to the pope, advising him of the ecclesiastical disorders of his diocese, and of his desire to abandon his see to avoid the scandals which he could not hinder. Martin replied to him: "We have been apprised that priests, deacons, and other clergy fall into the shameful sins of fornication, sodomy, and bestiality. Those among these wretches who shall be taken but a single time in sin, after having received sacred orders, shall be deposed, without hope of being reinstated, and shall pass their lives in the accomplishment of a severe penance. Have no compassion on the guilty, for we do not wish before the altar any minister whose life is not pure.

"But you are not permitted to abandon the functions of your dignity to live in retreat, because of the sins of others; you should, on the contrary, govern your affliction, and remain upon the episcopal see for the edification of the Christians of Gaul.

"We send you the acts of the last synod, and our circular, that you may apprise all the bishops of your jurisdiction of them; they must approve, without examination, that which we have decided to be the true faith, and should address to us this confirmation, subscribed with their own hand.

"Induce king Sigebert to send us bishops who will consent to go as a legation from the Holy See to the emperor, to carry to

that prince the proceedings of our council and those of your assembly.

"We have given to your deputy the relics you asked from us. As for the books, our library being poor, it has not been in our power to remit them to your legate; and his precipitate departure has prevented us from having copies of the works in our archives transcribed."

Martin addressed letters to Clovis the Second, to beseech him to send to Rome two prelates of his kingdom, who should accompany an embassy to Constantinople, to which he wished to give a character of solemnity. The two prelates who had first been designed by the prince to go to the pope, could not fulfil this mission, as reasons of state recalled them to Gaul.

Whilst executing these reforms, the holy father had not foreseen the storm which his zeal had raised in the East. The emperor Constantius, advised that the pontiff was seeking aid against his authority, resolved to put his edict of the Typos in force in his Italian provinces, and then to humble the pride of the court of Rome. He sent Olympius, his favourite, in the quality of exarch, with orders to assure himself of the army, and to seize upon Martin. If he found resistance among the soldiers, he was to temporize, to seduce them little by little by largesses and distinctions; and, finally, when the time appeared favourable, he was to seize the pontiff in his palace and send him to Constantinople.

Olympius debarked for Italy during the sitting of the council of the Lateran; at first, according to his instructions, he invited a part of the bishops to separate themselves from the communion of the pope; all his efforts having failed, and not daring yet to employ violence, he had recourse to treason. At the moment when the holy father was presenting to him the communion in the church of St. Maria Majora, the exarch made a preconcerted signal, and his esquire drew his sword to slay the pontiff. By a miracle, add the sacred historians, Martin became invisible and the esquire blind. Olympius, alarmed by this prodigy, prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff and revealed to him the orders he had received from the emperor. He then passed over into Sicily to combat the Saracens, and formed an independent kingdom.

The exarch was secretly assassinated some time after, and Constantius named to succeed him, two officers, Theodore, surnamed Calliopas, and a domestic of the palace, also named Theodore, and whose surname was Pellares. They had orders to carry off the pope by force by accusing him, before the people, of heresy and of crimes of state, and by reproaching him with not honouring Mary as the mother of God, and with having sent letters and money to the Saracens.

Martin, informed by his spies of their projects, retired with his clergy into the church of the Lateran on the same day on which the officers of the empire entered Rome. He did not visit the exarch, and making the state of

his health a pretext, sent some priests to compliment him. The latter replied to them, "That he wished to adore the pontiff conformably to usage, and that on the next day, Sunday, the Lord's day, he would come to the patriarchal palace, where he hoped to see him." The term, "adore," at this period, did not represent the idea which we bestow upon it in our language; it signified, simply, to honour; and the custom of a real and sacrilegious adoration, as now practised at Rome, was unknown to the bishops of the first ages.

The next day mass was celebrated in the church of the Lateran by the holy father; but the exarch, fearing the fury of the people, did not dare attempt the abduction, notwithstanding the number of his troops. He only sent his cartulary with some soldiers, on Monday morning, to the palace of the Lateran, to complain of the distrust exhibited towards him. "They accuse you, holy father," said the officer to him, "of concealing arms and stores for your defence, and of having placed soldiers in your pontifical palace."

Martin immediately took him by the hand and made him visit his dwelling, that he might bear witness of the falsity of these accusations; "our enemies," added the pontiff, "have always calumniated us; on the arrival of Olympius we were accused of being surrounded by armed men, to repulse force by violence. He soon learned that we placed all our trust in God."

The exarch, reassured as to the dangers of an arrest, placed himself at the head of his troops and surrounded the church. At the approach of the soldiers, the pontiff, although sick, placed himself on a bed at the very door of the church. They, without any regard for the venerable old man, nor to the sanctity of the place, penetrated into the temple, broke the lights, and in the midst of the terror and the noise of arms, Calliopas, showing to the priests and deacons the order of the emperor, commanded them to depose Martin as unworthy of the tiara, and to ordain another bishop in his place.

A gesture, a word, of the holy father and blood would have flowed. Martin calmly raised himself, and leaning on two young ecclesiastics, walked gently from the church. The priests immediately cast themselves upon the guards, exclaiming, "No, the holy father shall not go from these walls! Anathemas against you, mercenaries of a tyrant, destroyers of the Christian father! Anathemas against you!" The pontiff extended his hand and the obedient clergy ranged themselves at his side.

Martin then delivered himself up to the soldiers of the exarch; but, at the moment when they were preparing to lead him away, the priests and deacons cast themselves anew on the troops, and surrounding the holy father, exclaimed: "We will not abandon him, he is our father; we will live or die with him." Then the pontiff addressed this entreaty to Calliopas: "My lord, permit those of my clergy who love me, to follow me into ex-

very." All accompanied him to his palace, which was on the moment changed into a prison, and of which all the doors were guarded by the soldiers of the exarch Theodore.

The following night, whilst the clergy were plunged in sleep, they carried off the holy father from Rome, accompanied by only six devoted servants. His abduction was so hurried, that they were unable to take any of the necessaries for a long journey, except a drinking cup. His escort, embarked on the Tiber, arrived on Wednesday the 19th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, at Porto, from whence it started again the same day, and on the first of July arrived at Mycena. The pontiff was then conducted into Calabria, from thence to different islands, and finally to the isle of Naxos, where he remained an entire year.

During the whole of the journey, Martin, enfeebled by a horrid dysentery, could not leave the vessel which had become his prison. The bishops and faithful of Naxos sent him presents to solace his misfortunes; but the soldiers who guarded him seized upon the provisions, overwhelmed him with outrages, and even beat the citizens, angrily repulsing them, and saying: "Death to those who love this man: they are enemies of the state!"

At length Constantius gave orders to bring him to Constantinople, and in the middle of the month of September, in the year 654, the holy father entered the port of the imperial city. During a whole day Martin remained on the vessel, lying on a wretched linen bed exposed as a sight to the populace, who called him an heretic, an enemy of God, of the virgin, and of the prince. During the night a scribe, named Sagoleve, and several guards, led him from the bark and took him to a prison, called Prandearia, where he remained, without assistance, for three months.

It is believed that he wrote in his prison the two letters which have descended to us.

In the first, he justifies himself to the emperor from the accusations brought against him, and invokes the testimony which the Roman clergy had rendered in the presence of the exarch, of the purity of his faith; he protests that he will defend the decisions of his council as long as life shall be spared to him. "I have sent," he wrote, "neither letters nor money to the Saracens; I have only given aid to some servants of God who came from that country to ask alms for unfortunate Christians. I believe in the glorious Mary, virgin and mother of Christ; and I declare anathematized, in this world and the next, those who refuse to honour and adore her above all creatures." He terminates his second letter by saying: "It is forty days, my lord, since I have been able to obtain a bath for my enfeebled body. I feel myself nipped by suffering; for the sickness which devours my entrails has left me no repose on sea or on land. My strength gives way under it, and when I ask for salutary nourishment which may revive me, I undergo an insulting refu-

sal. Still, I pray God, when he shall have taken me from this life, to seek those who persecute me to lead them to repentance."

He was finally brought from his prison and taken before the senate, which was assembled to interrogate him. The cartulary Bucoleon, who presided over the council, having commanded him to rise up, some officers supported him in their arms, and he was addressed by the president in these harsh words: "Miserable wretch! Has our sovereign oppressed thy person, has he seized upon the riches of thy church, or has he only sought to take from thee the dignity of Bishop?" The pontiff preserved silence.

Bucoleon continued, with a menace: "Since thy voice cannot raise itself among us, that of thy accusers will reply to us." Then Dorotheus, patrician of Cilicia, several soldiers, Andrew the secretary of Olympius, and some guards of the suite of that exarch, advanced into the midst of the council chamber. At the moment when the Bible was opened to receive their oath, Martin said to the magistrates, "I beseech you, lords, in the name of Christ, who hears us, to allow these men to speak without swearing them on the Holy Scriptures; let them say against me that which is commanded them, but let them not lose their souls by a damnable oath."

The witnesses, however, swore to inform the judges of the truth. Dorotheus first expressed himself, in these terms: "If the pontiff had fifty heads, they should fall under the sword of the laws, as a chastisement for his crimes; for, I swear, he has corrupted the West, and rendered himself the accomplice of the infamous Olympius, the mortal enemy of our prince and of the empire." Pressed with questions by Bucoleon, the pope replied, "If you wish to know the truth, I will tell you. When the Typos was sent to Rome—" The prefect Troilus interrupted him by exclaiming, "We accuse you of crimes against the state; do not speak of the faith; it is not the question before this assembly, for we are all Christians and as orthodox as the Romans—" "You lie," replied the holy father; "and, at the terrible day of judgment, I will rise up between God and you, to pronounce anathema and malediction against your abominable heresy."

Troilus, smothering his wrath, continued: "Audacious prelate, when the infamous Olympius executed his guilty projects, why didst thou receive the oath of the soldiers of this traitor? Why, instead of lending to him the aid of thy authority, didst thou not denounce his perfidies by opposing thy power to his will?"

The pope replied to the prefect: "In the last revolution, my lord, when the monk Georges, who became prefect, quitted the camp and penetrated into Constantinople to accomplish his bold designs, where were you—you and those who hear me? Not only did you not resist this seditious person, but you even applauded his harangues, and you drove from the palace those whom he ordered you



to expel. Why, when Valentin was clothed with the purple and had seized upon the throne, instead of opposing your power to his, did you submit to his commands? In your turn avow that we cannot resist force.

"How then could I oppose Olympius, who commanded all the armies of Italy? Is it I who was exarch? Is it I to whom was given the troops, treasures, and sovereign power, on the Roman peninsula? But words are useless; my destruction is resolved upon; permit me then to keep silence. I beseech you for it; dispose of my life according to your intentions, for God will give me a holy recompense."

The president declared the sitting at an end, and went to the palace to make his report to the emperor. Martin was carried from the hall of council and placed in the court yard, close by the stables of the prince, in the midst of the guards; then they carried him upon a terrace, that the sovereign might see him through the hangings of his apartment, the soldiers carrying him in their arms on to the midst of the platform, in the presence of all the people and of an innumerable crowd. Bucoleon, having come from the apartments of the prince, approached Martin to advise him of his sentence. "Bishop of Rome," said he, "behold how God has delivered you into our hands; you have wished to resist the emperor—you have become his slave. You have abandoned Christ—lo, he abandons you." Then addressing himself to the executioner, he said, "Strip off the mantle of the pontiff and the strings of his hose;" and turning towards the soldiers, he added, "I deliver him up to you: tear his garments to pieces." Then he commanded the crowd to ill-treat him. Some wretches alone cried out, Anathema upon the pope! and the other assistants, lowering their heads, retired, overwhelmed with sadness.

The executioners took from him his sacerdotal pallium and his other ecclesiastical ornaments, which they divided among themselves, leaving him only a tunic without a girdle, which they tore on both sides, to leave his body entirely exposed to the injurious effects of the air, and to the greedy inspection of the mob of Constantinople. They placed an iron collar around his neck, which was attached to the arm of an executioner, to show that he was condemned to death. He was led in this apparel, the chief executioner carrying before him the sword of death, from the palace to the pretor's house; there he was loaded with chains, and cast into a prison with murderers; an hour afterwards he was transferred to the prison of Diomede. During the passage, his keeper drew him along with such violence, that in climbing up the stairs his legs were torn upon the stones and stained the flags with blood. He fell, panting, and made vain efforts to raise himself; then the soldiers stretched him out upon a bench, where he remained, almost naked, exposed to severe cold. Finally, two wives of the jailers, taking pity upon him, took him away from the prison,

dressed his wounds, and placed him in a bed to reanimate his torpid members; he remained until night without being able to speak, and without recovering the sentiment of existence.

The eunuch Gregory, prefect of the palace, having been informed of the cruelties exercised towards the holy father, was touched with compassion, and sent him some nourishment by his steward; he himself escaping from the palace, went to his prison, took off the collar and chains, and exhorted him to retake courage and hope for a better lot. In fact, the next day, the emperor, in consequence of his counsels, went to the patriarch Paul, whose life was terminating in the sufferings of a severe illness, to inform him of the punishment of the pontiff, and to ask if he should proceed to put him to death. Paul, far from applauding the cruelty of the prince, heaved a deep sigh, turned towards the wall and preserved silence; then he murmured these words: "The torments of this unfortunate man augment those of my condemnation." The emperor asking him, why he spoke thus, the prelate raising his head, said to him, "Prince, it is deplorable to exercise such severity against priests whom God has delivered into your power. In the name of Christ I adjure you to put an end to the scandal and the cruelties of your justice, or fear to burn in eternal flames." These words alarmed Constantius, and determined him to order them to put an end to the severities exercised against Martin.

The patriarch having died some days after, Pyrrhus wished to remount the see of Byzantium; but the act of retraction which he had given to pope Theodore was published by the grandees and the priests, who opposed his reinstallation, judging him unworthy of the sacerdotal office, who had been anathematized by both the Greek and Latin metropolis. Before making a decision, the emperor wished to learn the conduct of this prelate during his sojourn at Rome, and sent Demosthenes, an officer of the treasury, with a writer, to interrogate the holy father in his prison, and to ask of him, what had been the actions of the patriarch Pyrrhus in Italy.

Martin replied to the envoys of the prince: "The patriarch came to our apostolic see, without having been cited there; after having subscribed with his hand the abjuration of his heresy, he was humbly presented to Theodore, our predecessor, who received him as bishop, restored to him his rank in the church, and maintained him in his dignity, placing at his disposal the treasures of St. Peter." After this reply the officers retired.

The pontiff remained three months longer in the prison of Diomede. Then Sagoleves, one of the principal magistrates of Constantinople, came one morning to say to him, "Holy father, I have orders to transfer you to my home, to conduct you to-night to a place which the cartulary will indicate to me." Martin, addressing himself to those who were near, exclaimed: "My brethren, the moment

of parting has arrived, give me the kiss of peace;" then extending his trembling hands, he gave them his benediction, and added, "Do not mourn, but rejoice for the glory which God prepares for me."

At night the officers came to take him from the house of the magistrate, and conducted him to the port, where they embarked on board a vessel which sailed for the peninsula of Chersonesus. A month after his arrival, Martin wrote to an ecclesiastic of Constantinople, complaining of the absolute destitution in which he was. "He, to whom I confide this letter," said the holy father, "is about to rejoin you at Byzantium, and his presence has afforded me great joy, notwithstanding the disappointment I suffered in learning that he brought me no aid from Italy. Still I praise God, who measures out to us our sufferings as seems fit to him; but do not forget, my brother, that I am destitute of food, and the famine is so great in this country, that I cannot obtain bread at any price. Warn my friends that it is impossible for me to live, if they do not speedily send me subsidies and provisions."

"I am still more sensitive to the indifference of the Roman clergy, as I have not committed any act which justifies the indifference they show for my person. Besides, holy Peter, who nourished indiscriminately all strangers, cannot leave me to die of famine; I, who am in exile and affliction for having defended the doctrines of the church of which I was the chief."

"I have designated the things necessary for my wants; I beseech you to buy them and send them to me with your usual promptitude, for I have nothing with which to struggle against my frequent maladies."

In another letter he utters his complaints

with grievous bitterness. "I am not only separated from the rest of the world, but I am even deprived of spiritual life; for the inhabitants of this country are all pagans, and have no compassion for my sufferings. The vessels which come here to load with salt, do not bring us any of the necessaries of life, and I can buy only a single measure of corn for four pennies of gold. Those who formerly prostrated themselves before me to obtain dignities, do not now trouble themselves about my fate. The priests of Rome show for their chief a deplorable ingratitude and insensibility, and leave me without assistance in exile. There is money in heaps in the treasury of the church; corn, wine, and other subsidies are accumulating in its domains, and yet I remain in almost entire destitution! With what terror then are all seized, that prevents them from obeying the command of God! Am I then their enemy? And how will they dare appear before the tribunal of Christ, if they forget they are, like me, formed of dust?"

"Nevertheless, I forgive them my sufferings, and pray to God to preserve them steady in the orthodox faith, and particularly the pastor who now governs them. I abandon the care of my body to God; and I trust, that in his inexhaustible pity, that he will not delay delivering me from terrestrial pains."

In fact, the pontiff died on the 16th of September, 655, and was interred in a temple dedicated to the Virgin, at a short distance from the city of Chersonesus, where his memory was long held in great veneration. The Greek church regards Martin as a confessor, and the Latin has placed him in the rank of martyrs. Some authors affirm that his relics were carried to Rome, and deposited in a church, which had been consecrated for a long time to St. Martin of Tours.

## EUGENE THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 655.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The emperor causes Eugene to be chosen pontiff—The legates of the pope commune with the Monothelites—Firmness of the abbot Maximus—Letter upon the persecution of which he was a victim—Death of Eugene.*

EUGENE, a Roman by birth, and the son of Rufinian, had been elevated to the Holy See by the order of the emperor Constantius, at the time when Martin was plunged into the prisons of Constantinople. The prince desiring that the election of the new pontiff should be canonically consecrated, endeavoured to induce Martin to give in his own demission as chief of the apostolic church. On his refusal he went on, and the election of Eugene was celebrated with pomp in the church of St. Peter.

Some authors, thinking to reinstate the memory of this pontiff, have supposed that Martin the First sent, from the island of Naxos,

authority to consecrate in his place, the bishop who should be chosen; but the letters of the orthodox pontiff, on the contrary, show the falsity of this opinion.

After his ordination, Eugene sent legates with secret instructions, to enter into an accommodation with the Monothelites of Constantinople.

St. Maximus, the illustrious abbot of Chrysople, always opposed a courageous resistance to the progress of the heresy. He was arrested by the orders of the prince, and after some months of rigorous incarceration, was led before the magistrates to undergo an examination. The judge having ordered him

to explain what would be his conduct in case the Romans were reunited to the Byzantines, he replied, "If you do not confess two wills and two operations in Jesus Christ, the envoys from the holy city will not commune with you. Besides, if they should be guilty of a sacrilegious action, by communing with you, the faith of the apostolic see would preserve its purity, for they are not the bearers of synodical letters."

The judges replied, "You alone are in error and darkness. The nuncios of the pontiff Eugene have been since yesterday within our walls; and to-morrow, on the Lord's day, in the presence of the people, will commune with the chief of our clergy; and all will learn that you alone pervert the faithful of the West, since they commune with us, when you are no more among them. Return to wiser thoughts, and let the example of Martin teach you to fear the justice of the emperor."

The abbot Maximus firmly replied, "The rule which I wish to follow is that of the Holy Spirit, which anathematizes by the mouth of the apostle, popes and even angels, if they wish to teach another faith than that which was preached by Jesus Christ."

His disciple Anastasius, advised of the order which the pope had given to excommunicate his master, and to put him to death if he persisted in condemning the error of the Monothelites, wrote to the monks of Cagliari, in Sardinia, "Our adversaries have at length re-

solved not to follow the doctrine of the fathers; and in their ignorance are floating on an ocean of contradictions. After having for a long time maintained, that we must speak neither of one or two operations, they now recognise two and one; that is to say, three.

"None of the heretics who have preceded them have dared to defend this gross error, which the fathers, the councils, and mere reason proscribe. Still they have caused it to be approved by the legates of the unworthy pope Eugene, and, in his name, persecute the faithful who oppose the destruction of the faith."

Maximus became, in fact, the victim of his attachment to the orthodoxy of the church. The emperor, at the instigation of the bishop of Rome, ordered that he should be publicly flogged through all the streets of the city, and that after this flagellation they should cut off his tongue and his right hand.

The other actions of this pope remain entirely in oblivion. He died on the 2d of June 658, and was interred in the church of St. Peter, where the priests affirm his body is preserved. The Portuguese monks maintain, on the contrary, that his relics were long since transported into their province. Ecclesiastical authors have passed great eulogiums on the lofty piety of Eugene, and his liberality to the churches. The reformers of the Martyrology have also decreed to him the honours of canonization!

## VITALIAN, THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 658.—CONSTANS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Vitalian—Sends envoys to Constantinople—Places organs in the churches of Rome—The emperor Constantius comes into Italy—He pillages Rome—The church of England—Letter of the pontiff—The pope sends an archbishop to England—The bishop of Ravenna treats with contempt the orders of the pope—Vitalian excommunicates the bishop of Ravenna—The bishop excommunicates the pope—His death.*

THE pontiff Eugene being dead, Vitalian, the son of Anastasius, born at Signia in Campania, was chosen to succeed him. After his exaltation, the new pope sent legates to Constantinople to remit to the prince his profession of faith; the clergy also addressed a synodical letter to beseech the emperor to confirm the election. Father Pagi affirms, that Vitalian did not write to the patriarch Peter, then chief of the clergy of Byzantium. Fleury is of a contrary opinion. In both cases these authors agree that the envoys of the holy father approved of the Typos of the prince, and were received with honour at the imperial court. Constantius, flattered by this mark of condescension, became favourable to the church of Rome. He put an end to the persecution against the orthodox, augmented the privileges of the pontiffs, and gave to the church of St. Peter a copy of the Bible covered with gold, and adorned with precious stones.

The patriarch of Constantinople, a zealous Monothelite, testified, by marks of munificence, the joy which he experienced at his union with the pope; and in a letter which he wrote to him, he cited different passages from the fathers, which he had altered to establish the unity of the will of operation in Jesus Christ.

In 660 the pontiff introduced into the churches the use of organs, to augment the eclat of religious ceremonies.

Two years after, in 662, the emperor Constantius resolved to pass over into Italy, to place the seat of government beyond the attempts of the enemies of the empire, who pushed their excursions up to the very walls of Byzantium. He went to Tarentum; thence to Naples; but having failed in an attempt on Benevento, which held out for the Lombards, he fell back on the apostolical city. The pope, at the head of his clergy, went to meet the

prince, who made his offerings at St. Peter's, and remained twelve days in the ancient capital of the Cassara. Then, in his quality of chief of the state, he proceeded regularly to the pillage of Rome, to engross the treasures which had been spared by the wars. He carried off from the temples all the ornaments of gold and silver; the statues, balustrades, and even the brass of the porticoes. He tore off even the covering of the church of St. Mary of the Martyrs. The greater part of these spoils were carried into Sicily, where the prince had resolved to establish his residence.

At the same period, Egbert king of Kent, and Oswi, king of Northumberland, sent deputies to the Holy See, to consult the pope on some points of religious discipline; and amongst others, on the period of the celebration of the festival of Easter. They also informed him of the death of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and besought him to send a prelate to fill the vacant see.

The ambassadors were instructed to beseech the holy father to put an end to the dissensions excited by his representatives, who wished to subject the churches of England to the Roman ritual. Wigard, chief of the deputation, well knowing the avarice of the pontiff, assisted his demands by rich presents and considerable sums, enclosed in vases of gold and silver. The pontiff hastened to reply to king Oswi; but, whilst praising his zeal for religion, exhorted him to conform to the traditions of the apostolic church, not only in the celebration of the festival of Easter, but in other religious ceremonies. "We send you," added he, "as thanks for your offerings, relics of the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul; of the martyrs St. Lawrence, St. John, St. Gregory, and St. Pancrace; and we present to the queen, your wife, a cross of gold, and a key forged from the iron of the chains of St. Peter!" A violent pestilence then ravaged Italy; Wigard and the other deputies of the kings of Kent and Northumberland having fallen victims to it, the pope was obliged to send his reply by legates.

Some years after these events, John, bishop of Lappe, in the island of Crete, came to Rome, to beseech Vitalian to render him justice, by reforming a sentence pronounced against him by his metropolitan Paul, and the other prelates of Crete.

The holy father held a synod in the palace of the Lateran, to examine the cause of the bishop, as well as the proceedings of the council which had condemned John. The assembly unanimously declared, that the judgment was irregular. It blamed the rigor of which the bishop had been the victim, and accused Paul of rebellion, for having refused to his suffragan to permit an appeal to the court of Rome. "This crime alone," added the Italian ecclesiastics, "merits anathema, and would weaken the authority of the wisest deliberations."

John was reinstalled in his see, and the pontiff ordered the archbishop Paul to efface the scandal of this unjust deposition by a

striking act of reparation to the prelate of the church of Lappe. The latter, having solemnly declared his innocence, was reinstalled in his honours. On his departure from the holy city, Vitalian gave him two letters; one to Varrus, chamberlain and cartulary of Constantinople, the other to George, bishop of Syracuse, that these lords might present him to the emperor during his sojourn in Sicily.

Vitalian then employed himself in the nomination of a prelate for the see of Canterbury, in accordance with the request which Egbert, king of Kent, had made of him. He brought to Rome, Adrian, abbot of the convent of Neridan, near Naples, to offer him the diocese of Canterbury, because this monk had been pointed out to him as well informed in the dogmas of religion, skilled in all points of discipline of the clergy, regular or secular, and understanding perfectly the Greek and Latin languages. Adrian, a philosopher rather than a monk, declined this important dignity, and proposed in his own stead Andrew, a monk of his convent, a man venerable for the excellence of his doctrine, and by the gravity of his age. He also declined it, declaring that his corporal infirmities prevented him from accepting the mission of the holy father.

Then Adrian presented another monk, named Theodore, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. This Benedictine had, by profound study, acquired great learning in divine and human literature. He spoke with purity the Greek and Latin, and joined to irreproachable morals, habits of passive obedience to the orders of his superiors. Theodore was named archbishop of Canterbury, and Adrian consented to accompany him into England to teach the people of that island, and to endeavour to cause them to submit to the authority of the Roman church.

Vitalian induced St. Benedict Biscop, who was making his fourth pilgrimage, to return to his country, to conduct thither the new prelate Theodore, and to serve him as an interpreter. Biscop obeyed the orders of Vitalian, and quitted the holy city on the 27th of May 668, taking the route for England, with the metropolitan of Canterbury and the abbot Adrian.

They disembarked at Marseilles, and went to Arles to give to the archbishop John the letters which the pontiff had addressed to him. The prelate received the travellers with favour, and kept them in his diocese until they received from Ebroin, mayor of the palace, permission to traverse Gaul.

As soon as the king of Kent was apprised that the envoys of the holy father were coming towards his kingdom, he sent an ambassador to the court of the French monarch, to obtain authority to conduct them to the port of Quantavia, in Ponthieu, now called St. Josse-sur-mer.

Theodore, sick from the fatigue of his journey, was obliged to remain some months in this city. Then he passed over into England, where he took possession of the see of Canterbury. He governed this church for the space of twenty-one years. This prelate ob-

tained, in the end, the supremacy of his see over the other churches, though the archbishop of York had before been declared independent by Gregory the First. Theodorus terminated the religious discords of the country, by inducing the English to consent to receive the Roman ritual. Throughout his pontificate, he ruled princes and priests—made them comprehend the advantages of education, and founded schools, in which he taught himself. Science, made general by his efforts, increased under the cloudy skies of England, and prepared the way for the social existence of this great nation.

A contrary revolution was in operation in the East. A theological mania had seized upon the minds of the Greeks, and was carried by them to such extravagance, that on the arrival of their new emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, they had imperiously demanded that his two brothers should be crowned at the same time as himself. This triple consecrated unction and obedience to three princes at once, being in their view, a rigorous consequence of their belief in the holy Trinity, and of the adoration of the three divine persons. Constantine, who thus saw himself divested of a part of the supreme authority, in consequence of religious ideas in which he did not partake, wished to lead them back to a belief more in accordance with his interests. As a consequence, he persecuted the Monothelites, and favoured their adversaries; and Peter, patriarch of Constantinople being dead, he named as his successor, Thomas, deacon of St. Sophia, who was all devotion to the court of Rome. The invasions of the Saracens interrupting, however, all communication between the Latin and Greek churches, the new patriarch could not send to the pope, nor to the Latin bishops, his synodical letter.

Shortly after took place the celebrated disputes between the pontiff of Rome and bishop Maurice. Vitalian had ordered the metropolitan of Ravenna to come to the court of Rome, to be there examined on his actions and his faith; but the prelate, supported by the favour of the exarch, had refused to appear, and the pontiff having declared him deprived of his honours, and debarred from the communion of the faithful, he, in his turn, had pro-

nounced a terrible anathema against the pope.

Vitalian, furious at finding himself excommunicated by an ecclesiastic whom he regarded as his vassal, summoned in the case all the bishops of Italy, and in a great council, deposed Maurice from his sacerdotal functions.

The metropolitan was unwilling to have recourse to the pontifical clemency. He opposed a contemptuous disdain to the thunder of the apostolic church, and prohibited his clergy from submitting, either directly or indirectly, to the decrees of the bishop of Rome. He also published a bull of excommunication, in which he accused the proud successor of St. Peter of desiring to annihilate the liberties of the church, to found a culpable tyranny; and he even announced that he would employ temporal force to oppose himself to the overshadowing ambition of the Roman bishop.

Vitalian bent before the firmness of the prelate of Ravenna; and fearing lest the spirit of emancipation might spread among the clergy, he suspended the effects of his resentment, and appeared to forget the revolt of the audacious Maurice.

The Benedictines attribute to the pope an apocryphal letter, beyond doubt written by the monks, for the purpose of legitimatizing the possession of houses, and immense estates, which they claimed in the province of Sicily. This is the language which they make Vitalian hold: "My brethren, I have learned with great affliction, that your monasteries and property have been ruined by the ravages of the Saracens, and that many among you have fallen under the sword of that impious people. I send to console you, some monks from Monte-Cassino. I exhort you to obey them; to labour with them for the re-establishment of your abbeys, and to repair the disorders of your domains. . . ."

This orthodox and ambitious pontiff died in 672, after a reign of thirteen years, and was interred at St. Peter's.

John, patriarch of Constantinople, had re-established the name of the bishop of Rome in the sacred writings; but Theodore, who succeeded him, obtained from Constantine Pogonatus authority to blot out Vitalian's from the sacred catalogue.

## DEODATUS THE SECOND, SEVENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 672.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of the pontiff—His election—He gives great privileges to the abbey of St. Martin of Tours—Character of the pontiff—His death.*

DEODATUS, whom some authors called the pontiff Adeodatus, the God-given, was a Roman by birth, and the son of Jovian. He was placed, when very young, in the monastery of St. Erasmus, situated on Mount Celius, where the monks took charge of his educa-

tion. Later, out of gratitude to the monks who had brought him up, he increased the buildings of the convent, and organized the community, which he placed under the government of an abbot.

After the death of Vitalian, the senate, the

clergy and the people chose him as the successor to the throne of St. Peter. The emperor confirmed the election, and he was immediately ordained bishop of the holy city.

History is silent as to the acts of his pontificate. The chronicles only relate that, during his reign, St. Agiric, priest and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, performed a pilgrimage to Rome, to present to the pope a charter which Robert, metropolitan of his diocese, had granted to the regular clergy, and of which he asked the confirmation.

Deodatus, not wishing to raise to equal authority with the bishops, the convents which were dependencies of their churches, at first rejected the demand of St. Agiric. But the monk having showed him in the archives of the apostolical court several examples of this abuse of power, he yielded to his prayers, and approved of the charter of Robert.

This authority does not include the clauses then in use, in order to assure to the monks the liberty of living independent, and in accordance with their rules. Therefore, Lamoye has rejected this piece as apocryphal, relying his opinion on the formula reported by Marculfe, and used at this period for religious charters. Nevertheless, father Lecointre, whose erudition and exactness make him authority with some, has not hesitated to affirm the authenticity of the privilege of the abbey.

Deodatus, according to the opinion of Anastasius the Librarian, was charitable to the poor, accessible to the unfortunate—of a calm character, and extreme goodness.

He consecrated fourteen priests, two deacons, and forty-six bishops at a single ordination; and this is all we know of the actions of his pontificate, which lasted about five years. He died in 676, and was interred in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

## DOMNUS THE FIRST, EIGHTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 677.—CONSTANTIUS POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The election of the pontiff—The patriarch of Constantinople writes to him in favour of Monothelism—Uncertainty of the reply of the holy father—The bishop of Ravenna submits to the pope—The emperor convokes a general council—Letter from the prince to the pope—Death of Domnus.*

AFTER the death of Deodatus, the Holy See remained vacant several months: the clergy, the people, and the lords of Rome being divided by the rivalries of priests greedy of the supreme authority. At length, their suffrages fell upon Domnus; and when he had received the imperial sanction he mounted upon the throne of the church. Ouphrus gives to the pontiff the name of Dominus, and says he was a Roman by birth, and the son of the priest Maurice.

Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, who had declared in favour of the heresy of the Monothelites, did not address his synodical letter to the new pope, to congratulate him on his election. He only wrote to him to know what were his opinions in relation to a reunion of the churches of the East and West. The reply of Domnus has been destroyed by the priests, which induces us to presume that it was not orthodox.

Besides, the pontiff showed an extreme indulgence in regard to heretics. At Rome, even, he granted a signal favour to the Syrian monks of the monastery of Bœce, who openly professed the errors of the Nestorians; and his indecision upon the dogma was such, that, according to several ecclesiastical historians, his business declared that it was impossible for him to pronounce on the question which divided the church, without emitting contradictory or erroneous propositions. And Platinus himself says, that Domnus candidly avowed to the priests, who composed his council, that

he could not comprehend how the Son of God could have two natures, two wills, and two operations; because such a doctrine was entirely at variance with the unity taught in the Bible, and which they avowed to be, at the same time, the essence of the divinity of Christ.

Towards the commencement of the year 678, the emperor having concluded a peace with the Saracens, was desirous of putting an end to the disorders which troubled Christianity; but foreseeing the obstacles which the ignorance and obstinacy of the Greek and Latin bishops would oppose to his conciliatory efforts, he called to his aid wise counsellors, to deliberate with them upon the measures necessary to be taken to bring back calm to the church.

Following their advice, he ordered the two titulars of the first sees of the empire, Theodore, chief of the clergy of Byzantium, and Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, to come to court, to inform him of the errors which had for so long a period divided the ministers of religion.

The two prelates, led to sentiments of equity by the noble conduct of the monarch, forgot their rivalry and their disputes, and avowed to the prince that the spirit of controversy natural to the Greeks had led them to ultra consequences on the dogmas or the mysteries of religion, and had led them to adopt false interpretations of the dogmas taught by the fathers. They affirmed that the terms em-

played in theological discussions were only pretexts which enabled prelates to excite the schisms which separated the churches; and that an œcumenical assembly would remedy all these evils.

Constantine then resolved to convoke a general council, and wrote to the pope: "We beseech you, holy father, to send to us calm and well-informed men. They should bring with them the works whose authority will be necessary to decide all religious questions with the patriarchs Theodore and Macaire. We promise you entire surety for their liberty and life, whatever may be the decisions of the council which we wish to call together.

"We hope to be justified in the judgment of God, because of the sincerity of our zeal for religion. We place in him all our trust; and we beseech him to bless the efforts we are making to obtain union among the Christians of the empire. Still we will employ no other power for conviction but that of argument, and we condemn those who would use violence to bring into subjection the consciences of men.

"The chief of our clergy has demanded from us authority to efface from the sacred chronicles the name of the pontiff Vitalian, and preserve that of Honorius. We have not approved of this request, being desirous of maintaining an entire equality between the

ecclesiastics of the East and the West; and to show that we regard them both as orthodox, until the questions raised between them shall be decided by the authority of our synod.

"An order has been given by us to the patriarch Theodore, the exarch of Italy, to defray all the expenses of the prelates and doctors whom you shall send to Constantinople, and to give them vessels of war to escort them, if that step shall be judged necessary for the safety of their persons."

This letter did not reach the pontiff Domnus. The holy father died towards the end of the year 678, before the ambassadors of the prince had arrived at Rome.

During his reign, the pope obtained the submission of the new archbishop of Ravenna, Reparatus, who, gained secretly by presents from the pontiff, had demanded permission to return to his obedience to the court of Rome. The holy father had consequently solicited from the emperor the abrogation of the decree which rendered the metropolitan church of Ravenna, independent of the Holy See, which met with no opposition.

Domnus paved with marble and surrounded with columns the court of honour, which was before the church of St. Peter. The church of the Apostles, situated on the Actian way, and that of St. Euphemia, on the Appian way were also repaired by his care.

## AGATHON, THE EIGHTY-FIRST, POPE.

[A. D. 678.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of Agathon—His education—His election as pontiff—Disorders in the church of England—Wilfrid, bishop of York, is driven from his church—His journey to Rome—He is re-installed in his see—Agathon receives the letter addressed to Domnus the First by Constantine—Reply of the holy father to the prince and his brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius—Letter from the council of Rome, on the ignorance of the clergy—Arrival of the legates in the East—Council of Constantinople—Excommunication of Honorius the First—Remarkable history of eighteen sessions—Death of Agathon.*

AGATHON, the Neapolitan, had been brought up in the monasteries; he regarded them as the schools where the study of pious practices, and the knowledge of the dogmas of religion were best taught. The senators, the clergy, and the Roman people gave their suffrages for him; and, in the end, he fully justified, by his fitness, the preference they had bestowed upon him.

After his exaltation, the new pope bestowed his attention on the church of England, troubled by the ambition and disorder of its priests, who had driven from his see Wilfrid, bishop of York. The illustrious persecuted, resolved to demand justice from the holy father against his suffragans, and undertook the journey to Rome. The fatigues of his pilgrimage were assuaged by the generous cares of Algisus, king of the people of Frigia and of Berchter, sovereign of the Lombards, who gave him escorts to preserve him from the snares and

dangers of which he might have become the victim. The pontiff, already informed of the unjust condemnation by the English bishops, listened favourably to his complaints, and convoked a council of fifty bishops, to examine the judgment, and to consolidate at the same time, by a vigorous action, the rule which the Holy See was commencing to exercise over the clergy of Great Britain.

Andrew of Ostia, and John of Porto, were charged to examine, with other ecclesiastics, into the process against St. Wilfrid. When their labour was finished they informed the assembly of it, thus expressing themselves: "My brethren, we do not find Wilfrid guilty of any crime which deserves the punishment which he has undergone from the royal sentence; and, on the contrary, we admire the sage conduct which he has exhibited towards his sovereign. He has not sought to excite sedition to maintain himself in his bishopric,

and is content to appeal to the court of Rome, where Jesus Christ has established the primacy of the priesthood and a supreme tribunal for all the members of the clergy, as well as for the laity of all ranks."

The pope ordered that Wilfrid should be introduced into the hall of the synod, in order to hear his complaints. The latter, after having read his petition, in which he took the title of bishop of Saxony, repelled the royal sentence which had declared him deposed. "I will not accuse," said he, "the metropolitan Theodore of having listened too lightly to false reports, because he has been sent into our province by the Holy See, and because I regard as infallible those whom the holy father has chosen from among his flock. Thus, my fathers, I take before you a solemn engagement, that if your assembly recognizes my deposition as equitable, I will submit humbly to its will. If my condemnation, on the other hand, is judged to be contrary to the sacred canons, I beseech you to drive from my diocese the impostors who govern it, and to order that the suffragans of an archiepiscopal see shall be chosen, for the future, from among the ecclesiastics of the same church."

The council replied, by acclamation, that he should be reinstated in his bishopric, and that the prelates charged with supporting with him the heavy weight of ecclesiastical functions, should be named in a synod composed of his own clergy, and should be consecrated by Theodore. They pronounced, at the same time, an anathema against clergy and laity, no matter what their dignity—even against kings, who should oppose the execution of this judgment.

Wilfrid returned into his province, carrying with him very many relics of saints, apostles, and martyrs, for the edification of the faithful in Great Britain.

St. Benedict Biscop made his fifth pilgrimage to Rome in the following year, to obtain from the pontiff a privilege which should assure him of the independence of his monastery, and authorize him to teach the Gregorian chant to his monks, and to celebrate the mass with Italian ceremonies. John, first singer of the church of St. Peter, and abbot of St. Martin's, was deputed to accompany Biscop to teach sacred music to the English monks, and to assure himself, at the same time, of the orthodoxy of the churches of the kingdom. They quitted the holy city, carrying, like Wilfrid, a prodigious quantity of relics, of pious books, and of images, which they were to expose to the adoration of the faithful in the new church, which the indefatigable pilgrim had consecrated to the blessed apostle Peter.

The letter which Constantine, during the preceding year had sent to Domnus the First, was sent back to the pontiff by Epiphanius, secretary to the prince. The holy father immediately assembled a council to reply to the emperor. There remain but two letters of the proceedings of this assembly: one from Agathou; the other is written in the name of the synod, and both are addressed to Constantine

and his brothers Heraclius and Tiberius, who bore the name of Augusti. "We have received," wrote the holy father, "the despatches which you addressed to our predecessor, to exhort him to examine the orthodoxy of the faith. In our desire to resolve this important question, we have sought for ecclesiastics capable of pronouncing wisely on the dogma of the incarnation; but we have not encountered, in all Italy, but plain men; such as the unfortunate state of the times permits us to find them.

"Having then taken counsel of all our brethren, we have resolved to send you as the best informed of our church, the venerable bishops Abundantius and John; our dear brethren Theodore and George, priests; John, deacon, and Constantine, sub-deacon; Theodore, priest and legate from the see of Ravenna, and several monks, who will assist at the general synod which you have convoked in your imperial city. We do not desire to represent them to you as the lights of the church; for we cannot find an exact knowledge of the sacred Scriptures among those who live among barbarous nations, and who purchase the food of each day by the labour of their hands.

"But, if we are ignorant in the learning of the sacred texts, as a recompense therefor, we guard with religious simplicity the primitive faith which our predecessors have left us, by asking from God, as the chief light, to preserve in our hearts the remembrance of their words, and of their decisions. We have pointed out to our deputies some passages from the holy fathers, in the books themselves, that they should be presented to you, when you demand them. Thus, the religion of this apostolical church, your spiritual mother, will be explained to you, not with profane eloquence, of which our envoys are ignorant, but with the sincerity and conviction of belief which we have professed since the cradle. We salute you in Jesus Christ."

The pontiff then explains his faith on the trinity and the incarnation. He affirms, that the three divine persons have but a single nature and a single will; and that the word having been clothed with a human form, under the name of Jesus, possesses two natures, two wills, and two operations. He cites several passages of Scripture, commented on by the fathers, and relates the definitions of the council of Chalcedon and that of the fifth œcumenical assembly. He assures them that the Holy See has never sustained heresy; that it has never departed from the path of Christian truth, and that its decisions have always been received as the divine word of St. Peter. He finally finishes this long letter by exhorting the emperor to use his power to maintain the integrity of the Catholic faith, and to deliver the church from its enemies. "If the bishop of Constantinople," added he, "teaches our doctrine, there will be no more division among the faithful. If, on the other hand, he embraces Monothelism, he will render an account to the judgment of God."



In their synodical letter, the prelates who composed the assembly, addressed themselves to the princes, and thus spoke: "Lords, you have ordered us to send to Byzantium ecclesiastics whose morals are exemplary, and whose intelligence has been nourished by reading the sacred texts.

"How edifying soever may appear to be the external actions of priests, we cannot answer for the purity of their private life; still we hope that the conduct of our deputies will be in conformity with Christian morality. As to their learning, it is reduced to the practices of their religion; for in our age the shades of ignorance cover the world, and our provinces are constantly devastated by the fury of nations. In the midst of the invasions, combats and brigandage of barbarous people, we cannot even teach our young clergy to read. Our days are full of affliction, and we cultivate a soil red with the blood of men. Finally there remains to us nothing but faith in Jesus Christ, as all our property and all our light."

The legates of the pontiff having arrived in Rome, Constantine received them in the oratory of St. Peter, at the imperial palace. They presented to him the letter from the court of Rome, and the surprise of the monarch was great, when he discovered, on a first examination, the gross ignorance of the priests of the Latin church. Nevertheless, he exhorted them, in conformity with the instructions which they had received from the pope, to prepare the questions which the council should examine, and to discuss them calmly, according to the rules of justice. He assigned to them the palace of Placidius for their residence, and gave orders to the cartulary to furnish them with the sums necessary to sustain their dignity.

Some days after they were invited to go to the church of our lady of Blaquernes, and the prince, desirous of showing all his deference for the Holy See, sent them horses richly caparisoned, and a numerous cortège. The synod then met in the palace of the sovereign, in the saloon of the dome. Thirteen of the principal officers of the crown surrounded the emperor, who himself presided over the assembly.

One of the legates of the court of Rome first spoke, and expressed himself in these terms; "Half a century has already passed, my brethren, since Sergius, patriarch of this city, introduced into the language of religion new expressions, which changed the purity of the faith. His error has been condemned by the Holy See, and the pontiffs have, without ceasing, exhorted the prelates who professed it, to reject it as impious and sacrilegious. Still, in spite of the anathemas of the popes, the error has propagated itself even to our day, in the Greek church.

"Nevertheless, we hope it will cease to trouble Christianity, and we beseech our magnificent emperor to order the clergy of Constantinople to give a formula of their belief on the incarnation of the Word, that we may be able to combat it." The bishops of Byzantium and

Antioch developed their views, and read from the proceedings of the council of Ephesus in favour of their conclusions.

In the second session, the assembly informed itself of the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, which, according to the legates, were entirely opposed to Monothelism. In the third, they recognized as apocryphal an epistle of Menas, addressed to pope Vigilius, and of which the heretics had availed themselves to prove, by the authority of this ancient patriarch of Constantinople, that there really existed but one will in Jesus Christ.

In the following sessions they read the letters of pope Agathon; but the bishop of Antioch victoriously opposed to the arguments of the pontiff two volumes of passages, extracted from the fathers. The deacon of Ravenna, rising from his seat, addressed the emperor—"Remark, my lord, that in all these citations, Macaire, Stephen his disciple, Peter bishop of Nicomedia, and Solomon of Clanea, have not produced any text that establishes the single will of the trinity and of Christ. They have even altered or left out the passages which condemn the Monothelites. We beseech you, then, to have brought from the patriarchal palace of this city, the original books, and we will show the assembly, by comparing the extracts produced before them, that they have been mutilated and interpolated.

"In our turn, we will cite the works of the fathers, and will clearly prove two wills and two operations in the Word, after its hypostatic union with human nature."

The patriarchs George and Macaire demanded, in the seventh session, a copy of the letters of pope Agathon, to verify the texts upon which he founded his conclusions. Then they submitted two discourses attributed to the pontiff Vigilius, and addressed to the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora. They contained these words: "We anathematise Theodore of Mopsuestia, who refuses to recognize Jesus Christ as one hypostasis, one person, and performing a single operation." Stephen, a monk and priest of Rome, having risen, exclaimed, "This writing is an imposture. For, if Vigilius had taught the unity of volition, and the council had approved of it, he would have employed the term 'one operation,' in the definition of the synod."

In the following session, the patriarch of Constantinople also gave his opinion. "I have compared with the works which are in my archives, the decisions of pope Agathon, and of the prelates of the West; and I must say, that the testimony of the fathers is there reported with religious exactness. I avow, then, openly, that I profess to believe, without restriction, all they contain."

The assembly expressed its adhesion to these sentiments, by loud acclamations. They then examined the general doctrine of the heretics, and the council rendered this judgment: "After having examined with profound attention the dogmatical letters of Sergius of Byzantium, to Cyrus of Alexandria, and the replies of the pontiff Honorius the First to

Sergius, we declare that we have found them contradictory of the doctrine of the apostles; the decrees of œcumenical assemblies; the sentiments of the fathers of the church, and conformed in all points to the false science taught by the heretics.

"We condemn them as capable of corrupting the souls of the faithful; and in rejecting these impious dogmas we anathematize their authors Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Theodore, and the pontiff Honorius the First, as heretics, impious, and sacrilegious. . . ."

This condemnation of Honorius has been the stumbling-block of pontifical infallibility. As the partizans of the papacy could not deny the regularity, nor the authenticity of a sentence confirmed by the court of Rome, and rendered under the guidance of the legates of the Holy See, by an orthodox synod, they have endeavoured to establish that this pope had not erred. "In admitting even as patent the condemnation of Honorius," say some of their historians, "it is always the truth to say, that he was not the inventor of the heresy; that he did not define it; and that he never proposed it as a teaching of the universal church. The glory of the apostolical see is especially in the privilege granted to St. Peter and his successors, of acting with a prudent skill which leads them to define nothing, from the fear of putting forth decisions contrary to the faith." This is indeed the tactics which the popes have always employed, since Honorius, to preserve their orthodoxy.

In the fourteenth session they discovered that the acts of the fifth council were filled with alterations and interpolations. Finally, they pronounced an anathema against the Monothelite, Polychronus, who had the impudence to propose to justify his faith by the resurrection of a dead man.

Constantine, a priest of the diocese of Apamea, having desired to give his opinion on religious tolerance, was accused of Manichæism, and driven from the assembly.

The definition of the faith of the synod was published at the last meeting, in the presence of the emperor and the principal officers of his court. It was declared that they adhered

to the five preceding councils; and they quoted the creeds of Nice and Constantino-ple. The letters of pope Agathon were approved as being in conformity with the decisions of the œcumenical assembly of Chalcedon, and with the doctrine of St. Leo and St. Cyril. The mystery of the incarnation was explained by the fathers, who demonstrated the existence in Jesus Christ of two natural wills and two operations. They prohibited the teaching of any other doctrine, under pain of interdiction and excommunication for the clergy, and of anathema for the laity.

They terminated the discussions of the council after nineteen sessions. Constantine, to assure the execution of these decrees, made an ordinance conceived in these terms: "He who shall contravene the present constitution, if he is a bishop, clerk, or monk, shall be deposed; if he is in possession of dignities, he shall be deprived of them, and his property confiscated; if he is a mere citizen, he shall be banished from Constantinople, and all the cities of the empire."

Some ecclesiastical authors affirm, that this prince merited the honours of canonization in sustaining the faith of the Holy See, and giving to orthodox priests the power of exercising a salutary rigour towards heretics. They also praise him for having granted to the legates of the pontiff a rescript, which diminished the sums the popes paid to the Greek monarchs at the time of their ordination.

Some months after this triumph, Agathon was attacked with a severe illness, of which he died on the 1st of December, 681. He had reigned about four years. His body was buried in the church of St. Peter.

The legendaries speak with great veneration of the purity of his morals, of his humility, his extraordinary charity, and above all, of the gift of miracles with which he was endowed. They call him Agathon the Wonder-worker, and relate that, during a violent pestilence which ravaged Italy, whilst he was the treasurer of the exchequer of St. Peter, he cured, by a simple imposition of his hands, a multitude of the sick, and resuscitated a great number of the dead!

## LEO THE SECOND, EIGHTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 682.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of Leo—His education—His election—Receives the legates on their return from Constantinople—Letter from the emperor—The pope sends the proceedings of the council of Constantinople to the churches of Spain—He anathematizes his predecessor, the pontiff Honorius—His death.*

Leo was born in Cedella, a small city of the thither Abruzzo. His father, named Paul, was a physician. Destined from his youth to the ecclesiastical state, Leo was occupied with the study of the sacred writings, and by an assiduous application, acquired a profound

knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, especially for the age of ignorance in which he lived.

After the death of Agathon, the clergy, people, and grandees of Rome raised him to the throne of St. Peter as the only priest who was capable of worthily filling the pontifical

chair. The first use which he made of his authority, was to assemble a synod to receive and approve of the decisions of the general council of Constantinople, which had been brought to him by the legates of the Holy See.

The letter of the emperor terminated with these words: "We have caused the writings of your predecessor to be publicly read; they have been judged conformable to the Holy Scriptures, to the decrees of councils, and the works of the fathers.

"Thus we have received his word as that of the apostle himself, and our assembly has been unanimous in its acclamation. Nevertheless, Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, has obstinately refused to submit to the authority of the decisions of pope Agathon; and we have been obliged to depose him from his see. But he and his adherents have besought us to send them to your court, to appeal to your wisdom and knowledge from the judgment pronounced against them. We have granted their request, and leave it to your paternal judgment to punish or to recompense them."

Instead of listening to the protestations of the Monothelites, Leo caused them to be shut up in prison, and put to the torture. Anastasius, priest, and Leontius, deacon of Byzantium, overcome by the tortures, consented to anathematize those who had partaken of their belief; and on the day of the Epiphany they solemnly received the communion of the pontiff, after having remitted to him on their knees a profession of faith written with their own hands. It was not thus with the patriarch Macaire; this courageous ecclesiastic was unconquerable, and in the midst of the most cruel tortures he constantly refused to abjure his belief.

The envoys of the Spanish clergy came at the same period to present to the court of Rome, the proceedings of the twelfth council of Toledo, and to ask the approval of the pope to the great changes which had taken place in their country. Behold what had passed. Wamba, king of the Visigoths, at the termination of frightful convulsions produced by an poisoned beverage, which his son Everigus had administered to him, became crazy, and was confined in a monastery, dependent on the diocese of Toledo. As he had then recovered his reason, they feared, lest he should take a notion to reclaim the throne, and the ambassadors came to beseech his holiness to confirm the abdication which had been wrested from him in his state of madness, and to

declare holy and legitimate the usurpation of Everigus, his prisoner and successor.

In return for this act of complaisance, the ambassadors were instructed to offer to Leo a large sum of money. His holiness granted all they asked, and as a mark of his communion sent to the new king and his clergy several letters, to inform them of the decisions made by the council of Constantinople. "This general assembly," wrote Leo, "has justly condemned the memory of the heretics Sergius, Theodore, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, Peter, and particularly that of the infamous pope Honorius the First, who, instead of extinguishing in its birth the flame of heresy, as the dignity of the apostolical see demanded, kindled it by his apostasy.

"We do not send the proceedings of the synod, because they have not yet been completely translated from the Greek to Latin; still we remit the definition of the council and the edict of confirmation rendered by prince Constantine. We beseech you to inform the prelates and people of your province of them, and to cause them to be approved by the bishops, and to give to our legate your subscriptions, to deposit them near to the confession of the blessed St. Peter."

Constantine, regionary sub-deacon of the Holy See, who had assisted at the sixth council, was sent to Constantinople as nuncio. The letter which he was commanded to present to the emperor contained this remarkable passage: "Prince, the edict rendered by your greatness, has been very agreeable to us; it gives great power to the decisions of an œcumenical assembly, and forms a two edged sword to exterminate heretics."

Leo the Second died some time after, whilst he was occupied in the translation of the proceedings of the general council of Constantinople. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

The historians, Anastasius and Platinus, place the period of his death towards the end of the year 683.

Baillet, in his work on the life of the Saints, assures us that the pontiff was full of piety. He equally praises the firmness he exhibited in prohibiting the inhabitants of Ravenna from celebrating the anniversary of Maurice, their former metropolitan, who had freed himself from the authority of the Roman church; and he even affirms that Leo compelled the successors of that prelate to give up to the Holy See the ordinance they had obtained from the emperor, which assured to them their independence.

## BENEDICT THE SECOND, EIGHTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 684.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—The emperor grants to him a privilege which assures the independence of the popes—Council of Toledo—The patriarch Macaire perseveres in his heresy—Death of the pontiff—Miraculous conversion of a young man, Ansbert.*

THE successor of Leo the Second was a Roman by birth, and the son of a citizen named John. Attached to the church from his infancy, the young Benedict directed his studies towards profane sciences, but without neglecting the Sacred Scriptures and religious singing. He was chosen bishop of Rome by the assembly of the ecclesiastics, grandees, and people; but could not exercise the pontifical functions for eleven months after his nomination, because the court of Constantinople had not yet confirmed his election.

Benedict wrote to the emperor to address to him the complaints of the clergy on the delays which hindered the confirmation of bishops, when the barbarians intercepted the communications between the two cities. The prince, seduced by the praises and flatteries of the holy father, who called him "Shining light of the world; regenerator of the faith, &c.," acceded to his request, and made a decree which permitted the clergy, the citizens, and the army, to consecrate a pope without waiting for the approval of the emperors.

As soon as the pontiff saw his authority established in the East, he wrote to his legate in Spain, ordering him to assemble a council at Toledo, that the prelates of that country might approve of the decisions of the œcumenical council of Constantine Pogonatus. The seventeen bishops of the Carthaginian province having assembled, examined the proceedings of the general council of Constantinople. The fathers gave their approbation to the decrees of the council, and sent to Benedict the Second a synodical letter, explanatory of their belief. The holy father having remarked in this profession of faith the expressions, "the will engenders the will," and "there are three substances in Jesus Christ," addressed representations to his legate, to cause them to retract these errors. But the prelates replied they could not modify them; for such were their opinions; and that the observations of the pope had not changed their convictions.

During the following year, the emperor, to manifest his friendship to the pope, sent to the court of Rome the hair of his sons Heraclius and Justinian. The pontiff received the present of the monarch favourably in the name of St. Peter, and regarded himself from that time as the adopted father of the young princes, according to the usage of ancient times.

Benedict the Second, at the solicitation of the envoys of Constantine, undertook the conversion of Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, who persevered in his schism, notwithstanding the persecutions and tortures to which he had been submitted. He recalled him from his

exile, and for six weeks he was brought daily from his prison to enter into controversy with St. Boniface, who endeavoured to induce him to abjure his heresy. The prelate opposing a steady resistance to promises and menaces, rejected all the advances of the Holy See, and strove to maintain, during his life, his belief in Monothelism. The pontiff occupied the apostolical throne during only six months, and died in the beginning of the year 685. His body was buried in the church of St. Peter.

Anastasius the Librarian relates, that Benedict the Second affected a great humility; that he was mild, patient, liberal, and repaired the churches of St. Peter and of St. Lawrence of Lucina. He also added many embellishments to those of St. Valentin and St. Mary of the Martyrs; and that he left thirty pounds of gold to the clergy and monasteries of Rome. The martyrology places him in the number of saints whose memory the church celebrates.

At this period took place the wonderful conversion of St. Ansbert, and his retreat into the monastery of Fontenelle. This holy man, according to the version which the Bollandists have left us, was born at Chaussy, a village of Vexin. His personal qualities, and the influence of his family, opened to him a brilliant career; and the chancellor Robert was so delighted with his merits, that he wished him to espouse his daughter Angadreme. This young lady, who did not partake of the ideas of her father, and who desired to consecrate herself to God, passed several nights in prayer, and obtained from heaven the privilege of having her face covered with leprosy. Ansbert refused to take her for his wife. Then she was enabled to enter into the convent of the Oratory, where she received the veil from the hands of St. Ouen.

As for Ansbert, he continued to frequent the society of the young lords and beautiful ladies of the court, who obtained for him the succession to Robert in the post of chancellor. He then sought anew to marry, and demanded the hand of a daughter of a rich lord. But scarcely was he betrothed to her, when the face of this beautiful person was covered with an horrible leprosy. The young lord affrighted, at once quitted the court, and concealed himself in the abbey of Fontenelle, with the fixed resolution to consecrate himself to God. He sold his immense estates, and employed the proceeds in founding monasteries and hospitals.

His reputation for sanctity soon extended into all the provinces of the kingdom, and the Episcopal church of Rouen becoming vacant, the inhabitants of that city demanded him for

their bishop. Ansbert, promoted to this see, devoted himself entirely to preaching the gospel, and solacing the poor; and condemned with an eloquent voice the prodigalities and disorders of the court. Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace, discontented at the severity of

the holy prelate, caused him to be torn from his church by his satellites, who conducted him to the monastery of Hauwant, where, by order of the prince, the monks inflicted on him such cruel treatment, that he died a few months after his arrival.

## JOHN THE FIFTH, EIGHTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 685.—JUSTINIAN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*Election and ordination of John—His character—The churches of Sardinia return under the dependancy of the Holy See—Death of the pontiff.*

JOHN the Fifth, the son of Cypriacus, was born in Syria, in the province of Antioch. During the reign of Agathon his ability, firmness, and moderation had procured for him the appointment of a legate to assist at the œcumenical council of Constantinople. After the death of Benedict the Second he was chosen pope, and ordained by the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Velitia.

His infirmities, and a chronic malady, confined him to his bed during the entire duration of his pontificate. In the solemn festivals he could scarcely be carried to divine service. He nevertheless showed much energy and great activity in governing the church, and vigorously opposed the bishops of Cagliari, who had usurped the right of confirming the elections of the prelates of Sardinia.

The metropolitan Citonatus, having ordained Novellus as bishop of the church of the Lands, without having obtained the authority of Rome, John the Fifth hunted up in the archives of the palace of the Lateran, a decree of the pope St. Martin, which interdicted the archbishops of Cagliari from nominating their suffragans; and he assembled a council which constrained Novallus to place himself under the control of the Holy See, by an authentic proceeding.

Notwithstanding his great sufferings he stood upright to ordain; and during the year, which was the duration of his reign, he consecrated thirteen bishops.

He also maintained active relations with the churches of the East and West. And authors relate that he addressed several letters to the principal bishops of France, who, since the death of St. Ouen, the glorious disciple and faithful companion of St. Eloi were in discord. He also replied to St. Julian of Toledo, who addressed to him the proceedings of a new council, held in that city, and who had remitted to him his treatise on prognostics, or considerations on things to come.

This work, which has come down to our days, is a strange and ridiculous dissertation on the origin, nature, and effects of the flames of purgatory. It was regarded as very orthodox by John the Fifth, who even wished to order the study of it in the ecclesiastical schools. At length, the intensity of the sickness which afflicted the pontiff having redoubled, he fell into a state of moral depression, which permitted him no longer to occupy himself with the affairs of this world. He died in 686, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## CONON, THE EIGHTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 686.—JUSTINIAN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*The clergy and army dispute in Rome the election of pontiff—The old Conon is elevated to the throne of St. Peter—Letter from the emperor to the new pope—Weakness of the holy father—Pilgrimage of St. Killian—Vengeance of the missionary against the family of duka Gosbert—Death of the pope.*

THE emperor Constantine, in giving to the see of Rome the liberty of choosing its chief, was desirous of assuring the tranquillity of the church, and of preventing the scandalous schisms which were caused by the disgraceful intrigues of the popes. His edict produced a very different result. It gave, on the contrary, a new aliment to the ambition of the eccle-

siastics, and multiplied disorders and disputes.

After the death of John, two priests, Peter and Theodore, were prodigal of gold to the factions, and excited violent seditions to obtain the pontifical throne. Peter assembled the leaders of the army in the church of St. Stephen; sent soldiers, who drove his con-

petitor from the church of the Lateran, and closed the gates. The latter assembled his partizans, and wished the clergy to proceed to his election, under the very porch of the temple.

A collision appeared imminent; the bishops of the two parties entered into the episcopal palace; and to shun all controversy between the rivals, they united their suffrages upon Conon, a venerable old man, of a peaceful and simple spirit, and proclaimed him pope. As soon as the new pope was proclaimed, the magistrates and principal citizens came to salute him with their acclamations. The army alone, yet deferred to approve of his election. But, seeing that the clergy and people had sanctioned it, the soldiers abandoned the interests of Theodore, and confirmed the choice which had been made of Conon.

The pontiff, born in Sicily, was of a family originally from Thrace. He had constantly filled subaltern offices in the church; and his intellect, always employed in the details of religious practices, rendered him incapable of comprehending the political maxims of a government so Machiavelian as that of the see of Rome. Still, he knew how to gain the good graces of the emperor; and Justinian the Second, at his solicitation, rendered several successive decrees in favour of the church. He first renounced the capitation tax, which the patrimonies of Brutium and Lucania had paid him; then he ordered the military to restore the fiefs and domains in Italy and Sicily, which the leaders had seized as pledges for services rendered to the court of Rome. At last, the prince pushed his deference for the Holy See so far as to write the following letter: "Having learned that the proceedings of the sixth council were in the hands of officers of our crown, and thinking that the guardianship of pieces so sacred should be confided to magistrates, we have taken them from them.

"We convoked the patriarchs, the legate of your beatitude, the senate, the metropolitans, the bishops, the officers of the palace, our guards, the chiefs of the different armies who are in Constantinople, and have caused to be read in their presence the decisions of the œcumenical council. These proceedings have been sealed up in their presence, that they might not be altered by heretics. We advise your holiness of the measures we have deemed it necessary to take, to assure the maintenance of orthodoxy in the Eastern church."

Some months after the reception of these letters Conon named, as rector of the patri-

mony of Sicily, Constantine, deacon of Syracuse. This ecclesiastic, by his scandalous exactions, excited the indignation of the people, who rose against him. The governor of the province was obliged to cast the guilty rector into prison to appease the people and to carry his complaints to the imperial court, not only against the rector, but even against the head of the Roman church.

The pilgrimage of Killian to the holy city is placed at about this period. The pope having approved of the faith and doctrine of the Irish bishop, gave him, in the name of St. Peter, power to instruct and convert infidel nations. Killian then returned to Wirtzberg, where he instructed in the Christian faith duke Gosbert, caused him to abandon the worship of his ancestors, and in defiance of his family baptized him. The duchess Gelania of Gosbert, alarmed at the prodigalities of her husband, who was dissipating all the heritage of his children in pious foundations, or in presents to monasteries, addressed violent reproaches on the subject to the missionary. The latter, in order to avenge himself on the princess, and to bring her within the reach of his anger, used the control which he exercised over the mind of the duke; and to induce him to consent to a divorce, persuaded him that his union with Gelania was incestuous, according to the laws of the church; because she was his relative within the sixth degree. The new convert, ruled by the Irish priest, promised to obey, and only asked to defer this painful sacrifice until after his return from an expedition he was about to make against the people beyond the Maine. But, during the absence of her husband, Gelania profited by the opportunity; ordered the missionary to leave her estates, and upon his refusal beheaded him. The chronicle adds, that God permitted, in vengeance for the death of St. Killian, this guilty female to be stricken suddenly with a strange disease, which caused such frightful pangs that she ate her hands in a paroxysm of pain. That, besides, duke Gosbert, on his return, was massacred by his domestics. That Hetan, his eldest son, was driven from his states by the eastern Franks; that his other children were massacred, and that there remained no descendant of this criminal race.

The health of Conon, already tottering, became daily more feeble since his election. He soon succumbed under the weight of the episcopal functions, and died in the beginning of the year 687, after a reign of ~~eleven~~ months and three days. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## SERGIUS THE FIRST, EIGHTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 687.—JUSTINIAN II., LEONTIUS and TIBERIUS III., Emperors of the East.]

*Schism in the Roman church—Sedition at the election of a pontiff—Three popes proclaimed at once in the holy city—Sergius purchases the pontificate, and pledges the crowns of gold of St. Peter—Origin and education of the pontiff—He avenges himself on Paschal, his competitor—Baptism and death of king Cadwallon—Council of Toledo—The famous council of Trullo makes several decrees against the ambition of the pontiff—Marriage of the priests maintained by the council—Jurisdiction of bishops—Decrees in relation to monks, marriages, and dress—The bishops of the council prohibit the faithful from espousing their mothers or sisters—Sergius rejects the council—The emperor comes to take Sergius from Rome—The army of Ravenna protects the pontiff—Conversion of the people of Frisia—The pope is accused of adultery—Vitiza, king of Spain, refuses to recognize the sovereignty of the see of Rome—Death of Sergius.*

DURING the last sickness of Conon, the archdeacon Paschal having seized upon the riches which the pope had bequeathed to the clergy and monasteries, offered to John, exarch of Ravenna, to surrender them to him if he would aid his election. The latter easily allowed himself to be seduced by the glitter of gold, and sent his troops to Rome to surround the city and favour the ambitious projects of the archdeacon.

Nevertheless, after the death of the holy father, the people were divided into several factions. The arch-priest Theodore, at the head of his faction, penetrated into the palace of the Lateran, and caused himself to be chosen pontiff. Paschal, on his side, caused himself to be proclaimed the successor of Conon to the throne of St. Peter. Each party assembled in arms, ready to sustain, by force, the bishop whom it had nominated. The strife had even commenced in the court of the church of Julius, when the principal magistrates, the greater part of the clergy, the militia, and the honourable citizens determined to act in the same manner as they had done on the death of John the Fifth. They went to the imperial palace, and proclaimed as pontiff a priest named Sergius, who belonged to neither of the two factions. Sergius seized his two competitors, Paschal and Theodore, and constrained them to swear obedience to him.

He was himself soon driven from the holy city by the friends of Theodore, and obliged to take refuge in Ravenna. John Platinus, then exarch, proposed to the holy father to re-install him on the pontifical throne, if he would consent to give him the treasures promised by his competitor, Paschal. Sergius, greedy of power, consented to the bargain, and was led back in triumph to the city of Rome, in the midst of the troops of the exarch.

To fulfil his promises, his holiness despoiled the churches of their ornaments, sold a great part of the vases, chandeliers, pyxes, and pledged in the hands of the Jews even the crowns of gold which were suspended over the altar of St. Peter. Then Sergius thought to get rid of his old rivals. The archdeacon Theodore being the most redoubtable, he accused him of witchcraft, enchantments, sorcery, relations with an evil spirit, and caused

him to be shut up in a monastery, where he died of poison.

Sergius, son of Tiberius, was born at Palermo, in Sicily. He had first served the church as a child of the choir; then as an acolyte, and had finally been ordained a priest of the order of St. Susanna, by Leo the Second. The sacred Scriptures and the works of the fathers were almost unknown to the new pope, who passed the greatest part of his life in chanting the psalmody of the church, and in celebrating divine service in the oratories of the cemeteries of the holy city.

During the enthronement of the new pope, St. Wilfrid arrived in England, and presented to Egfred, king of Northumbria, the decree of the Holy See, which reinstalled him in his bishopric. The prince who had deposed him, refused to restore to him his dignities, and assembled the principal lords of his kingdom, clerical and lay, to reform the decisions of the court of Rome. By the decisions of the assembly, the proceedings of the Italian synod were obliterated; Wilfrid declared a rebellious subject and cast into prison. The chronicles relate, that the soldiers who guarded the holy bishop heard, every night, the voice of angels, who sang with him the sacred psalms, and saw shining lights in his prison. Egfred, alarmed by this miracle, restored the saint to liberty, and wished to re-install him in his bishopric; but the metropolitan Theodore boldly opposed the will of the sovereign, declaring that Wilfrid, before remounting his see, should renounce the decree of the pope. The prelate replied, that gratitude compelled him to refuse the marks of clemency from the king; and that he preferred death to apostacy, of which he would render himself guilty, by abandoning the sacred rights of the pontiff and of the Holy See.

At this period Cadwallon, king of Wessex, led on by religious fanaticism, solemnly abandoned the sovereign dignity, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, to receive baptism before the sepulchre of the apostles. When the prince had arrived at the gates of the holy city, the pontiff Sergius went to meet him with a large retinue of clergy; and having accompanied him to the church of St. Peter, he poured the regenerating water on the forehead of the monarch, in the presence of the senators, the bishops, and an immense concourse

of people. Some days after this ceremony, Cadwallon, attacked by an unknown disease, died suddenly. The pope seized upon the immense wealth the prince had brought with him, to perform magnificent obsequies, and engraved Latin and Greek epitaphs upon the marble which covered his tomb.

This same year (688) the fifteenth council of Toledo assembled in Spain, to hear the reading of a long discourse on complaints addressed to the Spanish prelates by pope Benedict the Second. St. Julian, who presided over it, spoke in these words: "In the profession of faith which we sent to Rome, the pontiff is scandalized at the expression, 'the will engenders the will,' and has demanded of us an explanation. We declare then, that we intended thus to designate the faculty which engenders volition and the accomplished act, which is called the will, in the same manner as the Word is the wisdom of the wisdom; or the realization of the thought of God. As to the second proposition, 'there are three substances in Jesus Christ,' we wish to teach by these words, that the Saviour is composed of Divinity, soul, and body; or of three principles, which are united together by his incarnation. Still we agree, that one cannot recognize but two—the Divine and human principle; and that the soul and body are confounded, to form a single substance—that of humanity.

"Our decisions are in conformity with those of the fathers; and we hope they will be confirmed by the new clergy of Rome, if there yet remains any knowledge of the holy books in that church. But, in any case, we should refuse the retraction which an ignorant pontiff demands." The proceedings of this synod were approved by Sergius, as Robert, metropolitan of Toledo, testifies in the works he has left us.

In 692 took place the death of the celebrated Theodore, who aspired to free himself from the rule of the bishop of Rome. The pope designated to replace him in the archbishopric of Canterbury, Birthwald, abbot of the monastery of Rolth, in Kent. This ecclesiastic was the first Englishman who occupied this see. He governed the clergy of Great Britain for thirty-seven years.

The two last œcumenical assemblies having separated without publishing the canons, the Greek patriarchs addressed representations to the emperor Justinian, to authorize the holding of a new assembly, which should be considered as the continuation of the last synod to complete the proceedings of the councils. Paul of Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem, George of Antioch, Basil of Gortyna, the legates of the Holy See, and more than two hundred bishops, assembled in the imperial palace, in the saloon of the dome called in Latin, Trullus. It gave its name to the synod known in the church, under the title of the Council in Trullo. "The fathers proposed to determine the decrees which should serve as rules to regulate the discipline of the churches of the East and West; and after having rejected

the constitutions attributed to St. Clement, they approved of the canons of Nice, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangres, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Sardis, and Carthage, as well as the canonical epistles of St. Denis and St. Peter of Alexandria, of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, of St. Amphilocus, and of several other fathers of the Greek church."

An illustrious prelate then spoke on the important question of the marriage of priests. "My brethren," said he, "I recall to your attention, that we have now to occupy ourselves with a subject whose importance is extremely grave, and which demands profound meditation. It is absolutely necessary that your assembly should express itself in a positive manner upon a question which divides the churches of the East and West, and that we should develop the reasons which have determined your wisdom to render a decree contrary to the opinions of the see of Rome.

"The Roman ecclesiastics attach themselves to the letter of the rule; and the Byzantians bind themselves by interpreting it according to its spirit. To shun the excess of both, we should seek to establish equitable laws, which assure purity of morals in the clergy, by showing us at all times less rigid than the church of Rome—more severe than that of Constantinople.

"We will order that the clergy who have been twice married, and who are yet under the yoke of their second marriage, should be deposed. Those whose marriages have been broken off, shall preserve their dignity, but remain interdicted from all sacerdotal functions.

"The canons shall prohibit the consecration, as bishops, priests, or deacons of those who have contracted a second marriage, or who live with concubines, or who have married a widow, or divorced wife, a courtesan, a slave, or an actress. In the canons of the apostles, readers and chanters are permitted to marry after their ordination. This authority will extend for the future to subdeacons, deacons, and even to priests.

"Before consecrating a clerk, the Latin clergy make him promise to break off all intimate relations with his wife; whilst we, on the contrary, will conform ourselves to the wisdom of the ancient apostolic canon. We will maintain the marriage of those who are in sacred orders, and we will not deprive them of their companions. If they are judged worthy to belong to the church, they shall not be excluded because they are in a legitimate bond. We will not make them promise to preserve celibacy, which would be to condemn matrimony, which God himself has instituted and blessed by his presence.

"Thus the bishops, who, in contempt of the apostolic canons, shall dare to deprive an ecclesiastic of the rights of legitimate union, shall be deposed and anathematized. The separation shall exist for prelates only, and their wives shall be obliged to inhabit a monastery at a distance from their residence. We will



also prohibit the bishops of Africa and Syria from keeping, to the great scandal of the people, in the interior of their palaces, the concubines who inhabit them."

In the other canons the council prohibits the clergy from keeping taverns or hostleries; from assisting at horse races, or scenic representations; from having in the city, or on a journey, other garments than those proper for their station; and from wearing their hair long, like the laity.

The fathers permitted the entrance into convents of children of the age of ten years, though St. Basil did not authorize it until they were seventeen; and they declared that men lost through debauchery, robbers as well as murderers, could be received in the monasteries, which were pious retreats, founded for penitents, whatsoever might be their crimes. They prohibited females who had taken the vows, from wearing rich garments and jewellery. Finally, they anathematized as sacrilegious the laity who changed the destination of cloisters consecrated by the authority of a bishop.

They maintained the jurisdiction of the chiefs of dioceses over the country churches, and confirmed the decision of the council of Chalcedon, which gave to the see of Constantinople, the same privileges as that of Rome. They declared that prelates dispossessed by the incursions of the Mussulmans, should still preserve their dignity, their rank, and their power of ordaining clergy, and of presiding in the church. This was the origin of the bishops *in partibus*.

Then, in accordance with the rules laid down by St. Basil to Amphilocus, they proportioned penance to the sins and the strength of the guilty; and they decreed that heretics who should present their abjuration, subscribed with their own hands, might re-enter the church, after having been anointed with holy oil upon their forehead, nose, eyes, mouth, and ears.

They prohibited the celebration of the liturgy and of baptism in private oratories, without the permission of the bishop, and ordained the following provisions: "The priests shall not receive any salary for administering the holy communion; and the faithful shall not receive the eucharist in a vase of gold, or of any other expensive material; but it shall be deposited in their hands, crossed one over the other, because the world contains no substance so precious as the body of man, which is the true temple of Jesus Christ. They shall not give the bread and wine of the holy table to the dead; for the Saviour, in instituting the sacrament of the altar, said to his apostles, 'Take, eat: this is my flesh and my blood;' and a dead body cannot perform the command contained in these divine words.

"Bunches of grapes shall not be given with the eucharist; they shall be blessed separately as first fruits; and honey and milk shall not be offered on the altar.

"It is forbidden to mix water with wine at the communion; to come into the temple with

cooked food; to eat eggs and cheese on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent, and to eat the blood of any animal whatsoever, under pain of deposition for clergy, and of anathema for laity. The week of Easter should be passed in festivals and devotion, and they should not assist at public spectacles.

"We condemn the repasts called *love-feasts*, because in these banquets, in which glowing cups are emptied in honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, under the very roof of the church, licentiousness has taken the place of the charity which the first Christians brought to these religious festivals. We prohibit from selling in the churches, as is done, food, drink, and all other kinds of merchandise; and we pronounce anathema on the man and woman whose criminal embraces shall render them adulterers in the sanctuary. We prohibit bringing a brute into the house of God, except on a journey, and from absolute necessity, to protect it in a storm.

"We prohibit from blotting or tearing the books of the Holy Scriptures, or of the fathers, or from selling them to perfumers, unless they should be incorrect or already destroyed by vermin. The mark of the cross shall not be made in flag stones or on the earth trodden by the feet of man, and it is expressly ordered to represent Christ under a human form, as being preferable to that of a lamb, which painters and sculptors still give him.

"They shall chant in the temple without elevating the voice. The canticles shall only contain proper expressions; and they shall no more read scandalous legends of confessors and martyrs; fables invented by the enemies of the truth, who wish to dishonour the memory of holy men, whom the church venerates."

The synod then prohibited games of hazard, dancing at the theatres, buffooneries, combats between animals, and the juggleries of the mountebanks, who pretended to be possessed with the devil. It condemned to six years of repentance, conjurors, bear-keepers, fortune-tellers, and vagabonds, who, under the frock of the Eremites wore long hair and black garments. The fathers refused to tolerate the usage of comic, satirical, and tragical disguises. They proscribed the public dancing of the courtezans, the invocations which the people addressed to Bacchus at the period of the maturity of the grapes, and the bacchanals which the vintagers executed after the labours of the day. They also prohibited the lighting at new moons of stubble fires before the dwellings, an ancient custom which the people respected. They abolished the custom of giving cake at the festival of Christmas to celebrate the blessed delivery of the Virgin, maintaining that the fathers and the œcumenical assemblies had decided that Mary became a mother without going through the act of delivery. They prohibited a priest from blessing incestuous unions between a father and his daughters; between brothers and sisters; between those who held children at the baptismal font; between brothers-in-

law and sisters-in-law; between catholics and heretics. Finally, the assembly prohibited, under pain of excommunication, making immoral pictures, curling the hair, and bathing with courtezans.

Justinian subscribed with his own hand all the canons passed by the council. The place of the subscription of the pope was alone left in blank. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, all the bishops, and even the legates of the court of Rome, affixed their signatures to the foot of the proceedings. The decrees were then addressed to the holy father, who refused to approve of them, declaring them derogatory to the authority and dignity of his see.

The emperor, furious at the resistance of the pontiff, who thus rendered useless some months of great labour, sent Zachary, his protospathary, to bring away Sergius. But the pope, informed of his plan, distributed money to the militia of Ravenna, the duchy of Pentapolis, and the neighbouring provinces; and with their aid undertook to oppose himself to the will of Justinian. The soldiers, always docile and submissive to those who pay them, followed faithfully the instructions of the pontiff. On the very day of the arrival of the protospathary, they entered the holy city, filling the air with their clamors, and menacing the envoys of the prince, even under the windows of his palace. Zachary, alarmed at this manifestation, escaped from his residence, ran to the Vatican, and took refuge in the chamber of the holy father, beseeching him, with tears, to save him from the fury of the troops.

At the same moment the army of Ravenna, which had also received orders from the clergy, entered by the gate of St. Peter, and advancing even to the palace of the Lateran, demanded, with loud clamor, to see Sergius. The gates having been closed at the approach of the soldiers, they threatened to break them open. The protospathary then seeing no mode of escaping the danger, precipitated himself under the bed of the pontiff, and cowered closely in the most remote corner. The pope reassured the unfortunate Zachary. He then ordered the militia to enter the court of the palace, and presenting himself at the door-sill of the church of Theodora, went towards the chair of the apostles, that all the world might perceive him. He received with honour the citizens and soldiers; appeased their minds, and thanked the troops, assuring them that his liberty was no longer threatened. Still the tumult did not entirely cease until after the expulsion of the envoy of the emperor.

Some years after these events, Pepin Heriatal, mayor of the palace, at the court of Dagobert the Third, undertook to convert to Christianity the people of Friesland; and for this purpose sent to the holy city Wilbrod, a zealous apostle, to be ordained bishop of these barbarous nations. Sergius, having received the presents and letters of Pepin, consecrated Wilbrod, metropolitan of Utrecht, under the name of Clement, and sold him a great number of images and relics to expose them to the adoration of the multitude in the pagan temples, which were already transformed into churches.

At the same period, Vitiza, king of Spain, refused to the pontiff the tribute which the sovereigns of that country paid to the Holy See. He prohibited his subjects, under penalty of death, from recognizing the authority of the popes; and Sergius, whose skill led back the archbishop of Aquileia, failed before the firmness of the Spanish monarch, whose churches no more looked up to the Latin metropolis.

We will not terminate the life of Sergius, without recounting as a new example of the impudence and knavery of the monks, the illustrious miracle of which St. Adhelme pretends he was a witness, during a sojourn which he made at the court of the holy father, and which he thus relates in his acts: "The pope was accused of incontinence, and even adultery, by some heretical priests, who offered to furnish the proofs of the crime, and to produce the young nun whom he had abused. But God enabled him to confound the calumny of these wretches; and as they brought in a child eight days old, whom they affirmed to be his son, the pope deposited him in my hands, and sprinkled the regenerating water upon his forehead. The ceremony of baptism having been finished, he ordered me, in the presence of all his assistants, to ask of the child who was his father. I interrogated the new-born with a heart full of zeal, and by the will of God he replied to me, 'The pontiff Sergius is not my father!!! . . .'"

The pope died in the month of September, 701, after a reign of fourteen years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter. Several authors assure us he was the first pontiff who caused to be sung in the canon of the mass these words: "Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, have pity on us." He repaired several churches, and in one of them he constructed a magnificent tomb, in which he deposited the body of the blessed St. Leo.

## THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

## MAHOMED.

*Moses, Jesus, Mahomed, descendants of Abraham—History of Mahomed—His country and family—Marriage of the prophet—His journeys and studies—He places the black stone in the temple of the Kaabah—Jealousy of the chiefs of his tribe—Apparition of the angel Gabriel—Mahomed receives from God the mission to preach the Koran—Persecutions of the prophet—His predictions—The Koreischites wish to assassinate him—Flight of Mahomed, or the Hejira—Mahomed at Medina—Wars and victories of the prophet—He seizes upon Mecca, and destroys the idols in the temple of the Kaabah—His death—He is sanctified by his followers—His doctrine—Voluptuous paradise of Mahomed.*

DURING the seventh century, the empire, divided by numerous schisms, weakened by incessant wars with enemies around it, suffered the power which it preserved over the Roman peninsula to be annihilated. The odious policy of the pontiffs, and the incursions of the barbarians, subjugated to the sway of the Holy See, Spain, Gaul, England, and a great number of kingdoms.

But, whilst paganism is falling to pieces in the West to make way for the Christian religion, the East sees a new belief arise. Soon the Koran and the Bible will divide the world, and Mahomed, like Christ, sprung from that ancient nation of nomade shepherds, the descendants of Abraham, will effect in the East the most surprising of religious revolutions.

Moses, Jesus, Mahomed! All three children of the Shemitic race, and sons of Abraham, have come to reveal sublime religions, which have led the people to the belief in the Bible, the Evangelists, and the Koran—sacred books—which are themselves but the developments and the application of the precepts traced by the finger of Jehovah, on Mount Sinai, on the tables of stone.

Moses, the legislator of the Hebrews, has ruled for twenty-four centuries; and his dogmas have spread throughout the world with the remains of the Jewish people. Mahomed is regarded as the prophet by the people who live under a burning sky, and Christ has become the God of the inhabitants of the colder zones.

Before passing judgment on the moral causes which led to the fall of Christianity in the East, and in order to be enabled to follow the usurping and perfidious policy of the pontiffs of Rome in the West, it is indispensable to know the history of the prophet.

Mahomed or Mahommed was born at Mecca, towards the year 570. He was of the family of the Koreish, descendants of Ishmael, who possessed, for a long period of years, the sovereignty of their city, and the superintendance of the Kaabah, a temple founded by the patriarch Abraham himself, according to ancient traditions. The infancy of the prophet was surrounded by prodigies, which the Arabian legends are pleased to relate. An orphan from his cradle, he was brought up by his uncle Abon Thaleb, who taught him the business of a merchant. At twelve years of age he conversed with the Christian monks, and astonished them by the profundity and

wisdom of his discourse. Some years after he made his first essay in arms, in a war in which his tribe was engaged, and surpassed the old warriors in coolness and courage.

Arrived at the age of manhood, he espoused a rich widow called Khadijah, and occupied himself with the care of extending his commercial relations in Abyssinia, Egypt, and even in Palestine. He himself directed his caravans from the plains of Yemen, even to Syria; and in his numerous journeys he acquired an exact knowledge of the manners and genius of the population which crowds the sands of Arabia. Frequently, in traversing the desert, he quenched his burning thirst with the briny water which springs from the foot of the rare clusters of palm trees, and dried dates were his only nourishment during the long days of the march.

This laborious life added great wealth to the fortune of his wife; then Mahomed abandoned the labours which had increased his wealth to give himself up entirely to the study of Arabian poetry, and to comment on the writings of the poets of that nation.

At this period, the first citizens of Mecca reconstructed, with their own hands, the Kaabah, which had been burned by the imprudence of a woman. The edifice having been built, there took place a struggle between the chiefs, who pretended to the honour of placing in the exterior angle of the temple, the pledge of alliance which God made with men, or the black stone which the patriarch Abraham had before deposited in the Kaabah. Swords were drawn and blood was about to flow on the sacred steps, when, by a heavenly inspiration, they agreed to choose, as arbiter of their difference, the first man whom chance should conduct to the mosque. Mahomed appeared, and was declared arbitrator.

The prophet ordered four sheiks of the tribe to place the stone upon a rich tapestry, and to raise it as high as their heads, each holding one of the corners of the precious tissue. He then took it and placed it himself in the angle consecrated to receive it. This bold action placed him at the head of the tribes. The Koreish, furious at seeing him thus elevate himself to the power which they exercised over the people, swore his death, and pointed him out as an ambitious man, who sought to obtain supreme power.

To escape their vengeance, and to put an end to their calumnies, Mahomed resolved to

live isolated from the world. He refused even to see his relatives, and retired to remote places, passing the long evenings in contemplating the spectacle inspired by the eastern heavens. One night, whilst he was meditating, at the entrance of the cavern of Mount Hora, he was suddenly surrounded by a dazzling lustre, and the angel Gabriel appeared to him, holding a book of gold in his right hand. "Rise, prophet," he said to him, "and read in this Koran, the eternal truths which God orders thee to announce to men." Mahomed obeyed: the present, the past, and the future of humanity excited his attention. He accepted the divine mission which was announced to him, and the angel quitted him, calling him the apostle of God.

When the vision had disappeared, the prophet perceived in his bosom new force and ability. He returned to his dwelling and related the wonders he had seen. His cherished wife, his young cousin Ali, and his slave Zaid, to whom he gave his freedom, became immediate converts to his doctrine. Abu-Beer, Abd-al-Rahman, Saad, Zobeir, and some others of his friends, also partook of his belief. But faith had not yet penetrated his heart, and for several years he dared not preach his doctrine beyond the circle of familiar friends who approached him. Finally, a second vision inflamed his spirit; the same envoy of God ordered him to preach Islamism among all nations.

From that moment Mahomed preached publicly at Mecca; but as he resisted strongly the worship of idols, the priest and Koreish assembled in cabal, and resolved to massacre the bold innovator.

Abu-Thaleb, led by the inspiration of God, had entered into their assembly. He hastened to warn his nephew of the danger which threatened him, and begged him to cease his preaching. The prophet, rejecting the counsel given through cowardice, replied, that he would not abandon his enterprise though they should place the sun on his right hand, and the moon on his left, to arrest him. His firmness strengthened the faith of his uncle, who strove to partake of his perils.

Notwithstanding the pursuits of his enemies, Mahomed continued to teach the people in the streets of the city, and his eloquence converted to Islamism a multitude of men, children, women, and old men.

Another of his uncles, called Hamza, became a Mussulman, struck with his sabre a magistrate, who dared to raise his hand to Mahomed. Omar, his bitterest enemy, was suddenly enlightened by reading a passage in the Koran, and abjured idolatry at the very moment in which he sought the envoy of God to slay him. The Koreish, frightened by these conversions, which augmented daily the number of the proselytes, resolved to exterminate them before they were sufficiently powerful to repel force by force. They drove them from Mecca, and obliged them to retire into Abyssinia. The prophet himself was constrained to fly in order to escape death.

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Masters of the city, the Koreish assembled its inhabitants, made them swear to contract no alliance and to have no communication with the followers of Mahomet, and deposited the act containing this anathema in the temple of the Kaabah. The prophet caused it to be told them, that God, irritated at their blasphemy, had permitted this infamous decree to be gnawed by a worm in all the parts in which the sacred name was not written. They at first refused to believe in the presence of their enemy; they then went to the mosque, and having found it done as predicted, they retracted the solemn oath pronounced against the Musselmen, and in spite of the opposition of Abou-Lahab, the head of the Koreish, they opened the gates of the city to the exiles.

This year was fatal to Mahomet, which he has named in his Koran, the time of mourning, because death took from him Khadijah his wife, and his uncle Abou-Thaleb; the loss of these cherished beings left him without aid, opposed to the outrages of men, who before called themselves his friends. He continued his vehement discourses, and commanded them, in the name of him who sent him, to burn the idols. Abou-Lahab, to avenge his gods, insulted the prophet through his partizans, and even essayed to excite against him the religious zeal of Arab tribes who came to the temple of Mecca.

Mahomet then sent one of his disciples to the inhabitants of Yathreb, who were converts to his faith, to demand aid against the Koreish. The envoy received their oath of fidelity in the name of the prophet, and for the first time Mahomed ordered his followers to draw their swords to second the power of his word. His partizans then escaped secretly with the Musselmen who left Mecca, and added to the number of the troops of his new allies.

The Koreish, informed of the secret alliance which Mahomed had contracted with the people of Yathreb, resolved to kill him, to prevent him from flying from Mecca, and from taking up his residence among a hostile people. They met in cabal and decided, that men chosen by lot from each division of the tribe, should go by night to the residence of Mahomed, and should together strike him with their daggers, in order that the people should not lay the crime on any one in particular. But God having revealed the plot which was formed against his life, he changed his garments with his cousin Ali, and favoured by this disguise and the darkness, he escaped from the assassins who already surrounded his house. He sallied precipitately from the city, travelled during the whole night, and at sunrise took refuge in a cavern of Mount Thur.

This flight, or Hegira, is, according to the Musselmen, the most remarkable event in the life of Mahomed. They commence their computation from this period, which corresponds with the 16th of July, 622, of the Christian era.

The prophet, escaped from the dangers which threatened him, went to Yathreb, where his entry was a triumph for his followers; and the people, who had long waited for

him, besought him to give to his new country the name of Medina-al-Naby, or the City of the Prophet. Such was the beginning of the power of Mahomed, and the commencement of a religion which was to spread into almost all parts of the world, and to subject, one day, to its laws more than two hundred millions of men.

The first care of Mahomed, was to establish a perfect concord and union between the believers of that city and those who had taken refuge there. He took adepts successively into each of these bodies, and formed couples whom he spiritually united by a sacred and indissoluble bond. He himself set the example of this mystical tie, by choosing as his companion and brother, Ali, whom he had left in his natal city, exposed to the daggers of his enemies, and who had come to rejoin him at Yathreb. He then built a mosque for the exercise of the worship of Islamism, and ordered his followers to turn towards Mecca when they rendered their homage to God, instead of prostrating themselves towards Jerusalem, according to the ancient custom of the Arabians. He ordered the muezzins to call believers to prayer with a loud voice from the top of the minarets, pronouncing it unworthy of the gravity of religious ceremonies, that the sounds of instruments should announce divine service; then he instituted the fast of the month of Ramadhan.

Mahomed, become master of a province, armed his followers, and dreamed of conquering new people. He then commenced that long succession of combats and victories, which paved the way for the rule of the caliphs over Asia, Africa, and a great part of Europe. The Koreish were the first who felt the efforts of his arms; he took from them several caravans, and defeated them at Bedr, on the borders of the Red sea. He then conquered several tribes, and took by assault the city of Damascus, the capital of the Arabs, lying on the frontiers of Syria, and gave it up to be pillaged by his troops.

Arabia already trembled before his army. The Koreish, vanquished in many encounters, dared no more march against him, and shut themselves up in Mecca. These implacable enemies, not being able to conquer him, resolved to employ treachery against his followers. They spread their partizans through the cities, poniarded the believers during the night, and several times attempted to assassinate Mahomed himself. Finding, however, all their efforts fail, and being disappointed in their criminal hopes, they excited several tribes against him, assembled an army of more than ten thousand men, and came to besiege Medina.

Informed of their preparations for war, Mahomed placed the city in a state of defence, and surrounded it with an entrenchment. He placed himself at the head of his troops and encamped upon a hill with three thousand believers, to defend the approaches of the city. The two armies remained in presence of each other for more than twenty days, and only engaged in some skirmishing with darts

and stones. At length, the principal chiefs of the Koreish, having defied the Moslems to single combat, three of them fell in succession before the redoubtable sword of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. These three unfortunate combats inspired great terror among the infidels: then, as if by order of God, for the purpose of increasing their confusion, a wind arose and beat with violence upon the enemy. Their standards were torn from the earth, the tents cast down, and the entrenchments overthrown. The Moslems were, on the other hand, respected by the destroying element.

All these wonders excited the fanaticism of the followers of the prophet, and abated the courage of their adversaries. Under the pretence of a question of pre-eminence, which had divided the confederated chiefs for the command-in-chief, the tribes disbanded and returned to their homes. Mahomed then announced, that the angel Gabriel had ordered him to go and destroy the tribe of Koraidha, who, in contempt of the alliance which they had sworn with him, had joined his enemies to overwhelm him. He marched against them, without leaving his troops to repose, pursued them with vigour, blockaded them in their principal fortress, and compelled their army to surrender at discretion, after a siege of twenty-one days; and to impress a salutary terror on conquered people, he put to death seven hundred of the tribe, reduced their women and children to slavery, divided their goods amongst his followers, and returned to Medina, having only lost one of his disciples during the campaign.

The prophet then declared war on the most ancient of the Arabian tribes, that of the Mosalekites; and having conquered them, advanced against the Jewish tribe of Raibat, carried by assault all the fortified places of that people, seized upon their treasures, and put to death Kenana, who arrogated to himself the title of king of the Jews. He only lost twenty of his soldiers in this new expedition.

At the conclusion of his victories, the greater part of the people who submitted to the power of his army embraced Islamism, and his religion extended with surprising rapidity, through the aid of his conquests and those of his lieutenants. The inhabitants of Mecca, however, had not yet embraced Islamism, and though they had concluded with the prophet a treaty of ten years, showed themselves to be always his most violent opponents.

Mahomed, having been apprised that they furnished succour to the Bekrites to attack the Chosaites, his allies, resolved to punish them. He marched against them at the head of ten thousand men, and encamped in order of battle before their city. Aber-Soyfan, who had sallied forth to reconnoitre the position of the Moslem, fell into their power and was conducted before the prophet, who granted him his life, ordering him, at the same time, to embrace Islamism. He made his army defile before the new convert, and sent him to inform the inhabitants of Mecca, that nothing remained for them, but submission to his or-

ders and a prompt conversion to his faith. At the same time he proclaimed, that all who should retire into the houses of the believers, the residence of Aber-Soyfan or the Kaabah would be spared by his soldiers.

All these dispositions being made, Mahomed gave the signal for combat, and his army put itself in motion. The Koreish, who advanced beyond the walls, were repulsed and pursued within the city, and all who opposed any resistance were mercilessly massacred. A panic terror achieved a general rout of his enemies. The inhabitants fled into the mountains, gained the sea, and saved themselves in Zemen. This victory only cost the life of two Moslems.

As soon as he was master of Mecca, Mahomed caused the chiefs of the Koreish to be led into his presence, and asked of them what treatment they expected from him. "We cannot expect but generous actions from him who is the envoy of God." "Go then," he replied—dismissing them—"you are free." When order was entirely re-established, the prophet went to the hill of Al-Safa, where he was enthroned as spiritual and temporal sovereign, and received the oath of fidelity from all the assembled people.

After this ceremony he went towards the Kaabah, of which he made the tour seven times; he touched and kissed the black stone, broke all the idols to the number of three hundred and sixty, without sparing the statues of Abraham and Ishmael, notwithstanding his respect for these two patriarchs. To achieve the purification of this holy place, he turned to all sides, exclaiming, "God is great! God is great!" He made the Moslem ablutions and prayer within and without the temple, and terminated this solemnity by a discourse addressed to his immense auditory.

The fall of Mecca led after it the conquest of a great number of cities which embraced Islamism, and soon, from the plains of Zemen to the frontiers of Syria, the Arabs of all the tribes were converted by the force of his army or the power of his eloquence. He published the Koran, instituted the ceremonies of his religion, and consolidated his sway. At length Mahomed, dreaded by the Abyssinians, Persians, and Greeks, remained absolute master of Arabia, and in the future of the nations of the East.

But the prophet, after having caused his religion to triumph, and laid the foundations of the most powerful empire of the world, did not long enjoy his greatness and his glory. He died in the eleventh year of the Hegra, at the age of sixty-three years. His body is preserved at Medina, his adopted country, whither the faithful still perform pilgrimages to worship at his tomb.

During more than twelve centuries, Mahomed has been glorified by his followers as the well-beloved son of God; and the Musselman theology teaches that he is the mediator of the human race—the prince of the apostles—the seal of the prophets—the chosen—the glorious—the being for whom the creation

of the universe was accomplished—the noblest—the most perfect of the works of the Creator.

His religion is founded on the dogmas of the unity of God—the immortality of the soul—the rewards and punishments of a future life. He has neither rejected nor condemned the belief of Moses and of Jesus; he has, on the contrary, employed the Bible and the New Testament in the opposition of the Koran. It includes at once, dogmas, morality, and worship; it treats of theology, war, property, the relations of men and women; it is, in fact, in itself alone, a civil, military, and religious code.

Among his general precepts, Mahomed commands to believers, purifications or numerous ablutions of water, or even of sand when in the desert; the fast of Ramadhan—and prohibits his followers, during its continuance, from taking any nourishment until sundown. In the festival of Bayram, on the contrary, he permits the Mahomedans to forget in their feasts the abstinences of the Ramadhan.

The prophet made a law of charity, and he obliges his disciples to give every year to the poor a fortieth part of their movable goods. He recommends to them the pilgrimage to Mecca, and imposes on every free Moslem, in good health, the duty of accomplishing it at least once in his life. Finally, he submits religious practices to the believers, and orders them to pray five times a day.

The use of wine and intoxicating drinks is prohibited to the faithful, but as a compensation, the prophet permits them to espouse four wives at once, and to keep in their harems an unlimited number of concubines. Among the Orientals, polygamy, running back to the very cradle of civilization, could not be abolished by Mahomed, who knew the impetuous nature of the people of these burning regions. Islamism sanctified the passions, instead of proscribing them, and continence was condemned by its followers as luxury had been among the Christians. Thus the life of the just, according to the Koran, differs as much from the life of the just, according to the evangelists, as does the paradise of Jesus from that of Mahomed.

"Those who shall be received in the kingdom of my Father," said the Son of Mary, "will enjoy an infinite happiness in the eternal contemplation of his face, in the midst of the seraphims."

"Men who shall die in the faith of my law," exclaims the prophet, "shall repose on beds adorned with precious stones, under shadows which shall extend far around, near to running and limpid water—amidst the lotus without thorns, and banana trees laden with fruit. Around them will circle beautiful children, bearing vases, ewers, and cups, filled with exquisite wines, from which they will not experience any dizziness. By their sides, unveiled houris, like to the hyacinth, and the coral, with large black eyes, shining like pearls in their shells, will excite them, without ceasing, in their warm caresses, and their virginity will remain eternal, notwithstanding their knowledge of pleasure. . . ."

Notwithstanding his severe suffering, his holiness showed great firmness of soul, displayed a surprising activity in the government of the church, distributed numerous alms to the poor, endeavoured to produce a reform in the morals of the clergy, and even undertook to build up the walls of Rome, which had fallen into ruins.

Death suddenly arrested him in the midst of his apostolical labours, after a pontificate of twenty and some days, in the month of February, of the year 708. He was interred at St. Peter's.

During the reign of Sisinnius, St. Bonnet, bishop of Clermont, came on a pilgrimage to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, and

to obtain from the sovereign pontiff the confirmation of his title of bishop, which was actively contested with him by the ecclesiastics of his diocese, on account of the intrigues which took place before his election.

As the prelate brought with him rich presents, in expiation of his fault, the pope showed himself indulgent, and confirmed his nomination, on condition that he would consecrate all the products of his bishopric to pious foundations in alms-giving.

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## CONSTANTINE THE FIRST, NINETIETH POPE.

[A. D. 708.—JUSTINIAN the Second, PHILIPPICUS, ANASTASIUS, Emperors of the East.]

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At this period, the Greek priests and monks, driven from their churches by the Arabs, and by the frequent revolutions which desolated the empire, took refuge in Italy and Rome. Thus the Holy See, at the commencement of the eighth century, was constantly filled by Greek priests, who were in a great majority in Italy. After the death of the Syrian, Sisinnius, a prelate of the same nation, was chosen to succeed him, who was consecrated by the name of Constantine.

Become sovereign pontiff, through the intrigues of his friends, Constantine hastened to fulfil the promises he had made previous to his election, and the archbishopric of Ravenna was given to the deacon Phillip, who had been one of the most ardent supporters of his party. The new patriarch, finding himself seated on the most important see of Italy, wished to assure its independence, and refused to renew the promises of fidelity and obedience to the Roman church which his predecessors had made. He assembled troops, fortified the city of Ravenna, and prepared to resist the thunder of the pontiff by force of arms.

Constantine comprehending the inutility of anathemas against so powerful an ecclesiastic, sent legates to the emperor Justinian to obtain troops, with which to subjugate the rebellious priest. The prince immediately sent the patrician Theodore at the head of an army. The city was taken by assault; Felix, arrested by the soldiers, was loaded with

chains, taken to Constantinople, and plunged into a dungeon. Finally, by order of the legate, he was brought out of prison, his tongue was torn out, his eyes put out, and he sent into exile. This cruelty, exercised at the instigation of Constantine, was but the prelude to still more terrible executions.

The legate obtained from the weak Justinian an order to put out the eyes of the patriarch Callinicus, and after the punishment the unfortunate prelate was sent to Rome, where the holy father exercised on him all the tortures which the ingenious cruelty of a priest could invent.

Pilgrimages were already regarded, during this century, as the most meritorious work before God. Men whose lives had been soiled by debaucheries or crimes, could compensate for their iniquities by making a journey to the holy city. Nobles, dukes, and even kings, came to prostrate themselves before the tomb of the apostles—implored pardon for their sins—offered rich presents to St. Peter, and received in exchange the absolution of the pontiffs of Rome.

Conrad prince of the Mercians, and the king of the Eastern Saxons, named Offa, yielding to the general infatuation, abandoned their kingdoms and came to Italy, bringing with them immense treasures, destined for the holy father. Constantine rendered to them great honours, surrounded them with hypocritical monks, and by dwelling on the horrors of another life, so alarmed their course

minds as to determine them to embrace the monastic life. Both died some time after, condemning perchance the fanaticism which had caused them to forget their wives, their children, and even their kingdoms.

In the following year, the pope yielded at length to the entreaties of the emperor, who besought him to come to Constantinople to regulate the affairs of the Eastern churches. He embarked at Porto, accompanied by two bishops, three priests, and some monks. He went towards Greece, passed the winter in Otranto, and then went to the imperial city, where Justinian awaited him.

Tiberius, the son of the emperor, and the patriarch, went seven miles from the city to meet the holy father; they were followed by the grandees of the empire, the clergy, the magistrates, and an innumerable crowd of citizens. On his arrival, Constantine celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Sophia; and after the ceremony, the same cortege conducted him to the palace of Placidius, which was prepared for his reception. Anastasius assures us, that the emperor, in the presence of the people, kissed the foot of the pope, and that the people admired the humility of this good prince. He remarks that this action was singular, and glorifies Justinian for having been the first to set, to the powerful of the earth, the example of kissing the sandals of the bishop of Rome.

During his sojourn at the court of Byzantium, the holy father approved of the proceedings of the council "in Trullo," and frequently conferred with the monarch on the interests of the church and the state. Justinian was then preparing an expedition against the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, who endeavoured to assassinate him when he took refuge among them. Constantine, foreseeing the difficulties of such an enterprise against a warlike people, endeavoured to divert the prince from his project; but his just remonstrances were useless, and the troops received orders to embark for this distant peninsula.

The soldiers had scarcely arrived under the walls of the city, when, fatigued by forced marches, and irritated against their leaders, whose improvidence had left them exposed to all sorts of privations, they revolted against their generals, fraternized with the citizens and proclaimed emperor, under the name of Philippicus, the Armenian Bardanes, the general who had before been exiled by Justinian to the very place which they came to besiege.

The new sovereign immediately marched on Constantinople, at the head of the army which had chosen him for its chief. He took the capital by assault, and having seized upon Justinian, cut off his head and remained sole master of the empire.

The pope, who was then on his way to Italy, received on his arrival in Rome a letter from the emperor, which ordered him to approve Monothelism and reject the sixth general council, threatening to persecute the orthodox ecclesiastics in case of his refusal.

Philippicus was in fact scarcely seated on his throne, when he convoked an assembly of bishops, in which the sixth council was anathematized, and the decrees which had been made by the fathers were condemned to be burned publicly before the imperial palace.

Bardanes then nominated Monothelite prelates to govern the Greek churches, and replaced in the sacred writings the names of Sergius, Pyrrhus, Honorius, and other heretics.

Constantine hastened, on his side, to elevate in the church of St. Peter an immense roll, which contained the six general councils. He ordered the faithful to honour them as the inspirations of the holy spirit; he prohibited any one from pronouncing the name of the usurper in the public prayers—of receiving his letters, portrait, or even the money struck with his effigy.

In placing himself thus openly in opposition to Philippicus Bardanes, the pope had not only in view the project of separating himself from the Greek church, but he wished to break the bonds which attached the Holy See to the empire; and, under the pretence of orthodoxy, to give new aliment to the secret hatred which divided Italy and Greece, and to place the successors of the apostles within reach of shaking off the yoke of the emperors of the East.

The people of Rome, always excessive in their anger and their joy, seconded the policy of the pontiff, and decreed that neither the title nor the authority of Bardanes the Heretic should be recognized. The senate prohibited any one from receiving his statues or his portraits, and from pronouncing his name in religious solemnities; and did not wish to recognise the new governor, named Peter, sent by Philippicus. Sustained by the clergy, Christopher, the old titular governor, essayed to maintain himself in the city; but Peter resisted him with an armed hand, and blood flowed upon the steps of the pontifical palace. The pope, who had excited the revolt, being then satisfied at seeing that his power already balanced that of the sovereign, advanced into the midst of the rebels, clothed in his sacerdotal robes, surrounded by his bishops, and preceded by crosses and banners. This imposing spectacle influenced the superstitious minds of the people and the soldiers; quiet was then re-established, and Peter not daring any longer to count on the devotion of his troops, retired immediately to Ravenna.

They then learned by letters from Sicily that the usurper had been deposed, and that Anastasius, an orthodox prince, had obtained the empire. The new monarch re-established the decrees of the sixth council, and addressed to Constantine his profession of faith and the synodical letters of John, whom he had named patriarch of Constantinople. The prelate wrote to the court of Rome in these terms: "We inform you, most holy father, that the tyrant Bardanes placed over our see a man who was not even of the body of the Byzantine church, and who partook of the same master."



Notwithstanding his severe suffering, his holiness showed great firmness of soul, displayed a surprising activity in the government of the church, distributed numerous alms to the poor, endeavoured to produce a reform in the morals of the clergy, and even undertook to build up the walls of Rome, which had fallen into ruins.

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The legate obtained from the weak Justinian an order to put out the eyes of the patriarch Callinicus, and after the punishment the unfortunate prelate was sent to Rome, where the holy father exercised on him all the tortures which the ingenious cruelty of a priest could invent.

Pilgrimages were already regarded, during this century, as the most meritorious work before God. Men whose lives had been soiled by debaucheries or crimes, could compensate for their iniquities by making a journey to the holy city. Nobles, dukes, and even kings, came to prostrate themselves before the tomb of the apostles—implored pardon for their sins—offered rich presents to St. Peter, and received in exchange the absolution of the pontiffs of Rome.

Conrad prince of the Mercians, and the king of the Eastern Saxons, named Offa, yielding to the general infatuation, abandoned their kingdoms and came to Italy, bringing with them immense treasures, destined for the holy father. Constantine rendered to them great honours, surrounded them with hypocritical monks, and by dwelling on the horrors of another life, so alarmed their course

minis as to determine them to embrace the monastic life. Both died some time after, condemning perchance the fanaticism which had caused them to forget their wives, their children, and even their kingdoms.

In the following year, the pope yielded at length to the entreaties of the emperor, who besought him to come to Constantinople to regulate the affairs of the Eastern churches. He embarked at Porto, accompanied by two bishops, three priests, and some monks. He went towards Greece, passed the winter in Otranto, and then went to the imperial city, where Justinian awaited him.

Tiberius, the son of the emperor, and the patriarch, went seven miles from the city to meet the holy father; they were followed by the grandees of the empire, the clergy, the magistrates, and an innumerable crowd of citizens. On his arrival, Constantine celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Sophia; and after the ceremony, the same cortege conducted him to the palace of Placidius, which was prepared for his reception. Anastasius assures us, that the emperor, in the presence of the people, kissed the foot of the pope, and that the people admired the humility of this good prince. He remarks that this action was singular, and glorifies Justinian for having been the first to set, to the powerful of the earth, the example of kissing the sandals of the bishop of Rome.

During his sojourn at the court of Byzantium, the holy father approved of the proceedings of the council "in Trullo," and frequently conferred with the monarch on the interests of the church and the state. Justinian was then preparing an expedition against the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, who endeavoured to assassinate him when he took refuge among them. Constantine, foreseeing the difficulties of such an enterprise against a warlike people, endeavoured to divert the prince from his project; but his just remonstrances were useless, and the troops received orders to embark for this distant peninsula.

The soldiers had scarcely arrived under the walls of the city, when, fatigued by forced marches, and irritated against their leaders, whose improvidence had left them exposed to all sorts of privations, they revolted against their generals, fraternized with the citizens and proclaimed emperor, under the name of Philippicus, the Armenian Bardanes, the general who had before been exiled by Justinian to the very place which they came to besiege.

The new sovereign immediately marched on Constantinople, at the head of the army which had chosen him for its chief. He took the capital by assault, and having seized upon Justinian, cut off his head and remained sole master of the empire.

The pope, who was then on his way to Italy, received on his arrival in Rome a letter from the emperor, which ordered him to approve Monothelism and reject the sixth general council, threatening to persecute the orthodox ecclesiastics in case of his refusal.

Philippicus was in fact scarcely seated on his throne, when he convoked an assembly of bishops, in which the sixth council was anathematized, and the decrees which had been made by the fathers were condemned to be burned publicly before the imperial palace.

Bardanes then nominated Monothelite prelates to govern the Greek churches, and replaced in the sacred writings the names of Sergius, Pyrrhus, Honorius, and other heretics.

Constantine hastened, on his side, to elevate in the church of St. Peter an immense roll, which contained the six general councils. He ordered the faithful to honour them as the inspirations of the holy spirit; he prohibited any one from pronouncing the name of the usurper in the public prayers—of receiving his letters, portrait, or even the money struck with his effigy.

In placing himself thus openly in opposition to Philippicus Bardanes, the pope had not only in view the project of separating himself from the Greek church, but he wished to break the bonds which attached the Holy See to the empire; and, under the pretence of orthodoxy, to give new aliment to the secret hatred which divided Italy and Greece, and to place the successors of the apostles within reach of shaking off the yoke of the emperors of the East.

The people of Rome, always excessive in their anger and their joy, seconded the policy of the pontiff, and decreed that neither the title nor the authority of Bardanes the Heretic should be recognized. The senate prohibited any one from receiving his statues or his portraits, and from pronouncing his name in religious solemnities; and did not wish to recognise the new governor, named Peter, sent by Philippicus. Sustained by the clergy, Christopher, the old titular governor, essayed to maintain himself in the city; but Peter resisted him with an armed hand, and blood flowed upon the steps of the pontifical palace. The pope, who had excited the revolt, being then satisfied at seeing that his power already balanced that of the sovereign, advanced into the midst of the rebels, clothed in his sacerdotal robes, surrounded by his bishops, and preceded by crosses and banners. This imposing spectacle influenced the superstitious minds of the people and the soldiers; quiet was then re-established, and Peter not daring any longer to count on the devotion of his troops, retired immediately to Ravenna.

They then learned by letters from Sicily that the usurper had been deposed, and that Anastasius, an orthodox prince, had obtained the empire. The new monarch re-established the decrees of the sixth council, and addressed to Constantine his profession of faith and the synodical letters of John, whom he had named patriarch of Constantinople. The prelate wrote to the court of Rome in these terms: "We inform you, most holy father, that the tyrant Bardanes placed over our see a man who was not even of the body of the Byzantine church, and who partook of the errors of his master."

"We at first resisted the menaces of the tyrant by refusing to recognise his bishop; but the supplications of the faithful determined us to consecrate him, that our people might escape the horrors of a persecution.

"We accuse ourselves also of having anathematized the sixth general council, and we repent having committed an action so condemnable.

"Your legate will inform you of our grief for this act, in which we were forced to abjure the faith we loudly profess before you. He will also tell you, we have braved the orders of Bardanes, by preserving preciously in our own residence the acts of the council, which contained the subscriptions of the bishops and of the emperor Constantine.

"We dare then to hope, that our conduct will not be condemned by your wisdom; and we beseech you to address us in your turn your synodical letters as the pledge of a mutual charity." Historians do not speak of the reply of the pope; they only relate that the deacon Agathon annexed a copy of the letter of John to the acts of the sixth council.

The envoys of Anastasius were received with the greatest honours by the holy father, as were also the new officers who came in the name of the prince to take possession of the government of Italy. They had orders to protect the Holy See in all circumstances; to

maintain the integrity and assure the privileges of the city and church of Rome.

Some months after, the old metropolitan of Ravenna, who was so cruelly mutilated and deposed from his see, at the commencement of this pontificate, became reconciled to Constantine, and was recalled from his exile. Felix was admitted to prostrate himself at the feet of the pope, to remit him his act of submission, and to renew his oath of obedience, which he could not do but by inarticulate sounds. He paid into the treasury an enormous sum for his ordination, and was reinstated in his archbishopric in contempt of the canons, which prohibited from preserving in orders, prelates deprived of sight and voice.

Benedict, archbishop of Milan, also came on a pilgrimage to Rome, and disputed with the Holy See the right of consecrating the chiefs of the clergy of Pavia. Notwithstanding the equity of his demands and the moderation of his remonstrances, he was condemned by the pope, who declared himself a judge in his own cause.

Constantine died soon after, and was interred in the beginning of the year 715, in the cathedral of St. Peter. He was the first who assembled a council to authorize the use of images in churches.

## GREGORY THE SECOND, NINETY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 715.—ANASTASIUS the Second, THEODOSIUS the Third, LEO the Isaurian, Emperors of the East.]

*History of Gregory before his pontificate—The Lombards seize the city of Como—The pope purchases the treason of duke John—The church of Bavaria—Gregory founds many monasteries—He claims the treasures of the church, and dissipates the property of the poor to enrich the monks—Letters of the pope—Council of Rome—Attempt to assassinate the pontiff—He excites a general revolt in Italy—War of the images—Hypocrisy of the pope—Attempts of the pope against the emperor—New revolt in Italy—Fury of the Romans—Disputes between the bishops—J-solence of the pontiff—His death.*

GREGORY was the son of the patrician Marce Land, a Roman by birth. Brought up in the patriarchal residence of the Lateran, under the eyes of the pontiff Sergius the First, he surrendered himself from his youth to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and of sacred and profane eloquence. He spoke with remarkable facility and elegance, and his talent procured for him the surname of Dialogus. At Byzantium he had excited the admiration of the bishops, the grandees, and the prince, by the wisdom of his discourse and the purity of his morals.

In recompense for the services he had rendered the church, he was elevated in succession to the posts of sub-deacon, sacellary, and librarian; and at length, forty days after the death of Constantine, the clergy chose him as the one most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter.

Gregory undertook to rebuild the walls of Rome, but he was soon obliged to abandon this useful project to look after the defence of Italy. At this period, the emperors of the East only thought of their Italian provinces to levy contributions on them; and when they ruined them, they left them exposed almost without defence to the incursions of the Lombards. These people, at the commencement of the pontificate of Gregory, seized on the city of Como and established themselves in the province. The holy father sent an embassy to them to demand the restitution of a city which belonged to the empire; and even offered them considerable sums to indemnify them for the expenses of the war; but they refused.

All negotiations being useless, he menaced them with the wrath of God, and fulminated a terrible excommunication against them.

Neither entreaties nor anathemas were able to change the determination of the Lombards. Gregory then brought into play the resources of policy and treason; he wrote to duke John, governor of Naples, and an ally of the Lombards, offering him thirty pounds of gold to surprise Como. John immediately executed the orders of the pope. He introduced troops into the city during the night, murdered the sentinels, drove out the Lombards, and remained master of the city.

This bold action increased the influence of Gregory, and permitted him to establish on a solid basis the edifice of papal despotism. He sent numerous spies to the courts of Constantinople, France, and England, and filled all the strange sees with priests of his church.

Through his exertions, Christianity made great progress in Germany, and two of his favourites, George and Dorotheus, were sent into Bavaria with long instructions for the Christians of that province. The instructions of the pontiff ran thus: "After having given your letters to the sovereign duke of the country, you will consult with him as to assembling a council of the priests, magistrates, and principal men of the nation. You will then examine the ecclesiastics, and you will give, in our name, the power of celebrating divine service—of performing or chanting the mass to those whose ordination you shall find canonical and faith pure, teaching them at all times the rites and traditions of the Roman church.

"You will prohibit from exercising any function of worship, those whom you shall judge unworthy of the priesthood, and you shall nominate their successors. Be careful to give to every church a clergy sufficiently numerous, to enable them to celebrate the mass properly—the services by day and night, and to read the holy books.

"When you shall establish bishops, you shall regulate the dependencies of each see; and you shall have regard to distances and the jurisdiction of the lords. If you shall create three bishops, or a greater number, you will reserve the principal see for a metropolitan, whom we shall send from Rome.

"You will consecrate the new prelates by the authority of St. Peter; and you will recommend to them not to make illicit ordinations, to preserve the property of their diocese, and to divide it into four parts as the canons provide. They will administer baptism at Easter or Pentecost, and not at any other time, except in case of necessity. They will not condemn marriage under pretence of incontinence, nor authorize debauchery under pretence of marriage.

"They will prohibit divorces, polygamy, and incestuous unions; and will teach that the monastic state is preferable to the secular, and continence more meritorious in the eyes of God than the chastest union. They will not call immodest the food necessary for the support of man, unless it shall have been immolated to idols. They will prescribe en-

chantments, conjurations, auguries, and the observances of lucky and unlucky days.

"You will instruct the prelates and principal ecclesiastics, that they may teach to the faithful the dogmas of the resurrection of the body, and of the eternity of the pains of hell. You will order them to combat the false doctrines spread through the country in regard to demons, which, according to popular belief, can resume their original dignity as archangels of God, after a long series of ages."

The legates followed their instructions closely, and reduced the new churches of Germany to the rule of the Holy See.

St. Corbinian of Chartres, undertook the journey to Rome in the same year, 716, to confess his innermost thoughts to the pope, and his fear, lest the gifts and visits of young women would be the cause of his eternal damnation, by exciting in his heart the desires of the flesh. Gregory hastened to reassure his weak conscience, and showed to the monk that he himself received in his apartment all the most beautiful ladies of the city.

He passed the holy monk through all the grades of the ministry; ordained him a bishop; gave him the pallium, and authorized him to preach the gospel throughout the world.

Corbinian submitted to the duties of his new dignity, and after having sworn obedience to the Holy See, he returned to France to propagate the word of God, and above all, to reform the morals of the monks, which had sunk to the lowest degree of corruption and infamy.

Gregory the Second endeavoured to introduce the same reforms into the Italian convents; he re-established the monastery of Monte Cassino, which had been ruined by the Lombards more than a century before, and resolved to re-establish in this retreat, the severity of the rule of St. Benedict for the purpose of forming monks who might set an example to other monks. Petronax, and several brethren from the convent of the Lateran, were designated to inhabit the new monastery; they afterwards joined to them some hermits who lived in great simplicity. Petronax was named superior, and became the sixth abbot of this community, since the death of St. Benedict its founder. He entirely re-constructed the abbey, increased in size the old church of St. Martin, and consecrated an altar in honour of the Virgin and of the holy martyrs Faustin and Joveinus.

In his zeal, the pope re-established the neighbouring monastery of the church of St. Paul, whose buildings had been abandoned very many years. He filled it with monks, "to sing the praises of God, by day and by night." He transformed into a convent the hospital of old men, situated in the rear of the church of St. Maria Majora, and raised again the cloisters of St. Andrew of Barbara, whose walls were in ruins. His fanaticism for convents was pushed to such an excess, that after the death of Honesta, his mother, he changed his house into a monastery, which

he dedicated to St. Agatha. He gave large revenues to this church, very many houses in the city, several farms, much distant land, and a tabernacle of silver weighing seven hundred pounds.

All these liberalities were made at the expense of the people, for the purpose of leading into monastic idleness, adulterers, robbers, and murderers who wished to escape human justice by devoting themselves to the Holy See.

The zeal which the pontiff exhibited for the reform of the regular clergy, did not change the morals of the convents; on the contrary, the favours which he granted to religious communities, multiplied to infinity the number of monks, and increased debauchery and scandal.

In 720, Winfred, an English priest, came to Rome and asked from the pontiff the power to labour for the conversion of pagan nations. Gregory ordered that he should be received with distinction in his house of hospitality; and having been brought to St. Peter's, passed a whole day in conference with him, discussing matters of religion and the means of subjecting the infidel. After this he consented to name him as bishop of the people among whom he should preach the gospel. On the 30th of November, the holy monk was solemnly ordained under the name of Boniface, and took an oath, by which he engaged to defend the purity of the faith and the unity of the church against all the enemies of religion; to remain always submissive to the Holy See; to concur in the aggrandizement of the pontifical authority, and not to commune with prelates who were in opposition to the court of Rome.

Gregory gave him a large volume of ecclesiastical canons or rules for his conduct, and confided to him letters which should assure him the protection of the French bishops and princes. In the first, which was addressed to Charles Martel, the holy father demanded the aid of this conqueror, to render the courageous mission of Winfred profitable, who was going to convert the infidels in the country east of the Rhine. In another letter, he exhorted the bishops, priests, deacons, dukes, counts, and all Christians, to treat Boniface and the ecclesiastics of his train with honour; to give them money, provisions, and all the aid necessary to accomplish this pious enterprise; menacing with anathema all who refused to assist them in this meritorious work.

A third letter was destined for the faithful of Thuringia, and especially for their princes; the pope congratulated them on having resisted the pagans, who wished to lead them back to idolatry. He recommended to them, perseverance in the faith, attachment to the Roman church, and obedience to Boniface. The last was written to idolaters. Gregory represented to them the excellence of the Christian religion, exhorting them to overthrow the temples of paganism; to become converts to the gospel; to be baptized; to erect churches, and to build a palace for the holy apostle.

Some time after the ordination of Boniface, the pontiff assembled in the church of St. Peter, a council composed of twenty-two bishops and all the clergy of Rome. The council condemned illicit marriages, and especially those of priests with nuns or with the widows of ecclesiastics. The pope pronounced an anathema against the faithful who espoused a priestess, a deaconess, a nun, a god-mother, the wife of their brother, father, or son; a niece, a cousin, a relative, or a connection. He particularly excommunicated Adrian and a deaconess named Epiphana, who had married in contempt of their oaths of chastity and the laws of the church. The holy father condemned Christians who consulted soothsayers, diviners, or conjurers; he prohibited the clergy from letting their hair grow, and declared as excommunicated, the lords who usurped the property of the Holy See.

During the pontificate of Gregory, the wars of the images recommenced with new fury. These ridiculous quarrels had been at first excited by Philippicus Bardanes, a zealous Monothelite, who had taken from the churches the tableau of the sixth council; then by pope Constantine, who had anathematized the emperor, and re-established the worship of images in the churches, in obedience, as he said, to the orders which a holy English bishop had received from God himself in a vision.

Bardanes having been driven from the empire by Anastasius, the policy of the new master of the empire changed the belief of the faithful and favoured orthodoxy. To render himself agreeable to Constantine, the prince permitted his subjects to render divine honours to paintings and statues; and during his reign, the adoration of images invaded the East and the West.

Leo, the Isaurian, on his arrival at the throne, was scandalized by seeing the credulous people prostrate themselves before the images which filled the churches, and undertook to destroy this sacrilegious worship. Gregory highly condemned the orders of the monarch, addressed to him insulting reproaches, and announced that he would resist with all his power the persecution undertaken against Christianity. Leo endeavoured to bring back the pontiff to more charitable sentiments, and sent ambassadors to him. The pope refused to receive the letters of the prince, and drove the envoys from Rome.

Irritated at the insolence of Gregory, the emperor gave orders to Jourdain, his cartulary, to John, sub-deacon, and to Basil, captain of his guards, to go to Rome and seize the pontiff, dead or alive. Arrived in the holy city, the officers of Leo showed their orders to Marin, governor of Rome, and concerted with him a plan to seize the pontiff or put him to death; but at the moment of the execution, Marin, who was already sick, was struck by paralysis. This abortive attempt made some noise in the city. The pontiff, warned by his spies, kept on his guard, organized a revolt, and when all the measures

were ready, the priests seized John and Jourdain and cut off their heads. Basil only escaped their fury by taking refuge in a monastery, where he took the habit of a monk.

To revenge the murder of his officers, the emperor sent into Italy, as exarch, the patrician Paul, at the head of a formidable army. He had orders to invest Rome, to depose Gregory, to seize his person, and send him to Constantinople. But the pope preached rebellion, by his band of monks, throughout Italy, was prodigal of gold to the militia, excited the Venetians and Neapolitans, and even addressed himself to the king of the Lombards and their dukes, imploring the protection of their arms.

The preaching of the monks produced marvels among the superstitious and ignorant people; at Rome they drove away the magistrates, murdered the guards of the prefect, and tore down the ensigns of the empire. At Naples, the governor, his son, his officers and soldiers, were massacred. At Ravenna, the exarch Paul, his wife and daughters were beheaded; finally, entire Italy, excited by the pontiff, resolved to free itself from the rule of the Greek emperors.

Under the pretext of great zeal for the worship of images, the Lombards profited by these troubles, and seized upon the states of the emperor as belonging to an excommunicated person. Leo offered them large sums, bought their alliance, and obtained from them a promise not only to withdraw from the invaded territory, but also to join his troops in besieging the holy city.

Gregory on his side, sent rich presents to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and detached him from the cause of Leo. The Arian monarch then proposed to become the arbitrator between the emperor and the pope. By his mediation the Holy See obtained peace on favourable terms, and an apparent tranquillity succeeded for some time the deplorable violence which had overwhelmed Italy.

Soon after, the war recommenced with more fury than ever. Leo maintained that the adoration paid to paintings and statues was the most culpable kind of idolatry, and wished to bring the faithful to proscribe a worship, condemned by the clergy, the grandees, and even the very people of Constantinople. The patriarch Germain, a slave of the Holy See, alone dared to resist the orders of the prince, and in a transport of fanatical zeal affixed to the doors of his church a pastoral letter, in which he declared that the worship of images having always been in use in the church, he was ready to suffer martyrdom in its defence. He then sent ambassadors to Rome to advise the pope of the resistance which he opposed to the will of a heretical tyrant, and to ask his advice.

The pontiff replied in these terms: "The vigour with which you have defended the faith before the image-breaking Leo, will find its recompense in a better world.

"Still, my brother, do not forget, that to assure our rule over the people, we should shun

opposing too openly established belief; thus you will say to the faithful, that the homage rendered to representations placed in Christian temples, has nothing in common with the practices of paganism, which we are accused of imitating; you will endeavour to make them understand, that in our worship, they must consider the intention and not the action. Besides, there exists no resemblance between the statues of the pagans and our paintings; the images of a being who is not, who never has been, and whom we do not find but in fables and the inventions of mythology, are idols.

"But can the existence of God be denied? Has not the Virgin dwelt among men? Was not Jesus born in her womb? Did he not perform miracles and suffer the punishment of the cross? Did not his apostles see him after his resurrection? It is pleasing to God, that heaven, the earth, and the sea, animals and plants, should relate these marvels, by speech, by writing, by painting, and by sculpture!

"If impious wretches accuse the church of idolatry, because she venerates images, let them be regarded as dogs, whose brayings strike in vain upon the ears of their masters; and say to them as to the Jews, 'Israel thou hast not profited by the perceptible things which God has given thee to lead thee to him; thou hast preferred the heifer of Samaria, the rod of Aaron, the stone from which the water flowed, Baal, Baalpeor and Astarte, to the holy tabernacle of God; in fine, thou hast adored the creature as Jehovah.'"

Gregory held a new council at Rome, and in the presence of a great number of bishops, a second time anathematized the emperor, prohibited all people from paying him any tribute; freed them from the oath of fidelity; commanded them in the name of religion to take up arms and to drive from the throne the heretical Leo, who was deposed from the sovereign power by the will of God.

Italy replied to the imprecations of the sovereign pontiff by rising in arms. The Venetian broke the images of the prince, burned his ordinances, cast his officers into the sea, and all swore they would die in defence of religion and the pope. At Rome, men, women, and children swore upon the cross to die for the images. In Campania they massacred the new duke of Naples and his son, who had declared for the prince. In the five cities of Peantapolis, the officers of the empire were murdered by the priests themselves. In all the cities they raised upon the walls the standard of revolt.

In the midst of these massacres, the hypocritical Gregory showered around him alms; ordered processions of his clergy; walked with naked feet through the streets of the city; kissed the dust, and recited long prayers in the churches, beseeching God to put an end to the hostilities; at the same time he glorified his partisans, exhorted them to preserve the faith, and concealed under the mask of religious humility the ambition which devoured him, and the hatred which he bore to all par-

ties. His legates induced king Luitprand and the Lombard dukes to march with their troops against Ravenna, in which the patrician Eutychius had shut himself up, and at the same time other ambassadors went furtively from Rome to excite against the Lombards, the patriarch of Grada, the duke Martel, and the people of Venetia and Istria.

Finally, the Holy See triumphed. Leo, threatened by the fury of the adorers of images, who had already attempted to assassinate him, even in his palace, and fearing lest the Roman peninsula should detach itself from the empire, addressed letters to the pontiff, informing him that he would submit to the decision of a council, which he besought him to convoke.

Gregory did not permit the envoys of the emperor to enter Rome; he was unwilling even to touch the letter which they carried, and caused it to be read by a deacon. The following is his reply to the monarch. "The universal head of the church, the successor of the apostles, the vicar of Christ, prays God to send Satan upon earth to snatch from his throne the odious image-breaker who persecutes the faith."

The pope died soon after these events. He was interred in St. Peter's at Rome, on the 13th of February, 731.

There have been found priests, bold enough to place in the rank of saints, a pontiff who, for fifteen years, had filled Italy with blood and murder, and who had torn from the credulity of the people two thousand one hundred and sixty pennies of gold to enrich the monks!

Father Pagi relates a miracle, which, in his opinion, should alone suffice to elevate Gregory as high in heaven as the apostles. "Duke Eudes," wrote the monk, "solicited the court of Rome for some time to send him some relics. The holy father yielded to his entreaties, and sent him three sponges with which they had washed the tables of the palace of the Lateran. Gregory obtained from God, that these sponges should render the troops who fought in the war against the Saracens invincible! In fact," adds the venerable monk, "when the sponges arrived in camp, they were cut in small pieces and distributed to the soldiers, and of all who ate of them, not one was either wounded or slain!!!"

## GREGORY THE THIRD, NINETY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 731.—LEO the Third, and CONSTANTINE, called Copronymus, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Gregory the Third—His bold letters to the Emperor Leo the Third—Council of Rome against the image-breakers—The emperor arms against the pope, but his fleet is dispersed by tempests—Revolts in Italy—The pope is attacked by the Lombards—Gregory implors the aid of Charles Martel and sends him rich presents—The French prince refuses to succour the pope—Success of the mission of Boniface in Germany—His letter addressed to Gregory—Journey of Boniface to Rome—Death of Gregory the Third—Actions of the pontiff.*

THE Holy See remained vacant during thirty-five days, which were employed in celebrating the funeral of Gregory the Second. After the ceremonies, the Roman people, led on as if by divine inspiration, took from the midst of the crowd the priest Gregory, and chose him pontiff, because he had the same name as his predecessor.

The new pope was a Syrian by birth, and in the opinion of Anastasius, passed for being very regular in his morals, and very well informed in the Sacred Scriptures. He understood the Greek and Latin languages, and expressed himself with elegance. Some ancient authors called him Gregory the younger; others confound him with his predecessor, because he pursued the same policy and abandoned himself to the same excesses against the emperor Leo, in defence of the scandalous worship of images.

At the commencement of his pontificate, the emperor having addressed to him a letter, to congratulate him on his advent to the throne of St. Peter, Gregory replied in these terms: "We have found in our archives letters sealed with your imperial seal, and subscribed with

your own hand in vermilion. In them you confess our holy faith in all its purity, anathematizing those who shall dare oppose the decisions of the father, whatever may be their rank. Why then are your thoughts now different? Who obliges you to turn backwards, after having walked for ten years in the good way?

"Until the last years of the pontificate of Gregory the Second, you did nothing against the worship of images; now you affirm that they replace the idols of paganism in the temple of Christ, and call those who adore them idolaters. You order the statues of the saints to be broken and the ruins of them to be thrown out of the house of God; and you do not fear the just chastisement of your conduct, which scandalizes not only Christians but infidels.

"How can you fulfil the duties of your station and not interrogate, as emperor, learned and experienced men? They will teach you how to interpret the command of God and refuse adoration to the works of men. Have not the fathers of the church and the six councils left to us holy traditions? Why do

you refuse to follow their instruction? Why do you not receive their testimony; and why do you persist, on the contrary, in error, ignorance and presumption?

"We beseech you to abandon the inspirations of pride, and to listen humbly to a discourse filled with sense, which we address to your simple and plain comprehension.

"God prohibited the worship of the works of man, because the idolatrous inhabitants of the promised land adored animals of gold, silver, wood, and all kinds of creatures, saying, 'Behold our divinities.' But there exist things which God himself has designated for our veneration. The tables of the law, the holy ark, and the cherubims, were adored by the Jews, although they were the work of the artisan. So the material representations of our mysteries should be honoured by the faithful, and we cannot condemn those who execute them or who venerate them.

"We do not represent God the Father, because it is impossible to paint the divine nature which we cannot know; if we knew it, we would represent it in our pictures. You reproach us for rendering homage to planks, stones, and wall; but the worship which we render them is not servile. It is not a true worship due to God; it is an inferior kind of adoration; it is not absolute, it is relative. If the matter is made into an image representing the Son of God, we say to him—'Son of God, succour us, save us!' If it is an image of the Virgin, we say to it—'Holy Mary beseech your Son that he would save our souls;' and finally, if it is to a Martyr, we add—'Holy Stephen, who didst shed thy blood for Jesus Christ, intercede for us!' We do not place our hope in these images, we do not regard them as divinities; they serve only to arouse the attention of our minds.

"You are then given up to error when you condemn the representations, exposed in the churches, to the veneration of the faithful; and Christians are authorized, from your conduct, to call you a heretic and persecutor.

"We shall not cease to repeat, that the emperors should abstain from ecclesiastical affairs and apply themselves solely to those of government; for the union of bishops and princes assure the power of the church and of kings, submits the people to this double and irresistible authority, and maintains our rule over the credulity of men. Still, we should not purchase the union of the thrones of the Cæsars and of St. Peter, by the destruction of the Evangelical doctrine; and since you persecute the images, there cannot be peace between us.

"You have written to us to convolve a general council to examine the questions which divide us. But, suppose it should assemble, where is the emperor, who shall preside, according to usage, over its sessions, who shall recompense those who speak wisely, and who shall pursue those who wander from the truth? You are yourself the guilty one whom it would condemn! Do you not see that your efforts against the images is but presumption,

ignorance, and barbarity? You should accuse no one but yourself as the sole cause of the scandal, disorders, seditions, murders, and civil wars which have desolated Italy! There is no need of a synod to judge your crimes; all the West has fallen away from obedience to you; your statues and your portraits have been broken and trampled under foot—your decretals torn upon the public places, and your officers murdered or driven from Italy.

"The Lombards, Sarmatians, and other people of the North, have ravaged the Decapolis; Ravenna remains in their power, after having been pillaged; your strongest places have been taken by assault, so that your ordinances and your army have been powerless to defend them.

"You, however, think to frighten us by your threats, by saying, 'I will send my guards to Rome to break the images of the cathedral; I will carry away pope Gregory laden with chains, and I will chastise him as my predecessor Constantine, chastised the pontiff Martin.'

"Prince, learn that we do not fear your violence; we are in safety in Italy; abase then the pride of your wrath before our authority, and learn that the successors of St. Peter are the mediators, the sovereign arbitrators between the East and West."

Leo addressed new letters to the holy father, making him propositions full of wisdom. Gregory replied to him, "You affirm that you possess the spiritual and temporal power, because your ancestors united in their persons the double authority of the empire and the priesthood . . . They might thus speak, who have founded and enriched churches and who have protected them; nevertheless, under their reigns, they have always been submitted to the authority of the bishops. But you who have despoiled them, who have broken their ornaments, how dare you to claim the right of governing them? The devil, who has seized upon your intelligence, obscures all your thoughts and speaks by your mouth.

"Learn then, you, whose ignorance and vanity are so great, that Jesus Christ did not come upon earth, but to separate the priesthood and the empire, the Spirit and the flesh, God and Cæsar, the pope and the emperor. It is not permitted to bishops to have a charge of the palace of kings; so princes are prohibited from sending rude soldiers into the sanctuary of the church.

"The elections of the clergy, the ordinations of prelates, the administration of the sacraments, the distribution of goods to the poor, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction appertain to priests; the right of governing provinces, of enriching courtiers, of murdering the people, these constitute the power of kings, and we do not infringe on any of these prerogatives.

"Let each preserve the power which God has given him, and not seek to usurp that which he refuses to him. Cease then to overthrow the images placed in our temples, by wishing to reform our worship, and by



ing us of adoring matter. Our churches themselves, what are they? Stone, wood, lime, which the hand of man has consecrated to God. Why do you not destroy them, as you break the stone and the wood of our statues and the cement of our paintings? Because there must be churches for Christians to come to, to prostrate themselves before the altar of Christ.

"Allow then the faithful to employ the riches which they take from Satan to adorn the throne of God; do not deprive fathers and mothers of the sweet satisfaction of showing to their newly baptized children the edifying images of the saints and martyrs, of the Virgin and Jesus Christ, and do not turn aside the common people from the veneration which they bear to the representations of holy histories, to plunge them in idleness and debauchery."

Gregory, after having addressed these letters to Leo, assembled a council to condemn, canonically, the destroyers of images. The metropolitans of Grada and Ravenna, ninety-two bishops, all the clergy of Rome, the senators, the consuls, and the people, assisted at this assembly in the church of St. Peter. After long deliberations, the synod ordered that those who contemned the images or profaned the sacred ornaments of religion, should be anathematized and separated from the communion of the faithful. The decree was solemnly subscribed by all the members of the council. Then the clergy of the provinces addressed requests to the emperor to ask for the re-establishment of the paintings and statues in the temples.

Leo, irritated by the boldness and insolence of the pope, and exasperated against the prelates and people of the Roman peninsula, resolved to punish these rebellious priests and to draw on them a terrible vengeance. He armed a numerous flotilla and directed it against Italy. Unfortunately, in the passage, his vessels, assailed by violent tempests, were stranded or obliged to regain Constantinople. The holy father, on the news of this disaster, ordered public prayers to be made and rendered thanks to God for the brilliant miracle, which saved his church from the fury of the image-breaker.

The emperor immediately occupied himself with reorganizing an army and equipping a new fleet. Whilst waiting to commence the chastisement of the rebels, he doubled the capitation tax in Calabria and Sicily, and confiscated, in all the provinces submitted to his sway, the property of the patrimony of St. Peter, from whence the revenue was raised to two hundred and twenty-four thousand francs of gold. In the East, the prince condemned to banishment the seditious priests, and imprisoned several bishops; but none of these were executed, though the church points out the demoniacal John of Damas, as a victim of his cruelty, and has placed him in the martyrology. Leo, however, shaken upon his throne by the revolts of the pontiff, lost by degrees the most beautiful provinces of his

empire, and became the execration of his people, who designated him by the name of antichrist.

Gregory soon repented that he had lost the support of the empire. The Lombards, having no longer to fear the Grecian troops, resolved to reduce all Italy to their sway and poured numerous troops into Campania. To arrest this invasion, he had no other resource, but to produce discord among his enemies and to induce Tharizmond, duke of Spoleto, to revolt against Luitprand, king of the Lombards.

At the first signal of revolt, Luitprand marched with his army against the duke of Spoleto and entirely defeated his troops. The latter, pursued by his enemy, took refuge with the holy father, who granted him an asylum and received him with great distinction. The Lombard king, furious at the pope, summoned him to deliver up the rebel, threatening to declare war immediately on the Romans. His demand was rejected, under the pretext, that Christian charity ordains us to suffer the most violent persecutions, rather than violate the duties of hospitality; the latter, irritated at the treachery of the holy father, entered, at the head of his troops, on the territory of the church and laid siege to Rome.

In this extremity, Gregory dare not address the emperor to obtain from him any aid; he sent deputies to Charles Martel, claiming in the name of Jesus Christ the aid of the Franks against the Lombards, who had sworn to sack the holy city, massacre the pontiff, and exterminate all his clergy. The ambassadors bore to the king of the Franks, rich presents, precious relics, and the keys of the sepulchre of the apostles.

This legation was the first which entered the kingdom of France; "and would to God for the good of the people," adds a protestant author, "that the ultramontanes had never come, or that they had hung the first who presented themselves, threatening with a like fate all those who should have afterwards been willing to incur the risk of such an embassy." Charles, however, showed little disposition to succour the holy city. The pontiff then wrote him a second letter. "We are in extreme affliction, my son; for the savings which remained from the past year for the sustenance of the poor and the maintenance of the churches, are now the prey of Luitprand and Hildebrand, princes of the Lombards. They have destroyed all the farms of St. Peter, and carried off all the cattle which they found on them. We have had recourse to your power and have addressed ourselves to your religion; still, up to this very day, we have received from you no consolation. We fear lest you should believe the calumnies which these guilty kings have spread against us; for they appear assured that you will refuse us all succour, and to augment our evils and our humiliation, they brave your power and despise your courage.

"You have had recourse," say they, 'to Charles Martel to defend you! Let him come then with his Franks, and let him try to

wrest you from our hands, if he wishes the plains of Italy to drink the blood of his fierce hordes.'

"Prince, will you not resent the insults they offer you? Will not the children of the church of Gaul make any effort to defend their spiritual mother? Will they join our enemies in railing at the prince of the apostles, by saying that St. Peter should himself defend his house and his people, and avenge himself on his enemies without having recourse to the arms of princes?"

"It is true, my dear son, the apostle could annihilate with his terrible sword the barbarians who desolate his city; but his arm is arrested by God, who wishes to prove the hearts of the faithful, and reserves for you the glory of preserving us from the desolation which threatens us.

"We beseech you then, by the griefs of the Virgin, by the sufferings of Christ, by the fearful judgments of God at the last day, and by your own safety, not to leave us to perish, by preferring the friendship of the king of the Lombards to that of the prince of the apostles."

Charles Martel did not suffer himself to be moved by the entreaties of the pontiff; he only sent a small sum of money to solace the people of Rome, who were suffering the consequences of the treachery of Gregory towards the Lombard prince.

At the same period, the English monk, named Winfred, ordained bishop, during the preceding pontificate, and who had been sent into Germany, wrote to Rome to advise the holy father of the success of his mission and to ask his counsel. The pope thus replied to him: "We render thanks to God, my brother, on learning from your letter, that you have converted more than one hundred thousand souls to the Christian faith, partly by your eloquence, partly by the aid of the army of Charles prince of the Franks. We grant you our friendship; and still further to recompense the zeal which appears in your apostolic labours, we give you the pallium and the title of archbishop.

"Do not relax in your ardour, my dear brother; and notwithstanding your great age, continue the holy work you have commenced. You should preach the Gospel wherever God shall open to you the way; for the apostle is like the light which enlightens the world, and passes on without power to arrest its course.

"Continue to subject to Christ and to the authority of our see all the people of Germany! And, by virtue of the power which we have received from St. Peter, we give you power to consecrate bishops, who shall labour with you, without ceasing, for the instruction of the people who have become Christians.

"You will command your priests to administer a second baptism, under the invocation of the Holy Trinity, to those who shall have been baptized by pagan laymen or by an idolatrous priest, who sacrifices to Jupiter and eats the immolated food.

"In marriages, you will cause the faithful to observe the degrees of relationship even to the seventh generation; and you will prohibit them from espousing a third wife. The priests shall refuse the holy communion to parricides and incestuous persons, and they will command them to abstain during all their lives from flesh and wines; they will cause them to observe a rigorous fast on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, and will not grant them absolution unless they are in danger of death.

"Masters who sell their slaves to the pagans for human sacrifices, shall be submitted to the penance inflicted on homicides. The bishops shall prevent the new Christians from eating the flesh of horses and dogs; finally, they will proscribe conjurers and sorcerers, and will prohibit auguries and incantations, as well as sacrifices in honour of the dead, or for the sanctification of woods and fountains.

"We grant you the right of jurisdiction over all the clergy whom you shall establish; and we desire that you would expedite the period of the journey you are about to make into Italy, to receive our blessing and to confer with us on the interests of the infant church of Germany."

Boniface yielded to the wishes of the holy father and came to Rome, where he was overwhelmed with honours by Gregory, who made him sit on his right hand in the presence of the grandees and bishops. An historian adds, "that the favours of the pontiff could not, however, be considered as a recompense for the zeal which the holy old man had shown in the cause of religion, but only as the price of the devotion which he had manifested for the Holy See, and as the pay for the maxima of obedience, which he had propagated among the barbarians."

The court of Rome already dreamed of establishing the principle of the sovereignty, and of the infallibility of the pope; Gregory dared to say, in full council, that his see was above the thrones of the earth, and that the pontiffs might conduct all nations to the prince of darkness, without any living man having the right to accuse them of sin, because they were not submitted to the judgment of mortals!

The English monk, after having visited the tombs of the holy martyrs, took his leave of the pontiff and quitted Rome laden with presents and relics.

Gregory the Third, according to the librarian Anastasius, performed a great number of pious actions. "He repaired," says this author, "all the churches of the apostolical city, especially that of St. Peter. He placed around the sanctuary six precious columns, which the exarch Euty chius had given him; he crowned them with architraves covered with silver, and adorned with figures of Jesus, his apostles, and the holy mother in the midst of the virgins. At different places, the sanctuary was ornamented with golden lilies, candelabras of silver, and rich perfume pans; and from the veil, which was of silver, surmounted

by a crown of gold, fell a cross enriched with diamonds, which hung suspended over the altar. Between the columns of porphyry were placed a statue of the Virgin Mary, a patine, a chalice, and two vases of colossal size. All these ornaments were of gold and adorned with precious stones.

"The church of St. Mary Majora, contained an image of the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus, also of massive gold; and, finally, the church of St. Andrew had received, from the liberality of the pontiff, a statue still more precious than the preceding. The weight of the gold of the different offerings amounted to more than an hundred and seventy-three pounds, and of the silver to more than five hundred and thirty pounds.

"Gregory repaired several monasteries which were in ruins, built new ones, endowed them with large domains, and redeemed the property which had been pledged by debauched monks; he placed priests and monks in several oratories to pray night and day, and ordered that in future, the oblationary subdeacon of St. Peter's should furnish to the new churches lights and oblations; that is to say, bread, wine, and candles to celebrate divine service. He rebuilt a great part of the walls of Rome, and defrayed this enormous expense from his own purse. Finally, he gave a large sum to the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto to purchase a fortress, which defended an important position in the states of the Holy See."

Gregory died towards the end of the year 741, after a reign of ten years, and after having concluded a peace with Luitprand king of the Lombards. He was interred in the church of Saint Peter. He was placed, like his predecessor, by the priests in the catalogue of the saints.

Several ecclesiastical historians maintain, that during his pontificate the Musselmen persecuted with violence the Christians of Asia, Africa, and Spain, and made a great number of martyrs. These accusations are evidently false, since it is shown by the tes-

timony of osetemporary authors that the caliphs re-established the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, and even gave bishops to the Nubians who professed Christianity; that, in Spain in especial, the Arabs protected the convents of men, as a safeguard accorded by two chief Musselmen to the inhabitants of the city of Coimbra, attests in an irrefutable manner; the following is the remarkable document:

"The Christians shall pay a capitation tax double that of the Arabs; each church shall pay an annual tribute of twenty-five pounds of silver; that of the monasteries shall be fifty, and of the cathedrals double that. The Christians shall have a court of their nation at Coimbra and Godadetha, to administer justice, only; they shall put no one to death without the authority of the Arabian sheik or alcade. If a Christian kills a Mahomedan or injures him, he shall be judged equitably by the Arabian law. If he abuses an Arab girl, he shall embrace Islamism and marry her whom he has seduced, or be put to death. If he seduces a married woman, he shall undergo the punishment inflicted on adulterers. Christian bishops shall not curse the chief Musselmen in their temples, nor in their prayers; and they shall not celebrate the mass, but with closed doors, under a penalty of ten pounds of silver.

"The monastery of Raban shall not be submitted to any tax, because the monks point out to us the game when we hunt upon their lands; and because they cordially receive the worshippers of the prophet. It is our will that they possess their property in peace; that they freely come to Coimbra, and that no impost be demanded from them for the merchandize which they buy or sell, in order to testify to Christians our indulgence towards those who do not show themselves rebellious to our paternal rule." After reading such a document, whose authenticity is irrefutable, it is really impossible to believe in the absurd recitals of the persecutions exercised by the Musselmen.

## ZACHARY, THE NINETY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 741.—CONSTANTINE, called COPRONYMUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Zachary—Dangerous position of the Holy See—Peace with the Lombards—Interview between Zachary and Luitprand—The pope gives a sumptuous feast to the king—First period of papal grandeur—The church in Germany—Letter of Zachary to the French bishops—Complaints against the pope—Decision upon baptism—Disorders of the clergy in the French provinces—Impostors in Germany—Council of Rome—Persecution of the priest Virgil—The king of the Lombards seduced by the pope—Turns monk—Carloman, the brother of Pepin, becomes a monk to save his soul—Foundation of the celebrated abbey of Fulda—Childeric the Third deposed and shut up in a monastery—Pepin usurps the crown of France—The emperor grants several domains of the empire to the Roman church—Second interview between Zachary and Luitprand—Death of the pope.*

THEY chose as successor to Gregory the Third, the priest Zachary, a Greek by descent, who was ordained sovereign pontiff on the 28th of November, 741.

We are left in ignorance of the intrigues by which Zachary arrived at the pontifical throne; we only know that the Holy See, menaced by powerful enemies, was exposed to the greatest dangers, and that the holy father was obliged to employ all the resources of his policy to save the church from the wrath of the Lombards and the hatred of the emperor. On one side, Constantine Copronymus the son of Leo, the image-breaker, had inherited the rich domains which his father had torn from the popes and continued the war against the rebels of Italy, and the worship of images: on the other, the French, consulting less the fanaticism of priests than the interests of the nation, refused to take part in these deplorable wars, allowing Luitprand to ravage Italy and besiege the city of Rome.

Thus, the Holy See, which wished to free itself from the imperial authority, was punished for its rebellion by the very consequences of its victory, and was about inevitably to fall under the terrible yoke of the Lombards.

Zachary, to free himself from this difficult position, had recourse to trick, to negotiation, and finally determined on an infamous act of treachery to Thrasimond, duke of Spoleto, the same whom his predecessor had incited to revolt. He sent ambassadors to king Luitprand, instructed to offer, in his name, rich presents, and to swear to give up Thrasimond to the vengeance of the Lombards. On this condition the king promised to conclude a peace, and restore four important cities he had taken from the Holy See during the war. Zachary then united his troops to those of Luitprand and marched against the unfortunate duke of Spoleto.

Thrasimond learned too late the mistake he had made in putting confidence in a priest. Finding himself betrayed by the court of Rome, he immediately submitted to the king and entered into a monastery.

The king, having this enemy no longer to fear, deferred fulfilling the promise he had made to Zachary; but, on the contrary, retained in his power the cities which he had seized. All the reclamations of the court of Rome being without effect, the pope, accompanied by a large number of bishops, priests,

and deacons, went to Suterramma, a city situated twelve miles from Spoleto, to confer with Luitprand and demand the execution of the treaty. He was received by the monarch in the church of St. Valentine. The union of his prayers and his protestations of boundless devotion, changed the intentions of the sovereign, who not only restored four important cities, but even gave to the Holy See the patrimonies of Sabina, Narni, Ossimo, Ancona, and several others. He confirmed a peace for twenty years with the duchy of Rome, and restored all the captives.

On the following day the pontiff consecrated a bishop in the church of St. Valentine, and after the ceremony he invited Luitprand to supper. The tables were covered with the most exquisite meats, the fish of two seas, rare and valuable animals, the fruits of Europe and Asia. Historians relate that the holy father outdid, in this repast, the sumptuous feasts of Vitellius or Lucullus.

Zachary then returned to Rome, assembled the people, and ordered public prayers to thank God for the success of his treachery; and during several days the clergy and the people went in procession from the ancient Pantheon to the church of St. Peter, making the streets resound with songs of gladness in honour of Christ and his infamous vicar.

We now enter upon the most remarkable period of papal grandeur. History will show us the bishops of Rome abandoning the principles of the Bible, trampling under foot the precepts and the morality of Jesus Christ, plunging into all the excesses of depravity, tearing diadems from the foreheads of kings, and crushing the unfortunate people beneath their execrable tyranny.

In Italy the church was triumphant. In the East, the quarrel between the image-breakers and image-worshippers continued to trouble the empire. Constantine Copronymus, who, according to Christian authors, was a monster, born from the coupling of two ferocious beasts, that only quitted the laboratory of his magicians, or the tower of his astrologers, to order persecutions against his subjects, who rendered honours to paintings or statues. This tyrant, who was neither Christian, Jew, nor pagan, had no faith but in the prestiges of sorcery; and after he had consulted the entrails of the victims, or in-

voked the manes of his ancestors, there was no cruelty of which he was not capable.

In Germany, the missionary Boniface, notwithstanding his great age, continued to make numerous conversions. After the death of Gregory, the holy archbishop wrote to the pontiff to renew his oath of obedience and the promise which he had made to the Holy See, to consecrate the last days of his life to subjugating to it the numerous proselytes of Germany. He informed Zachary of the creation of several bishoprics, and besought him to confirm these establishments and to authorize him to convoke his new clergy in a synod. "Know, holy father," added he, "that Carloman, the duke of the Franks, has besought me to assemble a council in the part of the kingdom which is under his control, and has promised to labour with me in the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline. This prince thinks, that in order to reform the morals of the Gallic clergy, it is necessary to ordain frequent assemblies of their chiefs and the lords, for during eighty years the Franks have not held a council, nor nominated metropolitans. The episcopal sees are abandoned to avaricious laymen, clerical debauchees, or to public farmers, like to secular property. Still, before undertaking this reform, I desire to have your instructions, and to understand the canons which regulate the administration of church goods and the morals of the clergy."

Zachary, in his reply, approves of the establishment of the new bishoprics, and authorizes the holding of a synod in France. He recommends to Boniface to interdict the sacerdotal functions to bishops, priests, or deacons, who shall have espoused several wives, or who shall have fallen into the sin of the flesh with the virgins consecrated to God.

By order of Carloman, the council assembled in Germany, on the 21st of April, 742, and all its decisions were submitted to the approval of the Roman pontiff. Zachary replied in a synodical letter addressed to the French bishops, in which he praises them for the energetic measures they had taken to drive from their sees schismatical prelates, concubine keepers, sodomites, and murderers. "What victories," adds the pope, "can a people hope for, when the God of armies is implored by sacrilegious priests, whose impure hands, after having been soiled by luxury and debauchery, profane the divine body of Jesus Christ? And how can these men dare present themselves as ministers of a God of peace, when they bear upon their vestments the bloody traces of the faithful whom they have murdered?"

"But if you have pure priests, exempt from crime—and especially if you obey Boniface, who will instruct you in our name—all infidel nations will fall before your swords; and after the victory, God will recompense you by giving you eternal life."

Some years after, the English apostle wrote anew to Zachary to consult him on some very singular facts. We give a faithful translation of his letter, which pictures faithfully the

morals of the period. "Gregory the Third authorized us to designate as our successor a priest whom we pointed out to him; but since the death of your glorious predecessor, the brother of this priest, at the close of an orgy, slew the uncle of the duke of the Franks, and by the law of the Franks, vengeance is permitted to all the relatives of the dead on the murderer and the members of his family. Thus, he whom we had designated as our successor, having been forced to fly, what must I do, most holy father?"

"I submit another difficulty to your decision. A man of illustrious birth has been presented to us, who affirms with an oath that he purchased from Gregory the Third, authority to espouse his cousin in the third degree, although she had taken a vow of chastity. He has demanded from us the nuptial benediction under a pretence that his conscience was not quiet, and offers to pay us for a permission to marry. In his country, the union which he has contracted passes for an abominable incest in the eyes of the common people, so that I attribute his return to penitence, not to a motive of religion, but to a fear of a general reprobation.

"Some prelates have also complained of the avarice of the court of Rome; they say that in the holy city all the dignities are sold at auction, and in spite of their desire to obtain the pallium, that they have not dared to ask for it, because they are not rich enough to pay for it. We have repelled these calumnies and condemn their error; and the better to convince them, we beseech you to grant this mark of dignity to our brother Grimm, archbishop of Rouen."

Zachary replied to the archbishop Boniface, "We will not suffer it, my brother, that during your life a bishop should be chosen in your place, which would be an infraction of the canons. Beseech God, during your life, that He would give you a worthy successor, and at the hour of death, you will be able to designate him before all the people, that he may come to us to be ordained. We grant this favour to you alone, to recompense the zeal you have constantly manifested for the Holy See.

"You have submitted to us a case of union of which we cannot approve without violating the canons; nevertheless, I avow, to the shame of our Holy See, that my predecessors have sold like permissions to fill the treasury of St. Peter, when it has been exhausted by wars or by the prodigalities of pontiffs. You have acted prudently in repulsing the accusation of simony which culpable priests brought against us, and in anathematizing those who would sell the gifts of the Holy Spirit."

At this period the see of Treves was the oldest in Germany and the largest in extent, so much so that it was called a second Rome. Zachary, jealous of the importance of this church, and under pretext of recompensing the holy bishop Boniface, detached from it the cities of Mayence, Cologne, Liege, Utrecht, Strasburg, Worms, and Spire, to form an

archbishopric, of which he established the see at Mayence. By this dismemberment, the greatest metropolis of Germany became the smallest and least important in its spiritual jurisdiction.

Boniface took immediate possession of his see, but he found the clergy of the country plunged in an ignorance so profound that the priests did not understand Latin. One of them being called before the bishop to baptize an infant, performed it with this formulary—"Baptizo te in nomine Patrie, Filie et spiritus sancti." The prelate, scandalized by the abject state of his new priests, wrote to the holy father to ask of him whether he should perform a second baptism when the first appeared irregular. Zachary replied to him—"We ought not to baptize a second time those who have already received the holy water of baptism; for a simple ignorance of the language does not introduce religious error into the words; it is enough to render the sacrament regular—that it should be administered in the name of the Holy Trinity. Still, in order to avoid a scandal which a clergy so ignorant gives rise to, you will assemble a council to decide what measures it is necessary to take to bring back discipline and knowledge to your church."

The synod having assembled, Boniface hastened to inform the pontiff of its proceedings, and advised him in these terms of the disorders of the priests of Gaul: "During the thirty years I have been in the service of the Holy See, I have never failed to inform it of all that happens to me, agreeable or otherwise, in order to be sustained by its advice. Thus, I must advise you of the persecutions of which I have been the victim, in presiding over the council of the Franks as you ordered me.

"False bishops, infamous and sodomite priests, shameless and murderous clerks abound in this country. One of these, the prelate Adalbert, maintains that an angel came from the extremity of the earth, to bring him marvellous relics, by virtue of which he can obtain from God all he asks of him. He dares to affirm, with execrable oaths, that he receives letters from Jesus Christ, and by this sacrilegious knavery he has gained the confidence of families, seduced women and girls, deceived credulous minds, and received sums of money which should have come to the legitimate bishops.

"Not only does Adalbert declare himself a saint and a prophet, but even in his pride he has dared to make himself equal to the apostles, and to consecrate churches in his own honour. He has elevated crosses and oratories in the fields, near to fountains, in the woods, and upon rocks, to induce the abandonment of the old churches, and to turn to his own profit the offerings of the ignorant. He sells to the faithful his nails and his hair, as precious relics, which they should adore; and he blasphemes our holy religion in blaspheming the sacrament of confession. He says to men who come to prostrate themselves at his feet to avow their faults, 'I know your sins—it is

useless to confess them; your most secret thoughts are revealed to me; rise up, and go in peace to your homes, I give you absolution?'

"Another heretical priest named Clement, rejects the authority of canons, councils, treatises and decisions of the fathers: he calls St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory impostors; he rejects their dogmas as gross errors, capable of corrupting men, and opposed to the true spirit of the morality of Jesus Christ. Clement maintains, that no power has the right of deposing him from the episcopate, though he lives in concubinage, having two adulterous sons, and though he has undergone circumcision. Finally, this unworthy priest, introduces Judaism into the church, and permits the faithful to espouse the daughter of a brother or sister. He teaches that the Saviour, by descending to the infernal regions, redeemed all the damned whom he found there—even infidels and idolaters; and that at the last judgment he will draw from thence all those who shall have received the eucharist; because, adds he, Christ cannot suffer the souls whom he has redeemed by the price of his own blood to burn eternally in hell.

"We cannot tolerate by our silence such scandals; and we beseech you, most holy father, to write to duke Carloman, that these two heretics may be placed in prison, and be subjected to the torture; and that no one may speak to, or communicate with them."

As soon as Zachary received the letter of the archbishop Boniface, he hastened to convocate a council at Rome. The false prelates, Adalbert and Clement, were excommunicated, and the proceedings of the synod were addressed to the primate of the Gauls: "We exhort you, my brother," wrote the pontiff, "to bear with courage the persecutions of bad priests, and to persevere in your conduct.

"Has not Rome itself been filled with scandals by its clergy? Has not the chair of St. Peter itself been soiled by pontiffs who were guilty of adultery, incest, murder, and poisoning? But God in his goodness has designed at length to grant us peace, and to console us.

"Ordain fasts and processions, and we will join our prayers to yours, all unworthy as we are, to call down upon you the clemency of Jesus Christ. Still, though placing all your confidence in God, do not abandon the aid of the temporal power to lead back heretics, and to persecute them if they reject the truth.

"We approve of all the decisions of your council. We depose and anathematize Adalbert and Clement. In conformity with your desire we have written to duke Carloman, beseeching him to punish severely these unworthy ecclesiastics, for the edification of the churches which are administered by impostor bishops and priests.

"We know that infamous men, vagabond slaves, those guilty of homicides, robberies, adulteries, and other abominable crimes, transform themselves into ministers of Jesus Christ, live without recognizing the authority of our

see, and seize upon churches. Wheresoever you shall find these preps of Satan, deprive them of the priesthood, and submit them to the monastic rule, that they may terminate their scandalous lives by sincere repentance.

"Above all, proscribè the philosopher Virgil, that Scotch priest, who dares maintain that there exists another world, and other moons upon that world; ether suns and other moons in the heavens; who affirms that to be a Christian, it is enough to follow the morality of the Bible, and to practise its precepts, without even being baptized. Let him be driven from the church, deprived of the priesthood, and plunged in the darkest dungeons; let him then undergo all the tortures invented by man; for we will never find a punishment sufficiently terrible to chastise an infamous wretch, whose sacrilegious doctrine has destroyed the holiness of our religion. We have already requested the duke of Bavaria to deliver up to us this apostate, to be solemnly judged and punished, in accordance with the rigor of the canons. The prince having refused our request, we have written to the priest a threatening letter prohibiting him from raising his abominable voice in the presence of the faithful assembled in the house of God."

Virgil was indeed cruelly persecuted by the slaves of the Holy See, who called a sacrilegious idolatry, the theory of the learned Scotchman in relation to the earth, which he maintained to be round, and inhabited on all its surface. Eight centuries later, the doctrine of the antipodes, taught by this philosophic priest, will fecundate the genius of Christopher Columbus, and add a new continent to the old world.

But Rome, in its ignorance, could not believe there was any other science than that of religion; that there existed other worlds than those authorized by the canons, approved by the fathers, and preached by the apostles. Sovereigns, still more ignorant than the ecclesiastics, did not recognize other truths than those taught by the church. They submitted themselves blindly to the decisions of pontiffs, consulted them in their enterprises, and sometimes even abandoned their crowns to sit in the councils of the popes, the cross in their hand, their heads ornamented with a mitre, or their shoulders covered with a frock.

Thus the king of the Lombards, Ratchis, preferred to the grandeur of a throne, a simple cell in the monastery of Monte Cassino. Carloman, the brother of Pepin, also renounced the world, came on a pilgrimage to the holy city, and after having enriched the purse of St. Peter, received from the hands of the pontiff the frock of St. Benedict, and shut himself up in a monastery. This great prince served in the kitchen, took care of the stables, and laboured in the garden to humble his pride and to save his soul from the flames of hell. The famous abbey of Fulda, of which Boniface has given a description in a letter addressed to the pontiff, owes to him its foundation. "In a vast forest in the midst of a

wild locality, we have built a monastery, and have sent to it monks who live in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, depriving themselves of flesh, wine, and beer; they are without servants, and continually occupied in manual labour. This retreat has been founded by us, by the aid of pious souls, and especially by the assistance of brother Carloman, formerly prince of the Franks. We ourselves propose, with your approbation, to repose our old age in this holy retreat, waiting for the hour of our death."

Pepin, become absolute master in France after the retreat of his brother, occupied himself, with bringing Rome into his interests. The priest Ardobanns, who was authorized so to do by the bishops, abbots, and lords of Gaul, came to consult the pope on several points of ecclesiastical discipline, which may be reduced to three principal heads: the episcopal order, the penance of homicides, and illicit unions. The ambassador at the same time informed his holiness, that Mayence had been selected as the metropolis of the kingdom. In his secret instructions, the mayor of the palace had charged Ardobanus to offer rich presents to the holy father, and to assure himself of the views of the court of Rome, as to the time in which he should usurp the crown of France. The pontiff received the ambassador at a solemn audience. He replied to the letters of the prelates and the lords, by urging them all to do their duty. The seculars, by combating against the infidel, and the ecclesiastics by assisting them with their counsel and their prayers. He also addressed private letters to Pepin, encouraging him in his ambitious projects, and authorizing him, in the name of religion, to depose Childeric the Third immediately, and to take possession of his crown. The mayor of the palace, confident of the aid of the clergy, announced the forfeiture of the feeble monarch, caured his head, and that of his young son Thierry to be shaved, and shut them up—the one in the monastery of Sithian, the other in a convent in Normandy.

Zachary had well foreseen that his policy guaranteed to the Holy See the protection of a rising dynasty, and that in exchange for the sanction which he gave to an usurpation, the new prince would aid him to abase the Lombards, and to free him entirely from the rule of the emperors. In fact, the sovereigns of Constantinople were soon reduced to implore the aid of the popes, and Constantine Copronymus, who had been driven from the throne by the usurper Artabasus, could not repossess himself of his crown but through the assistance of the Holy See. The prince, in gratitude, yielded to the pope several dominions of the empire. The exarch Eutychius, John metropolitan of Ravenna, and the people of the Pentapolis and of the province of Emilia, asked, in their turn, the powerful protection of Zachary to arrest the victorious arms of the Lombards.

Under the pretext of being better able to appreciate the subject of their complaints,

the pontiff went to Ravenna, accompanied by a numerous court. On his arrival the citizens and clergy sallied from the city to receive him, exclaiming, "Blessed be the shepherd, who has left his flock to come to deliver us—us who were about to perish." Some days afterwards Zachary sent ambassadors to inform the Lombard prince of his arrival in his estates. Luitprand sent an escort composed of the lords of his court to meet the holy father, and receive him with all the honours due to his dignity and rank.

In his interview with the king, his holiness demanded the execution of the treaties, the retreat of the troops which occupied the province of Ravenna, the restitution to the Holy See of the cities which his generals had seized, and especially of that of Sienna. The monarch, fearing to draw upon himself the enmity of Zachary, acceded to his requests, consented to restore the city of Ravenna, two-thirds of the territory of Sienna, and only kept, for the safety of his troops a single fortified place, which he even promised to restore to the exarch after the return of his embas-

sadors, who had gone to Constantinople, to treat of peace with the emperor.

After having elevated the pontifical chair to the highest degree of power during a reign of eleven years, Zachary died in the month of March, in the year 752. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

The patriarchal palace of the Lateran was almost entirely rebuilt by this pontiff; he increased its size by several immense saloons, paved with marble, enriched with paintings and mosaics. The legends relate that in digging the foundation of this admirable building, the workmen found a human head, buried very deep in the earth, and in an excellent state of preservation; that it was carried to the pope, who affirmed that it was the head of the blessed St. George. By his orders the precious relic was deposited in a magnificent shrine, on which a Greek inscription was engraved. The credulous people, the hypocritical clergy, and the lords of Rome, then bore it in procession to the deaconry of St. George, of the Veil of Gold, where it has since performed numerous miracles.

## STEPHEN THE SECOND, NINETY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 752.—CONSTANTINE COPRONYMS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—He dies after a reign of three days, and without having been consecrated.*

AFTER the death of pope Zachary, the Romans chose, to occupy the Holy See, a priest named Stephen, who took immediate possession of the patriarchal palace of the Lateran.

On the third day, on awakening, at the moment when he was rising from his bed to give some orders, he suddenly lost his voice and recollection, and fell dead at the feet of his deacons.

Some historians refuse to count Stephen the Second in the number of the pontiffs, because he had never been consecrated; but Onuphrus, Bauvini, the cardinal Baronius, and father Petau, have pursued a different mode of thinking—that consecration adds nothing to the dignity of a priest canonically elected, and that he is really pope after his nomination has been made by the people, the clergy, and the lords. We conform to their decision.

Such was in fact the doctrine and usage of the church in the first ages. The right of choosing the ministers of religion appeared so important, that subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops were all named, without exception, by the assembly of the faithful. St. Cyprian even augments the latitude of this power. "Not only," says he, "have the faithful the divine right of choosing the ministers of the church; but they can even regularly

depose those who shall show themselves to be unworthy of the ministry, after having been consecrated. They are even obliged in conscience so to do; for those who would tolerate an ecclesiastical prevaricator would render themselves guilty towards God." Pope St. Leo himself maintains that election alone confers the dignity of bishop. He adds that the faithful of the same city should all concur in the nomination of their pastor. He formally recognizes the right of election as being in all Christians, and lanches anathemas against those who should essay to take this privilege from the people to arrogate to themselves the nomination to the different dignities of the church.

From these considerations it evidently follows, that the consecration of bishops was not then regarded as indispensable to their possessing the episcopal dignity, and that it was sufficient that they should have obtained the suffrages of the Christians of a diocese to be canonically its pastor. Thus Stephen the Second, notwithstanding the brevity of his apparition on the throne of St. Peter, although he had not been ordained prelate was none the less really pope, and as such he should occupy his rank in the chronological series of the successors of the apostles.



## STEPHEN THE THIRD, NINETY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 752.—CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Stephen the Third—His birth and education—He sends legates to prince Astolphus—The king of the Lombards seizes Ravenna—He makes war on the Romans—Embassy from the king of the Lombards to Constantinople—Council of the image breakers—Decisions against the images—The Romans are reduced to the last extremity—Stephen asks for aid from the French—Pepin protects the pope—Intrigues and machinations of the pope—He falls sick—His wonderful cure—He consecrates the temple—Pepin and his two sons—War of Italy—Peace with the Lombards—Astolphus recommences the war—The pope again asks aid from Pepin—Knavery of the pontiff—He addresses to the French monarch letters written by St. Peter, the Virgin, and the saints—Pepin, the dupe of this chicanery, re-enters Italy at the head of an army—The pope is placed in possession of the exarchate of Ravenna—Origin of the temporal power of the popes—Didier, king of the Lombards—Death of Stephen the Third.*

AFTER the death of Stephen the Second, the people, the grandees, and the clergy assembled in the church of St. Mary-Majora, and proclaimed a pontiff, who was enthroned under the name of Stephen the Third. He was a Roman by birth, and an orphan from his earliest infancy. The pope, his predecessors, took care of his infancy, and had brought him up in the palace of the Lateran; there he had passed through all the ecclesiastical orders to the deaconate.

In his different employments, Stephen had steadily used his influence to solace the sufferings of the poor, on which account the Romans had so great a veneration for him, that on the day of his election, some of the people raised him on their shoulders and bore him in triumph to the church of St. Peter. Some authors relate, that this ceremony was authorized by an ancient custom; but Polydorus Virgilius affirms that it was the first example of an enthronization so contrary to apostolical humility, and blames Stephen for having submitted to it.

Stephen was also the first pontiff who sealed his letters with lead instead of wax, which the bishops of Rome had before used for that purpose.

Three months after his enthronement, the holy father sent legates to the king of the Lombards, to offer him rich presents in exchange for a treaty of peace between his people and the Holy See. Astolphus at first took the presents, and swore to a treaty of four years. Perceiving afterwards that the small number of Greek troops who defended Italy, presented to him a favourable opportunity to snatch the exarchate from the empire, he broke the peace and marched upon Ravenna. Eutychius, who commanded for the emperor, defended himself with courage for some months, when, overwhelmed by the number of the enemy, he abandoned his capital, and took refuge at Constantinople. Ravenna fell before the arms of the Lombards, and its ruin caused the destruction of the exarchs, who had reigned for about one hundred and eighty years in the capacity of imperial vicars.

Astolphus, elated by his first success, resolved to seize upon all Italy; and under the pretext that the possession of Ravenna gave to him as a consequence the use of the rights

granted by the empire to this government, he claimed the sovereignty of Rome, and threatened to undertake a siege of it, to reduce it under his authority. The pope immediately sent the abbots of St. Vincent, of Vulturna, and St. Benedict of Monte Cassino, to demand the execution of the treaties, and the preservation of the peace. But Astolphus, full of contempt for these ambassadors in frocks, was unwilling to even listen to their propositions. He ordered them to re-enter their monasteries, prohibiting them even from returning to Rome to render an account of their embassy.

Still the war was for a time suspended by the conversion of Anselmus, the brother-in-law of Astolphus, who embraced a religious life, and obtained from the king, for himself and his monks, the territory of Nonantula, two leagues from Modena. An abbey and a church were built by the care of the prince, in honour of the apostles. Sergius, metropolitan of Ravenna, dedicated it in an imposing ceremony, and Astolphus confirmed the foundation, which he had before made, in which he only obliges the monks to furnish him with forty pikes at Lent, and an equal number at Advent. He then accompanied his brother-in-law to Rome, and offered this donation to the clergy, by placing, according to usage, the deed upon the confessional of St. Peter.

Princes already knew the subtle distinction of the Holy See between Cæsar and the church, since at the very time in which the monarch was preparing to carry on a terrible war against Stephen the Third, he showed, as a Christian, his absolute submission to the prince of the apostles, and assisted at a council convoked by the pope, to clothe Anselm in the monastic habit, and to give him the pastoral baton.

Some days after this ceremony, John, the silentiary of the emperor, arrived at the holy city, bearing letters for the pontiff and the king of the Lombards. Constantine urged the prince to restore to him the places he had unjustly snatched from the empire, in contempt of treaties, and demanded the terms on which he proposed to put an end to a war which would be destructive to the two people.

Astolphus, desirous of gaining time to pursue his conquests, and consolidate his rule in Italy, refused to give a decisive reply to the silentiary. He named an ambassador to return

with John to the court of Constantinople to treat of peace with the emperor himself.

Stephen also sent several deputies to the emperor, under the pretence of carrying letters to him, but in reality to induce him to descend into Italy with an army to deliver Rome from the Lombards. Constantine, occupied in the East with his war against the Arabs, and separated, besides, in his opinions from the holy father, on the subject of image worship, treated with contempt the entreaties addressed to him, abandoned Rome to king Astolphus, and convoked a general council in his city of Constantinople, to condemn the adoration of images.

Three hundred and thirty-eight bishops assisted at this assembly. After a sufficiently long preamble, the fathers made the following declaration: "Jesus Christ delivered men from idolatry, and taught them to worship in spirit and in truth; but the devil, jealous of the power of the church, now seeks to restore the worship of idols, under the appearance of Christianity, by persuading the faithful that they should prostrate themselves before creatures. Thus, to combat the prince of darkness, we order the priests to cast out from the temples all the images which defile them, and to destroy those which are exposed for adoration in churches or private houses, under penalty, for bishops, priests, and deacons, of deposition; for monks and laymen of anathema; and without prejudice to the corporal punishment inflicted on the guilty by the imperial laws."

When the synod rose, Constantine went in great pomp to the public square, and published the decrees of the council of bishops. The iconoclastic priests hurried immediately into the churches, and under pretence of destroying the images and overthrowing idolatrous ornaments, seized upon crosses enriched with precious stones, the sacred vases, rich vestments, precious veils, and the services of gold or silver destined for divine service.

The king of the Lombards finding the emperor too much occupied with his religious quarrels to dream of arresting him in his plans of conquest, entered upon the territory of Rome, and notwithstanding the supplications of the pope, he summoned the inhabitants to recognize him as their sovereign if they did not wish to be put to the sword.

Stephen the Third having none but undisciplined troops to oppose to the Lombards, shut himself up in the city, exhorting the people to implore the mercy of God. He caused the relics of the apostles to be carried in procession, he himself walking with naked feet, and his head covered with ashes, carrying upon his shoulders an image of Jesus Christ, which the priests said had been sent by God to the Holy See. A bishop led the way, waving in the air a great cross of gold, to one side of which was attached the treaty of peace made with the king of the Lombards, and to the other the bull of excommunication of this sacrilegious prince.

Notwithstanding the confidence which the pontiff exhibited in heaven, he counted more

on terrestrial arms to arrest the troops of Astolphus. Despairing of aid from the emperor, he resolved to address himself to king Pepin, to inform him of the desolation of the church. He wrote at the same time to all the dukes of France, beseeching them to come to the rescue of St. Peter, whom he called their protector, promising them, in the name of the apostle, the remission of all the sins they had committed or might commit in future, and guaranteeing to them unalterable happiness in this world, and eternal life in the next.

Droctegand, the first abbot of Gorza, chief of the embassy, had scarcely quitted Italy, when the silentiary John returned from Constantinople with the legates. Constantine ordered the holy father to go to the court of Astolphus, to obtain the restoration of Ravenna and of the cities which were dependencies on the exarchate. The pope was convinced in advance of the inutility of this negotiation. He however consented to undertake it, with the view of approaching France, and going himself to solicit the aid of Pepin. He immediately sent ambassadors to the court of Pavia, to demand a safe conduct, which the Lombard king hastened to grant him, guaranteeing, besides, that he should receive all the honours due to his rank.

Stephen left Rome, on the 14th of October, 754, accompanied by the French ambassadors, who had returned with Droctegand in the interval of the negotiation. On his arrival in the territory of Pavia, Astolphus forewarned him that it was useless to come before him, if he wished to obtain from him the restoration of the exarchate of Ravenna, and of the other places of the empire which he or his predecessors had acquired. The pontiff replied that no fear should prevent him from accomplishing the mission with which his prince had charged him, and he pursued his way towards the capital of the Lombards.

The next day, the day fixed for the conference, Stephen was admitted to the presence of the king. He prostrated himself at his feet, and offered him rich presents, beseeching him, in the name of Constantine, to restore the provinces which he had seized. Astolphus persisted in his first refusal, and the silentiary John, notwithstanding his promises and his threats, could not weaken the resolution of the Lombard chief. The French ambassadors then announced to him, in the name of the king, their master, that they had orders to conduct the pope into Gaul. The king immediately perceived the perfidious intentions of Stephen, but he dared not arrest him, and was constrained to submit to the will of the envoys of the court of France.

After passing the Alps, the pontiff arrived at the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valoia, where the French lords were in waiting to conduct him to Ponthion, a strong castle, situated near to Langres, and which was one of the royal residences. Charles, the oldest son of Pepin, had gone more than fifty leagues to meet the holy father. The king, the queen, and the young princes received him more than

a league from Ponthion. Anastasius relates that the French monarch had the weakness to walk on foot, with his head uncovered, for two hours, holding the bridle of Stephen's horse!

On the following day, the pope and his clergy paid their respects to the king, and besought God to preserve him to his people. On the next day they offered to him rich presents, and also to the lords of his court; but, on the third day, the songs of gladness gave way to lamentations; Stephen appeared with all his clergy, their heads covered with ashes and clothed in sackcloth. All prostrated themselves at the feet of the monarch, beseeching him with lamentable cries, by the mercy of God and the merits of the holy St. Peter and St. Paul, to deliver them from the dominion of the Lombards. The holy father remained prostrate with his face to the earth, until Pepin had extended to him his hand, pledging that the king would raise him from the earth as a sign of the deliverance which he promised him.

In fact, the trick of the pontiff was entirely successful. The emperor consented to send ambassadors to prince Astolphus, to beseech him, in the name of the apostles, not to exercise hostilities against Rome. But this embassy not having achieved any result, Pepin allowed himself to be drawn by his self-conceit into a terrible war, in which his best soldiers were about to perish to sustain the ambition of an hypocritical priest. The prince convoked, in the city of Carisiac or Quiercy, the lords of his kingdom, and in their presence he decided they should carry war into Italy, to deliver the holy church; and he even made in advance a donation to St. Peter of several cities and territories, which were still under the rule of the Lombards. The deed was solemnly delivered, and Pepin signed it, in his own name and that of his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

Astolphus, having been apprised of the preparations for war which the Franks were making against him, hastened to send to their court the monk Carloman, the brother of Pepin, to destroy by his influence the machinations of Stephen, and to turn aside the lords of Gaul from their enterprise against Italy. Mazeray affirms, that the monk pleaded the cause of the Lombards with so much eloquence to the parliament of Quiercy, that it determined to send envoys to Pavia to propose a treaty of peace between the pope and the king.

The ambassadors were received with great honours by Astolphus; he consented not to lay claim to the sovereignty of Rome, but refused to restore to the emperor the exarchate of Ravenna, maintaining that this matter concerned neither the pope nor the French monarch, and that Constantine must reconquer, by arms, the provinces which the unskilfulness of his generals had lost to the empire.

Stephen the Third then maintained, that Ravenna and its dependencies did not belong to him who had conquered them, but that they had escheated, of divine right, to the Holy See, as being the spoils of an heretical prince.

Carloman was desirous of representing to the holy father how unjust were his pretensions, and what scandal he would give to the faithful by laying claim to the spoils of one condemned. Stephen, then, to disembarass himself of an adversary so clear-sighted, undertook to make him suspected by the jealous Pepin. He accused Carloman of nourishing ambitious thoughts; and he determined the monarch to shut him up in the monastery of Vienne, and to shave his young nephews. Master of the ground, he easily obtained from the prince a promise to employ the French armies in conquering for him the exarchate of Ravenna; and the assembly at Quiercy, having terminated its deliberations, Stephen came to St. Denis to wait the time of his departure.

During his sojourn in France, the pontiff fell sick from the fatigue of the journey, or the severity of the season, and in a few days his illness became so great that his household despaired of his life. But the Holy See was not thus to lose a chief who understood its interests so well. The chronicles also relate his miraculous cure. "The pope, almost dead, was carried into the church of St. Denis to address his last prayers to God. As soon as he was in prayer the apostles Peter and Paul, and the blessed St. Denis, appeared to him before the altar. Denis, held a censer in his right hand and a crown of martyrdom in his left; he was accompanied by a priest and deacon. He advanced towards Stephen, and said to him, 'Peace be with you, my brother; do not fear; you will return happily to your church; rise up, and consecrate this altar to God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul.' The vision disappeared, and the pontiff rising up full of strength, celebrated mass.

The king, the queen, the lords, the clergy, the monks and the people were astonished at this miracle. The next day the pontiff dedicated, with imposing ceremonies, the oratory of St. Denis, in honour of Jesus Christ and the apostles, and deposited on the altar his pallium, which has since been preserved as a relic in the abbey.

Stephen then consecrated, in a solemn festival, Pepin, his two sons Charles and Carloman, and his wife Bertrade. After having laid his hands upon them, he declared, in the name of God, that the Franks and their descendants were prohibited, under penalty of anathema and of eternal damnation, from choosing kings of another race. The holy father created the two princes patricians of Rome, to pledge them to defend the holy city. Le Comte assures us, that the baptism of Charles and Carloman had been deferred until this period, that the pope might be their godfather; in fact, in several of his letters Stephen calls them his spiritual sons.

The war of Italy having been resolved upon in the parliament, the king of the Franks made immense preparations in order to insure the success of his arms. He passed the Alps at the head of numerous troops, and constrained Astolphus to give entire satisfaction to the

pontiff. The treaty was concluded in the presence of the ambassadors of Constantine, who had come to claim the exarchate for their master. Their reclamations were useless, and Ravenna was adjudged to the Holy See. The peace having been signed, Pepin retired with his army, carrying with him hostages from the Lombards. Stephen re-entered Rome in triumph, accompanied by prince Jerome, brother of the king of the Franks.

But Astolphus was scarcely freed from the hostile army, when he broke the treaties which had been forced from him, seized anew upon the exarchate, and marched on Rome. The pope immediately wrote to the French monarch, "I conjure you by the Lord our God, and his glorious mother—by the celestial virtues and the holy apostle, who has consecrated you king, to render to our see the donation which you have offered it. Have no confidence in the deceitful words of the Lombards, and of the grandees of that nation. The interests of the church are actually placed in your hands, and you will render an account to God and St. Peter in the terrible day of judgment, of the manner in which you shall have defended them.

"It is for you that God has reserved this great work for so many ages! Your fathers did not receive the honour of such a grace, and Jesus Christ, by his prescience, has chosen you from all eternity to cause his church to triumph; for those whom he has predestinated he has called, and those whom he has called he has justified!"

Astolphus was already under the walls of Rome, of which he pressed the siege with vigour. The pope fearing to fall into his power before the arrival of his succours, sent by sea new ambassadors to inform the king of the Franks of the extremity to which he was reduced. The bishop George, count Formaric, and the abbot Vermir, an intrepid soldier, who, during the siege donned his curiaas and fought upon the walls, were the legates of the Holy See. They presented themselves before the assembly of Frank lords, and spoke to them in these terms: "Illustrious lords, we are overwhelmed with bitter sadness, and pressed down by an extreme agony. Our misfortunes have caused us to shed such abundant tears, that it seems as if they alone would recount our griefs. The Lombard, in his demoniac fury, dares to command the holy city to open its gates. He threatens, if we refuse to obey his orders, to overthrow our walls, stone by stone, and to put us all, men and women, to the sword.

"Already have his barbarous soldiers burned our churches, broken the images of the saints, torn from the sanctuaries pious offerings, and snatched from the altar the sacred veils and vases. Already have they beaten with blows holy monks, become intoxicated in the sacred chalices, and violated our young nuns.

"The domains of St. Peter have become the prey of the flames; his cattle driven off, his vines grubbed up by the roots, his crop

trampled under foot by horses, slaves murdered, and even infants put to death upon the bosoms of their mothers."

Not only had the holy father ordered his ambassadors to make these false recitals to move the compassion of the Franks, but—excess of daring and rascality—he invented an unknown artifice, and which no other pope had dared to use. He addressed to Pepin several letters written, he said, by the Virgin, angels, martyrs, saints, and apostles, and which were sent from heaven to the Franks. That of the chief of the apostles commenced thus: "I, Peter, called to the apostleship by Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, beseech you, Pepin, Charles, Carloman, and you, lords, clerical and lay of the kingdom of France, not to permit my city of Rome and my people to be longer rent by the Lombards, if you wish to shun the tearing of your bodies and souls in eternal fire, by the forks of Satan.

"I command you to prevent the residue of the flock which the Lord has confided to me, from being dispersed, if you do not wish he should reject and disperse you as he did the children of Israel.

"Do not abandon yourselves to a criminal indifference, and obey me promptly. Thus you will surmount all your enemies in this world; you shall live many years, eating the good things of the earth, and after your death you shall obtain eternal life. Otherwise, know that by the authority of the Holy Trinity—in the name of my apostleship, you shall be deprived for ever of the kingdom of God."

This letter of St. Peter produced a great sensation on the rude minds of the French. The chiefs immediately assembled their troops, passed the Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, to succour the Holy See. Astolphus was constrained to yield again to the power of the arms of Pepin, and he restored the exarchate to the pope.

Fulrad, the counsellor of the king of the Franks, went into the Pentapolis and Emilia, with the proxies of the Lombard sovereign, to cause them to recognize the authority of the Holy See. Ravenna, Rimini, and twenty-one other cities gave their keys to the abbot Fulrad, who deposited them, with the deed of gift from king Pepin, upon the confessional of St. Peter. Such was the origin of the temporal power of the Roman church.

The Franks then retired from Italy. Astolphus did not survive the disgrace of this treaty; he died in consequence of a fall from a horse in the beginning of the year 756.

Didier, duke of Istria, then conceived the project of causing himself to be proclaimed king of the Lombards; but Ratchis, who had reigned over this nation before he became a monk in the convent of Monte Cassino, tired of a religious life, left the monastery, and laid claim to the heritage of Astolphus. As he well knew the avidity of the court of Rome, his first thought was to bring the pope into his interest, and he promised him not only not to trouble him in the possession of Ravenna,

but to enrich St. Peter with several large domains.

His proposals had been already accepted by the pontiff, when the commissioner of Pepin ordered Stephen to cause Ratchi to return to Monte Cassino and to proclaim Didier king of the Romans. The holy father obliged to change sides, nevertheless caused the duke to buy his protection, and constrained him to yield to the Roman church the city of Faenza and its dependencies, and the duchy of Ferrara and two other important places. The domains of the Holy See were thus augmented by almost all the provinces which the empire possessed in Italy.

Stephen then learned that Constantine Copronymus had sent a solemn embassy from Constantinople to the court of France, to make proposals for the marriage of his daughter Gisella with the oldest son of the Greek emperor. As it was important to the policy of the sovereign pontiff that these princes should have no relations between them, he despatched in his turn an extraordinary ambassador to the court of the French king, to turn him aside from an alliance with the family of Constantine, under the pretence, that this monarch was separated from the Roman communion, and was tainted with heresy. The envoy of

his holiness acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of Pepin, that he finally declined the proposals of the Greeks; and the Greek envoys, in reply to their request, to know what were the motives which induced him to reject an alliance so advantageous to the two nations, could draw from him no other reply than "that he was unwilling to expose himself to eternal damnation, by authorizing the marriage of his beloved daughter with an heretic!" The ambassadors, indignant at seeing so much weakness in a prince who commanded so valiant a nation, took their leave and went to report to Constantine his ridiculous reply.

The astute pontiff triumphed over the Greek emperor, but God did not permit him to gather the fruits of his skill. Two months after the departure of the envoys of Constantine, he died in the palace of the Lateran on the 26th of April, 757.

We can exclaim with the prophet, "Vanity, vanity of human affairs!" This pontiff, who had abused religion to increase his authority; who had employed a sacrilegious knavery, and made use of the sacred names of Christ, the virgin and the saints, for his contemptible interests, lost, with his life, his grandeur, his riches, his palaces and his provinces!

## PAUL THE FIRST, THE NINETY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 757.]

*Election of Paul—The archbishop of Ravenna refuses to submit to the law of celibacy—Zeal of Pope Paul for relics—His liberality to monks and churches—Submission of Paul to the orders of Pepin—His death—His benevolence to the unfortunate.*

DURING the last days of the illness of Stephen, Rome was divided into two factions for the election of a pontiff. The most numerous party wished to nominate Paul, the brother of Stephen the Third, the other was in favour of the Archdeacon Theophylactus.—Paul, more of a philosopher than a priest, refused to mingle in the intrigues of his party, disdained to strengthen his party by simoniacal bribes, and did not leave the palace of the Lateran, where he bestowed on his brother the cares which his sufferings demanded.

Nevertheless, after the death of Stephen, the party of Theophylactus disappeared of itself and Paul was ordained pontiff. The new pope immediately wrote to King Pepin to inform him of the grievous loss of his brother, and to advise him of his election. He promised to the French monarch an unshaken fidelity in his own name and that of the Roman people, for whom he claimed his powerful protection.

By the treaty concluded with Astolphans and confirmed by Didier, the bishopric of Ravenna had been recognized as submitted to the Holy See, both in its temporal and spiritual affairs. The pope hastened to avail himself of his new

rights, and deposed the prelate of that church, who lived publicly with his lawful wife, and ordered him to come to Rome to render an account of his conduct.

The archbishop of Ravenna obtained, however, his re-installation, by promising to separate from his wife. In fact he made her enter a nunnery of the city, but continued his culpable relations with her; and the holy nuns, through weakness, tolerated this infraction of the laws of the church.

Towards the end of the year, (753,) Queen Bertrade gave birth to a daughter who was named Gisella. This happy news was announced to the pontiff by the king of the Franks, who sent him at the same time the veil in which the princess had been enveloped on the day in which she was baptized. Paul learned, by the reception of this present, that the monarch wished him to regard Gisella as his spiritual daughter. He immediately assembled the people in the church of St. Petronilla, and consecrated, in honour of Pepin, an altar, upon which was deposited the precious veil which the French lords had brought him. Afterwards the holy father desiring to augment the veneration of the faithful for this

church, transported into the sanctuary the relics of Petronilla, brought from the oratory of the ancient cemetery which bore the name of this saint.

The pope afterwards evinced an extreme and ridiculous zeal for relics; he caused them to dig into all cemeteries situated without the walls of Rome, to bring from them the putrified remains. The dead bodies drawn from these horrid charnel houses were deposited in the temples, and adored as the sacred remains of glorious martyrs. Paul exhumed in this manner the remains of more than three hundred persons who had died in the odour of sanctity. He bore them himself solemnly through the streets of Rome, enclosed in precious shrines covered with plates of silver and gold, shining with precious stones, and placed them in the monasteries and the churches. He constructed for them oratories, even in his paternal mansion, where he reared in honour of Pope Stephen the martyr, and St. Sylvester the confessor, a magnificent altar, in which he placed a great number of these bones. All these oratories were confided to communities, who celebrated divine service, day and night. Unfortunately the holy father despoiled the treasures of the poor, to assign immense revenues to the religious orders.

Constantine continued in the East his persecutions against the image worshippers, and exercised chiefly his rigour against the hermits and monks, whom he called "the abominable." The ecclesiastical legends maintain, that he put in execution against these unfortunate persons, all kinds of imaginable punishments; that amongst others he caused them to beat a priest named Andrew with blows from iron bars, until his bones were powdered, when he was enclosed in a sack and cast into the sea; that he crushed between two plates of brass an abbot named Paul; that he walled up in a chapel forty-eight monks who died of madness and starvation in this infernal prison.

In Italy the church was tranquil and powerful, thanks to the protection of the Franks, as during the whole of his pontificate, Paul showed himself constantly submissive to King Pepin, and even sacrificed his personal sentiments to the desires of the monarch. It is related that a priest of the Roman church, named Marin, attached to the court of France, had given to George, ambassador from the emperor Constantine, sage advice, but opposed to the interests of the Holy See; and that the pontiff having been advised of it, made known his resentment to the king, and besought him to banish the guilty priest into a distant pro-

vince, in order that he might repent of his crime. Pepin, who was satisfied with the services of this ecclesiastic, refused to exile him, but claimed on the contrary for him a bishopric and the title of St. Chrysogoneus. The pope no longer dreamed of punishing Marin, but even more, he hastened to send him his new dignities, expressing a desire to be above all things agreeable to the illustrious monarch of the Franks.

In the affair of Remedius, the brother of Pepin, he gave a new proof of his submission to the prince. The metropolitan of Rheims, named Remy, or Remedius, had brought into his diocese Simeon, a chanter of the Roman church, to teach religious chanting to the clergy of his church. The latter having been recalled to Rome before he had completed the instruction of the clergy, the archbishop testified his discontent to the king. The prince wrote immediately to the pope, complaining of the little regard he had shown for Remy.

Paul hastened to reply to the irritated monarch: "My lord, rest assured, that but for the death of George, the chief of our chanters, we should not have recalled Simeon from the service of your brother; but the imperious need of our church forced us to do so. To repair, as much as possible, our fault, we promise you to take great care of the monks you have sent to us. We will instruct them perfectly in ecclesiastical singing, and we will give them all our books of music and science; the antiphonal, the responsal, the dialectics of Aristotle, and the books of St. Denis the Areopagite, with books of geometry and orthography, and a Latin grammar. We will add for the queen, your wife, a magnificent night clock."

Some time after, the pope, having had the imprudence, at the close of a religious ceremony, to remain several hours exposed to the sun in the church of St. Paul, was attacked by a violent fever, of which he died on the 21st of June, 767.

Anastasius represents the holy father as a man of mild and charitable character; he says, that during the nights, he was in the habit of going, accompanied by some domestics, to visit the dwellings of the poor to distribute alms; that he visited the sick, and gave them all the aid they needed; that prisoners were equally recipients of his bounty; that he frequently paid the debts of workmen whom pitiless creditors retained in prison; finally, that he solaced widows, orphans, and all who were in need. The church has justly placed this pontiff in the number of the saints whom she reveres.

## CONSTANTINE THE SECOND, THE NINETY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 767.]

*Cabals and violence for the election of a pope—A layman elevated to the pontifical see under the name of Constantine the Second—Letters from the pontiff to Pepin—The king of the Franks refuses to recognize him—Conspiracy against the pope—Constantine driven from the Holy See—Fraudulent election of the monk Phillip—He is driven away by the deacon Stephen—Violent election of Stephen the Fourth.*

As soon as the news of the death of Paul was spread about, the ambitious exhibited themselves in open day to dispute the throne of St. Peter. Toton, duke of Nessi, having resolved to acquire the pontifical throne for his family, assembled all his partizans, entered Rome by the gate of Saint Pancras, and conducted his troops into his palace. This bold step frightened all rivals, and his brother Constantine was declared pope, though he had not even received sacred orders. Toton then conducted him, with arms in his hands, to the palace of the Lateran, to receive the clerical tonsure from George, bishop of Prenestum. That prelate at first resisted the orders of the lord of Nessi; he besought him to renounce an enterprize so criminal; but at length yielding to promises and presents, he conferred on the new pontiff ecclesiastical orders, even to the deaconate; and on the following Sunday, assisted by the bishops of Albanum and Ponto, consecrated him chief of the clergy of Rome.

Constantine, now in possession of the pontifical chair, wrote to the king of the Franks, to inform him of his election, which he affirmed had been made in spite of himself, and in obedience to the will of Providence. Receiving no reply, he addressed another letter, beseeching Pepin to place no belief in the calumnies which the envious spread against him; and in order to show his great zeal for the interests of religion, he added, "We advise you, that on the 12th of the past month of August, a priest, called Constantine, sent us the synodical letter of Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, addressed to our predecessor, Paul, and bearing the signatures of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and several other metropolitans of the East. We have approved of it, and caused it to be read from the tribunal of the temple to the people. We have sent you copies of it in Greek and Latin, in order that you may rejoice with us in beholding the Christians of the East show an holy ardor for the worship of images."

Pepin, who had been apprised of the scandalous events connected with the election of Constantine, did not reply to his second letter, and refused to approve of his intrusion.

Christopher, the dean of the Roman church, and his son Sergius, the treasurer, availing themselves of the misunderstanding of the two courts, resolved to elevate another pope to the chair of St. Peter, and formed a conspiracy against the pontiff. The first thing was to assure themselves of the aid of the king of the Lombards, and the more easily to execute

their design, they announced to their friends that they wished to terminate their days in a monastery. They then asked from the pontiff leave to quit Rome, and to retire into the convent of St. Saviour, near Pavia.

Constantine had already received some intimations of the hostile projects of these two priests; re-assured however by their protestations of devotion, he contented himself with causing them to swear by Christ and upon the evangelists, that they would undertake nothing against his authority. They then went into the territory of the Lombards, but instead of going into the monastery, they went to Pavia, and besought Didier to grant them license to deliver the church of Rome, pledging themselves to name another pontiff, who would restore to the prince the cities which he had been obliged to abandon to the Holy See.

Seduced by the hope of regaining the provinces which he had lost, Didier gave them troops to accompany them to Rieti. On his side, Sergius placed himself at the head of the soldiers of the duchy of Spoleto, forestalled them, and directed his steps to Rome during the night.

At the break of day he presented himself at the gate of St. Pancras, where a great number of his relatives and friends, informed of his march, waited for him. As soon as these latter perceived the signals, they disarmed the sentinels, opened the gates, and mounted upon the walls, raising a standard to show them they could enter into the city. The Lombards, however, fearing some snare, remained posted upon Mount Janiculum, and refused to enter Rome; at length, excited by the harangues of Sergius, and Raciport, one of their chiefs, they descended the hill.

Toton, at the news of the entrance of his enemies, assembled some soldiers in haste, and marched to meet the Lombards. On the way he was joined by Demetrius, and the treasurer Gratosus, two traitors sold to his enemies. These, under pretence of directing, led him into an ambuscade at the turning of a street; on a given signal he was surrounded by assassins, and Raciport himself inflicted on him so violent a blow with a lance, in his reins, that he fell dead.

At that moment the soldiers gave ground, abandoned the field of battle, and hastened to the palace of the Lateran. The fright spread. Constantine and his other brother, Passif, trembling for their lives, shut themselves up in the oratory of St. Cassaire, with the vidame Theodore, and anxiously awaited the

termination of this terrible revolution. When the tumult was appeased, the leaders of the Roman militia went to the pontiff, and conducted him to a monastery, which was regarded as an inviolable asylum.

Thus the victory remained with the rebels; but on the next day a misunderstanding broke out between them; and the priest Waldipert, one of the leaders of the revolt, resolved to nominate a pope secretly, to prevent the ambitious projects of Sergius and his father. He assembled the deacons and priests of his party, and after having induced them to approve of his design, they went in mass to the convent of St. Vit or Vitus, and took from it the monk Phillip, whom they carried on their shoulders to the church of the Lateran, crying through the streets of Rome, "Phillip is pope, St. Peter himself has chosen him."

The new pope knelt, according to custom, before a bishop, to receive consecration; he then rose, gave his benediction to the people assembled in the church, and went to the palace to take possession of the chair of St. Peter, and on the same evening entertained at his table the principal dignitaries of the church and the militia.

Christopher arrived the next day under the walls of Rome. As soon as he knew of the usurpation which had been accomplished, he entered it in fury, and protested with frightful oaths, that the Lombards should not quit the city, until the pope, elevated by Waldipert, had been driven from the patriarchal palace. The priests, intimidated by his threats, declared the election of Phillip simoniacal and sacrilegious, tore from him his sacred garments, struck him upon the cheek, and sent him back to his convent.

Sergius and Christopher then proclaimed as bishop of Rome the execrable Stephen the Fourth. The Lombard soldiers, with naked swords, replied by acclamations, elevated the newly chosen in their arms, and bore him in triumph to the palace of the Lateran.

In the East, the persecutions against the worshippers of images continued. The emperor, in his sanguinary fanaticism, con-

demned, without pity, to the most frightful punishments, his servants, friends, and even his relatives. The patriarch Constantine, who had baptized his two children, could not escape death, notwithstanding the species of spiritual bond which attached him to the tyrant. Furious at not having been able to subjugate the prelate, neither by the confiscation of his property, nor by exile, nor by imprisonment, the emperor made him appear before an assembly of ecclesiastics, to be there judged. As a preamble, he was beaten so cruelly that the muscles of his reins having been broken, it was impossible for him to stand or be seated. He was obliged to be carried into the church of St. Sophia, where the fathers were assembled who were to pronounce his sentence, and to extend him before the sanctuary, at a place called the Solea, to be present at the judgment. When the decree of condemnation had been rendered, the secretary read, with a loud voice, the list of the crimes of which he was accused, and at each head of the accusation, the executioner struck the unfortunate man. The patriarch Nicetas, from his throne of gold, by the light of tapers, and to the tolling of bells, then solemnly anathematized him. The bishops then all passed by him, tore from him in tatters his sacerdotal garments, and spit upon his face. After this infamous ceremony the wretched man was dragged to the sill of the church, and the doors shut against him. The next day he was exhibited as a show in the hippodrome, and his hair, beard and eye-brows torn from him; they then clothed him in a woollen garment without sleeves, set him backwards upon an ass, and made him make the tour of the course three times, led by his young nephew, whose nose they had cut off. At length the emperor gave orders to put out his eyes and cut off his lips and his tongue, and seeing him dying, he commanded his head to be cut off, and suspended by the ears in a public place, where it remained exposed to the sight of the people. The body was dragged by the foot to the sink into which they cast the executed.

## STEPHEN THE FOURTH, THE NINETY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 768.]

*Origin of Stephen—Cruelty exercised by Stephen against the unfortunate Constantine—They put out the eyes and tear out the eyes of the friends and relatives of the old pope—The priest Waldipert dies under torture—Stephen recompenses the ministers of his vengeance—Legation in France—Council of Rome—Decrees on the election of popes—Usurpation of the See of Ravenna—Paul Asiartus, the chamberlain of Stephen the Fourth, allies himself with Didier, king of the Lombards—The pope abandons his friends—Evident Justice of God—Ingratitude of princes—Cowardice of the pope—His death.*

STEPHEN, the son of Olivins, was of Sicilian origin. In his youth he quitted his country, to go to a friend of his father, who presented him to Gregory the Third. Placed by the

orders of the pontiff in the monastery of St. Chrysostom, he was instructed in ecclesiastic singing, and received some notions of the Holy Scriptures. On the death of his protec-



tor, the pontiff Zachary drew him from his convent, made him a chamberlain of the palace, and then ordained him a priest of the order of St. Cecilia. The popes, Stephen the Third and Paul First, also attached him to their persons.

On the death of Paul he had retired to the church of St. Cecilia, and had conspired to be elevated to the supreme dignity of the church, but the election of Constantine the Second foiled his plans. Finally, the last revolution procured for him the pontifical tiara, the end of all his intrigues, the recompense of all his machinations. He was consecrated under the name of Stephen the Fourth, in the church of St. Peter, in the presence of the clergy, the Romans and the people. A confession of the Romans was read in a loud voice, from the tribune of the church, in which they accused themselves of not having been able to prevent the intrusion of Constantine, implored pardon for their crime, and demanded the punishment of the guilty.

The new pontiff immediately gave orders to put out the eyes and tear out the tongue of Bishop Theodore, the vidame, the friend of the deposed pope. After his punishment, the unfortunate mutilated was dragged to the convent of Mount Scaurus and thrown into a dungeon, where the monks allowed him to die of starvation.

Stephen then delivered up to his soldiers the unfortunate Passif, who was guilty of no crime, except that of belonging to the family of Constantine. These minions of a tyrant, overwhelmed him with outrages, despoiled him of his garments, beat him with rods, tore out his eyes, and plunged him, all bleeding, into the dungeons of the monastery of St. Sylvester.

All these executions did not calm the fury of Stephen, and like a tiger, whose rage increases in the midst of carnage, he assisted at the tortures on his enemies, commanded the massacres and daily pointed out new victims!

At the head of his Levites, the pontiff forced his way into the abbey, into which Constantine had been conducted by the magistrates of Rome, and pursued him even into the sanctuary. By his orders, they drew him from the altar which he had embraced, placed him upon a horse, with enormous weights suspended to his feet, led him through the streets of the city, and conducted him to the public square, where the executioner put out his eyes with a hot iron. After the punishment, Constantine was cast into the mud, trampled under foot by the executioners, and remained for twenty-four hours exposed to frightful sufferings without any assistance, Stephen having prohibited the citizens from giving any aid to the dying man, under penalty of the gallows.

On the second day, as the sufferer was still alive, the murmurs of the people compelled the priests to take up their unfortunate victim, who was carried into a monastery.

Stephen then turned his vengeance against the priest Waldipert. He accused him of having desired to assassinate Christopher, the deacon; and this ecclesiastic, who was in re-

ality only guilty of having elected another pope, was led through the streets of Rome, placed backwards upon an ass, with the tail in his hands instead of reins. After this humiliation he was handed over to the executioners, who tore off the nails of his feet and hands, tore off his flesh with hot pincers, put out his eyes and dragged out his tongue. The unfortunate priest could not support the violence of his torments and died under the hands of his executioners. Still the judgment of the pope ran its course; torture was inflicted on the dead body, which was then cast into a sewer without the walls.

The new pontiff, having thus assured to himself tranquil possession of the throne of St. Peter, recompensed the execrable ministers of his vengeance. The soldiers, docile executioners of all tyrants, stupid oppressors of the liberty of a people, were gorged with gold and wine, and received permission to return to their country laden with the spoils of the Romans. Gracianus, from being a mere treasurer, was raised to the dignity of duke of Rome. Sergius obtained the legation to France, and immediately set out at the head of an embassy with letters addressed to King Pepin, and the princes his sons.

Stephen, desirous of covering up the scandal of his usurpation, besought the monarch to send some French bishops to the council, which he had convoked to condemn the intrusion of the false pontiff Constantine. During his journey, Sergius was apprized of the death of Pepin and the coronation of Charles and Carloman; he nevertheless continued his route, and handed to the new sovereigns the letters destined for their father. The demand of Stephen having been accorded to by the princes, twelve French prelates went to Rome to assist at the synod.

Strange council! assembled not to judge, but to condemn. They led the unfortunate Constantine into the church of St. Saviour, in the palace of the Lateran, where the assembly was held; and when he was in the presence of his judges, Stephen addressed to him the following question—"How, infamous man, being a mere layman, hast thou dared to elevate thyself to the dignity of bishop, by an abominable intrusion?" The unfortunate man could scarcely make his reply for his tears and sobs. "I have done nothing, my brethren, which cannot be excused by recent examples. Sergius, a layman, like myself, has been consecrated metropolitan of Ravenna; the layman Stephen has even been ordained bishop of Naples. \* \* \* \* \* The prelates of Italy, confounded by the justice of his reasons, and fearing the censure of the French bishops, sharply interrupted him, exclaiming against his insolence and audacity. The pontiff commanded the executioner to strike him a thousand blows on the head and to tear out his tongue. The execution took place in the very synod itself, in the presence of the prelates.

After the punishment, the body, horribly mutilated and almost lifeless was carried

forth from the assembly and cast into the dungeons of the monks, where new tortures were inflicted on him.

They examined all that had been done during the pontificate of Constantine, and the proceedings of the council which had confirmed his election, were burned in the midst of the sanctuary. Then the pope raised himself from his seat and cast himself on the earth, groaning and exclaiming "Kyrie Eleison." The priests and the people also prostrated themselves, accusing themselves with Stephen, of having sinned against God by receiving the communion from the hands of the abominable Constantine. This farce terminated, the fathers proclaimed that the Roman clergy, people and pontiff, were absolved from all sins, having been constrained to yield to violence.

Besides this decision, Stephen the Fourth made a decree, which prohibited any layman, whether of the militia or of any other body, from mingling in the election of the popes, which was reserved for the bishops and clergy, subject to the ratification of the citizens.

It prohibited the bishops from promoting to the episcopate any layman or clerk, who was not canonically promoted to the rank of deacon or cardinal priest; it interdicted the entrance into Rome, during the elections, of the inhabitants of the castles of Tuscany or Campania; and it prohibited, under severe penalties, the citizens of the holy city from carrying arms or clubs.

The council also decided upon the ordinations made by Constantine, and rendered on this subject a decree conceived in these terms: "We ordain that the bishops consecrated by the false pope, return to the rank which they occupied in the church, and present themselves before the holy father to receive a new investiture of their dioceses. We will, that all sacred functions which have been exercised by the usurper be repeated, except baptism and the anointing with the holy oil. As to the priests and deacons, who were ordained in the Roman church, we ordain that they return to the rank of sub-deacons, and that it be optional with the pope to ordain them anew or to leave them in their primitive rank. Finally, we exact that the laymen who were shorn and graduated by Constantine be shut up in a monastery, or perform penance in their private houses."

When the synod had condemned all that concerned the cause of Constantine, the fathers occupied themselves with approving the synodical letter which Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, had addressed to Paul the First; they then treated of the question of the images. They ordered that relics and representations of saints should be honoured in accordance with the ancient traditions of the church, and that the council of Greeks, which condemned the worship of images, should be anathematized.

Finally, the labours of the assembly having terminated, Stephen the Fourth, at the head of his clergy, went in procession with naked feet and singing religious hymns, to the church of St. Peter; Levatus, the scrianiary, mounted

the pulpit, read the proceedings of the synod in a loud voice, and three Italian bishops in a loud voice pronounced an anathema against the transgressors of the decretals which had been read. The pope, dreading the power of the lay dukes and lords, who were ambitious of the emoluments of bishops for themselves or their families, maintained in the end with much firmness, the decisions which the assembly had made, and vigorously opposed the nominations of laymen.

On the death of Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna, Michael, scrianiary of the church, having dared to seize upon the episcopal palace, and to claim to be recognized as the metropolitan, though he had never even been in ecclesiastical orders, the holy father declared him excommunicated, and named Leo the archdeacon, to succeed him. For several months the two competitors disputed the see with deplorable bitterness. The duke Maurice having taken the part of Michael, the Lombard troops came to the support of the usurper, seized Leo and confined him a close prisoner at Rimini. Maurice sent ambassadors to Stephen the Fourth, to beseech him to consecrate Michael, offering him rich presents as the price of his condescension. But the pope having learned that by ordaining a lord protected by the Lombards, he might favour their pretensions upon Ravenna, his policy triumphed even over his avarice, and he sent to the insurgents, the nuncios of the Holy See and the ambassadors of King Charles, who operated so forcibly upon their minds, that Michael was driven from his palace and conducted to Rome in chains. The archdeacon Leo was taken from the prison of Rimini, led back amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and conducted in triumph to the episcopal palace.

Didier, disappointed in his hopes of seizing upon the exarchate of Ravenna, resolved to form an alliance with the Franks, and to weaken the power of the popes. His ambassadors went secretly to the court of the Frank king and offered to Queen Bertha, the hand of the young princess Ermengarde for one of her sons.

Stephen, advised by his emissaries, of this negotiation, wrote immediately to the sovereigns Charles and Carloman, to turn them aside from this union. He represented to them that the whole nation of the Lombards was of a degenerate blood, only producing leprous and infirm persons, and was unworthy of being allied with the illustrious nation of the Franks. He added, "Recollect, princes, that you are already engaged in legitimate marriages, by the will of God, with women of your own kingdom, and that you are not permitted to repudiate them to espouse others. Besides, King Didier being the secret enemy of the Holy See, his alliance is interdicted to you. Recollect that the king, your father, promised in your name, that you would remain faithful to the holy church, obedient and submissive to the popes; and that you would not unite yourselves with those who were not

obedient to the chair of St. Peter. Do not forget that you yourselves have renewed these promises since your advent to the throne. I adjure you then, in the name of the apostles, by the judgment of God, and by all that is dearest, not to complete this marriage, calling down the most terrible anathema upon your estates and your persons if you resist my entreaty."

Charles, stricken by the charms of the princess, paid no regard to the menaces of the holy father, and espoused Ermengarde; but her infirmities preventing her from becoming a mother, he was obliged to repudiate her in a year after the marriage. Didier, did not dare to undertake any thing against the possessions of the court of Rome, but was still in no hurry to restore the cities which he had promised to give up.

Sergius and Christopher, the same who had come to ask the aid of the Lombard king against the unfortunate Constantine, claimed, in the name of the pope, the execution of the treaties, and threatened the prince with the wrath of the Franks. Didier, irritated by these constant demands, and at the ingratitude of these unworthy priests, resolved to employ in his turn the arms of perfidy. His emissaries gained to their cause the chamberlain Paul Asiartus, who, jealous of the favour which Sergius and Christopher enjoyed, entered with joy into a plot to destroy his enemies. He accused them to the holy father, of having formed a conspiracy to seize upon the palace of the Lateran and the sovereign authority.

Stephen, frightened by this revelation, abandoned himself to the councils of Paul Asiartus and claimed the aid of the Lombards. Didier arrived secretly in Rome, on the very day on which the pretended plot was to break out. By his care, accusations were skilfully spread among the people, against Christopher and Sergius, whom the public voice soon designated as the framers of an abominable conspiracy. They, well knowing the implacable character of Stephen, wished to quit Rome, in order to escape his vengeance. But all the gates were already guarded by the Lombard soldiery. They were arrested the same night and conducted before the holy father.

Stephen caused their eyes to be torn out in his presence by the same executioner who had before tortured the unfortunate Constantine. The operation was so painful, that the head of Christopher was prodigiously inflamed, and caused an hemorrhage, of which he died on the third day in the dungeons of the monastery of St. Agatha, where he was confined.

Sergius, more vigorous than his father, did not fall before this terrible execution; he was condemned to remain a prisoner in the cellars of the Lateran palace; but Paul Asiartus had him secretly strangled some days afterwards. Thus perished the two authors of the elevation of the infamous Stephen the Fourth.

This pontiff for four years soiled with his crimes the throne of St. Peter, and died on the 1st of February, 772, leaving a memory devoted to the execration of men!

## ADRIAN THE FIRST, THE NINETY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D.—772.]

*Education of Adrian—He is elevated to the Holy See—He brings out of prison the unfortunate victims of the cruelty of his predecessors—Knavery of King Didier—New war with the Lombards—Information against the assassins of Sergius—Death of Paul Asiartus—Embassy of the pope to King Charlemagne—Didier marches upon Rome—Charlemagne passes the Alps and besieges Pavia—He makes his entry into Rome—Donations to the Holy See—Presents from the pontiff to Charlemagne—Didier is made prisoner, and shut up in a monastery—Second journey of Charlemagne to Rome—Schism among the monks—The Iconoclastics—Irineus labours for the re-establishment of the images—Second council of Nice—New donation of Charlemagne to the Holy See—Works against the images attributed to Charlemagne—New heresy in Spain—Council of Frankfort against the images—The pope rejects the Carolin books—His death.*

ADRIAN WAS a Roman by birth, the son of a citizen named Theodore, of a very noble family. From his earliest youth he had given marks of his Christian calling, praying day and night in the church of St. Mark, mortifying his body by fasting, wearing a rough hair cloth garment, and distributing great alms. Pope Paul the First, from the advantageous reports made to him concerning the young Adrian, consented to receive him into the ranks of the clergy; he first made him a local notary, then sub-deacon. Stephen the Fourth ordained him deacon, and in this capacity he was

charged to explain to the faithful the doctrines of the evangelists. The general esteem which he had acquired in his different ecclesiastical dignities, caused him to be elevated to the pontificate on the death of his predecessor.

On the very day of his election, Adrian recalled from exile the magistrates and priests, whom Paul Asiartus and his partisans had driven from Rome, and liberated those who were languishing in prisons. After the ceremonies of his consecration, he occupied himself with restoring to Rome, the calm and tranquillity, which had been broken by the

last revolutions, and threatened to punish with the greatest severity those who should excite new disorders.

Didier, advised by the chamberlain Asiartus of the energetic character exhibited by the new pontiff, resolved to employ a trick to re-establish his rule in Italy. His ambassadors came to congratulate the holy father on his exaltation, and to assure him of his friendship, and at the same time to inform him of his design to bring to Rome his grandchildren, the children of Prince Carloman, to have them consecrated.

Adrian penetrated the perfidious intentions of the Lombard, and understood his design of leading him into a measure which might excite against the church the wrath of the court of the Franks. The pontiff in turn using dissimulation, replied to the ambassadors of Didier, "I desire peace with all Christians, and I will faithfully preserve the treaties made between the Romans, the Franks, and the Lombards. I dare not, however, confide blindly in your word; for Didier has failed in all that he promised upon the body of St. Peter. He was the means of putting to death, through an abominable artifice, Christopher and Sergius, devoted servants of our predecessor, and has even threatened, several times, the monk Carloman, with the sword.

The envoys of the prince affirmed with solemn oaths that their master would perform all he had promised to Stephen the Third. The pope then appeared to be fully convinced of the sincerity of their professions, and sent legates to the court of Pavia, to claim the execution of the treaties. These latter, however, met on their route ambassadors whom the inhabitants of Ravenna were sending to the holy father, to inform him, that Didier had seized upon several cities of the exarchate, that their city was blockaded, and that the enemy's troops were ravaging all the country round. They announced, that they were reduced to the last extremity, and would certainly be forced to capitulate, unless they received aid in provisions and soldiers.

Paul Asiartus, the chief of the legation, who was the creature of the Lombards, ordered the deputies to return to Ravenna, and promised to forward their despatches without delay to the pontiff. The traitor intercepted the letters, and contented himself with informing Adrian of the progress of the army of Didier, informing him that the monarch refused to restore the places he had taken, until his grandchildren should have been crowned in Pavia. The pontiff, suspecting the perfidy of his legate, gave secret orders to the archbishop of Ravenna, to arrest Paul on his return from Lombardy, for high treason. At the same time he revived the old accusation against him of the assassination of the unfortunate Sergius, who had been strangled on the day of the death of Stephen the Fourth, and whose dead body had been found covered with wounds, and having around its neck the girdle of the chamberlain.

Asiartus, having terminated his diplomatic

mission, prepared for his return to Rome and quitted Lombardy, but on his passage through Ravenna he was arrested by the orders of the archbishop; they proceeded to judge him, and he was condemned to be beheaded in the public square. The punishment of the principal agent of King Didier, could not, however, arrest the progress of his arms, nor hinder him from pursuing his design of reuniting the exarchate to his kingdom. Adrian, not being able to resist his troops, determined to send legates to Charlemagne to inform him of the cause of the aggression of the Lombards, and of his refusal to crown the children of Carloman; he besought him to have pity on Italy, and to free the Roman church from the enemies who were punishing her fidelity to the Franks. The ambitious Charlemagne, who was already contemplating the foundation of the powerful empire of the West, listened favourably to the complaints of the Romans, and engaged to pass the Alps with his soldiers to retake from the Lombards the cities which Pepin had given to St. Peter.

Didier, having learned the impossibility of ensnaring the pope, then left Pavia with the princes his grandchildren, and under the pretext of wishing to confer upon the execution of the treaties, he directed his steps, with a numerous escort, towards the holy city. He determined to seize by force on the person of Adrian, but the latter, informed of the design of the prince by his spies, immediately assembled troops to defend Rome, caused the ornaments and treasures of the churches, situated without the walls, to be transported to the palace of the Lateran, and ordered that the gates should be closed and barricaded.

Adrian wrote to the king, conjuring him by the divine mysteries, not to advance upon the territory of the church, and threatening him with the thunders of St. Peter. Didier, seeing Rome in a state of defence, dared not undertake a regular siege. He contented himself with ravaging the neighbouring country, and returned to his states. On the rumour of the preparations making for war by Charlemagne, he hastened to inform him he was willing to give full and entire satisfaction to the Holy See.

The ambassadors at the court of Rome, Albyn, George, and Wulfard, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, pledged themselves that Charlemagne would reject the proposals of the Lombard king, and without even waiting the reply of the monarch, they solemnly declared war on Didier. The army of the Franks immediately passed into Italy and blockaded Pavia. The Lombard inhabitants of Rieti, Spoleto, Ossino, Ancona and Folegiri, frightened at this formidable invasion, resolved to avoid the horrors of war, and consented to pass under the rule of the court of Rome. The deputies, charged with taking an oath in their name, went to the holy city and swore fidelity to the pontiff Adrian and his successors. They engaged to cut their beards and hair in the Roman manner, to show that they were the subjects of the church; after the ceremony, the pope named

as duke of the province, one of the ambassadors named Hildebrand.

During the siege of Pavia, Charlemagne made a journey to Rome to assist at the celebration of Easter and to confer with the pope. Adrian, forewarned of his arrival, received him with great honours. The magistrates of the city, the companies of the militia, the clergy, clothed in their ecclesiastical ornaments, and the children of the schools bearing branches of rose and olive trees, advanced singing hymns before the French monarch.

As soon as he perceived the crosses and banners, Charlemagne dismounted from his horse, with the lords who formed his numerous retinue, and all advanced on foot to the church of St. Peter. There the proud pontiff, surrounded by the priests and deacons, waited for the monarch on the sill of the temple. The latter bent low, and kissed even the steps of the church; he then embraced the pontiff, and having taken him by the hand, together they entered the church and prostrated themselves before the tomb of the apostle. The conference commenced after the prayers. The two allies swore inviolable friendship and peace, and in the presence of an immense assembly, they confirmed their treaty by solemn oaths.

Charlemagne renewed the donation which had been made to Stephen the Third by himself, his brother Carloman, and Pepin their father. His chaplain and notary prepared a copy of it, which he signed with his own hand; the bishops and the lords also subscribed it; it was then deposited on the altar of St. Peter, and all swore to maintain it. By this deed the pontiffs became the possessors of the Isle of Corsica, the cities of Bari, Reggio and Mantua, the exarchate of Ravenna, the provinces of Venice and Istria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum.

Before the departure of the king, Adrian presented to him the code of the canons of the Roman church and of the decretals. Upon the first pages of the book, the holy father had written acrostic verses in honour of the prince, and prayers that he should be victorious over the Lombards. Charlemagne then returned to his camp and pushed with vigour the siege of Pavia, which soon fell into his power. Didier was made a prisoner, shorn and sent into France, where he was confined in the monastery of Corbie.

"Then," says Mazeray, "the French monarch made a second journey to Rome, and the pope, followed by one hundred and fifty bishops, whom he had called around him to render the ceremony more imposing, advanced to the front of the palace of the Lateran, and in the presence of an immense crowd, bestowed upon the prince the title of patrician, the first dignity of the empire. He conferred upon him the right of investing bishops within his states, and even of nominating popes, in order to put an end to the cabals and disorders of the elections." Italian authors affirm that Charlemagne renounced this prerogative in favour of the Roman people, reserving to himself only

the right of confirming the nominations, as the Greek emperors had done.

During his stay at Rome, the king manifested great devotion for the apostle St. Peter. He visited the monasteries, cemeteries of the martyrs, and churches of the city. The people pressed in crowds upon his steps, and the priests made the sacred vaults resound with solemn acts of thanks to God in honour of the conqueror of the Lombards.

Charlemagne, recalled to his country to recommence his bloody strife, in Spain against the Saracens, and in Germany against the Saxons, quitted Italy. In traversing the duchy of Beneventum, he visited the convent of St. Vincent, which he found divided into two factions, in consequence of the election of an abbot. The two competitors, Ambrose Autpert and Poton, both chosen by the monks, disputed for the government of the monastery, and caused great scandal through the country. Finally, exhausted by the contest, they agreed to refer it to the judgment of the monarch. Charlemagne declared in favour of Ambrose, whose election appeared to him more regular than that of his adversary. Still, this monk was charged with such atrocious accusations, that not wishing to fully decide in so obscure a case, the king wrote to the pope, and induced the abbot to go immediately to the court of Rome.

Autpert followed the advice of Charlemagne, and started for the holy city; but three days after his departure he was assassinated in a tavern. Poton was suspected of having sent murderers in pursuit, but the crime not having been clearly proved, he continued to govern the abbey. The pontiff, being informed of the circumstances, ordered him to cease all his sacerdotal functions and come to Rome, accompanied by the principal monks of his convent. The abbot obeyed, and appeared before an extraordinary council composed of the metropolitan of Tarantaise, four abbots and the great officers of the city.

Several monks of the convent accused him of having resorted to violence, to prevent them from carrying complaints to Charlemagne against the cruelties and abominations of which he was guilty. As they did not furnish proofs in support of their accusations, the council decided that they could not condemn Poton, if he justified himself by oath, and made his innocence manifest by the testimony of ten of the principal monks, Franks, and Lombards. The abbot and his partisans immediately took the oath required, and Poton returned to his convent, of which he was recognized as the legitimate superior.

During the following year, (781,) Charlemagne, having finished his war with the Saracens and Saxons, crossed the Alps anew and returned to Rome to render thanks to God, and to have his youngest son, Carloman, crowned king of Italy. The young prince was baptized in the church of St. Peter; the pontiff held him at the baptismal font, gave him the name of Pepin, and consecrated him king of Italy in the presence of the bishops, the

priests, the Roman people, and the Frank lords.

Charlemagne, in his different journeys to Rome, had learned the horrid depravity of the Italian clergy, and had complained of it to the pontiff, that he might put a rein upon their dissoluteness. The prince branded the Roman priests with the most odious epithets. He accused them of dealing in slaves, of selling young girls to the Saracens, of keeping publicly brothels and gambling houses, and of scandalizing Christianity by those infamies, which had in former days drawn down the vengeance of God on the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Adrian treated as calumniators and enemies of religion, those who had made reports to Charlemagne so unfavourable to the ecclesiastics of Italy. He cast the imputation of the traffic in slaves upon the Greeks, who pirated on the coasts of Lombardy, and carried off young girls to sell them to the Arabs. He affirmed that in order to punish these freebooters, he had burned many of their vessels in the port of Centumcella. The fact of the burning of the ships was true; but the holy father had performed this act of vengeance against the Greeks, because they had united with the Neapolitans to ravage the patrimony and lands of St. Peter, and not for the purpose of putting an end to their piracies. The king was satisfied with the explanation of Adrian, and returned to his kingdom to reassemble his numerous armies and march to new conquests.

While the pontiff was strengthening his rule in Italy, the ecclesiastical affairs of the East assumed a grave character, which required all the attention of Adrian.

Tarasius, a creature of the Holy See, was ordained patriarch of Constantinople. Before accepting this dignity, he had exacted from the empress Irene and her son Constantine, a solemn oath that they would assemble a council to judge the heresy of the image-breakers. This measure, which, according to Cardinal Baronius, had been concerted between Adrian and Tarasius, would result, not in an equitable judgment, but in the certain condemnation and extermination of the heretics.

Irene, ignorant of this machination, wrote to the bishop of Rome to advise him, in the name of the emperor, of the determination she had come to, to assemble a general council to decide upon the question of the worship of images. "We beseech you, holy father," wrote Irene, "to come to this important assembly, to confirm by your testimony the ancient tradition of the Latin church in regard to pictures. We promise to receive you with all the honours and regard due to your dignity. If, however, the interests of your See render your presence indispensable at Rome, send us ambassadors commendable for their talent and prudence."

Tarasius, on his part, addressed letters of convocation to the bishops and priests of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. He made a profession of his faith in relation to the

Trinity, the incarnation, and the invocation of saints; he condemned the heretics, approved of the six general councils, and the anathema against the destroyers of images. He concluded by a formal injunction to all the bishops to come to Constantinople, or send their legates to consult with him on a reunion of the churches.

Adrian replied to the emperor in these terms, "Prince, your great grandfather, led away by the baneful advice of impious men, carried off the images from the churches of his dominions to the great scandal of the faithful. To arrest the evil, the two popes Gregory, our illustrious predecessors, wrote him several letters, in the affliction of their souls, beseeching him to re-establish the sacred worship which he called idolatry; but he did not comply with their entreaties.

"Since that period their successors, Zachary, Stephen the Third, Paul, and Stephen the Fourth, have vainly addressed the same entreaty to your grandfather and father; finally, in our turn, we beseech you, in all humility, to cause the worship of images to be observed in Greece, according to the tradition of the church. We prostrate ourselves before you, and beseech you before God to re-establish the altars of the saints at Constantinople and in all the other cities of your empire. And if it is necessary to assemble a council to accomplish this reform and to condemn the Iconoclastic heresy, we will consent to it, but on condition that the false synod which declared our worship idolatry, shall be anathematized in the presence of our legates. We will send to you a declaration with an oath, in the name of the empress your mother, and in the name of the patriarch Tarasius, and of the senate, to grant to us entire freedom of discussion, to render to our legates all the honours you would render to our own person, and to defray all their expenses.

"We beseech you also to restore to us the patrimonies of St. Peter, which were given us by the emperors your ancestors for lighting the church, the support of the poor and the maintenance of our priests and monks. We reclaim also from your piety the right to consecrate the metropolitans and bishops, who are within our jurisdiction, a right which your predecessors usurped in contempt of ancient traditions.

"We have been surprised to learn that the title of universal is given to the patriarch of Constantinople; for the See of your capital could not hold even the second rank in the church without our consent, and when you call him œcumenical, you pronounce a sacrilege.

"Your patriarch Tarasius has sent to us his profession of faith, which is very acceptable to us, and although he has sprung from the ranks of the laity to be immediately elevated to the episcopal dignity, we approve of his election, and consent, in his case, to violate the canons of the church, because we hope he will faithfully concur with us in the re-establishment of the worship of images."

Adrian then exalts the virtues and glory of the king of France; he repeats to the prince, that Charlemagne, submissive to the orders of the Roman church, constantly makes solemn donations in castles, patrimonies, cities and provinces, which he takes from the Lombards, and which appertain, he said, to the Holy See by divine right. He adds that the French monarch has subjugated by his arms all the barbarous nations of the West, and that he constantly sends chariots laden with gold for the lighting of St. Peter's, and the support of the clergy and numerous convents of Rome.

Constantine and the empress Irene, his mother, acceded to all the wishes of the pope; the council was definitely convoked, and the bishops of the East, as well as the legates of the pontiff, went to Constantinople, where the council commenced its sessions.

The image-breakers, who had divined the secret intentions of their adversaries for their entire destruction, embittered the people against the ambassadors of the Holy See, and compelled them to quit the city. The patriarch, the Eastern prelates, and the great dignitaries of the empire, then chose the city of Nice as the place for the continuation of their synod, and re-commenced their session in the church of St. Sophia.

The council was composed of three hundred and seventy-seven bishops, twenty abbots, a large number of monks, the envoys of the pontiff, and the commissioners of the emperor. The question of the images was first examined into, and after seven consecutive sittings, Theodore, the head of the clergy of Tarrania, in Sicily, instructed by the fathers to resume the debate in the assembly, spoke in these words, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit! My brethren, after having employed the silence of the night in thinking over the questions which have been submitted to us, and which have agitated this distinguished assembly, I come to bring to you the fruit of my labour and my studies.

"Your wisdom has decided that holy images, be they painted, or be they of stone, wood, gold or silver, or any other convenient material, shall be exposed to the veneration of the faithful, in the churches, upon vases, on the sacred ornaments and vestments, upon the walls and ceilings, in private houses, and even upon the highway, to wit: the representations of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his holy mother, of angels, and of all the saints; for the more they contemplate these images, the more is a credulous people excited to love religion and its ministers.

"The true worship, which belongs only to the divine nature, shall not be rendered to them, but only salutation and adoration of honour; they shall be approached with incense and lights, according to the rites observed with regard to the cross, the evangelists, and other sacred things. Such is the doctrine of the fathers, and the tradition of the Catholic church. Christians who shall dare to teach any other belief shall be regarded as heretics, and we ordain that they shall be

deposed if they are ecclesiastics, and excommunicated if they are laymen."

After this decision of the council, Constantine and the empress, his mother, re-established the images in all the Greek churches, and even in their palaces. The legates of the pope returned to Rome and reported the proceedings of the synod, which were translated into Latin, and deposited in the archives of the palace of the Lateran. This version was so obscure and unintelligible, that no clerk of the apostolic court could either read it or copy it, and when, in the succeeding century, Anastasius, the librarian, had need to consult the proceedings of the synod for his historical labours, he was obliged to make a new translation from the original Greek.

Charlemagne returned into Italy, at the solicitation of the pontiff, to wage war on the duke of Beneventum, who had dared to prohibit his subjects from increasing the revenues of St. Peter. The unfortunate duke was despoiled of his best cities. Sorra, Arce, Aquino, Theano, and Capua, conquered by the Franks, were added to the domains of the pope.

Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, who had incurred the indignation of the king of the Franks, sent a bishop and an abbot to Rome, to beseech the pope to intercede with the prince to obtain from his clemency a treaty of peace. Notwithstanding the justice of his resentment against the duke, Charlemagne listened favourably to the proposals of Adrian, and consented to receive his ambassadors. The pope at once demanded the price of his intervention, but the envoys of the prince declaring that they were not authorized to pay immediately to the pontiff the sum promised by their sovereign, Adrian, deceived in his avaricious hopes, at once lanced a terrible excommunication against the duke of Bavaria, and all his subjects. He declared that the Franks were absolved in advance from all crimes they might commit in the enemy's country; and that God commanded them, through his vicar, to violate girls, murder women, children, and old men, to burn cities, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

Adrian sent this bull of anathema to the king of the Franks, who had returned to his kingdom. At the same period arrived other deputies, bringing to him the proceedings of the council of Nice, which he caused to be examined by the bishops of the West, who had not been convoked to this universal assembly. The prelates of the Gauls found the proceedings of the Greek clergy contrary to the ritual of the Gallic Church, which permitted images to be placed in the churches for ornament, and not for sacrilegious worship. They then composed, in the name of the king, a writing divided into four books, with a long preface, in which they thus explain themselves: "Some Christian bishops, assembled in council in Bithyria, have dared to reject as profane, the holy images which our fathers have placed in the churches to adorn their consecrated enclosures, and to recall to the people the leading events of Christian history.

This sacrilegious assembly thus attributed to images that which the Lord has said of idols, and rendered thanks to Constantine for having broken them, in order to guard men from idolatry.

"Since that period, a new council, held in the city of Nice, has fallen into an opposite error; not only has it anathematized the first synod, by declaring it to be impious, but even pretends to constrain the faithful to prostrate themselves before the images and render them an idolatrous worship.

"The proceedings of this council, composed of ignorant fathers and stupid monks, having been presented to us, we are compelled to reject the ridiculous doctrines which they command, and we have undertaken this work by the advice of the bishops of our kingdom, to refute the gross errors of the Eastern priests and the still more absurd propositions of the clergy of Rome.

"Charlemagne in his books, prohibits from calling holy, images which have no sanctity, neither natural nor acquired. He condemns the worship bestowed on them, and quotes, in support of his opinion, the celebrated passage of the Bible, in which it is said that Abraham adored the children of Heth, leading us to observe that he performed this as an act of veneration, or rather of mundane homage, and not of a religious adoration. He replied victoriously to the sophistries drawn from the writings of the fathers and quoted by the council of Nice, as to the utility of representations in the churches.

"He proscribed the worship, adoration, homage or honour, rendered to images, by bending the knees, bowing the head, or offering to them incense. We should adore, said he, neither angels nor men, still less images, which have no reason, and are worthy neither of veneration nor salutation, since they can neither see, nor hear nor comprehend \* \* \*"

Finally, the prince concluded his preface, by blaming the conduct of an abbot, who had dared to maintain in full council, that it was better to frequent taverns and brothels, to commit adultery, rape, incest, and even murder, than abstain from the adoration of the statues of Jesus Christ, his holy mother, and the glorious martyrs. Such is the summary of the Carolin books, or the books attributed to Charlemagne on the worship of images.

This same year was signalized by a new heresy which broke out in Spain. Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, consulted Felix, bishop of Urgel, whose pupil he had been, to know in what manner he should recognize Jesus Christ as the Son of God; whether as his natural or adopted Son. Felix replied, that in his human nature Jesus Christ was but the adopted Son of God; and that in his divine nature he was his natural Son. Elipand having approved of this decision of his master, propagated this doctrine in the Asturias and Galicia. Felix, on his part, spread it beyond the Pyrenees, through the province of Languedoc. Adrian, informed of this sacrilegious heresy, addressed a letter to all the bishops of Spain, to

exhort them to fortify themselves against the new doctrine, which appeared to tarnish the conduct of the virgin Mary, and represent her as an adultress. His holiness exhorted them to remain firm in the faith of the orthodox church, and to agree with St. Peter, "who," he added, "had positively recognized Jesus Christ as the Son of the living God." He quoted also passages from several Greek and Latin authors, in order to establish by their authority, that the title of adopted children belonged to Christians, and not to Jesus Christ.

He complained at the same time of various abuses which had been introduced into the churches of Spain. Some prelates of that province put back the celebration of Easter beyond the time prescribed by the council of Nice. Others treated as ignorant such of the faithful as refused to eat the blood of pork and the food of strangled animals. A great number of priests, abusing the texts of the Scriptures in relation to predestination, denied free will; and finally, the greater part of the prelates, conforming to the morals of the Jews and Pagans, scandalized the Christians by illicit marriages, or kept several concubines in their houses. The bishops shut up in their episcopal residences courtizans and eunuchs, under the pretext of wishing to convert the Arabs, by conforming to their manners, but in reality to continue, more easily, a life of shame and debauchery.

The pope lashed terrible anathemas against them, and ordered the metropolitan Elipand to assemble at Toledo a national council to examine into his doctrine concerning the Saviour, and the error of Migeus as to Easter. The archbishop obeyed, and the council declared in opposition to the opinion of the pontiff, that they might teach the adoption of Jesus Christ.

Charlemagne, who was desirous of maintaining unity of belief in his kingdom, wrote to the holy father to make a solemn decision on this important question. Adrian, intimidated by the decision of the Spanish prelates, dared not assemble a new synod. He contented himself with quoting the passages from the fathers he had already cited, and treated as sacrilegious those who wished to argue upon an article of faith which St. Peter had confessed, by saying to Jesus, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." After this reasoning, and to shun all controversy, he concluded by pronouncing as heretical, all Christians who did not think as he did, and he declared them excommunicated by virtue of the powers he held from the apostle.

The thunders of the pope did not intimidate Charlemagne; that prince wishing to put an end to the quarrels of the bishops of the West, convoked a council at Frankfurt on the Maine, his royal residence. The prelates of all the provinces submissive to his sway, hastened to obey his orders, and assembled to the number of three hundred. Three hundred priests or monks were added to them, with the principal lords of the imperial court. The sovereign himself presided over



the assembly, and caused his eloquence in theological discussions to be admired.

The result of the deliberations of the assembly was sent to the Spanish ecclesiastics, in the form of a synodical letter, and Charlemagne also wrote to them in his own name—  
 “We are profoundly touched, lords bishops, by the oppressions which the infidel causes you to endure; but we suffer a still greater affliction from the error which reigns among you, and which has forced us to assemble a council of all the prelates of our kingdom, to declare the orthodox faith on the adoption of the flesh of Jesus Christ.

“We have examined your writings with profound attention, and your objections have been discussed, article by article, in the synod. Each bishop, in our presence, has had full liberty to express his opinion, and, by the aid of God, this important question is finally decided.

“I conjure you, however, to embrace our confession of faith in the spirit of peace, and not to elevate your doctrines above the decisions of the universal church.

“Previous to the scandal to which you have given rise by the error of the adoption, we loved you as our brethren; the uprightness of your belief consoled us in your temporal servitude, and we had resolved to free you from the oppression of the Saracens.

“Do not, then, deprive yourselves of the participation of our prayers and our aid; for if, after the admonition of the pope and the warnings of the council, you do not renounce your error, we shall regard you as heretics, and shall not dare to have further communion with you.

“As to the proposition submitted to our judgment, on the new synod held at Constantinople, in which it was ordained, under penalty of anathema, to render to the images of saints, the worship and adoration rendered to the divine Trinity, the fathers of our assembly have rejected this sacrilegious doctrine as impious, and reject the judgment of the court of Rome.”

Unfortunately for France, the successors of Charlemagne did not conform to this judicious decision; the second council of Nice prevailed in the following ages, and the fury of religious wars, excited by the priests, soon covered whole provinces with ruin, disasters, incendiarism and massacre.

The books attributed to Charlemagne, against the worship of images, were carried to the pope by Angelbert, abbot of Centula. Adrian replied immediately to the king of France, “We have received Angelbert, a minister of your chapel, whom we know to have been brought up in your palace, and whom you admit to all your counsels; he has submitted to us the capitularies signed with your name. We have listened favourably to that which he has submitted on your part, as if we had listened to it from your own mouth; and the affection we have for your person has led us to reply to those decisions, article by article, to maintain the ancient traditions of

the Roman church. We refuse, however, to regard these books as being your own work, except the last, which orders your people to obey our See.

“We have received the decrees of the council of Nice to prevent the Greeks from returning to their errors, but we have not yet given to the emperor our definite reply; and before granting peace to him, we shall exact that he shall restore to the Roman church the jurisdiction of several bishoprics and archbishoprics, as well as the patrimones taken from us by Iconoclastic princes.

“Up to this time, our just reclamations not having been listened to, we might from thence deduce the belief that this indifference demonstrates that the Greek emperors are not really orthodox.

“If you approve of it, we will write, in your name, to Constantine and his mother, to thank them for the re-establishment of the images; we will urge them to restore our jurisdiction and our patrimones, and if they persist in their refusal, we shall declare them, and all their subjects of Europe and Asia heretics, and will threaten them with your wrath.”

This skilful reply shows how necessary it was for the Holy See to be cautious in its conduct towards the king of the French.

Still, notwithstanding the wishes of Charlemagne and the decision of the synod of Frankfort, the worship of images passed into the Gallican church as an essential dogma. It was in vain that theologians endeavoured to lay down rules for the distinction of the mode in which the representations were to be honoured, and that they established the *latris* as the worship due to God alone; that of the *hyperdulia* as destined for the Virgin and her pretended portraits, and that of simple *dulia* for the ordinary saints. The faithful persisted in seeing God himself in his representations, and adored the statues of stone and wood, as well as paintings and all sorts of images.

This adoration, which the court of Rome encouraged, constituted a true idolatry, which had been severely proscribed by the founders of Christianity and the fathers of the first ages of the church; since the historian Philostorgus relates, that in his time they refused to render any honour to a statue of Christ, which it was affirmed had been erected at Panteades, a small city of Jerusalem, with the consent of Herod the Tetrarch, and on the request of a woman whom Jesus had cured of a bloody flux. This statue had been overthrown by the predecessor of Constantine the Great, and since that moment had lain in the midst of the public square, half buried in the rubbish, and concealed by the grass which grew around it. When it was drawn out from this spot, it was placed in the sacristy of a church, and they were careful to avoid adoring it. This statue disappeared miraculously, as the priests affirm, during the reign of Julian.

Whilst the pontiff was prostrating himself at the feet of Charlemagne, an English prince came to bend before the bishop of Rome to obtain pardon for his sins, and the protection

of the apostle. *Offa*, the second king of the Mercians, after having slain *Ethelbert*, the last king of the East Angles, whom he had invited to his court on the pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage, went to Rome, according to the custom of the age, and demanded from the holy father absolution for his crime. The pope, turning the fanaticism of the prince to the profit of his avarice, would not consent to reconcile him with Heaven, except on condition that he should authorize the laws of Peter's peace in his domains, and found religious retreats of which the holy father should sell the benefices. *Offa*, assured of his eternal salvation, returned to his kingdom, constructed several monasteries in honour of St. Alban and other inhabitants of the

skies, and in conformity with his promise, placed the revenues at the disposal of the sovereign pontiff.

*Adrian* died shortly after, on the 25th of December, 795, after having occupied the See of Rome for twenty-four years. He displayed remarkable political skill in the management of the church. His supple and adroit spirit knew how to bend before power, in order to augment the authority of Rome, and extend her rule over the people. Avarice was his ruling passion, and notwithstanding the expense at which he was in the construction of convents and churches, he left immense wealth to his successor.—He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## LEO THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDREDTH POPE.

[A. D. 795.]

*Election of Leo—He recognizes Charlemagne as sovereign of Rome—His liberality to churches and monasteries—The spoils of the Huns converted into sacred vessels and church ornaments—The king of the Mercians submits to the See of Rome—The pontiff grants to the archbishop of Canterbury the power to excommunicate kings—Attempt against the person of the pontiff—Bitterness of the conspirators—Leo is horribly mutilated—He is confined in a dungeon by the conspirators—He is taken out during the night and conducted into France—His return to Rome—Information against his assailants—Charlemagne goes to Italy—Leo crowns him emperor of the Romans—The miracles of the Christ of Mantua—Knavery of the pontiff—Will of Charlemagne—New conspiracy against the life of the pope—Sedition of the Romans—His death.*

On the very day of the funeral of *Adrian*, *Leo the Third* was elevated to the pontifical throne. He was originally from Rome, and had dwelt from his infancy in the patriarchal palace of the Lateran. He had been first ordained a sub-deacon, and afterwards a priest of the order of St. Susanna. In his different ecclesiastical functions, *Leo* had acquired the esteem of the clergy, the grandees and the people, who chose him on the death of *Adrian*, as the most worthy to succeed him.

After having been enthroned in the midst of general acclamations, *Leo* deputed to France legates bearing to the king the keys of the confessional of St. Peter, the standard of the city of Rome, and magnificent presents. He besought *Charlemagne* to send to the Holy See French lords, who should receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans. The prince sent immediately with *Angelbert* several chariots, filled with riches taken from the Huns at the pillage of their capital. At the same time he addressed to the pontiff letters conceived in these terms—"We have read, with profound satisfaction, the decretal of your election; we unite our suffrage with that of the Romans, who have elevated you to the chair of the apostle, and we recognize with joy, that you preserve the fidelity and obedience which are due to us.

"In testimony of our satisfaction, we send to you one of our devoted servants, laden with

presents which we destine for St. Peter. He will confer with you on all things which may interest the glory of the church, affirming it by your dignity, and the authority of our patriariate."

In the instructions given to his ambassador, the king of France recommends to him to urge upon the pontiff to reform the morals of the Italian clergy, to put an end to the disgraceful traffic in sacred offices, and not to think that the sums sent to him as pensions, were to be spent on priestly debauchees.

In accordance with the wishes of the prince, *Leo* transformed the treasures of the Huns into vases of silver, chalices of gold, rose-coloured strainers, and sacerdotal ornaments embroidered with gold and precious stones. A part of the money served to pay for the embellishments to the palace of the Lateran, and the holy father ornamented his residence with columns of porphyry, balustrades of marble, and paintings in mosaic. One of these represented St. Peter seated, holding on his knees the three keys of paradise; *Pope Leo* was on his right, and *Charlemagne* on his left, both prostrate at his feet; with one hand the apostle was giving a pallium to the pope, and with the other he presented to the king a standard adorned with six roses, on which was written, "Holy Peter, gives life to *Pope Leo* and victory to King *Charles*."

*Quenulph*, sovereign of the Mercians, and

the successor of Offa, wrote to Leo, to congratulate him on his advent to the pontifical throne, beseeching him to regard him as his adopted son, and promising to him entire obedience to his will. He added in his letter, "You should be advised, most holy father, of the division of the diocese of Canterbury, ordered by your predecessor, in order to diminish the authority of the metropolitan of that See. Pope Adrian, instead of sustaining the chief of that See, consented through a cowardly condescendence, to give the pallium to the bishop of the Mercians, in order to elevate that prelate to the same rank as the archbishop of Canterbury. This measure has caused a great schism in our kingdom, and to avoid a revolution, we have been obliged not to declare our preference. We now beseech you, most holy father, to advise us what steps we ought to take in so difficult circumstances."

The ambassador of the English king was the prelate Athelrade, former abbot of Malmesbury, who had been nominated bishop of Winchester, and finally metropolitan of Canterbury. This wary monk, when presenting himself before the holy father, to place in his hands the letter of Quenulph, did not forget to offer him, for the treasury of the church, one hundred and twenty marks of gold. The pontiff not only re-established the primacy of England, but he even gave him the power of excommunicating the kings and princes of his jurisdiction. In execution of this decree, Athelrade, on his return to his diocese, held a synod, and in the presence of the principal English lords and of the king himself, he declared as excommunicated and devoted to eternal fire, the laity who should dare to lay a sacrilegious hand on the property of the clergy.

Felix of Urgel continued to propagate his heresy in Spain, notwithstanding his condemnation by the French bishops. Charlemagne then renewed his remonstrances to the court of Rome, and demanded the convocation of a general council to condemn the error definitely. Leo hastened to accede to the desires of the monarch, and by his orders, all the prelates of Italy assembled at Rome, in the church of St. Peter. The pontiff opened the session in the following discourse, "My brethren, at a council held at Ratisbon, by the king of the Franks, previous to our reign, an heretic named Felix confessed that he had fallen into error in maintaining that Jesus Christ was the adopted son of God, according to the flesh.

"Our predecessor, to obtain this retraction, had been obliged to use rigour towards this rebellious son, and to confine him in our prisons as an heretic. A salutary fear of torture caused him to abjure his impious doctrine, and he even subscribed to a profession of orthodox faith, which is still deposited in our patriarchal palace. But after this public manifestation, the apostate fled into the country of the Pagan, where he braves the anathemas of our council, which has already excommunicated him, and which condemns him anew by my mouth."

Felix, surrounded by universal veneration in his diocese in Spain, did not disquiet himself on account of the thunders of the Holy See, and persevered in his doctrine.

In his turn, Leo became the victim of the religious passions which he wished to excite against the Spanish prelate. Two ambitious priests, Pascal, the princier, and Canapulus, the treasurer, formed a plot against the life of the pontiff, and were aided in the execution of their execrable project by the monks, whose fanaticism was let loose through fear of reforms.

At the close of a solemn procession and at the moment when the pontiff was re-entering the palace of the Lateran, the conspirators fell upon his escort, tore him from his horse, dragged him by his beard, sought to break his skull by blows of stones, and left him lying on the pavement, covered with wounds, and giving no signs of life; when the assassins, fearing they had not consummated their crime, carried him into the church of the convent of St. Stephen and St. Sylvester, of which they closed the gates, and there, upon the very steps of the altar, these monsters endeavoured to deprive him of his eyes and his tongue, rending him with their nails and their teeth; finally, they cast him, covered with blood, into the dungeons of the monasteries. Leo remained there two entire days, without succour, extended upon the floor of his prison. On the third day the abbot Erasmus, one of the conspirators, descended with the monks, to carry out his dead body, and place it in a coffin. As the unfortunate man still breathed, he was carried to another convent, that no one might discover his retreat, where the accomplices kept him hidden, until they had decided upon his fate.

During the night, Albyn, the chamberlain of the pope, informed by a religious of the place in which he was confined, penetrated to his dungeon with some devoted servants, and having borne him away, descended by the walls of the city, and carried him to St. Peter's, where the physicians bestowed on him all the care which his wretched state required. The pontiff preserved the use of his eyes and tongue, which caused some authors to affirm that he was cured by a miracle. But Leo himself, in the recital which he has left of this horrible adventure, explains, that in their haste, the murderers had only cut off a part of his tongue, and had lifted the eyes without tearing them from their orbits.

Albyn informed the duke of Spoleto of this horrible attempt, and besought him to come to Rome with his soldiers to protect the pope and facilitate the means of his going into France. By his aid the holy father passed the Alps in safety, and went to the court of Charlemagne, which was then at Paderborn, in Saxony, where the king received him with great marks of affection, and even shed tears when embracing him.

Pascal and Canapulus, furious at seeing Leo escape their vengeance, assembled their partisans and burned the domains of the church;

they then sent to the king deputies, instructed to bring against the holy father the most frightful accusations. The indignant prince drove them from his court without listening to them, and caused the holy father to be reconducted into Italy, accompanied by his principal bishops, several counts, and an imposing escort.

In all the cities the pontiff was received by the population as if he were St. Peter himself; and when he approached Rome, the clergy, the senate, the militia, the citizens, the women and even the deaconesses, and female religious, all preceded by holy banners, went in procession to meet him, singing sacred hymns. Leo made his triumphal entry into the city and retook possession of the palace of the Lateran. Some days after, the prelates and lords who had accompanied him, assembled in council to hear the accusations brought against him by Pascal, Canaplius, and their accomplices. The pontiff was declared innocent, and his accusers were condemned to be beaten with rods and imprisoned for life.

The justification of the pope, did not, however, appear regular to the citizens of Rome, who were excited by the Italian priests, who were jealous of the favour which he granted to the French prelates. Leo, fearful of a new conspiracy, wrote to Charlemagne, advising him of his fears, and beseeching him to hasten the period of the journey which he was about to make into Italy.

The king assented to his desire, and made his entry into Rome in the month of December, in the year 800. Seven days after his arrival, Charlemagne convoked the clergy, the senate, and the people; he explained before the assembly that he had quitted his kingdom to put an end to the calumnious accusations which sacrilegious priests dared to spread against the pontiff. He examined, one by one, all the charges contained in the accusation of Canaplius, and then commanded those around him to speak out without fear in their support, if they appeared to them well founded.

No one having replied, the pontiff was admitted to justify himself by oath, before the immense multitude which filled the church of St. Peter; he took the book of the Apostles in his hands, raised it above his head, mounted the tribune, and said, "I swear upon the word of God, that I have not committed the crimes of which the Romans have accused me." On the next day the king received the final recompense of all that he had done for the court of Rome. He went in great pomp to the cathedral, where the pope, clothed in his sacerdotal ornaments, waited for him with his clergy, and there in the presence of the lords, prelates, and magistrates of the city, the holy father placed on his head a crown of iron, and said in a loud voice, "To Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God, Emperor of the Romans, life and victory." Lengthened acclamations resounded beneath the vaulted roof of St. Peter's, and the assistants repeated, "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by

the hand of God Emperor of the Romans." Then Leo prostrated himself before the new sovereign, and adored him, according to the usage of the ancient Cæsars, recognizing him as his legitimate sovereign and the defender of the church.

Thus was re-established, after an interval of three hundred and twenty-four years, the dignity of Roman Emperor, extinct since the year of our Lord 476. When the ceremony was completed, Charlemagne made immense donations to the churches of St. Paul, St. John the Lateran, and St. Maria Majora; he gave to the church of St. Peter, two tables of silver, chalices, perfume pans, and vases of gold enriched with precious stones, and allowed great sums for lighting it, and for the maintenance of its priests.

On his return to France, the new emperor was occupied in arranging the affairs of church and state; he convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle a national council, at which Paulin, patriarch of Aquileia, assisted as the legate of the pope; and amongst the rules established by it, one of the most remarkable was in reference to the rural bishops. It is decreed in the name of Charlemagne, in the following terms; "We have been frequently beset by complaints against the rural bishops, not only by the clergy, but even by the laity. The popes, the predecessors of Leo the Third, have declared in several synods, that these ecclesiastics have not the power to ordain priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; that they are not permitted to dedicate churches, consecrate virgins, nor administer the rite of confirmation; they even induced our predecessors to condemn them all and send them into exile, no matter what might have been the purity of their lives.

"Consequently, by the authority of the pontiff who now governs the Holy See, and following the advice of our prelates, and other subjects, we decree, that rural bishops shall not for the future exercise any episcopal functions under pain of deposition."

At this period, the metropolitan Fortunatus, sent deputies to Rome, to solicit the mediation of Leo, and to implore the intervention of the emperor with John, duke of Venice, and his son Maurice, who wished to drive him from his See. The pope received favourably the letters, and presents of the archbishop, and promised the envoys to obtain for their master the protection of the emperor. Leo determined in fact to undertake a new journey to France, to negotiate this affair, and to obtain from the prince several other decisions touching the temporal interests of the Holy See; but fearing to be arrested in his project, by the duke of Venice and his son, he availed himself of the superstition of the times, to lull suspicion. He caused it to be rumored about that the Christ of Mantua had shed drops of blood, which performed numerous miracles, and under pretence of assuring himself of the reality of these prodigies, he went to that city and from thence passed secretly into France.

Charlemagne was then at Aix-la-Chapelle. When he was informed of the arrival of the pope, he immediately sent his son Charles as far as St. Maurice, in the Valois, to meet him, whilst he himself went to Rheims to receive him. They passed eight days together in the consideration of grave political and religious questions. Finally, the pope retired, laden with presents. Charlemagne accompanied him through Bavaria, as far as the city of Ravenna.

Some time after, the emperor, perceiving the appearance of death, assembled at Thionville his principal lords, and in their presence divided his states between his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. In this division, the emperor made no mention of the dutchy of Rome, of which he reserved to himself the disposition. He read his will, and after having made the grandees of his court swear to its execution, he sent it to the Holy See, that the pope might affix to it his signature to confirm its authenticity.

The secretary of the prince wrote at the same time to Leo in favour of the metropolitan Fortunatus, who had been driven from his See by the Venetians and Greeks. He besought him in the name of his master to give to the persecuted prelate, the church of Pola in Istria, which was vacant by the death of the bishop Emilian. The pontiff complied with the request of the emperor, with the reservation, however, that if Fortunatus should return to his diocese of Grada, he should restore the See of Pola, without retaining any of the property belonging to that church. In his reply he added; "Since you desire to preserve for this unworthy prelate, temporal goods and honours, we beseech you also to take care of his soul; for the fear with which you inspire him, will without doubt compel him to reform his morals, which cause shame among the faithful. Our affection for your sacred person, and our desire to contribute to the safety of your soul, induce us to give you this advice; for even we ourselves have been led into error, and we ask pardon of God for having, in former times, accepted presents from this priestly debauchee. The ecclesiastics of your court have been gained by the gold of Fortunatus, and those who have dared to defend him, will answer before God for the disorders which he shall commit in the diocese which you have ordered me to confide to him."

In the following year, (809,) a new council was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, by order of Charlemagne, to determine the attributes of the Holy Spirit. Bernard, bishop of Worms, and Abelard, abbot of Corbie, were sent to Rome to carry to the pope the decision of the council, drawn up by Smagarde, abbot of St. Michael, at Verdun, and in which the fathers proved<sup>d</sup> by Holy Scriptures and the opinions of the ancients, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. The deputies of the monarch presented their instructions to Leo and entered with him into grave discussions, without be-

ing able to induce him to approve of the decisions of the French synod.

But the holy father always presented in discussion an exemplary mildness and modesty, keeping within bounds in refuting questions which he did not think just. He agreed with them, that we are not permitted to pronounce against the usages of other churches, and that no man can advance a positive opinion on religious matters, which always contain incomprehensible mysteries. "The holy darkness in which Christ has veiled his mysteries, is too thick, added he, for us to undertake to dissipate it; we should confine ourselves to things clear and palpable, and not jump into the abyss of theology from which no human mind is able to sally." He applauded the decretals of Charlemagne, by which the prelates of the Gallican church were prohibited from hunting, shedding the blood of Christians or pagans, and having several legitimate wives; and which prohibited priests from saying mass without communing themselves, as was generally practised at that period. He applauded the emperor for having interdicted doctors in theology from introducing new angels into the liturgy, other than Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael; he particularly praised him for having prohibited nuns from taking the veil under twenty-five years of age, and also clerks from being made priests under thirty, and all ecclesiastics from employing pious frauds to deceive the credulity of the simple, from surrendering themselves to magical operations, from being addicted to intemperance, and from selling to the faithful permission to get drunk at taverns. Finally, he declared that the prince had acted under the guidance of the Spirit, in fixing two periodical periods for the holding of provincial councils, and in establishing severe rules of conduct for the regular and secular clergy.

These rules were neither the first nor the only ones which had already been published in Gaul upon ecclesiastical matters. The great emperor, who embraced in his vast conceptions all the spiritual and material ameliorations of his powerful empire, had already written an entire volume of capitularies on every species of religious questions, but without having attained the end which he had proposed, the repression of the numerous abuses introduced by the priests. Then all was mixed up, confounded in the most deplorable manner, rights and duties, privileges and charges; there was nothing everywhere but the oppressed and their oppressors. The immunities of the clergy shackled at each step the progress of the civil power, which, in its turn, frequently clutched the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was necessary then to use a salutary prudence in introducing any reform into society, and to induce the priests to consent to contribute at least a small part of their immense incomes to the wants of the state. Armies were led by clergymen, and in return, bishoprics and abbey were frequently directed by military men or the favourites of princes. The councils, composed of men interested in

preserving this order of things, offered invincible obstacles to the wishes of the emperor, and we should not be astonished, that notwithstanding the wisdom of the advice of the pope, the French bishops were unwilling to agree with his opinion, but continued to teach that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as the Father.

Charlemagne died before the return of his ambassadors; the hand of God weighed heavily on the powerful monarch, whose forehead was adorned with the crown of emperors and kings. By his exploits, he had placed the kingdom of France in the first rank of nations, and by his fanaticism had augmented the power of the Holy See, enriched churches and monasteries, and laid the foundation of that theocratic power which extended itself in the following ages over Italy, Europe, the entire world, and which trampled the people beneath the most frightful tyranny. But this zealous defender of the pontiffs carried to his tomb the force which repressed religious factions, and which inspired in priests and monks a salutary terror.

At this period, hypocrisy, avarice, luxury, were the sole virtues of the ecclesiastics; so that the great king being dead, they wished to overthrow the severe rule of Leo and foment conspiracies against his life. But warned by terrible experience of the dangers which sovereigns incur who have excited hatred against them, the pope guarded against their plots, arrested the conspirators and had them executed in front of the palace of the Lateran. The women were exiled, the children of the guilty shut up in the monasteries of Rome, and all their goods confiscated for the benefit of the Holy See. Still the terror which this new conspiracy against him had induced, injured his health; he became dangerously ill and died in 816, after a pontificate of twenty years, five months, and sixteen days.

Leo, who twice fell beneath the vengeance of the priests, still showed himself prodigal towards them; he heaped up wealth on the monks and clergy by making to the churches

such magnificent offerings as to excite the indignation of the people. He employed four hundred and fifty-three pounds weight of gold for the pavement of the confessional of St. Peter, and enclosed the entrance to the sanctuary by a balustrade of silver, weighing five hundred and seventy-three pounds. He rebuilt the baptistery of St. Andrew, surrounded it with columns of porphyry, and in the midst of the baptismal fonts he placed a column of gold which sustained a silver lamb. Then he ornamented the windows of the church of the Lateran with glass of divers colours, a luxury unknown before that period. All these offerings to the churches of Rome amounted to more than eight hundred pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand of silver, a sum so enormous, that we should doubt the reality of these expenses, if they were not attested by the most trustworthy historians. Leo was placed among the saints in 1673, and his name was added to the Roman martyrology.

Cardinal Baronius contests the miracle of the bloody hand as happening during the pontificate of Leo the First; he affirms that Leo the Third was the first pope who introduced the custom of giving the foot to be kissed instead of the hand, because he felt one day carnal sensations under the impress of the lips of a Roman lady. "Rare example of Christian humility," exclaims the cardinal, "an excellent method of preventing the sensations of concupiscence!"

We should recognize in this assertion the hypocritical language of a priest, who endeavours to conceal the pride of the popes under religious appearances, and we shall attribute to the vanity or ambition of the bishops of Rome the sacrilegious custom of presenting their feet for the adoration of the faithful. The successors of the apostles have always sought to elevate themselves above kings, and to constrain the people to prostrate themselves before them; for from the very first ages of the church, the prelates have exacted that the faithful should kneel to receive their benediction.

## THE NINTH CENTURY.

### STEPHEN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST POPE.

*Reflections on the Ecclesiastical history of the ninth century—Election of Stephen the Fifth—His journey to France—The Emperor Louis receives him with great honours—His return to Rome—Death.*

At the beginning of the ninth century, the Holy See found itself freed from the yoke of the Greek emperors, the exarchs of Ravenna and the Lombard kings. The popes by crowning Charlemagne emperor of the West, had procured for themselves powerful and interested protectors in his successors, who, in order to maintain their tyranny over the people, compelled all the bishops to submit, without any

examination of them, to the decisions of the court of Rome.

But a strange change was soon seen at work in religion; holy traditions were despised, the morality of Christ was outraged; the orthodoxy of the church no longer consisted in any thing but the sovereignty of the pope, the adoration of images, and the invocation of saints; in sacred amging, the solemnity of

masses, and the pomps of ceremonies; in the consecration of temples, splendid churches, monastic vows and pilgrimages.

Rome imposed its fanaticism and its superstitions on all the other churches; morality, faith and true piety were replaced by cupidity, ambition, and luxury; the ignorance of the clergy was so profound that a knowledge of the singing of the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the service of the mass was all that was demanded from princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The protection which Charlemagne had granted to letters was powerless to change the shameful habits of the priests, and to draw them from the incredible degradation into which they had been plunged; and the popes who wished to rear capable subjects, were obliged to educate in their own palaces, children who displayed an aptitude for learning.

Stephen the Fifth, who was of one of the most considerable families of Rome, was admitted into the patriarchal palace, according to the custom of the age, to obtain his education. The pontiff Leo ordained him sub-deacon, and afterwards conferred on him the diaconate, when he had perceived that the young ecclesiastic was worthy of his protection from the constant application he gave to his studies.

After the death of the pope, Stephen united in his favour the unanimous suffrages of the clergy, the grandees and the people, and was designated as his successor upon the throne of St. Peter. The first act of the new pontiff was to send legates to the new emperor to ask an interview with him.

This step was necessary for the interests of the Holy See, which was threatened by the emperor of the East, and as the danger was imminent, Stephen determined to go himself to France without waiting for the return of the envoys or the reply of Louis. The French monarch having learned that the holy father was on his way to his kingdom, immediately despatched messengers to his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, with orders to accompany the pontiff across the Alps; at the same time he sent ambassadors and guards who should serve as his escort to Rheims.

On the arrival of Stephen, the emperor ordered the great dignitaries of his kingdom, the arch-chaplain Hildebald, Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, John, metropolitan of Arles, and several other prelates to go to meet the pope with great ceremony. He himself advanced with his court as far as the monastery of St. Remi, and as soon as he perceived the pontiff, he dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself before him, exclaiming "Blessed is

he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Stephen took him by the hand, replying, "Blessed be the Lord, who has caused us to see a second David." They then embraced and went to the metropolitan church, where they sung a Te Duem. Both prayed for a long time in silence; finally, the pope rose, and in a loud voice thundered forth canticles of gladness in honour of the king of France.

The next day he sent to the queen and the great officers of the court the presents which he had brought from Rome, and the following Sunday, before celebrating divine service, he consecrated the emperor anew, placed on his head a crown of gold enriched with precious stones, and presented to him another destined for Irmengarde, whom he saluted with the name of empress.

During his sojourn at Rheims, Stephen passed all his days in conversing with Louis the Easy, on the affairs of the church, and obtained from him all he desired; he even induced him to place at liberty the murderers who had attempted the life of Leo the Third.

We are led to believe that the rules then made by the emperor, for the sham reform of the regular clergy, were the fruit of his conferences with the holy father. His decrees particularly treated of the abuses which had been introduced into the church by canons and canonesses. Since the time of St. Chrodegang, the first reformer of this order, the men and women who made a part of it had fallen into the strangest depravity; they lived together in the same convents, abandoning themselves without any remorse, to the most shameless debauchery, licentiousness, drunkenness, and idleness, and had even the impudence to rear up under their very eyes the fruits of their adulteries and incests. Louis the Easy, at the instigation of the pope, ordered them to inhabit separate convents, and only authorized them to hold their houses by the title of a common property, or permitted them to reunite them by day, and to receive persons who were agreeable to them. He also made rules to determine the quantity of food and wine that they should consume, in order to put an end to their gluttony. He enjoined on them also not to wear the monastic habit, and to adopt one as an insignia of their order, which to this day serves to distinguish canons and canonesses.

Finally, the pontiff returned to Italy, laden with honours and presents. He did not long enjoy the favour of the French monarch and the pontifical authority; he died on the 22d of January, 817, having occupied the Holy See for seven months.

## PASCAL THE FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 817.]

*Election of Pascal—Louis addresses remonstrances to the Romans—New donations to the Church—Ridiculous story of St. Cecilia—The pope puts out the eyes and tears out the tongues of two Roman priests who remained faithful to France—Louis orders an inquiry into it—The pontiff justifies himself by oath from the murders of which he was accused—His death.*

PASCAL, the son of Bonosus, reared, like his predecessor, in the palace of the Lateran, had received from Leo the Third, the government of the monastery of St. Stephen, situated near to St. Peter's. He was charged with the distribution of alms to the poor of Rome, and particularly to pilgrims who came from distant countries; these duties brought him in great wealth, which he afterwards used in intriguing for the papacy.

After the death of Stephen, the Holy See remained vacant some days. The people and the clergy having assembled, chose the priest Pascal, who caused himself to be consecrated without waiting for the arrival of the envoys of the emperor. The pope, knowing the weakness of the French monarch, did not even take the pains to excuse himself for this want of delicacy; he placed the fault upon the Romans, who had obliged him to be consecrated immediately, that he might be enabled to exercise his pontifical functions. Louis then notified the citizens of Rome, that they should be careful for the future how they wounded his imperial majesty, and that they must preserve more religiously the customs of their ancestors.

But this easy prince soon repented that he had written so severely; and in order to atone for his fault, he renewed the treaty of alliance which confirmed to the Holy See the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, his grandfather and father; he even augmented the domains of the church, and recognized the absolute sovereignty of the pontiff over several patrimonies of Campania, Calabria, and the countries of Naples and Salerno, as well as the jurisdiction of the popes over the city and dutchy of Rome, the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. As to this last province, the presumption is, that it was added by an act of fraudulent interpolation; for it is certain that at this period Sicily did not appertain to the French princes, but made a part of the empire of the East. Finally, Louis, renouncing the privileges of his crown, assured to the Romans the privilege of a free election, and granted to them permission not to send legates into France until after the consecration of the popes.

The court of Rome thus became a formidable power; nor were the popes possessed of immense revenues, but the sovereigns of the West placed armies under their command, ruined empires, exterminated people in the name of St. Peter, and sent the spoils of the vanquished to increase the wealth of the Roman clergy, and to support the monks in idleness and debauchery.

The pontiffs were no longer content to treat on equal terms with princes; they refused to receive their envoys, and to open their messages.

Thus the emperor of the East, Leo the Fifth, and Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, having sent to Pascal nuncios, instructed to consult with him in regard to the worship of images, the holy father refused to see them, and drove them in disgrace from Rome. The ambassadors were obliged to return to Byzantium with their despatches.

Pascal, encouraged by the eulogiums of Theodore Studitus, a zealous adorer of images, had the impudence, after this excess of audacity, to send legates to Constantinople to order the emperor and patriarch to re-establish the worship of images. The prince in his turn, used reprisals upon the envoys of the pontiff; he caused them to be whipped through the streets of the city, and to be avenged on the pope, he showed extreme severity towards the image worshippers.

Pascal, desirous of sustaining his struggle against the emperor, published that all the Christians of Constantinople, who should have suffered for the faith of the church, would be received at Rome and supported at the expense of St. Peter; for this purpose he rebuilt the church of St. Praxedes and founded an immense monastery for the orientals, where divine service was celebrated by day and night in the Greek language; he bestowed on the convent large revenues in lands and houses; he ornamented splendidly the interior of the church, and placed on the high altar a tabernacle of silver weighing eight hundred pounds.

This liberality exhausted his treasures, and as the faithful showed great lukewarmness in despoiling themselves for the benefit of strangers, the pope adopted a singular expedient to cause alms to flow into his purses. He rebuilt the church of St. Cecilia, which had fallen into ruins and adorned it with great magnificence; he then placed on the high altar the shrine of the saint, but destitute of her remains. On the following Sunday he convoked the people to matins in the cathedral, and whilst he was prostrated in the affliction of his soul, he feigned to fall into a supernatural slumber.

Scarcely had he fallen asleep upon his seat, when St. Cecilia herself appeared to him in all her glory, and thus spoke to him: "Imperial priests and sacrilegious pontiffs have already sought my mortal remains; but their eyes were opened in obscurity, and their hands have lost their way in the darkness, for God



had decided that it should be reserved for you alone to find my body." On speaking to him these words she pointed with her hand to a spot in the cemetery of Pretextatus and disappeared.

Pascal woke at the same moment, and informed the priests of this miraculous vision; he then went with his clergy to the place indicated; he himself took a spade, dug up the earth, and discovered the body of the saint clothed in a robe of tissue of gold; at her feet were linen rags freshly impregnated with her blood, and by her side the bones of Valerian her husband. The pope caused these precious relics to be placed in a shrine glittering with precious stones, and to be solemnly transported into the church which he had founded in honour of St. Cecilia.

Ever since this miraculous discovery, the offerings of the faithful and the presents of pilgrims made the new church overflow with wealth, and augmented the riches of the holy father.

The same miracle frequently renewed by the successors of the pontiff, has always encountered simple and credulous men.

"This first success," says an old author, "induced the holy father to fabricate saints for the purpose of selling their bones to all Christendom, and this traffic brought him in large sums of money." The writer might have added that this abominable traffic extended itself promptly among the monks, who created thousands of saints and kept an open market for the sale of the bones of apostles and martyrs, the wood of the true cross, of the hair of the secret parts of St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, the Virgin &c. And we should add, that in after ages, during the reign of St. Louis, the priests had the audacity to sell to the duke of Anjou, the brother of the king—abomination and sacrilege!!—the fore-skin of Jesus Christ—and to expose it in a church to the adoration of the faithful.

Whilst the sovereign pontiff was occupied in increasing the treasures of the Holy See, the Mussulmen laboured to augment the extent of their empire, and used the rapidity of their conquests as an undeniable proof of the superiority of their faith over that of the Christians. The emperor Leo, imagining that the idolatry of his subjects was the sole cause of their continual defeats, instead of employing his energies in combating the Arabs, was engaged exclusively in a war against the images. For this purpose he united with himself the bitter enemies of image worship, John Hylas and the monk Anthorus, who occupied themselves in ransacking and collecting all the books which treated of the subject of images. The inquiry having terminated, the two fathers declared to the prince that it was incontestably proven, that the pretended pretext, which compelled Christians to adore the representations of sacred things was nowhere found written. Leo called in the patriarch Nicephorus, and ordered him to declare himself against the worship of images, and on his refusal to obey, he threatened

to cause all the statues which adorned the churches to be broken, as well as all the paintings which ornamented the walls. The prelate persisting in his resistance, the execution soon followed the threat. Not only did Leo destroy the statues and paintings which adorned the churches, but even persecuted the faithful who were suspected of the crime of image worship. The patriarch, Nicephorus, was exiled, and his See given to the ignorant Theodosius, who endeavoured to maintain the orders of the sovereign, by employing in their turn corruption and intimidation. Theodosius then convoked in council the most headlong Iconolastic bishops and fulminated with them terrible anathemas against their enemies. Some being called on to judge some bishops who from simplicity or ignorance, followed the errors of the court of Rome, allowed themselves to be transported, so far as to strike them in full assembly with their feet and hands, and even with the wood of their crosses. The fury of proselytism pushed them on to decree that all citizens who should only be suspected of image worship, should have their tongues cut off and their eyes torn out. The orthodox resisted the persecutions, and waited patiently until the death of Leo should enable them to use reprisals.

At this time, Lothaire, the oldest son of the emperor Louis, having come to Rome to be consecrated by the pontiff, was scandalized by all the disorders which existed in the holy city, and particularly in the palace of the pope, which resembled a lupanar in those evil cities destroyed in former times by fire from heaven. He addressed severe remonstrances to Pascal, and threatened him in the name of the emperor his father, to hand over an examination of his actions to a council. The pontiff promised to amend his morals; but as soon as the young prince quitted Italy, he arrested Theodore, the primiciary of the Roman church, and Leo, the nomenclator, two venerable priests, whom he accused of having injured him to the young prince. He caused them to be conducted to the palace of the Lateran, and their eyes to be put out, and their tongues dragged out in his own presence; he then handed them over to the executioner to be beheaded.

The emperor Louis, having been informed of this bloody execution, sent the abbot of St. Wast, and Humphrey, lord of Coira, to make inquiries against the pope; but the wary Pascal had already sent two legates to the court of France, to beseech the monarch, not to credit the calumnies which represented him as the author of a crime in which he had no participation. The explanations of the ambassadors shook the convictions of the prince; still Louis sent his two commissioners to Rome with full powers.

They had not even time to take informations as to the conduct of the pope; for on their arrival Pascal presented himself at their palace, surrounded by all his clergy, and claimed to justify himself by oath, in full council and in their presence. The next day

as assembled in the palace of the Lateran thirty-four bishops, sold to the Holy See, as well as a large number of priests, deacons, and monks, and before this assembly swore that he was innocent of the deaths of the primicerius and the nomenclator. The envoys of France then demanded that the murderers should be delivered up to them; the pontiff refused to do so, under the pretext that the guilty were of the family of St. Peter, and that it was his duty to protect them against all the sovereigns of the world; besides, added he, "Leo and Theodore were justly condemned for the crime of lese majesty."

The holy father then sent a new embassy composed of John a bishop, Sergius the librarian, and Leo the leader of the militia, to con-

vince the monarch of the sincerity of his protests. The emperor Louis did not judge it opportune, for the dignity of the church, to push his investigations and researches any further, fearing to find himself forced, in order to punish a crime, to deliver up to the executioner the head of an assassin pontiff.

On their return to Rome the legates found Pascal dangerously sick. He died on the 11th of May, 824, after a reign of seven years and three months, and was interred in the cemetery of St. Praxedes, the Romans opposing his inhumation in the cathedral of St. Peter.

Pascal has since been placed among the saints, and the church yearly honors his memory on the 14th of May.

## EUGENIUS THE SECOND, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 824.]

*Election of Eugenius the Second—Journey of Lothaire to Rome—He compels the pope to restore the riches stolen from the citizens by his predecessors—Constitutions of Lothaire—He represses the avarice and ambition of the pontiffs—Letter of the emperor Michael on the superstitions of images—The French bishops, assembled in council, reject the worship of images and refuse to submit to the authority of the popes—Disorders and profound ignorance of the clergy—Council of Rome—Death of the pontiff.*

AFTER the death of Pascal the Romans were divided into two factions, and proclaimed two pontiffs. A priest named Zinzinus had on his side the nobles, the magistrates, and the clergy; Eugenius, his competitor, presented himself as the chosen of the people. This second faction was the most powerful, and Zinzinus was compelled to abdicate the papacy, and yield his place to Eugenius, who seated himself on the throne of St. Peter. The new pontiff was a Roman by birth, and the son of Bohemond. Anastasius, the librarian, says formally, that the simplicity, humility, and good morals of Eugenius, recommended him very much.

After his ordination, his holiness informed the emperor Louis of the sedition which had broken out at Rome of his election, and besought him to punish the guilty. The emperor sent Lothaire to obtain an exact account of the whole affair, and to accompany him, the venerable Hildwyn, abbot of St. Denis, and archchaplain.

The prince, on his arrival in the Holy City, having caused it to be announced that he would hear all the complaints of citizens, entire families cast themselves at his feet, demanding justice against the Holy See, and Lothaire was enabled to judge for himself how many unjust condemnations the unworthy predecessors of Eugenius had made for the sole purpose of seizing upon the riches of the people. He ordered the holy father to restore to families the lands and territories which had been unjustly confiscated, and in order to prevent new abuses, he published

the following decree before the people assembled in the cathedral of St. Peter.

"It is prohibited, under penalty of death, to injure those who are placed under the special protection of the emperor.

"Pontiffs, dukes, and judges shall render to the people an equitable justice. No man, free or slave, shall impede the exercise of the right of election of the chiefs of the church, which appertains to the Romans, by the old concessions made to them by our fathers.

"We will, that commissioners be appointed by the pope to advise us each year, in what manner justice has been rendered to the citizens, and how the present constitution shall have been observed. We will also, that it should be asked of the Romans under what law they wish to live, in order that they may be judged according to the law which they shall have adopted, which shall be granted to them by our imperial authority.

"Finally, we order all the dignitaries of the state to come into our presence, and to take to us the oath of fidelity in these terms, 'I swear to be faithful to the emperors Louis and Lothaire, notwithstanding the fidelity I have promised to the Holy See; and I engage not to permit a pope to be uncanonically chosen, nor to be consecrated until he has renewed before the commissioners of the sovereigns, the oath which is now framed by the pontiff actually reigning, Eugenius the Second.'

Aventin affirms that this constitution re-established tranquillity in Rome, and put an end to the disorders which had arisen in all Italy

through "the ambition, the avarice, and the knaveries and cruelties of the popes."

On his return to France, Lothaire found ambassadors from the emperor Michael, surnamed the Stammerer, instructed to inform him of the victory which he had gained over the usurper Thomas, and the happy termination of the civil wars which had desolated the empire. The Greek envoys placed in the hands of Louis letters from their court in relation to the worship of images, which was yet the great religious question.

"We inform you, wrote Michael, that a great number of priests and monks, at the instigation of the bishop of Rome, wander from apostolical traditions, and introduce condemnable novelties into the Christian worship. They take the crosses from the churches and replace them by images, before which they light lamps and burn incense. The devotees, and simple, envelope these idols in linen and take them as God-parents for their children; they offer them the first hair of the newly born, and prostrate themselves before them, singing canticles and imploring their aid.

"Priests, in their fanaticism, scratch the colours from the pictures, and mix these profane matters with the wine of the eucharist, which they administer to the faithful. Some ecclesiastics deposit the consecrated bread between the hands of the statues of stone, and then make the communicants take it from the idols themselves; some monks dare to celebrate the divine mysteries on planks bedaubed with figures of saints, and they call these altars privileged tables.

"To remedy this abuse, the orthodox emperor and our bishops assembled a council to decide that images should be placed in the churches at a proper height, to hinder fanatics from lighting lamps in their honour; or offering to them incense, or burning hair. But the priests, whom this condemnable superstition enriches, have been unwilling to recognize the authorities of our synods, and have appealed to the See of Rome and the pontiffs, in hopes of dividing with them the offerings of the faithful, have ranged themselves on their side, and calumniated the Greek church.

"We disdain to refute the infamous falsehoods of the bishops of Rome, and only declare to you our orthodox faith. We confess the Trinity of God in three persons, the incarnation of the Word, his two wills, and his two operations. We ask, in our prayers, the intercession of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, and of all the saints, and we honour their relics; we recognize the authority of the apostolical traditions and the ordinances of the six general councils; finally, notwithstanding our just indignation against the court of Rome, we consent to recognize its supremacy over the other churches. We even send to Pope Eugenius a Bible, a perfumed box, and a chalice adorned with gold and precious stones, to be offered to the church of St. Peter by our ambassadors, whom we beseech you to allow to accompany you to Rome."

The emperor Louis caused them to be conducted into Italy by a numerous escort, in which was found Fortunatus, patriarch of Grada, who should have been judged by the pontiff, for the debaucheries which had caused him to be driven from his See by the Venetians and Greeks.

During the sojourn of the envoys of Michael, the French bishops, Freculph and Agdaire, demanded from the holy father, in the name of Louis, authority to assemble a council in Gaul to examine the question of the images. Eugenius, not daring to refuse them his consent, they hastened to advise the emperor of it, who ordered the bishops of his kingdom to assemble at Paris, on the 1st of November of the following year, (826.)

In this assembly they took cognizance of the letter addressed by Pope Adrian to Prince Constantine and his mother, the empress Irene. They blamed the pontiff for having ordered the Greeks to adore the images; they rejected the council of Nice, and the synod of the image worshippers, as being both sacrilegious cabals. They approved of the dogmas taught in the Carolin books, and called the replies which Adrian had addressed to Charlemagne on his capitularies, impious.

Finally, when the discussions were finished, Amilarius and Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai, were instructed to carry to Louis, in the name of the assembly, the following letter: "Illustrious emperor—Your father, having read the proceedings of the synod of Nice, found in them several condemnable things; he addressed judicious observations on them to the pope Adrian, in order that the pontiff might censure, by his authority, the errors of his predecessors; but the latter, favouring those who sustained the superstition of the images, instead of obeying the orders of the prince, protected the image worshippers.

"Thus, notwithstanding the respect due to the Holy See, we are forced to recognize, that in this grave question it is entirely in error, and that the explanations which it has given of the holy books, are opposed to the truth, and destructive of the purity of the faith.

"We know how much you will suffer at seeing that the Roman pontiffs, those powers of the earth, have wandered from divine truth, and have fallen into error; still we will not allow ourselves to be stopped by this consideration, since it concerns the salvation of our brethren.

"We beseech you then, O prince! to address severe reprimands to the chancery of Rome and Constantinople, that the scandal of the double heresy of the adoration and contempt of images may fall upon them; for it is by loudly condemning image breakers and image worshippers that you will restore orthodoxy, and assure the safety of the people."

Thus the Christians of Gaul not only rejected the dogma of the infallibility of the popes, whilst two very religious emperors, Charlemagne and Louis, and a great number of prelates, recognized that the Holy See was entirely deceived in the question of images;

but even refused to submit to the decrees of an universal synod, which had nevertheless been approved of by the pope, and at which his legates had assisted.

The Protestants logically deduce from it this consequence: "If princes, bishops and councils could reject the worship of images as a superstitious and idolatrous practice, without being heretics, and without incurring excommunication, we may now fully follow this example; for that which is once permitted by religious dogmas, should be the guide of the future; divine laws not being enabled to be reformed as political are, by the caprices of man."

The disorders and debaucheries of the clergy in this age of darkness, had entirely destroyed ecclesiastical discipline; the corruptions of morals was frightful, especially in the convents of the monks and nuns.

Eugenius the Second undertook to reform the abuses, and convoked a synod of all the prelates of Italy. Sixty bishops, eighteen priests and a great number of clerks and monks assembled, by the orders of the holy father. This assembly brought together all the ablest prelates of Italy; their ignorance was, however, so profound, that they were obliged to copy the preface of the proceedings of a council held by Gregory the Second, to serve them as an initiatory discourse. The following are their decrees: "Schools shall be established in the bishoprics, parishes, and other places, where they shall be recognized as indispensable. Cloisters shall be erected near to cathedrals, and it shall be enjoined on clerks to study there, and live there, in common, under the direction of a superior, named by the bishop of the diocese.

"Curates shall not be intrusted with the charge of a parish, but with the consent of the people; and priests shall only be ordained for a single rank, in order not to be obliged to remain in secular houses, freed from all inspection of their chiefs.

"Ecclesiastics are prohibited from engaging in money-lending, hunting, or the labours of agriculture. They shall always appear in public, clothed in their sacerdotal habits, that they may be always ready to perform the functions of their ministry, and that they may not be exposed to the insults of seculars, who might treat them with contempt when clothed in the garments of the laity.

Prelates are expressly prohibited from

turning to their own profit the property of the churches, and from levying imposts upon their dioceses; they are, nevertheless, permitted to accept the offerings of the faithful, in order to augment the riches of the church.

"Ecclesiastics should be exempt from appearing in courts of justice, unless their testimony should be absolutely necessary. In the proceedings in which they are engaged, they shall be represented by advocates engaged to defend them, except in criminal accusations, when they are authorized to appear in person if the interest of the cause demands it."

Eugenius the Second died soon after having presided over this synod; he was interred at St. Peter's on the 27th of August, 827.

Ecclesiastical authors affirm that the pontiff himself distributed aid to the sick, to widows, and orphans. In fact, the extreme care which he took, during the three years of his reign to provision Rome with corn from Sicily, caused him to be surnamed the Father of the Poor, a title until then disdained by his proud predecessors.

The decrees made by the last council, and which were inspired by a great spirit of wisdom, unfortunately had not the power to reform the corrupt morals of the priests, nor to excite them to study. The clergy changed none of their vicious habits, and remained plunged, as before, in an ignorance so profound, that those were quoted as the best informed among the bishops who knew how to baptize according to the rules, who could explain the pater and the credo in the vulgar tongue, and who possessed a key to the calendar of the church.

As to the other ecclesiastics, they were unable to distinguish the names of angels from those of devils, and solemnly invoked, in the litany, the names of Uriel, Raguel, Tobiel, Inias, Zubinac, Sabaoc, and Simill, all pronounced spirits of darkness by the pontiff Zachary.

In the churches, on Christmas day, they announced to the faithful that the Word had entered the world through the ear of the Holy Virgin, and on Holy Friday that he had gone to Heaven through a gilt door. Almost all the priests were anthropomorphites, that is, they believed that God was corporeal; they knew neither the creed of the apostles, nor that of the mass, nor that of Saint Athanasius, nor even the Lord's Prayer.

## VALENTINE, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 827.]

*Origin of Valentine—His education—Opinion of historians on his election—Eulogium on him—His death.*

VALENTINE, a Roman by birth, was the son of a citizen named Peter. He had been brought up in the palace of the Lateran, and the pontiff, Pascal the First, had ordained

him sub-deacon as a reward for his assiduity in his studies. Eugenius the Second, then attached him to his person, and exhibited for him so lively an affection, that the Romans

affirmed that the pontiff was the true father of Valentine. He consecrated him archdeacon, gave him absolute authority over all the ecclesiastics of his court, and heaped upon him riches and favour. The bishops, jealous of the power of the favourite, spread infamous stories about him, accusing him of having criminal relations with the pope.

The influence of Valentine was nevertheless so great, that after the death of his protector, he was elevated to the Holy See by the suffrages of the clergy, the grandees, and the people.

Some authors affirm that his election was not exempt from the intrigues employed at all times by ecclesiastics who coveted the tiara. They cite in support of their assertion, that the priests who elected Valentine chief of the church, feared so much lest another pope should be proclaimed by those of an opposite faction, that they hastened to enthronize him before having even consecrated him, an action contrary to all the customs of the church; and that they conferred the episcopate upon a deacon before having ordained him priest. Others maintain, on the

other hand, that the new pontiff opposed his own election with all his power, and that they were obliged to remove him by force from the church of St. Cornus and St. Damian, where he had concealed himself, in order to avoid the high dignity to which he had been promoted.

Anastasius, the librarian, thus expresses himself in relation to this pontiff: "His youth did not resemble that of other priests; far from seeking out pleasures and play, he avoided dissipation, and retired into solitude, in order to abandon himself entirely to the study of wisdom and religion. Thus he became the model which mothers offered to the consideration of their children, and he acquired a reputation for holiness among the faithful of Rome."

Elevated to the chair of the apostle, where he appeared but for a moment, Valentine exhibited to the faithful the admirable virtues of Christianity united to a spirit of tolerance; but death, which respects neither merit, dignity nor greatness, soon struck him, and the church lost one of its best pontiffs on the 10th of October, 827, after a reign of five weeks.

## GREGORY THE FOURTH, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH POPE.

*Election of Gregory—Violent dispute between the pope and the monks of the Convent of Farsa—The commissioners of Louis condemn the pope to restore the property usurped by the Holy See—Revolt of the children of Louis—Gregory betrays him—Louis is deposed and shut up in a monastery—Generosity of the king to the Roman church—Death of Gregory.*

GREGORY was a Roman by birth, and the son of a patrician named John. The pontiff Pascal had conferred on him the sub-deaconate and the priesthood.

Platinus relates, that after the death of Valentine, the deacon Gregory, elevated to the throne of St. Peter by the unanimous suffrages of the clergy and the people, at first refused this high dignity. Papebroch affirms, on the other hand, that Gregory, of a low and perfidious character, was supposed to have hastened the death of his predecessor, and only obtained the See by intrigue and violence. "The Romans," says this historian, "did not wish to consent to his ordination through fear of offending the emperor Louis, and they sent ambassadors to the monarch, to beseech him to name commissioners who should be instructed to examine into the validity of the election. When the French envoys came to the holy city, the politic Gregory loaded them with presents, bought their friendship and obtained a confirmation of his title to the papedom. He was consecrated in their presence on the eve of the Epiphany, in the church of St. Peter. Nevertheless, the emperor, some time after, enlightened by the reports of his ministers, as to the conduct of the pontiff, wrote him a severe letter, and threatened to depose him if he did not repair the scandal of his election by exemplary conduct."

From that time Gregory vowed an implacable hatred to the prince, the effects of which we shall see in the latter years of his reign.

He first occupied himself by repairing the churches of Rome which had fallen into ruins; he built numerous monasteries, which he endowed with immense wealth torn from the people by the sword of kings or the knavery of priests. He then transported into one of the galleries of the church of St. Peter, the body of Gregory the Great, he placed it under the altar of an oratory dedicated to that saint, and of which the niche was of mosaic upon a basis of gold. The fete of this pontiff was celebrated every year in this chapel, and during the ceremony the faithful kissed the pallium, the reliquary, and the girdle with which he had been buried. The bodies of Saint Sebastian and St. Tiberius were deposited in the same oratory.

Gregory the Fourth rebuilt the church of St. Mark and decorated it magnificently; he placed on the high altar a tabernacle of silver weighing a thousand pounds, and transported into the sanctuary the body of St. Herner. Before the inhumation of the saint he cut off one of his fingers, which he sent as a present to Eginhard, the old secretary of Charlemagne. Still the care which he took to reconstruct temples which were in ruins, did not hinder him from extending his solicitude to temporal

affairs; he rebuilt the walls of Ostia and fortified the port which had been dismantled by the Saracens, in their incursions on the islands or shores adjoining the month of the Tiber. This city was surrounded by high walls, defended by bastions and deep ditches; he shut it up by immense gates furnished with portcullises, and placed upon the walls a species of catapulta to hurl stones, and formidable machines designed to repel the attacks of the enemy. The new city was named Gregoriopolis.

During the sojourn of the commissioners of the emperor in Rome, Ingoalde, abbot of Farsa, brought to them a letter from Louis, which commanded them to examine with impartiality, the complaints brought against Popes Adrian and Leo, who were accused by the abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, of having seized upon five domains of great extent belonging to his convent. Ingoalde pressed upon the ambassadors the steps which had been already taken during the pontificates of Stephen, Pascal and Eugenius, and represented to them, that not having been able to obtain justice he had finally appealed to the emperor.

The commissioners advised the pope of the orders they had received, and summoned him to be represented before their tribunal. An advocate was immediately sent from Rome to present the defence of the Holy See; he rejected the claim of Ingoalde as derogatory to the dignity of the pope, and solemnly affirmed in the name of Gregory, that the property in dispute had never belonged to the monastery of St. Mary. The abbot rising from his seat, called the pontiff and his defender sacrilegious and liars; he showed the titles of the donations which had been made to his convent by King Didier, and which had been confirmed by Charlemagne.

Upon proof so authentic, the commissioners were obliged to condemn the court of Rome to restore the property which it had unjustly seized; but the lawyer refused to submit to their decision, and the pope, approving of this resistance, declared that he himself would go to France to break down the judgment of the commissioners. Notwithstanding this declaration, the prince ordered that the judgment pronounced against the Holy See should be executed without delay. Ingoalde was put in possession of the territories, and the deed which conferred them upon him was deposited in the archives of Farsa, in confirmation of the rights of the monastery.

Gregory had already sworn an implacable hatred to Louis, on account of the menaces which he had addressed to him on his election; this last affair transported him with fury, and he no longer kept any guard over his conduct towards the monarch. He first excited the children against the father; then, when Lothaire was in full revolt, he came into France to aid the cause of the prince, and to insure the success of the rebellion, by placing the guilty sons under the protection of the church.

The Chronicle of St. Denis, in speaking of these events, affirms "that the demons of hell animated all the children of Louis, and that Satan himself came in the person of the bishop of Rome, under the charitable pretext, as if he wished to re-establish peace between the emperor and his children, but in reality to excommunicate the monarch and the bishops who opposed the execrable wishes of these unnatural children."

As soon as Gregory had passed the Alps, the prelates who remained faithful to the unfortunate Louis, wrote to him to compel him to leave France. They recalled to his recollection the oaths which he had made to the monarch; they reproached him with the treason of which he was guilty in coming to trouble his kingdom, and mix himself up in the affairs of state, which were not within his competency; and declared that if he should undertake to lay an interdict on them, they would return against him the excommunications and anathemas, and would solemnly depose him from his sacred functions.

The pontiff, alarmed at this formidable opposition resolved to quit France, and was already preparing to return to Rome, when two monks, creatures of Lothaire, placed before him the passages from the fathers, and the canons of the Italian councils, which declared him to be the supreme judge of all Christians. Then pride triumphed over fear, and his boldness no longer knew any bounds. He dared to write to the bishops of the emperor's party a letter in which he elevates the power of the Holy See above thrones, and maintains that those who have been baptized, no matter what their rank, owe to him entire obedience. "If I have sworn obedience to the king, I cannot better fulfil my oath than by restoring peace to the state; and you cannot accuse me of perjury, who are yourselves guilty of that crime towards me."

On his side, Lothaire spread abroad proclamations against his father, but in terms less vehement than those of the sovereign pontiff; he only wished, he assured the world, to punish the evil counsellors by whom his father was surrounded and to prevent the tranquillity of the kingdom from being compromised by their senseless advice.

Under pretext of designating to the emperor the men whom he should exile from his court, Gregory went to the camp of the emperor to re-establish concord, according to the maxims of the gospel, between the father and his children. He remained several days with the emperor, and whilst making protestations to him of unutterable devotion, he was assuring himself of the defection of the troops by presents, promises, or threats; and on the very night of his departure, all the soldiers went over to the camp of Lothaire.

The next day, Louis having been informed of this odious treason, perceived that he could no longer resist the criminal projects of his sons; he called together the faithful servants who remained about his person, went to the camp of the princes and delivered himself

into their hands. The plain on which these events occurred lies between Baale and Strasburg; since that time it has been called "the plain of falsehood," in remembrance of the infamy of the pontiff.

Louis was received by his children with great demonstrations of respect; shortly afterwards, however, he was separated from Judith, his wife, who was intrusted to the guardianship of Louis, king of Bavaria; then, at the instigation of Gregory, they declared him a prisoner, and deprived of the imperial dignity. He was then despoiled of his royal ornaments, clothed in the garb of a public penitent, and constrained in the presence of an immense multitude, to confess with a loud voice, crimes that he had never committed. Lothaire confined him in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons, seized upon the sovereign authority, and caused the clergy, the lords, and the army to take an oath of allegiance to him as emperor of the West and king of France.

After having directed and consecrated this infamous usurpation, the pope returned in triumph into Italy. But the authority of the children of Louis was not of long duration; the people, indignant at the conduct of Lothaire, revolted against him and re-established the emperor upon the throne. In his turn, Louis resolved to be revenged on the pontiff, and sent immediately to Rome, St. Anscarius, the metropolitan of Hamburg, accompanied by the prelates of Soissons and Strasburg, and the count Gerald, for the purpose of interrogating the holy father as to the part which he had taken in the conspiracy of the French princes.

Gregory protested, on oath, the purity of his intentions, renewed the assurances of his devotion to the person of the king, pledged himself to aid him against his sons, and loaded with presents the envoys of France. The weak Louis consented to forget the past; he pardoned his children, and even carried his indulgence so far as to interpose his authority to protect the Holy See against his son Lothaire, who, furious at the new treason of the pope, had ordered his officers to treat with great severity the priests of the Roman church, and even the holy father himself.

Louis thus wrote to his son: "Recollect prince, that in bestowing on you the kingdom of Italy, I have recommended to you to have the greatest respect for the holy Roman church, and that you have sworn to defend it against its enemies, and not to leave it exposed to the outrages of strangers. Put an end then to the violence of your soldiery against the clergy of Rome. I command you to prepare food and lodging for my retinue and myself; for I am about to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostles, and I hope that by the time of my arrival in the holy city all complaints against your troops will have ceased."

The noble and generous conduct of Louis in this matter, serves to blacken for ever the memory of the execrable pontiff, who used religion as a plea to arm children against their father!

This cowardly, knavish, perfidious, and sacrilegious priest, destitute of principles and faith, occupied the chair of St. Peter for sixteen years. He at last died in the beginning of the year 844.

## SERGIUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 844.]

*History of Sergius, surnamed the Hog's Snout—Troubles caused by the election of Sergius—Journey of King Louis to Rome—Boldness of the pontiff—His election is confirmed—He and his brother publicly sell the offices of the church—The Roman people take the oath of fidelity to the emperor—Louis is crowned king of the Lombards—The rape of the beautiful Ermengarde, daughter of Lothaire—Division between the emperor and his brothers—Council of Paris—Nomenno seizes upon the sovereignty of Brittany—Incursions of the Saracens into Italy—Miracle of Monte Cassino—Death of Sergius.*

SERGIUS was a Roman by birth. He had lost his father at a very early age. His mother took great pains with his education. Unfortunately she was carried off by an epidemic, and the young Sergius remained an orphan.

Pope Leo the Third admitted him into the school of the chanters, where he distinguished himself by his rapid progress and his great aptitude for work. His protector, having taken him into his favour, made him an acolyte; Stephen the Fourth then made him a sub-deacon, and Pascal the First, ordained him a priest of the order of St. Sylvester; finally, Gregory the Fourth made him an archpriest.

On the death of this pontiff, the lords and

the people assembled together to choose his successor. But the number of those ambitious of the office was so great, that parties were undecided and did not choose any of the competitors. The brother of Sergius, skilfully availing himself of the disposition of their minds, spread the name of the archpriest among the people, and his partisans proclaimed that Sergius was alone worthy of the tiara. The voters, thus taken by surprise, immediately gave their suffrages to the happy Sergius.

A deacon named John, also intrigued for the chair of St. Peter; furious at having failed in his projects, he put himself at the head of

\* see Catholic Encyclopedia "Sergius IV."

soldiers and forced the gates of the palace to proceed to a new election. The prelates and the people precipitated themselves on these disorganizers in the patriarchal residence; they dragged the deacon from the church in which he had taken refuge, drove off his partizans, and finally, when the tumult was appeased, the citizens of Rome went to the church of St. Martin, which was the residence of Sergius. He was conducted with great honours to the palace of the Lateran; an immense crowd of priests and monks followed him, singing sacred hymns, and on the same day he was solemnly consecrated and enthroned in the presence of the people.

Anastasius relates, that during the night succeeding this important ceremony "there fell so great a quantity of snow, that the holy city appeared on the next day to be clothed in a spotless robe, as a sign of rejoicing, and a favourable presage for the new reign."

Before his election the pope called himself *Os Porci*, Hog's Snout. After the consecration he changed this ridiculous name, and took that of *Sergius*. To this circumstance is attributed the origin of the usage which is still preserved by the popes, of choosing a new name on mounting the Holy See.

The deacon John, as a punishment for his revolt, had been confined in a close prison; the magistrates charged to judge him wished to send him into exile; the clergy, always more severe than other men, thought this punishment too light, and asked that his eyes and tongue should be torn out. *Sergius* opposed all these cruel measures, restored his prisoner to liberty, and re-instated him in his diaconate.

In the midst of these disorders, the new pontiff, urged to receive consecration, was unable to wait for the consent of *Lothaire* to his ordination: the emperor, irritated by this act of disobedience, resolved to send to Rome his eldest son *Louis*, accompanied by his uncle, *Drogon*, bishop of Metz, to testify his discontent with the Holy See, and to prevent the future consecration of popes without his authority.

Before his departure, the young *Louis* was declared king of Italy, and *Lothaire* gave him a magnificent retinue to accompany him into his kingdom. As soon as *Sergius* heard of the arrival of the prince, he sent to meet him the magistrates of Rome, the children of the schools, the companies of the militia with their leaders, all thundering forth songs in honour of the young sovereign, and bearing crosses and banners at the head of the procession, as was practised in the reception of the emperors. *Louis* traversed the holy city in the midst of an immense escort, and advanced towards the porch of the church of St. Peter, where stood the pontiff *Sergius*, surrounded by his clergy and clothed with ornaments glittering with gold and precious stones.

When the king had mounted the steps of the church, the two sovereigns embraced, and both entered the court of honour, holding each other by the hand. At a signal of the holy father, the inner gates, which were of massive silver, closed as if of their own accord; then

*Sergius*, turning towards the prince, said to him, "My Lord, if you come hither with a sincere desire to contribute with all your efforts to the safety of the state and church, I will cause the sacred gates to open; but if not, you shall not enter the temple of the apostles."

Still, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the young monarch, the soldiers of his escort, encamped around the city, had orders to ravage the country, to punish the Romans for having ordained a pope without waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the emperor. The French prelates and lords even assembled to examine if the election of *Sergius* was regular, and if they should drive from the pontifical throne the audacious archpriest. This assembly, composed of twenty-three bishops, and a great number of abbots and lords, was so indignant at the intrigues and machinations of the holy father, that *Angilbert*, metropolitan of Milan, loudly accused *Sergius* of having excited, by his ambition, all the disorders which desolated the holy city, and declared that he separated himself from his communion.

*Viguier* also affirms that during the reign of *Sergius*, the priests enjoyed every license. He adds, "the pope had a brother named *Benedict*, a man of a brutal character, who seized upon the ecclesiastical and political administration of the city of Rome. By his avarice he introduced disorder every where, and wore out the people by his exactions. He publicly sold the bishoprics, and he who gave the highest price obtained the preference. He at last rendered the usage of simony, so natural to the Italian clergy, that there did not exist in this corrupt province a single bishop or priest, animated by laudable motives, who did not address complaints to the emperor to put an end to this abominable traffic.

"The divine Providence, wearied of these abominations, sent the scourge of the Pagans to revenge the crimes of the court of Rome. The Saracens, urged on by the hand of God, came even into the territory of the church, put to death a great number of persons, and sacked villages and castles."

Such was the frightful position of Rome six months after the enthronement of *Sergius*. Nevertheless, the young prince, seduced by the presents and the flattery of the pontiff, confirmed his election, notwithstanding the advice of his counsellors, and only exacted that the citizens of Rome should renew their oath of fidelity to him and his father. The ceremony took place in the church of St. Peter; the Italian and French lords, the clergy, the people and the pontiff, swore before the body of the apostle, entire submission to the emperor *Lothaire* and his son, after which *Louis* received the crown at the hands of *Sergius*, who proclaimed him king of the Lombards.

*Drogon*, bishop of Metz, who had assisted the Holy See in this difficult affair, received as a recompense for his good offices, enormous sums and the title of apostolic vicar, with full authority over the metropolitans of



the churches situated beyond the Alps, and the right of assembling general councils.

The discord which reigned among the children of the emperor Louis, was not extinguished since his death, and the hatred broke out on the occasion of the abduction of the beautiful Ermengarde, the daughter of Lothaire, who was carried off by a lord named Sisalbert, a vassal of King Charles the Bald. Lothaire accused his brothers Charles and Louis the German, of having authorized the ravishment of his daughter, and threatened them with a terrible war. Louis freed himself from this accusation by oath; Charles, on the other hand, having replied to his brother, that he did not fear his threats, all the wrath of the emperor was turned against him.

To assure himself of his vengeance, Lothaire first undertook to re-install upon the See of Rheims the prelate Ebbon, who had formerly been driven from his diocese on account of his crimes, and had been replaced by the celebrated Hincmar. He made Ebbon promise to use the influence of religion to detach the people from their obedience to the king of Neustria; he was then employed in inducing the pope to pronounce the re-installation of the unworthy archbishop.

Sergius, obedient to the orders of the emperor, wrote to King Charles, that he had cited the bishops Gondevand, metropolitan of Rouen, and Hincmar, to appear in the city of Treves, whither legates from the Holy See would go, to examine, in a council, into the case of the deposed prelate. The prince opposed the departure of his bishops, alleging that they were not in safety in an enemy's country, and indicated the city of Paris for a place of meeting. The legates having assented to this change, the synod assembled to judge the two prelates. Ebbon did not appear before the bishops, and did not even send letters to excuse his absence. The fathers then declared that they would interdict him, until he appeared before them, from all pretensions upon the diocese of Rheims, with a prohibition to attempt any enterprise against his successor.

Ebbon, intimidated by the sentence of the synod, detached himself entirely from the cause of Lothaire, and notwithstanding the solicitations of his sovereign, he refused to appeal to the Holy See, and lived five years longer in quiet and obscurity.

The emperor having failed in his projects against the archbishop of Rheims, formed new intrigues and encouraged the revolt of Nomenoe, duke of the Bretons. This ambitious lord had levied an army against Charles the Bald, and was desirous of being declared king of Brittany, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops of the province, who were devoted to the king of Neustria, and refused to consecrate him. In that age of superstition and ignorance, nations regarded priests as the sole dispensers of crowns, and princes were not recognized as legitimate sovereigns, until after they had received their diadems from the hands of bishops. Lothaire, knowing the avarice of the holy father, induced the duke

to send to Rome a brilliant embassy, carrying rich presents to be offered to Sergius, in exchange for the re-establishment of the royalty of Brittany. This step of the duke was very successful; the pontiff declared his pretensions just and legitimate, and ordered the Breton bishops to consecrate him king under penalty of deposition and anathema. The duke then assembled the prelates of his province, and by his threats forced them to execute the orders of the pontiff.

Thus France became a bloody arena, in which the descendants of Charlemagne disputed for the first rank, and rivalled each other in crimes and outrages.

Italy, more unfortunate still under the tyranny of the popes, found itself abandoned defenceless to the avarice of the priests and the cruelty of the Saracens.

The Moors, having remounted the Tiber, besieged Rome and spread themselves through the country; the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were pillaged, and the magnificent altar of silver which adorned the sepulchre of the apostle Peter became the prey of these barbarians. They seized upon the little city of Fondi, and after having put the men to the sword, they burned the city and led the women into captivity. Lothaire having sent troops against them, they pitched their camp near Gaëta, waited bravely for the French and routed them.

This victory augmented the power of the Saracens; they penetrated further into Italy, and directed their steps towards the convent of Monte Cassino, celebrated for the immense wealth which it contained. Arrived in the night in sight of the monastery, the Moors pitched their tents on the banks of a stream, whose ford they could easily pass, and which separated them from Monte Cassino, putting off until the next day the pillage of this rich abbey, in order that nothing might escape them.

The monks who found themselves defenceless, at the mercy of the Arabs, expected nothing but death. In their despair, they went with naked feet and ashes on their head to the church of St. Benedict, to pass the night in prayers and invoke the protection of their blessed founder. Then, by a brilliant miracle, at the moment when they thundered forth the chant of the sacred songs, the heavens were covered with clouds and there fell so abundant a rain, that the stream became a torrent, and it was impossible for their enemies on the next day to cross it! At least thus the legend relates the miraculous deliverance of the monastery.

Furious at seeing their rich prey escape them, the Saracens glutted their rage on the inhabitants of the surrounding country. They burned the farm houses, carried off the cattle, violated the women, and put to death by torture all the monks whom they encountered; finally, they ravaged all Italy until the end of the reign of Sergius.

The pontiff died suddenly on the 27th of January, 847, after having occupied the Holy See for three years. He was interred at St. Peter's.

In Gaul, a mendicant-monk, called Gothesale, endeavoured to raise a new heresy, and taught the doctrine of predestination; that is to say, that according to his view, men could not correct their errors nor their habitual sins, on account of a hidden power which led them in spite of themselves to their destruction, and because God predestinated evil as well as good from all eternity. The celebrated Raban-Maur, archbishop of Mayence, vigorously combated these pernicious doctrines and condemned the heretic in several councils, regardless of the bonds of affection which united them. Both had passed many years in the monastery of Fulda, of which Raban had been the director.

It was from this pious retreat that the most illustrious doctors of the ninth century sallied forth to spread light through Gaul, amongst

others Valafrid, Strabon, and Loup de Ferrières. During twenty years Raban remained at the head of this celebrated community, which did not count less than two hundred and seventy monks, and caused himself to be cherished by all for his mildness, piety, spirit of concord and conciliation. Nevertheless, the love of science and of solitude, induced him suddenly to renounce his dignity of abbot, and he retired to Mount St. Peter, into a little isolated dwelling, where he composed a large number of very remarkable works upon philosophy and the different branches of sacred and profane learning. At the age of seventy he was named archbishop of Mayence. Forced, in spite of himself, to accept the burthen of the episcopate, he bore it gloriously until his death, of which it would be difficult to assign a certain epoch.

## LEO THE FOURTH, THE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 847.]

*Enthronement of Leo—His pride—Knavery of the priests—Leo builds walls around Rome—Defeat of the Saracens by the allies of the pope—Ceremonies used at the dedication of new cities—Foundation of Leopolis—Death of Leo—Opinions of historians in regard to him.*

Leo was the son of an Italian lord, named Rodoaldus; his parents had placed him in the monastery of St. Martin, situated near to the church of St. Peter, in order that he might acquire in this pious retreat a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. The young "religious" was recommended to Gregory the Fourth, who took him into the palace of the Lateran and ordained him a sub-deacon, attaching him to his person. Sergius the Second also conceived an affection for him; he consecrated him a priest of the order of the Four Crowns, and loaded him with riches and honours.

On the death of his protector, Leo, according to some authors, intrigued for the papacy; according to others, he was elevated to the Holy See by an unanimous vote, and against his wishes; all agree, however, that after his election he went to the patriarchal palace, followed by a magnificent retinue, and that he presented his feet to be kissed by the clergy, nobility, and principal citizens. The Romans dared not ordain the new pontiff without the authority of Lothaire, and the Holy See remained vacant for two months.

But the approach of the barbarians who threatened to besiege Rome a second time, determined the council of the city to wait no longer for the commissioners of the emperor, and the pope was consecrated by three bishops. The first act of the holy father after his enthronement was to repair the church of St. Peter, which had been devastated by the Arabs. He adorned it with a cross of gold, with chalices and chandeliers of silver, with curtains and tapestries of precious stuffs; he placed in front of the confessional or the pre-

tended sepulchre, tables of gold, enriched with precious stones and adorned with paintings in enamel, representing his portrait and that of Lothaire. The sepulchre was surrounded by large frames of silver, richly worked, and all these ornaments were covered by an immense tabernacle of silver, weighing sixteen hundred pounds.

These embellishments and the revenues which he appropriated to the priests of this church, amounted to more than three thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds weight of silver, and two hundred and sixteen pounds of gold. In order to appreciate the outrage of the prodigalities of the pontiff towards his clergy, and the insatiable avarice of the priests of Rome, it will be enough to relate two facts of that unfortunate period. "At the council of Toulouse, held in 846, the contribution, which each curate was obliged to furnish to his bishop, consisted of three bushels of wheat, three bushels of barley, a measure of wine, and a lamb, the whole valued at two pennies." The second example of public misery is drawn from the life of Charles the Bald. "The prince made an edict in 864 for a new coinage of money and as by this decree the old money was decried, and was no longer circulated, he ordered that there should be drawn from his coffers fifty pounds of silver, to be expended in commerce." Thus we may judge into what brutality and misery kings and priests had plunged the nations, when a chalice or a perfume box of a church in Rome was almost of more value than all the circulating medium of the merchants of a great kingdom!

We can with difficulty understand that men had descended to such an abject state, and that they should thus have allowed themselves to be despoiled by the avarice of sovereigns; we would even be tempted to doubt these extraordinary facts if contemporary historians did not recite them with a naïveté which guarantees the truth of their recitals.

The chroniclers of the period attribute to the holy father the death of a terrible dragon, the terror of the holy city. This is the legend: "A cockatrice of more than thirty feet in length by two and a half in thickness, had retired into a cave, near the church of St. Lucius, to which no one dare approach, as the breath of the monster caused death. The pontiff, however, went in a procession at the head of his clergy, to the cave where the cockatrice lay, and as soon as the animal heard the voice of the holy father, it died, casting forth a great quantity of flame from its mouth. . . ."

This miracle did not prevent the Arabs from continuing their ravages upon the coasts of Italy, from sacking the cities and devastating the country. Leo, fearing lest they should come even to Rome, and being desirous of placing the church of St. Peter beyond the reach of a sudden attack, surrounded it with walls and bastions, and even resolved to execute the plan formed by one of his predecessors, of building a city near to the church. He first addressed the emperor Lothaire, who approved of the plan of a new city, and sent large sums to hasten the building; he then assembled the notables of Rome, and consulted them upon the measures necessary to be taken for the execution of the work. In accordance with their advice and the general interest, they brought in serfs from the cities and domains which belonged to the lords and the monasteries.

Four entire years were employed on the foundation; the pontiff visited the workmen daily, without being prevented by cold, wind or rain. At the same time he raised again the old walls of Rome, which had fallen into ruins, and constructed fifteen towers, two of which were placed on the banks of the Tiber, and impeded the navigation of the river by great chains. The works were not yet completed when a debarkation of the Saracens took place in the island of Sardinia.

On the receipt of this news, Leo, fearing to be shortly besieged by the barbarians, demanded aid from the inhabitants of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaëta. His request was acceded to, and Cæsar, the son of Sergius, the leader of the Neapolitan troops, was sent to lead troops to the pontiff to oppose the landing of the Saracens. The holy father came to Ostia to receive his allies; he received the Neapolitan leaders with great demonstrations of friendship, and gave his feet to the soldiers to kiss; he then celebrated a solemn mass, and administered the communion to the whole army. Scarcely was the ceremony completed when the sails of the Saracens appeared on the sea; the troops, excited to enthusiasm by

this circumstance, which they regarded as a happy presage, uttered cries of joy at the sight of the vessels of the enemy; but the holy father, less confident in celestial prodigies, escaped during the night, and disgracefully returned to Rome.

At the break of day the Saracens commenced their landing; the Neapolitans, who lay concealed behind the rocks, suffered a part of their enemies quietly to disembark, when they suddenly unmasked themselves, fell upon the Arabs and made an horrible carnage. Almost all were put to the sword, and a tempest having arisen at the same moment, the rest of the fleet was entirely dispersed. Those who landed on the neighbouring islands were pursued by the Neapolitans; some were hung to the trees in the forests, others were conducted to Rome, and compelled to labour on the walls.

This new re-inforcement of workmen accelerated the work on the church of St. Peter, and the new city was completed on the 27th of June, 849. The holy father, wishing to finish his work by an imposing ceremony, convoked all the bishops of Italy, the clergy of Rome, the graudees and the people, and at the head of an immense multitude he approached the walls of the enclosure with naked feet and his forehead covered with ashes. The procession made the tour of the walls several times, singing hymns and psalms. At each station the pontiff sprinkled the building with holy water, and made a prayer before the gates of the city; mass was then celebrated in the church of St. Peter, and Leo distributed rich presents to the workmen, and even to the Saracens, who had done a part of the work. The dedication being terminated, the new city received the name of Leonine.

The holy father was also engaged in fortifying Porto, which remained exposed to the invasions of the infidel; but whilst he was occupied with these works, a great number of Corsicans, driven from their country by the Moors, took refuge at Rome, and besought the pontiff to take them under his rule, pledging, by oath, themselves and their descendants, to preserve an inviolable fidelity towards the Holy See. Leo listened favourably to their request, and offered them, as their residence, the city of Porto, where they established themselves with their wives and children. He even gave them lands, cattle, horses, provisions and money. This deed of donation was confirmed by Lothaire, and his son, who deposited it upon the confessional of St. Peter, in the presence of the graudees, the clergy and the people. At the close of this magnificent ceremony the holy father granted to the metropolitan Hincmar authority to wear his pallium constantly, an ornament of distinction which archbishops could not wear but on great occasions.

The care of the pontiff was soon extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of Centurcella, who, during forty years, had been driven from their city by the Saracens, and whose dwellings had been entirely destroyed.

During that period they had been forced to take refuge in the woods, and to live as savage beasts. The pope, touched by their frightful misery, penetrated into the retreats of these unfortunate beings, was prodigal to them of aid, and built, to receive them, a new city, which he named Leopolis, and solemnly dedicated with the same ceremonies which had been used for the city Leonine. In the following century, the city having become too small to contain the population, which had prodigiously increased, the inhabitants abandoned it to return to the ancient Centumcella on the sea, which they called Civita-Vecchia, or the old city.

Whilst Leo was engaged in repairing the disasters which the Saracens had caused in Italy, Daniel, the chief of the militia of Rome, went to the emperor Louis, and accused the prefect Gratian of having formed a plot to free himself from the rule of the French. This revelation irritated the prince against the Romans; he assembled troops in haste, and without advising the pontiff or the senate of his projects, he entered the holy city at the head of his army. Notwithstanding the hostility of this movement, the pope received Louis with great honours upon the steps of the church of St. Peter, and delivered to him a discourse full of unotion and wisdom, asking from him the cause of his discontent. The monarch refused to reply to the observations of Leo, and ordered him to convoke a council immediately, to judge the cause of Gratian, who was accused of the crime of lese-majesty.

On the day appointed, the emperor, the pope

and the Roman and French lords, went in great pomp to the new palace of Leo. The session was opened by Daniel, who appeared as the accuser of Gratian. The latter replied victoriously to all the accusations, and convicted his adversary of calumny; then the holy father, in the name of the assembly, declared that the calumniator should be delivered over to the accused, in accordance with the Roman law; but at the request of Leo, the sentence was retracted, and the guilty man escaped the just punishment of his crime. This was the last decree made by the pontiff; he died in the beginning of the year 853, after a reign of six years.

Several Catholic authors exalt the innocence of the life of Leo, the purity of his morals, his sincere piety, his liberality, and his information. Other writers, equally commendable for their information, affirm that the holy father founded a convent of nuns in his own house, and that he abandoned himself with them to the most abominable debaucheries; they accuse him of having been of a sordid avarice, and they cite, to sustain their opinion, the testimony of the celebrated abbot, Loup-de-Ferriere.

In fact, this monk, having been sent to Rome as an ambassador, took care to fortify himself with magnificent presents, "because, said he, without this indispensable precaution, one cannot approach Leo the Fourth." Finally, historians maintain that the care of his personal safety, and not his solicitude for the people, was the only moving cause of the immense works which he caused to be executed in the Roman province.

## THE HISTORY OF THE PPOESS JOAN.

[A. D. 853.]

(Joan VIII)  
see ch 3 p 17

*The history of the popess Joan proved by authentic and indisputable testimony—Birth of Joan—Opinions as to her true name—Her first amour with a young monk—She disguises herself as a man, in order to enter the monastery of her lover—She goes into England, where she becomes remarkable for her profound wisdom—Her journeys to Greece—Death of her lover—She goes to Rome—Her great reputation for holiness and learning is spread throughout Italy—Enthronement of the popess—Miracles during her pontificate—She consecrates and performs all the acts of the papacy—Louis the Second receives his imperial crown at her hands—Her amours with a cardinal—She becomes enciente—The Visions—She is taken with the pains of childbirth in the midst of a solemn procession—Her accouchement and death—The confusion of the clergy—The priests strangle her child—Examples of females disguised in the garb of men—The beautiful Eugenia made an abbot in a monastery of Benedictines—Singular adventures of the monk Theodore in the See of Constantinople.*

DURING several centuries, the history of the popess Joan was regarded, by the clergy even, as incontestable; but finally, the ultramontanes, understanding the scorn and ridicule which the reign of a woman might bring upon the church, have treated as a fable worthy of the contempt of enlightened men, the pontificate of this celebrated woman. The most equitable authors have, on the other hand, defended the reputation of Joan, and

have proved, by the most authentic testimony, that the popess illustrated her reign by the splendour of her abilities, and the practice of Christian virtues.

The fanatical Baronius regards the popess as a monster, whom atheists and heretics had evoked from hell by witchcraft and spells; the superstitious Florimond de Raymond compares Joan to a second Hercules, who had been sent by heaven to curse the Roman

church, whose abominations had excited the wrath of God. But the popess has been victoriously defended by an English historian, Alexander Cook; her memory has been rescued by him from the calumnies of her adversaries, and the pontificate of Joan has retaken its place in the chronological order of the history of the popes. The long disputes of the Catholics and Protestants on the subject of this celebrated female, having given a powerful attraction to her history; we are compelled to enter upon all the details of a life so extraordinary.

Behold the manner in which the Jesuit Labbé, one of the enemies of the popess, sent his cartel of defiance to the reformed Christians, "I give the most formal defiance to all the heretics of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and all the countries of the earth, to be able to reply, with the slightest appearance of truth, to the chronological demonstration which I have published against the fable which the heterodox relate of the popess Joan, an impious fable, of which I have overthrown the fragile foundations in an invincible manner. . . ." The Protestants, far from being intimidated by the effrontery of the Jesuit, victoriously refuted all his allegations, demonstrated the falsity of his citations, destroyed all the scaffolding of his knavery and falsehood, and despite the anathemas of Father Labbé, they drew Joan from the imaginary space to which fanaticism had confined her.

In his treatise, Father Labbé accused John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Wickliffe, Luther, and Calvin, of being the inventors of the history of the popess; but it was proved that Joan, having mounted the Holy See almost six centuries before the appearance of the first of these illustrious men, it was impossible they should have imagined the fable; and that in all these cases Marianus, who wrote the life of the popess more than five hundred years before them, could not have been able to copy it from their works.

A history, whose moral views elevate it above the interests of religious sects, should occupy itself with the triumph of truth, without disquieting itself on account of sacerdotal wrath; and besides, the existence of this celebrated woman cannot inflict any blow on the dignity of the Holy See, since Joan, during the course of her reign, did not imitate the knaveries, the treasons, nor the cruelties of the pontiffs of the ninth century.

Cotemporary chroniclers establish, with the highest degree of evidence, the period of the reign of Joan, and their assertions merit the more belief, as these historians, being prelates, priests and monks, all zealous partizans of the Holy See, would have been interested in denying the appearance of a woman on the throne of St. Peter. It is true that several authors of the ninth century make no mention of this heroine; but their silence is justly attributed to the barbarity of the period and the stupidity of the clergy.

One of the most irrefutable proofs of the existence of Joan is to be found in the decree

which was to be made by the court of Rome prohibiting the placing of Joan in the catalogue of the popes. "Thus," adds the Equitable Lannoy, "it is not just to maintain, that the silence which has been kept on this history, in the times immediately following the event, should be prejudicial to the recital which has been later made. It is true that the cotemporary ecclesiastics of the times of Leo the Fourth and Benedict the Third, through an excessive zeal for religion, have not spoken of this remarkable woman; but their successors, less scrupulous, have at last uncovered the mystery. . . ."

More than a century before Marianus wrote the manuscripts which he left in the abbey of Fulda, different authors had already given several versions in relation to the pontificate of the popess; but this learned monk cleared up all doubts, and his chronicles have been received as authentic by the conscientious learned, who establish historical truths on the testimony of men whose probity and ability are incontestable. All the world agrees in recognizing Marianus as a judicious, impartial, and truthful writer; his reputation is so well established, that England, Scotland, and Germany have claimed the honour of being his country; and moreover, his character as a priest and the devotion he always exhibited towards the Holy See, do not permit us to suspect him of a leaning against the Catholic church.

Marianus was not a weak monk, a dupe or a visionary; on the contrary, he was very enlightened, very well informed, full of firmness and religion, and had given incontestable proofs of his attachment to the court of Rome, by defending, with great courage, Pope Gregory the Seventh against the emperor, Henry the Fourth. It is not, then, possible to refuse the authority of such testimony; besides, there did not exist a single historical fact at the close of the discussion, that we could not regard as evident.

Thus the Jesuits, who have endeavored to throw doubts over the existence of the popess, comprehending the strength which the writings of this historian gave to their adversaries, have endeavoured to accuse of incorrectness, the copies of the works of Marianus. Mabillon, especially, maintains that there exist copies, in which there is no mention of the popess. To confute this assertion it is only necessary to consult the manuscripts in the principal libraries of Germany and France, of Oxford and the Vatican. Besides, it is proved that the autograph manuscripts of the monks, which have been preserved in France for many centuries, in the library of the Dome, really contain the history of the popess Joan.

It is equally impossible to admit, that a man of the character of Marianus Scorns would have filled his chronicles with an adventure so singular, if it had not been true. Still, admitting that he was capable of such an imposture, is it probable that the popes who then governed the church, would have kept silence on this impiety? Gregory the Ninth,

the proudest of the pontiffs, the most impassioned in his pretensions for the infallibility of the Holy See, would he have suffered a monk to dishonour the court of Rome with so much insolence? Would Victor the Third, Urban the Second, Pascal the Second, contemporaries of Marianus, have suffered this outrage with impunity? Finally, would the ecclesiastic writers of his age, and especially the celebrated Alberic of Monte Cassino, so devoted to the popes, have failed to rise up against such an infamy?

Thus, according to the most authentic and unexceptionable testimony, it is demonstrated that the popess Joan existed in the ninth century; that a woman has occupied the chair of St. Peter; been the vicar of Christ on earth, and proclaimed sovereign pontiff of Rome!!!

A woman seated in the chair of the popes, her head ornamented with the tiara, and holding in her hands the keys of St. Peter, is an extraordinary event, of which the records of history offer but a single example. That which most astonishes the mind is not, that a woman was enabled by her talents to elevate herself above all the men of her age, since heroines have commanded armies, governed empires, and filled the world with the renown of their wisdom, glory, and virtues; but that Joan, without armies, without treasures, with no other aid than her own mind, was sufficiently skilful to deceive the Roman clergy, and to cause her feet to be kissed by the proud cardinals of the holy city, that it is which places her above all other heroines, for no one beside approaches the marvellous fact of having become a female pope!

In a life so extraordinary as that of Joan, we should relate all the events which have been transmitted to us by historians, and enter in detail into the actions of this remarkable woman.

The following is the version of Marianus Scotus, of the birth of the popess:—"At the beginning of the ninth century, Charles the Great, after having subdued the Saxons, desired to convert them to Christianity, and sent to England for learned priests, who could second him in his plans. In the number of the professors who passed over into Germany, was an English priest, accompanied by a young girl whom he had taken into his family, to conceal her grossness. The lovers were obliged to interrupt their journey, and stopped at Mayence, where the young English woman gave birth to a daughter, whose adventures were one day to occupy the attention of future ages; this infant was Joan."

We do not know exactly the name which she bore in her infancy. She is called Agnes by some authors, Gerberte or Gilberte by others, and finally Joan by the greatest number. The Jesuit Sevarius maintains that she was also called Isabella, Marguerite, Dorothea, and Justa. We are not better informed as to the surname which she took; some assure us that she added to her name the designation of the English; others wish to join her to the name of Gerberte; and an author of the fourteenth century calls her Magnanima, doubtless to express the boldness and rashness of

Joan. These same authors present fewer contradictions as to the place of her birth; some maintain that she was born in Great Britain; others designate Mayence; others Engelheim, a city of the Palatinate, and celebrated as the birthplace of Charlemagne; but the greatest number agree that she was of English origin, was brought up at Mayence, and born at Engelheim, a village situated in the neighbourhood of that city.

Joan was a beautiful girl, and her mind, cultivated by the care of a well-informed father, exhibited such a development, that she astonished by her replies all the doctors who approached her. The admiration she inspired, still further increased her ardour for science, and at twelve years of age her instruction was equal to that of the most distinguished men of the Palatinate. But when she reached the age at which women begin to love, science was insufficient to fill the desires of her ardent imagination, and love changed the destinies of Joan.

A young student of an English family, and a monk of the abbey of Fulda, was seduced by her beauty, and became desperately enamoured of her. "If he loved well," says the chronicle, "Joan on her side was neither insensible nor cruel." Conquered by the vows of an inviolable attachment, and drawn on by the wishes of her own heart, Joan consented to fly with her lover from the paternal roof. She abandoned her true name, clothed herself in the garments of a man, and, under the name of English John, followed the young monk into the abbey of Fulda. The superior, deceived by this disguise, received Joan into his monastery, and placed her under the direction of the learned Raban-Maur.

Some time after, the constraint under which the lovers found themselves, induced them to determine to quit the convent to go into England to continue their studies. They soon became the most erudite in Great Britain. They then resolved to visit new countries, in order to observe the manners of different people, and to learn their language.

They first visited France, where Joan, still wearing the frock of a monk, disputed with the French doctors, and excited the admiration of the celebrated persons of that period; the celebrated duchess of Septimania, St. Anscairus, the monk Bertram, and the abbot Loup de Ferriere. After this first journey, the two lovers determined to visit Greece. They traversed Gaul, and embarked at Marseilles in a vessel which carried them to the capital of the Hellenes. Old Athens, which was the most ardent focus of learning, the centre of science and polite literature, possessed still its schools and academies, and was quoted throughout the world for the eloquence of its professors, and the profound knowledge of its astronomers and natural philosophers.

When Joan arrived in this magnificent country, she was but twenty years old, and in all the splendour of her beauty; but her monastic habit, by its amplitude, concealed her

sex from the observation of all, and her face, pale from vigils and labour, resembled a handsome youth, rather than a woman.

During three years, the two English lived under the beautiful skies of Greece, surrounded by all scientific illustrations, and pursuing their studies in philosophy, theology, divine and human literature, the arts, and sacred and profane history. Under masters so skilful, Joan fathomed every thing, learned every thing, explained all, and joining to universal knowledge a prodigious eloquence, she filled with astonishment those who were admitted to hear her.

In the midst of her triumphs, Joan was struck by a terrible blow. The companion of her labours, her cherished lover, he who had not quitted her for long years, was attacked by a sudden illness, and died in a few hours, leaving the unfortunate woman alone and abandoned on the earth.

Joan obtained new courage from her despair; she surmounted her affliction and resolved to quit Greece. Besides, it became difficult for her much longer to conceal her sex in a country where men wore long beards, and she chose Rome as the place of her retreat, because there, custom commanded men to shave. Perchance this motive was not the only one which determined her preference for the holy city; the troubles and divisions which then agitated this capitol of the Christian world, offered to her ambition a larger theatre than Greece.

As soon as she had arrived in the holy city, Joan caused herself to be admitted into the academy called the school of the Greeks, for the purpose of teaching the seven liberal arts, and especially rhetoric. St. Augustine had already rendered this school very renowned; Joan augmented its reputation. She not only continued the ordinary courses, but she introduced a course of abstract sciences, which lasted three years, and in which an immense auditory admired her prodigious learning. Her lessons, her harangues, and even her improvisations, were delivered with an eloquence so enchanting, that the young professor was quoted as the most splendid genius of the age; and in their admiration the Romans gave her the name of the Prince of the Wise.

Lords, priests, monks, and especially doctors, considered themselves honoured in being her disciples. "Her conduct was as commendable as her abilities; the modesty of her discourse, her manners, the regularity of her morals, her piety, and her good works, shone forth," says Marianus, "as a light before men." All this exterior was an hypocritical mask, beneath which Joan concealed ambitious and guilty projects. Thus, at the time when the declining health of Leo the Fourth permitted the priests to form intrigues and cabals, a powerful party declared for her, and loudly proclaimed in the streets of the city, that she alone was worthy to occupy the throne of St. Peter.

In fact, after the death of the pope, the car-

dinals, deacons, clergy, and people unanimously chose her to govern the church of Rome! Joan was ordained in the presence of the commissioners of the emperor in the church of St. Peter, by three bishops; then, being clothed in the pontifical ornaments, she went, accompanied by an immense retinue, to the patriarchal palace and seated herself upon the apostolical chair.

The priests a long time discussed this important question, "Was Joan elevated to the holy ministry by diabolical art, or by a particular direction of Providence?" Some maintain, "that the church should exhibit great grief and humiliation at having been governed by a woman." Others hold, on the contrary, "that the elevation of Joan to the Holy See, far from being a shame, should be glorified as a miracle from God, who had permitted the Romans to proceed to her election, in order to show that they had been led on by the marvellous premotion of the Holy Spirit."

Joan, having arrived at the supreme dignity of the Church, exercised the infallible authority of vicar of Jesus Christ with so much wisdom, as to create the admiration of all Christendom. She conferred the sacred orders on prelates, priests and deacons; she administered the sacraments to the faithful; she presented her feet to be kissed by archbishops, abbots, and princes, and finally, she discharged with honour all the duties of the pontiff. She even composed prefaces to masses and several canons, which were interdicted by her successors.

She conducted the political affairs of the court of Rome with great skill; and it was by her advice, that the emperor Lothaire, already very old, deciding to embrace the monastic life, retired to the abbey of Prüm to repent over the crimes which had filled up his long career. As a favour to the new monk, the popess granted to his abbey the privilege of a prescription for a hundred years, the deed of which is set forth in the collection of Gratian. The empire then passed into the hands of Louis the Second, who received the imperial crown from the hands of Joan.

But this woman, who inspired so great a respect in the sovereigns of the world, who enchained the people by her laws, and had attracted to herself the veneration of the entire universe, for the superiority of her abilities, and for the purity of her life, was shortly to break the pedestal of her greatness, and affrighten Rome by the spectacle of a terrible fall.

The religious chronicles relate, that the year 854 was marked by miraculous phenomena in all parts of Christendom. "There were earthquakes in many kingdoms: a shower of blood fell in the city of Bressenu or Bressanau. In France, clouds of monstrous grasshoppers having six wings and six legs, armed with long and sharp teeth, devoured all the harvests of the provinces which they traversed; then a south wind having driven them into the sea between Havre and Calais, they were all drowned; but their impure remains

cast upon the shore, spread such an infection through the atmosphere, that it engendered an epidemic which carried off a great part of the inhabitants."

In Spain the body of St. Vincent, which had been torn from his tomb by a sacrilegious monk, who wished to sell it by piecemeals, returned one night from the city of Valencia, to a small village near to Mount Auban, and stopped upon the steps of the church, demanding with a loud voice to re-enter his shrine.

"All these signs," adds the pious legendary, "announced infallibly the abomination which was about to soil the evangelical chair."

Joan, abandoned to serious studies, had preserved an exemplary conduct since the death of her lover. Even at the commencement of her pontificate, she practised the virtues which had attracted to her the respect and affection of all the Romans, but then perchance by an irresistible attraction, perchance that a crown has the privilege of blackening the most beautiful character, she abandoned herself to the joys of sovereign power, and wished to partake them with a man worthy of her love. She chose a lover, assured herself of his discretion, and loaded him with riches and honours, yet guarded so well the secret of her liason, that we cannot learn, but by conjecture, the favourite of the popess. Some authors maintain he was her chamberlain; others assure us he was a counsellor or chaplain, whilst the greatest number affirm that he was a cardinal priest of a church of Rome. The mystery of their amour would, however, have remained covered by an impenetrable veil, had it not been for the terrible catastrophe which terminated their nights of pleasure. Nature amused herself, notwithstanding the efforts of the lovers, and Joan became pregnant.

It is related, that one day, whilst she was presiding over a consistory, a demoniac was brought before her to be exorcised. After the usual ceremonies, she asked the demon, at what time it wished to leave the body of the possessed. The spirit of darkness immediately replied, "I will tell you, when you who are the pontiff and the father of fathers, shall cause the clergy and people of Rome to see a child born of a popess."

Joan frightened by this revelation, hastened to terminate the council, and to retire into her palace; but scarcely had she entered the inner apartments, when the demon presented himself again before her, and said to her, "Most holy father, after your accouchement you will belong to me, soul and body, and I will seize upon you in order that you may burn for ever with me." This horrid threat, instead of throwing the popess into despair, reanimated her courage, and produced in her heart the hope of appeasing the divine wrath by a profound repentance. She imposed rude penances upon herself; covered her delicate limbs with rough hair cloth and slept upon ashes; finally, her remorse was so fervent, that God, touched by her tears, sent her a vision.

An angel appeared unto her and offered to her, in the name of Jesus Christ, as a punishment for her crime, either to be delivered up to the eternal flames of hell, or to be recognized as a woman before all the people of Rome. Joan accepted the latter, and waited courageously for the chastisement which her sacrilegious conduct had merited.

At the period of Rogations, which corresponds to an annual festival which the Romans called *Ambarralia*, and which is celebrated by a solemn procession, the popess, according to the established custom, mounted her horse and went to the church of St. Peter, clothed in her pontifical ornaments, preceded by the cross and sacred banners, accompanied by the metropolitans, bishops, cardinals, priests, deacons, nobles, magistrates, and a large crowd of people; she then came forth in this pompous apparel from the cathedral, to go to the church of St. John of the Lateran.

But before arriving upon the public square, between the church of St. Clement and the amphitheatre of Domitian, called the Coliseum, the pains of childbirth seized her with such violence, that the reins escaped from her hands, and she fell from her horse upon the pavement. The unfortunate woman rolled over on the earth, and uttered fearful groans; finally, having been disrobed of the sacred ornaments which covered her, in the midst of frightful convulsions, and in the presence of the immense crowd, the popess Joan gave birth to a child!! The confusion and disorder which this shameful adventure caused among the people, exasperated the priests, who not only prevented her from receiving any assistance, but even, without regard to the horrid suffering she was enduring, crowded round her to conceal her from all eyes, and threatened her with their vengeance.

Joan could not support her humiliation and the shame of having been seen by all the people in so terrible a position; she rallied her strength to bid a last adieu to the cardinal priest who sustained her in his arms, and her soul took its flight towards the skies.

Thus died the popess Joan, on the day of Rogations, in 855, after having governed the church of Rome more than two years.

Her child was strangled by the priests who surrounded the mother. The Romans, however, in remembrance of the respect and attachment which they had long had for Joan, consented to perform for her the last duties, but without display or pomp. They placed the body of her child in the same tomb. She was interred, not within the limits of a church, but on the very spot on which the tragic event had occurred.

There was elevated over her tomb a chapel adorned with a marble statue, representing the popess clothed in her sacerdotal garments, with a tiara upon her head and holding a young child in her arms. The pontiff Benedict the Third caused this image to be broken down towards the close of his reign, but the ruins of the chapel were still seen in Rome in the fifteenth century.



Some visionaries have gravely occupied themselves with inquiring as to what punishment God inflicted on the popess after her death. Some regarded the ignominy of her last moments as a sufficient expiation, and which besides, accorded with the vulgar opinion, that the popes, no matter what their crimes, could not be damned. Others, less indulgent than the first, affirm that Joan was condemned to remain suspended throughout eternity to one side of the gates of hell, and her lover to the other, without being able to be reunited.

The clergy of Rome, wounded in its dignity, and covered with confusion by this strange event, made a decree prohibiting the pontiffs from traversing the street in which the scandal happened. Thus, since that period, on the day of Rogations, the procession which leaves the church of St. Peter to go to that of St. John of the Lateran, shuns this abominable place, situated in the midst of its route, and makes a long circuit.

These precautions were sufficient to blacken the memory of the popess; but the clergy, wishing to prevent a like scandal from ever being again renewed, devised, before the enthronement of the popes, a custom very singular, but marvellously well adapted to the circumstances. The successor of Joan was the first to be submitted to this singular proof, which has since been called the proof of the pierced chair.

The following was the ceremonial employed:—As soon as a pontiff was chosen, he was conducted to the palace of the Lateran, to be solemnly consecrated. He was first seated upon a chair of white marble placed beneath the porch of the church, between the two gates of honour. It was called the Stercoraire, although it was not pierced; but this name was given to it because the holy father, rising from this chair, thundered forth the following from the hundredth and thirteenth psalm: "God has raised the poor out of the dust and the needy from the dunghill, to seat him above the princes!"

Then the great dignitaries of the church took the pope by the hand, and conducted him to the oratory of St. Sylvester, where was another seat of porphyry, but pierced in the bottom, on which they seated the pontiff. The first ecclesiastical historians speak only of one chair of this kind, whilst the most esteemed chroniclers always speak of two pierced chairs, which they designate as being of the same size, of like form, both of a very old style, without ornaments, cushions, or garniture.

Before the consecration, the bishops and cardinals place the pope upon this second chair, where he is exposed in his person, to show to the assistants the proofs of his virility, and then two deacons approach him, and satisfy themselves by the touch, that their sight has not been deceived by false appearances, and they testify this to the assistants, by exclaiming in a loud voice, "We have a pope." The assembly replied, "Thanks be to God,"

as a sign of gratitude and joy. The priests then came to prostrate themselves before the pontiff, raised him from the chair, encircling him with a silken girdle, kissed his feet, and proceeded to the enthronement. The ceremony always terminated by a splendid festival, and by a distribution of money to the monks and nuns.

Mention is made of the pierced chair in the consecration of Honorius the Second, in 1061; in that of Pascal, in 1099; in that of Urban the Sixth, chosen in the year 1378: Alexander the Sixth, publicly recognized at Rome as the father of five children by Rosavanzoza, his mistress, was submitted to the same proof. Finally, it lasted until the sixteenth century, and Crassus, master of the ceremonies of Leo the Tenth, reports precisely, in the Journal of Paris, all the formalities of the proof of the pierced chair to which that pontiff was submitted.

Since Leo's time, it has ceased to be practised: it may be because the priests comprehended the ridicule of an usage so inconvenient: it may be because the improvement of the age, no longer permits a spectacle injurious to the public morals. The pierced chairs being no longer needed, they were carried from their locations, to be placed in the gallery of the palace of the Lateran, which conducted to the chapel. Father Mabillon, in his journey into Italy, in 1688, describes these two chairs, which he examined with the greatest attention; and he affirms that they were of porphyry, and similar in form to a sick couch.

The ultra-montaynes, confounded by the authentic documents of history, and not being able to deny the existence of the popess Joan, have regarded the entire duration of her pontificate as a vacancy in the Holy See, and cause Benedict the Third, to succeed Leo the Fourth, under the pretence that a woman could not fill the sacerdotal functions, administer the sacraments, nor confer the sacred orders. More than thirty ecclesiastical authors allege this as a reason for not counting Joan in the number of the popes, but a very remarkable fact gives a formal lie to their opinion.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the cathedral of Sienna, having been restored by order of the prince, there were sculptured in marble the busts of all the popes down to Pius the Second, who was then on the See, and there was placed in its rank, between Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the Third, the portrait of the popess, with this inscription, "John the Eighth, the female pope." This important fact, would then authorize us to count Joan as the one hundred and eighth pontiff, who has governed the church of Rome, if custom were not stronger than truth. If nothing else remains, it proves, however, that the reign of the popess is authentic; and that a woman gloriously occupied the sacred chair of the pontiffs of Rome.

Some ultra Catholics yet reject the truth, and refuse to admit the authenticity of all this proof, under the pretext that God would not

have permitted the chair of St. Peter, founded by Jesus Christ himself, to be thus occupied by a shameless woman.

But then we will ask, How God could have suffered the sacrilegious profanations and abominations of the bishops of Rome? Has not Christ permitted the Holy See to be soiled by heretical, apostate, incestuous, and assassin popes? Was not St. Clement an Arian; Anastasius a Nestorian; Honorius a Monothelite; John the Twenty-second, an atheist: and did not Sylvester the Second say he had sold his soul to the devil to become pope?

Baronius, that zealous defender of the tiara, himself says, that Boniface the Sixth, and Stephen the Seventh, were infamous wretches, execrable monsters, who filled the house of God with their crimes; he accuses them of having surpassed all that the most cruel persecutors of the church had caused the faithful to suffer.

Genebrard, archbishop of Aix, affirms, that during almost two centuries, the Holy See was occupied by popes of a libertinism so frightful, that they were worthy of being called apostatics, and not apostolics; he says that women governed Italy, and that the pontifical chair was converted into a distaff. In fact, the courtizans Theodora and Marozia, monsters of lubricity, disposed, according to their caprice, of the place of vicars of Jesus Christ; they placed upon the throne of St. Peter their lovers or their bastards; and the chroniclers relate of these women, facts so strange, so monstrous, and recount debaucheries so revolting, that it is impossible to place them in our history.

Thus, since the clemency of God has tolerated all these abominations in the Holy See, it might equally permit the reign of a popess.

Besides, Joan is not the first, nor the only woman who has worn the garment of a priest. A courtesan, named Marguerite, disguised herself as a priest, and entered a monastery of men, where she took the name of brother Pelagian. Eugenea, the daughter of the celebrated Phillip, the governor of Alexandria, during the reign of the emperor Gallienus, governed a convent of monks, and only discovered her sex to disprove an accusation of seduction which had been brought against her by a young girl. The Chronicle of Lombardy, composed by a monk of Monte Cassino, also relates, from the account of a priest named Herembert, who wrote thirty years after the death of Leo the Fourth, the history of a woman who became patriarch of Constantinople. "A prince of Beneventum, named Elchisus," says he, "had a divine revelation, in which an angel warned him, that the patriarch, who occupied the See of Constantinople, was a woman. He hastened to inform the emperor Basil, and the false patriarch, after having been despoiled of all her garments before the clergy of St. Sophia, was discovered to be a

woman, driven disgracefully from the church, and shut up in a nunnery."

After the recital of all these facts, which have been preserved in legends, for the benefit of the faithful, should not the priests avow, that God permitted the pontificate of the popess for the purpose of abasing the pride of the Holy See, and of showing that the vicars of Christ are not infallible?

Besides, the history of Joan does not approach, in the marvellous, to that of the Virgin Mary! The mother of Christ, did she not conceive and bring forth without ceasing to be a virgin? and did she not command God himself; since the Scriptures tells us, "Jesus Christ was subject to his mother."

If, then, the Creator of all things did not disdain to obey a woman, why should his ministers desire to be prouder than the all-powerful God, and refuse to bend their foreheads before a popess?

Moreover, until the seventh century, the faithful had recognized priestesses; for the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon formally declare, that women might receive the orders of the priesthood, and be solemnly consecrated as clerks. St. Clement, the immediate successor of the apostles of Jesus, enters at length, in one of his epistles, upon the functions of the priestesses. He says, they might celebrate the holy nuptials, preach the gospel to men as well as women, and disrobe them to anoint them over all their body in the ceremony of baptism.

Atton, bishop of Vercel, relates in his works, that priestesses in the primitive church, presided in the temples, and gave religious and philosophical instruction; that they had under their orders, deaconesses, who served them as the deacons did the priests. St. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and St. Cyprian, explain themselves more at length in regard to these women. They complain of many of them departing from the rules imposed on them, practising coquetry, being extravagant in their dress, painting their faces, having no reserve nor modesty in their conversation, frequented the public baths, and bathing entirely naked with the priests and young deacons.

The elevation of a woman to the priesthood was then no novelty in the church, when the popess Joan appeared. Many other females before her had been consecrated priestesses, had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, had exercised ecclesiastical functions. Why, then, do the adorers of the Roman purple seek to contest the certainty of historical and undeniable facts? Why are they willing to deny the existence of a celebrated woman? The majesty of the priesthood, the pontifical infallibility, the pretensions of the Holy See to universal rule, all that scaffolding of superstition and idolatry on which is placed the chair of St. Peter, falls before a female pope!!!

## BENEDICT THE THIRD, ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 855.]

*Benedict the Third, the successor of the popess Joan—The deputies of the emperor wish to choose Anastasius—The pontiff Benedict is driven from the palace of the Lateran by clubs—The bishops refuse to consecrate Anastasius—Anastasius in turn driven in disgrace from the palace—Consecration of Benedict—Etheluph, the king of Essex in England, places his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See—Misconduct of the deacon Hubert, brother-in-law of king Lothaire—Death of Benedict.*

THE pontiff who succeeded the popess Joan was a Roman by birth. His father had placed him in the palace of the Lateran, among the young clerks who studied religious singing and the sacred books. Gregory the Fourth had ordained him sub-deacon, and the predecessor of Joan had consecrated him a priest of the order of St. Callixtus.

After the death of the popess, the clergy and people ran in crowds to St. John the Lateran, to proceed to a new election, and to efface the scandal of the accouchement of Joan, by the election of a pope whose lofty piety might restore to the Holy See its lustre and its majesty.

Benedict the Third was declared by their unanimous suffrages worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter. The clergy immediately went to the church of St. Callixtus to seek for the new pope, and conduct him to the palace of the Lateran. On the arrival of the bishops, Benedict, who was on his knees and engaged at his prayers, rose to salute them; but as soon as he had learned of his nomination to the supreme dignity of the church, he fell on his knees before them, and exclaimed, shedding tears, "I beseech you, my brethren, do not draw me from my church; my brow is incapable of supporting the weight of the tiara."

In spite of his entreaties, the people bore him in triumph to the patriarchal palace, and he mounted the throne of the apostles amid the noise of general acclamations. After this ceremony, the decree of the election was given him, which was sent to the emperor Louis the Second by two deputies, Nicholas, bishop of Anagnina, and Mercury, the captain of the Roman militia.

On their route, the ambassadors met Arsezes, prelate of Eugubio, who, turning them from the party of Benedict, induced them to enter into a conspiracy which had for its object the election of Anastasius, an ambitious priest, who had formerly been deposed from his sacerdotal functions by Leo the Fourth. The legates of the Holy See, seduced by the promises of Anastasius, returned into Italy, announcing that the French monarch had refused to ratify the ordination of Benedict, and that he was about to send commissioners bearing his orders.

In fact, the deputies of Louis the Second arrived in the states of the church, and stopped at Horta, a city situated forty miles from

Rome, to confer with Anastasius. The holy father, informed of their hostile dispositions, addressed to them letters full of submission, to engage them in his cause, and he sent the bishops Gregory and Maion with his message; but at the solicitation of Anastasius, the ambassadors caused the messengers of the pope to be arrested without hearing them, and detained them as prisoners. The pope then deputed to them Adrian and Duke Gregory, who experienced as rigorous a treatment. Finally, the commissioners of Louis advanced with Anastasius beyond the Ponto-Molo, stopped before the church of St. Lucius the Martyr, and in the name of their master ordered the senate, the clergy, and the people, to appear before them.

After divine service, the delegates of the prince marched towards the holy city, protected by numerous troops. Anastasius, who led the procession, first entered the church of St. Peter to burn the tableau of the council, on which was inscribed his deposition. He then invaded the palace of the Lateran, and ordered his satellites to drag Benedict from the pontifical throne. He himself despoiled him of his pontifical ornaments, overwhelmed him with reproaches, struck him with his bishop's cross, and then gave him over to priests, who had been deposed from the priesthood by Joan on account of the enormity of their crimes. These, to obtain the favour of their new master, bound the unfortunate Benedict with cords, and drove him from the palace, striking him with sticks.

Anastasius, left master of the episcopal palace, declared himself pope, and mounted upon the chair of St. Peter in the presence of the clergy and the soldiers. Rome was then plunged into consternation and affright.—Bishops and priests beat their breasts, shedding tears, and remained prostrate on the steps of the altars, invoking the protection of the all-powerful God. Soon after, a low rumour was spread through the city; the citizens assembled in the church of Emilius, and all swore to resist the oppression of the tyrants. The commissioners, informed of this revolt, surrounded with their soldiers the church in which the priests and the citizens were assembled. The officers mounted into the building, and advancing towards the bishops, who were singing sacred psalms, presented to them the points of their swords, exclaiming with fury, "Surrender, wretches!

recognize Anastasius for the sovereign pontiff." The prelates replied with firmness, "Strike, if you dare; but never will we receive as head of the church a man deposed and anathematized by a pope and council."

This energetic reply intimidated the officers. They retired into a chapel, to consult on the part they should perform under such circumstances. All their judgments being for violence, they re-entered the sanctuary with their soldiers, and addressing themselves again to the bishops, threatened to massacre them upon the altar itself, if they refused to consecrate Anastasius. The citizens then fell upon the officers, and snatched from them their swords; they represented to the commissioners of the emperor the injustice of their conduct, and proposed to inform them of the treason of the unworthy minister.

The French, alarmed, consulted among themselves, and consented to quit the church. The prelates and the people then followed them to the church of St. John the Lateran, exclaiming,—“We want the blessed pope Benedict—it is he whom we desire.” The deputies of Louis then yielded to this unanimous manifestation of the Romans, and renounced the hope of consecrating their protégé. They assembled the clergy in a saloon of the patriarchal palace, for the purpose of deliberating on the part to be taken to put an end to these disorders. The discussion was long and stormy, but the ecclesiastics gave such powerful reasons against the election of Anastasius, that the French yielded to their opinion. “Take, then, for pope, him whom you have chosen,” said the chief of the embassy; “and place him within the church which you shall choose; we will drive his competitor from the pontifical apartments, seeing he has merited deposition for his crimes and debaucheries.”

Guards were sent to the palace of the Lateran, and Anastasius was driven in disgrace from the pontifical chair.

The bishops then went in procession to the prison of Benedict the Third; they placed him on horseback, and conducted him in triumph to the church St. Maria Majora, where they passed three days and three nights in fasting and prayer. Those who had joined the party of Anastasius, also went into the church, to kiss the feet of the pope, and to confess their fault. Benedict received them all with kindness, pardoned and embraced them. Peace being thus re-established in the church, the clergy led back the pontiff to the palace of the Lateran; and on the following Sunday he was solemnly consecrated in the church of St. Peter.

In 856, Ethelwolf, king of England, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and placed his kingdom under the protection of the pope. He offered to St. Peter a crown of gold weighing forty pounds, and magnificent presents; he made great largesses to the clergy and the people, and constructed new buildings for the English school, which had been burned down. On his return to Great Britain, he held a council at Winchester in the church of St. Peter, and made a decree, by which for the future the tenth part of the land in his kingdom appertained to the church and was exempt from all charges; he re-established Peter's peace in all his kingdom, and finally, left by will a rental of three hundred marks of gold, payable yearly to the Holy See.

At the same period, the abbot Loup de Ferrière sent to the pontiff two pilgrim monks, to be instructed in the customs of the Roman church, as he wished to introduce its rites into his abbey.

The holy father also received ambassadors from Michael the Third, emperor of the East, who brought, in the name of their master, considerable presents destined for the church of the apostle. The Greek monarch asked in his letter, that the holy father would approve of the sentence of deposition which he had rendered against Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, in Sicily, which Benedict confirmed without examination.

On the requisition of Hincmar, metropolitan of Rheims, the holy father approved of the synod which had been held at Soissons, and of which Leo the Fourth had rejected the decisions. The archbishop besought the pontiff at the same time to cite before his tribunal the deacon Hubert, brother of Thietberge, the wife of King Lothaire, an infamous priest, who had transformed a nunnery into a brothel, from which he drew immense revenues, by making a shameful traffic in the virginity of the nuns. He also accused him of carrying on criminal intercourse with the queen his sister. As Hincmar was instructed by Lothaire, to pursue before the court of Rome, the punishment of the guilty, and to demand a punishment which should be in keeping with the enormity of the crimes of the deacon; he wrote to the sovereign pontiff to give him a detailed account of the incestuous intercourse of the beautiful Thietberge with her brother.

Hubert received orders to appear at Rome before the expiration of thirty days, to justify himself from the accusations brought against him, and under penalty of undergoing ecclesiastical censures if he failed to appear; but Benedict the Third died on the 10th of March 858, before the convocation of the synod.

## NICHOLAS THE FIRST, ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 858-]

*Election of Nicholas—Louis the German comes to kiss the feet of the holy father—Union of the churches of Bremen and Hamburg—Treatise of Ratramnus or Bertram on the Eucharist—Sect of the Sterconarists—Photius usurps the See of Constantinople—the legates approve of the elevation of Photius to the patriarchal See—Incest of Queen Thietberge with the deacon Hubert, her brother—Adulteries of Ingeltrude, wife of Boson—Affair of John, archbishop of Ravenna—Lothaire repudiates Queen Thietberge—Charles the Bald pardons the ravisher of his daughter Judith—Return of the legates of the Holy See—Nicholas excommunicates them—Condemnation of Photius and of Gregory of Syracuse—The council of Metz—The pope erases the decrees of the council, which he calls an assembly of brigands and robbers—Excommunication of the beautiful Ingeltrude—The French bishops accuse the pontiff of being the protector of all the abominations of Rome: they compare it to hell, and the pontiff Nicholas to Satan—The emperor comes to Rome—Hilduin, bishop of Cambrai, enters the church of St. Peter armed, at the head of his soldiers—The troops of the emperor Louis pillage the churches of Rome and violate the nuns—Pride of the pontiff—Letters to the princes Louis and Charles—Lothaire pardons Queen Thietberge—Nicholas excommunicates Waldrade, the second wife of Lothaire—The conversion of the Bulgarians—Photius excommunicates the pope in a general council—Dissentions between Queen Thietberge and Lothaire—Council of Troyes—Photius repulses the emperor Basil from the communion of the faithful—Ignatius is re-installed upon the See of Constantinople—Nicholas claims from the king of Germany the revenues of the patrimony of St. Peter—Death of the pontiff—His excess of pride and presumption—He compares himself with God, and raises himself above the judgment of men.*

NICHOLAS WAS a Roman by birth, and the son of a poor physician; Pope Sergius the Second had received him into the patriarchal palace, and had named him subdeacon. Benedict the Third conceived, in his turn, so lively an affection for the young priest, that he attached him to his person in the quality of private secretary, and intrusted him with the most secret affairs of the church. On the death of his protector, Nicholas rendered him the last duties, placed him in his shroud with his own hands, and assisted by several deacons, bore him, with filial and religious respect, to the place of his sepulchre.

The Holy See remained vacant an entire month, the Romans being obliged to wait the arrival of the emperor Louis, in order to name a pontiff. As soon as the prince had entered within the walls of the holy city, the clergy, grandees and people, assembled to proceed to an election, and Nicholas, having united the majority of the suffrages in his favour, was declared sovereign pontiff of Rome. They conducted him to the palace of the Lateran, and proceeded to his consecration in the presence of the emperor.

This ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence, and the holy father showed in this circumstance more impudence and pride than his predecessors had ever exhibited. He was the first who ordained that the accession of the popes should be celebrated by a brilliant enthronement, and to leave to posterity an example of his own audacity and the mean spirit of the emperor, he exacted that Louis should come on foot to meet him, that he should hold the bridle of his horse, and thus conduct him from the church of St. Peter to the palace of the Lateran. Finally, the bigot monarch, before taking his leave of

the pontiff, bent his forehead in the dust and kissed his sandals!

Some time after his accession to the Holy See, Nicholas transformed into an archbishopric the churches of Bremen and Hamburg, and gave them to his favourite Anscaire. Gonthier, the metropolitan of Cologne, at first opposed this decision, maintaining that it was not just to erect into an archbishopric a See which was dependant on his, but afterwards, yielding to the solicitations of the king and the bishops, he consented to this connection, in order not to bring a scandal on the church. The disputes being terminated, Louis sent to Rome, Solomon, bishop of Constance, and the priest Norful, a disciple of Anscaire. They were received with great honours by Nicholas, and carried back with them the decree which elevated Anscaire to an archiepiscopal See, with the rank of legate of the Holy See, and the right of preaching the gospel to the Swedes, Danes, Slavi, and all the nations adjoining these people.

At this period, Ratramnus or Bertram, priest and monk of Corbia, a man profoundly learned in the sacred Scriptures, wrote, at the request of Charles the Bald, a treatise "on the body and blood of Jesus Christ." Numerous theological discussions upon the Eucharist then divided the clergy of France, and the king, desirous of putting an end to the disorders, had confided the decision of the question to the man whom he thought the best informed in his kingdom. The monk of Corbia combatted the doctrine of transubstantiation, maintaining, that in the sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ was not really present under the appearance of bread and wine, and that the faithful received it in the communion spiritually and not materially.

This doctrine, which was opposed to the principles taught by the church, excited the wrath of the fanatics, who maintained that Jesus Christ was not only present in the sacrament of the altar, but still more, that he is partaker of the nature of bread and wine, and like those substances he is subservient to the law of digestion and passes in the excrements; an opinion which has given to these sectaries the names of Sterconarists.

Whilst they were disputing in France as to the real presence of God in the service of the altar, the church of Constantinople was scandalized by the disorders of its chiefs. St. Ignatius had been driven from his See on account of his pride and fanaticism, and the emperor had elevated to the dignity of patriarch the celebrated Photius, who was only a layman.

As the priests murmured at the irregularity of his election, he undertook to have it ratified by the holy father, and sent ambassadors to present his justification at Rome. In his letter to Nicholas, the patriarch rendered the following account of his elevation to the See of Constantinople:—"I advise you, most holy father, that my predecessor renounced the episcopal dignity to retire to a convent, where he has found the rest which his great age and infirmities rendered necessary for him. In order to replace him, the clergy, the metropolitans, and our gracious emperor, have sought me out, impelled by a supernatural force, and without listening to my excuses, without even giving me time to refuse, they constrained me to accept the dignity of patriarch, without any regard to my tears or my despair."

Michael the Third, at the same time, addressed confidential letters to the pope through his ambassadors, offering him large sums to confirm Photius. Nicholas received the envoys of the prince and the patriarch with honour, and accepted the presents, but using circumspection, he evaded a decision of the affair of Ignatius, and promised to send as legates to Constantinople, Rodoalde, bishop of Porto, and Zachary, bishop of Anagnina. They were to convoke a council in the imperial city, on the subject of the worship of images, and to inform themselves judicially as to the case of Photius, but without deciding anything until they should receive new instructions from the court of Rome.

Nicholas replied in these terms to the letter of the emperor: "We cannot give our approval to the ordination of Photius, before knowing exactly how the deposition of Ignatius was accomplished. We therefore wish that he should present himself before a council, and in the presence of our legate, state the reasons which induced him to abandon his people and his pontifical duties; they will then examine if his deposition has been regular, and this affair being terminated, they will decide on the steps to be taken to assure peace to Christendom.

"But first, in order to remove the principal obstacles which separate the Greek and Latin churches, we demand the re-establishment of the jurisdiction of our See over the provinces of the empire, the restitution of the patrimo-

nies of St. Peter in Calabria and Sicily, and also the right to nominate prelates to the bishopric of Syracuse."

When the prelates of the holy father had arrived in Constantinople, they were taken to a palace, by order of the prince, where they were surrounded by all kinds of seduction, and magnificent presents were made to them; and at last, in the midst of feasts and orgies, a promise was extracted from them to conform to the orders of the emperor.

Photius then convoked a council at Constantinople, in the church of the apostles; three hundred and eighteen bishops, the legates of the pope, the magistrates, and a large number of citizens, composed the assembly, over which Michael the Third presided. The prevost Blanc was sent to seek Ignatius, who addressed him, saying, "Ignatius, the great and holy council calls you; come and defend yourself against the crimes of which you are accused." The patriarch replied to him, "Tell me if I am to present myself before the assembly in the quality of bishop, priest, or monk?" The prevost preserving silence, Ignatius refused to follow him.

The next day the same officer presented himself anew, and said to the prelate, "The envoys of the pope of old Rome, Rodoalde and Zachary, order you to appear in the council without delay, and to declare in their presence the sentiments which your conscience shall dictate to you."

St. Ignatius immediately clothed himself in his patriarchal dress, and went to the synod on foot, followed by a great number of bishops, priests, monks, and laymen. But on the route the patrician John arrested him in the name of the emperor, and ordered him, under penalty of death, to take off his pontifical ornaments, and to clothe himself in the dress of a monk. He then appeared before the council in his monastic habits, and addressing himself to the legates of the pope, demanded from them their letters of credence, and the instructions of the pontiff. They replied that they came to judge his cause, but that they had not brought to him letters, as he was no longer regarded as patriarch, since his deposition had been decreed by the council of his province.

Ignatius replied to the legates, "As you come in the name of the successors of the apostle St. Peter, to decide in conformity with the canons, on my case, you ought, before proceeding to my justification, to drive from my church the eunuch Photius; and if you have not this power, do not announce yourselves as my judges, for I will refuse you."

The officers who surrounded the emperor, then approached the patriarch and urged him to give in his resignation; their prayers and entreaties were useless; he was unwilling to renounce his dignity, and the council not being able to subdue his firmness, deposed and anathematized him. The envoys of the pontiff confirmed this sentence, and demanded that he should be conducted to prison; but his captivity was not of long duration.

Photius, fearing a sedition in Constantinople, set him at liberty, and the excommunicated patriarch retired to the palace of Posam, the former residence of his mother. It was in the quiet of this retreat that he wrote a memorial, which he sent to Pope Nicholas. It was carried secretly into Italy, by Theonostus, one of his partizans, who informed the holy father of all the circumstances of this important affair.

The legates, Rodoalde and Zachary, returned to Rome with Leo, the ambassador of the emperor, and bore to the holy father rich presents, the letters of the emperor, those of the new patriarch, and two volumes containing the proceedings of the council which had deposed Ignatius.

The letter of Photius is an historical document of much value, as it contains an explanation of the dogmas which continue to separate the Greek and Latin churches. It is as follows: "Nothing is more precious than the charity which reconciles distant persons, and I attribute to this virtue the deference which I have shown to your opinion, in bearing with the reproaches which your holiness addresses to me, and attributing them not to evil passions, but to an excess of zeal. Thus conforming myself to the precepts of the gospel, which recommend equality among all men, I address to you in all freedom, the defence of my conduct, in order to induce you to commiserate, not blame me.

"I yielded to force when I mounted the patriarchal See; and God, from whom nothing is concealed, knows the violence which I endured. He knows that I have been retained within the walls of a prison as a criminal, that guards have placed their swords at my breast, and that it has been impossible for me to resist the wishes of the prince and his people. I wished to preserve the peace and happiness which I tasted in the midst of the learned men, who assisted me in the study of philosophy, and in spite of myself I have left this tranquil and happy life.

"For I knew, even before I had proved them, the sorrows which the cares of high sacerdotal functions induce. I knew that a bishop should constantly restrain himself before men, and disguise from them the emotions of his soul, as well as those of his face. I knew that he should at all times repress the sentiments of liberty which agitate the people, and govern by fear the emperors who rule them.

"Among my friends, I had no need to place upon my face a mask of deceit. I could manifest among them my joy or my sadness, and loudly declare my sentiments and my thoughts. In a word, I could appear as I am. But now, ecclesiastical greatness condemns me to hypocrisy and deceit, and sometimes even forces me to acts of cruelty. What would I not endure to prevent the simony, the debauchery, and the exactions of the priests?

"I foresaw all the evil which would happen unto me, before accepting the episcopate, and my fears induced me to avoid it; but I have been condemned to lose my body and my soul.

No one has pitied me, and they have refused to believe in the sincerity of my opposition. Thus do not accuse me of a fault of which I am not the author, but the victim; and if the canons, which prohibit the elevation of a layman to the patriarchate, have been violated in my election, let the blame fall upon the true guilty.

"The emperor threatened me with his authority, and I submitted to his will; after having resisted with courage, I accepted with resignation, to avoid a revolution, and I have sacrificed my liberty to my country.

"I am, however, now patriarch, as God has willed, and I declare to your reverence that I will defend the rights of my See, and in the name of all the clergy of Constantinople, I deny the pretended canons, which you quote against my election. Our fathers, from time immemorial, have ordained mere laymen as bishops, and have not supposed that in so doing, they were violating the holy rules of the Eastern church.

"Let each of us preserve religiously the customs of our ancestors. At Rome your priests no longer contract legitimate marriages, and publicly support several concubines; at Constantinople on the other hand, we permit our priests to marry and live in the bonds of holy matrimony. It is not the robe which they wear, nor the length of time passed by men in the hypocrisy of seminaries, which render them worthy of the episcopate; but it is their ability and the purity of their morals. I do not say this in my own defence, as I do not recognize myself but as ignorant and impure; I only wish to recall to your beatitude the examples of Taraisius, my great uncle, of Nicephorus, and St. Ambrose, the glory of our country, who composed sublime works on the religion of Christ.

"You have not condemned St. Nectairus and St. Ambrose, whose ordination was confirmed by a general council, yet these holy persons were only laymen before their election, and had not even been baptized when they were elevated to the episcopal office. I will not speak of Gregory of Nanziazum, the father of theology, nor of the numerous bishops whom the church honours, and whom the Roman clergy have never reproached for having been elected as we were, according to the Eastern custom.

"But in order to satisfy the request of your holiness, and to establish, as much as our power will permit, concord between your See and ours, I have prohibited, in full council, that for the future, any layman or monk should be ordained bishop, without having passed through all the ecclesiastical orders and degrees. We will be always ready to destroy all causes of division between the two churches, but we cannot censure the custom by which we have ourselves been declared patriarch, and which would be a grievous injury to the fathers who have chosen us.

"Would to God that the church of Constantinople had for ever preserved the usages of the Latin church! I should then have

avoided the grief by which I have been overwhelmed, in seeing myself surrounded by impious men, who offend Christ in his images, or who deny his two natures, and blaspheme the fourth council.

"We have excommunicated those guilty priests in the synod at which you assisted by your legates, and we would have followed all the instructions which you gave us, if the emperor had not opposed our will. It is therefore by his orders that we have refused to re-establish your jurisdiction over the churches of Illyria and Syracuse. He is governed in this grave question by territorial limits, which concern the affairs of temporal government, and, notwithstanding all my desire to be agreeable to you, I could not obtain any concession from the prince.

"For myself, I would yield to St. Peter all that belongs to him, and even still yield to him a part of the ancient dependencies of the See which I govern; for I would be under an infinite obligation to him who would lighten my burthen. I am far from denying the rights which belong to any other bishop, and especially to a father such as you, who reclaim them by the voice of holy legates, whose prudence, mildness, and ability, are like to those of the disciples of Jesus Christ.

"We hope that your beatitude will be entirely informed by them of the truth of the events which occurred at our election; we received them with the honours which ambassadors sent by you merited, and to whom we wished to prove all the attachment we have for your holiness; we beseech you to act so towards us, and to listen favourably to our delegates.

"We are delighted that the faithful hasten to come to kiss your feet; but we observe to you that this zeal encourages adulteries, the incestuous ravishers, homicides, and whatsoever crimes are most frequent, since the guilty can free themselves from punishment by a pilgrimage to the holy city."

The letters of the emperor and of Photius, as well as the proceedings of the council of Constantinople, confirmed to the pontiff the treason of his legates. Deeply irritated by their unfaithfulness, he assembled the bishops of the Roman church, and in the presence of Leo, the ambassador of Michael the Third, he declared that the envoys of the Holy See had received no instructions to approve of the deposition of Ignatius, or the election of Photius, and that by virtue of the authority he had received from St. Peter, he disapproved of all that had been done in his name in that assembly, and that he would not consent to ratify the engagements of his legates. Leo immediately quitted the holy city, and bore this reply to the court of the emperor. The Greek church then resolved to separate itself for ever from the Latin.

Some months after this rupture, Rome was scandalized by a new accusation of incest, brought against the deacon Hubert, who had been surprised in the night, in the bedchamber of Queen Thietberge, his sister, the wife of

King Lothaire. Hubert had already incurred ecclesiastical censures during the pontificate of Benedict the Third; but the sudden death of the pontiff had prevented the confirmation of the judgment. In this last case, the queen herself having admitted her crime, had been confined in a convent to await the decision which the bishops of the kingdom should pronounce against her. Fearing, however, the vengeance of Lothaire, she escaped from this retreat, and took refuge with her brother Hubert, in the dominions of Charles the Bald, whose mistress she became. This shameless woman then had the impudence to send envoys to the pope, to complain of the judgment which the French bishops had pronounced against her.

Lothaire, on his side, fearful lest the queen should excite against him the wrath of the holy father, hastened to send to Rome Teutgard, the metropolitan of Treves and Halton, the chief of the clergy of Verdun, with letters of credence from all the bishops of his kingdom, affirming that they had not yet pronounced any sentence against Thietberge, but only had imposed on her a penance, after the public confession which she had made of her crime. They at the same time besought the holy father not to allow himself to be deceived by the tricks of this incestuous queen and her abominable brother, but to read attentively the two letters which the princes Lothaire, and Louis, his uncle, addressed to him through their envoys.

The two kings also complained of Charles the Bald, and besought the holy father to go into Gaul, as his predecessors had done, to maintain the faith of treaties by threatening the prevaricator of the censures of the church. Nicholas was already under the influence of Thietberge, whose beauty or whose presents had seduced all the prelates of the court of Rome; a synod was indeed assembled, but the queen was declared innocent, and the king of Lorraine was condemned to take back his wife under penalty of excommunication!

During the same year a new council was convoked by the popes to try an accusation of adultery, brought against the beautiful Ingeltrude, the daughter of Count Matfrid, and the wife of Count Boson of Lombardy, whose treasures she had stolen before flying with her lover. The unfortunate husband had pardoned his guilty spouse, and had employed all the means of mildness to bring her back to him; but all his advances having been rejected, he addressed himself to the holy father, and besought him to use all his influence to constrain this criminal woman to return to a sense of her duty.

Nicholas, yielding to the entreaties of Boson, assembled at Milan a council, before which Ingeltrude was cited to appear, failing to do which, the assembly, after a fixed time, was to declare her excommunicated. The countess having refused to appear before the synod, was condemned by the pope as an adulteress, and driven from the communion of the faithful.



But the anathema produced no better effect than the exhortations. When the decree of the holy father was presented to her, she threw it into the fire, and laughing, said to the envoys, "If your pope Nicholas is about to assemble synods to make women faithful, and to prevent adultery, I declare to you he will lose his time and his Latin; he had better reform the abominable morals of his clergy, and extirpate sodomy from his own house."

The holy father, rendered furious by the sarcasm of Ingeltrude, wrote to the bishops of Lorraine to reprimand them for their negligence, and to enjoin on them to drive away this bad woman; declaring to them, that if she refused to rejoin her husband, they should excommunicate her a second time, and drive her from their dioceses under penalty of being themselves anathematized and deposed. He addressed at the same time a letter to King Charles the Bald, beseeching him to constrain his nephew Lothaire to send away this criminal female from his dominions, and to employ even the force of arms, if he refused to obey the orders of the Holy See. Ecclesiastical menaces and thunders failed before the obstinacy of Ingeltrude; the beautiful adulteress retired near to the bishop of Cologne, with whom she publicly entered into a guilty connection.

A more important affair for the interests of the court of Rome than that of Ingeltrude, then occupied all the attention of the holy father. John, the metropolitan of Ravenna, a prelate of remarkable firmness, undertook to re-establish the independence of his See, and replaced all the priests, whom he supposed to be creatures of the pope, by young ecclesiastics devoted to his own person.

Anastasius affirms, that the archbishop seized upon the property of the church, usurped the patrimonies of St. Peter, distributed his revenues, deposed, without a canonical judgment, the priests and deacons of his clergy, whom he cast into prison, to constrain them to deny the obedience which they owed to the holy father.

Nicholas cited him three times before a council convened to judge him; but the archbishop having refused to appear before this assembly, or even to be represented, the holy father declared the metropolitan deposed from his See and excommunicated. John addressed reclamations to the emperor, and obtained from him, that French ambassadors should accompany him to Rome to justify his conduct. The protection of the weak monarch was useless. The pope corrupted, by rich presents, the envoys of Louis the Second, and the unfortunate prelate, finding himself at the mercy of his enemies, consented to renew the act of submission of his diocese. He took the oath of fidelity and obedience upon the cross and the gospels, and the next day he went to the church of the Lateran, where he justified himself, by oath, from the crimes of which he had been accused.

The holy father then received him to his communion, permitted him to celebrate mass,

and on the following day he was seated at the council, where Nicholas made a decree in these words: "We command the archbishop John to come every year to Rome, to renew the oath of obedience which he has taken to us, and we prohibit him from ordaining, without authority from our See, the bishops of Emilia, and the suffragans of Ravenna. We also prohibit him from demanding from his priests any thing contrary to the canons or the privileges of our See, and not to take possession of the goods of clergy or laity, at least until they shall have been juridically adjudged to him by the authority of the Roman church." John then obtained permission to return to Ravenna.

But the pontiff, desirous of avenging himself on the emperor, who had protected the metropolitan, feigned to have received from God, in a revelation, an order to call Charles the Bald to the empire, in the place of Louis the Second; and he induced the king of France to seize upon the sceptre of his brother, promising to sanctify the usurpation. This affair was of no consequence at the moment, still, in the proceedings at the coronations of the French monarchs, published by Pithon, it is said, that Pope John the Eighth, a successor of Nicholas, had fortified his decree by the fact that God himself had designated Charles the Bald as emperor, in a vision in which he had appeared to Pope Nicholas.

The separation of Thietberge and Lothaire was not yet terminated, and excited a great scandal in state and church. To put an end to it the prince sent to Rome two lords of his court, instructed to place in the hands of the pope the proceedings of a council of the bishops of Lorraine, in which they had authorized the monarch to repudiate his criminal wife, and to contract a new union with Waldrade. The stupidity of princes was then so great that they dare not undertake any thing without the authority of the court of Rome! In consequence the monarch besought the pontiff to name legates, who should decide upon this grave question with the bishops of his kingdom.

Nicholas replied that he would send delegates to order the convocation of a synod, but that in the meantime he prohibited clergy and laity, no matter what their rank, from making, up to that time, any decision in favour of Waldrade against the queen. Some months after, he deputed to the court of Lorraine, Rodoalde, bishop of Porto, the same ecclesiastic who had been his legate to Constantinople, and John, bishop of Cervia, in the Romagna. He also wrote to the emperor Louis, the German, and to the two kings, uncle and nephew of Lothaire, to send each two bishops of their kingdoms, to represent them in the council which was about to examine into the case of Thietberge.

Nicholas ordered the emperor, Louis the Second, to take measures, that his legates should be in safety in the states of Lothaire, his brother; and in his letters to the bishops

of Gaul and Germany, he besought them to go to Metz, the place fixed on for the council, and incited them against the king, inducing them to punish this monarch severely for his want of respect towards the Holy See.

We remark a most surprising contradiction in the policy of the holy father, who declared himself the protector of an incestuous queen at the very time in which he was excommunicating the adulterous wife of Boson. But the court of Rome had, throughout all Christendom, such a reputation for simony, that it was publicly said, that with money one was always sure of obtaining the protection of the popes. The following adventure gives new force to this reputation for avarice, so justly acquired by the Holy See.

A count of Flanders, named Baldwin, smitten by the charms of Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, had the boldness to carry off this princess from Senlis, and took refuge with her in his estates. Troops were immediately sent after the fugitive, but the count having routed them, was enabled to brave with impunity the French monarch. Charles, doubly irritated by his defeat and the ravishment of his daughter, had then recourse to the pope, who anathematized Baldwin. The terror which the thunders of the church inspired, obliged the ravisher, who had not feared the army of a powerful monarch, to submit immediately to the orders of Nicholas. He went to Rome with his young wife to implore the protection of St. Peter, and having taken care to carry with him large sums and magnificent presents in gold and silver, which he offered to the pope; then, having been admitted to his presence, he cast himself at his feet, and swore to him entire submission and fidelity under every trial. Nicholas, melted by the richness of the presents, immediately took back the anathemas which he had lanced against Baldwin, declared him a son of the church, and even wrote to Charles the Bald to engage him to pardon him.

The holy father, in pleading the cause of the young couple, employed by turns flatteries and menaces; he said to the emperor that Judith had given all her tenderness to her ravisher, and that a separation would render the princess the most wretched of women. He brought forward the disorders which an inflexible rigour might produce, if he drove to despair a powerful lord, who might join his armies to those of the Normans and invade the kingdom of France. He also addressed a touching letter to Ermentrude, the mother of Judith; and finally, by his exhortations, he was enabled to reconcile the two families.

The council convened at Metz, to judge of the matter of King Lothaire, did not assemble at the period which had been designated for its session; the prince fearing a condemnation, wished to gain time to bring over to his cause the envoys of the Holy See; in fact, rich presents and large sums of money entirely changed the views of the legate Rodolphe, who behaved in France as he had done in Constantinople. The friends of the queen

hastened to inform Nicholas of this treason, and the pontiff, wounded in his pride by the culpable condescendence of his delegate, immediately convened the bishops of the neighbouring provinces to judge the traitor Rodolphe, and to nominate another ambassador.

This year was remarkable for the extreme severity of the cold; the Adriatic sea was entirely frozen over, and the merchants on both sides of it, transported their merchandize across it in wagons instead of using vessels.

The council which was convened by the holy father, assembled in the oratory of the palace of the Lateran; they read the proceedings of the synod of Constantinople, and the letters of the emperor Michael; they then brought into the presence of the Italian prelates, the bishop Zachary, the legate who had formerly been sent to Constantinople. He was convicted of simony and prevarication on his own avowal, and confessed that he had consented to the deposition of Ignatius, and communed with Photius, notwithstanding the orders of the pontiff. The council pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against him.

After this, the holy father thus spoke: "In the name of the Holy Trinity, by the authority transmitted to us from the prince of the apostles, having taken cognizance of all the complaints brought against the patriarch Photius, we declare him deposed of his sacerdotal functions, for having sustained the schismatics of Byzantium; for having been ordained bishop by Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, during the life of Ignatius, the legitimate bishop of Constantinople; for having corrupted our envoys, and finally, for having persecuted the orthodox priests who remained attached to our brother Ignatius.

"We have discovered Photius to be guilty of crimes so enormous, that we declare him to be for ever deprived of all the honours of the priesthood, and divested of all clerical functions, by the authority which we hold from Jesus Christ, the apostles St. Peter and Paul, from all the saints, and the six general councils.

"The Holy Spirit pronounces by our mouth a terrible judgment against Photius, and condemns him for ever, no matter what may happen, even at the moment of death, from receiving the body and blood of the Saviour.

"We affirm our brother Ignatius, who has been driven from his See by his violence of the emperor, and despoiled of the episcopal ornaments by the prevarication of our legates, to be the vicar of Christ; that he has never been deposed nor anathematized, and we maintain him in his sacerdotal dignity; we ordain that in future all clergy or laymen who shall dare to oppose him shall be excommunicated, no matter what their rank in church or state. We also command, that the prelates exiled since the unjust expulsion of Ignatius, be re-installed in their Sees." Thus the council of Rome, which had assembled to judge Rodolphe, changed the object of its de-

liberations, and condemned the patriarch of Constantinople and the legate Zachary.

Rodoalde quietly opened the synod of Metz in the name of the pope; none of the prelates of Germany nor Neustria were convened, and all who were there, were from the kingdom of Lothaire. The fathers made a decision favourable to the king; the envoys of the Holy See, gained by the liberality of the prince, despised the instructions they had received from Nicholas, and declared that Lothaire, having repudiated Thietberge, in consequence of the decree of the bishops of his kingdom, was fully justified in his conduct.

The proceedings of the synod were borne to the holy father by Gonthier, metropolitan of Cologne, and Teutgard, archbishop of Treves. These prelates were instructed to have them approved by the clergy of Rome, by availing themselves of the credit of the legates John and Rodoalde. But the pontiff, already advised of the prevarication of his ambassadors, convened a new assembly of bishops to judge Rodoalde. The latter, troubled by the reproaches of his conscience, and fearing a chastisement as terrible as that which had been inflicted on Zachary, his former colleague, fled from the city, during the night, and abandoned even the treasures which he had brought from France. Through the remains of shame, the pope deferred his judgment, not being willing to pronounce a condemnation without hearing the defence of his old favourite.

Teutgard and Gonthier, having presented to Nicholas the proceedings of the synods of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle, he caused them to be read in public, and demanded from the French metropolitans, if they were willing to maintain them before the bishops of Italy. They replied, that having subscribed to those decisions, they would never deny them. The pontiff kept silence, but a few days after he caused the envoys of Lothaire to be conducted before the council, which was already assembled in the palace of the Lateran, and in their presence, he erased the decrees of the synod of Metz, which he called an assembly of brigands and robbers. He declared the French prelates to be deprived of episcopal power, for having illy judged the cause of Lothaire and his two wives Thietberge and Waldrade, and for having treated with contempt the orders of the Holy See in regard to the sentence pronounced against Ingeltrude, the wife of Count Boson. For the third time Ingeltrude was pronounced infamous and an adulteress, and the holy father lanced against her a terrible anathema. He always, however, promised her pardon for her crimes, if she would consent to come to Rome to demand absolution for them.

At length Nicholas excommunicated all those who did not obey his decrees; he deposed from the episcopate, Haganon, bishop of Bergamus, who had drawn up the proceedings of the synod of Metz, as also John, metropolitan of Ravenna, who notwithstanding his oath, still endeavoured to render himself

independent, and openly conspired against the authority of the Holy See.

Teutgard and Gonthier, did not permit themselves to be intimidated by the pontiff; they hurled back on Nicholas, in full council, his anathemas and his abuse, and to repress his audacious pride, they announced, that they would go at once to the emperor Louis to induce him to chastise the pope, who had dared to insult the ambassadors of King Lothaire.

Louis was so indignant at the arrogance of the holy father, that he resolved to inflict on him marked vengeance; he assembled his troops and marched towards Rome, accompanied by two metropolitans whom he wished to re-install upon their Sees.

The metropolitan of Cologne, the firmest defender of the liberties of the Gallican church, then sent to the bishops of the kingdom of Lothaire, a letter written in his own name, and in that of the primate of Belgium. He thus expresses himself:—"We beseech you my brethren, to supplicate Heaven for us, without troubling yourselves with the harsh tales which the Roman priests will spread against us. For the lord Nicholas, whom they call pope, and who calls himself the apostle of the apostles, and the emperor of all nations, has wished to condemn us; but thanks be to God we have resisted his boldness.

"Visit frequently our king, and say to him, that we will faithfully accomplish the embassy which has been confided to us; encourage him by your conversation and your letters, conciliate all the friends you can, and faithfully preserve the fidelity due to our sovereign, without allowing yourselves to be influenced by a sacrilegious pope."

Gonthier addressed this other letter to the pontiff, "Listen, lord pope; we have been sent by our brethren to you to ask your approval of the judgment we have given, by explaining to you the authorities and the motives which induced our action. After having waited for three weeks for your reply, you have caused us to be conducted into your presence; and when we advanced without fear, the doors of the saloon by which we entered were closed upon us.

"We then found ourselves in the midst of a troop of clergy and laity, and there, without judges, accusers, witnesses, or even an interrogation, you have declared us driven from the church, deposed from our Sees and anathematized, if we should refuse to submit to your tyranny.

"We reject your sentence and treat with contempt your insulting discourse; for we are content with the communion of the whole church, and with the society of our brethren, of which you have shown yourself unworthy through your pride and arrogance.

"You condemn yourself in anathematizing him who shall not observe the apostolic precepts, for you are the first to violate them—you who trample upon sacred canons and the divine laws. . . ."

Such is the language which the cardinal Baronius, the most zealous defender of the Holy See, attributes to Gonthier; but the letter of the archbishop had a still more energetic character. The historian Lesueur, gives it as follows: "Pontiff, you have treated us, and our brethren, contrary to the rights of nations, and the decrees of the church, and thou hast surpassed in thy conduct thy proudest predecessors. Thy council was composed of some inimical monks and priests as debauched and infamous as thyself, and in their presence thou hast dared to pronounce against us a sentence, unjust, rash and opposed to a sentence, of which thou pretendest to be the chief, to the great scandal of the world.

"Jesus Christ has enriched the church his spouse; he has given to it an imperishable diadem and an eternal sceptre; he has granted to it the power of consecrating saints, of placing them in heaven, and of rendering them immortal. But thou, like a greedy robber, thou hast seized upon all the treasures of the church, thou hast even ravished them from the altar of Jesus Christ; thou murderest Christians; thou snatchest from heaven the valiant and the good, to hurl them into the abyss of hell; thou coverest with honey, the blade of thy sword, and dost not permit the dead to return to life.

"Iniquitous and cruel priest, thou hast not but the vestments of a pontiff and the name of a pastor; for under thy sacred ornaments we perceive the sanguinary wolf which rends the flock.

"Cowardly tyrant, thou bearest the name of the servant of servants, and thou employest treason, gold, and iron, to be the Lord of lords; but according to the doctrine of the apostles, thou art the most infamous of the ministers of the temple of God; thus, thy unbridled love of rule will cast thee into the abyss into which thou wouldst precipitate thy brethren. Dost thou think, thou who born of man, that thou art above a man and that crime is sanctified, because thy hand shall have committed it? No, shameless cockatrice, thou hast become to Christians the venomous serpent which the Jews adored; thou art the dog whom rage pushes on to devour his kind.

"We doubt neither thy venom nor thy bite; we have resolved with our brethren to tear thy sacrilegious decretals, thy impious bulls, and will leave thee to growl forth thy powerless thunders. Thou darest to accuse of impiety those who refuse from love to the faith to submit to thy sacrilegious laws! Thou who castest discord among Christians; thou who violatest evangelical peace, that immortal mark which Christ has placed upon the forehead of his church; thou, execrable pontiff, who spits upon the book of thy God, thou darest to call us impious! How then wilt thou call the clergy which bends before thy power, those unworthy priests vomited forth from hell, and whose forehead is of wax, their heart of steel, and their sides are formed of the wine of Sodom and Gomorrah! Go to, these ministers are well made to

crawl under thy abominable pride, in thy Rome, frightful Babylon, which thou callest the holy city, eternal and infallible! Go to, thy cohort of priests soiled with adulteries, incests, rapes and assassinations, is well worthy to form thy infamous court; for Rome is the residence of demons, and thou, pope, thou art its Satan!"

Gonthier, Teutgard, John of Ravenna, and a great number of bishops, in whose name this letter was written, circulated copies of it in all the cities of Italy, France, England, and Spain; it even went to Constantinople, where Nicholas was held in execration by the people, the grandees of the clergy; this circumstance still strengthened the Greeks in their desire to remain separate from the Latin church.

Nicholas having learned that Louis the Second was coming to Rome at the head of his army, to render justice to the deposed bishops, commanded a general fast and procession through all the streets, in order to excite the fanaticism of the Romans, and to push them on to revolt; but the citizens, restrained by fear, dared not rise against their sovereign. Then the pope, yielding to necessity, ordered public prayers that God might confound his arch-enemies, and inspire the prince with sentiments favourable to the court of Rome.

On his arrival in the city, Louis established himself with his suite near to the church of St. Peter, and at the moment when the clergy and the people were going to the temple in procession, the soldiers fell upon the fanatical multitude, which immediately took to flight. The crosses were broken and the banners torn; in the midst of the tumult an admirable cross, which had been offered by St. Helena to St. Peter, and which was said to enclose some wood of the true cross, was thrown down into the dirt and trampled upon by an officer.

Nicholas, during this collision, remained concealed in the cellars of the palace of the Lateran, but as he feared discovery, he was conducted during the following night, by the Tiber, to the church of St. Peter, and remained concealed for two entire days in the tomb of the apostles. His trusty friends, however, were at work in the dark, and poison was soon to avenge the pontiff; on the third day the officer who had broken the cross of St. Helena, was suddenly attacked by an unknown illness, his body being covered with black spots. The emperor himself was attacked by a violent fever, which plunged into consternation all those who surrounded him, and particularly the empress.

The Roman clergy proclaimed that these misfortunes were sent by God to punish the guilty who outraged his church; the ignorant and superstitious people exclaimed a miracle, and the empress herself in alarm, secretly sought the pope to beseech him to come to Louis, that God might restore to him health.

After having all the necessary precautions for his safety, Nicholas came before the emperor and had a long conference with him

This prince, weakened by the sufferings of his sickness, alarmed by the menaces of the holy father, yielded to the solicitations of his wife, and granted all the demands of the pope. Nicholas returned in triumph to the patriarchal palace, and ordered the archbishops of France to quit Rome within three hours, under penalty of being treated as malefactors, and of having their eyes torn out, and their tongue cut off.

Gonthier, in despair at the cowardly abandonment of Louis, sent his brother Hildwyn to place in the hands of the pope an energetic remonstrance against the infamous violence of which the Holy See had made him the victim. Nicholas refused to receive the young Hildwyn; the latter then went armed and followed by his soldiers to the church of St. Peter. The guards who kept this church having endeavoured to prevent his entrance into it, he repelled them with blows of the mace, and several were beaten to death on the spot; he then deposited the protest of Gonthier upon the sepulchre of St. Peter, and sallied from the church sword in hand. During this scene of tumult and carnage, the soldiers of the emperor forced the monasteries, murdered the priests, and violated the nuns on the steps of the altar.

Louis shortly recovered, and quitted Rome with the metropolitans who had accompanied him into that city. Gonthier and Teutgard returned to France.

On his arrival at the metropolis of his See, the archbishop of Cologne, treating with contempt the anathemas of the pope, celebrated divine service, in the presence of his clergy and the faithful; he consecrated the holy oil, administered confirmation, and ordained priests; in fact, he performed all the duties of the episcopate. But Teutgard, yielding to a superstitious terror, abstained from exercising any sacerdotal function. Lothaire himself, soon after, submitted to the orders of the court of Rome, and declared against Gonthier; he refused to attend on mass celebrated by his metropolitan, to commune with him, and dispossessed him of the archbishopric of Cologne to give it to Hugh, his cousin german. The prelate then exclaimed in the bitterness of his soul, "foolish is the man who counts upon the friendship of kings, no matter how great the services rendered them."

Driven on by displeasure against the prince, Gonthier resolved on vengeance, he sent one of his deacons to the holy city to treat with the pontiff, and to induce him to excommunicate in turn the ungrateful monarch, who recompensed his devotion by cowardly perfidy. But fearful of the issue of this enterprize, he decided to plead his cause in person. He took the money which remained in the treasury of the church at Cologne, and went to Rome. Lothaire, advised of the departure and the plans of Gonthier, immediately despatched the bishop Batolde into Italy, to assure the holy father that he would comply with his decision, and even offering to go in person to justify himself before the tomb of the apostle.

To his letters was attached an act of submission from the bishops of Lorraine.

Nicholas replied to them in these terms:—"You affirm that you are submissive to your sovereign, in order to obey the words of the apostle, Peter, who said, 'Be subject to the prince, because he is above all mortals in this world.' But you appear to forget that we, as the vicar of Christ, have the right to judge all men; thus, before obeying kings, you owe obedience to us; and if we declare a monarch guilty, you should reject him from your communion until we pardon him.

"We alone have the power to bind and to loose, to absolve Nero, and to condemn him; and Christians cannot, under penalty of excommunication, execute other judgment than ours, which alone is infallible. People are not the judges of their princes; they should obey, without murmuring, the most iniquitous orders; they should bow their foreheads under the chastisements which it pleases kings to inflict on them; for a sovereign can violate the fundamental laws of the state, and seize upon the wealth of the citizens, by imposts or by confiscations; he can even dispose of their lives, without any of his subjects having the right to address to him simple remonstrances. But if we declare a king heretical and sacrilegious—if we drive him from the church, clergy, and laity, whatever their rank, are freed from their oaths of fidelity, and may revolt against his power. . . ." Such was the execrable policy taught by the pontiff Nicholas.

One of the ablest commentators of Tacitus, indignant at the excess of arrogance of the court of Rome, refutes all the maxims of the holy father, and terminates with this reasoning: "When men have consented to recognize kings by oaths of fidelity, they hope to find in the monarch an assured gage of protection and prosperity. But when they have discovered that sovereigns have failed in their mission, have become perjured, do not respect the rights of the nation, they have then returned to the exercise of their liberty, and have punished kings who were become their oppressors."

Arsenes, bishop of Orta, was deputed to carry the letters of the pope to Lothaire. The pontiff threatened him, if he did not at once repudiate the princess Waldrade, to convene a council to pronounce against him a sentence of excommunication. Nicholas at the same time wrote to Charles the Bald, to excite him against the king of Lorraine.—

"You say, my lord, that you have induced Lothaire to submit to our decision, and that he has replied to you that he would go to Rome to obtain our judgment upon his marriage. But are you not aware that he has himself already informed us of this design by his ambassadors, and that we have prohibited him from presenting himself before us in the state of sin in which he is! We have waited long enough for his conversion, deferring even unto this time from crushing him beneath our anathema, in order to avoid war and effusion

of blood. A longer patience, however, will render us criminal in the eyes of Christ, and we order you, in the name of religion, to invade his states, burn his cities, and massacre his people, whom we render responsible for their resistance of their bad prince."

The legate arrived at Frankfort in the month of February, 865, and was received with great honours by King Louis. He then went to Gondreville, near the residence of Lothaire, and, of his own authority, convened the bishops of the kingdom. Arsenes declared to the monarch, in a full synod, that he had to choose between Queen Thietberge and the excommunication of the pope. Through weakness and superstition, the king of Lorraine promised to be reconciled with his wife. The incestuous Thietberge was then recalled to the court, and twelve counts swore in the name of their sovereign, that they regarded her as their legitimate queen.

Waldrade was sent out of the kingdom, and condemned to go to Rome to obtain absolution for her faults. Then the legate published a fourth excommunication against the adulterous spouse of Boson, and placed him in the possession of the territory of Vandœuvre, which the emperor Louis the Easy had formerly given to the Roman church, and which the count Guy had seized upon in the last war.

Arsenes then departed for Italy, accompanied by Waldrade. On the route he was joined by the countess Ingeltrude, who came to cast herself at his feet, and demand absolution from him. The legate could not resist the charms of the beautiful excommunicated. He consented to reconcile her to the church; and the deed of absolution was given to the adulterous wife at a secret audience! She even promised to rejoin him at Augsburg, and to accompany him into Italy; but, under the pretext of going to the house of one of her relatives to obtain equipages and horses, to continue her journey conveniently, she forsook the legate, and returned to France to rejoin one of her lovers at the court of Charles the Bald. Furious at having been the dupe of this artful woman, the prelate exhorted his rage in the letters which he wrote to the prelates of Gaul and Germany, enjoining on them, in the name of the pope, not to receive this adulteress into their dioceses, and not to regard the deed of absolution which she had obtained by criminal means.

Waldrade imitated the example of the beautiful Ingeltrude. She feigned a violent passion for Arsenes, obtained from him a decretal of absolution, and left him on the very night on which she was to fulfil the promise she had made him as the price of his complaisance. Such was the success of the embassy of the holy father.

Nicholas then prepared to send legates to the East; but at the very moment of their departure, Michael, the protopatriarch of the emperor, entered Italy, bearing a letter to the pontiff from his master, in which that prince threatened to chastise the Holy See, if it did

not immediately revoke the anathema lanced against Photius.

These hostile dispositions changed the ideas of the holy father. He then determined not to send a legation to Constantinople, and only gave to the officer Michael a reply conceived in the following terms:—"Know, prince, that the vicars of Christ are above the judgment of mortals; and that the most powerful sovereigns have no right to punish the crimes of popes, how enormous soever they may be. Your thoughts should be occupied by the efforts which they accomplish for the correction of the church, without disquieting yourself about their actions; for no matter how scandalous or criminal may be the debaucheries of the pontiffs, you should obey them, for they are seated on the chair of St. Peter. And did not Jesus Christ himself, even when condemning the excesses of the scribes and Pharisees, command obedience to them, because they were the interpreters of the law of Moses?"

"You say that, since the sixth council, no pope has received from your court the honour you have done us by addressing a letter to us. This reflection is to the shame of your predecessors and the glory of ours; for, since that period the Greek church has been constantly infected with heresy. The chiefs of the empire being heretics, we should reject them from our communion with horror, and pursue them with our anathemas upon earth and in heaven. We should, to restore concord among Christians, employ the aid of the arms of strange nations to overthrow the odious power of the emperors of the East. This conduct, which you call infamous, was alone worthy of the Holy See.

"You treat the Latin language as a barbarous tongue, because you do not understand it; and yet you lay claim to the title of emperor of the Romans, and call yourself the heir of the old Cæsars, the supreme chief of the state and the church.

"In contempt of the canons, and by the abuse of an usurped authority, you convene an assembly of laymen to judge a bishop, and to be the spectators of his shame. You reverse all the rules of judgment; you submit a superior to the judgment of his inferiors; you seduce his judges by your gold, and you choose his accuser to be his successor upon the episcopal See.

"We have regarded with pity that abominable cabal which you call a council, and which, in your mad pride, you place on an equality with the general council of Nice. We declare, by virtue of the privileges of our church, that this assembly was sacrilegious, impure, and abominable. Cease, then, to oppose our rights, and obey our orders, or else we will, in our turn, raise our power against yours, and will say to the nations—People, cease to bow your heads before your proud masters. Overthrow these impious sovereigns, these sacrilegious kings, who have arrogated to themselves the right of commanding men, and of taking away the liberty of their brethren

"Fear, then, our wrath, and the thunders of our vengeance; for Jesus Christ has appointed us with his own mouth absolute judges of all men; and kings themselves are submitted to our authority. The power of the church has been consecrated before your reign, and it will subsist after it. Do not hope to alarm us by your threats of ruining our cities and our fields. Your arms will be powerless, and your troops will fly before the forces of our allies.

"Cowardly and vain-glorious emperor, before undertaking the conquest of Italy, drive away the infidels who have ravaged Sicily and Greece, and who have burned the suburbs of Constantinople, your capital! No longer threaten Christians, who call you an heretic, unless you wish to imitate the Jews, who delivered Barabbas, and put to death Jesus Christ."

After the departure of the envoy, Michael, Nicholas pronounced a new sentence of excommunication against Waldrade, who had returned to the court of Lothaire. He even accused her of having wished to poison Queen Thietberge, and he ordered all the prelates of France and Germany to publish in their dioceses the anathema pronounced against her, and to drive her from the churches.

Aventius, bishop of Metz, immediately wrote to Rome in justification of Lothaire; he thus terminated his letter: "Since the departure of your legate, the king has entertained no criminal relations with Waldrade; he has himself signified to her that she must obey your orders, under penalty of being confined in a monastery. On the other hand, he treats Queen Thietberge with kindness; she assists with him at divine service; she partakes of his table and his bed, and his condescendance to the princess has gone so far as to permit her brother, the deacon Hubert, to be recalled to court. Finally, in all the private conversations which I have had with the prince, I have discovered nothing but entire submission to your counsels and your authority." This letter of the prelate of Metz contained nothing but falsehoods, for Thietberge, steadily ill-treated by Lothaire, was soon obliged to go to Rome, to ask herself for the dissolution of the marriage.

In the same year, Bagoris, a Bulgarian prince, and a new convert to the Christian faith, sent his son and some lords into Italy, to offer rich presents to St. Peter. The deputies of the monarch were at the same time to consult the pope on religious questions, and to ask from him bishops and priests. This embassy of the Bulgarians gave great joy to the holy father, who saw his authority extending over new people.

By his orders, Paul, bishop of Populania, in Tuscany, and Formosus, bishop of Porto, quitted Italy to go to Bagoris, and carry to him his reply. The letter of the pope contained one hundred and six articles, drawn from the Roman laws and the Institutes of Justinian. Nicholas professes in this recital a singular morality: "You advise us," he says, to the

Bulgarian king, that "you have caused your subjects to be baptized without their consent, and that you have exposed yourself to so violent a revolt as to have incurred the risk of your life. I glorify you for having maintained your authority by putting to death those wandering sheep who refused to enter the fold; and you not only have not sinned, by showing a holy rigour, but I even congratulate you on having opened the kingdom of heaven to the people submitted to your rule. A king need not fear to command massacres, when these will retain his subjects in obedience, or cause them to submit to the faith of Christ, and God will reward him in this world, and in eternal life, for these murders."

An infamous policy, which changes a sublime religion into blind fanaticism, and which is sufficient to cause to be execrated all the priests and all the kings of the earth! Religion should be a bond of fraternal union among men, and not serve as a pretext to tyrants to legitimize their cruelties and their brigandages! No—pontiffs and monarchs have no right to constrain people to embrace a belief; and nations submitted to their authority cannot be deprived of the most beautiful, the most admirable of human rights, that of rendering to the Deity the worship which they believe to be the most agreeable to him. The learned Barbeyrac thus expresses his opinion: "A man can never give another an arbitrary thought over his thoughts and life, of which the empire appertains to God alone; and the efforts of violence only serve to make hypocrites. In matters of religion, as in those of policy, kings have no right to constrain their subjects by force of arms, to embrace even the purest of religions or the best of governments."

The following are additional charitable instructions given by Nicholas to the king of the Bulgarians: "If you have not sinned in massacring your people in the name of Christ, you have committed an enormous crime in persecuting a Greek, who called himself a priest, and who baptized a great number of infidels in your kingdom. It is true that this man was not an ecclesiastic, and that you have wished to punish him for his knavery, by condemning him to have his nose and ears cut off, and to be driven from your kingdom after his punishment; but your zeal in this case was not enlightened, for this man did great good by preaching the morality of Jesus Christ, and by baptizing. I declare, then, to you, that those who have received from him that sacrament, in the name of the Holy Trinity, are canonically baptized, for the excellence of the sacraments does not depend upon the virtue of the ministers of religion. You have grievously sinned by mutilating this Greek, and you will undergo a severe penance therefore, unless you send us a sum of money to purchase forgiveness for your fault.

"As to the customs of the Roman church, of which you desire to be informed, we observe the following: The solemn days of baptism are fixed at the periods of Easter and the Pentecost, but for you, who have not yet been

subjected to the practices of Christianity, you should have no fixed time for the observance of the regenerative sacrament, and you should be considered as those who are in danger of death.

"You say that the Greeks do not permit you to commune without having on girdles, and that they regard it a crime to pray in church, unless the arms are crossed upon the breast. These practices are indifferent among us; we only recommend to the laymen to pray daily at certain hours, as it is recommended to all the faithful to entreat Jesus Christ without ceasing. You must feast on Sunday, and not on Saturday; you should abstain from labour on the days of the festivals of the Holy Virgin, of the twelve apostles, the evangelists, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Stephen the first martyr, and of the saints, whose memory is held in veneration in your country.

"On these days, and during Lent, you should not administer judgment, and you should abstain from flesh during the fast of Lent, on Pentecost, on the Assumption of the Virgin, and on Christmas; you must also fast on Fridays, and the eve of great feasts. On Wednesdays you may eat meat, and it is not necessary to deprive yourselves of baths on that day and on Fridays, as the Greeks recommend. You are at liberty to receive the communion daily in Lent, but you should not hunt, nor gamble, nor enter into light conversation, nor be present at the shows of jugglers during this season of penitence. You must not give feasts, nor assist at marriages, and married people should live in continence. We leave to the disposal of the priests the duty of imposing a penance on those who shall have yielded to the desires of the flesh.

"You may carry on war in Lent, but only to repel an enemy. You are at liberty to eat all kinds of animals, without troubling yourself about the distinction of the old law; and laymen, as well as clergy, can bless the table before eating, by making the sign of the cross. It is the custom of the church not to eat before nine o'clock in the morning, and a Christian should not touch game killed by a Pagan.

"The Roman custom concerning marriages ordains, that the contract and agreements between the spouses should take place after the betrothal; they then make their offerings to the church by the hands of the priest, and receive the nuptial benediction, and the veil for virgins who are now married for the first time; they then place on their heads crowns of flowers, which are preserved in the church. All these ceremonies are not essential to the validity of the marriage, and the consecration of the secular laws is alone rigorously exacted.

"Those who have two wives, should keep the first, and repudiate the second, and do penance for the past. Married people should observe continence on fête days and Sundays only. When a mother nourishes her own child, she can enter the church after her confinement; but she should be driven from it if she confides the nourishment of her child to mercenary women.

"Before declaring war on your enemies, you should assist at the sacrifice of the mass, and make rich offerings to the churches; and we order you to take, as your military ensign, instead of the horse's tail, which serves you for a standard, the cross of Jesus Christ. We also prohibit you from forming any alliance with the infidels; and when you conclude a peace in future, you will swear upon the evangelists, and not upon the sword.

"We can decide upon nothing in relation to the nomination of a patriarch for your country, until after the return of the legates whom we send you. We will, however, give you a bishop, and afterwards will bestow upon him the privileges of an archbishop; he will thus be enabled to establish prelates who can aid him in great affairs, and after his death, we will designate his successor, who can be consecrated without being compelled to come to Rome."

Nicholas, in fact, sent with the Bulgarian ambassadors three legates, who were to go to Constantinople, Donatus bishop of Ostia; Leo, a priest of the order of St. Lawrence; and Marin, a deacon of the Roman church. He sent by them letters for Michael the Third, and the Greek bishops.

In the letter addressed to the emperor, the pontiff thus expresses himself: "You declare that, notwithstanding our anathemas, Photius shall guard the See of Constantinople and the communion of the Eastern church, and that our violence will only aggravate the condition of Ignatius, the deposed patriarch. We think on the contrary, that the Christians of your empire will not forget the canons of Nice, which prohibit communion with excommunicated, and we trust that a member separated from the body of the faithful will not live many years. We have performed our duty, and our proceedings cannot be censured by you. The judgment of it is from God, and the Holy Spirit having spoken by our mouth, those who have been condemned will remain for ever blasted. Recollect that Simon, the Magician, was beaten down by St. Peter; Acacius, of Constantinople, by Pope Felix, and Anthimus by the pontiff Agapet, in spite of the will of princes.

We have received, during the past year, a writing filled with insults and blasphemies; he who has composed it in your name appears to have dipped his pen in the venom of the serpent, to produce a work the most cruel to our dignity; we exhort you to burn publicly this infamous writing, in order to free yourself from the charge of having subscribed it in vermilion with your own hand. Otherwise know, that in full council, we will anathematize it, and that we will attach it to a stake in the court yard of our palace, and deliver it to the flames, in the presence of the pilgrims of all nations, who come to visit the tomb of St. Peter.

The legates, after having finished their mission in Bulgaria, went towards Constantinople; but as soon as they had set foot on the Greek territory, they were arrested by the sol-



diers, and conducted under the charge of a strong escort, before the prince, without having been allowed to communicate with any one. Michael, having read their letters, fell into a great rage; he ordered one of his officers to strike them in the face, and drove them from his presence. They returned immediately to Bulgaria, where they were received with great distinction. Paul and Formosus converted and baptized a great number of Bulgarians, and the king, enchanted with their preaching, expelled from his kingdom the missionaries of other nations. Bagiris even sent a second embassy to Rome, to ask the pontiff to bestow the title of metropolitan of the Bulgarians on the bishop Formosus.

This success was a feeble compensation to the holy father, who had hoped to excite all the East against the emperor; for Photius, informed of the progress of the Latin clergy in Bulgaria, and having learned that the legates of the pope had cast into the mire the holy oil which had been consecrated by him, resolved to avenge himself on his enemies. He assembled an œcumenical council, over which the emperor Michael, and Basil presided, and at which the legates from the three patriarchal Sees of the East assisted, as well as the senate and a great number of bishops, abbots, and monks. Nicholas, accused before the fathers of crimes and assassinations, was deposed from his pontificate, and anathematized. A sentence of excommunication was also pronounced against those who communed with him.

Photius, who directed the proceedings of the assembly, being desirous of bringing the emperor Louis into his interests, declared him sovereign of Italy, with the title of king, and sent him the proceedings of the council, by legates who carried with them magnificent presents to the princess Ingelberge, his wife. In their letters, the fathers besought the prince to drive from Rome, the infamous Nicholas, whom they called sacrilegious, simoniacal, a murderer, and a sodomite.

The patriarch then sent to the Eastern prelates a circular, in which he thus expressed himself in regard to the Latin church: "Heresies are extinguished, and faith has spread from the imperial city over infidel nations; the Armenians have abandoned the schism of the Jacobites to re-unite themselves to the church, and the Bulgarians renounced Pagan superstitions to embrace the evangelical faith; but soon men, sallying forth from the darkness of the West, come to re-establish the errors of the schismatics, and to corrupt the orthodox purity of the new converts:

"These heretical priests recommend fasts on Saturdays. They cut off the first week in Lent, by permitting food made of milk to be eaten. They condemn the legitimate marriages of the priesthood, and tolerate debauchery and corruption in the clergy. They administer several times the unction of the sacred oil; and finally, in the excess of their impiety, they dare to add new words to the sacred creed, authorized by all the councils.

They affirm that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father alone, but that it proceeds from the Father and the Son. They also admit two principles in the Trinity, and confound the distinction of the Father and Son! An impious doctrine which is contrary to the Gospels, and to all the decisions of the fathers!

"On learning what abominable errors they had spread among the Bulgarians, our entrails were moved, as those of a father who sees his children rent by cruel beasts, and we resolved not to take any repose, until we had snatched those new Christians from the execrable influence of Pope Nicholas. We have then condemned in a council, this minister of Antichrist, as well as all the abominable priests, who aid him in spreading his infamous doctrines. We advise you of all these proceedings, my brethren, that you may concur with us in the execution of the sentence pronounced against the Romans, and with your aid we hope soon to bring back the Bulgarians to the faith which they received from us, and to give them a Greek patriarch.

"We have received from Italy a synodical letter, filled with complaints against the pope. The prelates of that country conjure us not to abandon them to the tyranny of this impure man. We have been already implored by Bishops Basil and Zozimus, and by the venerable Metrophanes, to come to the succour of the church; but for some months past the complaints of the laity and clergy of the West have been more energetic and frequent than ever; all beseech us to hurl from the pontifical throne the Satan who is crowned with a tiara."

Whilst the holy father was being excommunicated at Constantinople, Segilon, bishop of Sens, and Adon, bishop of Vienne came to Rome to place in the hands of Nicholas, the letters of Thietberge, who declared that she renounced, of her own full accord, her royal dignity, and consented to a separation with Lothaire, for the purpose of terminating her days in a holy retreat; she recognized that her marriage with the king should be declared null on account of sterility, and that Waldrade was the legitimate spouse of the prince.

Nicholas made this reply to the queen: "The testimony which you bear for Waldrade, could not be of advantage to this criminal woman; for even although you were no longer in existence, Waldrade shall never be the spouse of Lothaire, because such is our will. We prohibit you from coming near us, not only on account of the insecurity of the journey, but also because it would be criminal to abandon the royal church to the adulteress. Your sterility does not arise from yourself, but from the injustice of the prince, who refuses to fulfil towards you the duties of a husband. Your union cannot be then broken for a fault of which he alone is guilty.

"Do not then labour more for a separation which we will never authorize, how unworthy soever may be the treatment which the king of Lorraine causes you to endure; besides,

it is better to receive death at the hands of another, than to slay your soul; and it is better to suffer a glorious martyrdom for the truth, rather than live by falsehood. We do not receive a confession which is wrested by violence; besides, husbands might oblige their wives by bad treatment to declare that their union is not legitimate, or that they have committed a capital crime, which renders necessary their repudiation.

"We trust Lothaire will never abandon himself to such an excess, for he would expose himself to the danger of losing his crown were he to attempt the life of a queen who is under the protection of the Holy See. If the king, your husband, exacts that you must come to Rome, you must be accompanied by Waldrade, in order that she may submit to the chastisement of her faults. You give, as a motive for separation, your ardent desire to preserve the purity of your body; but our will is, that you receive the embraces of your husband, unless he should make a vow of continence and retire to a monastery."

Nicholas then wrote to the metropolitans of France and Germany, "You are guilty, my brethren, for not having constrained the king of Lorraine to show more condescendence for our will, and whoso among you shall not show more zeal to execute our orders, in regard to Queen Thietberge, will be regarded as a favourer of the adulterer, and will be driven from our communion."

Adventius, of Metz, hastened to inform the bishop of Verdun, of the dispositions of the holy father, in the following letter: "The pope has addressed to me a terrible bull, on the resolution which he has taken against the king our master. If on the eve of the festival of the purification, Lothaire does not quit Waldrade, he orders us to interdict him from entering the church. This decision, which we are constrained to obey, under penalty of deposition, places us in mortal disquiet. We beseech you, then, to find the king, and to represent to him the peril which threatens him."

"We think that the best thing for him to do, would be, to make a journey, two days before the festival of the purification, to Floriquing, with three bishops, to confess his sins with contrition and promise of correction; he will then swear to submit to the will of the holy father, in the presence of his faithful servants, and we will be able to admit him into the church of St. Arnoul, where he will attend at the celebration of a solemn mass. If he acts otherwise, he will place his crown in peril, and draw on our heads the thunders of Rome."

The partizans of Lothaire feared, and with reason, lest his uncles should take advantage of an excommunication pronounced against him, to seize on his kingdom; and Nicholas, who was aware of the ambition of the family of the Carlovingians, retained the princes of this race in constant dread, by threats of anathema. The pontiff addressed to the prelates of the kingdom of Charles the Bald, the sentence which he had rendered against the king of Lorraine, and a writing which he had

composed against the Greek emperors, and the patriarch of Constantinople.

"In the midst of all our sufferings," wrote Nicholas, "we endure one more grievous still from the unjust reproaches of the princes Michael and Basil, who, animated by an envious hatred, have dared to accuse us of heresy. The cause of their fury is our refusal to approve of the ordination of the layman Photius, and the protection which we grant to Bagiris, king of the Bulgarians, who asked from us missionaries, and instructions for his people, newly converted to Christianity.

"In their ill-humour at not being able to reduce this nation beneath their laws, the Greek monarchs charge the Roman church with outrages and calumnies, which might be able to avert from us ignorant men, who know not how to make a distinction between the sublime morality of Jesus Christ and the sacrilegious conduct of some priests of our church.

"Photius blames us for fasting on Saturday and condemning the marriages of priests; he accuses us of preventing ecclesiastics from anointing with holy oil, and he maintains that we are Jews, because we bless a lamp upon the altar on the solemn day of Easter; he condemns the habit of shaving the beard, and of consecrating mere deacons, who have not been ordained priests, as bishops. These practices, however, which scandalize the patriarch of Byzantium have been observed for ages in the Latin church, and we cannot change them.

"This proud prelate also arrogates to himself the name of universal bishop, when we alone have the right to this title. But we will preserve it by the grace of God, despite the intrigues and threats of the Greeks . . ."

Whilst the pope was sending this libel into France, grave events were changing the destinies of Constantinople. Basil, tired of the sage remonstrances of Michael, who had drawn this monster from the lowest ranks of his guards, to elevate him to the empire, caused his protector to be assassinated, that he might become the sole ruler of the state.

This horrible crime had excited the just indignation of Photius, and on the day of a solemn festival, Basil having presented himself in the cathedral to receive the communion, the indignant patriarch had repelled him from the holy table, saying to him, "Quit the house of God, infamous usurper, who hast soiled thy hands in the blood of thy benefactor." Irritated at the boldness of the prelate, Basil seized the venerable Photius, deposed him from his See, and recalled Ignatius to Constantinople. But in order to give more lustre to the re-installation of the old patriarch, he wrote to Nicholas, the implacable enemy of Photius, to ask from him authority to convene a general council on this subject.

At the same time Louis, the German, and all the bishops of his kingdom, urged the pontiff to re-instate Teutgard and Gonthier in their Sees. Nicholas demanded, that the guilty, in order to buy off the excommunication pronounced against them, should pay into

his purse large sums, and should make an honourable amende for the pretended crimes that they had committed against the Holy See. These fiery prelates replied, that they would consent to pay the conscience of the pope with gold, but not with their own infamy, and that they refused to gain an archbishopric if they must lose their honour.

By this noble refusal, the churches of Treves and Cologne finding themselves without pastors, the pope wrote to King Louis, that he should present to him ecclesiastics worthy to occupy these important Sees. His letter terminated by complaints against Lothaire. "Your nephew," wrote the pope, "has informed me, that he would come to the tomb of the apostles, without having obtained my authority. He need not try to execute his project, for we will cause the gates of our city to be shut, that it may not be soiled by the presence of an excommunicated person. Before coming to Rome he must humble himself and implore our pardon, and we will that he should accomplish our orders, not by promises, but by actions.

"Thietberge, it is true, has been recalled to court, but it is to see her rival reign; and what avails to this princess the vain title of queen, if she has not the authority of one? Is it not Waldrade, the royal concubine, who braves our anathemas, reigns with Lothaire, and disposes at her caprice of the ranks and offices of the kingdom? It must be that this guilty woman is first handed over to our justice, to be punished for her obstinacy and blindness; then we will authorize Lothaire to come to prostrate himself at our feet."

The pontiff, however, had not the satisfaction of subjugating the king of Lorraine, nor the joy of learning the deposition of Photius. He died on the 13th of November, 867, after a reign of nine years, seven months and twenty-eight days; he was interred near to the porch of the church of St. Peter.

The Roman church has placed Nicholas in the number of the saints, whose memory she honours, admiring his insupportable pride, which she calls apostolic vigour!

Reginon says, that the pope commanded people and kings as if he had been the sovereign of the universe, and Gratian relates a decree in which this abominable prelate makes himself equal with God himself. "It is evident," wrote Nicholas, "that the popes can neither be bound nor unbound by any earthly power, nor even by that of the apostle if he should return upon earth; since Constantine

the Great has recognized that the pontiffs held the place of God upon earth, the divinity not being able to be judged by any living man. We are then infallible, and whatever may be our acts, we are not accountable for them but to ourselves!!!"

In our own age there still exist fanatical writers who sustain this doctrine, and endeavour to induce others to partake of their ridiculous admiration for the popes, by representing them as the vigorous defenders of the cause of the people against kings and emperors. Folly, blindness, or bad faith, for if history shows us the papacy constantly struggling with the temporal power, it also indicates to us, what were the causes of the incessant war between the civil and religious powers. The sovereign pontiffs sought, it is true, to overthrow tyrants, but it was to place themselves in their stead, and all their efforts tended to substitute their own authority for the despotism. Their opposition then was neither useful nor profitable to humanity, and it matters little to the people, whether the altar rules the throne, or the throne the altar, if they are to remain crushed beneath the yoke; it matters little whether their masters are kings or priests, if they are to remain slaves. Alas! the experience of the past shows us, that neither happiness nor tranquillity can remain on earth, so long as the nations shall obey popes or absolute kings. Peace is for them a precious time, which they employ in pressing down the nations; war is more precious still, for it allows them to steal all that has escaped the extortioners.

Formerly in the Roman empire, as in all the countries submitted to despotism, life was considered as a gift of so little value to man, that the unfortunate sold themselves to the rich, who bought the execrable right of slaying a fellow man for a small sum of money, to be paid to the wife and children of their victim. Exactions and injustice had become so intolerable, that to avoid them, the citizens fled among the barbarians, where they recovered their liberty. Later, during the middle age, thanks to the system of darkness of the popes, the degradation, misery and slavery of the people, surpassed all that was most horrible in antiquity. Entire nations disappeared from the soil, and were annihilated by iron, water, fire, in the name and by the will of the pontiffs of Rome; and in our own days, have we not seen the papacy make superhuman efforts to arrest the car of civilization, and unite itself with kings to eradicate liberty?

1847  
 Pope - 858 - 867 ?

## ADRIAN THE SECOND, ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH POPE.

[A. D. 867:]

*The birth of Adrian—Miracle of the forty pennies—Election of Adrian—Sack of Rome—Lothaire sends ambassadors to the pontiff—He takes off the excommunication of Waldrade—Opposes the divorce of Lothaire and Thietberge—Letters from the emperor Basil to the pope—Council of Rome—Decree against the council of Photius—Eleutherus seduces the affections of the wife and daughter of the pope, and murders them in a phrenzy—Anastasius, the librarian, is excommunicated—the affair of Hincmar of Laon—Journey of Lothaire to Italy—He is admitted to the communion of the pontiff—Death of Lothaire—the pope disposes of crowns—He sends legates to Constantinople—Their interview with the emperor of the East—The Orientals submit to the pope—Scandalous condemnation of Photius—Conferences about the Bulgarians—Return of the legates to Rome—Letter of the archbishop Hincmar to the holy father—Charles the Bald causes molten lead to be poured into the eyes and mouth of his son Carloman—The bishops of France reject the authority of the pontiff—Recantation of the pope—The Bulgarians submit to the church of Constantinople—Death of Adrian.*

ADRIAN was a Roman by birth, the son of the bishop Talarus, of the same family as Popes Stephen the Sixth, and Sergius the Second; the Holy See appertained to him, if we may so speak, by right of inheritance. Admitted when very young into the patriarchal palace of the Lateran, he had been the constant object of the solicitude of the pontiffs. Gregory the Fourth ordained him a subdeacon, and his successor conferred on him the priesthood. In all his sacerdotal functions, the young Adrian displayed great piety, and especially a truly Christian charity. The legends relate, on this subject, a miracle which we will quote:

Adrian had received from pope Sergius forty pennies, as a mark of his satisfaction; but the deacon instead of keeping this sum in his purse, or spending it in his pleasures, like the youth of his age, assembled the poor of his quarter, to distribute it among them. These came in so great numbers, that Adrian was obliged to select the most infirm. In his grief at not being able to solace all their sufferings, he addressed fervent prayers to God and commenced the distribution. The blind and the infirm received each a penny; the aged, the lame, women and children advanced in succession and received each a penny; new poor arrived and others followed after them; they thus succeeded each other from the rising of the sun until night, and the young deacon continued to draw pennies from his purse; finally, after having distributed a prodigious quantity, he filled several coffers for the alms of the following day.

His miraculous multiplication of the forty pennies had so increased the veneration of the Romans for Adrian, that on the death of Pope Leo the Fourth he was chosen, without opposition, to succeed him; he refused this glorious distinction; after the reign of Benedict the Third, the suffrages of the people again elevated him to the pontificate; his resolution was still the same.

Finally, on the death of Nicholas the First, the concourse of the people, the grandees, and the clergy was so general, that all, by acclamation, chose Adrian to govern the Holy

See, and their urgency on him to accept the tiara was so pressing, that he was induced to consent, notwithstanding his great age, to bear the burthen of the pontifical dignity. Holy personages affirmed that celestial revelations had announced to them the high dignity to which Adrian was called. Some said that he had appeared to them wearing the pallium; others said, that he had been shown to them surrounded by an aureole of fire, wearing the sizar and distributing pieces of gold in the church of St. Peter; and several affirmed, that they had seen him on the horse of Pope Nicholas, entering the patriarchal palace.

After the election, the people, the grandees, and the clergy, went to the church of St. Maria Major, where they found Adrian at prayer. They immediately raised him in their arms and bore him in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. This enthronement made in the absence of the commissioners of the emperor Louis, excited the discontent of his court; but the priests alleged as an excuse, that they had been constrained to yield to the urgency of the multitude. The prince, satisfied with the explanations made to him, consented to the consecration of the new pontiff, and confirmed the decree of his election; and not only did he refuse the tribute usually paid at the consecration of new popes, but he even declared that his absence compelled him to restore to the Roman church the domains which had been unjustly taken from it.

Adrian, having made the prayers and vigils usual on the election of a pope, was conducted to St. Peter's and solemnly consecrated by Peter, bishop of Gabii, a city of Palestrina, by Leo of the White Forest, and by Donatus, bishop of Ostia. These three venerable personages were chosen, because the bishop of Albano was dead, and Formosus, bishop of Porto, was then absent from Italy, being occupied in converting the Bulgarians.

When his ordination was finished, the pontiff celebrated a solemn mass, and admitted to his communion Teutgard, the metropolitan of Treves, Zachary, bishop of Arragonia, as well as the priest Anastasius, who had been

excommunicated during the preceding reign. On his return to the patriarchal palace he refused the presents offered him, and replied to those who surrounded him, "My brethren, we should condemn this shameful traffic in money, in which the popes have unfortunately been too much engaged to the disgrace of the Holy See, for we should give gratuitously, that which we have received gratuitously, following the precept of Jesus Christ. Thus, instead of accumulating in our treasury the offerings of the faithful for the purpose of enriching hypocritical priests or debauched monks, we declare to you, that all our revenues shall be spent among the poor of the city."

Scarcely had the consecration of Adrian been achieved, when Lambert, duke of Spoleto, without any declaration of war or previous warning, assembled his soldiery and invaded the city of Rome, which he pillaged. Palaces, houses, monasteries, and churches were sacked, nuns violated, and many young girls of patrician families torn from their parents and led into slavery. God, however, permitted that the author of this depredation should be severely punished, first by the holy father, who declared Lambert excommunicated, and then by the emperor, who conquered the duchy of Spoleto.

Anastasius, the librarian, expresses his opinion on the state of the Roman clergy, in a letter which he wrote to Adon, metropolitan of Vienne, "I announce to you, my brother, very sad news; the holy pope Nicholas has gone to a better life, and has left us in this world much afflicted. Now that he is no more, all those whom he condemned lift up their criminal heads and labour with ardour to destroy that which he had done; we are assured that even the emperor Louis grants them his aid. Warn, then, our brethren of these guilty enterprises, and urge them to defend the memory of the pontiff in such way as you shall judge best to maintain our interests; for if the doings of a pope are broken, what will become of our's?"

"We have a new pope named Adrian, a man venerable for the holiness of his life. He is married to a woman named Stephanía, who rears their young daughter, whose beauty is remarkable. The holy father exhibits great zeal in maintaining the purity of morals, but we do not yet know what will be his mode of governing the church; whether he will superintend all ecclesiastical affairs, or abandon the direction of them to his ministers. He appears to have entire confidence in my uncle Arsenes, your friend, whose devotion to the interests of the Roman clergy has been a little cooled since the unworthy treatment he received from Nicholas. I beseech you, however, by your wise counsels to lead him back to those charitable sentiments, in order that we may be enabled to profit by his credit over the mind of the emperor and the pope; I also beseech all the archbishops of Gaul, if a council is held to anathematize the decrees of Nicholas, not to place themselves in the

ranks of his accusers, but on the contrary, to resist his enemies courageously."

The fears of Anastasius of the condemnation of the proceedings of the infamous Nicholas, were chimerical; for his successor showed himself a faithful imitator of his policy, and manifested the most ardent zeal to maintain the infallibility of the Holy See. He, however, pardoned the prelates who had been deposed and anathematized, and recalled those who were in exile; and at his request, the emperor also freed from prison all the ecclesiastics who had been guilty of the crime of lese-majesty.

Adrian decorated magnificently the church which Nicholas had built in the interior of his palace, and in all his actions he showed so great a deference for the acts of his predecessor, that the Romans called him Adrian the Nicolite. Old priests, however, who were versed in the trickery of the court of Rome, affirmed on the other hand, that the pope adroitly tarnished the preceding reign by the protection which he granted to the victims of the pride and tyranny of Nicholas.

The holy father having invited to a sumptuous dinner in his palace a great number of Greek monks, who had been persecuted by his predecessor, he himself presented to them the ewers and linen for their ablutions, and served to them with his own hands food and drink, which no other pope had ever done before him. During the repast the young clerks sang spiritual songs; and when the monks arose from table, Adrian prostrated himself before them with his face to the earth, and addressed them as follows: "My brethren, pray for the Holy Catholic church, for our son the most Christian emperor Louis, that he may subjugate the Saracens; pray for me and beseech God to give me strength to govern his numerous faithful. Let your prayers rise in remembrance of those who have lived holy lives, and let us all thank Christ together for having given to his church my lord and father, the most holy and most orthodox Pope Nicholas, who has defended it like another Joshua, against its enemies."

The monks of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, for some time preserved silence; finally, they exclaimed, "God be praised for having given to his people a pastor so respectful as you are towards your predecessor!" and they repeated three times, "Eternal memory to the sovereign pontiff Adrian, whom Jesus Christ has established as universal bishop;" but the holy father perceiving that the Greeks wished to shun rendering homage to the memory of Nicholas, made a sign with his hand and added, "My brethren, I beseech you in the name of Christ, that your praises be addressed to the most holy and orthodox Nicholas. Established by God sovereign pontiff and universal pope; glory to him the new Elias, the new Phineas, worthy of an eternal priesthood, and peace and grace to his followers." This acclamation was repeated three times by the monks, who did not wish to disoblige the holy father,

after having been the object of so honourable a distinction.

Adrian wrote to the metropolitans of France, "We beseech you, my brethren, to re-establish the name of Pope Nicholas in the books and sacred writings of your churches, to name him in the mass, and to order the bishops to conform to our decision on this subject. We exhort you to resist with firmness the Greek princes, who undertake to accuse his memory or reject his decrees; still, we do not wish to be inflexible towards those whom he has condemned, if they will implore our mercy, and consent not to justify themselves by accusing that great pope, who is now before God, and whom no one dared to attack whilst living.

"Be then vigilant and courageous, and instruct the prelates beyond the Alps, that if they reject the decrees of a pontiff, they will destroy the supreme authority of the ministers of the church; all should fear lest their ordinances be despised, when they have attained the power which rules kings."

As soon as Lothaire was apprised of the death of Pope Nicholas, he sent to Rome Adventinus, bishop of Metz, and Grimland, his chancellor, as bearers of a letter thus conceived: "Most holy father, I submitted myself to the prince of the apostles, in obeying your predecessor; I followed his paternal advice, and the exhortations of his legates even to the detriment of my own authority; I have not ceased to demand from him, in the name of divine and human laws, the favour of presenting myself before him with my accusers, to justify myself; and yet he has always refused to me permission to visit that Rome of which my ancestors were the protectors.

"We have been edified by seeing the Bulgarians brought by him, to make their adorations at the tomb of St. Peter; but we have suffered the liveliest affliction, when it was declared to us that we were excluded from Rome for ever. We trust you will be less rigorous to us than Pope Nicholas, and that in exchange for our obedience and submission, you will permit us to kiss your feet. We beseech you to send us this authority by our ambassador, or that of the emperor Louis, our brother; informing you that if this step was unsuccessful, our kingdom would incur great risk on account of the condescension we have shown for your See, and which has taken from us the affection of our people."

Adrian made this reply to the king of Lorraine: "The court of Rome, my lord, will always receive with honour one of the sons of Charlemagne, when he shall come to render it homage; and it will not refuse to listen to his justification, if that is conformable with divine and human justice. You can then present yourself boldly at the tomb of the apostle, if you are innocent of the crime of which you are accused; but it will not be permitted to you to refuse to do penance if you are judged guilty."

For eight months, the emperor Louis, seconded by the troops of Lothaire, had carried a successful war against the Saracens

of Africa, who ravaged the southwardly part of Italy; thus, Adrian being unable to refuse anything to his powerful protector, granted to him the authority solicited by Lothaire, as well as the absolution of Waldrade. He even wrote to this prince in these terms: "We have been informed by the emperor Louis, of the repentance which you prove for your sins, and of the perseverance with which you shun refalling into the same fault. Now that you detest your errors, we free you from anathema and excommunication; we readmit you into the society of the faithful, and we grant you permission to enter the church to pray, and to eat and speak with other Christians. But be upon your guard for the future, that God may give you in heaven the absolution you receive from us on earth; for if you use dissimulation to obtain the remission of your sins, know, that instead of being unbound, you will be the more bound before him who sees our consciences."

To this letter the pope joined another for the bishops of Germany, to whom he announced the absolution of Waldrade; he thus expresses himself: "Our dear son, the emperor Louis, combats against the enemies of the faith, for the safety of the church, for the increase of our power, and for the deliverance of the faithful of the province of Samnium. The Saracens were already advancing on our territories and preparing to ravage the domains of St. Peter, when he abandoned his repose and his family to expose himself to the dangers of war, and soon the infidel fell beneath his victorious arms, or became converts to Christianity.

"We inform you that in consequence, you should render homage to those who belong to him, as Lothaire; for he who attacks his brother will attack himself. Know then, that the Holy See is strongly united to this valiant prince, and that we are ready to employ for him the powerful arms which God has placed in our hands, through the intercession of St. Peter, as he employs those which Jesus Christ has intrusted to him for the defence of the church."

After all these protestations of the pontiff Adrian, Lothaire, supposing that he would not dare to refuse him anything, sent to Rome his wife Thietberge, to demand herself the dissolution of the marriage. But this prince was deceived in his hopes, and the pope addressed to him the following vehement letter: "The queen, your spouse, has informed us, that her union with you not having been legitimately contracted, she desires to separate herself from your royal person, renounce the world, and consecrate herself to God. This strange resolution has surprised us, and though you have given your consent, we cannot grant ours. Hence it is by our orders, that Queen Thietberge returns to you, to sustain the rights of her marriage. The motives alleged for breaking off your union, shall be examined by our brethren in a council, but until that time we exhort you, not to listen to the evil counsellors, who surround you. We order

you to receive the queen with the affection which is her due, and to grant her in your kingdom an honourable asylum, where she may live in the shade of your royal protection, and finally, to place in her hands the abbey which you have promised her, that she may be enabled to maintain the dignity of her rank. Those who oppose our decision shall be anathematized, and we will declare you yourself excommunicated, if you refuse to submit to our orders."

In order to assure himself of the execution of his will, the pontiff wrote to Charles the Bald, to beseech him to constrain his nephew to the obedience which was due to the Holy See; and he induced this prince to pledge himself to invade at once the kingdom of Lothaire, if he should separate himself from Thietberge, before their divorce had been canonically ordained by a synod. For this purpose he addressed the following letter to the metropolitan Hincmar: "I have known for a long time your great reputation, my brother, but I am yet more particularly informed of your rare merit by Arsene, the nuncio of the Holy See, by the bishop Actard, and by our dear son Anastasius, the librarian.

"Their eulogies have inspired in me as much affection as esteem for you, and I hope that you will welcome the testimony of our friendship and confidence, by favouring with all your power the interests of the Holy See, in the affair between King Lothaire and Thietberge his wife. You know how much Popes Benedict and Nicholas were occupied during their reigns with this important cause, and in what manner they have directed it; we have the same views as our predecessors, and will follow up that on which they decided. We exhort you then, not to allow your devotion to the court of Rome to chill, and to speak boldly in our name to kings and powerful persons, in order to prevent them from re-establishing by force or artifice, that which has been destroyed by the ecclesiastical authority."

Euthymius, having been sent as envoy to Italy by the emperor Basil, then brought the news of the deposition of Photius, and of the re-establishment of Ignatius, on the See of Constantinople. Adrian manifested great joy at this change, and ordered that they should celebrate solemn masses in honour of the patriarch. In his reply to Basil, the holy father addressed to him cowardly flatteries; he congratulated him on the abominable parricide which he had committed upon the person of his benefactor, and declared that his reign was a special blessing from God. He compared him to Solomon, and declared that it was by the inspiration of Christ that he assassinated Michael to drive away Photius, and re-instate Ignatius on his See.

Some months after, new ambassadors came to congratulate Adrian on his election, in the name of Basil and Ignatius. The pope received them with great honours, and admitted them into the secret saloon of St. Maria Majora, to confer with them. The envoys brought to him magnificent presents, and the following

letter from the emperor: "On our advent to the throne, having found the church deprived of its legitimate pastor, and submitted to the tyranny of a stranger, we hastened to drive away this man, to recall Ignatius, our father, who had been unworthily oppressed by our predecessor. We however, submit to your approval, that on which we have decided, and we ask from you, how those ought to be treated who have communed with Photius. The bishops and priests who were pledged not to abandon Ignatius, have failed in their oaths; others, led on by the seductions of the usurper or by violence, have consented to be consecrated by the false patriarch; finally, almost all the ecclesiastics have given way by recognizing his authority. We beseech you then, to have pity on them, in order to shun an universal shipwreck in our church."

Ignatius, in his letter, gave the same details, and recognized the primacy of the Holy See and the sovereign authority of the pope.

The ambassadors of Basil then presented to the pontiff a book which had been found among the papers of Photius, and which established the crimes of Nicholas; it also contained the relation of the council held at Constantinople at the time of the condemnation of Ignatius; they besought Adrian to examine this work. He declared, however, that he would do nothing but condemn the author of it the third time; then one of the Greek bishops seized the book and cast it on the ground, exclaiming "Thou hast been cursed at Constantinople, be again cursed at Rome!" He then trampled it under foot and cut it with a sword, adding, "The devil dwells in this work, and has himself spoken by the mouth of the abominable Photius; I declare that the signatures of the emperor, Michael of Basil, and of almost all the bishops of the East have been counterfeited by Satan himself with such skill, that it is impossible to recognize the criminal fraud."

Adrian did not allow so favourable an opportunity to escape of avenging the Holy See of the outrages which Photius had heaped upon it; he ordered his monks to take up the book and to place it in the hands of those who were acquainted with both the Greek and Latin languages, that it might be censured.

After their examination of it, he convened a council, at which the book was solemnly condemned in the presence of the deputies from the East, and at the opening of the synod he thus spoke: "We order that the proceedings of the last cabal held at Constantinople by Photius and the emperor Michael, his guilty protector, be burned and anathematized. We also order, that all the writings published by those two laymen against the Holy See, undergo the same disgrace; and we reject with execration the two cabals which deposed our dear brother, Ignatius.

"Finally, we excommunicate, for the third time, this Photius, already condemned by our predecessor, until he submits himself to the ordinances of Pope Nicholas and to ours, by publicly abjuring his pretensions to the epis-

copy. If he makes thus a proper apology, we will not refuse him lay communion, but he will remain for ever despoiled of the sacred ornaments in which he was clothed by an in-oligious usurpation.

"As to those who have assisted at the im-famous assemblies of Photius, if they return to the communion of Ignatius, if they anathema-tize and burn the copies of the proceedings of the cabal, they shall re-enter the bosom of the church; but he who, having cognizance of our apostolic decree, shall still preserve those cursed copies, shall be for ever excommuni-cated and deposed. We give this order for the cities of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jeru-salem, as well as for all the faithful of the East; this sentence is not, however, applica-ble to our son, the emperor Basil, although his name is inserted in the acts of the condemned synod, and we receive him into the number of Catholic emperors."

This decree was subscribed by forty bi-shops, and the book, after having been a se-cond time trampled under foot, was then cast into a heated furnace.

The same year a scandalous event troubled the tranquillity of Rome. The bishop Arsenes had a son named Eleutherus, who was admit-ted into the family of Adrian, which was com-posed of his wife and young daughter. Eleu-therus became violently enamoured of this young girl, who was already affianced to an-other; he carried her off during the night, and retired with her and her mother to a strong castle in the neighborhood of Pavia. Arsenes, in despair at the boldness of his son, and foreseeing the fatal consequences of the vengeance of Adrian, cast himself at his feet to obtain his approval of the marriage of their children. But all his entreaties were use-less; the pontiff remained inflexible; then the venerable Arsenes, who feared, on account of Eleutherus, the wrath of Adrian, resolved to interest, in the defence of his son, a powerful court, which could protect him after his death; he consequently bequeathed a great part of his wealth to the empress Ingelberge, the wife of Louis, on condition that she would furnish troops to his son, in case the pontiff desired to employ violence against him.

Scarcely, however, had the pious bishop closed his eyes in death, when Eleutherus found himself without defence, exposed to the wrath of the pope; his friends were alienated from him; several monks, creatures of the Holy See, came to his retreat to assassinate him; his wife herself yielding to secret in-fluences, endeavoured to escape with her mo-ther; his servants endeavoured to kill him by mingling poison with the water served up at table; finally, the unfortunate man, seeing himself betrayed by all the world, lost his rea-son, and in a fit of phrenzy, killed his wife, and his mother-in-law, Stephania. He was immediately arrested. The emperor Louis caused him to be beheaded in the presence of the commissioners of the pope, and his prop-erty was confiscated for the benefit of the monarch and of the Holy See. The vengeance

of Adrian was, however, unsatisfied; he con-vened a council to blacken the memory of Arsenes and Eleutherus, and he even anathe-matized the librarian Anastasius, because he belonged to this wretched family. The sen-tence was thus conceived: "All the church of God has known the crimes committed by Anastasius, as well as the decrees passed against him by our predecessors, Leo and Benedict, who despoiled him of his sacerdotal garments.

"Nicholas, seduced by the flatteries of this priest, afterwards consented to re-instate him in his dignity; then, under cover of this pro-tection, Anastasius gave himself up, with im-punity, to his robberies; he has pillaged the patriarchal palace; he has carried off the proceedings of the council which condemned him; he has allowed heretical prisoners to escape, to free them from punishment; and finally, he has sown disorder between the princes and the church. It is he who caused the disgrace of Adalgrim, and his calumnies condemned the unfortunate victim to lose his eyes and his tongue; it is he who lent a guilty assistance to the ravisher of our well-beloved daughter, and it is still he whose perverse councils led the execrable Eleutherus to the murder of my wife and child.

In consequence of these things, we ordain, in conformity with the judgment of Popes Leo and Benedict, that Anastasius, the librarian, be deprived of all communion, until he shall justify himself from his crimes before a ca-nonical assembly. Those who shall commune with him, whatever be their rank, shall incur the same penalty; and, if he shall fly from Rome, he shall be laden with a perpetual ana-thema, and without hope of pardon." Anastasius was arrested at his residence, led before the council, and this sentence publicly made known to him in the church of St. Praxedes, on the 12th of October, 868.

Some time after, Adrian received a letter from Hincmar, bishop of Laon, complaining of a sentence rendered against him by his uncle, Hincmar, the metropolitan of Rheims. This sentence had been induced by his de-baucheries and shameful conduct. He had rendered himself odious to the clergy and people of his church by his injustice, his ex-actions and his violence. He trafficked in the domains of his See, and sold them to power-ful lords or to the prince, as had already hap-pened with several abbeys, which he had sold to the monarch, and which had passed into the hands of a leader named Normand. He not only sought to procure large sums by ex-tortions, but when his courtisans had ex-hausted his wealth, he recovered, by arms, the property for which he had been paid, and sold it a second time. He even pushed his audacity so far as to drive the lord Normand from the domains sold to King Charles, and he excommunicated him under the pretext that he had seized upon the lands of the di-ocese of Laon.

Charles, informed of the conduct of Hinc-mar, cited him before a council convened at



Verbery, in order to bear his justification of the crimes of which he had been accused by a great number of witnesses. Hincmar appeared before the synod, but he had the impudence to load his uncle, who presided over the assembly, with the most outrageous insults; he was then unanimously condemned, and ordered to take off the anathema which he had lanced against Normand, and to restore to him the property which he held through the liberality of his sovereign.

Hincmar refused to conform to this decision, and appealed from the judgment of the prelates of France to the pontiff, as alone possessing the right of judgment in a difference between a king and a bishop. The assembly opposed his appeal, maintaining, with reason, that this step was contrary to the privileges of the Gallican church, and to the canons of the Sixth Council of Carthage; but the wary prelate, well knowing the pride and ambition of the holy father, persisted in his determination, and deputed, secretly, to Rome, a clerk called Celsan, to claim the interference of Adrian.

The latter, having been informed of the decree of the council of Verbery, wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims and to King Charles, that they should permit Hincmar to come on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostles, ordering them even to bear the expenses of his journey. The holy father threatened with excommunication the lord Normand, if he did not restore at once the property of the diocese of Laon, which he had usurped, and he denounced the vassals who should sustain him in his criminal enterprise. On the receipt of the letter of the pope, Charles wrote to the stubborn prelate to come immediately to his court, to sign a retraction with his own hand, by which he should recognize his faults, and promise submission to his king and superior, the archbishop of Rheims. Hincmar not only refused a second time to obey the orders of the prince, but he even detached his vassals from the obedience they had sworn to King Charles.

Irritated at this audacity, the monarch sent two prelates, Odon of Beauvais, and Gilbert of Chalons, with troops, to bring him before him, voluntarily or by force, as well as to subdue his vassals, who had taken part in his rebellion. But the prelate finding himself sustained in his resistance by the pontiff of Rome, dared to await the arrival of his troops at the head of his clergy, whom he had assembled in the church of Notre Dame, his cathedral; and there, before the crowd of citizens, holding the cross in one hand, and the Gospels in the other, he mounted the pulpit of his church, and pronounced in a loud voice the following anathema:—"I declare all those excommunicated who shall enter by violence into the holy place, or who shall pass the bounds of our diocese; and in especial do I anathematize Hincmar, my uncle, and King Charles, who dares renew towards the faithful of his kingdom, the persecutions of the cruel Domitian."

The officers of the king, however, made their way into the church, followed by their soldiers. Hincmar then took refuge in the sanctuary with the clergy, called the people to his aid, ordering them to drive from the house of God the hired assassins of a tyrant who defiled it by their abominable presence. The soldiers drew their swords, and wished to carry him by force from the church; but at a bound he sprang upon the altar, embraced the crucifix, and called down upon them, with cries of fury, the malediction of God. These stopped, alarmed; and such was the superstition of the time, that they dared not tear him from the altar, and abandoned their enterprise.

After their departure, Hincmar came out from the church, and returned to his palace, borne in triumph by the clergy. The next day, when their minds were calmer, they thought with dread on the consequences of the wrath of Charles. The priests themselves went to the prelate to declare to him that they should refuse in future to obey his orders until he had given satisfaction to the prince. Transported with fury, he excommunicated all the ecclesiastics of his church, prohibited them from saying mass; from baptizing children, even in the last extremity; of administering the sacrament to the dying, and of burying the dead.

The king put an end to all this violence by sending new troops, who seized upon the bishop, and conducted him to a fortress.

In the midst of all these events, Lothaire was preparing to go into Italy to kiss the feet of the pontiff, and wrote to the emperor to induce that prince to use his influence over Adrian, in order to obtain for him authority to leave Thietberge, and take Waltrade as his legitimate wife. But the superstitious Louis, fearing to break off the good understanding which he had with the pope, refused his assistance to Lothaire, and sent deputies to him to induce him to return to his kingdom. The king of Lorraine, who knew the weak and pusillanimous character of the emperor, however went on and came to Beneventum to find him. His presence gained to his side the empress Ingelberge, who ruled her husband, and she determined herself to accompany him to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where the pontiff was to come by the orders of Louis.

Adrian yielded to the requests of the empress, and consented to receive to his communion King Lothaire, and Gonthier, metropolitan of Cologne. He nevertheless exacted that this latter should sign the following retraction:—"I declare before God and his saints, to you, my Lord Adrian, the sovereign pontiff, as also to the faithful who are submitted to your orders, and to all the assembly of Christians, that I bear humbly the sentence of deposition canonically rendered against me by Pope Nicholas. I affirm that I will never exercise any sacred function, unless you reinstate me, through kindness, in the episcopal dignity; and I swear that I will never excite any scandal against the church of Rome, or its

chief, to whom I renew my oath of submission and absolute obedience, even although his orders shall be contrary to the interests of the king, my master."

Ingelberge then returned to her husband, and the pope took the route to Rome with King Lothaire. The prince, however, could not obtain permission to enter the city on the first day. No member of the clergy came to meet him, and he passed the night at the convent of St. Peter without the walls. On the next day he was only permitted to go with his escort to the sepulchre of St. Peter, to deposit there the rich offerings which he had brought. He was then conducted to the palace destined for him near the church, and where the apartments had not even been prepared for his reception.

Some days after, the holy father caused Lothaire to be informed that he would consent to give him an audience. The prince went immediately to the palace of the Lateran, and prostrated himself at the feet of Adrian, who did not deign to raise him up, and sharply apostrophized him, demanding from him if he had followed exactly the decisions of Pope Nicholas. Lothaire replied that he had observed them as orders sent from heaven; and he took the lords who surrounded him to witness as to his sincerity.—The pontiff then replied: "If your testimony is true, we offer for it solemn thanks to Jesus Christ. Let us go, then, my dear son, to the confessional of St. Peter, where we will immolate a saving sacrifice for the safety of your body and your soul; for you must participate with us in the sacrament of the altar in order to be re-incorporated among the faithful from whom you were separated.

After the sacrifice of the mass, the pope invited Lothaire to approach the holy table, and taking the Eucharist, he said to him: "If you regard yourself innocent of the adultery for which you have been condemned by our predecessor, and if you have formed the resolution never to enter into criminal relations with Waldrade, your concubine, approach boldly and receive the sacrament of eternal salvation. But if you intend to return to your adultery, have not the rashness to receive the communion, lest the heavenly bread, which God has given to the faithful as a remedy for their safety, causes your eternal damnation." Lothaire advanced boldly and received the consecrated host. The holy father then turned to the lords who accompanied the king, and said to them, presenting to them the communion, "If you have not consented to the crime of your master, if you have not communicated with the excommunicated, may the body and blood of Christ procure for you eternal life." Some retired, but the greater number received the communion.

Lothaire accompanied the pope to the palace of the Lateran, where he was admitted to his table. After the repast, the prince offered to the holy father new presents in vases of gold and silver, and received in exchange a lioness, a branch of a palm-tree, and a cane.

The monarch thus explained the allegory of the pope: the lioness represented Waldrade, who was about to be restored to him; the palm was the emblem of his victory, and the rod designated the authority granted to him over obstinate bishops. This rod was only an African plant, the stem of which, strong and light, served to aid old men in their walk, and to schoolmasters to punish their scholars. Lothaire quitted Rome with a joyful heart, expecting to be soon authorized to unite himself with the beautiful Waldrade. But the hatred of the priests followed the monarch. On arriving at Lucca, a violent fever seized him, and he died three days after his interview with Adrian. He was interred, without any pomp, in a small monastery, near the city.

As Lothaire left no legitimate children, the emperor Louis, his brother, was the rightful heir of his kingdom. But fearing the ambition of his uncle, Charles the Bald, that prince dared not claim his succession by force. He brought the pope into his interests, and induced him to write several letters to the lords of the kingdom of Lorraine.

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Verbery, in order to bear his justification of the crimes of which he had been accused by a great number of witnesses. Hincmar appeared before the synod, but he had the impudence to load his uncle, who presided over the assembly, with the most outrageous insults; he was then unanimously condemned, and ordered to take off the anathema which he had lanced against Normand, and to restore to him the property which he held through the liberality of his sovereign.

Hincmar refused to conform to this decision, and appealed from the judgment of the prelates of France to the pontiff, as alone possessing the right of judgment in a difference between a king and a bishop. The assembly opposed his appeal, maintaining, with reason, that this step was contrary to the privileges of the Gallican church, and to the canons of the Sixth Council of Carthage; but the wary prelate, well knowing the pride and ambition of the holy father, persisted in his determination, and deputed, secretly, to Rome, a clerk called Celsan, to claim the interference of Adrian.

The latter, having been informed of the decree of the council of Verbery, wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims and to King Charles, that they should permit Hincmar to come on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostles, ordering them even to bear the expenses of his journey. The holy father threatened with excommunication the lord Normand, if he did not restore at once the property of the diocese of Laon, which he had usurped, and he denounced the vassals who should sustain him in his criminal enterprise. On the receipt of the letter of the pope, Charles wrote to the stubborn prelate to come immediately to his court, to sign a retraction with his own hand, by which he should recognize his faults, and promise submission to his king and superior, the archbishop of Rheims. Hincmar not only refused a second time to obey the orders of the prince, but he even detached his vassals from the obedience they had sworn to King Charles.

Irritated at this audacity, the monarch sent two prelates, Odon of Beauvais, and Gilbert of Chalons, with troops, to bring him before him, voluntarily or by force, as well as to subdue his vassals, who had taken part in his rebellion. But the prelate finding himself sustained in his resistance by the pontiff of Rome, dared to await the arrival of his troops at the head of his clergy, whom he had assembled in the church of Notre Dame, his cathedral; and there, before the crowd of citizens, holding the cross in one hand, and the Gospels in the other, he mounted the pulpit of his church, and pronounced in a loud voice the following anathema:—"I declare all those excommunicated who shall enter by violence into the holy place, or who shall pass the bounds of our diocese; and in especial do I anathematize Hincmar, my uncle, and King Charles, who dares renew towards the faithful of his kingdom, the persecutions of the cruel Demitian."

The officers of the king, however, made their way into the church, followed by their soldiers. Hincmar then took refuge in the sanctuary with the clergy, called the people to his aid, ordering them to drive from the house of God the hired assassins of a tyrant who defiled it by their abominable presence. The soldiers drew their swords, and wished to carry him by force from the church; but at a bound he sprang upon the altar, embraced the crucifix, and called down upon them, with cries of fury, the malediction of God. These stopped, alarmed; and such was the superstition of the time, that they dared not tear him from the altar, and abandoned their enterprise.

After their departure, Hincmar came out from the church, and returned to his palace, borne in triumph by the clergy. The next day, when their minds were calmer, they thought with dread on the consequences of the wrath of Charles. The priests themselves went to the prelate to declare to him that they should refuse in future to obey his orders until he had given satisfaction to the prince. Transported with fury, he excommunicated all the ecclesiastics of his church, prohibited them from saying mass; from baptizing children, even in the last extremity; of administering the sacrament to the dying, and of burying the dead.

The king put an end to all this violence by sending new troops, who seized upon the bishop, and conducted him to a fortress.

In the midst of all these events, Lotbaire was preparing to go into Italy to kiss the feet of the pontiff, and wrote to the emperor to induce that prince to use his influence over Adrian, in order to obtain for him authority to leave Thietberge, and take Waldrade as his legitimate wife. But the superstitious Louis, fearing to break off the good understanding which he had with the pope, refused his assistance to Lotbaire, and sent deputies to him to induce him to return to his kingdom. The king of Lorraine, who knew the weak and pusillanimous character of the emperor, however went on and came to Beneventum to find him. His presence gained to his side the empress Ingelberge, who ruled her husband, and she determined herself to accompany him to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where the pontiff was to come by the orders of Louis.

Adrian yielded to the requests of the empress, and consented to receive to his communion King Lotbaire, and Gonthier, metropolitan of Cologne. He nevertheless exacted that this latter should sign the following retraction:—"I declare before God and his saints, to you, my Lord Adrian, the sovereign pontiff, as also to the faithful who are submitted to your orders, and to all the assembly of Christians, that I bear humbly the sentence of deposition canonically rendered against me by Pope Nicholas. I affirm that I will never exercise any sacred function, unless you reinstate me, through kindness, in the episcopal dignity; and I swear that I will never excite any scandal against the church of Rome, or its

chief, to whom I renew my oath of submission and absolute obedience, even although his orders shall be contrary to the interests of the king, my master."

Ingelberge then returned to her husband, and the pope took the route to Rome with King Lothaire. The prince, however, could not obtain permission to enter the city on the first day. No member of the clergy came to meet him, and he passed the night at the convent of St. Peter without the walls. On the next day he was only permitted to go with his escort to the sepulchre of St. Peter, to deposit there the rich offerings which he had brought. He was then conducted to the palace destined for him near the church, and where the apartments had not even been prepared for his reception.

Some days after, the holy father caused Lothaire to be informed that he would consent to give him an audience. The prince went immediately to the palace of the Lateran, and prostrated himself at the feet of Adrian, who did not deign to raise him up, and sharply apostrophized him, demanding from him if he had followed exactly the decisions of Pope Nicholas. Lothaire replied that he had observed them as orders sent from heaven; and he took the lords who surrounded him to witness as to his sincerity.—The pontiff then replied: "If your testimony is true, we offer for it solemn thanks to Jesus Christ. Let us go, then, my dear son, to the confessional of St. Peter, where we will imolate a saving sacrifice for the safety of your body and your soul; for you must participate with us in the sacrament of the altar in order to be re-incorporated among the faithful from whom you were separated.

After the sacrifice of the mass, the pope invited Lothaire to approach the holy table, and taking the Eucharist, he said to him: "If you regard yourself innocent of the adultery for which you have been condemned by our predecessor, and if you have formed the resolution never to enter into criminal relations with Waldrade, your concubine, approach boldly and receive the sacrament of eternal salvation. But if you intend to return to your adultery, have not the rashness to receive the communion, lest the heavenly bread, which God has given to the faithful as a remedy for their safety, causes your eternal damnation." Lothaire advanced boldly and received the consecrated host. The holy father then turned to the lords who accompanied the king, and said to them, presenting to them the communion, "If you have not consented to the crime of your master, if you have not communicated with the excommunicated, may the body and blood of Christ procure for you eternal life." Some retired, but the greater number received the communion.

Lothaire accompanied the pope to the palace of the Lateran, where he was admitted to his table. After the repast, the prince offered to the holy father new presents in vases of gold and silver, and received in exchange a lioness, a branch of a palm-tree, and a cane.

The monarch thus explained the allegory of the pope: the lioness represented Waldrade, who was about to be restored to him; the palm was the emblem of his victory, and the rod designated the authority granted to him over obstinate bishops. This rod was only an African plant, the stem of which, strong and light, served to aid old men in their walk, and to schoolmasters to punish their scholars. Lothaire quitted Rome with a joyful heart, expecting to be soon authorized to unite himself with the beautiful Waldrade. But the hatred of the priests followed the monarch. On arriving at Lucca, a violent fever seized him, and he died three days after his interview with Adrian. He was interred, without any pomp, in a small monastery, near the city.

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schools, companies of officers of the palace, the priests wearing glittering copes, and carrying crosses and banners, awaited for them at the gates of the city; and as soon as they had passed the walls, the cortege took up the march, having at its head the librarian Paul, Joseph, the guardian of the sacred vessels, Basil the treasurer, and, finally, all the Synod of the patriarch, carrying candles and torches.

The emperor gave audience to the legates in the gilded saloon; and as soon as they appeared before him, he rose, took with his own hand the letters of the pope and kissed them, bowing himself; he then addressed them as follows:—"I thank the most holy father for the care which he has already taken of our church, which was rent by the schism of the eunuch Photius; we hope, by the aid of God, to put an end to the troubles which still divide the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops of the East. We wait with impatience for the decision of the church of Rome, our mother; we, therefore, beseech you to hasten your labours to determine upon the measures which shall be necessary to re-establish union and tranquillity in our kingdom."

The envoys of Adrian replied to Basil, "That they had received orders to convene a general council, to bring back concord among the Eastern ecclesiastics; but that they could not receive the Greek bishops into their assembly, until they had subscribed a letter of submission to the Holy See, according to a formula which they brought from the archives of the palace of the Lateran." They then exhibited to the emperor, the patriarch, and the prelates the formulary of these letters; these last promised to make correct copies of them, and to return them to the legates with their names attached.

Three days after, the council re-assembled, and the presidency of it was bestowed on the Latin bishops, which had never before been seen in any general assembly.

Photius, cited to appear before the fathers to reply to the accusations brought against him, presented himself with dignity. He declared that he did not regard himself as culpable for having rejected from the church a parricide, who had murdered his benefactor Michael, and that it was his duty to do so. His defence was calm, notwithstanding the exasperation of his accusers; his eloquence and firmness so shook the convictions of the fathers, that the representatives of the pontiff endeavoured to close the deliberations, from fear of an acquittal. They heaped the grossest insults upon Photius, declared him excommunicated, and ordered the soldiery to drive him from the church with the wood of their lances. Thus, in a few hours, and by the will of an assassin, the clergy of the East found themselves submitted to the authority of the court of Rome. In the end, however, the Greeks refused to recognize the decisions of this council, which they called a sacrilegious and irregular cabal.

The synod had terminated its sessions, when

the Bulgarian ambassadors came to Constantinople to inquire of which See their church was a dependency. The legates of Rome at once decided, "that the Holy See having formerly governed the old and new church of Ephesus, all Thessaly and Dardania, which had since taken the name of Bulgaria, it resulted, that the invasions of the barbarians could not deprive it of its right of jurisdiction, and that Rome should recover it, when these people became Christians. They added, that Bogoris, their king, had already submitted to the authority of the pontiff, and that Pope Nicholas, at his request, had sent the bishops Paul, Dominick, Leopard, Formosus and Grimold, as well as a great number of priests and deacons, to teach the faithful of that country; that they had established churches, ordained priests, founded monasteries, catechised the inhabitants, and had in fact taken possession of the whole kingdom in the name of the Holy See. They then declared that the court of Rome, having had the charge of the conduct of the Bulgarians for three years, could not be deprived of its authority over these people."

The clergy of Constantinople, wounded in their dignity, then protested against the pretensions of the legates. "It is not just," said the Greek priests, "that Rome, which has already fallen off from the obedience which it owed to the empire, by making criminal alliances with the Franks, should wish to arrogate to itself a jurisdiction over states, which are snatched from our princes. We, therefore, decide that the country of the Bulgarians, which was in former times under the sway of our emperors and patriarchs, shall now return under the rule of Byzantium."

But the envoys of Rome exclaimed against this declaration, and replied to the observations of the clergy by a bull of prohibition. "We absolutely break and declare void, even as the judgment of the supreme chief of the universal church, the sentence which they shall dare to pronounce, without having been named as judges in the affair of the Bulgarians; and we beseech the patriarch Ignatius, to whom we have granted an absolute authority over the clergy of the East, not to lay claim to jurisdiction over the Bulgarians, and to prohibit his clergy from entering that kingdom, if he does not wish us to deprive him of the rights which the Holy See has granted him over the faithful of the East."

Ignatius, trembling for his authority, immediately sought out the legates, and said to them, "God keep me, my brethren, from undertaking anything against my superior, the pontiff of Rome; I am neither young enough to allow myself to be overtaken by ambition, nor old enough to allow, through weakness, others to do that which I would not do myself."

The emperor, however, whose interests were attacked, was irritated by the cowardice of the patriarch, and addressed to him severe reproaches: but through policy he dissimulated his resentment, and loaded with presents the legates of Adrian. On their departure

from Constantinople, he granted them an escort commanded by Theodosius, his master of the horse; he, in accordance with his instructions, left them at Dyrachium, and a few days afterwards they fell into the power of some pirates, who robbed them of all their treasures and carried them off as prisoners, in order to extract from them rich ransoms; alarmed, however, by the threats of the emperor Louis, they released the legates, who entered Rome on the 22d of December, 870.

Adrian, intoxicated by the triumph which he had obtained in the East, determined to act in France, as he had done in Constantinople. King Charles, without disquieting himself at the threats of the court of Rome, had taken possession of the kingdom of Lothaire. The holy father immediately wrote to him, that he regarded this step as an insult to his authority; he accused him of having violated his oath, and treated with contempt his legates, instead of prostrating himself at their feet, as other sovereigns had done. His letter thus concluded:—"Impious king, we order thee to retire from the kingdom of Lorraine, and to surrender it to the emperor Louis; if thou refusest submission to our will, we will ourselves go into France to excommunicate thee and drive thee from thy wicked throne."

At the same time Adrian wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims, to reprimand him, for not having turned aside the king from his projects of usurpation, and reproached him with having rendered himself guilty, through his weakness, of being a criminal accomplice in the rebellion of the monarch. He ordered him to repair his fault by anathematizing Charles, by not having any communication with him, and by prohibiting all the bishops of Gaul from receiving the usurper in their churches under penalty of deposition and excommunication.

His legates, John and Peter, had secret instructions to excite the ambition of the young son of Charles, and to lead him to revolt against his father. The young Carloman had already, some years before, placed himself at the head of the discontented of the kingdom, and Charles to punish him, had caused him to be ordained a deacon, notwithstanding his resistance and his imprecations, and had confined him in close prison. The legates of Adrian availing themselves of a religious motive, had asked from the monarch pardon for his son, and when the young prince had left his prison, they surrounded him with powerful seductions, and raised his spirit by the hope of a crown. They finally, by their intrigues, determined him to unfold the standard of revolt. The troops were already gained over by the gold of the Holy See, and the day even fixed on which they were to attack the palace to carry off the king, when one of the conspirators revealed the plot. Charles, warned of the treason of his son, arrested him immediately and ordered him to be beheaded. Thinking the punishment too mild, he retracted the sentence of death at the moment when they were conducting the young prince to the

place of execution, and the executioner, by his orders, poured molten lead into his eyes and mouth.

Notwithstanding his just indignation against the Holy See, Charles was compelled to dissimulate with the legates. He sent them, however, from his court, accompanied by his ambassadors, Rusegisilus, the abbot of St. Michael, and a layman named Lothaire. The envoys of the prince were instructed to present to the pontiff a magnificent altar cloth, two crowns of gold enriched with precious stones, and the letters of the archbishop Hincmar.

In his reply to Adrian, Hincmar affirmed, that he had always executed his orders, and that he had even sent to the kings and bishops of the three kingdoms a protest, of which he addressed to him a copy. "The sovereign pontiff prohibits, under penalty of an anathema, the invasion of the states of the king of Lorraine, which belong of hereditary right to the emperor Louis; and if any prelate authorizes this usurpation, he shall no longer be regarded as a pastor, but we pronounce him a mercenary priest, paid for his crime. I, Hincmar, in particular, am ordered to divert princes from this guilty enterprise.

"In contempt, however, of my warning, the sovereigns of Gaul and Germany, have made a treaty concerning the kingdom of Lothaire, of which they call themselves the legitimate successors. They have divided his provinces between them, under the pretext that their people would drive them into terrible and disastrous wars if their agreements were not faithfully executed. Besides, they maintain that kingdoms cannot remain without chiefs, when they are exposed to the invasions of the Pagans, and that in such a case, the people have the liberty of choosing a king, who can defend them against their enemies.

"Thus finding myself placed between the grief of disobeying the Holy See and the fear of seeing Lorraine exposed to the fury of the Pagans, I have not dared to resolve on any thing without the advice of other bishops, and I reserve for the pope the decision of this unfortunate question. Such," added Hincmar, "has been my language. Do not render me then responsible for events which are accomplishing under my very eyes, most holy father, by charging me to direct the clergy and the princes, from my being the ecclesiastic most elevated in dignity at the court of Charles. It is false to say that I am above the other metropolitans of France, since we are all elevated to the same rank.

"You order me to excommunicate the prince if he persists in his ambitious projects, under penalty of being myself driven from the communion of the faithful! I will reply to you what the ecclesiastics and laymen, from whom I could not conceal your orders, said, on reading your letters—No pontiff has ever dared to give like orders to the clergy of Gaul, although our unhappy country has been constantly ravaged by civil wars, be-

tween fathers and children, brothers, uncles and nephews, who disputed in turn a bloody throne; never did your predecessor, whose violence desolated the East and the West, push thus far his anger against Lothaire.

"It is the duty of the popes, to appear themselves before tyrants, to condemn to their faces heretical princes, as the most illustrious of your predecessors practised towards Constantine the Arian, Julian the Apostate, and Maximus the Cruel. If I even had the weakness to separate myself from the communion of the king to obey you, the other prelates would abstain from mine, because Prince Charles has not been judicially convicted of the crime of perjury and usurpation, as must be done in the case even of a mere citizen, before his condemnation.

"Do you not fear lest they should demand of you, what difference exists between the present pontiffs and those who reigned under the Merovingian dynasty? We know that King Pepin was consecrated by Pope Stephen, who came to France to implore his aid; and we have not forgotten that this prince conquered Astolphus the Lombard, not by the thunders of Rome, but by his victorious troops. We will recall to you what Charlemagne did for Pope Adrian the First; and for what services the pontiff Leo gave to him the title of patrician, and the dignity of emperor; we will also tell you for what motives Stephen solemnly consecrated Louis the Good Natured, and through what an infamous policy Gregory excited Lothaire to revolt against his father. Finally, the bishop of Rome should not forget, that the conquest of a kingdom is made by war and victory, and not by the excommunications of a prelate.

"When we exhort the people to dread the power of Rome, to submit to the pontiff, and to send their wealth to the sepulchre of the apostle in order to obtain the protection of God, they reply to us: Defend then by your thunders, the state against the Normans who wish to invade it, and let the Holy See no more implore the succour of our arms to protect it.

"If the pope wishes to preserve the aid of our people, let him no more seek to dispose of thrones; and say to him, that he cannot be at once king and priest. That he cannot impose on us a monarch, nor pretend to subjugate us—as who are Franks, for we will never support the yoke of the slavery of princes or popes, and will follow the precepts of Scripture, combatting without ceasing for liberty, the only heritage which Christ left to the nations when dying on the cross.

"If the holy father excommunicates Christians, who refuse to cringe blindly beneath his authority, he unworthily abuses the apostolic power, and his anathemas have no power in heaven; for God, who is just, has refused to him the power of disposing of temporal kingdoms.

"I have done my best to lead our prelates into sentiments more conformable to your wishes; but all my words have been useless; I ought

not then to be separated from your communion for the sins of others. Your legates are my witnesses, that in the execution of your orders, I have resisted the lords and the king, until they have threatened me, that if I persisted in defending you, they would make me sing alone before the altar of my church, and would take from me all power over the property and persons of my diocese. Threats more terrible still have been made against you, which they will not fail to execute if God permits. Thus I declare to you, after having had sad experience, that neither your anathemas, nor your thunders, will prevent our monarch and his lords from keeping Lorraine, on which they have seized."

This energetic and lengthily argued reply of the metropolitan of Rheims, witnesses that that prelate, instead of seconding Adrian and his bold ambition, was persuading Charles, that in this great question, the royal authority and the liberty of the Gallican church were compromised. Thus, by his counsels, the court of France separated itself from the court of Rome. The pontiff, transported with rage, sent new letters still more violent and audacious than the first.

In the meanwhile, took place the judicial condemnation of Hincmar of Laon, and of young Carloman, who had both appealed to the Holy See.

Adrian wrote immediately to King Charles in these terms: "Execrable prince, not only hast thou committed frightful excesses in usurping the kingdom of thy nephew, but thou even surpasses wild beasts in tearing thine own entrails and mutilating thy son Carloman. We order thee, unnatural father, since thou canst not restore sight and speech to thy innocent son, to re-establish him in his property, his honours and his dignities, until the time in which our legate shall go into thy accursed kingdom, to take, in behalf of this unfortunate, the measures which we shall judge proper. In the mean time, whatever may be the enterprises of Carloman against thee, we prohibit thy lords from taking arms in thy defence, and we enjoin on the bishops not to obey thy orders, under penalty of excommunication and eternal damnation; for God wills that division should reign between the father and the son, to punish thee for the usurpation of the kingdoms of Lorraine and Burgundy. As to the bishop of Laon, we will and order by our apostolic authority, that thou placest him at liberty, in order that he may come to us and obtain the aid of our clemency against all thy iniquities."

The king, irritated by the audacity and insolence of this letter, instructed the metropolitan of Rheims to send his reply to the pope. It is found in the works of Archbishop Hincmar, and Lesueur has translated it as follows: "We will and ordain by apostolic authority . . . say you . . .? Know then that we, the king of France, born of an imperial race, we are not the vicar of a bishop, but the lord of the earth. We are established by God, sovereign over the people, and are armed with a two-

edged sword, to strike the wicked and defend the good. . . .”

The firmness of the king crushed the pride of the pope, and he endeavoured to retract his offence by this recantation, “Prince Charles, we have been apprised by virtuous persons, that you are the most zealous protector of churches in the world. That there exists not in your immense kingdom any bishopric or monastery, on which you have not heaped wealth, and we know that you honour the See of St. Peter, and that you desire to spread your liberality on his vicar, and to defend him against all his enemies.

“We consequently retract our former decisions, recognizing that you have acted with justice in punishing a guilty son and a prelatial debauchee, and in causing yourself to be declared sovereign of Lorraine and Burgundy. We renew to you the assurance, that we, the clergy, the people, and the nobility of Rome, wait with impatience for the day,

on which you shall be declared king, patriarch, emperor, and defender of the church. We, however, beseech you to keep this letter a secret from your nephew Louis.”

Whilst the pontifical power was undergoing a check in the West, the Bulgarians in their turn drove away the Roman bishops and priests to submit themselves to the direction of the Greek church, and returned under the rule of the patriarch of Constantinople, from which they have never since separated themselves. With them, they brought in new Christians from the Russian provinces.

Adrian the Second died some time after, in the month of November, 872. This pope, whose hypocrisy and false humility had elevated him to the Holy See, proved himself still more haughty in his pride, more perfidious in his policy, and more insatiable in his ambition, than Pope Nicholas; but we should remember that these vices were those which belonged to a sovereign pontiff of Rome.

## JOHN THE EIGHTH, ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH POPE.

*Election of John the Eighth—The eunuch Dominick raised to the See of Torcella—Death of the emperor Louis—John the Eighth, offers the imperial crown to Charles the Bald—Council of Pavia—Conspiracy against the pope—Council of Pontion—Council of Rome—Ravages of the Saracens in Italy—Death of Charles the Bald—The pope makes a treaty of peace with the Saracens—Counts Albert and Lambert heap outrages on the holy father and strike him on the face—John the Eighth comes into France—Council of Troyes—Coronation of Louis the Bald—Photius remounts the See of Constantinople—John the Eighth confirms the re-installation of Photius—Council of Constantinople—Affairs of Italy—Charles the Gross is crowned emperor—Death of John the Eighth—Character of the pontiff.*

WHEN the pontiff Adrian died, the emperor was engaged in a war against Adalgisus, duke of Beneventum, who had raised the south of Italy against his authority, and had called in the Greeks to sustain this revolt. After having reduced the rebels, Louis entered Beneventum as a conqueror; the duke cast himself at his feet, made protestation of his innocence, implored the clemency of the monarch, and swore to be ever after his most faithful and submissive subject.

Seduced by protestations of such absolute devotion, the emperor dismissed his army and remained in the palace of Beneventum with the officers of his household. This imprudence was almost fatal to him; the traitor Adalgisus, seeing the troops discharged, formed the project of seizing on the person of the prince. One day when the emperor was making his siesta, the duke entered the palace at the head of a troop of soldiers; but at the noise of the arms Louis awoke, defended himself, and courageously resisted his assailants, until his officers came to his aid. He then took refuge in a tower with his wife, daughter, and all the French; and during three days they repulsed the soldiers of Adalgisus. The latter, despairing of forcing the stronghold in which Louis had shut himself up, determined to employ policy to ob-

tain a new pardon, and the bishop of Beneventum was instructed to obtain from the bigot monarch, inviolable guaranties against the consequences of his vengeance.

The prince consented to all that was demanded of him in the name of religion; he swore upon the sacred relics, as did the empress his wife, the princess his daughter, and all the officers about him, that none of them would pursue, directly nor indirectly, the persecuted Adalgisus to punish him. But once escaped from the danger, the emperor made a compromise with his conscience, and resolved to punish the duke of Beneventum; still, in order to preserve the appearance of honour, he did not make war in person; the empress his wife, took the command of the troops, and marched towards Campania. This campaign was not favourable to the monarch, and he had even renounced the hope of conquering the rebels, when he learned of the death of Adrian and the election of John the Eighth, archdeacon of the Roman church.

The emperor hastened to approve, through his commissioners, of the enthronement of John, who was the godfather of Adalgisus. He besought the new pontiff to go to Capua, under pretext of asking pardon for the guilty, but in reality to reconcile him with the duke. Peace having been concluded, the emperor



returned to his capital, where he died after a reign of twenty years.

Some time before the death of Louis, John held a council at Ravenna, to terminate a violent division, which had taken place between Nisus, duke of Venice, and Peter, patriarch of Grada. The bishopric of Torcella, a city under the jurisdiction of Venice, having become vacant, Duke Nisus had elevated to that See, Dominick, abbot of the monastery of Altino; but the archbishop Peter refused to ordain the new prelate, under pretext that Dominick was unworthy of commanding the faithful, because he had performed upon himself the operation which Origen recommended to his disciples, as the only sure mode of preserving the vow of chastity. The duke of Venice affirmed, on the other hand, that the abbot of Altino, merited for that act alone, to be honoured with the episcopate, and threatened the patriarch of Grada to punish him severely, if he refused any longer to consecrate him.

John the Eighth put an end to the dispute, by deciding that the revenues of the church of Torcella should be granted to the new bishop, but that he should not exercise sacerdotal functions, because the canons prohibited the ordination of eunuchs to the supreme dignity of the church.

At this period, southern Italy, unceasingly exposed to the incursions of the Arabs, had need of a powerful protector, whose arms could repulse the Saracens and other enemies of Rome, as Pepin and Charlemagne had done. But the popes, who aspired to absolute sway in Italy, were unwilling that their defender should reside in the Roman peninsula, and their policy led them to seek an alliance with princes whose states were situated beyond the Alps, and not with the lords of Naples, Beneventum, or Venice.

As a consequence of this policy, John the Eighth, after the death of Louis, resolved to choose Charles the Bald as the protector of the Holy See. He sent a pompous embassy to him, inviting him to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown, which he offered him as a property of which the popes had the entire disposal. The king went in haste to the pontiff. On his arrival, the clergy, magistrates, and schools went to meet him, proceeded by banners and crosses. The pope received him on the steps of the church of St. Peter, in the midst of the bishops and high dignitaries of the church; and on the following day, Charles the Bald was crowned emperor, at the tomb of the apostle, in the presence of an immense crowd.

In placing the crown on the brow of the monarch, John said to him, "Do not forget, prince, that the popes have the right to create emperors." Since that time, says Sigonius, the empire was no longer but a fief or benefice of the Holy See, and the duration of the reign of an emperor was counted only from the day on which the pope had confirmed him.

After the ceremony of the consecration, the new emperor and the pontiff went together

from Rome and came to Pavia, where Charles announced Boson, the father of his wife Richilda, to be duke of Lombardy, and imperial commissioner. This nomination was approved of in a council presided over by the holy father. The prelates, in the speech which they made to the king of France, said to him: "My lord, since divine goodness, through the intercession of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the ministry of Pope John, has elevated you to the dignity of emperor, we unanimously select you for our protector, submitting joyfully to your will, and promising to observe faithfully all that you shall order for the utility of the church and our safety."

Maimbourg affirms, that this council was only convened by John the Eighth, for the purpose of rendering it manifest to all the world, that Charles had not become emperor by right of succession, but that he had obtained this dignity by an election. "This example," adds the historian, "should enlighten nations, as to the ambition of kings who only raised themselves above other men by treacherous and base actions, which dishonour their memory for ever." Thus, Charles the Bald, in order to obtain the principal sceptre, against the hereditary rights of the legitimate successors of Charlemagne, yielded to the pontiffs the sovereignty which the emperors exercised over Rome and the provinces of the church, and he declared the Holy See to be an independent state.

The authority of the new emperor was not however, recognized without opposition. Carloman, the oldest son of Louis the German, in the name of his father, to whom the crown reverted by right of succession, maintained an understanding at Rome, and threatened Italy with his arms. Gregory, the nomenclator of the palace of the Lateran, and George, his son-in-law, were the leaders of a formidable conspiracy, which had for its end the punishment of John the Eighth for his cowardly condescendence towards Charles the Bald; but the pope, having been informed of their projects, convened a council to try them. They, finding the pontiff constantly surrounded by his guards, and that it was impossible to seize upon his person, retired with the conspirators, Formosus, bishop of Porto, Stephen, an officer of the pope, Sergius, the leader of the militia, and the bishop Constantine. They seized upon the treasures of the pope during the night, and all left the city by the gate of St. Pancrace.

John was apprised of their flight on the next day, but was not able however, to pursue them, because the Saracens had advanced towards the Tiber, and made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. Not wishing to remain unrevenged, he excommunicated the rebels, declared them perjured, infamous, and sacrilegious; as having intrigued for the sovereign pontificate, and conspired against his person. He called them thieves and robbers, for having carried off with them the wealth of the Holy See. The assembly ratified the judgment of the pope, and pronounced

against them a sentence of deposition, anathema, and excommunication.

Whilst the pontiff was condemning in Italy the conspirators, who wished to overthrow his authority, and that of Charles the Bald, that prince was holding a synod of bishops in the city of Ponthion, at which he caused them to recognize the supreme authority of the popes over France. The Roman legates named the deacon John, metropolitan of Sens, and Ansegisus, primate of the Gauls and Germany, with the title of vicar of the Holy See in the two provinces. They conferred on this last-named, the power of convening councils, of signifying the decrees of the court of Rome, of judging ecclesiastical causes, of executing the orders of the pope, and they only reserved appeals to Rome in the greater cases.

The prelates of France protested with energy against such an institution, which destroyed all the liberty of the Gallican church; but the emperor maintained the sacrilegious compact which he had made with John; he declared he had a commission to represent the pope in this assembly, and that he would execute his orders. He then commanded a seat to be placed on his right hand, and Ansegisus seated himself by him in his quality of primate.

Hincmar, of Rheims, boldly opposed the will of Charles the Bald. He represented to him that his undertaking was contrary to the canons; that the despotism of the pontiffs should never press its odious tyranny on the soil of France, and finally, observed to him, that a king could not arrogate to himself any right in ecclesiastical assemblies. Notwithstanding the vehemence and the justice of the opposition of the archbishop, who had consecrated Charles king of Lorraine and Burgundy, the new emperor persisted in supporting the execution of the orders of John the Eighth, and confirmed the metropolitan of Sens, and Ansegisus in their new dignities.

At another session, the council gave audience to Gildebert, archbishop of Cologne, and to two counts, ambassadors from Louis the German, who came in the name of their master to reclaim a part of the states of the emperor Louis, relying upon the rights of succession and the treaties which had been concluded between their fathers. The bishop of Foscanella, one of the Roman legates, then informed them of a letter of the holy father, in which he severely blamed King Louis for having entered with arms into the kingdom of King Charles at the period of his coronation. John reprimanded the weakness of the bishops of Germany, who had not dared to resist their king, and who had not hindered him from breaking the sacred order of the pope. He applied to them these words of St. Paul, "You have to combat princes and powers to make the church triumphant."

Then, in the very presence of the ambassadors of Louis, and as if to brave their sovereign, the legates offered to Charles, in the name of John, an imperial sceptre, and a crown of gold, enriched with precious stones; they also brought for the empress bracelets of gold

and stuffs of great price. By an order from the prince, Richilda then entered the assembly, and went to place herself in the highest seat, in order to preside during the rest of the session; but the bishops were so indignant at the boldness of the princess, that they immediately rose from their seats and left the synod, without even saluting the emperor.

Some months after, Louis the German died in his palace at Frankfort; Charles the Bald immediately advanced at the head of his troops to take possession of his kingdom; he was defeated in a great battle, and the young Louis, who had succeeded his father, pursued him even into his kingdom. The disasters of this enterprise prevented the emperor from sending to the pope succour against the Saracens, who desolated Italy, and against the Italian lords themselves, who laid waste the territories of the church, as the following letter of the pontiff teaches us:

"The blood of Christians is spilt through all our provinces," wrote the holy father; "he who escapes fire or sword is led away into perpetual captivity. Cities, towns, and villages, become a prey to the flames; bishops have no longer a place of refuge, but at Rome; their episcopal residences serve as retreats for savage beasts, and they are themselves wanderers, and reduced to beg instead of preaching. Last year we sowed our immense domains; the enemy ravaged them and we have gathered nothing; this year, it has been impossible to labour even in our fields, and a frightful famine threatens the apostolic city.

"Do not believe that our evils only come from the Pagans; Christians are still more cruel than the Arabs; I would speak of some lords, our neighbours, and chiefly of those whom you call marquises or governors of frontiers; they pillage the domains of the church and cause us to die, not by the sword, but by famine; they do not lead people into captivity, but they reduce them to servitude; and their oppression is the cause why we find no one to combat the Saracens.

"Thus, my lord, you alone, after God, are our refuge and our consolation; we beseech you then, in the name of the bishops, priests, and nobles, but above all in the name of our people, to put forth a hand of succour, to the church, your mother, from which you hold not only your crown, but even the faith of Christ, and which has elevated you to the empire, notwithstanding the legitimate rights of your brother."

Carloman, who was declared king of Bavaria, availed himself of the defeat of the armies of his uncle, Charles, to invade Italy, of which he claimed possession, as an heritage that pertained to him. His plan was, to be consecrated emperor, by a general council, and to punish the pontiff, who had disposed in an iniquitous manner of estates which were not under the jurisdiction of the church.

John, fearing the vengeance of the young prince, immediately assembled a council in the palace of the Lateran, to confirm anew the coronation of Charles, by justifying the

conduct of the Holy See. He thus opened the assembly: "According to ancient usage, my brethren, we solemnly elevated Charles to the imperial dignity, by the advice of the bishops, of the ministers of our church, of the senate, and of all the people of Rome, and above all, to accomplish the thought which had been revealed to Pope Nicholas by an heavenly inspiration. The election of Charles, is then legitimate and sacred. It emanates from the will of the people, and the will of God. We therefore declare anathematized him who would condemn it, and we devote him to the execration of men, as the enemy of Christ, and the minister of the devil!"

Behold how the pope used the most sacred names to defend their contemptible interests!

These menaces of the Holy See did not prevent Carloman, from making rapid progress in the Friuli, whilst the Saracens desolated the Campagna of Rome. John, pressed on all sides by powerful enemies, thought of opposing one to the other, by recognizing the king of Bavaria as emperor. But, before undertaking an enterprise, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him, he resolved to write again to Charles, to urge him to hasten to his aid in Italy.

"The remnant of the people of Rome," said he, "is worn down by extreme misery; without the city, all is ravaged and reduced to solitude. Our enemies traverse the river, even to the sea, and come from Tibar to Rome to sack the Sabine and the neighbouring countries. The Arabs have burned the churches and monasteries, massacred the priests and monks, and carried off for their harems, the young boys and the nuns. On the other side, bad Christians achieve our ruin, and Carloman threatens us with his vengeance. Call to your remembrance then, the labours and combats which we have sustained to procure for you the empire, and do not reduce us to despair by leaving us longer a prey to our enemies, lest we should be forced to choose a new protector."

When Charles learned that his nephew had crossed the Alps, he feared some new treachery of the pope's, and in order to prevent it, he passed over into Italy, with the empress, who always accompanied him in his expeditions. He went with all diligence into Lombardy, and met the holy father, who was on a journey to join the king of Bavaria, on the way. Charles, dissimulating his indignation, received John with great honours, and they went together to Pavia, to decide upon the measures to be taken for the pacification of Italy. They were soon apprised, that Prince Carloman, irritated by the perfidy of the pontiff, was advancing by forced marches to blockade them in Pavia, before the troops of his uncle could arrive to defend them.

At this news, a panic fear seized upon the sovereigns. Charles and his wife precipitately quitted Pavia, and took refuge in Tortona; from thence, Richilda pursued her route with the treasures of the prince, even into the Maurienne. The holy father, more frightened

than even his protectors, took in all haste the route to Rome, without forgetting, however, a magnificent crucifix of gold, adorned with precious stones, which the empress had given him for the church of St. Peter.

Carloman, on his side, as cowardly as his uncle, fled on false intelligence, that the emperor was advancing to meet him to give him battle. As appropriate to this triple flight, a cotemporary monk said, "I see in this wonderful event the finger of Providence, which exhibited to nations the cowardice of kings, and dispersed two whole armies, without shedding Christian blood."

John, returned to Rome, was still doubtful as to the issue of the war between the king of France and the sovereign of Bavaria. Let who would be conqueror, he had equally to fear the resentment of both parties, whom he had by turns betrayed. The vengeance of the emperor appearing to him, however, the most imminent, he resolved to avoid it. By his instigation, some French lords, discontented with Charles, formed a conspiracy against him. His physician, the Jew Sedecias, was gained over to their side, and Charles died of poison in the cabin of a peasant, on the 6th of October, 877.

The death of the king of France raised the hopes of Carloman; having no longer a competitor for the imperial dignity, he wrote to the pontiff letters of submission, and claimed from him the heritage of his ancestors. John then saw himself a second time the master and dispenser of the imperial crown; before, however, consecrating the new prince, he wished to profit by circumstances, to assure material advantages to his See; he replied then to the king of Bavaria: "We consent to recognize you as emperor of Italy; but before giving you the crown, we demand that you should pour into the purse of St. Peter all the sums which are in your treasury, in order that you may be worthy to receive the recompense of him, who promised to honour in another world those who honour him in this. We will send you shortly the articles which treat of that which you should grant to the church; we will then address to you a more solemn legation, in order to conduct you to Rome with the honours due to your rank. We will then treat together of the good of the state and the safety of Christian people. Until that time, I beseech you to give no access near to you of infidels, or of such as wish our life, whatever may have been your anterior relation with them; and I conjure you to remit the revenues of the patrimony of St. Peter, which are situated in Bavaria."

Whilst the pope was seeking to re-establish his power over upper Italy, Sergius, duke of Naples, was forming alliances with the Saracens, in contempt of the excommunications which the Holy See had fulminated against him; but he soon proved, that one cannot brave with impunity the vengeance of a priest. John wrote to the bishop Athanasius, the brother of Sergius, to command him in the name of religion, to surprise

the duke during the night, to put out his eyes and send him a prisoner to Rome. The prelate, who aspired to the supreme dignity in Naples, scrupulously obeyed the holy father.

John not only ratified his usurpation, but even bestowed great eulogiums on him, because he had obeyed his brother in God, rather than his brother after the flesh; and as a token of his satisfaction sent him four hundred marks of silver.

After having committed an abominable crime, to punish Sergius, because he had allied himself with the Saracens, the pontiff, strange contradiction of the human mind, not receiving succours from the king of the West, himself treated with the infidels, and engaged to pay them twenty thousand marks of gold annually, to get back the domains of the church. It is true he had no intention of keeping the treaty he had made with the Arabs; he only desired to gain time, to wait for the Greek troops which were about to disembark in Italy.

Basil consented to send succours to the Holy See, under a promise that it would aid him to recover the rights of his predecessors over the Roman peninsula; but these projects were suddenly overthrown by enemies more deadly to the Holy See than the Saracens. The counts Albert son of Boniface, and Lambert son of Guy, duke of Spoleto, assembling several other lords, who partook of their indignation against the policy of John the Eighth, marched upon Rome at the head of numerous troops, seized the city without striking a blow, and besieged the palace of the Lateran.

The residence of the pontiffs was invaded by a furious soldiery; Lambert himself penetrated into the pontifical apartment, tore the holy father from the place where he had taken refuge, behind the curtains of a window, and shut him up in the saloon of the church of St. Peter. The bishops and priests who wished to resist, were driven from the temple by blows of clubs. The dukes then clothed the pope in sackcloth, and condemned him for several days to a rigorous fast, and inflicted discipline upon him, in order, as they said, that he might obtain from God the remission of his sins. Knowing, however, that it would be impossible for them long to preserve their position, and desiring to place themselves beyond the reach of the implacable vengeance of John, they assembled the people in the cathedral, proclaimed Carloman emperor of Italy, and received in his name the oath of fidelity from all the citizens. After the ceremony they returned to their estates, hoping that the prince who owed to them the imperial crown, would always interpose between them and the pontiff, if the latter should dare to declare war on them.

As soon as the pontiff had recovered his liberty, he caused the treasure of St. Peter to be carried to the palace of the Lateran, covered with sackcloth the tomb of the apostle, closed the doors of the churches, ordered divine service to cease in all the provinces, and sent back the pilgrims who were at Rome. He then as-

sembled a synod, and excommunicated Lambert and the other dukes who had seconded him in his enterprise. His vengeance not being yet satisfied, he resolved to go into Gaul, in order to lead back the French armies into Italy. The duke of Spoleto, informed of the plans of the pope, spread his soldiers on all the routes, in order to arrest his escort. John, however, managed to embark on the Tuscan sea, and went to Genoa; from thence he went to the city of Arles, where he was received with great honours by Boson and his wife, who, in her old age, had returned to her husband.

John, to recompense Boson for his attachment to the Holy See, solemnly consecrated him king of Provence; he then pursued his way to Châlons-sur-Saône, where he passed the night. It is related, that on the next day, at the moment of his departure, as he was informed that the monks had stolen his horses, and that a priest of his train had escaped with his plate, he fell into such a rage, and blasphemed the name of God with such imprecations, that the priests who surrounded him fell on their knees, making the sign of the cross, to drive away the infernal spirit which they supposed had seized upon him. John apostrophized his servants in abominable terms, and fulminated a terrible excommunication against the monks and priest who had robbed him. Finally, when his wrath was appeased, he journeyed on towards the city of Troyes, which he had designated as the place of holding a general council.

Thirty bishops only assisted at this synod. The pontiff pronounced a discourse at the opening, which he had prepared for an immense assembly, and which was addressed to all spiritual and temporal powers. He besought the princes to furnish him with the means of avenging himself on the enemies of the Holy See, and in particular on Lambert, the son of the duke of Spoleto, against whom he had pronounced a perpetual anathema.

The council gave in its adhesion to the wishes of the pontiff in these terms: "Lord and most holy father, we, the bishops of Gaul and Belgium, your servants and disciples, sympathize with the evils which the ministers of the devil have committed against Rome, our holy mother, the mistress of all the churches. We will unanimously follow the judgment which you have pronounced against them, according to the canons, by putting them to death with the sword of the spirit."

The bishop Hincmar, of Laon, then presented a new complaint against his uncle. He thus expressed himself: "The archbishop of Rheims cited me before a synod at Douzi, to answer certain points of which I was accused. As I was preparing to go to the assembly, armed men forced their way into my church, dragged me from the altar, seized upon my property, and dragged me by force to Douzi. King Charles presided over the council. He presented to me a writing, in which I was accused of being perjured, because I had appealed to Rome from an iniquitous judgment, and the archbishop Hincmar

my uncle, imperiously commanded me to reply to the accusation which the prince brought against me.

"I showed, that by the canons, a priest deprived of his church, and brought by force before his judges, was not compelled to justify himself; and I added that my uncle, being my avowed enemy, I appealed to the Holy See against the injuries he had inflicted on me. I read before the assembly the bulls of Popes Julius and Felix, concerning the appeals of bishops, and prostrating myself to ask the execution of them in my favour, I presented the letters of the pontiff Adrian, who ordered me to come to Rome.

"But King Charles rejected all my entreaties, the orders of the pope were treated with contempt, and the metropolitan of Rheims pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against me. The prelates mourned over this odious injustice; their fears, however, caused them to approve of the decree which the archbishop presented to them, and to which they added these words: 'Saving in all things the judgment of the Holy See.'

"I was then exiled into another province, where I was cast into frightful prisons, where I lived burthened with chains, and finally, after two years of slavery, the executioner tore out my eyes.

"After the death of Charles, the new king set me at liberty, and now I come before you, most holy father, beseeching you to judge me according to the canons, and to punish those who have persecuted me, if I am declared innocent by your justice."

The metropolitan, Hincmar, asked for time to reply to the complaints which his nephew brought against him, after which the council was engaged in making canons to augment the power of the bishops. They decided that all the prelates should unite together to prevent the encroachments of the secular power; that they should not receive excommunicated clerks or laymen, without the consent of him who had pronounced the sentence of anathema.

The bishops of Bourges and Autun, Frotaire and Adalgaire, presented to the pope the will of Charles the Bald, in which that prince declared, that he gave to his son Louis the kingdom of France, to which he added the sword of St. Peter, as a mark of investiture, which proved that the states of Italy and the imperial dignity, were included in this donation. The two prelates demanded in the name of the king, that the pontiff should confirm, by a decree, the donation of the emperor his father. John, on his side, showed a donation from the emperor, of the abbey of St. Denis, which he pretended was signed by Charles the Bald, although the signature was visibly forged, and he demanded the confirmation of it by Louis, if he wished to obtain that of the empire. But this abbey bringing in to the crown large sums, the king was unwilling to surrender it to the Holy See in exchange for an empty title.

Notwithstanding this refusal, Louis the Stammerer bestowed great honours on the holy father, and even wished to receive the crown from his hands, in the presence of the grandees and people, although the ceremony of consecration had been already performed; the preceding year by Hincmar of Rheims.

During the last session of the council, the pope made another address to the bishops and lords: "I desire, my brethren," he said to them, "that you would unite with me in defence of the Roman church, and that you would arm all your vassals, before my departure into Italy. I beseech you then to take prompt and decisive measures for this war." Then addressing himself to the king, he added, "I beseech you, my dear son, to assemble at once your armies for the defence of the Holy See, as your ancestors did, and as your father, the illustrious Charles, has recommended you to do; for you are the vengeful minister of Christ against the wicked, and you carry a sword to protect the popes. Otherwise tremble, lest you draw on yourself a chastisement such as befel the kings of old, who showed indifference in avenging the Holy See; and I adjure you, as well as all the lords and bishops who hear me, to tell me if you consent to sacrifice your property, wives and children, and to die in my defence." The assembly kept a profound silence!

Thus the council of Troyes, on which John the Eighth had founded great hopes, not only did not advance his temporal affairs, but even struck a great blow at the moral influence of the Holy See. The pontiff returned into Italy, having only Prince Boso for his escort, who sought by his care and attention, to induce him to forget the great affront which he had received at the court of France.

During the absence of the pope, the Greek emperor and the patriarch Ignatius, had sent to Rome messengers bearing important letters. On the day succeeding his arrival, John hastened to reply to them. "Prince," he wrote to the emperor Basil, "we send you the prelates Paul and Eugenius, our intimate counsellors, whose hearts are full of right. We have given them our instructions, that they may be enabled to labour successfully in bringing back peace to the churches of your empire. We have also given them secret instructions for Presiam, king of Bulgaria, to whom we beseech you have them conducted with an imposing escort."

In his letter to the patriarch, John thus expresses himself: "We address to you this third canonical admonition by our legates, in order that you may send without delay into Bulgaria, diligent men, who shall traverse the country and bring back to Constantinople all the ecclesiastics whom they may find to have been ordained by you or your suffragans; for we will not permit that the Greek clergy should infect with their errors this new church which we have formed. If you do not execute our orders as soon as they shall reach you, if you do not renounce all jurisdiction over the Bulgarians, you shall be excommu-

nicated and deposed from the patriarchal dignity, in which you have been re-installed by our favour." Ignatius did not live long enough to incur the anathema of the Holy See; he died before the arrival of the legates at Byzantium, and Photius remounted the See of that city.

John the Eighth, knowing the influence which this eunuch exercised at the court of Constantinople by his wisdom and his superior abilities, hastened to recognize his installation, notwithstanding the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, in order to obtain the protection of the emperor and aid against the Saracens. He consequently wrote to Basil: "The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and all the ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who are of the ordination of Methodius and Ignatius, having now consented unanimously to the return of Photius, we, like them, receive him as bishop of your capital, a brother and colleague; and desirous of putting an end to all schisms in the church, we relieve him from all the censures pronounced against him, as well as the prelates, clerks and laymen who were under the same censures. We erase the acts of our predecessors, by virtue of the authority given us by Jesus Christ, in the person of the prince of the apostles. Besides, we declare that the legates of Adrian, subscribed to the proceedings of the council which condemned Photius, only out of complaisance for this hypocritical pope, and not in obedience to the commands of justice. We do not, however, confirm the re-installation of the patriarch, but under the formal condition, that he shall never pretend to any right over the province of Bulgaria, which was given up to our See by the emperor Michael."

As soon as Photius had received the approbatory letters from the Holy See, he assembled a council at which four hundred bishops were present, as well as the Roman legates. Popes Nicholas the First and Adrian the Second, were condemned as the authors of all the troubles of the Eastern churches, and their memory was anathematized. It prohibited from adding to the Nicene creed the words "Filioque," an addition which had been decreed by a council held under Ignatius and approved of by the court of Rome. This dogma by turns, admitted and condemned, still remains after several centuries of dispute, one of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. John thus expresses himself on the subject of this dogma: "We preserve the creed as we have received it from the fathers, without having taken from or added anything thereto. We condemn the priests who have caused scandal in the church by saying 'Filioque,' and not only do we refuse to pronounce these impious words, but we even regard those who have the audacity to join them to the creed, as transgressors against the word of God and corrupters of the morality of the apostles and fathers. We compare them to Judas: like him they wrench the

members of Jesus Christ; for 'Filioque' is the greatest blasphemy we can pronounce against religion."

The pope, having then purchased the aid of the Greeks by a cowardly condescension towards Photius, set himself to work to break off the treaties between the Italian lords and the Saracens, and wished to elude those which he himself had made with that people. He addressed several letters to Palfar, governor of Amalfi, to whom he had paid ten thousand marks of silver for the defence of the territory of St. Peter. He reproached him with his negligence, and demanded from him the restitution of the sum which he had received, since he did not fulfil his engagements, and refused to declare war on the Arabs. Notwithstanding the claims of the pontiff, the Amalfitins continued to live on a good understanding with the infidel, and refused to restore the money of the Holy See. John declared them excommunicated, giving them only to the end of the year to repent and to avoid the execution of the anathema against them; he pronounced the same penalty against the bishops of Naples and Gaëta, who had made treaties with the Saracens.

The holy father was so governed by fear of the Arabs, that he even sacrificed the interests of religion, in all the measures which appeared favorable to his design of expelling them from Italy. Thus, after having approved of the nomination of Lardulph, bishop of Capua, who had been canonically chosen by the people, he retracted his first decision, and took the part of Pandenulph, a married layman, brother of the governor of that city, who was desirous of obtaining the pontifical See. In vain did Leo, bishop of Theana, and Berthier, abbot of Monte Cassino, go to the pope to beseech him not to confirm such an act of injustice, representing to him, that this scandalous ordination would cause great troubles in Capua, and that the fire of sedition once lighted in that city, would extend rapidly to Rome. All the remonstrances of the bishops were useless. John persisted and confirmed the ordination of Pandenulph, on condition, that the governor would declare war on the Saracens. But this people, who were apprised of the divisions among the citizens of Capua, gave no time to Pandenulph to assemble his troops. They fell suddenly upon the city, ruined the country and retired with a rich booty.

After their departure, the governor of Capua claimed the rule of the city of Gaëta, which belonged to the pope, under the pretext that Docibilis, the governor, was in league with the Saracen, and had informed him of the disorders of Capua. The pontiff then placed this important city in his hands; but his exactions and his cruelties soon excited such discontent, that the inhabitants, in order to deliver themselves from such a tyrant, resolved to go to the Saracens who were encamped near to Agropoli. Conferences were opened and the Arabs immediately approached the city, and pitched their

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## STEPHEN THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 885:]

*Education of Stephen the Sixth—He is chosen pope—His liberality on coming to the throne—Miracle of the holy water and the grasshoppers—Letter from the pontiff to the emperor Basil—Photius renounces the See of Constantinople—Letters of Foulk to the pope—Guy is declared king of Italy—Letter of the pope to Foulk—Death of Stephen the Sixth.*

STEPHEN was a Roman by birth, and the son of a patrician named Adrian. He was educated under the charge of Zachary, bishop of Anagnina and librarian of the Holy See. Pope Adrian ordained him subdeacon, and attached him to his person; he afterwards became a favourite of the pontiff Martin, who ordained him a priest.

When the funeral rites of Adrian the Third were over, the clergy, lords, and people having assembled to proceed to an election, unanimously cried out, that they chose for pope, the priest Stephen, whose piety alone could deliver them from the grasshoppers, the drought, and the famine which desolated the city and country of Rome. The people went immediately to the residence of the pontiff, broke open the doors, and carried him off, notwithstanding his resistance, to conduct him to his church of the Four Crowns, where he was proclaimed sovereign pontiff; after which, he was borne in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. "During the progress of the procession," say the chronicles, "God manifested his joy at the elevation of his servant; there fell an abundant rain, which destroyed a great part of the insects which desolated the fields, and brought back hope into the hearts of the Romans!"

Some days after his consecration, Stephen, accompanied by the bishops, the commissioners of the emperor, and the members of the

senate, visited with the greatest care, the interior of the palace of the Lateran, to prove by authentic testimony, the state in which the patriarchal palace was when he took possession of it, and if there remained any money, to distribute it to the unfortunate. They discovered that the store rooms had been pillaged, so that there did not remain enough household utensils for the necessities of the pope. They found the treasury of the church entirely empty, as well as the granary and cellars, and they learned by irrefutable testimony, that the money of St. Peter had been dissipated to the last penny by the unworthy predecessors of Stephen.

In his distress at not being able to bestow any largesses on the clergy, the militia, and, above all, the poor, who were dying of misery, the pontiff had recourse to his rich patrimony. He sold his numerous domains, and distributed the money arising from them to the unfortunate; he attached to his person the ablest and most virtuous men, and daily admitted to his table, orphans, whom he reared as if they had been his own children.

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Towards the end of the year 885, Stephen received the letters which the emperor Basil addressed to Pope Adrian. This prince severely reproached the holy father, and threatened to punish his audacity if he should persist in wishing to govern the churches of the East. Stephen replied in these terms: "God has given to princes the power of governing temporal things, as he has given to us, by the authority of St. Peter, the power of governing spiritual things. Sovereigns have the right to repress a rebellious people, to cover the land and sea with their soldiers, to massacre men who refuse to recognize their rule, or obey the laws which they make for the interests of their crown. To us, it appertains to teach the people, that they ought to endure the tyranny of kings, the horrors of famine, even death itself, in order to obtain eternal life. The ministry which Christ has confided to us is as high above yours, as heaven is above the earth, and you cannot be the judge of the sacred mission which we have received from God.

"We do not pretend, in addressing this language to you, to detract from your dignity, nor censure your actions, but we are forced to speak thus in our own defence, and that of the pontiff Martin.

"We learn with joy, that you have destined one of your sons for the priesthood. We beseech you to re-establish the concord between your court and ours, to send a fleet sufficiently armed, to cruise upon the coasts of Italy from the month of April to that of September, and a numerous garrison, which can defend our walls against the incursions of the Saracens.

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"We are then in uncertainty as to what has transpired in Constantinople, and we cannot make any decision in this important affair without more certain information. In order to give an equitable judgment, it is necessary that the two parties should present themselves before us by their envoys; we will then pronounce, in the presence of our clergy, the sentence with which God shall inspire us. The Roman church is the model of the other churches, and its decrees should exist eternally."

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of his competitor, took refuge with Arnold, the sovereign of Germany.

After the death of Charles the Fat, France was parcelled out into several portions, and the chiefs of these small kingdoms, desirous of extending their sway, covered with wars and disasters the powerful empire of Charlemagne.

Boson, who had re-established the kingdom of Provence, under the name of the kingdom of Burgundy, was dead, and had left his crown to his son, aged nine years; but the lords and bishops having refused to recognize the young prince as their sovereign, Bernoin, the metropolitan of Vienne, went himself to Rome to represent to the pope the miserable state of the Gauls, which had no prince sufficiently powerful to restrain the ambitious in their duty and drive off the Normans from the provinces which they ravaged. The pope, touched by the eloquent pleading of the archbishop, consented to crown the young Louis as king of Cisalpine Gaul; and he immediately wrote to the French prelates, that it was his will, that they should declare the heir of the throne of Burgundy, sovereign of all Gaul. The bishops Aurelian of Lyons, Rostaing of Arles, Arnold of Embrun, Bernoin of Vienne, as well as a great number of other prelates, assembled at Valens, and by order of the pontiff, chose and consecrated King Louis, the son of Boson, and Ermengarde, the daughter of the emperor Louis the Second, although this prince was but ten years old; the regency was confided to Richard, duke of Burgundy, the uncle of the young prince.

The troubles which divided Gaul had thrown into confusion the political as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and discord reigned in church and state. For ten years the See of Langres was in deplorable anarchy. After the death of Isaac, its last titular, one party had chosen the deacon Teutbold, and another had named Egilon or Gilon, abbot of Noirmontiers, who, driven from his convent by the Normans, had established himself with his monks in the monastery of Tournus. The latter was consecrated bishop by Aurelian, the metropolitan of Lyons, notwithstanding the opposition of his competitor, and he maintained himself in his diocese until 888, the period of his death. The party of Teutbold then rallied, and proclaimed that deacon bishop of Langres; but another party opposed his nomination, and the venerable Argrim obtained the bishopric, with the approbation of the archbishop Aurelian.

Teutbold, furious at this double check, went to Rome to obtain from the pontiff the confirmation of his nomination to the bishopric of Langres; but Stephen behaved in this affair with laudable moderation. He sent back the deacon to his superior, the metropolitan of Lyons, who was to consecrate him immediately, if his election had been really canonical; at the same time, he prohibited Aurelian from ordaining another bishop for the See of Langres without the previous authority of the Holy See, if the nomination of Teutbold should prove to have been irregular. The pope in-

structed the bishop of Sinigaglia, his legate to inform the archbishop of Lyons of his decision; but the latter refused to follow the instructions of the court of Rome, maintaining that the pope had no right to interfere in the affairs of his diocese. Teutbold then returned to Italy with the decree of his election, and besought the holy father to approve it. Stephen, notwithstanding the insubordination of Aurelian, did not dare to undertake any thing adverse to the rights of the church of Lyons; he wrote anew to the metropolitan to consecrate the deacon Teutbold, or to inform him of the causes of his refusal to do so. The archbishop did not condescend to reply to the pope, but went on, ordaining Argrim bishop of Langres, and put him in possession of his diocese.

The pontiff then addressed the following letter to Foulk of Rheims, "Having received, by authority from St. Peter, power to govern all the churches, and knowing that, according to the canons, he cannot be counted in the number of bishops who has been neither chosen by the clergy nor desired by the people; moved also by the urgent entreaty of the ecclesiastics and citizens of Langres, we have consecrated as chief of their clergy the deacon Teutbold. We then order you, immediately on the receipt of our letters, to go to that city, and place the prelate whom we have appointed, in possession of the bishopric. You will declare at the same time to all the bishops of Gaul, that we have taken this church into our particular care, to punish the metropolitan of Lyons for the tyranny he would exercise over the city of Langres."

Foulk, entirely occupied by the intrigues of Count Eudes, who had been declared king of France, did not execute the orders of the Holy See. He replied, some months after, to excuse himself for not having accomplished the wishes of the court of Rome, that his sovereign, Eudes, had counselled him to defer the execution of it until after the return of his ambassadors from the court of Rome "Still," added he, "the prince, in whose presence we read your letters, manifested extreme joy at your determination to preserve the rights and privileges of all churches inviolably. We also beseech most holy father, to address to us in your decision upon this question, 'Can suffragan bishops consecrate a king, or exercise any like prerogative without authority?'"

This question sufficiently indicated the secret desires of the archbishop, who wished to overthrow Eudes, a his relative, to the throne of the count of Paris was not so Foulk, nor any of his suffragan bishops, the metropolitan of Sens, the pontiff caused it to be known to the sentiments of the Holy See to the ambitious views of

Stephen died on the 15th of July, after a reign of six years. His liberality towards the pope

in fulfilling the duties of the pontificate, but we must with Heydegger, severely blame the pride of a pope who elevated himself to the same degree of audacity and ambition as his predecessor. We quote, to fortify our opinion, a decree which we find in Gratian, "We must always and invariably bear in mind, that the Roman church has ordained one faith."

Notwithstanding this maxim, the pontiffs have constantly shown themselves in contradiction with their predecessors. After the death of one infallible pope, his successor, as infallible himself, accused him of error, schism, idolatry, and anathematized his acts, to be in his turn pronounced by his successor an heretic, a simoniac and an idolater.

## FORMOSUS THE FIRST, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 891.]

*History of Formosus before his pontificate—Irregularity of his election—Letter of Stylien, bishop of Neocæsarea—Reply of Formosus—Disorders in France—Coronation of Charles the Simple—Guy and Lambert emperors—Siege of Rome by Arnold—Arnold crowned emperor by the pope—The new monarch is poisoned—Death of the pontiff.*

Formosus, while legate in Bulgaria, had accumulated immense wealth, by extorting enormous sums from the rude people of that province, thanks to superstition and ignorance.

On his return to Rome he was deposed from the episcopate by John the Eighth, not for the crime of extortion, but for having been accused of having conspired against the life of this pontiff, and the authority of Charles the Bald. It is supposed that the true motive of his condemnation was the opposition he made to the infamous pontiff, in an effort to arrest the disorders of the court of Rome. John employed ecclesiastical censures to extract from this prelate an oath never to return to the episcopate, nor to inhabit the holy city; but Pope Martin freed him from his oath, and re-instated him in his honours and dignities.

After the death of Stephen the Sixth, the faction of the duke of Spoleto, chose Formosus for sovereign pontiff, although he was already bishop of Porto. The party of the count of Toscanella opposed this election, under the pretext that it was contrary to the canons, which prohibited ecclesiastics from abandoning one See to occupy another; and they elevated to the pontificate the priest Sergius, who had no other merit, but an immense fortune. But Guy, king of Italy, having declared for Formosus, he was enthroned in the palace of the Lateran, with the usual ceremonies, notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies, who did not cease to trouble Rome by frequent seditions during the entire duration of his reign.

Some time after his elevation, Formosus received a deputation from Constantinople, which was charged to inform the Holy See of the affair of Photius, as Stephen the Sixth had ordered. A metropolitan and an officer of the emperor were the envoys of the deposed patriarch, and several prelates presented themselves in the name of Stephen the Syncellus. These last placed in the hands of the pontiff a letter from Stylian, bishop of Neocæsarea, and the favourite of the young pontiff. "Most holy father," wrote he, "you

affirm that you have found contradiction between the letter of the emperor and ours. Those who wrote that Photius had renounced the patriarchate, are ecclesiastics who recognized him as a legitimate bishop; but we who have never perceived in this lay eunuch, the least trace of the priesthood, in accordance with the judgment of Popes Nicholas and Adrian, and the decrees of the œcumenical council of Constantinople, we could not write that he had renounced the episcopate. Thus we were much surprised in reading at the commencement of your letter, that Photius was rejected from the church by the authority of Jesus Christ, and by the termination, in which you pledge yourself to judge him as if he were a legitimate bishop.

"We claim your indulgence for those who have recognized this lay eunuch as a bishop, and we ask you to send circular letters to the patriarch of the East, that they may exercise the same charity towards those who have approved of the election of the infamous Photius."

The holy father replied to Stephen the Syncellus, "You ask our pity for the guilty, my brother, and you do not name those for whom you implore it. If it is for a layman, he merits it; if for a priest, you forget that Photius, by ordaining ecclesiastics, could only transmit to them the anathema of his own condemnation, since he has never had the sacerdotal power.

"Our church, soiled by his abominable contact, should be purified by a very severe repentance, if our piety did not listen to the counsils of mildness and humanity. It is then necessary, in order to determine the measures which should be taken in this deplorable matter, that you should follow the advice of our legates, the bishops Roman, Landolph of Capua, Theophylactus, the metropolitan of Ancyra, and the deacon Peter, in whom we have placed our confidence. You will convene a synod, at which they will assist, and you will renew in their presence the sentence pronounced against Photius, in order that his

condemnation should be perpetual and irrevocable. You will excommunicate and banish for ever from the ranks of the clergy, the ecclesiastics ordained, promising to them, however, to grant them lay communion, if they shall present to you a writing subscribed with their own hands, in which they shall recognize themselves as guilty, and shall implore pardon for their fault."

About the same time Foulk, the metropolitan of Rheims, wrote to the pope to congratulate him. He testified the joy which he felt in seeing one of the members of his family occupying the chair of St. Peter, adding, that he regarded this event as a striking exemplification of the protection which God granted to the church.

Foulk then represented to the holy father, that several bishops of Gaul demanded the pallium without any claims, and in contempt of the authority of their metropolitan. He complained at seeing that such an honour was granted to them too easily; and to shun the renewal of this abuse, he besought him, in the name of Christianity, not to grant this high distinction except upon general request, in writing, from the archbishops of a province.

In his reply, the pope besought his relative, and the other prelates of Gaul and Germany, to have compassion on the evils of the Roman church, and to aid it with their treasures, to prevent its being ruined by the prodigality of the Italian clergy and the incursions of the infidels. He added, that Rome had ceased for a long time to find any support from the Greek empire, which was incessantly troubled by dangerous heresies, and desolated by new schisms. "In order to decide upon the measures which we should take to re-establish peace in the church," said he, "we have resolved to assemble an œcumenical council in our city, on the first of March, in the year 893; and we order you to come without delay to this synod, to prepare the questions which we shall submit to the learning of the prelates of the assembly. We inform you that we have crowned as emperor of the West, Guy, duke of Spoleto, your relative and ours, whose authority contributed to strengthen our election. We propose also to crown his son Lambert, whom we have adopted as our own."

The legates who bore the letters of the pontiff to the metropolitan of Rheims, convened a council at Vienne by the order of the Holy See. The fathers of that assembly passed several canons against usurpations of the domains of the clergy; against the murders, mutilations, and outrages, of which the laity were guilty towards the ecclesiastics. They prohibited seculars from disposing of churches without the consent of the bishops, from receiving a right of investiture over prelates, and from falsifying the deeds of donations which were made to monasteries.

At the beginning of the following year, Foulk, whose hatred for Eudes had even increased since an interview at which his pride had been humbled by that prince, convoked a synod at Rheims, and proclaimed as king

of France, the young Charles, the son of Louis the Stammerer, who was only fourteen years old. The new monarch was crowned by the bishops and lords who were discontented with Eudes. The metropolitan of Rheims immediately informed the pope of the consecration of Charles the Simple.

Formosus, faithful to the policy of his predecessors, endeavoured to produce discord among the French princes, in order to exercise a supreme authority over them, and obtain from their ambition all the advantages which the interests of the Holy See demanded. He wrote to Eudes, prohibiting him from attacking the person or property of the young Charles, until the period of the return of Archbishop Foulk, who had gone to Rome to confer with him on this grave question; and at the same time he ordered the prelates of Gaul to urge upon King Eudes the suspension of hostilities against the son of Louis the Stammerer. He sent, at the same time, to the youthful king a letter of congratulation and a holy cake.

Arnold, sovereign of Germany, informed of the coronation of Charles the Simple, and of the aid granted him by the pope, sent an envoy to the holy father, to complain that he had consecrated a monarch without his authority, and in defiance of the just rights which he had over the whole empire of the Gauls. He threatened to invade France and Italy, and exterminate the people, priests, and princes of those kingdoms, if the court of Rome did not do justice to his complaint. Formosus gave an evasive answer to the envoys of Arnold. He wrote to him, that he owed it to himself to protect the young monarch, who was his relative, and that he ought to defend him against the usurper Eudes, instead of carrying pillage and murder into his estates. He finally finished, by threatening him with the thunders of the church, if he invaded the kingdom of Charles the Simple.

Formosus informed Foulk of the letter which he had written to Arnold, and replied to the metropolitan on the subject of the troubles which were agitating France. He commanded him also to excommunicate Richard, Manasses, and Rampon, who had torn from his See the bishop Teutbold, had cast him into prison after putting out his eyes, and who had finally dared to depose from the episcopate the metropolitan of Sens, as a punishment for having reproached them with their cruelties.

The pope then had some difficulty with the emperor Guy, in relation to a domain which the prince wished to take away from the duchy of Rome, and Formosus, who had until now manifested an inviolable attachment for the prince, his relative, turned against him, declared him deprived of the throne, and named as emperor, Berenger, duke of Friuli. This lord, who was engaged in a war with the Hungarians, having refused aid to the holy father, Formosus, in order to place himself beyond the reach of the vengeance of the dukes of Spoleto, who threatened Rome with

their arms, called Arnold into Italy, promising to give him the empire.

The ambitious king of Germany immediately passed the Alps at the head of a numerous army, and marched right on Rome; but the faction of Sergius, aided by the authority of Lambert, was in power in the city, and they refused to open the gates to the German soldiers. Arnold attacked the city Leonine, which, being garrisoned by veteran troops, offered him an active resistance. His army was repulsed, after leaving a great number of dead on the field. Still the siege was continued, and the prince built entrenchments around it.

A singular event soon rendered him master of the city. Whilst the soldiers were occupied in digging ditches, a rabbit started from its burrow, and ran frightened into the midst of the workmen. The latter pursued it with shouts up to the walls of Rome. The citizens who guarded the ramparts, thinking that the assault was commenced, abandoned their posts, and immediately spread the alarm through all quarters of the city. Arnold having been informed of this panic, judged the moment to be favourable. He advanced with

his army, scaled the walls, and took possession of Rome, without striking a blow. He then went to the church of St. Peter, where the pope crowned him emperor.

At the entreaty of Formosus, and under pretence of punishing the outrage committed to religion by the factious, the new emperor put to death the principal citizens of the holy city.

These cruelties called for the vengeance of the people! A generous citizen resolved to deliver the nation from this tyrant. He clothed himself in the royal livery, became admitted among the valets of Arnold, and administered to him a poisoned drink, which rendered him dull and paralytic, slowly consumed his bowels, and caused him to die after three years of horrible sufferings, and almost entirely eaten up by worms.

Formosus did not long enjoy his triumph over Lambert. He died at the age of eighty years, after having put to death, in his quarrels, one half of the population of Rome. He was interred on the 7th of April, 896. Mabilon affirms that this pontiff was a model of all Christian virtues; that he had never committed an excess at the table, and that his whole life was passed in virginal continence.

## BONIFACE THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 896.]

*Election of Boniface—Cardinal Baronius calls him an infamous wretch—Uncertainty among historians as to his expulsion from the Holy See—Versions of his death.*

THE funeral rites of Formosus were not yet over, when already the party of Sergius had again seized upon the power in Rome, and was occupied in placing on the throne of St. Peter a pope of its choice.

Boniface, a Tuscan by birth, and the son of Adrian, showed himself one of the most wretched competitors. Protected by Lambert, whose creature he was, he scattered his gold with a bountiful hand among the people. He was prodigal of promises to the grandees and clergy, and was proclaimed pope, though he had been driven from the diaconate for the crime of adultery and murder. He was enthroned under the name of Boniface the Sixth.

He did not, however, remain for a long time the possessor of the Holy See. Stephen, bishop of Anagnina, who was also intriguing for the chair of St. Peter, caused him to be poisoned. Such is the version of the most reliable historians in regard to Boniface the Sixth.

Cardinal Baronius, who calls him an infamous wretch, affirms that he died of gout, a cruel malady, caused by his excesses at the table. Be the cause of his death what it might, after a reign of fifteen days, he left the Holy See to a priest, who was worthy to cover his head with the dishonoured tiara of the pontiffs of Rome.

This prince will call himself the prince of princes, the Lord of lords, the king of bishops, the judge of all mortals. His flatterers will maintain that, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, he can change the nature of things; make right wrong, wrong right, under the pretext that he is above and beyond the right, because he is the cause of causes. They will affirm that we cannot seek for the origin of his power, maintaining that it is absurd to wish to assign a cause to the first cause, and that no one, without being heretical and damned, can say to him, "Why do you so?"

The courtiers and flatterers of this priest will push their baseness so far as to proclaim that his will and his caprices are in the place of laws; that all mortals should bend in the dust, humiliate themselves before him, and blindly obey whatever he commands. They will even establish as a principle and article of faith, that the pope is infallible; that he can neither sin nor be deceived; that all which is done in his name, emanates from the will of God; that his order should be considered as the orders of the Divinity, whose place he holds upon earth; and finally, that he is God himself.

## STEPHEN THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 897.]

*Scandalous election of Stephen—The new pontiff causes the dead body of Formosus to be brought before a council—Sacriligious condemnation of the dead—The ordinations of Formosus declared null by Stephen the Seventh—Death of the pontiff—Character of the ninth century, called by the historians the age of ignorance.*

PLATTINUS relates, that in the ninth century the pontificate had become the object of all ambition, the aim of all intrigues, and that it was bought with gold or with blood. Stephen the Seventh, the most adroit and corrupt of the claimants, was declared bishop of Rome. He was the son of a priest named John, and a courtesan. He did not disgrace his origin; and in the whole course of his reign he showed himself to be debauched, vindictive and cruel.

He was scarcely seated on the throne, when he trampled divine and human laws beneath his feet. With the rage of a demon, he caused the dead body of his predecessor, Formosus, to be exhumed, to punish him for having usurped the supreme dignity to his detriment. By his orders, the Latin bishops assembled in council, and there, in the midst of the convention, the dead body of Formosus was placed in the pontifical seat, the tiara on its head, the pastoral baton in its hand, and clothed with the sacerdotal ornaments; then an advocate was given to it to defend it! Shocking derision!

Stephen interrogated Formosus in these terms:—"Bishop of Porto, why hast thou pushed thy ambition so far as to usurp the See of Rome, in defiance of the sacred canons, which forbade this infamous action?" The advocate who answered for Formosus, confessed himself guilty of the greatest crimes.

The holy father then pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against the bishop of Porto; and having approached the pontifical seat, he gave a blow to the dead body which made it roll down at his feet. He himself then despoiled it of all the sacerdotal vestments, cut off three fingers from the right hand, and finally ordered the executioner to cut off the head, and cast the dead body into the Tiber.

Luitprand affirms, that some fishermen having found these sacred remains upon the banks of the stream, carried them secretly to the church of St. Peter, and that the images of the saints before which they passed, all bowed before the relics of Formosus. If we put faith in miracles, as the church orders us, we must confess that paintings and statues have entirely lost the custom of politeness.

The cardinal Baronius, the defender of the infallibility of the Holy See, by one of those contradictions of which he offers us so many examples, after having blackened the memory of Boniface, has wished to justify the conduct of Stephen. He contends that the condemna-

tion of Stephen was not contrary to the Christian faith, nor heterodox; but the venerable Crantz testifies, in the most energetic terms, his indignation against the adorer of the popes. "How does Baronius dare to sustain an action so horrible and so execrable as an emanation from an infallible being? Is it possible that the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, could animate the sacriligious pontiffs who governed Rome; those infamous priests, who were drunkards, madmen, furious, robbers, and murderers? No; it is repugnant to the reason of man to believe that God could have chosen as his representatives in this world, monsters who dishonour humanity."

After having mutilated the dead body of Formosus, Stephen introduced into the convention all the ecclesiastics whom that pontiff had ordained. Their consecration was declared null, and they were ordained anew. Arnold was deposed from the dignity of emperor, and Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, was declared emperor of the West.

But this abominable priest soon received chastisement for all his crimes. A conspiracy was formed against him; he was hurled from his throne and plunged into a prison, and finally strangled with the shreds of his dalmatics, on the 2d of May, 897.

Stephen the Seventh was so ignorant, that he scarcely knew how to sign his name: he was ignorant of even the first elements of religion; and his depravity was pushed to such an excess, that he even surpassed John the Eighth in his monstrous debaucheries.

Baronius, notwithstanding his devotion to the Holy See, avows that the ninth century was a time of desolation for the church. "Never," says he, "had divisions, civil wars, the persecutions of pagans, heretics, and schismatics caused it to suffer so much as the monsters who installed themselves on the throne of Christ by simony and murders. The Roman church was transformed into a shameless courtesan, covered with silks and precious stones, which publicly prostituted itself for gold; the palace of the Lateran was become a disgraceful tavern, in which ecclesiastics of all nations disputed with harlots the price of infamy.

"Never did priests, and especially popes, commit so many adulteries, rapes, incests, robberies, and murders; and never was the ignorance of the clergy so great, as during this deplorable period. Christ was then assuredly sleeping a profound sleep in the bottom of his

vessel, whilst the winds buffeted it on all sides, and covered it with the waves of the sea. And, what was more unfortunate still, the disciples of the Lord slept more profoundly than he, and could not awaken him either by their cries or their clamours. Thus the tempest of abomination fastened itself on the church, and offered to the inspection of men the most horrid spectacle! The canons of councils, the

creed of the apostles, the faith of Nice, the old traditions, the sacred rites, were buried in the abyss of oblivion, and the most unbridled dissoluteness, ferocious despotism, and insatiable ambition usurped their place. Who could call legitimate pontiffs the intruders who seated themselves on the chair of the apostles, and what must have been the cardinals selected by such monsters?"

## THE TENTH CENTURY.

### ROMANUS, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH POPE.

*Election of Romanus—Reflections on the popes—Character of the tenth century—The thirty pontiffs of that century denounced by all historians—Reign and death of Romanus.*

After the death of Stephen the Sixth, Romanus Gallasius was elected to the Holy See. On the day succeeding his election he erased the decrees which his predecessor had made against Formosus, for it appears as if the popes of that period were driven on by an infernal spirit, which induced them to efface from the memory of men the actions of their predecessors.

This principle of obscurity is the basis of the spirit of the church, and the priests have always wished to destroy the past, in order to govern the present, and lord it over the future. Platinus affirms, that envy and fear alone have driven on the clergy to put out the lights of information; and that pontiffs, defiled with every vice, have plunged men into the shades of ignorance, to prevent the recital of their crimes from being transmitted to posterity.

In fact, the tenth century is the most fertile in disasters and calamities! Monsters, unworthy of the name of man, governed empires. Never was ignorance so profound; and the cardinal Baronius himself exclaims—"The tenth century should be called the age of iron, on account of the innumerable evils with

which it was filled; the age of lead, on account of the tyranny of popes and kings, and the age of obscurity, on account of the sterility of literature and science!"

Before arriving at the history of this deplorable period, we should warn our readers, that scandals and abominations will fill the reigns of the Roman pontiffs; that the churches of Christ will become places of prostitution; that courtezans will dispose of the keys of Heaven; that bishops and popes will prostrate themselves at their knees; and that, during more than two centuries, incestuous and pedantic priests will soil the steps of the altar! Finally, fifty pontiffs, apostates, murderers and wantons are about to occupy the chair of St. Peter!

And nature, as if she wished to leave a strange remembrance of that period, gave birth to a monster with the head of a lion, and a human body. Platinus, Genebrard, Stella, Baronius, in their writings, call the pontiffs of that age simoniacal priests, magicians, sodomites, tyrants, robbers, and assassins.

Romanus preserved his rank among those execrable popes, though he only occupied the Holy See for four months.

### THEODORE THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 898.]

*Election of Theodore—He recalls the bishops who had been ordained by Formosus—His death, after a pontificate of twenty days—Nicholas the Mystic.*

THE successor of Romanus was called Theodore. He was born at Rome, and was the son of Photinus. His first act of authority was to recall the bishops who had been driven from their sees by Stephen. He reinstated the priests who had been ordained by Formosus, in the exercise of their sacerdotal functions,

and encouraged the interests of the seditious, in order to elevate the sovereignty of Rome above the crown of France. After a reign of twenty days, death arrested the execution of his ambitious projects.

Some authors affirm that he was sober, chaste, and liberal to the poor; but a pontificate



so soon terminated does not permit us to pass a serious judgment on the character of Theodore.

The See of Constantinople being vacant, Nicholas, the secretary of the emperor Leo the philosopher, was elevated to the dignity of patriarch, in recompense for the submission which he had constantly shown to his master in the exercise of his charge. A powerful motive determined the prince to make this choice. Up to this time he had no heir, though he had been married three times. His third wife being dead, he had married a fourth, but secretly, as fourth marriages were prohibited in the Greek church, and he had himself ordained by an express decree, that the penalties inflicted by the canons on this subject, should be punctually executed.

His fourth wife, named Zoe, having, however, given birth to a son, the interests of his dynasty demanded that his marriage should

be declared legitimate, and he counted upon the compliance of Nicholas the mystic, in arranging this affair. He soon learned that he had done wrong in placing his hopes on the new prelate; for the latter, who found himself elevated to the highest dignity of the empire, and who had nothing more to expect from his sovereign, declared, that he not only did not approve of the marriage of Leo and Zoe, but that he would refuse to baptize the son of this criminal union, unless the emperor would bind himself by oath to dismiss the mother. The prince, fearful of some outbreak among the clergy and people, resolved to elude the decision of Nicholas. He obeyed the patriarch, exiled his wife, and had his son baptized; but three days afterwards he recalled Zoe to his court, caused her to be recognized as empress, and publicly celebrated his marriage without employing the ministry of the priests.

## JOHN THE NINTH; ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 898.]

*John the Ninth and Sergius dispute the pontifical chair—John re-instates the memory of Formosus—Council of Rome—The pope condemns the council before which Pope Stephen brought the dead body of Formosus—John orders a levy of tithes—Re-installation of Argrim, bishop of Langres—Letters from the bishops of Bavaria—The pontiff extends the influence of the Holy See over the kingdoms of Spain—Louis, king of Provence, is proclaimed emperor of Italy—Death of John the Ninth—Fanaticism of the converters.*

AFTER the death of Theodore, the Romans were divided in the choice of a new pontiff. The priest Sergius, who had for a long time been occupied in intriguing for the episcopal throne, was chosen by a minority, but the opposing cabal gave the papacy to the son of Rampaldus, John the Ninth, born at Tibur, and drove his competitor from the city of Rome. Sergius then retired into Tuscany, under the protection of the marquis Adalbert.

John, remaining sole master of the power, undertook to re-instate the memory of Formosus, and, notwithstanding the clamours of the people, he erased the decrees of the infamous Stephen. This act of equity exasperated the clergy. The priests placed themselves at the head of an infuriate multitude, and besieged the pontiff in his palace; but after some sharp combats, victory remained with John the Ninth.

The emperor Arnold, having left Italy in 896, and Guy having died the same year, Berenger, duke of Friuli, found himself the most powerful of the Italian lords. He constrained the pope to bestow on him the imperial crown, but scarcely had he left Rome, when the pontiff called in Lambert, the son of Guy, to consecrate him emperor of the West.

To give a more imposing character to his decisions, the holy father convoked a council at Rome, and in the presence of the bishops, read a long article upon the misfortunes of Christianity, indicating the means to be taken to bring back peace to the church.

After the reading of this, the fathers declared that as they had no business to occupy themselves with temporal affairs, they should proceed; but the bishop of Aneza, who had been gained by the pope, maintained on the contrary, that they should deliberate during the session, on the propositions contained in the memorial. The bishop of Albano, he of Turin, and several others sustained the motion, and called for the reading of the proceedings of the council which had been held under Theodore.

They declared that it was permitted by the canons to re-instate the memory of a pope unjustly condemned, and to take back the property of which he had been despoiled, and in consequence thereof, the decrees of the council at which the dead body of Formosus had been accused of perjury, were submitted to the convention, and his accusers, Peter, Pascal, and Sylvester were excommunicated. These last requested that the sentence of their judgment should be put off until the next day. John the Ninth yielded to their entreaties, and in the mean time, their presents softened the severity of the pontiff, who consented to receive them into the bosom of the church, on condition that they should implore his pity.

The twelve articles decreed by the fathers, were then published, the following is their substance: "We entirely reject the council held by the pontiff Stephen, and we condemn as baneful to religion, the convention by which

the dead body of Formosus was torn from its sepulchre, judged, and dragged through the streets of Rome; a sacrilegious act, until that time unknown among Christians. . . . The bishops who assisted at this judgment, having implored our pardon, and protested that fear alone forced them into this horrible synod, we have used indulgence in their behalf; but we prohibit the pontiffs, our successors, from hindering in future, liberty of deliberation, and from doing any violence to the clergy.

"The mortal remains of Formosus shall be transferred from the church of Porto, to the Holy Apostolic See, on account of his merit; but the honours which we render to our predecessors, must not establish a precedent against the canons, which prohibit inhumations in the pontifical church.

"We also prohibit clergy, who shall have been deposed in a council, and who shall not have been canonically re-instated, from being promoted to a higher station, as was done in the election of Boniface, previously deposed from the subdeaconate, and then from the priesthood. If any one shall dare to contravene this rule, we declare him labouring under the anathema of the Holy See.

"We also condemn re-ordinations and rebaptisms.

"The unction of the holy oil which was given to our spiritual son, the emperor Lambert, is confirmed; but we deprive of all virtue that which Berenger forced from us.

"The proceedings of the conventions which we have censured shall be burned; Sergius, Benedict, and Marin can no longer be regarded as ecclesiastics, unless they live in penitence. We declare them separated from the communion of the faithful, as well as all those who violated the sepulchre of Formosus, and who dragged his dead body into the Tiber.

"The holy Roman church suffers great violence on the death of a pope. Disorders attend the elections which are made to the insult of the emperor, and without waiting, as the canons ordain, the presence of the imperial commissioners. We order that in future, the pontiffs be elected in a convention of the bishops, at the request of the senate and the people, and under the auspices of the prince; and we prohibit the exaction from him of oaths which usage shall not have consecrated.

"The times have introduced a detestable custom. On the death of a pontiff, the patriarchal palace is pillaged, and the pillage extends through the whole city; episcopal mansions even are treated in the same way on the death of bishops. It is our will that this custom should cease. Ecclesiastical censures and the indignation of the emperor, will punish those who shall brave our prohibition.

"We also condemn the usage of selling secular justice; if, for example, prostitutes are found in a house belonging to a priest, judges or their officers drag them from it with scandal, and maltreat them until they are ransomed by their masters, in order to acquire the right of prostitution. . . ."

This custom was perhaps the remains of

an ancient usage, abolished by the emperor Theodosius, and which served as a punishment for women taken in adultery. Besides, we know that the Roman dames had permission to prostitute themselves, provided they declared before the edile, that they wished to become courtezans: those, however, who had as a grandfather, father, or husband, a Roman knight, could not avail themselves of this permission.

The council of Rome being terminated, John the Ninth went to Ravenna, where he presided over a new assembly of bishops, under the protection of the emperor Lambert.

We report one of the decrees which was made in relation to Peter's pence, always an important matter with the clergy. "If any one refuses to submit to the canons and capitularies of the emperors, Charlemagne, Louis, and Lothaire his son, in matters concerning the tithes, he shall be driven out from the communion of the faithful."

Lambert bound himself by oath to preserve the privileges of the clergy, and promised to punish the brigands and incendiaries who desolated the territory of the pontiff.

John was also occupied with the affair of Argrim, the bishop of Langres, who had been ordained by the archbishop of Lyons, and was afterwards deposed by the monarch. The pope, solicited by the French clergy, appeared to desire this re-installation, and he wrote with his own hand to King Charles to obtain it.

During the same year, (900,) the emperor Arnold died; the nobles of Germany then assembled at Forcheim, and recognized as their king the young Louis, his son, who was but seven years old. The bishops informed the pontiff of it by a letter written in the name of Halten, archbishop of Mayence, and signed by all his suffragans. Some passages of this letter are remarkable:—"We hesitated for some time, in the choice of a prince," said they; "but we feared lest the kingdom should soon be divided by factions; we, therefore, with one voice, have brought to the throne the descendant of our kings.

"By this election we have maintained the ancient custom, in accordance with which, the Frank kings always come of the same race. If we have acted without waiting for your sacred orders, it is because the Pagans, who live between us, stop our ambassadors; we beseech you now to confirm that which we have done. . . ."

"Our brothers, the bishops of Bavaria, have asked from us assistance against the Moravians; they complain of having been falsely accused of maintaining relations with idolatry, and they beseech us to implore your benediction upon them, and to ask from you aid to repress the insolence of the Slavi."

The bishops of Bavaria also wrote to the pope several letters, which bear at their head the names of Thomas, archbishop of Saltzburg, and some other prelates; they afford to us an exact knowledge of the manners of the times, the spirit of the clergy, and the barbarity of the people. "We cannot believe," they wrote

"that there emanates from the Holy See any thought or any action contrary to Divine justice; still our enemies daily proclaim it, and offer to furnish us with irrefutable proofs of it. The Moravians affirm that through the means of money, they have obtained from you the nomination of the archbishop John, and the bishops Daniel and Benedict. Since that time, these people, who had always been under our authority, in their spiritual and temporal affairs, refuse to be governed by us. Our courts can no longer exercise their jurisdiction in that country, and the tribute heretofore collected without difficulty, is no longer brought to our cities. The Moravians are even estranged from Christianity, and their boldness has increased to such an extent, that they dare to make war on us, and compel us to conceal ourselves within our walls.

"The Slavian bishops, who have free access to your legates, have brought calumnies against us, and have accused us of being divided in our interests and thoughts, from the Germans and French. Let your holiness be careful not to be surprised by these bad Christians. Our young king, is, on the contrary, the worthy successor of his ancestors, and wishes to be the zealous protector of the Roman church. It is false that we have made an alliance with the Hungarians, to the prejudice of religion, or that we have taken oaths, swearing by the wolf or the dog, and that we have submitted to abominable ceremonies.

"God, who knows all things, would receive the oath of our innocence, if we were before you, who occupy his place on the earth. It is true that the Hungarians persecute without relaxation the people of the remote provinces, and that we have been compelled to buy the quiet of our brethren, not by giving to them gold, but by furnishing to them clothing and linen.

"The Moravians alone are guilty of the crimes which they impute to us, for they have placed in their ranks a great number of Hungarians, and after having shaved their heads to disguise them, have sent them against us with their soldiers. Our country has been ravaged, and men massacred; those who have been spared have been thrown into dungeons and finished their lives by famine; the dwellings of noblemen and women had been given to the flames, and all the churches have been sacked. Pannonia, which is a Christian province, has been devastated three times by their ferocious bands, and the bishops whom you have sent to us, will tell you, how many days they have traversed the country, finding it a desert. Heaven is our witness of all the efforts we have made to obtain peace from the Hungarians, when they invaded Italy; and twice the Moravians accuse us of having paid these barbarous hordes, which is the most execrable calumny our enemies have been able to invent. We have even offered to forget the past and to exchange our prisoners, in order to be able to defend the property of the Holy See; but they have refused, in order to prevent us from giving this brilliant proof of our submission."

This letter terminates in these words: "I, Theodmar, archbishop, who have charge of the patrimony of St. Peter, and who levy upon the people the tithes which you have ordered, have not been able, from the hindrance of the Pagans, as yet to bring or to send to you the money which is due to you; but by the grace of God, as soon as Italy is delivered, the days shall not accumulate, before it is placed in your hands."

John the Ninth, after the example of his predecessors, interfered in the affairs of the Eastern church; but the interests of Christianity occupied less of his attention than his own private ambitious views. The popes have always concealed their pretensions under the specious pretext of the glory of the church, and the people have not known how to guard against the system of hypocrisy pursued by the court of Rome, not to allow themselves to be seduced by the deceitful appearances of exterior piety.

On examining attentively the letter which the sovereign pontiff addressed to Stylien, bishop of Neocesarea, we will discover his purpose in bestowing so great eulogiums on this bishop, who had steadily opposed the schism of Photius. "We wish," wrote John the Ninth, "that the decrees of the popes should remain inviolable; and it is, therefore, that we reject Stephen, Anthony, Ignatius, and Photius from our communion, and we grant it to those who observe this rule."

Alphonso the Third, who reigned over a part of Spain, having fortified the city of Oviedo, his capital, engaged in building a magnificent church in honor of St. James of Compostella. When the work was done, he sent to Rome an embassy composed of two priests Severus and Sinderedus, and a layman named Rinaldo, to obtain from the pontiff the consecration of his new cathedral. John consented to erect the church of Oviedo into a metropolitan See, and he authorized the king to hold a council. His letter concluded thus, "We are afflicted like you, by the presence of Pagans, and we combat day and night with them. With this religious interest, we shall ask from your clemency, good Arabian horses and arms . . ."

In accordance with the authority granted by the holy father, Alphonso dedicated the church of St. James of Compostella, with great solemnity, and he held, on the 29th of November following, a synod to nominate an archbishop to the See of Tarragona. This convention chose the abbot Cæsar, but the metropolitan of Narbonne having opposed his installation, Cæsar appealed to the pontifical See, and his election was canonically confirmed.

In the year 900, Louis, the son of Boson, the king of Provence, was called into Italy a second time by the Roman lords, and brought with him a numerous army. John the Ninth granted to him the title of king of Italy and emperor of the West, but with the promise that this prince would preserve to the apostolic chair, the privileges which the kings of France had granted to the pontiffs of Rome.

According to the opinion of historians, John the Ninth died towards the year 900, without having, says Platinus, done any thing which was worthy of memory. We will add, that he excited the religious quarrels which had been for a long time quieted; that he pur-

chased the conversion of the Normans with the treasures of the people, and that he never forgot the dues of the church. Le Sneur and Cardinal Baronius eulogize him by saying, that he was the best of the bad popes.

## BENEDICT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 901.]

*Hideous picture of the corruption of the pontiffs—Election of Benedict—The priests abandon themselves to all kinds of debauchery—The churches become places of prostitution—Death of the pope.*

It is certain that the vacancy in the Holy See, after the death of John, was not of long duration; still it would be difficult to fix its time. The new pontiff was a Roman, the son of Mumolus and of noble birth. Some authors speak of his love for the public good, and of his liberality towards the poor; but Platinus assures us, that in these unfortunate times, in which reason and virtue were entirely banished from the church, it was not possible to find a pontiff worthy to fill the chair of St. Peter.

This historian thus expresses himself on this deplorable falling away from apostolical purity. "The majesty of the sovereign pontificate was established," he says, "by the holiness of morals, and the purity of Christian doctrine, two things which are acquired by great labour and without the aid of riches. But scarcely was luxury introduced into the temple of God, when the priests, abandoning the regularity of their lives, delivered themselves up to pleasure, and went to sleep in the arms of corruption. Finally, the chair of humility and chastity, became the end of all ambition, the recompense of all crimes, the refuge of all abominations."

What must we think of the infallibility of the popes, on reading these accusations of irreproachable veracity? And shall we be able to believe that the apostolical succession of the bishops of Rome has always been blessed by God?

As soon as Benedict was seated on the Holy See, he received a deputation sent by Argrim, who was not yet re-installed in the bishopric of Langres. This prelate explained to the pope, that after the death of Geilon, he had been elected by the clergy and the people, and canonically consecrated by his metropolitan, Aurelian, archbishop of Lyons, assisted by his suffragans and by Bernonin, primate of Vienne; he added, that after having governed his church for ten years and three months, a faction had driven him from it during the reign of the emperor Guy, and that in his absence, great disorders had been introduced into the diocese. That for a long

time, they had no longer consecrated the holy oil; that children remained without confirmation, and that the episcopal functions were no longer exercised in his province.

Benedict, not wishing to decide of his own private authority, on an affair so important, assembled a council in the palace of the Lateran, at which it was decided that Argrim should be maintained in the See of Langres, and that a letter should be addressed to the bishops of Gaul, to the king and the lords, to confirm the consecration that the prelate had already received from Pope Formosus. After many vicissitudes, the holy bishop was finally enabled to govern his people until 911, the period at which he became a monk.

Soon after, towards the end of the year 903, death struck the head of the Latin church.

The speech of Edgar, the King of England, to the bishops of his kingdom, will give us an exact picture of the disorders of the pontiffs. "We see in Rome but debauchery, dissolution, drunkenness, and impurity," said the monarch; "the houses of the priests have become the shameful retreats of prostitutes, jugglers, and sodomites; they gamble by night and day in the residence of the pope. Bacchanalian songs, lascivious dances, and the debauchery of a Messalina, have taken the place of fasting and prayers. Is it then thus, infamous priests, that you dissipate the patrimony of the poor, the alms of princes, or rather the price of the blood of Christ?" This precious document has been preserved for us, by Alred, abbot of Rhenbal.

Stella also addresses severe reproaches to the bishops of the tenth century; he accuses them of having opened to the monks, the colleges which belonged to the priests, and of having given them the means of enlarging their treasures, and increasing their formidable influence over the people.

This epoch, he adds, gave birth to no heresy, because the impious could conceal themselves in the depths of a cloister, where they led with impunity a licentious life, abandoning themselves to all kinds of debauchery. Religion was no longer practised in any place

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on the earth; the sacraments were not administered; holy things were forgotten; and priests and people, lords and kings, were all addicted to magic: iniquity was at its height.

Glabert Rudolphe, who assisted at the saturnalia of this impious age, thus expresses himself in his biblical language: "The ancient Leviathan conceived the hope, that the overflowing of the waters of the Jordan would fill his stream; I would say that the multitude of baptized Christians are precipitating themselves into hell, through avarice, impurity, crime, and falsehood." In fact, corruption,

cupidity, violence and cruelty, had been pushed to such a degree among the priests—thanks to the example of the heads of the church—that it was no longer possible to distinguish ecclesiastics from secular lords. All were abandoned, without shame, to an unbridled ambition, an insatiable avarice; they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of luxury and pleasure, or to the charms of the table, and expended in their orgies with courtizans the money of the poor and of the altar. Society, thanks to them, soon found itself plunged in the most profound brutishness, and the most frightful corruption.

## LEO THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 903.]

*Sergius still disputes the See of Rome—Election of Leo—Christopher drives off the new pontiff—Death of Leo—Death of Alfred the Great.*

AFTER the death of Benedict the Fourth, the marquisses of Tuscany made new efforts to place their relative, Sergius, on the pontifical throne. They failed in their efforts, and the Romans, from their hatred of the unworthy minister whom they wished to impose on them, hastened to choose a venerable priest, who was enthroned under the name of Leo the Fifth.

This holy man being incapable of governing the church, could not maintain himself in power, and was soon overthrown by an ambitious person named Christopher, whom he had brought up in his own house.

This monster dethroned his benefactor, and cast him into a prison, where he caused him to be strangled. This cruelty confirms the sentence of Theocritus: "If you cherish wolves, they will eat you."

Whilst the Roman church was given up to the most deplorable anarchy, King Alfred the Great was achieving his glorious reign, and left to his son, Edward the First, the monarchy of Great Britain, which his grandfather and father had bequeathed to him. All his historians agree in passing the greatest eulogies on this prince, and in calling him the regenerator of England. He established at Oxford the schools, which were the origin of the celebrated university of that city; he paid attention to his marine, and the internal administration of the kingdom; he published a collection of laws which served, at a later

period, for the basis of a code of equity, and of British legislation. He was an ardent protector of the arts and sciences, and called around him learned strangers to aid him in plucking his people from the barbarism in which they were plunged. He wrote himself, and translated into Saxon for the use of his subjects, the ecclesiastical history of Bede, the pastoral of St. Gregory, and the consolations of Boëce; but he carefully guarded against constraining the consciences of men, and placed all his glory in converting them through the example of his virtues.

Voltaire has said of him: "I do not know that there was ever on earth a prince more worthy of the respect of posterity than Alfred the Great; history reproaches him with neither faults nor weaknesses, and places him in the ranks of heroes who were useful to the human race; that is to say, it counts him among the extraordinary men, who have aided their cotemporaries to come forth from a state of barbarism." To this eulogy of the illustrious writer we will add, that the English sovereign was really greater than Charlemagne, the regenerator of letters in France, because he contented himself with being the father of his people, whilst the French monarch wished to add to the real titles which he had to the admiration of posterity, those of a conqueror, the founder of despotism in the West, and the protector of the popes.

## CHRISTOPHER THE FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 904.]

*Christopher seizes on the Holy See—Sergius in his turn overthrows the new pontiff, who is finally condemned to die by starvation.*

We cannot place political ambition and its train of assassination, poisoning, and massacre in a parallel with religious ambition, for the atrocity of the crimes which they have caused, and the greatness of the evils they have drawn upon the people. In the one, brute force plays the principal part; in the other, craft and treason come to the aid of material force.

Despots are content with ruling over people and of robbing them of their wealth, and their power stops with the repression of visible acts. Death is a refuge always ready, always assured against tyranny. But it is not so with religious authority; the priests wish to oppress in this world, and to pursue their victims even beyond the tomb. They wish to reign over the thoughts, to govern the convictions, to arrogate to themselves the power of commanding souls; and they exact that men, whether living or dead, should submit to their detestable omnipotence.

The history of the church at this period is full of facts which demonstrate how ardent is this thirst for power among ecclesiastics, and to what excesses they will go to satisfy their ambition. When a priest has fixed upon an end, and that end is authority, all the means of arriving at it are proper. If he meets with

obstacles, he tramples on them or breaks them down; justice, honour, morality, are for him words of no value; good faith is duper, the devotedness of madness, and probity a crime. Relatives, friends, men or women, he sacrifices all; deceives or corrupts all who surround him.

It was by putting openly into practice these abominable doctrines, that Christopher the Roman elevated himself to the Holy See; but the means which gave him power were employed by the infamous Sergius, who had for a long time aspired to the apostolic chair, to overthrow him.

Christopher was torn from the apostolic chair and confined in a monastery. Afterwards, as his ambition and his menaces disquieted his successor, he was taken from the sacred asylum of the cloister, and plunged into a horrid dungeon, in which he was condemned to die of famine.

In the midst of all these revolutions in the palace, the ambitious and usurping maxims of the court of Rome still pursued their way, and became, according to circumstances, more and more exacting. Thus we shall see the sacred influence of the See of Rome fortifying itself by political influence, in order to strengthen that immense net in which it will enlose people and kings.

## SERGIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 905.]

*The enthronement of Sergius—He re-instates the memory of Stephen, and declares Formosus an infamous and sacrilegious pontiff—Reflections of the cardinal Baronius—Adulteries of Pope Sergius with the infamous courtizan Marozia—Church of Constantinople—Founding the abbey of Cluny—Church of Bremen—Death of Sergius—Reflections on the shameful vices of the pontiffs.*

THE ambitious Sergius, at length master of the pontifical chair, the object of his desire, no longer placed a rein on his vices. After the death of Theodore the Second, he had been already once nominated as pope, and was then driven from the Holy See. After seven years of exile, the faction which had placed the tiara on his brow recalled him to Rome, in order that he might a second time employ the intrigues and means of corruption which were usual in order to seize on the throne of the church.

With Sergius, the vindictive spirit of the priest, the lubricity of the monk, and the violence of the fanatic, were placed on the throne of St. Peter. This pope, regarding John the Ninth and the three popes who had preceded him as usurpers, erased all their acts, and spoke out against the memory of Formosus.

In a council composed of his slaves, he approved of the proceedings of Stephen the Seventh. He caused the body of that pontiff to be transferred into the apostolic residence, in contempt of the canons, and he engraved

on his tomb a laudatory and lying epitaph. Formosus, on the other hand, was solemnly declared to be a sacrilegious pope, and his memory was anathematized.

Cardinal Baronius, whose pen has too often flattered the Holy See, is indignant at this strange scandal. "He is a wretch," says he, "worthy of the rope and of fire: the brazen bull of Phalaris, with his sides heated by the flames, could not have caused this execrable monster to suffer the punishments which he merited. It is impossible to believe that such a pope was a lawful one."

Sergius, however, sustained by the arms of Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, and supported by Charles the Simple, who hated the party of Formosus, reigned in Rome, and caused his enemies to tremble.

The holy city was then governed by a famous courtesan, named Theodora, who had been put in possession of the castle of the city by Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, her paramour. She had two daughters, whose debaucheries even surpassed those of their mother. The eldest, named Marozia, of a wondrous beauty, became in her turn the mistress of Adalbert, and had by him a son named Alberic. She then surrendered herself to Pope Sergius, and from this infamous connection sprang the children whom we shall see become popes in their turn, and who will continue these monstrous incests with their mother Marozia for three generations.

The last marriage of the emperor, Leo the Philosopher, had incurred the blame of the clergy, and caused a great division in the Eastern church, in consequence of the obstinacy of the patriarch Nicholas, who, condemning third and fourth marriages, wished to prohibit the monarch from entering the churches. The prince at first condescended to entreat the patriarch to withdraw this prohibition; but at length, tired of entreaties, he resolved to punish his temerity. Nicholas was driven from his See and sent into exile, and Enthy-mius, the Syncellus, a man of rare piety, consecrated in his stead.

To render this change regular, the emperor wrote to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and to Pope Sergius, and requested them to examine into the canonical validity of his marriage. They, intimidated by the firmness of Leo, sent legates to Constantinople to instruct the people, that the marriage of the prince was not condemnable by the Christian religion, and that the canons were only obligatory on the private citizens.

At the same period, Gaul saw built the abbey of Cluny, which has given so many great men to France, and some pontiffs to the Holy See. The founder of this celebrated monastery was Count William, duke of Aquitaine and Berri, the son of Bernard, count of Auvergne, and the grandson of another Bernard, count of Poitiers. He had married Ingelberge, the daughter of Boson, king of Provence, and the sister of the emperor Louis. He had since been deprived of his estates, and the usurper had caused his eyes to be put out.

William himself explains the motive of this pious action in the charter which established this foundation: "Wishing to employ usefully for the safety of my soul, the earthly goods which God has given me, I do not believe that I could better do so, than by drawing on myself the benedictions of the poor, and I have founded, at my own expense a community of monks. Desiring that this work should last, I declare in the name of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that I give to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the territory of Cluny, situated in the county of Macon, on the river Garonne. The chapel dedicated to the virgin and to St. Peter, as well as its dependencies, will form a part of the donation, and that, for the repose of Monseigneur, the king Eudes, and for that of my relatives and servants.

"They shall build at Cluny, a monastery, to assemble together the brethren who shall live according to the laborious rule of St. Benedict. This place of refuge consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, shall be for ever an asylum for those, who, being poor, will only bring with them good will. The monks and all the property shall be placed under the sovereign rule of the abbot Bernon. After his death the power of choosing an abbot of the same order shall return to the brethren, without we or any other authority being able to prevent a regular election.

"The monks however, shall pay every five years, ten golden pennies to the Holy See, to obtain the protection of the apostles and pontiff. They shall perform daily labours of mercy towards the poor, strangers, and pilgrims, and from this moment they shall not be in subjection, neither to us, nor our relatives, nor the king, nor any earthly power. The counts, bishops, and even the popes (I conjure them by the name of God, of the saints and by the day of judgment) shall never seize on the property of these servants of Christ; and they shall not be able to sell, diminish, exchange, or bestow in fief the lands of this convent."

Terrible maledictions and a fine of an hundred pounds of gold were to punish those who should dare to act against the tenor of these charters. The deed of donation was deposited in the cathedral of Bruges, in 910. It was subscribed by William, by the metropolitan, and by bishops Atton and Adalard; the princess Ingelberge and several lords affixed their seals to it.

Bernon, the first abbot of Cluny, was descended from one of the noblest families of Burgundy, had already founded, with his own wealth, the monastery of Gignis, in the diocese of Lyons, and had reformed that of Baume, near to Lons-le-Saunier; he placed in his new community but twelve monks; later, he increased the number to sixty, and gave them a great number of domestics to serve them.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the monks of Cluny still possessed seignorial lands in the provinces; they had a college in which were taught the humanities and philosophy; they possessed a magnificent

church, in which divine service was celebrated with the same ceremonies as at St. Peter's, at Rome. The memory of St. Hugh was held in great veneration in this monastery, and the ashes of this abbot were placed behind the high altar, where hung a lamp, which they said, had the marvellous privilege of constantly burning without the oil being ever exhausted.

Whilst they were labouring at the foundation of the abbey of Cluny, the venerable Adalger, archbishop of Hamburg, came to the holy father to ask that bishop Hoger, of Nouvelle-Corbie, might be permitted to aid him in his episcopal functions. But the pontiff, Sergius, brutally refused this authority and paid no regard to the complaints and entreaties of the old man. He went still further,

and erased the decrees made by Formosus in favour of his diocese; he renewed the privileges of the church of Bremen, and confirmed those which Popes Gregory and Nicholas had granted to St. Anscaire and St. Rembert, and finally, he imposed on him, five neighbouring bishops, as assessors, to aid him in the government of the faithful.

We cannot fix with exact certainty, the period at which the infamous Sergius disappeared from the earth; still, whether he lost the patriarchal throne with his life, or whether he was driven from the apostolical chair by his successor, and still continued his disgraceful intercourse with Marozia, every thing leads us to believe that in 910 Christianity was freed from this monster.

## ANASTASIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 910.]

*Election of Anastasius—Letter of the patriarch Nicholas to the pope—Fourth marriage of the emperor Leo—Death of Anastasius, the Third.*

ANASTASIUS the Third, the son of Lucian, was born at Rome; the events of his pontificate are in part unknown; we only know that he exhibited great submission to Berenger, who took the title of emperor and king of Italy, and that at the request of this prince, he permitted the archbishop of Pavia, to seat himself under a dais, to ride a white hackney at great ceremonies, and to have a cross carried before him. He even pursued his deference to the orders of Berenger so far as to seat this prelate at his left hand at the councils and in the sacred chapel.

Like his predecessors, he built churches, repaired the deacoury of St. Adrian, and solemnly consecrated a magnificent altar which he built with his own hand.

It is believed that it was to this pontiff, that Nicholas, the patriarch of Constantinople, sent a letter, in which he relates the persecution he suffered on the occasion of the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo. This letter is remarkable as exhibiting the predominance of the Western over the Eastern church. Nicholas complains bitterly of the harshness of the legates of the last pontiff. "These priests appear to have come from Rome only to declare war on us," said he: "instead of carefully informing themselves in regard to the matter which was submitted to their investigation, and of reporting upon it to their spiritual chief, they have condemned those who have incurred the indignation of the prince, by refusing to authorize an act of incontinence. These two or three men, claiming for themselves primacy in the church, have caused their scandalous decision to be approved by the bishops of the West. They have sold to

the emperor a pretended dispensation, as if by dispensations, we could violate the canons and authorize debauchery.

"Under any circumstances the church cannot permit one to remain in the sin into which he has fallen. It only proposes to imitate the mercy of God, by extending a hand to the sinner to lift him up. Your legates maintain that it was a question of a lawful union, and not of concubinage; and they call an impure connection with a fourth female, a marriage. Why then do the canons exclude from the communion those who fall into this fault? Why do they treat it as a brutal incontinence, exceeding the bounds of humanity? They have, however, dared to avow that such was the usage among the Romans. Is that an eulogy or a blame of the Holy See? Is it true that you permit a man to take a fourth, or fifth, or a sixth wife, and so on to infinity, even to the tomb? You will quote in vain this language of the apostle: 'It is better to marry than to burn.' It is not for you that this was written, as it is said that second marriages are only permitted to women on account of their weakness, which condemns them to obey."

Nicholas cites several passages from the holy books in favour of his opinions, and after having established that princes, in matters of sin, have no privileges above other men, he adds: "I did not say this to oblige you to condemn the memory of the emperor, and that of Sergius your predecessor; both have already gone before the tribunal of the sovereign judge. Leo, however, before his death, recognized his fault, with tears; he asked for pardon from God, and I prayed with him; for



at the time (f his death, he had recalled me from exile, and had restored to me the government of my clergy and people. I do not ask, holy father, but the punishment of those who remain, and who have caused me so many troubles; it is your duty to grant it to me; your dignity and the honour of the See of Rome demand it. We also beseech you, and the prince who reigns over the empire sends you his master of the palace, to beseech you to punish our enemies."

The obscure life of Anastasius the Third, has not excited the attention of the historians of these deplorable times. He undertook nothing against the memory of those who had occupied the apostolical chair before him, and his reign is not distinguished by great crimes. He died in 912, after a pontificate of two years and some months.

Whilst Christendom was plunged in the shades of darkness and ignorance, the followers of Mahomet were advancing in civilization and science. Abderane the Third, surnamed the protector of the worship of the true God, the eighth caliph of Spain, of the race of the Omniades, was seated on the throne of Cordova, and caused the arts, industry and commerce to flourish among the Arab inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula. Numerous workmen, directed by skilful metallurgists and lapidaries, explored the rich mines of gold and rubies, lying near Malaga and

Beja; agriculturists raised the silk-worm in the fertile countries of Cordova and Grenada, and artizans fabricated brilliant tissues, which other people bought by their weight in gold. In vain did the Catholic kings of Leon and the counts of Castile, endeavour to trouble the tranquillity of the kingdom of Abderane; they were defeated by him in twenty-two pitched battles.

Abderane was, beyond all contradiction, the greatest prince of the tenth century; he founded a medical school, which was then the only one in Europe; he established academies for the study of the abstract sciences; thanks to his intelligent direction, the arts were carried to such a degree of perfection, that attempts have been made to call in question the existence of the masterpieces of architecture and sculpture with which he embellished the city of Cordova. Still, notwithstanding the splendour which surrounded his throne, the caliph was not happy. He has himself avowed it in a book of maxims he wrote for his successor. "Riches, honours, pleasures, I have enjoyed all. I have exhausted all. All that men desire has been prodigally granted to me by Heaven. Yet in the long space of apparent tranquillity, I have counted the number of days in which I was happy. This number amounts to fourteen. Mortals, appreciate greatness, the world, and life."

## LANDO, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 912.]

*Election of Lando—Obscurity of his pontificate—His death—Conversion of Rollo, the leader of the Normans.*

THE successor of the pontiff Anastasius was the deacon Lando, a Roman by birth, and the son of a priest named Anastasius.

The actions of this pope have remained in the most profound oblivion. Platinus, following an ancient author, says that he employed his authority and his mediation to prevent Berenger and Rodolph, the son of Count Guy, from making war and disputing for the imperial crown. He died after a pontificate of six months and two days.

During this ephemeral reign, an event of great importance to the church took place in Gaul. Rollo, one the fierce leaders of the Normans, to whom Charles the Simple, in order to purchase peace, had given in marriage the princess Gisella, and for a dowry the country comprised between the Epeu and the sea of Brittany, as also Neustria, received the regenerating water of baptism. The new Christian, urged on by Francon, archbishop

of Rouen, caused his counts, knights, and army also, to be baptized. Rollo was then compelled, in order to put an end to the rapine which characterized these hordes of barbarians, to make such terrible ordinances against robbers, that one dared not to pick up on the highway an article which had been lost. The chronicles even relate that the duke, wishing to try in what manner his orders were respected, suspended a gold bracelet from a branch of a tree in the midst of the country, and that it remained there three entire years, without man, woman, or child daring to touch it.

Rollo was not only an object of salutary fear to the robbers of his own states, but he was so dreaded beyond them, that the pirates who, before his installation in Neustria, infested its coasts, and made incursions even into the interior of the country, dared no longer show themselves, and the Normans were now compelled to respect the soil of France.

## JOHN THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 912.]

*Election of John the Tenth—His amours with Theodora—He is driven from the See of Ravenna—He combats the Arabs at the head of his army—Hypocrisy of John—Re-union of the churches of the East and West—Decree in relation to marriages—The young Hugh is consecrated, at the age of five years, archbishop of Rheims—Revolution in Italy—Incestuous marriages in the family of Marozia—Death of John, who is strangled by the orders of Marozia.*

John the Tenth, a clerk of Ravenna, succeeded the pontiff Lando. He was a Roman by birth—the son of a nun and a priest. His beauty caused him to be remarked by Theodora, the mistress of Pope Sergius, who became violently enamoured of him. The ambitious youth yielded to the passion of Theodora, and thus prepared the way of arriving at the sovereign pontificate.

His mistress, who was all-powerful at Rome, caused him first to be named to the bishopric of Bologna; but before he was consecrated, the prelate of Ravenna having died, he was chosen archbishop of that city. At last Theodora, fearful of the infidelity of her lover, if he remained in an archbishopric remote from Rome, caused him to be ordained pope on the death of Lando.

Platinus, an historian always correct in his assertions, says, that previous to this last election, John had been ignominiously driven from his See by the people of Ravenna, for his scandals and his crimes.

At the commencement of his pontificate he united with the two brothers Landolph and Atenuph, princes of Capua, and marched with them against the Saracens, who were encamped in the country of Garillan. John the Tenth, a soldier rather than a pope, with his casque on his head and his sword by his side, took the command of the troops, fought a great battle with the Arabs, and drove them entirely from the provinces which they occupied. Berenger seconded the pontiff in his warlike projects, and in return John crowned him emperor, although he had been already consecrated by Stephen the Sixth.

The holy father sent into Spain a legate, charged, in his name, with performing his devotions before the body of the blessed St. James of Compostello. In his letters to Bishop Sisnard, the hypocritical John enjoins on him to burn incense upon the shrine of the holy apostle, and to pray day and night for the remission of his sins.

Ordagne the Second, who then reigned in Spain, received the legate of the pope with distinction, and heaped rich presents on him for his master, notwithstanding the diversity of opinion between the Spanish and Latin clergy, with regard to the mosarabic ritual used through the whole peninsula.

The priests of Constantinople had been divided into two factions, having at their head the patriarchs, Nicholas and Euthymius.—

After the death of Euthymius, they re-united, and put an end to the schism which had been caused by the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo. The decree which re-established peace in the Eastern church, thus terminates:—  
“From this year, the 6428th since the birth of the world, we prohibit every man, clerk, prince, or layman, from contracting a fourth marriage. If any one is bold enough to dare to contravene our command, he shall remain deprived of ecclesiastical sacraments, and the entrance into the holy place shall be closed against him, so long as he shall persevere in his abominable liens.

“The fathers, it is true, authorize third marriages, but as a disgraceful weakness of man. From this time, all who at the age of forty years shall marry a third time, and shall not have had children, shall remain deprived of the communion for five years, and they shall only receive it once at Easter, as having been purified by the continence of Lent. Those who have had children, shall have no excuse for a third union. Those, however, who at the age of thirty years, having had children, shall espouse a third wife, shall remain excommunicated for one hundred and fifteen days. They shall be permitted to receive the communion at Easter, at the Assumption of our Lady, and at Christmas, on account of the abstinence preceding these solemn festivals. Those who have not had children, shall remain submissive to the repentance at present observed.

“First and second marriages, although permitted, should not be the result of a bad cause: as rape, anterior debaucheries—under penalty, for the guilty, of not being admitted to the communion until after they have performed the penance for fornication. This penance lasted for seven years, and cannot be moderated but at the moment of death.”  
This last decree was to be read every year in the month of July, from the pulpit of the cathedral of Constantinople.

The synodical letter was carried to the Holy See by the orders of the emperor, as we learn from a letter of the patriarch Nicholas, in which he thus expresses himself: “You know, holy father, the afflictions we have endured for fifteen years; but when our hopes were at the lowest, Jesus Christ came to appease this violent tempest. We write to you to re-establish the concord which has been interrupted by the difficulty of the times; to ask you to hear us, and to decide with you on

this fourth marriage, which has caused so much scandal, and which we have only tolerated through an extreme indulgence for the person of the prince, and through fear lest his anger should draw down greater evils on the church.

"They will, from this day, re-commence reading your name with ours in the sacred records, and we will enjoy a profound peace. The emperor earnestly beseeches you for it, by Basil, his ambassador, with whom we have sent the priest Euloges.

"You will also send to us legates, that we may be enabled to decide with them what can be justly modified in the decrees which we submit to you."

Towards the same period, John the Tenth received complaints from the clergy of Tongres, against Herman, the archbishop of Cologne, who had nominated Hildwyn as bishop of their city, although King Charles the Simple had given the See of it to the abbot of Prom. Herman was sharply reprimanded by the pontiff for having ordained Hildwyn without the authority of the king. "We should not," says he, "establish bishops in any diocese, without the consent of the king." Herman and Hildwyn were ordered to Rome, to be judged according to the canons; but as they refused to appear, Hildwyn was excommunicated. The abbot of Prom gained his cause, and was ordained by the pope, who gave him the pallium, an honour which none of his predecessors had obtained before him. This affair, however, was not definitely decided until 922.

Here, metropolitan of Rheims, having died this year, Robert, the son of Robert the Strong, who had been proclaimed king of France, in the place of Charles the Simple, caused the archdeacon Suelph to be consecrated as archbishop. He, finding himself firmly seated on his See, sent to Rome to demand the consecration of his election, and authority to bear the pallium, which he received in the following year.

After an episcopate of three years and five days, Suelph died from poison administered by the partizans of Herbert, count of Vermandois, who was intriguing to obtain the property of the bishopric. As soon as the titular was dead, the count sent for Abbon of Soissons and Bovon, bishop of Chalons, to treat with them for the vacant chair. The people and

clergy, threatened with the spectacle of the property of their church being divided and given to strangers, declared on his side, and the count caused them to elect as archbishop, his fifth son, named Hugh, who was only five years old. The bishops Abbon and Bovon were sent as ambassadors to King Ralph; who, through their counsels, approved of the ordination of this child, and intrusted to his father the administration of the episcopate. Nothing was wanting to this act of religious scandal but to obtain the approbation of the Roman pontiff. John the Tenth, more occupied with his lusts and debauchery than with the affairs of Christianity, confirmed all that had been done, and appointed Abbon to exercise sacerdotal functions in the diocese of Rheims, until the majority of the infant archbishop.

Italy was then the theatre of one of those revolutions which so often stained with blood the middle ages. The Lombards having driven away Rudolph, king of Burgundy, called to the throne Hugh, count of Arles, the son of Count Thibault and of Bertha, the daughter of King Lothaire. Hugh reigned twenty years; he was brave, skilful, liberal, and the protector of letters; but his good qualities were tarnished by the horrible depravity of his morals. His kingdom embraced the ancient provinces of the Lombards, without including the city of Rome, of which the possession remained with Guy, his uterine brother, by means of the incestuous marriage which he had contracted with the shameless Marozia.

This execrable woman, after this public scandal, became tired of her husband, and entered into a sacrilegious commerce with John the Tenth; joining cruelty to luxury, she became jealous of the pontiff, and to revenge herself on him for his intercourse with her mother and sister, she resolved to assassinate him, and forced her husband to execute the crime. The infamous satellites, commanded by Guy and Marozia, forced the palace of the Lateran, murdered the brother of the pope, bound him with cords, and cast him into prison, where they strangled him beneath mattresses, towards the end of the year 928. A death worthy of such a pope!

John the Tenth was ambitious, avaricious, an apostate, destitute of shame, faith, and honour, and sacrificed every thing to his passions; he held the Holy See about sixteen years, to the disgrace of humanity.

## LEO THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 928.]

*Reflections of historians in regard to Leo the Sixth—Uncertainty as to his reign—Death of the pope.*

Leo the Sixth, if we credit Baronius and Papebroch, was a Roman, and the son of the treasurer Christopher; he was regularly cho-

sen in 928. His modesty, the integrity of his morals, the care which he had for religion, the tranquillity which he established at Rome,

the pacification of Italy, and the expulsion of the barbarians who ravaged it, would be so many beautiful actions with which we ought to credit him, if we were enabled to establish them upon authentic testimony. But the

urages of the court of Rome in these times of corruption, induce us to believe that this pontiff lived like his predecessors. He died after a pontificate of six months and some days.

## STEPHEN THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 929.]

*Uncertainty as to the pontificate of Stephen the Eighth.*

STEPHEN was the son of Theudemond, and a Roman by birth. Although he possessed the Holy See for two years and six months, all the actions of his pontificate remain in the most profound oblivion. His mildness and probity were laudable, if we are to believe several religious writers; his death is placed in 931.

According to some ecclesiastics, Stephen the Seventh exhibited great severity in regard to the morals of the clergy; but this assertion, which they do not sustain by any testimony, cannot be conscientiously admitted; and the more so, as it was during his reign, that this singular proposition, made by the Roman canonists appeared: "that laymen cannot accuse a priest of adultery, even if they should surprise him in the very act with their wives, or their daughters, and they should believe that he was only blessing them more intimately."

Besides, it was impossible for a pope to interdict concubinary marriages to ecclesiastics, since priestesses and deaconesses were then authorized in the church, as is proved by an order of Telasperian, bishop of Lucca, in which that prelate declared that he granted

to priest Romuald and Ratperga, his wife and priestess, the direction of the church, the convent, and the hospital of San Quirico de Capaneli in the valley of the Arno. An authentic act also testifies that at their death, they bequeathed to the church all the property they possessed in the states of Lucca and Pisa.

In France as well as in Italy, the custom of concubinary marriages between priests and priestesses was so common that the Chronicle of Maus speaks of a bishop named Segenfried, who espoused a young deaconess, although he was already very old.

The disorders and scandals were then pushed to such an excess that the cardinal Damian, in one of his works, blames the culpable tolerance of the Holy See; he says, "that he is astonished that the pope permits hands consecrated to handle the bread of angels, to be soiled in the lascivious and impure attachments of women." He adds, "that concubines espoused by priests, are the marrow of the devil, the virus of intelligences, the prison of drunkards, the gynœceum of the old enemy," and adds many other names unnecessary to repeat.

## JOHN THE ELEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 931.]

*Birth of John the Eleventh—Chosen bishop of Rome at eighteen—Incest of the young pontiff with Marozia, his mother—She poisons her husband Guy—Her incestuous marriage with Hugh—Rathier, bishop of Verona—Alberic, the eldest son of Marozia, seizes upon Rome, and confines his brother, Pope John, in prison—His incest with his mother—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Stephen, the patricianess Marozia, mistress of John the Tenth, availed herself of the absolute power which she exercised in Rome, to cause her young son Octavian, whom she had by Pope Sergius, to be ordained pontiff. His criminal birth, and his youth, did not prevent the Roman clergy from placing the sacred tiara on the head of a child of eighteen. It is true that Marozia knew how to pay for votes by caresses and

This abominable woman, who was then in

all the splendour of her beauty, wished to assure her rule over the mind of the young pope, by becoming his mistress, and she abandoned herself to incestuous amours with her son! Then, (eternal disgrace to the Holy See,) was seen on the chair of St. Peter, a pope, who left the shameless arms of his mother to appear in the holiest ceremonies of religion, and priests on their knees before a Messalina, who surpassed in her debauchery the most shameless courtezans of Rome and Lesbos.

Marozia, soon fearing the irresolution and

weakness of character of her son, wished to assure to herself a more powerful protector. She poisoned her husband, Gay, and offered her hand and the principality of Rome to King Hugh, his half brother. This prince had the baseness to consent to this sacrilegious alliance.

Before his marriage, Hugh had given the See of Verona to Bishop Hildwyn, who had retired to his court, after having been driven from the bishopric of Tongres, by Richer. A monk, named Rathier, one of the most learned men of that age, had declared himself a partisan of the new prelate, and had followed him to the court of the prince, under the promise of succeeding to the bishopric of Verona, as soon as his friend should be elevated to higher dignities. Hildwyn, having soon after been nominated as archbishop of Milan, Rathier hastened to Rome to demand the pallium; but on his return, Hugh, who had changed his mind, opposed his election. The urgent solicitations of the grandees of the kingdom, joined to those of Hildwyn and the sovereign pontiff, compelled him, however, to receive the new prelate. Rathier had the mitre, but the king continued to persecute him, and excited a powerful hatred against him among the clergy.

By his marriage with Marozia, Hugh believed his power firmly fixed, and beyond the reach of all revolutions; he no longer took any pains to conceal the indignation he felt towards Alberic, the incestuous offspring of his wife, and the marquis Adalbert, who partook with John the Eleventh in the monstrous caresses of their mother. Upon one occasion he was so far carried away as to strike the young prince on his face. Alberic, exasperated at this outrage, put himself at the head of a party of malcontents, assembled the people of Rome, and, at the head of some troops, attacked the castle of San Angelo. Hugh, surprised by the sudden attack, with difficulty escaped from his enemies, and was obliged to save himself beyond the ramparts.

Alberic, master of the castle, caused himself to be proclaimed duke of the Romans, and he confined in a close prison his brother, Pope John. Marozia still commanded in the holy city with the new patrician, her son, and from their criminal intercourse sprang a child, whom we shall see hereafter occupying, in his turn, the pontifical throne, and prolonging the

incense of this abominable family, even to the third generation.

During his captivity, John the Eleventh sent apostolical letters to the emperor of Constantinople, to confirm the election of one of the sons of the admiral Romanus Lecapenus, who had been promoted to the patriarchal See of that city, at the age of five years. His holiness granted, besides, to this infant, the use of the pallium, in perpetuity; a favour unknown, and which none of the prelates of the East had ever yet enjoyed. Some of his friends have endeavoured to excuse the conduct of the pontiff, by maintaining that even before his imprisonment, John the Eleventh had never freely exercised his ministry; his mother Marozia, having seized on the supreme authority, and that the sceptre of the popes had been turned into a distaff. A singular justification, which is not adapted to elevate the throne of the apostle in the eyes of the faithful.

Besides, that which was passing in Italy at this period, was neither stranger nor more scandalous than the infamies which were taking place in other countries. Every where there reigned the same disorders, the same anarchy in church and state. The feudal system elevated itself, threatening kings and people. The lords declared themselves independent, and united with the bishops to free themselves from the yoke of their suzerains, and to subjugate the provinces. Heresy, impiety, debauchery, poisoning, robbery, incendiarism, and murder followed in their train and covered Europe with disasters from the Bosphorus to the Baltic, and from the extremity of Portugal to the Ural mountains.

We must not then be astonished, in the midst of the frightful convulsions which agitated all kingdoms, at seeing courtizans command in Rome, occupy the part of the Holy Spirit, dispose of the Holy See at their pleasure, and place upon it the fruit of their adulteries and incests.

John the Eleventh, enervated by the excesses of the table and by debauchery, lived in debility until 936, when death came to put an end to the harsh captivity which his brother had imposed upon him. For a long time this degraded pontiff did not leave his prison, unless surrounded by the satellites of Alberic, and only to celebrate divine service in the great solemnities.

## LEO THE SEVENTH, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 936.]

*Election of Leo—The abbot Odon at Rome—Letter from the pope to the prelates of Bavaria—Marriage of priests—Death of Leo.*

LEO THE SEVENTH was consecrated in 936; historians represent him as a servant of God, who, far from seeking dignities, was elevated to the Holy See in despite of himself.

After his ordination, he continued to live with great wisdom; affable, zealous, agreeable in his conversation, his piety was always exemplary, and he applied himself unceasingly

singly to meditations on heavenly things. Such is the portrait which his contemporary Frodoart has left us.

Alberic was still the master of Rome, and rejected the proposals of Hugh, who desired to return to his principality. The pope, wishing to reconcile these two princes, brought into Italy, Odon, the abbot of Cluny, who had before enjoyed great credit with the king. This pious abbot succeeded in bringing about a peace between them, and Hugh consented to give his daughter in marriage to the patrician Alberic, as a sign of his pardon.

During his stay at Rome, the abbot of Cluny exhibited a humility so truly Christian, and a charity so inexhaustible, that the clergy, moved by his fervent and sincere piety, besought him to re-establish the monastery of St. Paul, with the severity of the primitive rule. That cloister thence became his residence.

Alberic had conceived so profound a respect, and so lively an admiration for Odon, that the holy abbot having been one day rudely pushed by a peasant who did not know him, the prince condemned him to lose his two hands, which sentence was at once put into execution by the executioner.

About this time, Gerard, archbishop of Lorca, whose See was afterwards transferred to Salzburg, came to consult Leo on several abuses, which prevailed in Bavaria and the neighbouring provinces. He relates that he quitted Rome, edified by the conduct of the head of the church. The holy father sent by him a letter, which was addressed to the kings, dukes, and prelates of Salzburg, Ratisbonne, and some other Sees. Leo replied to all the questions put to him by Gerard in the name of the clergy and grandees of those countries.

We quote some passages from the letters of the prelates and the pontiff: "Should we inflict penance on those who have put to death divines, enchantresses, sorcerers, and all other abettors of magical practices?" wrote the Bavarians.

Pontifical wisdom thus resolved this difficulty:—"Although the ancient law demands the life of the guilty who are abandoned to the abominable practices of magic, ecclesiastical judgment preserves them to lead them to repentance. If, however, hardened sinners refuse to submit, they become subject to human laws, which cannot be executed too rigorously against them."

Should we say, "Dominus Vobiscum, or Pax Vobis." To this question Leo made this ambiguous reply, "You should follow the usage of the Roman church, which employs 'Pax Vobis' on Sundays and fête days, except at times of fasting, and 'Dominus Vobiscum' on ordinary days."

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Leo prohibited them from saying the Lord's prayer for the blessing which precedes the repast; this prayer, in his opinion, should be reserved for divine service. He strongly opposed the marriage of priests. "The archbishop Gerard," he says, "relates to us a deplorable disorder. Priests publicly marry and even wish that their children should be promoted to sacred orders! You will see how these unions are blamed by the council of Nice, which prohibits ecclesiastics from even lodging with women, whatever may be their age. That of Neocæsarea orders prelates even to depose clergymen who have married. We wish these decrees to be executed with the utmost rigour. The children, however, shall not bear the iniquity of their fathers."

"Rural bishops shall not consecrate temples, nor ordain priests, nor administer confirmation."

"We prohibit the faithful from espousing their god-mother or god-daughter; and those who being relatives in the third or fourth degree, have married without a knowledge of their relationship, should submit to penance."

At the close of his letter, the pontiff ordered the clergy to obey Gerard as his vicar; and he commanded Eberhard, the duke of Bavaria, to aid him with the strong hand, if the people refused to submit to his authority.

During this last year, the Arabs, who had established themselves in Lombardy, sought to extend their conquests, and laid siege to Genoa. They carried it by assault, massacred all the inhabitants, except the women and children, whom they reduced to slavery, and carried off from the churches the riches which the superstition of the people had accumulated in them. From Genoa they went as far as the city of Agauna, which they burned, as well as the famous monastery of St. Maurice. They then made themselves masters of all the roads which led to Rome, and attacked the caravans of pilgrims who came to pay their devotions at the tomb of the apostles.

Leo, seeing the revenues of the Holy See diminishing in consequence of the tactics of the Arabs, decided to enter into an arrangement with them, and sent to them, skilful priests, who showed to them, that it was their interest to allow the fanatics who crowded to Rome, to go to the tomb of Saint Peter, and to constrain them only to pay for a right of passage.

The reign of Leo the Ninth has been very sterile in events, as historians have preserved a profound silence in regard to the actions of this pope. He died in 939, after a pontificate of three years and some months, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## STEPHEN THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 940.]

*The election of Stephen—The Romans mutilate him—Hugh, archbishop of Rheims—Death of Stephen the Ninth.*

THE exaltation of Stephen the Ninth, who was a German by birth, is fixed at the year 940. He was elevated to the Holy See by the assistance of King Hugh, and a faction which was devoted to the emperor Otho. But this election having been made without the consent of Prince Alberic, he incited the Romans against the holy father. As the conclusion of an outbreak, the people stormed the patriarchal palace, and tore the pontiff from his throne. The soldiers gashed his face with such barbarity, that the unfortunate man appeared no more in public, even in the most solemn ceremonials.

Some years afterwards, the archbishop of Rheims, Artaud, having been deposed by a council held at Soissons, Hugh, the son of Count Herbert, was ordained in his place. As soon as he was enthroned, he sent deputies to the pope to ask the pallium from him; his ambassadors returned, bearing the authority from the Holy See, but accompanied by a legate named Damasus, who bore letters destined for the lords of France and Burgundy, to

force them to recognize the authority of King Louis. Stephen threatened them with ecclesiastical thunders, if they did not obey his orders before Christmas, and if they continued the war.

The chiefs of the clergy of Rheims then besought Count Herbert to intercede with Count Hugh, that he would consent to a treaty of alliance with Louis, in order that they might be freed from the excommunication with which they were threatened.

During the same year, (942,) St. Odon came to Rome for the third time, to establish the basis of a durable peace, between Hugh and his son-in-law, the patrician Alberic, whose ambition created ceaseless wars which stained Italy with blood. The abbot of Cluny also undertook the reformation of the monastery of St. Elias, at Supperton, near to Nepi, where he placed one of his disciples, named Theodard, as abbot. Stephen died in 943, after a pontificate of three years and four months, without having achieved any thing remarkable.

## MARTIN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 943.]

*Election of Martin—His devotion—Obscurity of his history—His quarrel with Simon, bishop of Capua—His death.*

SOME days after the death of Stephen, the patrician Alberic, caused a pope to be elected, whom historians call Martin the Second, or Martin the Third.

It is related of him, that during the three years and a half of his pontificate, he applied himself to nothing but the duties of religion and monastic practices. In consequence thereof, the priests of Rome exhibited a great contempt for this pontiff. They said of him, "That Christianity had never had such a pope; and that the reign of a man who understood the art of increasing the possessions of the Holy See, and of causing the money of the people to flow into his purse, was of more advantage to them."

In accordance with this reasoning it follows, that the greatness and majesty of the church require a chief who does not possess the virtues of an apostle, but the talents of a skillful

diplomatist. The clergy wish a pontiff who has the courage to damn himself, in order to increase his wealth and estates; they ask that the popes should sacrifice themselves for the Christian republic, as Curtius and Decius did for the pagan.

Martin the Third, scrupulous and a bigot, allowed the temporal power, which was necessary for the maintenance of the spiritual, to weaken in his hands; hence he has come down to posterity with the reputation of having been a bad pope.

Martin granted, however, great privileges to several dioceses, and we are assured that he wrote a very remarkable letter to Simon, bishop of Capua, an ignorant man, and a shameless and debauched priest. The holy father strongly reproached this prelate for having given, as a fief, to his deacon, a church which his predecessors had granted to the

Benedictine monks, for the purpose of establishing a monastery. He imperiously commanded him to transform this church and its dependencies, without delay, into a convent, which should be declared independent of the See of Capua, and should remain under the

direction of the monks of the order of St. Benedict. He also prohibited him from maintaining any intercourse with the young deacon, who passed for his minion, under penalty of being deposed and excommunicated.

Martin the Third died in the year 946.

## AGAPET THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 946.]

*Enthronement of Agapet—Profound ignorance of the popes—Council of Engelheim—Agapet calls Otho into Italy—Death of the pope.*

AGAPET the Second, was a Roman by birth, he was chosen, like his predecessor, by the faction of Alberic. This ambitious patrician, desirous of pursuing his credit and maintaining his authority in Rome, was unwilling to elevate to the Holy See but weak pontiffs, who were ignorant and incapable of governing temporal affairs. He was, however, deceived in the new head of the church, whom he caused to be enthroned in 946.

The division between the principal lords of Italy was at its height, and the authority of King Hugh, had much diminished, since Otho the Great, and Herman, duke of Suabia, had sent succours to Berenger to re-establish his power in the Roman peninsula. Agapet endeavoured to reconcile Alberic and king Hugh, without foreseeing what would be the result of his negotiations.

The first action of the pope was to establish his political rule over the churches of the empire. For this purpose he sent Marin, bishop of Bormazo, in Tuscany, as a legate to Otho, to assemble a general council. This convention, composed of French and German prelates, was held at Engelheim, in the church of St. Remi, on the 7th of June; 948, in the presence of Kings Otho and Louis. Marin presided over it. Notwithstanding the opposition of the synod, the legate re-established

in his episcopal dignity Artaud, the former bishop of Rheims, who had been removed from his see by Hugh, count of Paris.

About the same time, Hadumar, abbot of Fulda, made a pilgrimage to Rome to inform Agapet of the strife which existed between Herold and Gerard, the archbishops of Salisbury and Lorca or Laureac, who both laid claim to being the metropolitans of all Pannonia. The pope wrote a letter to them, in which he declared that the church of Laureac had been the metropolitan church of all Pannonia, prior to the irruptions of the Huns, but that the ravages of these barbarians had caused the metropolitan to transfer his See to another city; and that, since that period, Salisbury had been erected into an archbishopric; that, in consequence thereof, they occupied lawfully their respective Sees, and that both prelates should preserve their rank and their diocese. He decided that jurisdiction over western Pannonia belonged to Herold, and that the eastern part, with the country of the Avari and Moravians, belonged to Gerard.

After having aided the interests of Berenger for two years, Agapet discovered that kings who are too powerful become the tyrants of the people. He then called the emperor Otho into Italy; but before the arrival of that prince he was taken suddenly ill, and died in 956.



## JOHN THE TWELFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 956.]

*Octavian, the incestuous son of Alberic and Marozia, is elevated to the pontifical See—Revolts in Rome—Monstrous incests of Marozia and the young pope—History of Theophylactus, patriarch of Constantinople, aged sixteen years—Debauchery, scandal, and desolation of the churches of the East and West—Wars excited by Pope John—Otho is recalled into Italy—He is crowned emperor—Magdeburg erected into a metropolitan See—John revolts against the emperor—The Romans bring infamous accusations against the pope—He sends ambassadors to Otho—The emperor enters Italy—the pope flies—Council of Rome—Cardinals and bishops accuse the pope of horrible crimes—The emperor orders him to appear before a council—Deposition of Pope John.*

THE confusion which reigned in the political government of Italy was daily increased by the rivalries of kings and emperors: the same strife, the same divisions, soon shone forth in the government of the church.

In every city, bishops and abbots chosen by one prince, were soon overthrown by other competitors, sustained by a new master. There existed no hierarchy in the church; inferiors condemned their superiors, and frequently mere laymen seized upon the benefices, and were created prelates by their own authority. It was thus that the young Octavian, the son of the patrician Alberic, himself the son and lover of Marozia, became pope.

According to some authors, the new head of the church had attained but twelve years; others affirm that he was eighteen; all agree that he was of a very tender age, and that the infamous Marozia had already, by a double incest, initiated him into the most shameful debaucheries. Intrigues, promises, and presents, acquired for the young Octavian the pontifical throne; and, immediately after his elevation, he dropped his own name and took that of John the Twelfth.

His reign, commenced under sacrilegious auspices, will finish by a disgraceful fall! Baronius draws the portrait of the infant pope in very strong terms. He calls him an abortion, and represents him as an actor who appeared upon a theatre, wearing the tiara, and engaged to play the part of the pontiff.

At the same period, and as if Providence was desirous of exhibiting to men all the horror with which their crimes had inspired the Deity, the See of Constantinople was occupied by Theophylactus, a patriarch of sixteen years, who ruled over the corrupted clergy of the Greek church. This ambitious youth, sustained by a powerful female, had been consecrated in the presence of the legates of the Roman pontiff, and in accordance with a decree of election made by a cabal of infamous priests.

Theophylactus, elevated to the highest dignity of the church, at an age in which the passions are in all their effervescence, abandoned himself to the most criminal and disgraceful actions. He consecrated neither priests, deacons, abbots, nor prelates, except

for money, which he soon dissipated with his minions and courtizans. Passionately fond of the chase, he had collected in his stables more than three thousand dogs, and almost two thousand horses, which he fed on pine-apples, pistachio nuts, hazle nuts, dates, raisins and figs steeped in generous wines, and perfumed with the sweetest odours.

It is related of him, that whilst celebrating divine service on a Holy Thursday, one of his grooms came to inform him that a favourite mare had foaled. The patriarch immediately suspended the august ceremony to go to the stables, dressed in his pontifical robes, leaving the people in stupor and astonishment. It is affirmed, that in order to render religious ceremonies more attractive, he thought of admitting into the churches, actresses and courtizans, who should perform lascivious dances to the sound of music.

Theophylactus finally met with a dreadful fall whilst hunting, and in consequence of it, expectorated blood. Notwithstanding his disease, he was unwilling to abandon his mode of life, and died of exhaustion.

Maimburg says of John the Twelfth, "After his exaltation, Octavian changed his name, but not his morals; for it is certain that there have never been priests who dishonoured the pontifical title by all kinds of vices and crimes more than he did. God, however, permitted that his death should be as painful and unfortunate as his existence was shameful and deplorable."

Octavian united in his own hands spiritual power and temporal authority, or rather weighed down Italy under a double tyranny which he could exercise without fear, being sustained by the satellites of his family. He formed the project of seizing upon the duchy of Spoleto, and he marched at the head of an army against Pandulph, prince of Capua; but the latter having been succeeded by Gisulph, prince of Salerno, John was forced to retreat and to sue for peace.

Berenger, no less ambitious than the holy father, wished to extend his dominion over the people, and to treat the citizens of Rome as the serfs of his domains. He became so odious that the pope was compelled to send two legates, John, a cardinal deacon, and

Azon, an officer of the church, to beseech Otho to come and free the Italian provinces from their tyrant. The venerable Valbert, archbishop of Milan, also prostrated himself before the prince, claiming his protection against Berenger and his son Adalbert, who had driven him from his See in contempt of divine and human laws, in order to bestow it on Manasseh, archbishop of Arles. At almost the same moment the titular of Arno, addressed like complaints to the king, against the violence of Berenger.

For twenty years Otho the Great had reigned gloriously over Germany; he had conquered the Slavi and Bohemians; he had subdued revolted provinces, pacified Germany, and re-conquered all the kingdom of Lorraine, and was at last enjoying in profound peace the fruit of his numerous victories. But as ambition is an insatiable passion with kings, he sacrificed the repose of his people to the desire of possessing a greater empire. He assembled, with all speed, a powerful army, and invaded Lombardy. All bent before him; the deputies of the people, the lords and the chiefs of the clergy, having assembled in Milan, declared Berenger and his son stripped of all their rights; Otho was proclaimed king of Italy, and received, according to usage, the iron crown and sceptre; he then directed his steps towards Rome. His march was a true triumph. John the Twelfth, however, exacted from him, that before entering the Christian capital, he should take a solemn oath, that he should preserve in safety, the life and dignity of the pontiff, and should take no resolution to his detriment; that he would maintain all the privileges of the Roman church, and even restore to the Holy See all the domains which had been taken from it by its enemies.

Otho was received in Rome with extraordinary pomp. The entire population poured forth to meet him with cries of joy. The pope crowned him emperor, and swore on the body of the holy apostle Peter, never to renounce his obedience, nor to give any succour to Berenger, nor his son. The citizens, the priests, and the lords, took the same oath. The new head of the empire of the West then restored to the church all the territory of which it had been deprived by the deposed princes. He made to the sovereign pontiff in particular magnificent presents of gold and precious stones. He confirmed to the Holy See, by an authentic deed, the immense donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, comprising Rome, its dutchy and dependencies, several cities in Tuscany, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentopolis, the dutchies of Spoleto and Beneventum, the isle of Corsica, the patrimony of Sicily, and several other places in Lombardy and Campania. "If God puts them in our power," he adds with a wise restriction. This donation was copied word for word from that of Louis the Good-natured. Otho annexed to it Rieti, Amiterne, and five other cities of the kingdom which he came to conquer. At the end of this deed was placed this important and remarkable

clause:—"Saving our own power, and that of our son and descendants."

They were then engaged with the election of John the Twelfth, which had never been done canonically. The clergy and nobility pledged themselves to make it regular, but on condition that the pontiff should publicly pledge himself, in the presence of the commissioners of the emperor, to preserve the rights of the citizens. The administration of justice was also regulated. It was agreed that the delegates of the Holy See, and of the empire, should make a yearly report of the causes which should be judged by the dukes or prelates. Abuses were to be laid before the pope, who had the liberty of immediately correcting them, or of permitting them to be corrected by the imperial commissioners.—This clause shows that Otho the Great reserved to himself definite sovereignty and jurisdiction over all the cities and provinces which he had given to the apostolic chair. This diploma is dated on the 13th of February, 962. The original, written in letters of gold, was kept in the archives of the church.

The emperor obtained the erection of Magdeburg into a metropolitan See; and in the bull which was issued in regard to it, it is said: "Otho has represented to us that after having conquered the Slavi, he has converted them to Christianity. Therefore, in order not to expose these people to the danger of relapsing into idolatry, by depriving them of a director, and to preserve them in our holy religion, we order that the monastery of Magdeburg, located in Saxony upon the Elbe, and the nearest to these nations, be erected into an episcopal See, that it may govern them through its suffragans.

"In execution of a vow made by the prince in a battle against the Hungarians, it is also our will, that the monastery of Mersebourg be erected into an episcopal See, but under the direction of that of Magdeburg, because a single prelate cannot govern such large provinces. It is also our will that the quit-rents and rate tithes of all the people, who have been baptized through the means of the emperor, or by the care of his successors, may be divided among the bishoprics which we shall erect; and we order the bishops of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg, to protect with all their power these new churches. Finally, when God, through the zeal of Otho the Great, or his descendants, shall have brought into our communion the adjoining Slavi, it is our will that new prelates, ordained by the metropolitan of Magdeburg, be established in the country." This bull, drawn upon the 14th of February, 962, was not executed until six years afterwards.

Although Pope John appeared then very well disposed to favour the emperor, he soon forgot his protestations of fidelity, through fear lest the prince would not be content with an imaginary title, and would be desirous to exercise his authority in Rome, as the Greek or Gallic sovereigns had formerly done. The traitor John sent ambassadors to the son of

Berenger, who had taken refuge among the Saracens, to induce him to raise the standard of revolt, promising him, upon the Evangelists, that the Holy See would second him in his enterprises against Otho.

The emperor having been informed of this negotiation, was surprised and angry. He however hoped that the young pontiff might be brought back to more favourable sentiments, through the counsels of men of sense, and he sent some old officers of his court to protest to the senate of Rome against this infraction of the treaty which the holy father had committed.

The Italian lords, indignant at being compelled to bow beneath the yoke of a sacrilegious pope who filled Rome with his debaucheries and dissipation, made this reply to the prince: "John the Twelfth hates Otho for the same reason that the devil hates his Creator. You, my lord, seek to please God, and desire the good of the church and the state; the pope, on the other hand, blinded by a criminal passion, which he has conceived for the widow of his vassal, Rainier, has granted to her the government of several cities, and the direction of several convents; and to heighten the scandal, he has paid for his infamous pleasures with the golden crosses and chalices of the church of St. Peter.

"One of his concubines, Stephenette, died before our very eyes, in the palace of the Lateran, in giving birth to a son, whom she declared was the pontiff's. The sacred residence of the popes has become, under the reign of John, a frightful brothel, the refuge of prostitutes. Neither Roman nor strange females dare any longer to visit the churches, for this monster causes wives, widows, and virgins to be carried off from the very steps of the altar! Rich dresses, or tattered rags, beauty or homeliness, all alike are used to gratify his execrable debaucheries! The temples of the apostles are falling into ruins, the rain of Heaven inundates the sacred table, and the roofs even threaten to bury the faithful beneath them. Such are the reasons why Adalbert is more agreeable to the pope than the emperor."

Notwithstanding these terrible accusations of the Romans, Otho dared not yet punish the revolt of the pontiff; he contented himself with besieging Montefeltro, into which Berenger had thrown himself.

John immediately sent to him as deputies, an officer of his court, named Leo, and Demetrius, one of the principal citizens of Rome; he promised to correct his faults, which arose, he said, from his extreme youth; he complained, at the same time, that the emperor had not kept his promise, by compelling the people to take the oath of fidelity to his own person, and not to the Holy See; he also blamed him for retaining at his court Bishop Leo, and John, a cardinal deacon, two priests of his church.

Otho replied to the holy father: "It is true, that I promised to surrender to the apostolic chair, all the territory of St. Peter which

should fall into my power, and it is for the purpose of religiously performing my promises that I desire to drive Berenger from his fortress. As to the prelates Leo and John, whom you accuse me as retaining prisoners, I assure you they were arrested when on their way to Constantinople, to confer with my enemies. They had with them Zachæus, an ignorant and deceitful man, whom you have made a bishop, as well as the Bulgarian Salec, your favourite and minion, who were both going among the Hungarians to excite them against us. An unworthy treason, which I would not have believed, had I not seen with my own eyes the letters sealed with lead, bearing your name, and signed with your own hand."

Otho, however, determined to send to Rome Landohard and Luitprand, the bishops of Munster and Cremona, with the deputies of the pontiff. They were received at the palace of the Lateran, with every demonstration of the most sincere friendship; but eight days afterwards, John sent them back with the bishops John and Benedict, and the treason was consummated.

Adalbert entered the holy city with all the splendour of a triumph, and took possession of the ancient palace of the patricians. On learning this new perfidy of the pope, Otho resolved to execute a signal vengeance, and marched on Rome to the assistance of his partisans, who had seized on the castle of St. Paul. On his approach, the pope and Adalbert fled, carrying with them the treasures of St. Peter. The emperor found the population of Rome divided into two camps; the vagabonds, robbers and bandits sustained the pontiff; the honourable citizens and the people had declared for him. The presence of his army changed the aspect of things; all swore an inviolable fidelity to the prince, and pledged themselves never to choose a pontiff, without his consent or that of his son.

Three days after the arrival of Otho, the Italian and German prelates, the nobility, and the clergy, and people of Rome, addressed a request to him, beseeching him to convoke a council, to remedy the infinite disorders and evils which the church endured. Otho yielded to their supplications, and held a convention, at which were present about forty bishops, thirteen cardinal priests, three deacons, several monks, and a large number of citizens. When silence was proclaimed, the emperor summoned the pontiff, John the Twelfth, in a loud voice; and as no one replied for him, he demanded the reasons which prevented the holy father from appearing before that august assembly.

A bishop then spoke—"We are surprised, my lord, that you ask that of which the people of even the remote country of India are not ignorant; the crimes of John the Twelfth have been committed by this execrable pontiff, who glories in his infamy, in the face of day." The emperor then asked if the accusations had been framed in a more precise manner. All the bishops and cardinals immediately rose spontaneously, and one after

another spoke against the pope, accusing him of being guilty of horrible impiety, of blasphemy, sacrilege, profanation, adultery, rape, incest, sodomy, poisoning, and murder.

Peter, a cardinal priest, declared that he had seen him celebrate mass, when drunk; John, bishop of Narni, said he had ordained a deacon in a stable; Jerome, a cardinal deacon, affirmed, that at the conclusion of an orgy, he had led a courtesan into the temple and committed adultery with her on the very steps of the altar; and finally, a long memorial was read, in which all the crimes of John the Twelfth, were set forth: "The holy father was accused of having sold the episcopate; of having ordained children of a tender age priests and bishops; of having been publicly guilty of monstrous incests with his aunt and his mother Marozia; of having dissipated the patrimony of the poor with the courtezans Rainier, Stephenette, Anne, and her niece; of having transformed the sacred palace into a place of prostitution; of having put out the eyes of Benedict, his spiritual father, who died under the hands of the executioner; of having caused the subdeacon John to be put to death in his presence, after having mutilated him of his virility, and, would to God," added the prelates, "that he had performed on himself this cruel operation! Finally, he was accused of having traversed the streets of Rome with a sword by his side, a casque on his head, and clothed with a cuirass, and of having kept a pack of dogs and horses for the chase." The reading of this memorial being finished, his old cronies, clergy and laymen, declared that the pontiff drank toasts to the health of the devil; that when playing at dice he invoked the aid of Jupiter, and that in his orgies he called himself the priest of Venus; they affirmed also, that he kept neither matins nor canonical hours, and that he never made the sign of the cross.

As the Romans did not understand the Saxon which Otho spoke, he addressed the assembly through Luitprand, the bishop of Cremona. "It sometimes happens, as ye know from our own experience, that men who are elevated to dignities, are calumniated by the envious; do not be astonished, if I am distrustful on hearing the horrible accusation which has been read by the deacon Benedict. I therefore conjure you, by the name of God, whom we cannot deceive, by that of the holy mother, and by the body of the holy Apostle Peter, in whose presence we are assembled, I beseech you to lay nothing to the charge of the pontiff John the Twelfth, of which he is not truly guilty, and which has not been seen by men worthy of credit."

The clergy, nobility, and people of Rome exclaimed, "If Pope John has not committed the abominations which the deacon Benedict has read, and others still more horrible, may St. Peter not deliver us from our sins! May we remain for ever laden with anathemas, and may the Lord place us on his left hand at the day of the last judgment!" There came into the council, soldiers of the prince, who de-

clared that they had seen the holy father, his sword in his hand, and his casque on his head, escorting his courtezans, and preceded by cars bearing away candelabras, crucifixes, chalices, and the consecrated cruets and censers. The emperor replied.—"Every soldier of my array is an unexceptionable witness; I believe all, and besides, do I not myself know that John has become guilty of perjury towards us, by his alliance with Adalbert? We will, however, hear his defence before condemning him."

The prince sent him this letter: "We have come to Rome, most holy father, for the service of God, and when we demanded from the priests the cause of your absence, they brought against you horrible accusations. Clergy and laity have alike accused you of sacrilege, extortions, homicides, and abominable incests. They have declared that you drank wine to the love of the devil, and that you have invoked in your orgies the gods who presided over the debaucheries of the Pagans. We pray you to come at once to justify yourself before us; and if you fear the violence of the people, we swear that we will cause your person to be respected, and that nothing shall be done against you contrary to the canons."

The pontiff having read this letter, contented himself with the following reply, which he addressed to the council: "I learn that you wish to choose another pope; if you persist in this design, I excommunicate you in the name of the all-powerful God; so that you have no power to go into an election, nor to celebrate mass." And priests have been insensate enough to be willing to re-establish the memory of John the Twelfth, and to maintain, that after having fulminated his bull of excommunication, this execrable head of the church could not be deposed from the pontificate!!!

The convention, whose power fanatics pretend to contest, judged, however, that it could overthrow from the chair of St. Peter, the monster who profaned it; but before the rendering of the sentence, he was cited to appear before the council. The following is the synodical letter, which was addressed to him: "Most holy father, you have not yet replied to the emperor Otho, and you have not sent deputies to explain your defence. Are you willing to give us the motives for so doing. We consent to recognize your authority, if you come among us to justify yourself; but if you refuse to give us lawful excuses, we will despise your excommunication, and will hurl it back on you; for Judas had received equally with the other apostles, the authority to bind and loose; but after his crime, he could only bind himself."

Adrian, a cardinal priest, was charged to carry this second citation, which remained like the first, without a reply; the fathers then assembled the third time, and Otho opened the session in the following discourse: "We have waited for John to put our charges against him in form; as we now know that he will not come, we beseech you to examine into his conduct. Whilst he was oppressed

by Berenger and Adalbert, our rebellious subjects, he sent deputies into Saxony, beseeching us, in the name of God, to come and deliver Italy and the church from the two tyrants who desolated them. You know what I did. Forgetful, however, of the fidelity which he had sworn in this very place, he brought to Rome the traitor Adalbert; he revolted against my troops, and the minister of peace became the captain of war, clothed with his cuirass and his casque. Let the council pronounce its judgment! I have finished."

A bishop replied in the name of all: "We declare, my lord, that for a great evil, there must be an extraordinary remedy. If this execrable pontiff only injured himself, we should tolerate him! But as his frightful example perverts all Christendom, we beseech you, O magnanimous emperor, to drive this monster from the holy Roman church, and to place in his stead a man who sets an example of wisdom and virtue."

The prince replied: "Be it so."

Such was the decree which deposed John the Twelfth, from the pontifical See, in the year 963.

Several ecclesiastical authors maintain, that a pope could not lose his sovereign authority, how great soever may be his crimes; to think the contrary, they say, is the most culpable of heresies. But admitting to the letter the

*verified by R.C. Encyclo.*

vice-deity of the pontiff, who will be willing to believe for a moment, that God confided the care of his church to a man like John the Twelfth, who was worthy of being the rival of Heliogabalus? Do not the most robust faith, and the blindest fanaticism, revolt from the idea of such a morality? What! a robber, a murderer, an incestuous person, worthily to represent Christ upon the pontifical throne! Can he excommunicate the victims of his infamous crimes, since religion wills, commands so? We will avow that this execrable doctrine shocks our mind; it is repugnant to the most depraved conscience!

When one sees such monsters as John the Twelfth, seated on the apostolical chair, it is impossible to believe that the divine spirit is incarnate in the pontiffs; for it would then be, that humanity would reject Christianity itself as an anti-social religion, as its fundamental dogma would repose upon the most profound immorality. Vainly do the cardinal Baronius, Platina, Father Maimbourg, and the greater part of ecclesiastical historians avow that the church was then governed by unworthy popes. This confession is not sufficient to justify the institution of the papacy; on the contrary, it condemns it, since it corroborates this truth, that men elected and consecrated pontiffs, have surpassed in their dissoluteness all that was most hideous in the material doctrines of paganism.

## LEO THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 963.]

*132 Pope  
Encyclo.*

*Election of Leo the Eighth—Conspiracy against Otho—The Romans attack the German guards—The conspiracy conquered—The generosity of Otho.*

AFTER the deposition of John, the bishops having assembled anew in council, chose as pontiff, the venerable Leo, a man of approved merit and virtue. The emperor assented to this election which was made in the midst of the acclamations of the assembly.

The new pope was a Roman by birth; he was conducted by the cardinals to the palace of the Lateran in pomp, according to custom, to undergo the trial of the pierced chair; he was then ordained in the church of St. Peter, the clergy, nobles, and people, taking an oath of fidelity to him.

His election being completed, order was every where restored; and Otho, believing that he had nothing more to fear from the Romans, who had received him with such great demonstrations of respect, nor from John the Twelfth, who had lost all his authority in the holy city, determined, as a measure of relief to the citizens, to send his army into winter quarters in Umbria, and only to retain about himself a few troops who formed his

body guard. But he soon discovered how little he could rely on the fidelity of the priests; for those very persons who had implored his aid against Berenger, were the first to conspire against his person.

John the Twelfth, seconded by the partizans whom he had preserved in the city, excited discontent among the people; spread abroad writings, accusing the council which had deposed him, of having been guilty of an outrageous heresy, of having contemned the ecclesiastical law, of having reversed the decisions of the fathers, of having violated the canons contrary to all justice, and finally, of having trampled under foot all laws, human and divine. To himself alone, he said, it appertained to convoke lawfully the clergy, the nobles, and the people of Rome; to God alone pertained the power of judging a pope, how abominable soever he might be, as the synod of Sinuesa held during the reign of Pope Marcellinus, and that of the Italian and ultra-mountain prelates held in the church of

St. Peter, under Charlemagne, had decided. He called Leo the Eighth, an anti-pope; the emperor a perjured tyrant, and he devoted them both to the execration of men, as well as the bishops, cardinals, deacons, priests and lords who had assisted at that sacrilegious assembly. He gave permission to the faithful to fall upon them and strike them with the sword, or put them to death by poison in accordance with the authority granted by St. Peter to him, John the Twelfth, the true pontiff, canonically chosen, ordained, consecrated, and enthroned by all the faithful. He warned the Romans, that God had stricken the execrable Otho with blindness, who had placed himself in their hands with a handful of soldiers; he commanded them to besiege him in his palace, to massacre him without pity.

In order to give more force to their declamations, the agents of the pope were prodigal of gold to the ecclesiastics, and promised that on his return, John would divide with them the gold which he had carried off in his retreat. Secret hatred, disappointed ambition, and above all, the insatiable avarice of the clergy, induced a large number of priests to unite with the conspiracy. The populace, led on by fanaticism, seconded their projects of rebellion, and on the 2d of January, 964, on a signal given by the bells of the churches, the clergy assembled in arms, and marched in order of battle towards the bridge of the castle to surprise the emperor.

Informed of the revolt by the noise of the seditious, Otho advanced to meet them at the head of his faithful Germans, and seized upon the entrance to the bridge, where he arrested the Romans. After a slight resistance, the priests became alarmed, and fled in such disorder, that a panic spread among the rebels. In their endeavours to escape, they fell one upon another and remained exposed without defence to the fury of the soldiers.

Fortunately Leo the Eighth left the palace at the very moment and arrested the carnage; on the next day, the generous Otho granted to him the pardon of the guilty, on condition that the Romans would give him an hundred hostages, chosen from among the most influential persons of the city, and that they should take a new oath of allegiance to him.

At the same time, he learned the news that the castle Monte Feltrò, the last fortress of Berenger, after a long and disastrous siege, had been compelled to surrender at discretion. Berenger was sent a prisoner into Germany, where he died eight days afterwards. His fall was a just punishment for the violence which he had wished to exercise towards the princess Adelaide, widow of Lothaire, count of Paris and duke of France, to force her to marry his son. Adelaide, to free herself from his persecutions, had placed herself under the protection of Otho the Great, and he, through a condemnable ambition, not only consented to protect her, but even married her, although he knew perfectly well that she had been defiled by the embraces of Hugh, the father of Lothaire, before her marriage, and even since her widowhood. After all, it is but of little consequence to a king whether he espouses a courtesan or not, provided she has provinces for her dowry! Otho took her for his wife, because, independently of the great property he acquired by her, his marriage with her furnished to him a pretext for laying claim to several French and Italian duchies, which she claimed as the heritage of her first husband.

Otho, regarding Italy as entirely pacified, prepared to set out to join his army in Umbria, and restored the hostages to the Romans, hoping by this act of clemency to attach to himself the affections of the clergy. But he had scarcely passed the walls of the city, when a conspiracy was already on foot against the prince and pontiff.

## JOHN THE TWELFTH REINSTATED BY A REVOLT.

[A. D. 964.]

*The Roman women organize a new revolt against the emperor—John a second time usurps the Holy See—Cabal of the pontiff—His cruelties—He is surprised in adultery, and slain in the arms of his mistress—Reflections on his debauchery.*

THE adulteresses and courtezans of Rome impatiently desired the re-installation of John the Twelfth upon the Holy See. They went about among the taverns, distributed bountifully their gold, abandoned themselves to disgusting orgies with vagabonds and bandits, in order to augment the number of the partisans of John the Twelfth. They were soon enabled to form an army out of the vagabonds of Italy, and this infamous pope returned in triumph to Rome through the Dorean gates, whilst the venerable Leo secretly escaped be-

yond the ramparts, in order to shun the vengeance of his cruel competitor.

John the Twelfth was scarcely installed in the palace of the Lateran, when he called together a council, and the same prelates who proscribed him, gave utterance to new acclamations before the body of the apostle St. Peter.

The pope, surrounded by bacchantes with dishevelled hair and his hideous satellites, rose from his seat and pronounced the following discourse: "You know my dear brethren,

that I was torn from the Holy See by the violence of the emperor; the synod also which you held during my absence, and in contempt of ecclesiastical customs and canons, should be at once anathematized; you cannot recognize as your temporal ruler, him who presided over that impious assembly, nor as your spiritual guide, him whom you elected pope."

All these shameless priests replied, "We committed a prostitution in favour of the adulterer and usurper Leo."

"Do you wish to condemn him?" inquired the pontiff. "We do," replied the priests.

John added: "Can prelates ordained by us, ordain in our pontifical palace? And what do you think of the bishop Sicon, whom we consecrated with our own hands, and who has ordained Leo one of the officers of our court, neophyte, leader, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and finally, without putting him to any proof, and contrary to all the orders of the fathers, has dared to consecrate him to our episcopal See? What do you think of the conduct of Benedict, bishop of Porto, and of Gregory, of Albano, who blessed the usurper?"

The assembly replied, "Let them be sought out and brought before us; if they are discovered before the expiration of our third sitting, they shall be condemned with the anti-pope, in order that for the future, none of the officers, neophytes, judges, or public penitents shall be rash enough to aspire to the highest honour in the church."

The pontiff then pronounced the sentence of condemnation against Leo the Eighth. He declared him deposed from all sacerdotal honours, and from every clerical function, with a threat of a perpetual anathema, if he should endeavour to re-enter the sacred city. He then caused the prelates, who had been ordained during the pontificate of Leo, to appear before him, clothed in their copes and stoles of priests, and wrote upon a parchment which was given to them, "My father having nothing himself, could not lawfully give me any thing." After this they were degraded and replaced in the rank which they held before the usurpation of Leo.

On the next day, the second of the sitting, Benedict of Porto, and Gregory of Albano,

who had been seized in their palaces, were brought before the fathers. They were each of them compelled to read these words: "I, whilst my father was living, consecrated in his place, Leo an officer of the court, a neophyte and a perjured man; I did it in opposition to all the ordinances of the fathers and the customs of the church."

John then continued: "As for those who have aided the neophyte with money to purchase the grace of God, we condemn them to lose their rank in the church, if they are priests or deacons, and we excommunicate them if they are monks or laymen. We ordain, that for the future, the inferior shall never take away the rank of a superior. We prohibit monks from leaving the places in which they have renounced the world, and we pronounce against the guilty the penalty of excommunication."

The council coincided in all the wishes of the pope. On the next day, the third of the session, Sicon was condemned for contumacy, and the prelates who had been degraded during the preceding sittings, were re-instated in their sees in consideration of their submission. The pontiff, to justify the irregularity of this action, quoted the example of Stephen the Third, who had been degraded and re-elected by the bishops named by Constantine. Thus terminated this saturnalia.

The holy father then caused them to cut off the right hand of the cardinal deacon John, and the tongue and nose of Azon, and two fingers of his right hand.

John the Twelfth did not long survive this new triumph. He was surprised one night by a Roman lord, in the arms of his wife, and the husband, in his rage, struck him so violently on the head, that he fractured his skull. The holy father was then carried senseless to the patriarchal palace, and died eight days afterwards, on the 20th of March, 964. The priests spread a rumor that John had been fighting with the devil.

This abominable priest soiled the chair of St. Peter for nine entire years, and deserved to be called the most wicked of all the popes. Platinus, however, says, that there have been popes even more wicked than John the Twelfth.

## BENEDICT THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 964.]

*Election of Benedict the Fifth—Otho returns to Rome—Siege of the holy city—Famine in Rome—Exile and death of Benedict.*

WELL persuaded that having drawn the sword against a prince, we must cast away the scabbard, the Romans persisted in their revolt, and in contempt of the oath of fidelity which they had taken to the emperor, elevated to the Holy See, Benedict, a cardinal

deacon of the church. An immense concourse of people assisted at this election, and all swore to defend the pontiff against the power of Otho, or to die with arms in their hands.

Benedict the Fifth, a Roman by birth, and a man very commendable for his knowledge and his virtues, was enthroned without obstacle, the emperor being occupied for the moment with the siege of Camerino.

But, as soon as he was apprised of the revolt of the Romans, Otho quickly raised the blockade, and marched with banners displayed, and without stopping, until he arrived beneath the walls of the holy city, or rather of that frightful Babylon of the Apocalypse. His troops invested it on all sides, intercepted the communications, and prevented any one from leaving the place.

Encouraged by Benedict, the people coura-

geously sustained the rigours of a siege, and combatted valiantly in defence of their firesides. It is related that the pope himself, clothed in his pontifical habit, with a battle axe in his hands, mounted the ramparts, and from the top of the walls lanced anathemas upon the assailants, and beat back the enemy who mounted to the assault. Otho, on his side, pressed the siege with vigour, and famine soon desolated Rome. The people then discovered their courage diminishing with their strength. The city surrendered at discretion and opened its gates to Otho and Leo the Eighth, on the 23d of June, 964.

Benedict was exiled to Hamburg, where he died of chagrin, and thus was finished all the trouble of which the infamous John the Twelfth was the author.

## LEO THE EIGHTH REINSTATED BY THE EMPEROR OTHO.

[A. D. 964.]

*The council of Rome—Ceremonies for the deposition of Benedict—Decree in favour of the emperor—Reflections on the servility of the pope towards the emperor—Leo permits the bishops of Bavaria to marry—His death.*

BECOME master of Rome, Otho forced the citizens a second time to recognize Leo the Eighth as their pope.

The pontiff immediately convoked a council, composed of the Roman, Italian, and German lords and bishops, in the palace of the Lateran. Benedict the Fifth, clothed in his pontifical habit, was brought before the prelates who had consecrated him; and the archdeacon, Cardinal Benedict, one of those apostates who had three times broken their oaths, dared to insult him in his misfortune, by demanding from him by what authority and right he had clothed himself in the pontifical habit during the life of the venerable Leo. "Dost thou not remember, usurper," added the unworthy archdeacon, "that thou united with us in choosing for our head, the venerable Leo, after having rejected the abominable John from the church? Canst thou deny the oath taken by thee to the emperor here present? Reply: hast thou sworn that never wouldst thou and the other Romans elect and ordain a pontiff without the consent of the magnanimous Otho, or of the king his son?"

Benedict grew pale whilst listening to these questions, put in a threatening tone; the fear of a terrible punishment seized on his soul; he fell on his knees in the midst of the council, and exclaimed in a lamentable tone: "Pardon me, my brethren; I have sinned; have mercy upon me." The prince, moved by the sight, besought the assembly to make no effort against his life; he only asked that they should interrogate him upon the accusations of simony and rebellion.

The unfortunate pope, his mind troubled

through terror, fell upon his knees, demanding pardon from the emperor, Leo the Eighth, and the bishops; finally, in the midst of his sobs, he acknowledged himself guilty; he laid down his pallium, and held out with a trembling hand, the rod or pastoral baton which they had placed in it. Leo took it, broke it into several pieces, and showed it to the people; he then made the accused extend himself on the earth, and took off his cope and stole, exclaiming: "We deprive the usurper of the Holy See of the pontificate and priesthood; and we only grant him his life, through regard to the sovereign who has replaced us on our throne."

After this judgment, Benedict was driven from the council. They were then occupied in making a decree, by which the holy father, the clergy, and the people confirmed to Otho and his descendants, the right of choosing their successors in the kingdom of Italy; of making pontiffs, and of giving an investiture to prelates. They finally decided, that in future no election of pope, bishop, or patrician could be made without the consent of the emperor.

In this deed, the holy father excused himself by the example of Pope Adrian, who had granted to Charlemagne, with the dignity of patrician, the ordination of the Holy See, and the right of nominating to vacant prelateships. The right of investiture became, in after ages, the subject of long contests between the temporal sovereigns and the spiritual heads of the church, who reclaimed the freedom of elections. It is, however, certain, that even before the time of Charlemagne, the consent of the Greek emperors was necessary for the or-



dination of the bishops of Rome, as all historians attest. After the reign of Otho the Great, the elections were not precisely taken away from the people and the clergy, but were subject to the control of the emperor. When a prelate died, his cross and ring were carried to the prince, who bestowed them on him who should take possession of the benefice; the new titular could not be consecrated by his metropolitan, until after he had gone through this formality. The other ecclesiastical offices were conferred by the bishops of the diocese, unless the prince wished to present one of his favourites; and it was even sufficient for kings to recommend one of their subjects, that by virtue of this recommendation he might be provided for on the first vacancy. Thus did the emperors of the West, and particularly the three Othos.

Notwithstanding numerous incontestable precedents, the cardinal Baronius has undertaken to prove the falsity of the two acts of Adrian the First and Leo the Eighth; he declaimed with much bitterness against the monk Sigbert, whom he accused of fabricating these pieces, to favour the emperor Henry the

Fourth, whose party he sustained against Sergius the Seventh. If we wished to refute the writings of Baronius, it would be sufficient to observe, that the reasons with which he combats the authenticity of the act of Adrian, are completely erroneous. He maintains, that in one of his capitularies, Charlemagne leaves to the clergy and the people the free election of their bishops; but this capitulary attributed to the great emperor, is, on the contrary, that of his son Louis the Good Natured, as the learned and conscientious Father Simon has proved in the second volume of his Councils. The act of Adrian, cited more than an hundred and forty years after a decree made by Leo on the same subject, is still found in Gratian, although the writings of that historian were corrected and falsified by Gregory the Thirteenth.

Leo the Eighth, having no longer a competitor, governed the church for a year and four months longer; he died in the beginning of April, 965. During his reign, the court of Rome authorized the bishops of Bavaria to marry; a remarkable fact, which has since been kept in the back ground by all the adorers of the Holy See.

## JOHN THE THIRTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 965.]

*Enthronement of John the Thirteenth—Revolt of the Romans—The pontiff is driven from his See—He assassinates Count Rofredus, one of his enemies—Otho returns into Italy—Punishment of the rebels—A miracle in Poland—History of the conversion of the Poles—Fanaticism of King Mieczislas—Roman priests invade Poland and subjugate it to the Holy See—Conversion of the Hungarians—Two women change the religion of Poland and Hungary—Council of Ravenna—Metropolitan church of Magdeburg—Bishopric of Prague—Pilgrimage of Mlada, the virgin of Bohemia—The pope sends legates to Constantinople—Contempt of the Greeks for John the Thirteenth—The emperor Nicephorus creates new archbishops in Italy—Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury—Christening of Bells—Death of John the Thirteenth.*

Otho the Great, not having been able to gain the affections of the Romans by mildness, caused them to fear his always victorious arms; thus, after the death of Leo the Eighth, they dared not proceed to a new election, without the permission of the emperor. They accordingly deputed to him Azo and Marj, bishop of Sutri, to intreat him to name a pontiff. The prince received the envoys with honour, and satisfied with the deference shown him, permitted the Romans to raise to the pontifical See, a man of their choice, exacting, however, that the election should take place in the presence of his commissioners, Oger and Linzon, bishops of Spire and Almona. The bishop of Narni was elevated with one accord to the Holy See, and was consecrated under the name of John the Thirteenth; he was a Roman, and the son of a bishop, also named John.

From the very commencement of his reign, the new pope treated the very first citizens

with so much haughtiness, that he drew upon himself their enmity, and was driven from Rome.

This fact is related in different ways by authors; some affirm that Rofredus, count of Campania, and the prefect Peter, seconded by the chiefs of the corporations, arrested the pontiff, confined him in the castle of St. Angelo, and from thence sent him to Capua, where he passed eleven months in exile; but Maimbourg, after having eulogized the irreproachable conduct and purity of morals of John the Thirteenth, assures us that the governor of Rome, the principal magistrates, and the tribunes of the people, or the captains of quarters, wished to draw the pope into a revolt against the sovereign authority, and that on his refusal to join them, he was driven from the city, and constrained to take refuge with count Pandulph, his friend, who dwelt at Capua.

Soon after, the holy father employed some

banks of Calabria, who assassinated Count Rofredus, his avowed enemy, and whom the Romans had made their leader. The death of the consul, and the defeat of Adalbert, whose troops were cut in pieces on the banks of the Po, by Burchard, a lieutenant of Otho the Great, gave the finishing blow to the rebellion.

The Romans having lost their leaders, and being unable any longer to count upon Adalbert or the Lombards, were seized with terror at the news of the approach of the emperor, who passed the Alps with the intention of punishing them severely for their revolt; they hastened to recall John the Thirteenth, and to re-instate him on the pontifical throne, hoping that he would place himself between them and the wrath of the sovereign; but they were deceived in their calculation.

Otho, on his entrance into Italy, seized the bishop of Placenza, and the Lombard lords, who had declared themselves for Adalbert, and sent them prisoners into Germany; he then advanced towards the holy city, where they were celebrating the festival of Christmas. All the citizens were in consternation and affright, for the emperor, justly irritated at their perfidy, had declared that he would refuse them a new pardon. In fact, after the festival was concluded, he hung a dozen of the principal citizens, and abandoned the prefect Peter to the pontiff.

John, instead of interceding for his people, yielded to all his rage against the unfortunate victim who had been given up to him. He cut off the nose and lips of the unfortunate prefect, and caused him to be fastened by his hair to the horse of the equestrian statue of Constantine. By the orders of the pontiff, the executioners defiled his face with human excrements; he was then stripped of his garments and placed backwards on an ass, having small bells attached to its head and sides. In this state, he was led on and whipped by the public executioners through all the streets of the city, and cast, all bloody as he was, into an horrible dungeon. John the Thirteenth, then caused the dead body of the count Rofredus, whom he had caused to be assassinated, to be disinterred, as well as that of Stephen, the keeper of the robes. They were trampled under foot in the public place, drawn through the mire, and finally cast into the common sewer.

The cruelties of the head of the church alarmed Otho, who put an end to these bloody executions. The prince only exacted that the Romans should submit to laws capable of constraining them to obedience. For this purpose, he made new decrees to replace the capitularies of Charlemagne, and the ordinances of the emperor of the Franks gave way to a severe and martial legislation.

Whilst Italy was groaning beneath the despotism of the pope, unfortunate Poland was opening the gates of its cities to the priests who had gained the confidence of Mieczislas, the duke of those countries. It is said that this prince was born blind, but that when he

was seven years old, and his head was shaved, in accordance with the customs of that people, he suddenly obtained his sight. His mother, transported with joy at so extraordinary an event, immediately conducted the child into the saloon in which the lords of the province were assembled. These, astonished by such a prodigy, went to seek out the most renowned soothsayers, who declared that during the reign of Mieczislas, Poland would be illuminated by a great light.

The reigning duke bestowed great care on the education of his son, who succeeded him in the year 964. Notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, the commencement of this reign did not answer the expectations which had been conceived of it. The new duke was defeated in all his wars with his neighbours and, moreover, he neglected the administration of public affairs, and passed all his days in feasting, and his nights in the arms of his concubines. As the prince, weakened by excess, was threatened with impotency, he published through all his states, that those who should point out to him the means of having an heir, should be generously rewarded. Immediately some priests, who were already scattered through Poland, hastened to his court, presented themselves to him as magicians, and assured him, that he would certainly have a son, if he would abjure paganism, dismiss the courtezans who crowded his palace, and espouse a Christian wife. The German princes, whose states adjoined his, sustained these monks with all their credit, and soon after, Mieczislas, superstitious, as are all ignorant people, sent an embassy to Boleslas, the king or duke of Bohemia, to ask from him in marriage, his daughter Dambrawca.

This monarch replied to the ambassadors, that it was impossible for him to accept the proposals of their master, because Christians could not ally themselves with idolaters; but that if he would consent to be baptized, and to introduce the religion of Christ into his kingdom, the princess should be cheerfully given to him. Mieczislas yielded to the wishes of Boleslas, and even before his marriage, permitted the Roman missionaries to preach the Gospel to his people; he however deferred his conversion until after his union with the beautiful Dambrawca, who had the glory of converting him to Christianity.

The duke soon became an ardent propagator of the new faith; he burned all the shrines of the false gods, confiscated the property of the unfortunates who remained attached to their ancient belief, and even burned some of them. The pope, who had brought about by his intrigues, this happy conversion, hastened to send legates into Poland, to subjugate the new people to his See. He named two archbishops, one at Gnesna, the other at Cracow; he established seven bishoprics, several collegiate churches and abbeys, and filled the country with monks and priests. All these begging slaves were commissioned to levy upon these countries an extraordinary tenth

part for the Holy See. The fanatical Mieczielas adhered to the orders of the pontiff, and even assigned large tracts of land for the support of the new churches. Dambrawca gave the necessary vases and ornaments for divine service. The fanaticism of the prince, on one side, and the avarice of the clergy on the other, soon despoiled the nobility and people in favour of the court of Rome.

At the same time, Gaïsa, or Geïsa, prince of Hungary, having heard of the beauty of Adelaïde, the sister of Mieczielas, became enamoured of her, from the portrait he had seen of her, and sent to ask her in marriage. The request of the monarch was agreed to, and soon the young wife, as ardent for religion as the duke, her brother, persecuted her husband, to induce him to abandon paganism. At first, the prince resisted her requests, but finally, worn out by her entreaties, or rather yielding to her threats, he consented to be baptized, and the Gospel enlightened Hungary. Thus the beauty of two women, effected in a few days, what popes and emperors for eight centuries had been unable to achieve.

After having established his authority in Rome on a durable foundation, the emperor Otho, accompanied by the sovereign pontiff, set out to visit the principal cities of Tuscany and Romagna, as far as Ravenna. When they arrived in this last city, they convoked a council, at which were assembled several bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul. The convention met in the church of St. Severus.

The fathers confirmed the judgment rendered against Herold, the archbishop of Salzburg, who had been deposed by the preceding popes, and condemned to have his eyes put out. This unworthy priest had despoiled the churches to enrich his mistresses. He had given the treasures of the poor to pagans to buy their protection; he had conspired with idolaters against the emperor, and had revolted against his rule; and finally, he had placed himself at the head of a troop of brigands, who laid cities under contribution, and massacred travellers.

An holy bishop, named Frederick, had been elevated in his place by the lords of Bavaria, and the clergy of the province; but as Herold, though blind and deposed, continued to say mass, and carry the pallium, John the Thirteenth was obliged, in order to give validity to the election of the new prelate, to excommunicate a second time all the adherents of the condemned. They then occupied themselves with erecting Magdeburg into a metropolitan See, or rather with confirming that which had been done in 962. They also ruled several points which interested the Roman church, and finally, Otho confirmed the donation which had already been made to the Holy See of the city and exarchate of Ravenna.

The emperor, desirous of assuring the conversion of the Slavi, which was his own work, and at the same time perform an act of clemency, brought out of the monastery of Weissamburg a dependancy of the diocese of

Spires, the prince Adalbert, his old enemy, whom he had confined there, and nominated him to the See of Magdeburg.

Adalbert then came to Rome to seek the pallium. The holy father not only granted it to him, authorizing him to have the government of the abbey of Weissamburg, but conferred on him several important privileges. He made him primate of Germany, and elevated him in dignity to the same rank as the metropolitans of Cologne, Mayence and Treves. He conferred on him the right of sitting among the cardinal bishops of Rome, and the power of ordaining twelve priests, seven deacons, and twenty-four cardinals, according to the custom of the Latin church. Finally, he made him metropolitan of all the nations of the Slavi, beyond the rivers Elbe and Sale, and permitted him to found bishoprics in the cities of Cisi, Misni, Mersburg, Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Posnam, declaring all those bishops to be suffragans of Adalbert.

John the Thirteenth placed all these decrees, in form, in a synod. He then sent the new prelate to take possession of his See.—Guy, bishop of St. Rufinus, and the librarian of the Roman church, and the cardinal Benedict, were designated to enthrone him in his See. The people, clergy, and principal citizens of Magdeburg, received their metropolitan with submission, and confirmed his election.

About the same time, Boleslas, the duke of Bohemia, died, leaving as the successor to his kingdom, a young son, whose mildness and virtue caused him to be surnamed the Good, the better to distinguish him from the vices and ferocity of his father, who had been called Boleslas the Cruel. The new duke of Bohemia was a sincere Christian. He protected strangers, and solaced the unfortunate as much as the odious priests who had invaded his kingdom permitted him.

During his reign, his sister Mlada, surnamed the Virgin of Bohemia, made a pilgrimage to Rome. The sovereign pontiff, rendering homage to the purity and great knowledge of this princess, blessed her, consecrated her an abbess, and changed her name to that of Mary. He gave to her the rule of St. Benedict, the pastoral baton, and letters for the duke of Bohemia. "Your sister," he wrote to Boleslas, "has asked our consent for the erection of a bishopric in your principality. We return thanks to God, who thus permits his church to extend itself among all nations. We consent that the church of the Martyrs, St. Vitus and Venesclas, should be erected into an episcopal See, and we permit the church of St. George to become a convent for nuns, submissive to the rules of St. Benedict, and intrusted to the government of our dear daughter Mary.

"I however, blame you for having followed until this time, the ritual of the Bulgarians, or Russians, and for having employed the idiom of the Slavi in your prayers. In future I desire you to take for a bishop one who is ac-

quainted with Latin literature, and who is capable of guiding our faithful of the church of Bohemia."

In order to conform with this bull, the duke hastened to choose as bishop of Prague, a Saxon monk named Ditmar, who was consecrated by the metropolitan of Mayence, and enthroned amid the acclamations of the people and the ecclesiastics.

In the year 968, the young Otho, who had been already associated in the empire, was crowned emperor of Italy by John the Thirteenth; and at the request of Otho the Great, the pontiff sent nuncios to Constantinople, to ask for him in marriage, the daughter of Nicephorus Phocas. But, as the pope in his letters, gave to Otho the title of emperor of the Romans, and called Nicephorus but emperor of the Greeks, the latter rejected the request, and replied to the holy father: "How great is your insolence, barbarian priest, who dares thus to treat the sovereign of the world? How is it that the sea has not swallowed up the vessel, and the ambassadors who carry such a blasphemy? Our fear now is, that we shall not be able to find a punishment sufficiently terrible to punish your insolent nuncios, those bores, those miserable slaves, covered with sacerdotal rags; and if we consent not to put them to death, it is because we should regard ourselves as defiled, if our hands shed such abject blood."

The envoys of the Western church were cast into prison, until the emperor should make known his decisions. But Luitprand, who had been deputed by his sovereign on the same business, finally obtained an audience of the patrician Christopher, and asked for mercy to the legates.

This eunuch said to him: "You should not think ill of it, that we retain those bad priests in prison, that we may punish the insolence of the bishop of Rome, (if indeed we may thus qualify a man who has declared himself the protector of the son of Alberic, the apostate, adulterer, sacrilegious and incestuous,) him whom you call John the Thirteenth, and who has dared to address to our master, letters in which he calls him the emperor of the Greeks! The insolence of your pope equals his ignorance; he does not know then that when the magnanimous Constantine transferred the imperial throne to Byzantium, he carried with him all the senate and nobility, and left at Rome only slaves, fishermen, cooks, and the obscure populace."

Luitprand replied: "The pontiff, John the Thirteenth, instead of wishing to offend Nicephorus Phocas, thought that he was bestowing on him an agreeable title; for the Greek emperors having renounced the manners, garb, and language of the Latins, he supposed that the name of emperor of the Romans would displease him; but in future, he will change the address of his letters."

This skilful reply tempered the indignation of the Greeks. Nicephorus and his brother, themselves replied to the emperor Otho. The officer having the superintendence of the pa-

lace, was instructed to write to the pope, threatening him with severe punishment; if he did not correct himself. They were unwilling even that the poor nuncios of the Holy See should be the bearers of this reply, and it was intrusted to Luitprand, who informs us of all these particulars, in the narrative which he has left of his embassy to Constantinople.

The emperor of the East then ordered the patriarch to erect Otranto into a primacy and no longer to permit them to celebrate divine service in the Roman language in Apulia and Calabria, because, so he said in his decree, all the Latin bishops are simoniacs, adulterers, and apostates. Upon the express request of the prince, Polyuctus sent to the bishop of Otranto, letters, in which he declared him a metropolitan, with power to consecrate bishops to the Sees of Turcico, Gravina, Tricarico and Acirentola. On his part, John the Thirteenth made two archbishoprics in the southern part of Italy, which, until now, had never had any other metropolitan See than the city of Rome.

Capua became a superior See, which was confided to John, the brother of Prince Pandulph, and Beneventum, in consideration that the body of St. Bartholomew reposed there, or rather on the recommendation of Pandulph, who was also the lord of that city, became an archiepiscopal See, which was submitted to the authority of Pandulph himself. John sent the pallium to him, and granted to him the right of choosing ten suffragans, on the express condition that his successors should come to be consecrated by the pope. A council held at Rome in the year 969, passed these decrees, and the bull which promulgated the election was subscribed by the pontiff, the emperor, and twenty-three bishops.

The chroniclers relate a singular miracle performed on one of the lords in the train of Prince Otho, who was possessed of a devil. This unfortunate man, in his paroxysms of fury, tore his face and bit his arms and hands with his teeth; the emperor, deeply grieved by the state of his favourite, ordered that the demoniac should be presented to the pontiff, in order that he might place around his neck the famous chain of St. Peter. The pope placed several chains in succession upon the possessed, which were made like that of St. Peter's, which produced no effect; but as soon as the true one touched him, a thick smoke issued from the body of the demoniac, frightful cries were heard in the air, and the demon was driven from his residence. Thierry, bishop of Metz, who was one of the witnesses of the miracle, was so enthusiastically impressed with the power of the apostolic chain, that he cast himself upon the young lord, seized the relic, and swore he would never surrender it unless they cut off his arm. The holy father, who had directed all this jugglery, consented to leave with the prelate the rings of it, which he held in his hand, in order to put himself beyond the reach of unfavourable

interpretations, if the same miracle were not produced with the rings as with the entire chain.

At this period, the venerable Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, had censured one of the most powerful lords of England, and had excommunicated him on account of his marriage with a relative. The king himself could not moderate the severity of the prelate, who declared the favourite of the king excluded from the communion of the faithful, until he should renounce his criminal union. They then had recourse to the sovereign pontiff, who sold the apostolic letters, which enjoined on the English prelate to receive the earl into the church, and to admit him to the holy table; but the obstinate Dunstan replied, "When I see the sinner repent I will obey the pope; until then, no man, no matter what his dignity, shall prevent me from keeping the law of God." It would appear that the supreme power of binding and loosing, or the pontifical infallibility, was not admitted by the metropolitan of Canterbury, and the earl was obliged to separate from his wife, in order to obtain re-admission to the church.

John the Thirteenth introduced the singu-

lar custom of blessing or baptizing bells. It is pretended that this usage was anterior to his reign, but we find no trace of it before him. It is then certain that the church owes to him this abuse of the most august of its sacraments, as the inscription on the great bell of St. John in the Lateran, to which he gave his name, irrefutably testifies.

According to some legends, this bell, after having been baptized, acquired the spiritual virtue of putting demons to flight when they seized upon the bodies of the faithful. A monk of Monte Cassino affirms, that he was a witness of one of these singular exorcisms. "It was at the time of afternoon prayers," he says, in his legend, "a young girl was conducted by her mother to the church, and as they commenced mounting the steps of the porch, the bell sounded to call the Romans to prayer. I saw this poor girl then fall into horrid convulsions, and I perceived the spirit of darkness escape from the extremity of her garments, under the form of a newly born infant, which suddenly disappeared."

John the Thirteenth, died on the 6th of September, in the year 972, after having occupied the pontifical chair almost seven years.

## BENEDICT THE SIXTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 973.]

*Death of the emperor Otho—Troubles at Rome—Crescentius endeavours to re-establish the former freedom—Benedict opposes the designs of the conspirators—Tragical death of the pope.*

HISTORIANS fix the date of the death of the emperor Otho, on the 7th of May, 973. He had assisted at matins and mass on the same day, but at vespers, after the Magnificat, he fell, struck with a fit of apoplexy. The lords, who surrounded him, immediately hastened to his assistance; it was, however, too late; the emperor had already entered eternity.

Otho reigned twenty-six years as king of Germany, and eleven years as emperor of Italy. Endowed with incredible activity, and great military talents, he joined to these qualities a consummate prudence and wisdom, which recalled the recollection of the illustrious Charlemagne. Like him, he held in his hands the destinies of Italy, and Rome had been conquered by his always victorious armies. Scarcely had he descended to the tomb, when ambition of all kinds exhibited itself in the holy city; but the party of Centius or Crescentius, soon ruled all the others, because he rallied round his flag the friends to the liberty of the people.

This courageous man had conceived the generous thought of re-establishing the old Roman republic. He summoned the citizens to arms and deliberated with them over the measures necessary to be taken to execute

their noble project. All recognized the necessity of overthrowing the new pontiff, who was the creature of the emperor, and that the people might regard themselves as freed from the oath of fidelity which they had taken, they decided to put him to death. In consequence of this, Crescentius, at the head of a troop of soldiers, forced the pontifical palace, seized the person of the pope, led him into the court-yard of the palace and strangled him.

Benedict the Sixth was a Roman by birth, and the son of Hildebrand. His morals were infamous, and several writers assure us, that his tragical death, which followed a few days after his pompous elevation, was a just punishment for all the crimes of his life.

They highly applaud the republican Crescentius for having delivered Rome from a bad pope. Besides, this bloody execution could not have been approved of as lawful, unless it could be justified by the necessity in which the Roman people found themselves of freeing themselves from a pontiff who wished to exercise an odious tyranny over the holy city. We must also take into account the barbarity of that period, in which violent means were considered the most natural if

they would insure the success of an enterprise. Notwithstanding this act of severe justice, Crescentius is none the less entitled to the admiration and gratitude of posterity for the patriotic sentiments which actuated him, and for the divine plan which he had formed of freeing Rome from the oppression of kings and popes.

## BONIFACE THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 973.]

*One of the assassins of Benedict the Sixth named pope—Ambitious and cruel character of the new pontiff—He is driven from Rome—He sells the treasures of the church—He takes refuge at Constantinople—He returns to Italy.*

On the very spot on which Benedict was strangled, in the midst of the cries of death and the noise of arms, a priest, the execrable Francon, dared to proclaim himself sovereign pontiff of Rome. The new pope first trampled under foot the dead body of his predecessor, he then hastened to the palace of the Lateran and placed the tiara on his criminal forehead; he was enthroned under the name of Boniface the Seventh.

Francon was of the basest origin, being the son of a courtesan and a deacon named Ferminus. Ambitious, vindictive, and cruel, his life had been one long succession of infamies. It was he who advised the conspirators to assassinate Benedict the Sixth, and he dared to cause himself to be consecrated in his place. He did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his crimes. The leaders of another party, the counts of Tuscanella, who were also ambitious of possessing the sovereign power in Rome, as the marquises of Tuscany, their relatives, had before done, declared a furious war against him, and pursued him with so much bitterness, that he was obliged to flee

from Rome to escape the poignards of assassins. But before quitting the holy city, Boniface seized the treasures of the church of St. Peter; then flying like a robber, he soon reached the sea side, and embarked for Constantinople.

In the East, his gold and his promises gained to his views the courtiers of Zimisces, who by their counsels determined this prince to take up arms against Otho the Second. The Greeks made a descent on Apulia and Calabria, which they conquered, while the emperor was engaged in an unfortunate war against King Lothaire.

Boniface, in order to pay the expenses of his table, and support his mistresses, publicly sold in the streets of Constantinople, the sacred ornaments, the holy pyxes, the perfume boxes, the chandeliers, and even the crucifixes. Finally, after several months of scandalous and impious conduct, he dared to return into Italy, in the train of the Greek troops, and we shall soon see him employing simony, and murder, in order to remount the pontifical throne.

## DOMNUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST POPE:

[A. D. 974.]

*Election of Domnus the Second—Obscurity about his pontificate—Mayeul, abbot of Cluny, refuses the papacy—Corruption of the clergy—The opinion of the bishop of Verona of the ecclesiastics of that period—Uncertainty as to the death of Domnus.*

AFTER the flight of Boniface the Seventh, the party of the counts of Tuscanella placed on the Holy See the priest Domnus, a Roman by birth. This pope, it is true, did nothing remarkable; but it is also true, that we cannot reproach him with disgraceful actions; and for this period of corruption, the silence of authors must pass for an eulogy on the sovereign pontiff. Several writers place Domnus before Benedict; others, between Benedict

the Sixth and Boniface the Seventh; and some do not even count him among the popes. We suppose that he only governed the church a short time, and that he performed no important act during his pontificate.

Before the election of Domnus, St. Mayeul, abbot of Cluny, refused the apostolical throne, which was offered him by the emperor Otho the Second, and the empress Adelaide, the mother of that prince, an example of humility

truly Christian, and which one admires the more, inasmuch as it so rarely presents itself in the history of the church.

It is related, that on returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, Mayeul and all his companions were attacked by some Saracens, who took them all prisoners, and loaded them with chains. The holy abbot was treated with great severity, and confined in a frightful grotto, with irons to his feet; he only looked for death, and addressed ardent prayers to Heaven, when he had a vision, in which an angel appeared to him, who predicted to him a speedy deliverance. The next day, on rising, his chains fell off, as if by a miracle, and he left the grotto. The barbarians, astonished at this prodigy, dared no longer to maltreat him, and contented themselves with keeping him among them until he had paid his ransom, which they had fixed at a thousand pounds of silver.

Mayeul hastened to send a messenger to his convent of Cluny, with the following letter: "To my lords and brethren of Cluny, Mayeul, unfortunate and a captive. The torments of Belial have surrounded me, the pains of death have enveloped me. Now, then, send if you please, the ransom for me and those who are with me." This letter having been carried to Cluny, produced extreme affliction among the monks. They sold all the ornaments of the church, collected together all the treasures of the community, and finally got together the enormous sum of a thousand pounds of silver. The holy abbot was then freed, as well as all those who were taken with him.

But the Saracens were soon punished for the sacrilege they had committed in touching the anointed of the Lord. William, duke of Arles, excited by the hopes of booty, pursued the infidels, routed them, and seized on the money which they had received. The duke preserved the treasure, and only sent back to the monastery the books of the abbot.

It was some months after this event, that the emperor Otho and the empress Adelaide brought St. Mayeul to their court, and besought him to accept the pontifical tiara.

The man of God asked for one day for reflection; and having prayed, a divine revelation fortified him in the resolution to refuse this supreme honour. He replied to those who urged him to accept it: "I know that I am wanting in the qualities necessary for so high a mission. To represent God upon earth, to be infallible like him, is not in the power of so weak a sinner as I am. I should live poor and humble; besides, how can I rule those Roman prelates from whose manners I am as far removed as from their country? My abbey is already a burthen too heavy for me."

The clergy then was much more corrupt than in our days. The following is the opinion entertained by Rathier, bishop of Verona, of the ecclesiastics: "When I was transferred to the bishopric of Liege, a bishop blamed this relation as reprehensible and punishable

by the canons, whilst he himself was abandoned to excess in drinking, and passed his nights in orgies with women; during the day, he followed the chase, and never appeared in his church.

"I have seen two metropolitans dispute at the end of a debauch at table; the one reproached the other for his quarrelsome disposition and the murders which he had committed; the other retorted on the former in his turn, for having poisoned the husbands, and kept three women at once. Of these two prelates, the one had committed adultery before his ordination, the other, after his consecration, had embraced three women.

"But we should not be surprised at finding no one worthy of the prelature; for if a man who is a perjurer, a drunkard, and addicted to prostitutes, is placed upon the apostolical throne, how can we carry complaints before his tribunal? The popes dare not condemn those whose sentiments are in conformity with their own. Behold then where comes the contempt in which the laws of the church, and even the Gospel itself is held! How can we consider it useful to observe ecclesiastical rules, when we see the pontiffs violating the holiest precepts of the Saviour?

"The bishops and archbishops traverse the public places with their hunting dogs; conducting their concubines, and striking their servants with blows of clubs, and when their treasury is empty, they sell absolutions in public, and add hypocrisy to the ignoble scandal of their debauchery. Should we then be astonished that the people are no longer touched by the teachings of Holy Scripture, when they see the ministers of God acting thus contrary to the morality of Christ?

"The people ridicule excommunications, because we do not fear them ourselves, although we do not cease to merit them for our shamelessness, our incontinence, and our disgraceful excesses. Of all Christian nations ours possesses the most immodest prelates, from the use which they make of spiced ragouts and prepared wines. In Italy, one is called a priest as soon as he has shaved his beard and the crown of his head, and then they murmur in the church some prayers, with the intention of pleasing the women rather than God."

Rathier made useless efforts to correct the priests of his diocese. All the ecclesiastics kept openly in their houses, women of pleasure, or young Neapolitans, the disgrace of humanity; and when the holy prelate wished to invoke the laws of the emperor and the canons of the church to oblige them to send away these prostitutes and abominable men, they represented to him, that poverty was the sole cause of the shameful commerce which they maintained. In fact, the prelate of Verona having taken an exact cognizance of the state of the revenues of the clergy of his See, discovered that their bad division prevented them from being sufficient for the wants of the priests. Those who rendered the least services received considerable sums,

and the infirm ecclesiastics would not admit their reclamations, "I waited for the death of my predecessor," replied the great dignitaries to them, "to enjoy that which I now have; do you also wait for mine."

Rathier wished to execute the canons, but they opposed the custom to him. Then, the pious prelate, in his holy wrath exclaimed, "I have received from the synods the power of correcting that which is done contrary to the rules of the fathers, and yet I cannot reform any abuse. I do not see among you, but bigamists, concubine keepers, seditious persons; perjurers, apostates, usurers, sodomites and drunkards. Your children are all bastards, and your depravity is the cause of the ruin of my people.

"How can I punish a layman for the crime of adultery, perjury, or robbery, when I am compelled to tolerate ignorance and depravity among my ecclesiastics? You do not even know the creed of the apostles; but to make up for it, you understand perfectly what usury, prostitution and sodomy can produce."

These quotations give but a feeble idea of the frightful disorders, and inconceivable degradation of the clergy of the tenth century.

Nothing certain is known of the death of Domnus. Was he dethroned by his successor and sent into exile? This version is probable. Or did he finish his days in the honours of the pontificate? We know not. Be it as it may, he disappeared from the Holy See, and from history, towards the year 974.

## BENEDICT THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 974.]

*Benedict chosen pontiff by the counts of Tuscanella—Irregular election of Gisler, archbishop of Magdeburg—Otho the Second marches on Rome at the head of his army—Cruel feast of the emperor—He fights the Greeks—Is wounded by a poisoned arrow—His flight—The death of Pope Benedict.*

ALTHOUGH Boniface had returned into Italy, and was engaged in re-assembling his partizans in order to mount upon the throne of the church, he was unable yet to overcome his competitor, Benedict, bishop of Sutri, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, by the party of the counts of Tuscanella. All the leaders of party had yielded, or been banished from Rome. Violent seditions, however, broke out from time to time in the holy city, and threatened the precarious power of Benedict the Seventh.

The new pope, having obtained the confirmation of his election from the emperor, took energetic measures against the rebellious priests, and drove the seditious, and the agents of Boniface entirely from Rome.

During his reign, Benedict remained shut up in the palace of the Lateran, with his relatives, the counts of Tuscanella; and we are induced to believe that his morals were similar to those of the clergy of that period.—History, however, preserves an indulgent silence in regard to debaucheries which did not attract the attention of the people.

After the death of St. Adalbert, the metropolitan of Magdeburg, Gisler, who had been before deposed from the chair of Mersburg, asked the vacant See from the emperor, as a recompense for his services. The prince granted it to him, with the reservation, however, that the translation of the new archbishop should be canonically authorized by Benedict the Seventh.

The pontiff, knowing that Gisler did not occupy the bishopric since the See of Mers-

burg had been taken from him by Hildebrand, dared not confirm this new election without the approval of the clergy of Rome. A synod was consequently convoked to decide the question; but the judges, gained over by the gold of the prelate, pronounced, contrary to all law and usage, that Gisler could take possession of the diocese of Magdeburg.

In the following year, Otho, on the news that the Greeks had made a descent into Apulia and Calabria, which they had seized, resolved to pass the Alps and drive from Italy these allies of the unworthy Boniface. He concluded, promptly, an advantageous peace with Lothaire, and invaded Lombardy at the head of numerous troops. After having chastised the seditious lords, and re-established his authority over the cities of Lombardy, the emperor went to Rome, under the pretext of assisting at the festival of Christmas, but in reality to succour the pope, who feared the vicinity of the Greeks and the intrigues of Boniface.

Otho, recollecting that the emperor, his father, had never been able to tame the Romans, but through terror, determined to follow the same example; and, in accordance with the advice of the holy father, he prepared at the Vatican a sumptuous entertainment, to which he invited the grandees of Rome, the magistrates, and the deputies of the neighbouring cities. Otho at first laboured to inspire his guests with joy. Perfumed wines were poured out in profusion; exquisite dishes succeeded each other, without interruption, on the table, and the brightest gaiety shone



on every face. Then, upon a signal from the prince, a troop of soldiers suddenly entered the festive hall, with their drawn swords in their hands, and three guards placed themselves behind each guest. A spectacle so strange filled their hearts with fright, and the dread increased when an officer of the palace, displaying a long list, called out in a loud voice the unfortunate men who were destined for the executioner. Sixty victims were led from the banquet-hall, and pitilessly massacred.

During this butchery, Otho and the pope preserved the same amenity in their words and gestures. They pledged their guests in the best wines, and pointed out to them the most delicious dishes. But the frightful image of death was before all eyes, and their faces remained icy with terror. At length the horrible banquet was concluded.

This Machiavelian cruelty produced terrible consequences to the emperor. After having levied new troops in Rome and Beneventum, to strengthen his army, he entered Apulia, which submitted to him without resistance. Elated by success, he penetrated without opposition into Calabria; but he was there stopped by the Greeks and Arabs, who had concentrated all their forces in the interior of the province, and who advanced to meet him. The two armies met at Basentello, a village situated on the sea shore, and the battle commenced. Scarcely, however, was the signal for combat given, when the

Italians, and especially the people of Beneventum and Rome, took to flight, in order to avenge themselves for the massacre of their fellow citizens at the banquet of the Vatican. The disorder spread into the ranks of the Germans, who were stationed behind the van of the battle; the Greeks and Arabs surrounded them without difficulty, and all the old German bands were cut to pieces.

Otho only escaped death by a disgraceful flight; he cast himself into a fisherman's boat, which he found by chance; and, as he endeavoured to gain the deep sea, he was wounded by a poisoned arrow, which, it is said, Boniface the Seventh, who fought with the Saracens, himself shot at him. He died, in consequence of his wound, a year after this bloody defeat.

Benedict the Seventh did not survive the prince a long time; he was struck, beyond doubt, by the same hand that had stricken down the emperor, and the pontifical throne became vacant on the 16th of July, 984.

Some ecclesiastical writers have eulogized Benedict; but, historians whose authority is incontestable, assure us, that during his reign, simony and debauchery were held in honour in the holy city, and that they even sold the right to seats in the churches, from whence has arisen the traffic in chairs in the churches, which has been perpetuated to our own time, and still brings in immense revenues to the clergy.

## JOHN THE FOURTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 984.]

*Election of John the Fourteenth—Return of Boniface to Italy—He subsidizes partizans in Rome—John the Fourteenth arrested and confined in the castle of St. Angelo—His death—Opinions of historians about John the Fourteenth*

Six days after the death of Benedict, the bishop of Pavia, whom the emperor Otho the Second had made the chancellor of Italy, was chosen pope, and enthroned under the name of John the Fourteenth. But Boniface, who was in the environs of Rome, supposing that it would be easy to overthrow the new pontiff before he was firmly seated on his See, sent his emissaries everywhere, distributing money to his partizans, and finally got together a troop of bandits, who proclaimed him absolute master of the city.

John the Fourteenth was arrested in the palace of the Lateran, and cast into the dungeon of St. Angelo. Boniface then deposed him; and, after four months of confinement, he condemned the unfortunate man to perish of hunger. By the order of the usurper, the dead body of John was even exposed on the drawbridge of the fortress, that no one might have doubts about his death, and to intimidate

the partizans he might still have, or who were attached to the emperor.

Maimburg, in the first book of his history of the fall of the empire, says, that truth should lead us to judge favourably of a man who was not convicted of any crime; and his opinion is, that John the Fourteenth had great virtues and eminent qualities for these times of ignorance.

Platinus, on the other hand thinks, that the incapacity and tyranny of the pontiff had alienated from him the greater part of the citizens, and that it was the hope of being enabled easily to overthrow, from the Holy See, a despot who had caused himself to be execrated by all the citizens, during a reign of eighteen months, which determined Boniface the Seventh to return to Rome. Besides, if John the Fourteenth had been really virtuous and disinterested, it is probable he would have refused the papacy, for he could not

have been ignorant how difficult it was to reconcile the duties of the Christian with the exigencies of this fatal dignity, especially at a period in which the popes were sovereign masters, absolute despots, and pretended to command the Christians of all kingdoms, to dispose, at their caprice, of their property, their persons and their belief; to regulate the mind and the will of all men, in order that all should labour and produce for them alone

## BONIFACE THE SEVENTH RE-INSTALLED BY A PARRICIDE.

*Re-installment of Boniface—His crimes and debaucheries—His death—His dead body is cut by swords and daggers, and dragged through the streets of Rome—John the Roman chosen pope—The church does not count him among the supreme pontiffs.*

THE cruel Boniface, whom ancient authors call through derision Maliface, after having put to death Pope John, remounted the pontifical throne. He no longer preserved any measures in his conduct. Murders, judicial assassinations, poisonings, succeeded each other without interruption in the holy city. Friends and enemies had alike to fear his vengeance; the one because they had opposed his pretensions, the other because their services were to be paid. Even the neutral were condemned to death for not having taken sides.

Whilst blood was flowing in a flood through the streets of Rome, the walls of the palace of the Lateran were re-echoing the obscene songs of his courtizans or minions, until finally, after an abominable reign of eleven months, at the conclusion of a horrible debauch, Boniface the Seventh died suddenly, from an attack of apoplexy, according to some; or from the effects of a very violent poison, according to others.

This news spread through Rome, excited transports of joy; all the inhabitants, the lords and the priests crowded to St. Peter's; they tore the dead body of the pope from its coffin, disfigured it with blows of the sword and dagger, and, finally, the hideous corpse was despoiled of its shroud and dragged through the mire to the place at which stood the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, where it was hung up by the feet. During the night some priests detached it, and buried it in haste without the city, to prevent its being cast into the common sewers.

The calm being re-established, John, the son of Robert, and a Roman by birth, was chosen pontiff. He occupied the Holy See for four months, and died towards the end of the year 985, before having been consecrated. It is on this account that the church does not reckon him in the number of the popes.

## JOHN THE FIFTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 986.]

*Election and consecration of John the Fifteenth—His character—Crescentius wishes to re-establish the Roman republic—He seizes on the tower of Adrian—The pope flies from Rome—He demands aid from Otho the Third—The Romans recall John the Fifteenth—Affair of Arnold of Rheims—Complaints of King Hugh against Arnold—Letter from the suffragans of Rheims against their archbishop—Violent conduct of the pope—Writings of Gerbert against him—Letter from King Hugh to the pope—John the Fifteenth obstinately maintains Arnold in the See of Rheims—Council of Mouson—Speech of Gerbert—He is excommunicated by the pope—Arnold re-installed in his archbishopric—Reflections on this scandalous affair—Strange particulars of Adalbert of Prague—Signal miracle—Canonization of St. Udalric—Death of John the Fifteenth.*

JOHN, the son of Robert, being dead, another pontiff, named John, was chosen, who was the fifteenth of that name. He was a Roman by birth, the son of a priest named Leo; he was consecrated on the 23d of April, 986. In the course of his reign the new pope showed great courage, or rather an unmeasured ambition, which enabled him to surmount all obstacles and all difficulties in maintaining the rights of the Holy See.

Scarcely was he enthroned, when Crescentius, one of the principal lords of Italy, who then filled the place of consul, excited a revolt in the holy city, for the purpose of replacing the absolete and tyrannical government of the pontiffs by a new republic. Having assembled his partizans beyond the Tiber, he distributed arms, harangued the people, and attacked the strong tower of Adrian, which he seized without striking a blow. This tower

was for a long time called the castle of Crescentius, in memory of this event, and in the end changed its name for that of the castle of St. Angelo.

John the Fifteenth, fearful that Crescentius should inflict on him the same treatment which he had done to his predecessor, escaped from Rome and retired into Tuscany, from whence he wrote to Otho the Third, beseeching him to come to the aid of the Holy See. The proposals of the pope were favourably received, and the prince immediately commenced assembling his troops. The revolted, who apprehended with reason the arrival of the German troops, whose entrance into Rome had already been signalized by bloody executions, sought to appease the pontiff, and proposed to recognize his sovereign authority, if he would consent to return to the holy city, unaccompanied by strange troops.

John eagerly accepted the offer; he, however, exacted hostages for his personal safety, and took all the means he could to guard against a new rebellion. The inhabitants gave him a pompous reception, and Crescentius himself was obliged to quit the city and abandon his generous projects.

At this period Charles, duke of Lorraine, was at war with Hugh Capet, the usurper of the crown of France, and the first king of the infamous race of the Capetians; the archbishop of Rheims, Adalberon, died, and Hugh hoping to gain the friendship of Charles, and to bring about skilfully an advantageous peace, gave the vacant archiepiscopal See to the natural brother of his enemy. But his policy was at fault; for as soon as Arnold was seated firmly in his See, he surrendered the city of Rheims to his brother, and took up arms against Hugh.

To arrest the baneful consequences which such a treason might have, the king resolved to take a terrible vengeance; before, however, undertaking anything, he wrote to the pope to inform him that a council of French bishops was about to assemble to judge the metropolitan Arnold. But Herbert the Third, count of Vermandois, and the brother-in-law of Duke Charles, had already been beforehand at the court of Rome, and the pontiff was gained to the side of Arnold, when the ambassadors arrived in the holy city.

The suffragans of Rheims wrote at the same time to the Holy See, to testify the horror with which the treason of their superior inspired them. They thus expressed themselves: "Although Arnold is a son of the church of Laon, it is none the less true that he drove away the former prelate, to establish himself in the episcopal See. He then seized upon the temporal power in the diocese of Rheims, and has sold us to his brother, in contempt of the oaths which he took upon the altar, under the pretext that oaths can only bind subjects, not sovereigns. Finally, since his consecration, the faithful of the diocese have been deprived of directors, and die without receiving confirmation or the episcopal blessing.

"We beseech you then most holy father to

condemn him whom we have all condemned, and we trust you will aid, with your supreme authority, the deposition of this traitor and apostate."

This letter evidently demonstrates that the suffragans of Rheims did not suppose that the pope had the right to judge this cause at Rome, to which the parties had not appealed, and that thus it appertained to them alone to pronounce a decision on the very spot on which the guilty man had committed the fault.

The deputies of the king and clergy of France were very badly received at the court of Rome. John the Fifteenth, who had sold his protection to the count of Vermandois, irritated that the envoy of Hugh Capet had not made him any present—refused even to hear them. Vainly did the commissioners go three times to the palace of the Lateran and remain three days without the gate to obtain a reply to their letters; the pontiff remained inflexible, and they were obliged to return to France, without having obtained an audience.

No matter what entreaties or menaces were made to the pope, for eighteen months he obstinately preserved an absolute silence on the affair of Arnold. Finally, King Hugh obtained possession of Laon, to which Duke Charles and his brother had retired. He caused the latter to be conducted to the city of Rheims, in order that he might reply to the French prelates as to the crimes of which he was accused.

Gerbert has left us a very detailed account of what took place in this assembly. At the first sitting, the authority of the council, and the authority which the king of France had to convoke it, were canonically established; at the second sitting, Arnold was convicted of the crime of lese-majesty. This unworthy prelate, in order to save his life, then plead guilty, and declared that he renounced the episcopal power. By this avowal he solemnly approved of the decision of the fathers, and the power of their tribunal; he restored to the king his ring and pastoral baton, and despoiled himself of other marks of his dignity, that they might be given to his successor; he then read with a loud voice, in the presence of the bishops, the act of renunciation, which had been formed upon the model of that of Ebbon. This declared in substance, that he acknowledged himself unworthy of the episcopate, that he renounced all ecclesiastical dignities, and asked that another bishop should be elected in his place; he finally finished by swearing upon the consecrated host, never to call in question the authority of the council which judged him.

In this synod, the bishop of Orleans, who was also named Arnold, expressed his opinion on the authority of the popes, in very energetic terms. We report a part of his speech upon pontifical infallibility.

"We believe, my brethren, we should always honour the Roman church, in memory of St. Peter, and we do not pretend to place ourselves in opposition to the pope. We, however, owe an equal obedience to the

council of Nice, and the rules laid down by the fathers. We should consequently distrust the silence of the pope and his new ordinances, in order that his ambition or cupidity may not prejudice the ancient canons, which should always remain in force.

"Have we attained the privileges of the court of Rome by assembling regularly? No. If the pope is commendable for his intelligence and his virtues, we have no censure to fear. If, on the contrary, the holy father suffers himself to err through ignorance or passion, we should not listen to him. We have seen upon the throne of the apostle a Leo and a Gregory, pontiffs admirable for their wisdom and science, and yet the bishops of Africa opposed the vaunting pretensions of the court of Rome, because they foresaw the evils under which we now suffer.

"In fact, Rome has much degenerated! After having given shining lights to Christianity, it now spreads abroad the profound darkness which is extending over future generations. Have we not seen John the Twelfth plunged in ignoble pleasures, conspire against the emperor, cut off the nose, right hand, and tongue of the deacon John, and massacre the first citizens of Rome? Boniface the Seventh, that infamous parricide, that dishonest robber, that trafficker in indulgences, did he not reign under our very eyes? Could God have ordained prelates distinguished for their knowledge and their wisdom, to remain in submission to such monsters? No! we should repel the pretensions of these execrable pontiffs, covered with shame and soiled with all iniquity.

"We must, however, avow that we are ourselves the cause of this scandal; for if the See of the Latin church, before resplendent, is now covered with shame and ignominy, it is because we have sacrificed the interests of religion to our dignity and grandeur. It is because we have placed in the first rank, him who deserves to be in the last! Do you not know that the man whom you place upon a throne will allow himself to be beguiled by honours and flatteries, and will become a demon in the temple of Christ? You have made the popes too powerful, and they have become corrupt.

"Some prelates of this solemn assembly can bear witness, that in Belgium and Germany, where the clergy are poor, priests are yet to be found who are worthy of governing the people. It is there that we must seek for bishops capable of judging wisely erring ecclesiastics; and not at Rome, where the balance of justice does not incline but under the weight of gold; where study is proscribed and ignorance crowned.

"The proud Gelasius said, that the Roman pontiff should govern the whole world, and that mortals had no right to demand an account from him of the least of his actions. Who, then, gives us a pope whose equity is infallible? Can one believe that the Holy Spirit suddenly inspires him whom we elevate to the pontificate, and that he refuses his

light to the other bishops who have been named? Has not Gregory written to the contrary, that bishops were all equal, so long as they fulfilled the duties of a Christian?

"If the arms of the barbarians prevent us from going to the holy city, or if the pontiff should be subjected to the oppression of a tyrant, would we then be obliged to hold no more assemblies, and would the prelates of all the kingdoms be constrained to condemn their princes, to execute the orders of an enemy who held the supreme See? The council of Nice commands us to hold ecclesiastical assemblies twice a year, without speaking at all of the pope; and the apostle commands us not to listen even to an angel who would wish to oppose the words of Scripture.

"Let us follow, then, these sacred laws, and ask for nothing from that Rome which is abandoned to every vice, and which God will soon engulf in a sea of sulphur and brimstone. Since the fall of the empire, it has lost the churches of Alexandria and Antioch, those of Asia and Africa. Soon Europe will escape from it; the interior of Spain no longer recognizes its judgments; Italy and Germany despise the popes. Let Gaul cease to submit to the disgraceful yoke of Rome, and then will be accomplished that revolt of the nations of which the Scriptures speak." Some historians attribute this speech to Gerbert himself, which would give still more force to these memorable words, since that prelate, who afterwards filled the Holy See, never retracted any of his numerous works.

Fleury, in his ecclesiastical history, avows that this writing contained terrible and deserved accusations, and that it contains nothing which was not then, or is not now, of public notoriety.

Arnold of Orleans wished to maintain the liberty of the clergy against the unjust tyranny of the pontiffs; and we should approve the sage firmness of that prelate, who was respectable by his age, his morals, and his learning. He said with reason, that a corrupt pope could not judge correctly of the faith. And what Christian will maintain that God dictates the decisions of a wretch crowned with a tiara? The worthy bishop elevates the decisions of councils above the decrees of the Holy See. He declares that a pontiff who is ignorant and without charity, is an anti-Christ. Is not that the doctrine of the first teachers of the church, and of conscientious men who have always courageously expressed the indignation with which the frightful disorders of Rome, or of the monsters who occupied the apostolic throne, inspired them?

Should we then be astonished that all Europe finally rose against priests who committed murders to obtain the papacy, and who soiled the chair of St. Peter, by adultery, incest, robbery and assassination?

After the deposition of Arnold, the deacon Gerbert was chosen and consecrated metropolitan of Rheims. But John the Fifteenth, under pretext that the bishops of France had surpassed the bounds of their authority, held

a synod, and annulled the ordination made by the clergy. He interdicted all the prelates who had assisted at this judgment, and Gerbert himself, who had consented to his own ordination.

Exasperated at the court of Rome, the new prelate publicly tore the bull of the pontiff to pieces, and prohibited his clergy from observing the interdict lanced against his diocese. Seguin, archbishop of Sens, wrote as follows on this subject: "Our adversaries maintain that we should wait for the decision of Rome to depose Arnold. But how can they prove that the judgment of this prelate should be preferable to that of God?"

"I say now, if the pope sins against his brother, he should be regarded as a pagan and a publican; for the higher the rank, the more baneful the fall. If John the Fifteenth believes us unworthy of his communion, because none of us is willing to judge in opposition to the Scriptures, he can separate himself from us; but the bulls which he shall lance, cannot separate us from the apostolical communion, nor deprive us of eternal life.

"Should we not apply to prelates canonically assembled in a synod, that which St. Gregory said: 'The flock should fear the sentence of the shepherd, be it just or unjust.' The bishops are not the flock—they are the shepherds themselves. We have not then been legitimately excommunicated for a crime, which we have not confessed, and of which we could not be convicted; and it is wrong to treat us as rebels, since we have never shunned nor infringed the authority of councils.

"We ought not, from our weakness, to furnish our enemies with occasion to raise unjust pretensions against our privileges; for if the popes permit themselves to be corrupted by money, favor or fear, no one can longer exercise episcopal functions, without sustaining himself at the court of Rome by condemnable means. The common law of ecclesiastics is to be found in the Scriptures, the canons, and the decrees of the Holy See, which are equitable. He who shall wander from these laws through contempt, shall be judged by the canons; but those who observe them, should remain in peace. Be careful, therefore, how you abstain from celebrating the holy mysteries, lest you render yourself guilty towards God."

Gerbert wrote to several bishops of France against the sovereign pontiff. He said to Vilderode: "The pope cannot say we have denied his jurisdiction, since for eighteen months he has not replied to our letters, nor our deputies; besides, his silence on the new constitutions cannot prejudice established laws. You, then, who desire to preserve towards your king the fidelity which you promised him, and do not think of betraying neither your people nor your clergy, I beseech you to show yourselves favourable to those who obey God rather than man.

"Do not believe that Arnold is not amenable but to the sovereign pontiffs; for, after his confession, our synod, following the council

of Nice, could not avoid deposing him, even although his confession had been false. The pardon which he obtained from Hugh, is vainly alleged in favour of the guilty. The power of kings does not extend over souls; it is to us that belongs the power of binding and loosing, that is to say, of imposing spiritual punishments, such as deposition and excommunication."

Hugh Capet, on his part, addressed a letter to John the Fifteenth on the same subject. "We have written to you, most holy father, my bishops and I, by the archdeacon of Rheims, to explain to you the affair of Arnold. We again beseech you to do us justice, and to believe our royal word. We have done nothing against your holiness; and if you wish that that should be clearly established in your presence, you can come to Grenoble, a city situated on the frontiers of Italy and Gaul, where the popes, your predecessors, have frequently come to confer with the kings of France. If you prefer to enter our kingdom, we will receive you with honour, and will treat you with all the attention due to your character during your sojourn, and at your departure."

As respectful as was the letter of the prince, the holy father received it with insulting disdain. They could not obtain from him the approval of that which was done at Rheims, nor the revocation of the sentence of interdict which he had pronounced. He was unwilling to go to France, and contented himself with sending in his place, as legate, Leo, the abbot of St. Boniface at Rome, with orders to assemble a convention of bishops to depose Gerbert and re-install the traitor Arnold in his diocese. John wished in this way to punish the prelates of Gaul, who had refused to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle or in his pontifical palace.

On his arrival in France, Leo convoked a council for the 2d of June, 996, in the city of Mouson, in accordance with the instructions he had received from the pontiff. The metropolitan of Verdun opened the sitting in the Gallic language. He explained at length the subjects which were to be examined, and then laid before the assembly a bull sealed with lead, and spoke upon it; after which Gerbert rose and said,

"My brethren, I have unceasingly prayed for the moment when I could justify myself before an assembly of bishops. Now, that God has granted me the grace to stand before those to whom I have confided the care of my safety, I will explain, in a few words, the aim of my actions.

"After the death of the emperor Otho the Second, I resolved not to quit the service of my spiritual father, Adalberon. Since then that prelate, in the presence of several illustrious persons, designated me, without my knowledge, as his successor to the See of Rheims. The gold, and the intrigues of Arnold, however, prevented my election, and he was preferred to me; I submitted to this bishop and served him faithfully up to the time of his

revolt against my prince. I then renounced, in an authentic writing, the friendship which he offered me, and I abandoned him with his accomplices, without any other desire than that of not participating in his crimes.

"Arnold was pursued by the prince, and finally condemned for contumacy, according to the laws of the church. As nothing more was necessary to deprive him of his See, in accordance with the laws of the kingdom, the grantees and chiefs of the clergy earnestly urged me to take the direction of the diocese. I did it with regret, well knowing the evils which threatened me.

"Such, before Christ, was the plainness of my conduct. I am accused of having betrayed my superior; of having led him to prison, and of having usurped his See! Was he my master, to whom I had never taken an oath? And after I left this rebel, was not every thing at an end between us? I was even ignorant where he had taken refuge; how then could I give him up? Besides, in the presence of creditable witnesses, I besought King Hugh not to retain him in prison on my account, and if you judge to-day according to my humility, it will little concern me whether Arnold or another was named archbishop of Rheims."

This discourse being finished, Gerbert gave a copy of it to the legate who presided over the synod. The prelates then left the assembly and counselled with Duke Godfrey; it was decided that Gerbert should send, as ambassador to King Hugh, the monk John, one of the train of the abbot Leo, in order to obtain from that prince authority to convoke a new council at Rheims, and prohibited him, in the name of the pontiff, from celebrating divine service until after the decision of the synod.

Gerbert represented to them, in vain, that no prelate, patriarch, nor pope, had the power to excommunicate an ecclesiastic, without having convicted him of fault, by his own confession, or the testimony of witnesses; that they could not reproach him with any thing; that he was even the only bishop of the Gauls who had come to Mouson, and finally, he declared, that as he was not sensible of guilt, he should not cease to celebrate the holy mysteries because he could not resolve to condemn himself.

Notwithstanding his protest, a new council assembled at Rheims, but Gerbert seeing that the legate Leo had a powerful party, and learning that King Hugh, at the beginning of his reign, could not break with the court of Rome, regarded his condemnation as certain, refused to appear before it, in which he was supported by Queen Adelaide. That which he had foreseen happened. Notwithstanding the active opposition of those who had deposed Arnold, that prelate was re-installed in the dignity of metropolitan. Gerbert was deposed, and the synod declared that it would not have been able to proceed legitimately in this cause without the consent of the pope. Thus the well-calculated obstinacy gave the last blow to the liberties of the Gallican church,

and from that period subjected its priests to the censures of the court of Rome.

John the Fifteenth skilfully availed himself of the weakness of the new-born monarchy to confirm the absolute authority of the Holy See over the French clergy. Notwithstanding, however, the sentence which was passed by the council, Arnold remained a prisoner during all the life of King Hugh, and Gerbert ruled the diocese of Rheims. We shall see the consequences of this struggle under another pontificate.

In the midst of these troubles, St. Adalbert of Prague came to Rome to consult with the pope, as to the conduct he should pursue towards his ungovernable people. The pious bishop had resolved to quit his diocese, on account of the scandal caused by the ecclesiastics, who entertained several women at once, and were publicly abandoned to the slave trade. John approved of his determination, induced him to hand over to him all the treasures which he had brought away, and advised him to make the journey to Jerusalem. But St. Adalbert was detained by a violent sickness, at Monte Cassino, and did not make his long pilgrimage. After his recovery he returned to the holy city, and Leo, abbot of St. Alexis, received him, after several proofs, into his monastery, where he assumed the dress, on the Holy Thursday of 994.

As the disorders increased in the church of Prague, during the absence of Adalbert, Boleslas, duke of Bohemia, wrote to Villegisus, archbishop of Mayence, to reclaim for him from the pontiff, the pious cenobite, who edified the people by his example.

The pope replied, that he must convoke a council to decide, whether a monk could break his vows. After a grave discussion, the fathers consented that the former prelate of Prague should be restored to his diocese, provided the faithful would pay a good contribution to the holy father.

The chroniclers relate, that at the same period, Foulk, count of Anjou, built a church which was remarkable for the beauty of the architecture, and the grandeur of the building; but when the monument was finished the metropolitan of Tours would not dedicate it. This refusal compelled the count to make a journey to Rome, and John the Fifteenth consented to send a prelate with him, who should consecrate it, without the participation of the archbishop of Tours.

The cardinal Peter, who was designated by the pontiff, travelled with Foulk. On his arrival in Anjou, he convoked all the clergy to the dedication of the new temple. The prelates of France opposed his design, and prohibited all ecclesiastics from assisting at the ceremony; they accused the pontiff of sacrilege, avarice, and simony; they declared those excommunicated and deposed from the priesthood who should dare to concur in this enterprise, done in contempt of the decisions of the councils and the fathers, by assisting at an act of jurisdiction within the diocese of a bishop without his consent.

Notwithstanding this violent opposition, the Roman ambassador went on and commenced the ceremony, but at the very moment of the dedication, the church suddenly fell in upon the cardinal! A signal mark of the justice of God, adds the legendary, who thus punished the pride and tyranny of the sovereign pontiff.

Some authors attribute to John the Fifteenth, the custom of canonizing the saints, in imitation of the pagan apotheoses, who elevated great men to the rank of gods, demi-gods or heroes. It was, in truth, during his reign, on the 30th of January, 993, that the first council which proceeded to the canonization of a saint was convoked in the palace of the Lateran. The bishop of Augsburg, who was intrusted with making the funeral prayer of the new inhabitant of the skies, rose in the midst of the assembly, and read the life and miracles of the great Udalric, the former occupant of his See; this legend had been written by the priest Gerard, one of the disciples of the saint. When the reading was finished it was decreed that the memory of Udalric should, for the future, be honoured by a solemn festival, in order to follow this precept of the evangelist, "Whoso receiveth you, receiveth me." The bull which was published on this occasion is to be found in the collection of Roman Bulls.

During the latter part of the month of April, 996, the pope was attacked with a violent fever, and carried to the tomb the hatred of the people, and the contempt of the clergy.

In order to paint the character of John the Fifteenth, it is only necessary to repeat with the author of the life of St. Abbon, that this learned abbot of Fleury having gone to Rome, with a retinue suitable to his dignity, did not find the holy father such as he should have been, but that he was horrified at finding him full of avarice and ready to sell every thing. He accuses him of having pillaged the state and church; of having ravaged the temples and religious houses to enrich his mistresses and minions. He also attributes to his reign the origin of that frightful nepotism which has so long desolated Italy.

We should know, before we put confidence in the accusations of the holy abbot, that he was one of the most important persons of that period, and had acquired a great reputation for holiness. Before becoming abbot of his monastery, he had made several journeys to England, and had contracted an intimacy with St. Oswald, the archbishop of York, and the venerable St. Dunstan. On his return to France, Oibold, abbot of Fleury, when dying, designated Abbon as his successor; his election was, however, violently opposed, by some debauched monks who wished to elevate to the abbot's place, a wretch soiled with every crime. Fortunately right and justice triumphed over intrigue, and Abbon was solemnly recognized as abbot of the monastery of Fleury, which he governed with great wisdom until his death.

## GREGORY THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 996.]

*Bruno, the nephew of the emperor, chosen pope, and ordained under the name of Gregory the Fifth—His character—Otho the Third quits Rome and returns to his kingdom—Crescentius becomes master of the holy city—Gregory the Fifth driven from his See, and takes refuge in Tuscany.*

OTHO THE THIRD was at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, when John the Fifteenth died. The senate and principal dignitaries of Rome, immediately sent ambassadors to him, to receive his orders in relation to the election of a pontiff. The emperor then chose from among the ecclesiastics of his chapel, the young Bruno, the son of his sister Judith and of Otho of Saxony, marquis of Verona, and presented him to the deputies as the pope whose nomination would be most acceptable to him.

Bruno was happily endowed by nature; he possessed some knowledge of belles lettres, and spoke the German, the pure Latin, and the vulgar idiom, that is to say, the languages used in the tenth century in Gaul, Germany, and the States of the Church. From his infancy he had been consecrated to God, and honoured the priesthood by his virtues. Not-

withstanding his distaste for greatness, he yielded to the requests of his uncle, who wished to raise him to the pontifical throne. Villegisus, the metropolitan of Mayence, and the bishop Adebaldus, were intrusted to conduct him to the holy city, where he was enthroned under the name of Gregory the Fifth. But the exercise of power soon changed the good qualities of Bruno into vices.

Otho shortly after went to Rome, to be solemnly consecrated emperor of Italy by his nephew; this ceremony finished, the prince assembled the senate and principal citizens to deliberate upon the propriety of exiling the turbulent Crescentius, who had oppressed the Holy See during the preceding reign; but the new pontiff being desirous of augmenting his popularity, by an act of indulgence, interceded with his uncle in favour of the accused, and at the same time, obtained an assurance

from him, that he would not disturb his tranquillity.

At the same time, Herlonin, bishop of Cambray, went to Rome to obtain the confirmation of his bishopric, which could not be done by his metropolitan, on account of the strife between Arnold and Gerbert, which left the church of Rheims without a director. The pope consecrated the prelate, and even gave him a bull of excommunication, to prevent the French lords from pillaging the goods of his diocese.

Otho the Third, thinking that he had established his sway over Italy on a solid basis, repassed the Alps and returned to his kingdom; but Crescentius had not abandoned his project of recovering the liberty of Rome. After the departure of the emperor, he raised the standard of revolt, drove out the strangers from the city, and was proclaimed consul of the Roman republic. Gregory was deprived of his wealth and dignity, and was constrained to take refuge in Tuscany, from whence he afterwards passed into Lombardy.

## JOHN THE SIXTEENTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 997.]

*The anti-pope Philagathus seizes on the Holy See—Remarkable history of John the Sixteenth—Character of the anti-pope—Gregory the Fifth takes refuge in Pavia, and excommunicates Crescentius and his adherents—The bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul excommunicate John the Sixteenth—The emperor comes into Italy—Cruelties exercised towards the anti-pope and Crescentius—Gregory the Fifth and Otho re-enter Rome—Different opinions as to the punishment of the anti-pope—St. Nil makes a journey to Rome to obtain the liberty of John the Sixteenth.*

CRESSENTIUS having become the consul of the Roman republic, raised to the pontifical throne one of his partizans, who was enthroned under the name of John the Sixteenth. This new pope was born at Rossano, in Calabria, and was called Philagathus. His parents were Greeks, and of a low condition.

In his youth he had embraced the monastic life. He had afterwards obtained a place at the court of Otho the Second, and had insinuated himself into the good graces of the prince, by the aid of the empress Theophania, to whose debaucheries he had become the purveyor. Philagathus had been at first supported from pity. He had from this the address to place himself among the most skilful courtiers, and maintained his credit until the death of the emperor. Ambitious, violent, and depraved, he employed all the resources of his vicious mind to arrive at the highest dignities. During the minority of Otho the Third, he obtained the See of Placenza, with the title of archbishop. He was also ambassador to Constantinople, when one of the daughters of the emperor of the East was demanded in marriage for that young prince. These different successes exalted his vanity, and he finally aspired to the sovereign power.

On his return to Rome, in 997, he joined the party of the people, and became, through ambition, one of the most ardent defenders of the republic. Crescentius then proclaimed him pontiff.

Gregory the Fifth, who had taken refuge at Pavia, held a great council, in which he excommunicated Crescentius and his partizans. John the Sixteenth was also condemned by the bishops of Germany, Italy and Gaul.

As soon as Otho was apprised of the revolt

of the Romans, he assembled new troops, confided the government of Germany to his aunt, Matilda, abbess of Quedlemburg, and returned into Italy.

On the approach of the German troops, the anti-pope fled like a coward from the holy city, whilst Crescentius threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo, to resist the oppressor of his country.

Authors are not agreed as to the punishment or death of John the Sixteenth. Some maintain that the priests arrested him, put out his eyes, cut off his nose and ears, and that the unfortunate man finally died in consequence of this bloody treatment in the interior of Germany, whither Otho had exiled him.—Others assure us, that it was the prince himself who mutilated him, and condemned him to be precipitated from the top of the great tower of Adrian.

Some chroniclers relate, that St. Nil, the fellow countryman of the anti-pope, wrote to him exhorting him to renounce the glories of this world, with which he should be satiated, to return to the quiet of a monastic life. They add that Philagathus, touched by the exhortations of the pious cenobite, was preparing to abandon the tiara, when these fatal events happened. According to their version, he was publicly whipped, mutilated with horrible cruelty, and cast into prison by the orders of Gregory the Fifth. St. Nil having heard of these acts of barbarity, was filled with grief, and resolved to make a journey to Rome notwithstanding his extreme old age, and his constant sickness, to obtain a mitigation of the cruel treatment exercised towards the unfortunate Philagathus.

Gregory and the emperor met the holy father three miles from Rome, each taking him



by the hand, conducted him in this manner to the palace of the Lateran, and seated him between them, overwhelming him with marks of deference. The venerable old man groaned in secret at all these honours, but endured them in hopes of more readily pleasing his illustrious hosts. "Most holy father, and you, most powerful emperor," he exclaimed, "I beseech you to treat me as the greatest sinner among men. Allow me to prostrate myself at your feet, and honour your supreme dignity, that you may listen favourably to my entreaties for the unfortunate mutilated whom you have cast into prison. I beseech you to restore him to me, as the consolation of my last days. I will take him with me to our monastery, and we will weep together over our faults and our sins."

This touching request drew tears from the eyes of all the assistants. The pope and emperor alone remained immovable. Otho however replied: "We will do as you wish, my father, if you consent to remain with us."

The government of the monastery of Athanasius, which was remote from the noise of the city, and had for a long time been appropriated to Greek monks, was offered to him; he accepted it in order to serve the unfortunate John. But sacerdotal hatred was not yet assuaged, and Gregory the Fifth, in order to augment the sufferings of the anti-pope caused him to be conducted through the streets of Rome, mounted backwards upon an ass, holding the tail in his hand, and clothed in the shreds of his pontifical ornaments.

The venerable St. Nil then wrote to the sovereign pontiff and to the prince, to complain of this excessive harshness. "You have granted to me the liberty of this blind man," he said to them, "and yet you now are augmenting his misfortunes. It is not him whom you are really punishing, it is I myself, or rather it is Jesus Christ. Know then, if you have no pity on this unfortunate who is in your hands, your heavenly Father will have no pity on you." The holy father could not obtain the pardon of John the Sixteenth, and was obliged to return alone to his old monastery.

The retreat of St. Nil was situated near Gaëta, in a retired spot, desert and remote from all habitations. He had chosen this rustic solitude, that his monks might abandon themselves solely to poverty, prayer, meditation, and the reading of holy books: "for," said he "convents, which are too rich, soon pervert

the morals of our brethren, and contribute to the relaxation of religious discipline."

Otho professed so great respect for St. Nil, that a few months after these events, when returning from Mont Gargan, whither he had been to receive the submission of the chief of that country, he wished to visit this venerable abbot. He humbly confessed to him all the faults of his life, and shed a flood of tears as a mark of contrition for the cruelties which he had permitted the pope to exercise.

The punishment of Crescentius is also related in different ways. Some say that this generous republican having thrown himself into the tower of Adrian, resisted the forces of the emperor for several months; at length seeing his soldiers decimated by famine, or the sword of his enemies, he devoted himself for the safety of all, and came in the garb of a suppliant, to cast himself at the feet of Otho and implore his clemency.

This cruel prince was unwilling even to receive him, and replied to those who raised a voice in his defence, "Do you wish that the consul of the Romans, this fierce republican, who degrades emperors and dethrones popes, to be content with our Saxon huts, whither you would permit him to go? No, no, I will not suffer him to abase himself in my presence. Let him be re-conducted to his castle, where we will soon render him the honours which are his due."

Crescentius then returned to his fortress, where he defended himself with the greatest courage; at length the castle, stripped of its defenders, was carried by assault. All who were found in it were put to the sword, and the brave Crescentius was thrown from the summit of the tower which afterwards bore his name.

Other historians relate a part of the facts which we have given as to the death of the anti-pope in connection with that of his. Moreri maintains that Crescentius was simply beheaded, and that his dead body was dragged through the mire and hung to a very high tree. It is difficult to judge among those different versions, for the annals of that portion of the middle age have passed through so many hands interested in altering them, that it is almost impossible to discover the truth in texts covered with interpolations and errors; and there is no fact in the history of the church during the century, which has not been embroidered according to the caprices of the imagination of cotemporary authors.

## RE-INSTALLATION OF GREGORY THE FIFTH.

[A. D. 997.]

*Re-installation of Gregory the Fifth—The electors of the empire attributed to this pope—Second journey of St. Abbon to Rome—Reinstalment of Arnold on the See of Rheims—Gerbert named archbishop of Ravenna—Council of Rome—Re-installation of the bishop of Mersburg—Deposition of Stephen, bishop of Puy in Velay—Excommunication of King Robert and his wife Bertha—Superstition of the age—Death of the pope.*

WHATEVER may have been the nature of the punishment inflicted on the anti-pope Philagathus, it is certain that he was driven from the throne of St. Peter in the year 977, and that Gregory the Fifth immediately re-assumed the exercise of the pontifical authority. The pope, desirous of favouring the ambition of his uncle, and of avenging himself on the Romans, made a decree, which transferred to the Germans the right of choosing the emperor, a privilege which the Italians had always possessed until that period. This power was conceded to the archbishops of Mayence and Treves, and Cologne, and to three secular princes, the Count-palatin, the duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, who formed the first electoral college. But this is the most obscure fact in the history of Germany, and that on which Protestants and Catholics have written with the most partiality and violence.

James Lampadius, a German juriconsult, does not recognize either Gregory the Fifth, or Otho the Third, as the founders of this institution, which he attributes to Frederick the Second. Otho of Frising assures us, that before the time of Gregory the Seventh, who occasioned such great trouble in the order of succession in Germany, the emperors were chosen by the states, that is the diets. According to Trithemius, William, count of Holland, was the first who received the iron crown and sceptre from the seven electors. John Frederick Bockleman puts forth an analogous opinion, and, according to him, the origin of the Septemvirate electoral college dates from the election of Count Adolphus of Nassau. Finally, Maimbourg affirms, with reason, that all that has been written about Otho and Gregory, in relation to the right of choosing electors, can be charged with uncertainty and errors.

After the death of Hugh Capet, King Robert, his son and successor, espoused his cousin Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Blois and Chartres, notwithstanding the canons of the church, which prohibited alliances between relations. The prince, in order to arrest ecclesiastical censures, hastened to offer large sums of money to the holy father; but as the policy of the emperor Otho was opposed to the conclusion of this marriage, the sovereign pontiff remained intractable, and threatened to place the kingdom of France under an interdict, if the king did not at once leave his cousin. The superstitious Robert, alarmed at the consequences of this excommunication,

immediately sent Abbon of Fleury into Italy to allay the storm. This latter went to Spolitto, where the pope then was, and was received with great honours by him; but instead of pleading the cause of the king, he occupied himself with his own private interests. Abbon received from the young pope a magnificent chasuble, as a testimony of his high esteem; and Gregory then made a decree, by which he conceded to the monastery of Fleury the privilege of being independent of the bishop of the diocese, and of not being placed under interdict, even when all the rest of Gaul was.

On his return to France, Abbon obtained from the king the re-installation of Arnold on the chair of Rheims, and gave to the new archbishop the pallium which he had received from the hands of the holy father. In his letters to Gregory, he rendered an account of the fidelity with which he had executed the orders of the court of Rome, and he besought the pontiff to engage Arnold to occupy himself more with his duties, in order to re-assemble his clergy, which was dispersed, and to cause the property which had been lost during the vacancy of the Holy See to be restored to his church.

Gerbert, abandoned by Robert the Second, and despoiled of his dignities by the unjust sentence of the pope, went to the emperor, who made him metropolitan of Ravenna. The sovereign pontiff who had pursued Gerbert in order to abase the crown of France, hastened to confirm the election of the learned prelate. He even sent him the pallium, and a letter in which he renewed all the ancient privileges of that metropolitan See, and also granted him authority over the Sees of Montefelto and Plaicenza.

During this year the holy father convoked a council at Rome, which was opened in the presence of the emperor: twenty-eight bishops assembled under the presidency of the pope. It was occupied with the re-establishment of the bishopric of Mersburg, which had been suppressed by Otho the Second; it was then engaged with the condemnation of King Robert and his cousin, which was the principal cause of its assembling. The council made eight decrees against the king. The first was, that the prince should immediately separate himself from his cousin, whom he had married in opposition to the laws of the church, and condemned him for seven years to the public penance which the fathers prescribed for this crime. A like excommunication was lance-

against Bertha; against Archambaud, archbishop of Tours, who had pronounced the nuptial benediction, and finally all the priests who had assisted at this ceremony, were suspended from their functions until they should come to beg pardon of the Holy See.

The council also deposed Stephen, bishop of Puy in Velay, who had been consecrated by Guy, his uncle and predecessor, without the consent of the clergy and laity, and who had been ordained by two prelates, strangers in the province. King Robert was expressly prohibited from granting his protection to the deposed prelate, and he was enjoined to take measures to sustain the new election which the people and ecclesiastics of that diocese were about to make.

Robert, notwithstanding the threats and prohibitions of Rome, having desired to maintain Stephen on the See of Puy in Velay, and to continue his intimate relations with his wife Queen Bertha, they were both solemnly excommunicated. Gregory the Fifth, placed the kingdom of France under an interdict; divine service ceased through all its provinces; the sacraments were unadministered, and the dead remained unburied. The superstition of this period was so great, that no one dared to approach the king. Two servants handed to him from the end of a pole, the dishes destined for his table, and cast into the fire all the vessels with which he was served. Father Damian relates, that during this excommunication, Robert and Bertha produced a monster, which had the head and neck of a goose. Finally, after three years of suffering, the king was compelled to obey the pope and repudiate his cousin!

Robert was a feeble, pusillanimous prince; he discovered, in the end, that he owed all his misfortunes to St. Abbon, who, instead of soliciting at Rome the confirmation of the mar-

riage of his sovereign, was occupied with his private interests, without disquieting himself concerning the misfortunes of the kingdom. Thus Gregory the Fifth, during a reign of two years and nine months, committed an irreparable evil to Italy, by taking away from it the election of the emperors, threw Spain into commotion, and laid the foundation for great disasters to France by abasing royalty, and submitting it to the sacerdotal power. He finally died on the 18th of February, 999.

For the purpose of extending his sway over Spain, Gregory had censured Bertrand the Second, the sovereign of the kingdom of Leon. This prince, who had reigned since 982, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the clergy by his arrest of Gondestus, bishop of Oveido, and of Athaulph, bishop of Compostello, both accused of enormous crimes. His love for justice became fatal to him; for several priests whom he had driven from his court on account of their connection with the acts charged upon the prelates, took refuge with Issem, king of Cordova. In consequence of their advice, Mahommed Almanzor, the prime minister of that sovereign, undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Bertraml, and these renegadoes conducted their enemies even up to the walls of Leon, which was taken by assault and reduced to ashes. The city of Astorga underwent the same fate. The churches were ravaged, the monasteries burned, the nuns violated and murdered. For several years this unfortunate country was reduced to such a state of misery, that entire provinces became vast deserts. But Garcia the Trembler, king of Navarre, and Garcia Fernandez, count of Castile, having come to the assistance of the states of Leon, gained a signal victory over the Arabs, drove them back even to Cordova, and re-established peace and prosperity in the kingdom of Leon.

## THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

### SYLVESTER THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

*Strange genealogy of the new pontiff—His true origin—His education among the Moors of Spain—The introduction of algebra into France attributed to him—He takes the side of King Hugh—Makes a clock for Magdeburg—Is accused of magic—History of the brazen head—The Androide, or man made by the sorcerer Albert the Great—Sylvester confirms the re-installation of his enemy Arnold—He increases the riches of the church—Revolt of the Romans against Otho—The emperor besieged in his palace—His death—Great scandal in the church in relation to his jurisdiction of a convent of girls—Council of Rome—Cruelties of Sylvester—Ridiculous stories about his death—History of his dead body—Reflections on the eleventh century.*

Bosvius assures us, that the pontiff Sylvester the Second was born in Guyenne, and that he was descended from a king of Argos, named Temenus, who was himself of the race of Hercules, and the chief of the Heraclidæ in the expedition in which they reconquered the

Peloponnesus, a period which coincides with that at which the Bible fixes the birth of the prophet Samuel. If this genealogy were true, the pope would have had Jupiter for his ancestor, and this vicar of the God of the Christians would have descended directly from an

adultery committed by the fathers of the pagan gods.

Some authors, doubtless more correct, maintain that he was born in Anvergne, and that his parents were poor mountaineers, who placed him at Aurillac, in the monastery of St. Gerald, where he was educated from charity. His name was Gerbert. His progress was very rapid, and the young pupil soon outstripped even his professors. The abbot Gerald, of St. Serein, who felt a friendship for him, sent him into Spain, to Borel, count of Barcelona, who confided him to the care of bishop Halton, to teach him mathematics.

Gerbert frequented assiduously the Arab academies, where he learned algebra, astrology, and alchymy. In a journey which Count Borel and Bishop Halton made to Rome, they took their protégé with them, and presented him to Otho the Second. During the following year, Gerbert had a conference, in the presence of the prince, with the Saxon Otric, who was then renowned for his immense learning. All the remarkable men of Germany, Gaul, and Italy were present at this species of scientific congress, when he obtained the place of preceptor to the son of the emperor. To reward his care, Otho afterwards gave him the celebrated abbey of Bobio, founded by St. Colombon. This gift was approved by the clergy and the people, and confirmed by the sovereign pontiff. Unfortunately the great wealth of this monastery had been alienated by libelatical concessions, by the usurpations of the neighbouring lords, and, above all, by the dilapidations of the bishop of Pavia, who was afterwards elevated to the papacy under the name of John the Fourteenth. Gerbert was obliged to bestow all his care on the management of the property of the convent, in order to repair the malversations of his predecessors.

After the death of Otho the Second, Italy remained delivered over to the oppression of several tyrants, to whom each church would have been compelled to submit, if the bishops had not levied troops to resist them by force of arms. Gerbert, in order to avoid witnessing so afflicting a spectacle, quitted his abbey and came to Rheims, to the metropolitan Adalberon, who entertained a strong affection for him. He, however, remained always attached to Otho the Third, and maintained the interests of the young emperor against the enterprises of the duke of Bavaria and King Lothaire. The letters which he wrote to the prelates of Liege, Metz, Treves, and Mayence, show that the court of Germany had not, at that period, a more zealous partizan than he.

Notwithstanding the active part he took in political affairs, Gerbert continued to cultivate the sciences, and undertook the direction of the school of Rheims. King Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, pursued his studies under this illustrious teacher. There is still extant a letter written by Adalberon to the empress Theophania, asking for a diocese for Gerbert.

This proceeding had not a favourable result. The abbot of Bobio afterwards claimed the See of Rheims, under the pretext that the metropolitan before his death had chosen him to govern this church. Arnold was preferred to him; Gerbert remained, nevertheless, attached to the See of Rheims; he even, from regard for the new archbishop, took the part of Charles, duke of Lorraine, for the purpose of sustaining the legitimate heir of the crown of France against the usurper Hugh.

When, however, Capet was established on the throne, Gerbert secretly solicited from him the archbishopric of Rheims, betrayed Arnold, and finally obtained the order to replace his metropolitan. This scandalous affair occupied the entire reign of John the Fifteenth, and was only terminated during that of Gregory the Fifth.

On the arrival to the throne of Robert the Second, the son of Hugh, Arnold was re-installed in his See, and Gerbert was obliged to retire to the emperor Otho the Third, who elevated him to the archbishopric of Ravenna. A year afterwards, he was chosen pope under the name of Sylvester the Second. The surprising fortune of this mountaineer came from his extreme fineness, his duplicity, and the art which he had of insinuating himself into the good graces of the great. His knowledge of chemistry caused him to be accused of magic, and several ecclesiastical authors maintain, that he only arrived at the See of St. Peter through the assistance of the devil, from whom he had bought the pontifical tiara. They thus relate the fact: "Gerbert," they say, "had made, under propitious constellations, a head of brass, in which he forced the anti-christ to dwell. Once in his prison, the devil was, enchained by magical formulæ, which the Arabs had taught him, and he tormented the spirit of evil until he spoke by the mouth of this brazen monster. Those who were stationed near the oratory of the pope had frequently heard the devil say to him: 'I cannot bear this any longer; I grant you all that you ask of me.'"

Yesses states that Henry of Velleine, Robert of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon, had similar heads; and if we can believe Naude in his apology for great men, that Albert the Great had made an entire man who revealed to him the present, the past, and the future. He had employed, they said, thirty years of his life in framing it, under divers aspects of the constellations; the eyes, for example, had been made when the sun entered the sign of the zodiac which ruled the alloyage of metals. It was the same with the head, the neck, the shoulders, the waist, the thighs, the legs, and for all the other parts of the body, which he had made in accordance with the times in which the planets which corresponded with them appeared. This figure was since called the Androides of Albert: and St. Thomas Aquinas broke it, because, as he assures us, it stunned him with the continual noise of its prophecies.

Sylvester was also very skilful in the mechanic arts; the invention of clocks with

pendulums is attributed to him; he constructed several of them with his own hand, and particularly that of the cathedral of Magdeburg, which marked the seasons, the days, the months, the hours, and the lunar phases; he made algebra a common study, and was a great lover of old books, which he sought for in Spain, Italy, Gaul, Belgium, and Germany, and even in the ancient capital of the Eastern empire. He wrote several treatises on rhetoric and medicine, and was constantly occupied with astrology, or rather astronomy, and constructed several spheres, which he proudly called his best works.

Soon after his elevation to the pontifical throne, Gerbert definitely re-established Arnold in the archbishopric of Rheims, although that prelate had earnestly pursued him, and compelled him to take refuge in France. This act of greatness of soul was inspired rather by skillful policy than by true generosity. In his letter to Arnold, he said to him that it was the privilege of the Supreme See to pardon guilty ecclesiastics; and that the metropolitan of Rheims, although deposed for grave subjects, yet not having been condemned by the court of Rome, could be replaced in his former condition, through the goodness of Sylvester.

This pontiff augmented prodigiously the domains of the church; he received from Otho the Third, his old pupil, the city of Verceil, the country which was dependant on it, and the country of Saint-Agatha, with the right of government and justice in these provinces. On his entreaty, the emperor confirmed the privileges which had been granted to the chair of St. Peter, by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Good Natured.

It was at the commencement of his reign, that Sylvester granted to St. Stephen, king of Hungary, the royal crown, with the privilege of transmitting it to all his successors; he even wished the cross to be borne before the prince, and named him as his perpetual legate to reward him for his apostolic conduct in converting the greatest part of his people to the Christian faith.

Otho was then in Poland, where he had conferred the title of king on Duke Boleslas; but he was soon recalled into Italy to combat the Romans, who had revolted against his generals. The emperor entered the country; retook Capua from the Saracens, distributed his army through the cities of Campania, and entered victorious into Rome, followed by his choicest troops. But the day after his installation in the castle of St. Angelo, the people having assembled, flew to arms, and besieged him in his palace with such vigour, that he would have been forced to surrender, if Hugh, marquis of Etruria, and Henry, duke of Bavaria, the prefects of the city, had not afforded him the means of leaving it, by parleying with the rebels. Otho, delivered from the peril, caused all his troops to advance, invaded Rome a second time, and punished the authors of the sedition, with extreme rigour. The prince died some time after these events, having been poisoned by the widow of Crescen-

tius, whose daughter he had violated. The pope Sylvester was with him in his last moments.

At the beginning of the following year, (1001,) Bernard, bishop of Hildesheim came to ask for justice from Gerbert, against the metropolitan of his church. He complained to the pontiff that Villegisus had seized upon a convent of girls, which did not belong to his administration. This monastery, called Gandesem, had always recognized the bishop of Hildesheim as its diocesan, until the day on which Sophia, the daughter of the emperor Otho the Second, at the very moment of taking the veil, refused from pride to pronounce her vows between the hands of an ecclesiastic who did not wear the pallium. The princess exacted, that the archbishop of Mayence, should perform the ceremonies; Bernard having opposed it, the empress Theophania, besought him at least to permit Villegisus to be associated with him, and then was seen for the first time two prelates clothed in their episcopal ornaments, seated on each side of the same altar. The bishop, however, demanded from the prince, who was present, if he engaged to ratify the engagement of his sister, although it had taken place irregularly; he summoned the princess to submit herself to him and his successors, declaring that his metropolitan had no rights in that church.

Sophia, who regarded herself as the sister of the emperor, rather than a nun, left the monastery without the permission of the abbess, and lived at the court of Germany, where she abandoned herself to amorous intrigues. Bernard then warned her to return to her convent; but she, treating his remonstrances with contempt, placed herself under the protection of Villegisus, affirming that it was from him she had received the veil, and not from the prelate of Hildesheim.

The scandal of her amours and accouchements, however, compelled the emperor to cause her to return to the abbey of Gandesem. Furious then against the prelate whom she regarded as the author of her disgrace, she spread disorder among the nuns, and excited them to revolt; and at length, on the day of a solemn dedication, they refused him permission to enter the monastery, and called upon the archbishop of Mayence to perform the ceremony. Villegisus was stopped on his journey by his suffragans, who besought him not to infringe the canons of the church; and Henry, duke of Bavaria, urged Bernard to protest at once to the emperor and the court of Rome against the pretensions of the nuns.

Sylvester the Second, wishing to bring back peace to the church, assembled a council, at which all the laity and clergy who were elevated in dignity assisted. After the benediction of the holy father and the reading of the Bible, the floor was granted to Bernard, who accused his metropolitan of having held a synod in the monastery of Gandesem, in contempt of the rules which placed the nuns under his jurisdiction. The pontiff demanded

from the assembly, if they could consider as regular, the convocation of a synod by the archbishop of Mayence in an abbey which was a dependancy of the bishop of Hildesheim. The fathers all replied at once, that the synod was irregular, and that they should reject, in accordance with the canons, the decisions made by it. The pope then arose and pronounced the judgment, "By the authority of the apostles and fathers, we erase all that has been done by Villegisus and his accomplices, in the diocese of our brother Bernard during his absence." He gave the pastoral baton to this prelate, and said to him, "I restore to you my brother, and confirm you in the possession of Gandesem and its dependancies, and prohibit any one, be he who he may, from causing you the least trouble or harm."

The archbishop of Mayence was written to, and a legate was named to preside over an assembly to be held in Saxony, before which that prelate was to make his defence. The council was convoked for the year 1001, and Frederick, a cardinal priest of the Roman church, a Saxon by birth, was chosen to represent the sovereign pontiff. The cardinal went to Germany with a pompous embassy, and followed by a crowd of domestics clothed in liveries shining with gold, to show that he represented the head of Christianity.

The convention assembled at Polden, on the 22d of July, 1001. Villegisus, sustained by the prelates of his party, at first excited a great uproar in the council; but the envoy of Sylvester the Second, a man of remarkable firmness, appeased the murmurs, re-established silence, and made the accused himself read the letter which the holy father had addressed to him. The reading being finished, Frederick addressed the bishops who were present, asking their advice; the metropolitan of Hamburg declared in favour of Bernard, and of the decree made by the sovereign pontiff. Scarcely had he finished speaking, when the doors of the church were opened and the synod was entered by laymen with arms in their hands, crying out "death to the diocesan of Hildesheim, and to the envoy of the court of Rome." Notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, neither of them was alarmed. They harangued the disturbers, and showed them numerous troops without the church who were ready to strike those who dared to draw the sword in the temple of God.

This firmness arrested the factions. The sitting, however, was finished for that day. On the next day the convention assembled anew, but Villegisus did not appear, notwithstanding the formal assurance he had given the evening before; and they learned that he had left Polden during the night. The legate having summoned him several times in full council, suspended him from all ecclesiastical functions as contumacious, and ordered him to appear before the synod which was to be held in the palace of the Lateran, towards Christmas. On their side, the emperor and

Gerbert, indignant at the scandal which had taken place in Polden, commanded all the bishops of Germany who had taken part in this affair, to appear before them, not only to assist at the assembly convoked by the cardinal Frederick, but even to bring with them at their own expense the vassals of their diocese, who should follow their sovereign to the wars.

Several assemblies were still occupied with this quarrel between Villegisus and Bernard; it finished by wearing itself out, rather from the effects of time, than from the authority of the pope and councils.

During the following year Sylvester the Second convoked a synod in the palace of the Lateran, to judge another scene of scandal which took place in Italy. The chancellor, according to custom, opened the session, by addressing himself to the holy father, "My lord, your abbot of St. Peter near Perouse, presents complaints to this synod against Bishop Conon, who has rendered himself guilty of violence and sacrilege by tearing him from the altar of your monastery, and by driving him from the abbey. He assures you that the buildings of the convents have been pillaged, and that the bishop has seized upon all the riches of your monks."

Conon replied, "His holiness has intrusted to me the See of Perouse, and made me swear that I would not abandon its rights. This convent belongs to my diocese, and the pope cannot claim a particular privilege to examine juridically into this dispute." The fathers, however, declared that this church appertained to the sovereign pontiff. The prelate, to shun a more severe chastisement, consented to renounce the monastery of St. Peter, in favour of the apostolical throne, and gave the kiss of peace to his accuser.

Gerbert was vain, ambitious, treacherous, and cruel; authors relate as an evidence of his cruelty, that Guy, viscount of Limoges, having been cited to the court of Rome, by Grimoard, who accused him of having retained him a prisoner, to compel him to abandon to him the enjoyment of the abbey of Brantome, was condemned by Sylvester to be torn in pieces by two wild horses; and he even ordered, that before the punishment, Guy should be surrendered to the bishop of Angouleme, to undergo the torture by fire. But the latter, moved by the entreaties of Guy, consented to forget the violence of which he had been the victim, and both fled into France to shun the resentment of the pope.

After a pontificate of four years and a half, Gerbert died, at a very advanced age. His obsequies were performed with all the pomp which was due to the sovereign pontiff of the church. His elegy has been engraved upon his sepulchre by one of his successors.

After his death, however, the accusations of magic were renewed against him; some chroniclers gravely affirm, that Sylvester brought from Seville with him an abominable book, containing cabalistic formularies, with which he forced Lucifer to obey him, and the spirit of darkness promised the pontiff to guarantee

him against death, until the day in which he should celebrate mass in the church of Jerusalem. Sylvester, they add, hoped to live for ever, because he had formed the resolution never to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and continued to abandon himself to the most condemnable witchcraft of all kinds; but he soon proved that the promises of the devil are always fallacious and perfidious. One day when the holy father was celebrating divine service in the church of the Holy Cross, called also the church of Jerusalem, the devil suddenly appeared to him on the altar, and seizing the golden figure of Christ, which decorated the chapel, struck him so violent a blow with it, that he died in a few hours.

Before dying, Sylvester confessed to his cardinals that he had devoted himself to the devil; he recommended to them to place his body upon a car drawn by white horses, and to inter it in the place at which the coursers should stop of themselves. This order was punctually executed, and the car having stopped before the church of the Lateran, his remains were there deposited with the accustomed pomp. For a long time after, they stated at Rome, that, on the evening of the death of the pontiff, they heard the bones of Sylvester the Second clash in his tomb, and the stone of his sepulchre was covered with a bloody sweat.

Six centuries and a half had flown by since the death of this pope, when the church of the Lateran was re-constructed. His coffin, which was of marble, was opened, and the body was found clothed in the pontifical robes; the tiara upon the head, and the arms crossed. Sylvester appeared to be still living, and spread around an odorous perfume; but as

soon as a ray of light struck him, an infernal flame escaped from his body, and all was reduced to ashes. There remained nothing but a cross of silver and the pastoral ring.

From that time the tomb ceased to present the same prodigies. The subterranean and lugubrious noises which had frightened the faithful, were no longer heard, nor were traces of blood perceived on the marble of the Mausoleum. The priests did not hesitate to explain this change as an effect of sorcery, or as caused by the disappearance of the devil, who for six hundred years watched over the body of the holy father. An ecclesiastical historian, Muratori, who wrote to defend the memory of Sylvester, gravely affirms that this miracle should not surprise us, as several tombs of saints, which formerly exuded oil or manna, no longer offered in his time the same prodigies. This singular remark was made by Muratori in 1740; that is, scarcely an hundred years since.

The character of the eleventh century is remarkable for a mixture of gross superstition and horrible debauchery. So great were the ignorance and depravity, that it was imagined that the reign of antichrist was approaching, and they interpreted the strange phenomena of nature as presages of the accomplishment of the words of the Apocalypse in relation to the end of the world. The auguries and sorceries practised even by the clergy, had replaced the sacraments and the ecclesiastical ceremonies. Finally, there existed neither virtue nor piety in the world; and Berenger says, "that the church was a collection of proud, impious, and wicked men, and that the apostolic chair had become a seat for demons!"

## JOHN THE SEVENTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*Bishop Sicco succeeds Sylvester the Second—Uncertainty as to his origin and actions—Duration of his reign—His death—The heresy of Vilgard.*

THE bishop Sicco succeeded Sylvester the Second. The circumstances of his election remain completely unknown. We only know that he was enthroned by the name of John the Seventeenth. Platinus assures us that the family of this pontiff was in the very lowest orders of society. Father Pagi, on the other hand, affirms that it was of the most illustrious. The same uncertainty exists as to the character and actions of Sicco. Some authors maintain that he was cruel, vindictive, greedy of honours and riches; others pronounce a pompous eulogy upon him. It is difficult to form a correct opinion among such contradictory statements; and the best founded that we can give is, that he occupied the

Holy See about five months. He died at the commencement of the year 1004.

During his pontificate, a monk named Leutard, endeavoured to pass himself off as a prophet, to seduce the simple, and extort money from them. He related, that one day, being asleep in the country, he had a miraculous revelation, in which he saw a flock of bees, who entered his body from the rear, and passed out by his mouth, making a great noise; and that he was ordered to do things impossible to men. On awakening, he went to Chalons, assembled the people, and announcing himself as inspired by God, created so powerful a party, that they wished to place him on the See of that city. But Gebouin,

who was then bishop of Chalons, demanded to be confronted with this impudent monk, who in despair precipitated himself into a well.

Another fanatic, named Vilgard, gave birth to a singular heresy, which consisted in re-

garding the three poets, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, as prophets, whose dogmas we should follow to obtain eternal life.

The holy father ordered the bishops of Italy to exterminate those unfortunate fools by fire and sword, wherever they found them.

## JOHN THE EIGHTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*Election of John the Eighteenth—Erection of the church of Bamberg into a bishopric—Council of Rome—Death of John the Eighteenth—Vacancy in the Holy See.*

FASAN was chosen by the clergy, the grandees, and the people, as the most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter, and he was ordained on the 19th of March, 1004, under the name of John the Eighteenth. This pope was of Roman origin; his whole reign was passed in disgraceful effeminacy, infamy, and debauchery.

The only remarkable event of his pontificate, was the erection of Bamberg, or Babenburg, in Franconia, into a bishopric. King Henry, who had for a long time desired to establish a See in this small city, built a magnificent church, which he enriched with all the sacred ornaments and vases necessary for divine service. As it was situated in the diocese of Virsburg, Henry offered to the bishop in exchange for this church and its dependencies, a large sum of money. The latter readily accepted the offers of the prince, and exacted besides that he should be made a metropolitan, and have for his suffragan the ecclesiastic who should be elevated to the See of Bamberg.

Henry having accepted these conditions, his chaplains, Alberic and Louis, were intrusted with obtaining from the holy father the confirmation of his title of metropolitan. John the Eighteenth profited by this ridiculous fantasy of the king. He demanded one hundred pounds of gold, and two hundred pounds of silver, for the rights of the Holy See. He then convoked a council at Rome, and ordered that the new church erected into a bishopric, should be dedicated to St. Peter, and should remain under the particular protection of the pontifical See, although submitted to the archbishop of Mayence, its metropolitan.

Fasan died on the 18th of July, 1009, after having occupied the pontifical throne for five years and four months.

At this period, the Greek clergy was not yet separated from the Latin clergy, and they continued to read at Constantinople the name of John the Eighteenth, in the sacred writings, as well as that of the patriarch.

The Holy See remained vacant for twenty-four days after the death of the pope.

## SERGIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1009.]

*The bishop of Albano enthroned by the name of Sergius the Fourth—His origin and character—Duration of his pontificate—His death and epitaph.*

PETER, bishop of Albano, was chosen pontiff, and succeeded John, under the name of Sergius the Fourth. He was the son of a priest named Martin, and a Roman by birth. Platinus and Ciaconius agree in representing him as a man of great piety and exemplary morals; charitable to the poor, clement to the guilty, of a perfect goodness and extreme prudence. He turned all his thoughts towards heaven, and governed the church with integrity and wisdom; he was in fact the only priest of his

time, worthy from his virtues, of occupying the throne of St. Peter. He undertook great reforms among the clergy of Rome, and had even formed a plan to drive the Arabs from Sicily, from whence these people made irruptions into Italy; but the short duration of his pontificate did not permit him to accomplish designs useful to Christianity.

During his reign, Libentius, archbishop of Hamburg, and Bernaire, bishop of Verden, excited a new difficulty about a parish church



which this latter claimed for his diocese, and on which Libentius had seized under the pretext, that it had served as a place of refuge for St. Anscuire, the first apostle of that country, during a persecution. St. Anscuire had in truth built an oratory in which were deposited the relics of the martyrs and the offerings of the common people rendered the possession of it very advantageous. The love of money was then the true motive for this scandalous quarrel. The metropolitan of Hamburg, to put an end to the affair, sent as his deputy to Rome the deacon Odon, bearing rich

presents for Sergius. The pope then decided the question in his favour, in honour, as he said, of the memory of St. Anscuire.

The holy father finally died in 1012, after having occupied the Holy See for two years and some months, if we can believe Sigebert, Gemblours, and Marianus Scotus. According to Cæsar Rapson, he was interred near the oratory of St. Thomas. His epitaph informs us, that he distributed clothing and food to the poor, and that he was regarded as one of the lights of the church.

## BENEDICT THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1012.]

*The bishop of Porto chosen pope and enthroned by the name of Benedict the Eighth—He is execrated by the Romans—The anti-pope Gregory—The faction of Benedict, at first victorious, is then driven from the city—He takes refuge in Germany with Henry the Second—His return to Rome—Coronation of the emperor—He confirms the election of his brother Arnold to the archbishopric of Ravenna—Benedict the Eighth defeats the Saracens—Bull against the Jews—Origin of the Norman sway in Italy—Journey of the pontiff to Germany—Council of Paris—Benedict complains of the licentious lives of the clergy—Pilgrimage of Robert, king of France, to Rome—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Sergius, the bishop of Porto, the son of Gregory, count of Tusculum, was chosen sovereign pontiff, by the faction of the marquises of Tuscanella in Etruria, his relatives, who during a century had already seated so many wretches on the throne of St. Peter. He took the name of Benedict the Eighth. The Romans, who execrated this pontiff, on account of his vices, conspired against his authority. A powerful party was soon formed among the clergy, who proclaimed another pope under the name of Gregory.

Benedict, however, still remained master of the palace of the Lateran; Gregory then courageously placed himself at the head of the people, drove the pontiff from the city, and forced him to seek refuge in Germany with Henry the Second. That prince declared against the anti-pope, threatened with his wrath the citizens who refused to recognize his protégé as the sovereign pontiff, and even gave him troops who conducted him back into Lombardy. The Romans, alarmed at the preparations which were making for war against them, and fearful of a new invasion, determined to send deputies to Benedict, to beseech him to return to his palace of the Lateran. Gregory was in his turn driven from the city, and left the tiara to his competitor, who seated himself anew in the chair of St. Peter.

Some days after they heard the news of a victory gained by Henry over the army of a pretender to the empire, named Arduin and the prince soon came to Rome in person to be consecrated by the pontiff. This ceremony took place at the beginning of the year 1014. Henry entered the church, accompa-

nied by twelve senators, of whom six had their beards shaved in the Roman fashion, and six wore long moustachios after the German. He held by the hand the beautiful Cunegonda, his wife. The pope waited for the procession on the threshold of the temple; he asked the emperor if he would consent to be named defender of the church, and swear fidelity to him and his successors. Henry took the oath in a loud voice; Benedict then permitted him to enter the sanctuary, solemnly crowned him, and suspended before the altar of St. Peter, the diadem which he wore during the ceremony. Cunegonda was also crowned empress.

The holy father then presented to the emperor a golden apple surrounded by two circles of precious stones, which crossed each other and was surmounted by a golden crucifix. The apple represented the world, the cross was the symbol of religion, the precious stones portrayed the virtues of the monarch. Henry, on receiving it exclaimed; "I understand, holy father, that you wish to teach me how to govern my actions and my people. I accept the pledge which binds me to God and the world, and I will intrust the sacred deposit to those who have trampled under foot the pomps of the world in order to follow the standard of Christ." He sent this precious stone to the convent of Cluny, which, at this period, was esteemed the most regular of all the monasteries, and which had been already honoured by his munificence.

After the ceremony of the consecration, a sumptuous feast was prepared in the palace of the Lateran, and the pontiff entertained the

emperor and empress of the West at supper. The donations which had been made to the Holy See from the time of Charlemagne to that of Otho the Third, were confirmed and augmented by Henry, who, however, reserved to himself, as his predecessors had done, the sovereign power over Rome, and the right of sending commissioners to receive the complaints of the people and administer justice. He re-established the independence of the pontifical elections, and made a decree permitting the Romans to consecrate a pope canonically elected, before they had taken the oath of fidelity to the empire.

During his sojourn in Rome, the emperor, whilst assisting at divine service, remarked that the Nicæan creed was not chanted after the Gospels. He was shocked at it, and demanded from the holy father, why the Roman priests celebrated mass in a different way from those of Gaul, Germany, and Italy. The impudent Benedict replied, that the supreme church having never been infected with heresy had no need of declaring its faith; and besides, that divine wisdom commanded us not to enclose our belief in words, because men discussed or interpreted them at their will. This reply was audacious and false, adds the venerable Bernon, abbot of Richenou, who was present at the interview between the pope and the sovereign.

The emperor caused the election of his brother Arnold to the See of Ravenna to be confirmed, to the prejudice of Adalbert, whom he even wished to degrade as an usurper of that diocese. He, however, yielded to the just representations of the clergy, and gave to the prelate, as an indemnity, the See of Aricia.

Henry had hardly left Italy, when the Saracens made an inroad on the shores of Tuscany, took the city of Luna by assault, drove off its inhabitants, and made themselves masters of all the country. When this news reached Rome, the pope ordered all the bishops to assemble, and, placing himself at their head, marched to meet the Arabs, trusting, said authors, to the aid of God and the courage of his troops. His dispositions for battle were made with consummate skill. He prepared a large number of barges which he placed between the enemy's vessels and the shore, which were to prevent the Arabs from receiving re-inforcements when the signal for the attack was given.

They combated for three days. The Christians, though frequently repulsed by the Saracens, yet animated by the example of the pontiff, who charged at their head, ended by gaining the victory; the ranks of the barbarians bent before their efforts; almost all the infidels were killed, and their number was so great, that it was impossible to count the dead. The booty was divided on the field of battle. The pope received, for his share, the wife of the Saracen leader, who had been made prisoner, and who was of a marvellous beauty; but the cruel Benedict cut off her head with his own hand; himself despoiled the dead body, tearing from it a crescent of gold, and

the precious stones which ornamented her turban, and gave her corpse to his soldiers.

The pontiff then put off his warlike equipments, dressed himself in his sacerdotal garments, and celebrated a solemn mass, to thank Christ for this memorable victory. On the next day the Arab chief, exasperated by the loss of his army and the cruel death of his wife, sent one of his officers to the Christian camp; he laid at the feet of the pontiff a bag-full of chestnuts, and announced to him, that the number of Saracens who would come to Italy to avenge the death of their brethren, would surpass the number of the chestnuts. The warlike pontiff then caused them to bring a small bag of millet, and, handing it to the ambassador, thus spoke to him: "Say to your master, that if he returns a second time to the territory of St. Peter, he will find as many soldiers to defend it as I send him grains of millet."

A new act of cruelty on the part of Benedict is related at this period. An earthquake had been felt at Rome on the holy Friday after the adoration of the cross; the pope, having learned that the Jews were at the time celebrating religious ceremonies in their synagogue, ordered them all to be beheaded. These unfortunate persons were at once given up to the executioner, and after their punishment, adds the historian, the fury of the winds subsided, and the earth suffered no more from the horrible tremblings which shook the holy city!

It is generally supposed, that it was about the end of the year 1016, that a Norman lord named Ralph took refuge at Rome, to escape the vengeance of Duke Richard, whose daughter he had seduced. The sovereign pontiff was then threatened by the imperial governor of the Greek provinces, with a war of extermination if he refused to pay a considerable tribute; and already, joining actions to threats, had invaded a part of the province of Beneventum, which belonged to the apostolic throne. On one side, the avarice of the pope prevented him from consenting to pay the tribute exacted; on the other, the cowardice of the Romans left him no hope of opposing the incursions of the enemy.

In this extremity, Benedict besought Ralph to take the command of the troops of the church; and he, at the head of the Italians, took the field, marched upon Beneventum, and gained several signal victories over the army of Basil. The rumour of his exploits soon spread even to Normandy, and a multitude of the warriors of that province, abandoned their county, taking with them their wives and children, and joined Ralph, who incorporated them in his army.

Such was the beginning of the Norman sway in the Roman peninsula. Ralph, however, after a series of battles, in which he was always conqueror, perceived that his countrymen, decimated by the enemy, were reduced to some thousands of soldiers. He then resolved to pass the mountains, and go to Henry the Second, to ask for re-inforcements from him

Benedict the Eighth accompanied him into Germany for the same end, and to accelerate the succours which the emperor had promised him against the Greeks. The holy father celebrated the festival of Easter at Bamberg, and, on the following Sunday, consecrated the church of St. Stephen, which the prince then offered to the Roman church. He also gave to him the city of Bamberg, and its dependencies, joining to them an annual tribute of a white horse, richly caparisoned, and of a purse of a hundred marks of silver.

The pope then returned to his estates, to assist at a council which he had convoked at Pavia, and whose proceedings have been preserved by historians. At the opening of the synod Benedict read a long discourse, in which he strongly censured the licentious lives of the clergy; he accused the priests of dissipating in orgies the property they had received by the liberality of kings, and of employing the revenues of their churches in the support of their prostitutes, or to enrich their bastards. He invoked against them the canons of Nice, which recommended to ecclesiastics to preserve continence, and prohibited them from living with concubines; finally, he recalled to their remembrance the decrees of St. Sirious and St. Leo, who condemned the marriages of priests and even of sub-deacons.

The holy father called all the children of priests bastards; and maintained that children born of a free woman and of a clergyman, a serf of the church, should inherit the condition of their father. Some bishops wished to oppose to him this passage of St. Paul: "That every one should marry to shun fornication." He then broke out into violent language against the concubine-keepers who dared to oppose his decisions. He replied, that the apostle had not intended to apply this command to priests, but to laymen; and that those who should maintain this heresy should be excommunicated, as the followers of Jovinian had been by their fathers.

Benedict made a decree, divided into seven articles, to prohibit ecclesiastics from having wife or concubine; he extended it to all the clergy, regular and secular, without exception; he declared that the children of ecclesiastics should be regarded as serfs, and should belong to the dioceses, although their mothers were free women. He anathematized the judges who should render them their liberty; he prohibited, under penalty of stripes and imprisonment, any serf of the church from making any acquisitions in the name of a freeman, until the bishop had given him all the rights of one. Henry the Second, at the entreaty of Benedict, confirmed these different decrees by an ordinance, also divided into seven articles, and added the penalty of temporal punishments to the spiritual pains, in order to assure their execution.

The emperor, who had come into Italy with his troops to oppose the invasions of the Greeks, united his army to the intrepid bands of the Normans, who were already commencing to form a kingdom on the shores of the Adriatic. The Greeks were defeated in every encounter; Ralph retook from them all the places they had occupied in Campania; he drove them from Apulia, enclosed them in a corner of Calabria, and finally finished by driving them entirely out of Italy. Robert the Second, king of France, accompanied by Enguerrand, abbot of Saint Niquier, and several ecclesiastical dignitaries, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and was admitted to kiss the feet of the pope. We are ignorant of the precise period at which the prince accomplished this pious journey.

After a reign of twelve years, the pope died in the palace of the Lateran, at the beginning of the year 1024, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

A great number of authors gravely relate the numerous apparitions of Benedict the Eighth. Platinus assures us that a prelate saw the ghost of the holy father, robed in his pontifical ornaments, and mounted on a black horse. The bishop having asked the phantom which way he was going, the pontiff seized him forcibly by the arm, and lifting him from the earth, bore him to a place in which was concealed treasures, which he ordered him to distribute to the poor, to allay the sufferings he was enduring in another life as a punishment for his rapine.

Sigebert and Petrus Damnianus also affirm that the pope appeared to his successor, and besought his prayers to moderate the fires of purgatory, in which he was condemned to remain a thousand years on account of his crimes.

Vincent de Beauvais, the reader to the king St. Louis, who lived two hundred years later, relates with simplicity, that the decree which condemned Benedict was conditional; and that a monk of Cluny had a revelation in which the Holy Virgin announced to him, that the pope would be freed from his pains by their prayers, and the merits of St. Odillon their abbot; that the monks then redoubled their austerities, and obtained his deliverance; that the dead pontiff came himself to thank them one day when they were praying in church; that he apprised them of his happy release from the flames of Etna, and painted to them the sublime joys which he tasted in the heavenly Jerusalem. This passage, from the pious Vincent of Beauvais, leads us to suppose that the place chosen for purgatory, is the island of Sicily.

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JOHN was elevated to the Holy See by the faction of his brother Alberic, count of Tuscanella and Segni. He succeeded his brother, Benedict the Eighth, under the name of John the Nineteenth. Some authors maintain, that before being named pontiff, he already occupied the See of Porto; but historians, whose testimony is the most entitled to credit, maintain on the contrary that he was a mere layman. Thus, the freedom of election which the pious Henry had restored, served but to favour the intrigues of the Roman lords, and to consolidate the power of the patricians.

As soon as this new exaltation was known at Constantinople, the patriarch sent ambassadors to Rome to propose to the holy father to sell him the title of pope of the Greek church. The deputies, bearing rich presents, were favourably received by John, and the bargain was on the point of being concluded, when the noise of it spread abroad, and clamours rose from all parts of Christendom, which forced the pontiff to forbear concluding such a scandal.

Guy, a monk of Arezzo, lived at this period and invented the gamut; it is related, that struck by the difficulties which the methods of teaching the music for religious singing presented, he imagined the notation of sounds and composed a new system of music in connection with Michael, a monk of Pomposia, who laboured with him in this discovery.

We give a letter of the celebrated monk, in which he describes an interview he had with the pope: "I hope, he wrote to his friend, that those who shall come after us, will pray for the remission of our sins; for they will be enabled to learn from us in a single year, that which they could not have acquired before under ten years of hard study. Pope John, who now governs the Roman church, having heard of our school, and of the manner in which our antiphonal teaches children in a few hours, chants which were unknown to them, has sent me messengers instructed to bring me to him. I went to Rome with Gregory, the abbot of Milan, and Peter, prevoist of the canons of Arezzo, a very learned man for our times. His holiness received me joyfully, and kept me a long time perusing our method, which he regarded as wonderful. The pontiff studied the rules, and was unwilling to terminate the audience, without having learned from the antiphonal a verse,

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Some time after a synod of French bishops was held at Limoges, who reformed the judgments of the pope, and prohibited the court of Rome from selling absolution to the excommunicated to the insult of their bishops. Eujelric, a canon of Paris, thus spoke in the convention. "You know, my brethren, that the venerable Stephen, bishop of Clermont, had anathematized Ponce, count of Auvergne, for having deserted his lawful wife and married the wife of another. In his just indignation he refused to pardon this lord, until he amended his wrongs; but the guilty man dared to present himself at Rome, and bought absolution from the holy father himself. When we were advised of this act of simony, we addressed strong reproaches to the pontiff. He declared to us that he had been taken by surprise, and that he would have rejected Ponce from the church, had he known all the circumstances of the affair. I declare then to you, my brethren, chiefs of dioceses, that the popes have no right to oppose our decisions, and that they cannot but approve them and lend them the aid of their authority."

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The synod was then occupied with measures to put an end to the disorders of the kingdom, for since the reign of Louis the good-natured, the sovereign authority was no longer re-

spected in the provinces which composed the empire of Charlemagne. In France, Germany, and Italy, each lord administered justice with arms in his hands, and the dukes, marquises, and counts, made terrible wars among themselves. Cities were abandoned to pillage, the inhabitants were mercilessly put to death; and cultivators of the soil, citizens, merchants, and even serfs, were treated as wild beasts by the nobles and kings. The clergy themselves were no longer respected. Their riches having excited the cupidity of the lords, the monasteries were sacked, the nuns violated, and the churches burned.

To the disasters of these wars of extermination were added the horrors of famine; men devoured each other, and a large number of unfortunates were condemned to be burned for having eaten human flesh. During three years that the scourge lasted, the living were not sufficiently numerous to bury the dead, and they piled up the dead bodies in charnel houses.

Notwithstanding these public calamities, the nobles, like hideous vultures, tore down the cities, and disputed for the dead bodies to despoil them.

Finally, at the council of Limoges, the fathers determined to strike a great blow, and to use even the authority of God to arrest the disorders. A solemn sitting was announced through all the provinces, and the faithful were invited to the council. At the opening of the sitting, after the usual prayers, a bishop rose and addressed the crowd, which pressed into an immense hall: "I am about to announce to you," he said, "great news, my brethren; Jesus Christ himself has sent me letters from heaven, to order me to re-establish peace on earth. I propose to submit them to a commission for examination, who can then inform you of the will of God." Ten bishops were designated for this important verification; they, after having studied the letter which was presented to them, declared upon

the holy host, that it was really from Jesus Christ. The council, in consequence, thereof, ordered that this letter should be sent to all the churches of Christendom, and that men of all ranks should be obliged to conform to the instructions which it contained. These instructions were ridiculous and obscene. They prohibited the faithful from having connection with their wives, except on certain days; they recommended to them to fast on Fridays on bread and water, and to abstain from flesh on Saturdays. They prohibited them from taking up arms to avenge themselves on an enemy, or to seize upon the property of monasteries; they permitted men to play with the nuns, but not to violate them. . . . . In every diocese the faithful were sworn upon the Bible, religiously to observe these precepts, under penalty of excommunication, confiscation of property, and privation of sepulchral rites. Such was, according to Raudry, bishop of Noyon, the origin of the holy truce.

The assembly at Limoges was also occupied by several rules to arrest the political ambition of the court of Rome, and to free the goods of the French clergy from the cupidity of the pontiff, by maintaining the liberties of the Gallican church.

John the Nineteenth, by his debauchery, exactions, and tyranny, at length rendered himself so odious to the Romans, that a conspiracy was formed against his life; but as he never went out unless surrounded by his satellites, the conspirators resolved to take up arms; they assembled in the public places, excited the people and besieged the palace of the Lateran. The holy father escaped from Rome, and took refuge in Germany with Conrad the Second, who in the end, established him by force of arms, and punished the seditious.

This pontiff, say the old chroniclers, reconquered his throne at the point of the sword. He died on the 8th of November, 1033, after a reign of nine years and some months.

## BENEDICT THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1033.]

*Simoniacal election of the nephew of John the Nineteenth, who is ordained at the age of twelve years—The emperor Conrad holds a parliament at Pavia—Insolence of the bishop of Milan—Disturbances in Poland—Prince Casimir freed from his vows, and crowned king of Poland—Benedict driven from Rome.*

AFTER the death of John the Nineteenth, the faction of the marquises and counts of Tuscanella endeavoured to place one of the members of their family on the Holy See. Intrigues, money, and threats, procured the election of Theophylactus, nephew of the two preceding popes, and the son of Alberic, count of Tusculum. He was enthroned at the age of twelve, under the name of Benedict the Ninth.

This pontiff soiled the chair of St. Peter with so many crimes and debaucheries, that Cardinal Benno accuses him of having employed witchcraft and enchantments, and of having given to his mistresses love-philters, which rendered them desperately enamoured of his person. He affirms, that he sacrificed to demons, and assisted at the assemblies of magicians, in the woods at night.

Some years after the exaltation of Benedict, the emperor Conrad made a new descent into Lombardy, to subdue the lords, who had taken up arms against his authority; he went to Pavia, where he held a parliament, for the purpose of interrogating in person, Heribert, archbishop of Milan, concerning the extortions with which he was charged. But the proud prelate dared to make this insolent reply to the prince: "Whatsoever I have found in the domains of St. Ambrose, or whatsoever I have acquired, be it in what way it is, I shall take care of during my life, and will not surrender the least of it."

The emperor, in his indignation, ordered him to be arrested and confided to the charge of Poppin, archbishop of Aquileia, and of Conrad, duke of Carinthia, who were to conduct him to Placenza. When he arrived in this last city, the archbishop claimed the assistance of a monk to aid him in his devotions. His request was granted; but one night, whilst the monk slept, he took his garments, deceived the guards by his disguise, and escaped to Milan, where he resisted, for a whole year, the troops sent against him.

Heribert, not content with launching excommunications against the emperor, stirred up the bishops of the adjoining dioceses, and by means of his intrigues, succeeded in forming a vast conspiracy, whose aim was to displace Conrad from his throne, and elevate in his place, Otho, the count of Upper Burgundy. The plan having been discovered, the bishops of Verceil, Cremona, and Placenza were arrested and conducted beyond the Alps, into the prisons of the empire. Heribert, still shut up in Milan, and beyond the reach of the prince, was unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation which the holy father made him. Benedict finally deposed him from his See and anathematized him. Conrad gave his bishopric to a noble named Ambrose, and a baron of the same diocese; but he could not put his protégé in possession of his church: the excommunicated archbishop maintained himself in it in defiance of the emperor, and seized on the domains which Ambrose possessed about the city.

Conrad was soon compelled even to suspend the operations of the siege, to succour the pontiff who had been driven from Rome, on account of his depredations. This prince, who had, from motives of policy, declared himself the protector of the counts of Tuscanella, led back the young pope, who had then attained his eighteenth year, in triumph to the holy city.

Events were transpiring in Poland; King Miecizlas died, and Richenza, his widow, had incurred universal hatred by endeavouring to weigh down the people beneath the yoke of a despotic government. The virtuous citizens of the kingdom addressed sage remonstrances to her, advising her to change her conduct and mode of government. Richenza having despised their warnings, they refused all obedience to her; the people took up arms, seized upon the palace, and drove away this

proud queen in disgrace. But she carried with her the royal treasures and the crown jewels, and retired with her son Casimir, into Germany, from whence she intrigued to return. The young prince traversed Hungary, and went to France to visit the celebrated abbey of Cluny; the holiness of its inhabitants so impressed his mind, that he resolved to dedicate himself to God. He was admitted into the abbey, and pronounced his vows in the name of Charles.

Poland was entirely abandoned to the disorders which the ambition of neighbouring princes excited in the provinces; the Christian religion was abandoned; bands of peasants, led by nobles, ravaged the country, and devastated the churches, and, finally, Bretislaus, duke of Bohemia, under pretext of protecting the priests, entered upon the Polish territories and seized upon the most important cities of the country; amongst others, of Gnesna, which was the capital. This prince laying aside all shame, proceeded, with the bishop of Prague, who accompanied him in his expeditions, to pillage the churches. They carried off from the cathedral of Gnesna, a golden crucifix weighing three hundred pounds, three valuable tables enriched with precious stones, and even the body of St. Adalbert; but we are assured, that the clergy, deceiving their sacrilegious greediness, placed in stead of the reliques of the martyr, those of St. Gudence his brother.

To put an end to these depredations, Stephen, the metropolitan of that See, sent a deputation to the sovereign pontiff, who cited the guilty to appear at the court of Rome. They immediately sent ambassadors, who explained to the pope that their intention was to do homage to the memory of the holy martyr Adalbert, and that they had exercised a legitimate right of conquest in seizing upon his remains. They strengthened their reasonings, by a large sum of money, and Theophylactus declared that they were innocent of the crimes with which they were charged.

The Poles, worn out by anarchy and the evils it carries in its train, assembled in a general diet to remedy the disasters. After having deliberated at length, the assembly determined to send an embassy to the young Casimir, to offer him the crown. For this purpose they chose several deputies, who went to France and obtained permission from St. Odillon, the superior of the monastery, to visit the prince. They thus spoke to him: "We come, prince, in the name of the lords and of all the nobility of Poland, to beseech you to have pity upon that kingdom, to remount its throne and free it from its enemies." Casimir replied to them: "That he belonged no longer to the world, and could not even listen to them without the permission of his abbot. The deputies then addressed the same request to St. Odillon; who, considering that he had not the power to free a professed monk and ordained deacon from his vows, sent them to the holy father.

Benedict at first refused to restore Casimir's



to his people; gold and presents, little by little, overcame his resistance, and, finally, the promise of an annual tribute obtained for the prince, not only permission to leave his monastery and return to his dignities, but even to marry. An author affirms, that this tribute was levied with great rigour, not on the nobles or clergy, but on the unfortunate people, who have been obliged, ever since that

period, to cut their hair behind their ears in the fashion of the monks. Casimir married a Russian princess, and his reign commenced in 1004.

The pope Theophylactus became daily more odious to the Romans, until finally, after twelve years of rapine, murders, rapes, and robberies, the people drove him from the holy city.

### SYLVESTER THE THIRD, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*John, bishop of Sabine, buys the pontifical throne and reigns three months—Benedict the Ninth returns with an army—The people rise against him a second time—He sells the tiara to a priest named John.*

AFTER the expulsion of Benedict the Ninth, the bishop of Sabine, one of those who had disputed for the chair of St. Peter with Theophylactus, spent his money among the people, promised dignities and offices to the clergy, and obtained the papacy on the day succeeding Christmas, 1044. He was ordained under the name of Sylvester the Third, and his reign lasted three months.

Benedict the Ninth, by the assistance of the counts of Tuscanella, his relatives, levied armed bands, which traversed the country of Rome, insulted the citizens, and devastated the farms. To put an end to the incendiarisms and murders of these brigands, the holy city was compelled to open its gates to the unworthy pontiff, who remounted the apostolic throne.

But his debaucheries and exactions soon excited a new revolt, and to avoid the effects of the indignation of the people, he resolved to abandon the government of the church.

He, however, judged that it would be unworthy of him to lay down the pontificate without drawing important advantages from it, and he sold his tiara for fifteen thousand pounds of gold to a priest named John; he then retired to the palace of the count of Tusculum, his father.

In the midst of this universal depravity, a holy monk, Peter Damien, raised his voice to endeavour to lead back men to the sentiments of virtue. This religious had at first professed human literature with great success; but, guided by an heavenly inspiration, he had quitted the vanities of the world to give himself up to the study of science, in the silence of the cloister. From beneath the frock of the monk, this philosopher gave useful advice to popes and kings; sought to enlighten the people, and prepared the germs of that formidable revolution which was to go on increasing until it should one day overthrow the powerful of the earth.

### JOHN THE TWENTIETH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1045.]

*John consecrated by Benedict—Shameful conduct of the trio—Their debaucheries and crimes—They sell the pontificate to a fourth pope.*

BENEDICT consecrated the priest to whom he had sold the tiara, and enthroned him under the name of John the Twentieth. But Sylvester the Third, who had acquired the papacy by an equally criminal simony, wished to reclaim his rights to the throne of the apostle. He entered Rome, seized upon the Vatican, and defended himself courageously against the troops of the anti-pope, his competitor.

Benedict, on his side, having dissipated the price of his infamous bargain, conceived the project of retaking the chair of St. Peter, to sell it a second time. He levied new bands

of soldiers, re-entered the palace of the Lateran by force, and drove away the pontiff whom he had himself established. Thus were seen in Rome three popes; one holding his See in St. John the Lateran, another at St. Peter's, and the third, at St. Maria Majora: Jesus Christ had three vicars, Benedict the Ninth, Sylvester the Third, and John the Twentieth!! and, as if the disgrace had not yet reached its height, these priests made an abominable compact among themselves, to divide the spoils of the people, and the patrimony of the poor.

Cotemporary authors affirm, that those three demons, unchained from hell, assembled each night in monstrous orgies with their minions, and filled Rome with adultery, robbery and murder; finally, when they had exhausted the treasures of St. Peter, they put up the apostolical throne, for the fourth time, at auction.

## GREGORY THE SIXTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1045.]

*Simoniacal election of John Gratian—He is enthroned under the name of Gregory the Sixth—Contradictory opinions in relation to him—Council of Pavia—Gregory convicted of simony and deposed.*

A RICH Roman priest, named John Gratian, offered the highest price to the three execrable anti-popes. They gave him the preference; the bargain was concluded on the very altar of Christ itself, and they consecrated John by the name of Gregory the Sixth.

Several ecclesiastical writers have glorified this unworthy priest, for having overthrown this monstrous trinity, but though the monk Glaber exalts the virtues and the piety of Gregory, we must own that the moving spring of his conduct did not arise from the spirit of the apostolic doctrine, but from the immoderate desire of possessing the tiara. From the beginning of his reign, Gratian knew that he must cause the scandal of his election to be forgotten by his hypocrisy; he therefore applied himself to govern the church with the appearance of moderation, and reformed some abuses. But soon finding himself absolute master in Rome, he joined cruelty to avarice; put to death by torture, the most opulent citizens, for the purpose of confiscating their property. He soon repaired by his exactions the sacrifices he had been obliged to make in order to purchase the tiara.

Unhappy Italy, ruined by its pontiffs, saw the number of robbers increase with the pub-

lic misery; the roads were infested by them; pilgrims dared no longer traverse its provinces, except in large bands; the cities even were filled with assassins, who murdered citizens upon the very altars, and carried off by force, the offerings which were deposited on the tomb of the apostles.

Gregory wished to arrest the sacrileges which diminished his income, and published a decree prohibiting people from stealing the property of the church; but his bull having no favourable result, he tried the thunders of excommunication. This violent measure did but irritate the guilty; a meeting was held near the patriarchal palace, and threats of death to Gregory were heard. The holy father then sent his troops, and shut up the rebels in the church of St. Peter, where a frightful massacre took place.

These bloody executions were disapproved of, even by the clergy, who refused any longer to obey the pope. The cardinals and principal prelates of Italy addressed their complaints to Henry the Black, who went immediately into Lombardy and convoked a council to judge the pontiff. Gregory was convicted of having bought the apostolic throne, and condemned, after a reign of seventy months, to be deposed.

## CLEMENT THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1046.]

*Degradation of the Roman clergy—Election of Sudiger, bishop of Bamberg—He is ordained by the name of Clement the Second—His birth and character—Council of Rome—The fathers regulate the right of precedency among the Italian prelates—Letter of Father Damian to the pope—Death of Clement the Second.*

AFTER the deposition of Gregory the Sixth, the Holy See was declared vacant. Henry the Black went to Rome, and having convoked the clergy, the senate, and the chiefs of the corporations, in the church of St. Peter, he ordered them to proceed immediately to the

election of a sovereign pontiff. The prince commanded the assembly of bishops to designate to him a Roman priest worthy to occupy the apostolic chair; they replied that in sorrow of heart, they must avow that the clergy of the Holy See were so degraded, that

they did not know a single priest worthy to be elevated to the chair of St. Peter. The emperor himself then designated as pope, the venerable Sudiger, bishop of Bamberg, who was consecrated by the name of Clement the Second.

Sudiger was a Saxon, and the chancellor of the emperor; merit alone had elevated him to the dignity of a bishop; and his humility was such, that they were obliged to use violence in order to array him in the pontifical garments. After his ordination, he convoked a council, at which the prince assisted, for the purpose of regulating the right of precedence among the Italian bishops, and to prevent the ridiculous disputes of rivalry.

On the opening of the first session, the archbishop of Milan had not arrived; the patriarch of Aquileia placed himself on the right of the pope, leaving the seat of the emperor, which was placed immediately by the side of the holy father, vacant: the metropolitan of Ravenna seated himself on the left of Clement the Second. Humphrey, the new chancellor of Henry the Black, the titular of the See of Milan, entered in his turn, and, finding the first place occupied, he seated himself on the imperial seat, which was at the right of the pontiff. The bishops of Ravenna and Aquileia immediately exclaimed against it, claiming the same honour for themselves. Humphrey produced a catalogue of bishops who had assisted at a council held by Symmachus, and in which the metropolitan of Milan was inscribed in the first place. His adversaries also cited a decree of the successor of Symmachus, importing that the prelate of Ravenna had yielded the precedence for that time only, and that it should not be regarded as a precedent for the future; whereas, he should occupy the seat on the right of the pope unless the emperor was present at the synod, in which case, he should seat himself on the left of the holy father. On his side, the patriarch of Aquileia exhibited a privilege of Pope John the Nineteenth, which granted to him the precedence on the right. The assembly gravely deliberated on this ridiculous question, and the precedence was granted to the church of Ravenna.

At the same council, it was decided that priests who had been simoniacally ordained,

might, nevertheless, exercise the sacerdotal functions, after a suspension of forty days, and the payment of a fine to the Holy See.

Henry left Rome and went to Apulia, accompanied by Clement the Second, whom he constrained to excommunicate the citizens of Beneventum, who refused to open the gates of their city to him. Arrived at Salerno, they published a bull on the 21st of March, 1047, in which he gave to Prince Gaimar authority to transfer John, bishop of Pestane, to the archiepiscopal See of Salerno, with authority to ordain seven suffragans in the adjoining cities.

During his sojourn in Italy, the emperor had invited Peter Damien to go to Rome to aid the pope with his counsels, but he excused himself with humility, and wrote to the holy father: "The prince has ordered me several times to come to you, to give an account of the scandalous conduct of our clergy; he has even confided to my care a letter which he has addressed to you, and of which I beseech you to take cognizance. I do not wish to lose my time in traversing the provinces, in order to be a witness of the abominations of bishops, priests, and monks, for it is of no service to us to proclaim, that the Holy See has emerged from darkness into light, if we remain always in darkness.

"Of what advantage is it to have provisions in the granaries, if the poor die of famine? What avails a good sword, if one knows not how to draw it from the scabbard? Have we not seen that prelate who is called the robber of Hano, even him who had been excommunicated by false popes, as well as him of Ossimo, and others besides, who were laden with unheard-of crimes, return, however, from the holy city, covered with honours? Our hope is now changed into sadness; we had thought that you would be the redeemer of Israel, and you deceive our expectations, by selling justice in the temple of Christ."

Henry the Black, knowing the hatred of the Romans towards popes who were chosen by the German princes, was unwilling to leave his protégé exposed to the vengeance of his enemies. He took him back with him into Saxony, where Clement died soon after, on the 19th of October, 1047, having held the pontifical See nine months and a half. He was buried at Bamberg.

## BENEDICT THE NINTH, REMOUNTS THE HOLY SEE FOR THE -FOURTH TIME.

[A. D. 1047.]

*Gregory the Sixth dies in exile—Commencement of Hildebrand—The Romans demand a pope—Benedict the Ninth seizes the Holy See for the fourth time—Is again forced to renounce it.*

BEFORE his departure from Rome, the emperor had exiled Gregory the Sixth into Ger- many, to prevent him from undertaking any thing against Clement. We are ignorant

what became of him in this strange land. He most probably died at the period at which his disciple Hildebrand retired to the monastery of Cluny, of which he afterwards became the abbot. This monk, foiled in his ambition, wished to avenge himself on Henry, by publicly censuring the council of Sutri, which had granted to that prince the power to expel a pontiff.

After the death of Clement the Second, the Romans, however, who were bound by a solemn oath not to choose a pope, without the consent of the emperor, rejected the counsels of Hildebrand, and sent into Germany an embassy, instructed to obtain the confirmation of the celebrated Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, as the sovereign pontiff.

During the absence of the ambassadors, Benedict the Ninth, the perjurer, the adulterer, the incestuous and the bederast, as the abbot of Foss-Avellano, calls him, left the city of Pesarò, where he had taken refuge, returned to Rome at the head of a troop of brigands, and seized upon the throne of the church for the fourth time. With him simony, pillage, murder, licentiousness, reappeared on the throne of the apostle. After a reign of eight months

and a half, however, Theophylactus was again obliged to abandon the Holy See, to shun the anger of the emperor.

Before leaving Rome, he wished to prepare the means of returning to it, and imagined this singular drama. He besought Bartholomew, abbot of Grotte Ferrée, to come to him. On the approach of the venerable cenobite, he appeared touched with repentance, confessed his crimes, and announced that he had taken the resolution to abandon the sacerdotal functions, in order to repent. He did, in fact, leave the apostolic chair on the 17th of July, 1048, the day of the festival of Alexis. The abbot Bartholomew was the most renowned saint at that period. He passed all his life in almost absolute solitude, occupying himself in composing hymns in honour of the Virgin, or in transcribing manuscripts for the library of his abbey. His love of justice and his eloquence had acquired a great reputation for him in Italy, and princes frequently chose him as the arbiter of their differences. But, in the affair of the holy father, all his wisdom and sagacity were at fault, and his presence at Rome only served to screen the ambitious projects of Benedict.

## DAMASUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1048.]

*The emperor sends a pope to the Romans who is ordained by the name of Damasus the Second—He reigns twenty-three days—Benedict accused of having poisoned him—He seizes on the chair for the fifth time, and is again driven from Rome.*

WHEN Benedict the Ninth had quitted the Holy See, Poppon, bishop of Brixen, arrived at the court of Rome, sent by the emperor who had named him sovereign pontiff. He was immediately ordained by the name of Damasus the Second. But his new elevation was fatal to him, for he only occupied the pontifical chair for twenty-three days, and died at Preneste on the 8th of August, 1048. He was interred in the church of St. Lawrence, without the walls of the city.

Theophylactus is accused of having poison-

ed the new pope; in fact, on the very day of the death of Damasus, sustained by the soldiers of the counts of Tuscanella, he remounted, for the fifth time, the pontifical throne. After a reign of six months, the Romans, fatigued with the rule of this infamous usurper, sent two lords as deputies to Germany, to beseech Henry the Black, to send a venerable priest who could re-establish discipline in the church and worthily occupy the chair of the apostle.

## LEO THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1048.]

*The famous diet of Worms—Bruno bishop of Toul, is chosen pope—Character of the pontiff—Bold stroke of the monk Hildebrand—The holy father goes to Rome in a pilgrim's garment—Visions of the pope—He is consecrated under the name of Leo the Ninth—Disinterestedness of the pontiff—Councils of Rome and Pavia—Origin of the commemoration of the dead—The pope goes to France and dedicates the church of St. Remy—Council of Rheims—Privileges granted to the monastery of St. Maurice—The bishop of Spire accused of adultery in the council of Mayence—History of the doctrine of Berenger—Singular letter from Berenger to Lanfranc—The bishop of Langres writes against Berenger—Councils of Rome, Verceil and Paris on the doctrines of Berenger and the works of John Scotus concerning the eucharist—Complaints of Berenger against his persecutors—The metropolitan of Ravenna is poisoned by order of Leo the Ninth—Writings of Damian on the debaucheries of the clergy—Foundation of the abbey of Chaise-Dieu—The reliques of St. Denis the Areopagite—Firmness of the archbishop of Mayence—Complaints of the pope against the Normans—The holy father risks his life in the council of Mantua—Leo the Ninth declares war on the Normans, and places himself at the head of his troops—He is made prisoner—He is forced in order to recover his freedom, to absolve the Normans from the excommunication launched against them—Letter of the pope to the patriarch of Antioch—Letter of Michael Cerularius on the unleavened bread and the Sabbath—Reply of the pontiff—Reply of Cerularius—death of Leo the Ninth.*

AFTER the death of Damasus the Second, the emperor held a diet at Worms, that is, a general assembly of the prelates and lords of his German states. They designated Bruno, the bishop of Toul, as being the most worthy to occupy the Holy See.

The prelate was of the illustrious house of Alsace and Lorraine, and the cousin of Henry the Black; he obtained the papacy at the age of forty-six years, after having been bishop of Toul for twenty-two years. A benevolent character, an exemplary piety, and an agreeable exterior, caused him to be loved by priests and people. His devotion to St. Peter was so great, that he made a yearly pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostle, and went accompanied by a crowd of pilgrims which he recruited on the way. In the course of his apostolical labours he had, in connection with the venerable Guidric, reformed several monasteries. He had negotiated a peace some years before, between Rodolph, the lord of Burgundy and Robert king of France, and was finally much engaged with the sciences, and especially with music. Notwithstanding all these qualities, whether it was from indifference, modesty, fear or perhaps a baneful presentiment, when he heard of his election to the pontifical throne, he refused the dignity and demanded three days for a decision. This delay was granted to him. He passed these three days in church, observing the most rigorous fast, and remaining constantly in prayer. He then confessed his sins, and requested them, with tears, to leave him in his bishopric of Toul, or at least that his election should be submitted to the consent of the Roman clergy and people. This last condition having been acceded to, he returned to his diocese to celebrate Christmas. The bishops Hugh, Eberhard, Adalberon and Thierry accompanied him on his journey.

But Hildebrand, the disciple of Gregory, that monk who was eaten up by ambition, and whom we have seen condemn the predominance of temporal power over spiritual authority, becoming tired of a cloistered life and his title of prior, conceived the design of raising himself to the chair of St. Peter. Nevertheless, before seizing on the throne of the church, he wished to render the papacy as redoubtable as his pride demanded. Availing himself of the journey of Bruno, who was then traversing Burgundy and who had stopped to visit the celebrated abbey of Cluny, he received him with all the honours due to the supreme head of the church; he understood so well the art of gaining the confidence of the holy father, that this latter determined, by his perfidious advice, to refuse the pontifical dignity which had been offered him by the emperor. He pointed out to him that it would not only be disgraceful but even very dangerous for him to receive the tiara from a prince. He recalled to his recollection, that the popes his predecessors, who had been elevated to the Holy See by the protection of the emperors, had almost all died a violent death; he persuaded him that it was possible to render to God that which belonged to him, without despising the sacred rights of him who represented him on earth, and that he could reconcile the interests of Heaven and the world, by going to Rome without pomp, as a simple Christian who goes to perform his devotions at the tomb of the apostles. "The people and the clergy," said Hildebrand to him, "will be surprised at your modesty; you will be no longer in their eyes the pontiff who has been imposed on them by the authority of the prince, and they will reward, by a regular election, the priest who shall have entered the holy fold as the true shepherd."

Leo, seduced by this specious reasoning,

disrobed himself of his pontifical garments, and in the garb of a pilgrim, went secretly towards the apostolic city, accompanied by the monk of Cluny. During his journey, the holy father stopped in all the churches, and offered up his prayers. It is related that in the city of Augsburg, he had a vision and heard a voice which cried out to him: "I think of thoughts of peace . . ." and the conclusion of these words taken from Jeremiah. This voice, which was none other than that of the monk of Cluny, strengthened his resolution, and finally, after a journey of two months, he entered the holy city. The clergy, the lords, and the people, who had been forewarned by Hildebrand, ran before the pontiff singing songs of gladness. Leo then descended from his horse, and went with naked feet to the church of St. Peter.

After having finished his prayers at the tomb of the apostle, Leo turned to his assistants and said to them: "The most illustrious emperor, Henry the Black, has named me chief of the universal church; but this election not having been canonically made, since your suffrages, by the decisions of the holy fathers and the councils, should precede all others, I declare then to you that I have come among you in accordance with the will of my prince, but that I will return to my diocese, unless you unanimously proclaim me sovereign pontiff of Rome." Acclamations of joy responded to his words, and Leo was enthroned on the same day, which was the 12th February, 1049.

On the 20th of March of the same year, the pope convoked the bishops of Italy and Gaul in a council, for the purpose of declaring all simoniacal ordinations null. The number of these sacrilegious nominations was, however, so great, that wise men feared lest divine service should be interrupted in the churches, and they contented themselves with confirming the decree of Clement the Second, which provided that those who had been consecrated through simony, should exercise their functions after forty days of penance, and the payment of a fine.

Leo the Ninth, decreed that apostate clerks who abandoned their heresies to reunite themselves to the Catholic church, should preserve their rank, but without being able to be promoted to higher dignities. He also approved of the change of John, bishop of Toscanello, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Porto; he confirmed his See in the enjoyment of all the property of his diocese, and amongst the rest, in that of the Island of St. Bartholomew at Rome, which had been contested with him by the bishop of St. Sabine, and he permitted him to exercise all episcopal functions beyond the Tiber, which proves that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the holy city did not extend beyond the walls. A month afterwards, the holy father convoked a new synod at Pavia; he then passed the Alps and went into Germany to visit the emperor. During this journey, he confirmed the privileges of the abbey of Cluny, by a bull, dated the 11th of June, 1049, and which was

addressed to Hugh, the ruler of that monastery, since the death of St. Odilon.

This holy abbot had, before his death, established a ceremony, which had extended into other dioceses of Gaul, called the commemoration of the dead. Authors thus relate the origin of this new institution: "A valiant knight was returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when having lost his way among the sands of Palestine, he encountered a venerable hermit, who recognizing him to be a Frenchman, asked him if he had ever heard of the monastery of Cluny, and the abbot Odilon. The pilgrim having replied in the affirmative by a nod of his head, the hermit immediately said to him: "God has revealed to me that this holy man has the power to deliver souls from the penalties which they suffer in another life; I beseech you then, my brother, when you shall have returned to Gaul, to go to him and exhort him, and also the monks of his community, to continue their prayers and alms for the dead."

The knight on returning to France, went into Burgundy and came to Cluny, where he repeated the words of the hermit to the monks of that convent; the venerable Odilon then ordered, that on the 1st of November of every year, they should solemnly celebrate, in the church of the abbey, the commemoration of all the faithful who had died since the world began. "On that day, after the chapter was holden, the dean and cellarers, gave alms of bread and wine to all comers, and the steward collected the remains of the dinner of the brotherhood to distribute to the poor. After vesper, they rang all the bells together, and chanted the prayers for the dead; the next day after matins, they again rang the bells of the convent. On the third day a holy mass was solemnly celebrated; two monks chanted the passage and each distributed alms to twelve poor persons." This practice soon extended into other monasteries, and became common to the whole Catholic church, after having undergone slight modifications.

Before his election, Leo had promised to Herimar, an abbot of St. Remy, to dedicate th. new church, which that abbot had built in his convent; when it was finished, the holy father went to Toul at the time of the exaltation of the holy cross, to fulfil his promise; at the same time he sent commands to the prelates of Gaul to convoke a council which he wished to hold at Rheims on the 1st of October, after the ceremony was over.

But the lay lords who were guilty of incestuous marriages, and several simoniacal bishops, who feared ecclesiastical censures, represented to the king of France, that the crown would be disgraced, if he permitted a pope to command in the kingdom, and convoked councils without his authority. They observed to him, that none of his ancestors had granted permission to the pontiffs to enter their cities, without their indicating the motive, which led to the convocation of the councils. They represented to him, that these assemblages demanded peaceful times, whilst new his king-

dom was in great confusion, which would only increase the claims of the holy father. Finally, they said to the prince, that instead of yielding deference to the will of Leo, he would more promptly obtain his end by placing impositions on the property of the bishops and convents, which possessed considerable domains, and especially by not sparing the rich monastery of St. Remy, on account of this new evidence of the pride of its abbot, who had wished a pontiff to dedicate his church.

These representations were addressed by Guebin, bishop of Laon, in the name of the clergy, and by Hugh, count of Braine, in that of the nobility. Henry then wrote to his holiness that the cares of his kingdom prevented him from being at Rheims on the day fixed for holding the synod, and he besought him to delay his journey into France, until the troubles were at an end, that he might be enabled to render him the honours due to his rank. Leo, urged on by the monk Hildebrand, replied sharply to the monarch, that he should hold the council with those whom he found there, and without any other notice he entered France. He arrived in the city of Rheims, without receiving any honours by the way, and only accompanied by the metropolitans of Treves, Lyons and Besançon, and the bishops of Senlis, Nevers, and Angers, who had come to meet him with the ecclesiastics, and monks of St. Remy.

Leo at first remained in the abbey which was situated without the walls of the city; he then went with the same train towards the cathedral, where he took possession of the seat of the archbishop, and celebrated divine service; after which, he went to the great archiepiscopal palace. On the last day of September, the pope left Rheims during the night, accompanied by two chaplains, and returned to St. Remy, where he bathed and shaved in preparation for the ceremony. As soon as the day appeared, he shut himself up in an edifice in the rear of the church, because the in-pouring of the people was so great, that it was impossible to celebrate divine service in the church of the convent. The credulous and simple had assembled, not only from the neighbouring cities and country, but even from distant provinces, to assist at the dedication of the new church. All devotedly kissed the tomb of St. Remy, and deposited rich offerings upon the altar. The enthusiasm was so great that those who could not approach the blessed saint, cast their offerings upon his sepulchre. The monks were occupied all day in receiving the offerings of the faithful, and in carrying them into the treasury of the convent. The holy father showed himself, from time to time, in one of the galleries to bestow his benediction, and he excited the charity of the stupid people by exclaiming: "Give, give to St. Remy." Finally, towards night, the monks worn out with mounting into their chambers to put away their presents, drove the people from the church. The crowd poured out in silence, and remained on their

knees, without the gate of the holy place, during the whole night.

On the next day, at daybreak, the monks entered the church, bearing the body of St. Corneille, which the clergy of Compiègne had carried to the cathedral, to save from profanation, and deposited it upon a sacred altar, in order to give fresh food for the charity of the faithful. At the third hour, the pontiff, clothed in sacerdotal ornaments, accompanied by four metropolitans and several abbots, approached from the tomb of the blessed Remy; the shrine of the saint was drawn from the sepulchre; the pope himself carried it on his shoulders, and having given it to the care of the four archbishops, he retired into a separate chapel. At the same moment the gates of the church were opened and the people rushed in so precipitately, that a great number of men, women and children were trampled to death.

The relics of St. Remy were carried in procession through the streets of the city and deposited in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. On the third day the clergy made a new procession with the shrine without the walls of the city, whilst the holy father, surrounded by the principal ecclesiastics, dedicated the church of the monastery; after the procession, the relics of the holy father were placed on the high altar, and remained exposed there whilst the council was in session.

Leo the Ninth made a bull, by which he declared that no one could celebrate mass upon that altar, except the archbishop of Rheims, the abbot of Remy, and seven priests, who should be chosen in the diocese—on the condition, however, that these last should not officiate but twice in every year. The holy father finally terminated this ceremony by giving his solemn benediction to the people.

They were then occupied with preparations for the council, which had been fixed for the 3d of October, in the church of St. Remy; twenty bishops, fifty abbots, and other ecclesiastics, assembled at the call of the pope. A ridiculous dispute for precedence was then renewed between the clergy of Rheims and that of Treves. The metropolitan of Rheims, regarding himself as the primate of the Gauls, claimed the first seat on the right of the holy father—he of Treves, attributing to himself the same dignity and the same rank, also claimed the seat of honour.

To make these two parties agree, Leo ordered that the seats should be all placed in a circle, his own occupying the centre, and he ordered the archbishop of Rheims to regulate the other places. When the silence, broken by this incident was re-established, Peter, deacon and chancellor of the court of Rome, spoke in the name of the pontiff. He warned the assembly that it was called together to deliberate upon the abuses which existed in France in relation to the exactions of priests, to the apostacies of monks, to the incestuous marriages and adulteries of the laity; he exhorted the bishops to take the necessary measures to prevent the unjust incar-

ceration of the poor, to arrest the robberies and murders by the prelates, of which the people were the victims; he warned them, under penalty of anathema, publicly to denounce such among them as had been guilty of simony.

The archbishop of Treves rose first, and affirmed on oath, that he had given nothing to obtain the episcopate, and that he had never received any thing when he ordained priests. - The archbishops of Lyons and Besançon made the same declaration. - As the metropolitan of Rheims had not yet spoken, the deacon turned to him and summoned him to make his declaration; he replied that he wished to speak in private to the holy father, and to obtain a delay for the purpose of replying; they granted him until the next day.

The abbots were summoned in their turn to justify themselves; the superior of St. Remy, he of Cluny, and several others, declared that they were free from reproaches; but there was a great number that did not dare to reply. The bishop of Langres then brought complaints against the abbot of Pontiers, his diocesan; he accused him of adultery, incest, and sodomy. This unworthy priest was examined at once, and as he could not justify himself, the council deposed him from the priesthood. Those who did not regard the pope as the chief of the universal church, were then enjoined to avow it loudly before the assembly. All kept silence.

The next day, Leo, after having given a private audience to the metropolitan of Rheims, opened the sitting with prayer and the reading of the Bible; the deacon Peter then summoned the archbishop to defend himself against the crime of simony, and several other crimes of which he had been accused by public clamour. This prelate having obtained permission to employ counsel, chose the bishops of Besançon, Soissons, Angers, Nevers, Senlis, and Terouanne. After a secret deliberation, the bishop of Senlis announced that the accused was not guilty. The holy father caused the decree of St. Gregory, in relation to Maximus of Salona, to be read, and ordered that the suspected prelate should justify himself by oath from the accusation of simony. A new delay was asked by the archbishop, who promised to appear in the following year before a council at Rome, to defend himself.

The clergy of Tours, through their organ, the bishop of Lyons, also complained of the bishop of Dol, in Brittany, who had, with seven of his suffragans, freed himself from the authority of the metropolitan of Tours, and had arrogated to himself the title of archbishop. This affair was also referred to the council of Rome.

The deacon Peter, chief manager of the synod, accused the bishop of Langres of having sold the sacred orders, of having borne arms, of having committed adultery and homicide, and of having practised the shameful vice of sodomy. Witnesses deposed before the assembly as to all these crimes. A clerk accused the prelate of having carried off his

wife by force, and of having confined her in a convent in order the more easily to gratify his brutality. Another priest also complained of having been given up to satellites, who tormented him in a cruel manner in order to obtain from him ten pounds of gold which belonged to him. The bishop of Langres asked for the aid of counsel; but when he had conferred with them, the voice of one of them who essayed to speak in his defence, suddenly failed him. The metropolitan of Lyons, one of his advocates, alarmed by the miracle, then avowed, that the holy orders had been sold; that the sum designated by one of the witnesses had been extorted, and that the ravishing charged upon the prelate had been done by his orders. The pope, to prevent the scandal arising from an avowal so outrageous to religion, put an end to this affair, under the pretext that it could not be finished at the sitting. He then caused the canons relating to simony, and especially the second decree of the council of Chalcedon, to be read, and dismissed the assembly.

On the following day, the deacon Peter commenced the session with the cause which had terminated the preceding debate; but the bishop of Langres was not present at this meeting. The manager of the synod called him three times by the order of the holy father, and they sent the prelates of Angers and Senlis to his residence, to bring him before the council. While waiting for their return, Peter addressed those who had not yet spoken. The bishop of Nevers rose from his seat and said: "I know that my relatives gave large sums to purchase the diocese which I occupy; and I know that since my ordination I have committed grievous faults against the rules of the church. I humble myself before the divine justice, and I declare that I would rather renounce my dignity than keep it at the expense of the safety of my soul." After having thus spoken, he deposited his cross and mitre at the feet of the sovereign pontiff; but the latter was so touched by his repentance, that he immediately re-installed him in his episcopal functions, only condemning him to pay a fine.

Soon afterwards, they came to announce that the bishop of Langres had fled during the night in order to avoid the condemnation he had incurred for his crimes. He was at once excommunicated by the council. The metropolitan of Besançon then advanced into the midst of the church, and declared in a loud voice, that he had lost the use of speech by the will of God, when he had undertaken to defend the guilty; he then fell on his knees and demanded the pardon of the assembly. This avowal drew tears from Leo, who exclaimed, "It is true, then, that St. Remyet lives among us!" All rose spontaneously, and went to the sepulchre of the saint, where they sang an anthem in his honour.

The session then re-commenced; the bishop of Constance then admitted that his bishopric had been purchased by one of his near relatives; and that having learned of this pro



ceeding, he had wished to make his escape, in order not to be ordained contrary to the rules, but that his brother had forced him to be consecrated in spite of himself. He was consequently judged not to be guilty of simony.

The bishop of Nantes declared that he was the son of the former bishop; that his father, while living, had surrendered his See to him; and that, in order to have his nomination confirmed, he had sent large sums to the prince. The council pronounced his deposition, took from him the ring and the cross, but at the entreaty of some prelates, consented to leave him the priesthood. The pope then exhorted the metropolitans to denounce any of their suffragans who were guilty of the abominable crime of magic: all affirmed that they knew of none who were.

The assembly was then occupied with judging ecclesiastics who had been invited to the synod, and who had not come, nor sent legitimate excuses to the pontiff. They were all excommunicated, with those who followed the king to the war, and in especial the bishops of Sens, Beauvais, and Amiens. A sentence of excommunication was also pronounced against the abbot of St. Medard, who had left the council without taking leave, and against the metropolitan of St. James, in Galicia, who had usurped the title of apostolic, which was reserved for the sovereign pontiff.

The session was terminated by the reading of twelve canons, which renewed the decrees which had gone out of use, and which condemned, under penalty of anathema, several abuses which existed in the Gallican church. They prohibited priests from exacting any pay for burying the dead or baptizing infants; they declared the usury of money impious; heretics, who began to multiply in France, were declared without the pale, as well as all Christians who communed with them, or granted them their protection. Counts Engelrai and Eustache were excommunicated for incest; also Hugh of Braine, for having abandoned his lawful wife, to marry his concubine. The nobles of Compiègne were threatened with ecclesiastical thunders, if they dared to hinder the members of their clergy from returning into the diocese; and finally, counts Thibalt and Geoffrey were cited before the council which was to be held in Mayence: the one for having abandoned his wife; the other for retaining the count of Mans in prison. The synod having terminated, Leo dismissed the clergy and laity by giving them his benediction.

On the sixth of October, the holy father visited the chapter of the monks of St. Denis. He besought them to unite their prayers with his; and after having all prostrated themselves, he gave them absolution and the kiss of peace. Leo, accompanied by the prelates, then entered the church, celebrated divine service, and having taken the body of St. Remy from the altar, bore it on his shoulders, and deposited it in the sepulchre, and ordered that the festival of the saint should be cele-

brated on the 1st of October of each year. Finally the pope started for Germany. He stopped three days on the way, at the convent of St. Maurice in the high Valais. He granted to the monks considerable exemptions, and prohibited, under penalty of anathema, all prelates from pillaging the property of the abbey, or from claiming any right to interfere in the affairs of this church without the consent of the canons.

On his arrival at Mayence, Leo held a new council, at which the emperor Henry the Black, the lords of his kingdom and forty bishops assisted. The metropolitans of Treves, Mayence, Cologne, Hamburg, and Magdeburg, were at the head of the clergy. It is related that Sibicon, bishop of Spire, accused of having committed several adulteries, wished to justify himself by celebrating the holy sacrifice of the mass, but that God performed a miracle, in order to punish this sacrilege, and permitted that a sudden paralysis should turn his mouth to the side of his face. Several important decisions, touching simony and the marriage of priests, were made in this assembly. To assure the execution of it, the archbishop Adalbert, on arriving at Hamburg, excommunicated in mass, all the concubines of the priests, and drove them from his capital.

At this period, a new doctrine, in relation to the eucharist was broached, in France, which for a long time troubled the church; it was taught by Bishop Berenger. This prelate, born at Tours in the beginning of the eleventh century, had studied in the school of St. Martin, where Walter, his uncle, was the chanter; he afterwards continued his studies under the direction of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres. Returned to his native city, Berenger was received into the chapter of St. Martin, where he obtained a professor's chair; in 1040 he was named archdeacon of Angers, preserving his place in the monastery of Tours; he had for a disciple Eusebius or Bruno, who was afterwards bishop of Angers.

At the same period, Lanfranc, a monk of Bec, in Normandy, commenced his lessons on sacred history, and he obtained such prodigious success, that the clergy from all parts of Gaul came together to hear him. But when Berenger appeared, the school of Lanfranc was deserted. The latter, wounded in his vanity, attacked his antagonist as an heretic, and preached against the primitive simplicity and purity of the doctrine of the eucharist, condemning the opinions of Berenger. The illustrious professor of Tours, in his turn, publicly censured the doctrine of the monk, and the quarrel commenced.

Berenger wrote to Lanfranc: "I am informed, my brother, by Enguerrand of Chartres, that you disapprove of the thoughts of John Scot, in regard to the sacrament of the altar, and even regard them as heretical, because they do not agree with those of Paschasius, your favourite author. If it is so, I fear, that yielding to a precipitate judgment, you have not wisely used the mind which God has given you. When you shall have

studied the sacred Scriptures, you will also condemn St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, or St. Augustin, or else you will approve of the reasonings of John Scot in relation to the eucharist; for you will learn by taking the works of the fathers, and of the doctors of the church, according to their most correct sense, that transubstantiation or the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, is an error which the last century has bequeathed to ours."

Hugh, bishop of Langres, also condemned Berenger in a letter, in which, however, he calls him most reverend father: "You maintain," he wrote to him, "that the nature of bread and wine is not changed in the sacrament of the altar, and that the essence of Christ in these substances is immaterial; that is to say, you make the palpable body of Jesus Christ, which was crucified, pure spirit; and you scandalize all the church by declaring him incorporeal. If the consecration does not physically transubstantiate the bread and wine, the act is not accomplished but in our intelligence, and does not exist beyond us, and the holy communion is but an idolatrous ceremony; but as you avow it, your sentiments upon this mystery are different from those of common ecclesiastics."

Leo the Ninth, to whom the opinions of Berenger had been denounced as heretical, held a council at Rome, where a great number of bishops, abbots and clergy met: Lanfranc assisted at it. By the order of the sovereign pontiff, a letter concerning the eucharist, addressed to the monks of Bec, by the illustrious professor of Tours, was produced. Berenger was excommunicated, and the holy father ordered Lanfranc to explain his faith, fortifying it by authorities and not by reasoning. The monk then explained his belief, which was found to be orthodox.

The deputies from the metropolitan of Tours, were then heard in relation to the complaints which had been made during the preceding year, at the synod of Rheims, against the bishop of Dol and him of Brittany. These two prelates not having appeared at the council, the holy father wrote to the duke of Brittany to reduce these rebellious priests to submission. "You know, my lord, that in accordance with ancient charters, all the members of the clergy of your country, should be submissive to the archbishops of Tours, as was declared to Solomon, king of Brittany, by Pope Nicholas. We advise you then, that we exclude from our communion, the ecclesiastics who shall refuse to obey their superior; and we prohibit them from celebrating divine service, or even blessing the people. We beseech you not to appear in the temples in which they shall be present, until the time of holding the council of Verceil, and until they shall be justified from the accusation brought against them."

Notwithstanding the anathema pronounced against his doctrine, Berenger continued to propagate his errors, and William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, desiring to be enlightened on so important a question, assem-

bled several bishops at Brienne, a small city on the banks of the Risle, near to the monastery of Bec, where he sent for Berenger. But the professor refused to enter into a discussion with the prelates, and retired to Chartres, from whence he wrote a letter, in which he declared, that he would not reply to questions put to him by the regular and secular clergy, until he had convicted of heresy the pope and Roman bishops in the council of Verceil. This assembly was held in the month of September, 1052. Leo the Ninth presided over it; Lanfranc was there, and Berenger did not appear. The book of John Scot on the eucharist was read, declared heretical, and cast into the flames. Berenger was a second time excommunicated, and two of his disciples who presented themselves as his ambassadors were arrested in the synod and burned alive.

In the same council, the holy father suspended Humphrey, metropolitan of Ravenna, from his functions; he granted the pallium to Dominick, the patriarch of Grada, with the title of primate, and the right of bearing the cross before him. The synod finished, Leo passed the Alps and went to Toul, where he granted a privilege to the monastery of St. Mansuil, on the occasion of the translation of the relics of St. Gerard: he remained in Lorraine and Germany until the month of February of the succeeding year.

Notwithstanding the double excommunication fulminated against Berenger, his doctrine secretly spread through Gaul, and King Henry, by the advice of the bishops, convened a council at Paris to judge it definitely. Berenger, having received orders to appear before it, addressed the following letter to the monk Ascelin: "If the divine power had given me leisure, I would have addressed to you a letter reasoned at length; but since God has not permitted me, I write to you my thoughts without sifting them, and without putting them in order. Until this time, I have not combatted the sacrilegious proposition of Brother William, in which he decides that every Christian should approach the holy table at Easter, and on account of my silence, this monk maintains, that I am unable to defend the opinions of John Scot, and that I avow that he was a heretic.

"I beseech God, my brother, that he would open your eyes, that you may be enabled to see how impious, sacrilegious, and unworthy of the priesthood it is to condemn the superhuman truths which Scot has demonstrated. If you believe with Paschasus, that in the sacrament of the altar, the substance of the bread is annihilated, you give the lie to natural reason and the doctrine of the Bible and the apostle. Thus, as I wrote to Lanfranc, you proscribe the luminaries of the church, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin; and you condemn yourself, since the words pronounced by the priest in the consecration prove that the matter of the bread remains in the eucharist.

"I am accused in your convent of Bec, of having maintained that the episcopal rod does

not confer the power to direct the souls of the faithful, which is an imposture, for I would willingly publish this truth loudly. But I cannot hazard myself by appearing before a council; the rage of my enemies is well known to me, and I do not wish to expose myself to undergo the frightful punishment to which my envoys were condemned. I conjure you only, in the name of the fathers, the evangelists, the doctors, and of Christ, not to bear a guilty testimony against me, by saying that I condemned Scot; and I call down the malediction of God upon those, who, holding the key of science, avoid the sacred temple, and close its entrance against men.—Adieu.”

Theoduin or Deoduin, bishop of Liege, instigated by the suggestions of the court of Rome, wrote to the king of France to dissuade him from allowing the bishop of Angers or the professor of Tours from appearing before the council of Paris, and urged upon the prince to condemn them without hearing them. Berenger, who foresaw his condemnation, refused to appear, and remained with Bruno, his superior and former pupil, who approved of his doctrine. The book of John Scot was declared heretical, and it was directed, that troops, having clergy at their head, should go to seize the guilty deacon and his followers even in the sanctuary, and that they should pursue them with fire and sword until they should submit to the orthodox faith.

Berenger wrote at once to the abbot Richard, who had access to King Henry, to transmit his request to that prince. In his letter he asked the monarch to suspend the unjust decrees made against him, and to send a person of his court to him with whom he could enter into conference. He engaged to prove that the synod of Vercueil had condemned Scot, and approved of Paschasius, through ignorance; he recalled to the recollection of the king, that John Scot had not written, but at the request of Charles the Bald, his predecessor, and finished by saying, in the bitterness of his heart, that he could not admit that the gross men of that period were more infallible than the Holy Scriptures.

The complaints of the professor of Tours were just; for in depriving him of his property and threatening him with fire and sword, the monarch and his bishops were guilty of great intolerance. No power can impose belief on man, and especially too, can it not make men profess it, by employing persecution. Religions which have recourse to punishment to establish their dogmas, cause us to suspect their divinity by the violence which they employ, and we must admit that the Catholic religion “is that which has made most martyrs in the conversion of men.” Frontigneres, in the history of Berenger, adds this reflection: “Catholicism has propagated itself by violence, because its priests are cruel, and because they take pleasure in shedding blood, in order to cement the errors which increase their riches.

Before the time of Berenger, the dogma

upon the eucharist recognized by the church, was not that of transubstantiation,—he did nothing then but renew the decisions of the doctors and fathers. Progressive ideas were not admitted in those barbarous ages, and they condemned, as heresy, new doctrines, not on account of the errors which they propagated, but on account of their differing from the texts adopted by the church. The accused were thus compelled to free themselves by quotations and not by reasoning.

Whilst they were persecuting a deacon in France, in order to satisfy the demands of the court of Rome, Leo the Ninth was celebrating the festival of the Purification in Germany. It is related that the holy father performed a singular miracle in the city of Augsburg. Humphrey, the metropolitan of Ravenna, had come to meet the pope, by the orders of Henry the Black, in order to do homage to him for the territory which he had usurped from the Holy See, and to ask for absolution from the anathema which had been pronounced against him at the council of Vercueil. At the moment at which he prostrated himself at the feet of Leo, in the presence of all the clergy, his holiness said, in an angry voice, “God grant you pardon for your sins according to your deserts, for you have need of it.” The archbishop rose up laughing, and said with a mocking air, “you have, holy father, more need than I.” The pontiff then dissolving into tears, exclaimed, “Alas, this unfortunate man no longer exists.” In fact the prelate fell dead at the moment, as if struck by a thunderbolt.

The pope then returned to Rome, where he held a synod to judge Gregory, bishop of Vercueil, on an accusation of adultery committed with a widow who was affianced to his uncle. The prelate went immediately to the sovereign of the church; he offered him a large sum of money, and obtained from him authority to continue in his episcopal functions, whilst living in sin. The decree which declared women who had prostituted themselves to ecclesiastics, residing within the bounds of the holy city, slaves of the palace of the Lateran, is attributed to this convention. This right extended itself in the end to other dioceses. Leo is the first pope who ordained that the tenth part of the oblations offered upon the altar of St. Peter, should be employed in the repairs, embellishment, and lighting of that church.

By a letter addressed to the clergy and people of Ossimo, the pontiff severely censured the custom which existed in some cities, of entering the residence of deceased bishops forcibly; of pillaging the furniture, stealing the vessels, burning the country houses, and even of tearing up the vines from the lands.

Peter Damian addressed a letter to Leo, asking for his advice in relation to the scandals of the clergy of his province. “We have prelates,” wrote he, “who openly abandon themselves to all kinds of debauchery, get drunk at their feasts, mount on horseback, and keep their concubines in the episcopal palaces.

These unworthy ministers push the faithful into the abyss, and the mere priests have fallen into an excess of corruption, without our being able to exclude them from sacred orders. The priesthood is so despised, that we are obliged to recruit ministers for the service of God from among simoniacs, adulterers, and murderers. Formerly, the apostle declared worthy of death, not only those who committed crimes, but even those who tolerated them! What would he say, if he could return to earth and see the clergy of our days! The depravity is so great now, that the priests sin with their own children! These wretches make a pretext of the rules of the court of Rome, and, as they have a tariff for crimes, they commit them in all safety of conscience."

Peter cites some of these rules, which are remarkable: "A priest who is not a monk, and who sins accidentally with a virgin, shall perform two years of penance, and shall fast on bread and water on the Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays of three Lents. If the young girl is consecrated to God, and if the sin is habitually committed, the penance shall be for five years.

"A mere clerk, for the same fault, shall do penance for six months, and a canon for two years. Priests guilty of fornication, shall be condemned to ten years of severe penalties, laymen to three years."

"Thus," adds Damian, "clerks, according to the penitential laws, not being submitted but to six months of light penance, find themselves treated more favourably than men who do not belong to the church. But I declare, that the popes who framed these miserable laws are responsible to God for all the disorders of the church, for the decrees of the synod of Ancyra condemn to twenty-five years of penance mere laymen who are guilty of the sin of the flesh. St. Basil and Pope Sixtus declared every one suspected of these crimes unworthy of the priesthood. I hope, then, your holiness, after having consulted the legislation of the church and the doctors, will make a decision which will repress the disorders of our priests."

Leo replied to the monk, that the sins which he censured deserved to be punished with all the rigour of the penitential laws, and by the deprivation of orders; but, that the number of guilty clerks rendered that proceeding impracticable, and obliged him to preserve even the criminal in the church.

In 1052, the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne, was founded by Robert. This abbey was authorized by a bull, and by letters patent of the king of France, subscribed by the bishops and lords of that kingdom.

This year was also marked by a fatal event—the death of Halinard, archbishop of Lyons. That metropolitan had come to Rome with Hugh, the former bishop of Langres, to obtain from the holy father the re-installation of this guilty person in his See. At the request of the venerable prelate, Leo pardoned the traitor Hugh, and even gave him a bishop's mitre in token of reconciliation. But this wretch, who

regarded the metropolitan of Lyons as the author of his first disgrace, repaid his benefits by the blackest ingratitude. Halinard was invited to a repast which Hugh and his partisans, who had returned into France, offered him; a poisoned turbot was served up at table, and he died the next day, the 29th of July, from the consequences of this feast. This prelate was endowed with a remarkable eloquence. He served as the mediator of Leo in making his peace with the Normans. The faithful friend of the pontiff, he had followed him to Beneventum, Capua, Monte Cassino, and Monte Gargan, and rarely left him in his travels.

As Andrew, king of Hungary, still refused to pay the annual tribute which his predecessor had poured into the treasury of the empire, in conformity with the treaties which his ancestors had made, Leo, with the pretext of putting an end to the war which was on the point of breaking out between Henry the Black and Andrew, went on a new journey into Germany. The pontiff, in reality, had no other object than to secure succours from the emperor against the Normans, who were ravaging the territories of the church. King Andrew, who had penetrated the designs of the holy father, was unwilling to accept his mediation, and even refused him permission to enter his states.

Henry the Black and the pope passed a great part of the year in the German states, in conferring upon the measures to be taken against the Normans. During the sojourn of Leo at Ratisbon, the monks of St. Emmeran came to beseech him to second them in a piece of pure knavery in regard to the relics of St. Denis the Areopagite, the first bishop of Paris, of which they pretended they were the sole possessors. The holy father consented to examine the bones presented to him, and he declared by a bull bearing date on 7th of October, 1052, that, by the inspiration of God, he recognized the body of St. Denis in the precious relics of the convent of St. Emmeran, and he called the French monks who pretended to possess the remains of that blessed martyr, visionaries.

During the same year, the emperor and his holiness celebrated Christmas at Worms; the pontiff officiated on the day of the festival, and on the next day, it was the turn of Luitpold, archbishop of Mayence. A deacon of the church, after the first prayer of the mass, thundered forth a lesson, in conformity with the custom of the province; but, as this custom was contrary to that of the court of Rome, the ultra-montanes exclaimed, and asked the pope to impose silence on the deacon; the latter refused to obey. Leo, in his wrath, then ordered that the rash youth should be brought before him, and he degraded him at once. Whilst they were taking off the garments of his deacon, Luitpold neither spoke nor made a gesture; but after the reading of the Bible and the offertory, he placed himself in his seat, and declared, that neither he himself nor even Leo, should finish divine service, unless his

deacon was restored to him, which Leo hastened to do.

During his sojourn at Worms, the pope renewed the request he had made to Henry, to restore the abbey of Fulda, and several other domains or monasteries which had been taken from the Holy See. The emperor rejected the demands of Leo, in regard to these domains; he only consented to exchange Beneventum with him for the city of Bamberg; and also granted him some troops to aid him in his wars against the Normans. The holy father recruited, besides, some German volunteers and wretches drawn from every country, who enrolled under the sacred banners, through the hope of a rich booty; he then returned into Italy. On the approach of these hordes of brigands, the Normans immediately sent ambassadors to the holy pontiff to sue for peace, offering to regard themselves as his vassals, and to hold under him their acquisitions on the territory of St. Peter. Leo rejected these proposals and ordered them to retire from Italy, and to restore all that they had usurped. These people having no other hope but in their courage, united all their forces and resolved to defend their conquests to the last.

A great battle took place on the 18th of June, 1053, between the two armies; the Germans charged their enemy with great impetuosity, and threw the first body of Normans into disorder, but their reserve, composed of veteran troops, being put in motion, the troops of the holy father found themselves surrounded by a skilful movement. The Germans in their turn were put to flight, and those who resisted were all put to death by their terrible enemies. Leo who commanded his army in person, covered with a cuirass, and his lance in his hand, could scarcely escape from the crowd. Thus says Herman, God wished to punish the pope who had abandoned the care of his flock, from a desire to increase his wealth in this world, and he permitted his bands of assassins and robbers to be exterminated by the Normans.

These latter pursued Leo into the fortress in which he had taken refuge after the battle, and made him a prisoner. The sovereign pontiff was conducted to Beneventum, where he remained from the 23d of June, 1053, until the 12th of March, in the following year. During his captivity, the hypocritical Leo affected a very austere kind of life; he covered himself with hair cloth, slept upon a mat and used a stone for a pillow. Frequently, even during the night, he thundered forth psalms and prayers, or recited the Psalter, having his forehead propped against the flag-stones of his prison. During the day he performed several masses, again recited the psalter, and gave alms to all the poor who presented themselves. He received at this period a letter from Peter, the new patriarch of Antioch, who announced to him his promotion, and sent him his profession of faith by a pilgrim from Jerusalem.

In his reply, Leo bestowed great eulogiums

on Peter, for recognizing the primacy of the Roman church: he exhorted him to maintain the dignity of the See of Antioch, which is the third in the world, adds the holy father, since the patriarch of Constantinople has been degraded from the rank which he held in the church. He approved of the election of Peter, and declared his profession of faith to be Catholic. His holiness then sent him his own, in accordance with established usage; but that which is remarkable is, that Leo does not cite in his letter but seven general councils instead of eight, which had been recognized in all the churches.

Cardinal Humbert, who was on a mission to Apulia, had information communicated to him of a letter which was addressed to John, bishop of Trani, by Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and by Leo, the metropolitan of Bulgaria. It ran as follows: "Charity has induced us, my dear brother, to write to you, that you may transmit our words to the prelates of the Franks, to the monks, the people, and even to the pope himself, in relation to the use of unleavened bread, and especially on the sabbath, which you do from your intercourse with the Jews.

After having celebrated the old passover, like the children of Israel, Jesus Christ instituted the new passover with the leavened bread, the only kind which our religion permits to the faithful. We blame the Latin ecclesiastics for keeping the Sabbath in Lent, since they fast on the eve of the day consecrated to the Lord, whilst the Greeks do not fast on Thursdays nor Sundays. We blame them for eating strangled food in contempt of the canons which prohibit us from drinking the blood of animals: finally, we accuse them of not singing the hallelujah, during the holy time of Lent. We exhort you to disabuse them on these points of ecclesiastical discipline; and if you accomplish this work, we promise you to send you letters, which shall enlighten your mind upon truths whose importance is still greater for the Christian world."

Humbert translated this letter into Latin, and carried it to the pope, who made a long reply to it. Leo thus wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople: "They assure me, unworthy prelate, that you push your audacity so far as openly to condemn the Latin church, because it celebrates the eucharist with unleavened bread. According to your opinion, the Roman pontiff, after exercising sovereign power for ten entire centuries, should learn from the bishop of Constantinople the proper mode of honouring their divine master. Are you ignorant then that the popes are infallible—that no man has the right to judge them, and that it belongs to the Holy See to condemn or absolve kings and people? Constantine himself decreed, that it was unworthy of the divine majesty, that the priest to whom God had given the empire of heaven, should be submissive to the princes of the earth. Not only did he give to Sylvester and his successors temporal authority, but he even

granted to them, ornaments, officers, guards, and all the honours attached to the imperial dignity. In order that you may not accuse us of establishing our sway through ignorance and falsehood, we send you a copy of the privileges which Constantine had granted to the Roman church." The holy father repeated, textually, this celebrated donation, which all the learned have recognized as apochryphal; he reproached the Greek bishops with the ordination of eunuchs who were even tolerated upon episcopal sees, and he let loose his indignation against the priests of Constantinople, whose manners were so revolting that they were ignorant, it is said, if the clergy were composed of men or women.

Finally, Leo accused the patriarch Michael of ingratitude towards the Roman church, his mother, which had permitted him to be crowned as the prelate of the imperial city. "We are assured," added he, "that you have closed the Latin churches in your country, and that you have driven from the monasteries the monks and abbots of the West. See how much more tolerant than yours is the Holy See, since we permit several convents and several temples of your religion to exist in the interior of Rome."

This letter exasperated the clergy of Constantinople, which persisted in its schism, and refused to recognize the authority of Rome; but the emperor Constantine Monomachus, who wished to obtain, through the assistance of the pope, who exercised great influence over the mind of Henry the Third, the aid of Germans and Italians, against the Normans, wrote to Leo to testify how sincerely he desired to re-establish the union which had been destroyed for two centuries, between the Eastern and Western churches. The prince even threatened Michael Cerularius to depose him, if he did not submit to the pontiff in the question of unleavened bread.

Leo thus replied to the emperor: "Prince, we praise you for having bowed before our supreme power, and for having been the first to propose to re-establish concord between your empire and our church; for, in these deplorable times, all Christians should unite to exterminate that strange nation which wishes to raise itself up in opposition to us, the vicar of God. These Normans, our common enemies, have put to death our faithful soldiers beneath their swords; they have invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, without regarding the holiness of our residence; they have forced convents, massacred monks, violated virgins, and burned churches. These savage people, the enemies of God and man, have resisted the prayers, threats, and anathemas of the Holy See; these barbarians, hardened by pillage and murder, no more fear the divine vengeance. We have been obliged to call in aid from all sides to tame these northern hordes; and we, ourselves, at the head of an army, have wished to march against them, and to unite with your faithful servant, the duke of Argyra, in order to confer with him about driving them from Italy; but these incarnate

demons suddenly attacked us, cut all our troops to pieces, and seized upon our sacred person; their victory, however, has inspired them with great fear, and they doubt lest Christians princes should come to crush them and free us from their hands.

"We will not falter in the holy mission which God has confided to us: we will not cease to excite other people against them, in order to exterminate this evil race. We will not imitate our predecessors, those mercenary bishops, who were more engaged with their own debaucheries than with the interests of the Roman church. For our part, it is our desire to re-establish the Holy See in its former splendour, and we will spare neither gold nor blood to render our throne worthy of the majesty of God. Already is the emperor Henry, our dear son, advancing to our aid with a powerful army; and we hope that you yourself will soon cover the Bosphorus with your sails, for the purpose of disembarking your soldiers on the shores of Apulia. What ought I now to hope, with such powerful aid, for the glory of the Holy See?"

In his letter to Michael Cerularius, the pope gave him the title of archbishop of Constantinople. He accuses him of ambition, heresy, and usurpation; adding, "It is said, you are a neophyte and have not mounted by the proper steps, to the episcopate. It is said that you have dared to menace the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, with depriving them of their ancient prerogatives, in order to subjugate them to your sway, and that by a sacrilegious usurpation, you take the title of universal bishop, which only belongs to the bishop of Rome. Thus, in your pride, you dare to compare yourself with us, and to contest our infallibility in contempt of the decisions of the fathers and orthodox councils, and even against the apostles. Finally, you persecute the faithful who receive the eucharist with unleavened bread, under the pretext that Jesus Christ used leavened bread in instituting the sacrament of the altar; I forewarn you, then, that your impious doctrines will be anathematized by our legates, and that your conduct will be publicly condemned if you persist in refusing to take the oath of obedience to us."

Among the envoys of the pontiff to Constantinople, were Humbert, bishop of St. Rufinus, or of Blanche-Selve, an old monk of the abbey of Moyen-Moustier, in the diocese of Toul, who had been drawn from his monastery by Bruno, when that prelate arrived at the papacy; Peter, the metropolitan of Amalfi, was also one of the ambassadors with Frederick, the brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine and Tuscany, a relative of the pope and of the emperor Henry. This last was then deacon and chancellor of the Roman church; he was afterwards chosen sovereign pontiff.

Before the departure of the ambassadors for the court of Byzantium, Leo received letters from the bishops of Africa, who continued to mourn over the Christians who were submitted to the sway of the Mussulmen; they com-

plained of the ambitious enterprises of the bishop of Gommi, and asked who was the metropolitan whose supremacy they must recognize, since Carthage had ceased to be the capital of Africa. The pontiff, in the reply which he addressed to the Africans, testified a profound affliction in seeing their church reduced to five bishoprics, instead of the three hundred, which it had before it was subjugated by the Africans. In regard to metropolitan rights, he decided, that it was not adherent to the worldly importance of cities, but that it resided in the antiquity of the See, or the holiness of the foundation; that thus Carthage, notwithstanding its decay, should be considered as the metropolis of the diocese, and its bishop as having the sole right to depose prelates and priests to consecrate them, and to convoke provincial councils. "As to general synods, know," adds the holy father, "that they cannot be assembled without our authority, and that none among you can pronounce a definite judgment against his brethren; because the canons have given the sovereign power to the See of Rome;" which is a flagrant imposture; for the popes have arrogated to themselves this right by the aid of false decretals, and not in accordance with the canons, which place it, on the contrary, in ecclesiastical assemblies.

During the captivity of Leo, several provincial councils were held in France. The most remarkable was that of Narbonne; the archbishop Geoffry presided over it; they made twenty-two canons in order to confirm the truce of God. All were prohibited under penalty of the most terrible censures, and of perpetual exile, from fighting any battle, or single combat, from the first Sunday in Advent, until eight days after the Epiphany, and from Quinquagesima Sunday, until eight days after Easter; as also during the other feasts and fasts commanded by the church. They were also prohibited from building any fortress or embattled wall, during the truce, in order to prevent the lords from employing this time of repose, in fortifying their domains with walls or ditches, or in covering them with impenetrable towers. The fathers of the synod of Narbonne declared the olive a sacred tree, because it afforded light for the churches, and oil for the holy chrism; and the prohibition of cut-

ting any was enforced by the penalty of anathema.

Leo was still retained a prisoner at Beneventum; and although he was more than fifty years old, he studied the Greek language with great ardour, on account of the relations which he wished to enter into with the emperor of Constantinople. A malady of sadness and languor had, however, seized upon him, and made great progress. Finding his strength diminishing, he sent for Count Humphrey, one of the Norman chiefs, and asked him to make good the promise he had made to him, of conducting him to Rome before his death. The count, after having been apprized by the physicians of the situation of the pope, caused him to be placed on a litter, and himself accompanied him to the holy city, with a numerous escort.

Leo remained for several days in the palace of the Lateran, in order to make his last will; thence being carried into the church of St. Peter, he received the extreme unction in the presence of a large number of bishops, abbots, and ecclesiastics, prayed in German, asking God to deliver him speedily from his sufferings by recovery or death, and finally died on the 19th of April, 1054, after a reign of five years and some months.

The church has placed this pontiff in the number of the saints whom she honours; Platinus says his doors were always open to the poor, and that one day an old man, covered with an horrible leprosy, having presented himself at the patriarchal palace to pass the night, the holy father caused him to be placed in his own bed, because all the other apartments were already occupied, and he himself retired into the oratory of the Lateran. On the following day, when he returned to his chamber, the poor man had disappeared and the bed was covered with a luminous aureole; it was Jesus Christ himself, adds the credulous historian, who had assumed the appearance of a mendicant leper to test the charity of the pontiff. The chronicle of Herman also relates several miracles which occurred at the tomb of Leo.

The creation of archchancellors of the Roman church is owing to this pontiff, a dignity which he instituted in favour of Herimon, the metropolitan of Cologne.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1054.]

*Reply of Cardinal Humbert to Michael Cerularius—Refutation of the writings of Nicetas upon the unleavened bread—Retraction of Nicetas—Excommunication of the patriarch of Constantinople—He in his turn anathematizes the Roman church—Letter of the patriarch against the clergy of the West—remark upon the Greek schism—Origin of the cardinals.*

AFTER the death of Leo the Ninth, the Holy See remained vacant for an entire year, the Romans not daring to proceed to the election of a pontiff without the authority of the

emperor Henry the Third. During this vacancy, events of great importance occurred in the East. The legates sent to Constantinople by Leo, had been received with great honours by Constantine Monomachus, and Humbert, availing himself of the favourable dispositions of the emperor, published a reply to the manifesto launched by Michael Cerularius and Leo of Acrida, against the Latin ecclesiastics. This refutation is in the form of a dialogue. We give the substance of it. "You say, patriarchs of Constantinople and Acrida, that Christian charity and human compassion have induced you to reprimand the Franks, and even the pope himself, because they practise the error of the Jews in preserving the ancient custom of celebrating Easter with unleavened bread.

"But before allowing your attention to be arrested by the West, why do you neglect the churches with whose administration you are charged, and why do you permit the Jacobites and other heretics to have intercourse and commune with the faithful of your dioceses? You say that Jesus Christ, in celebrating the supper, used bread, called *artos* in Greek; you insist upon the etymology of this word, which, according to you, signifies that the bread is leavened or inflated by fermentation, and you conclude from thence, that unleavened bread is not really the bread. The meaning which you give to the word *artos*, is restrained, and we can point out to you numerous passages of Scripture, in the version of the Septuagint, in which this term is made use of to designate the unleavened bread which an angel bore to the Prophet Elias, as well as the shew-bread. Thus *artos* in the Greek language, like *lehem* in the Hebrew, signifies all kinds of bread. Besides, Jesus Christ instituted Easter with unleavened bread, because he celebrated this feast lawfully, and the Jewish law prohibited the preparation of leavened bread during the sacred days.

"In order to celebrate this festival worthily, we place upon the holy table the bread which the deacons, and even the priests, clothed in their sacerdotal garments, have kneaded and prepared in a silver furnace, singing religious hymns. You, on the contrary, follow the errors of the Latin church of the first ages, and buy the bread of the altar from a public baker—you crumble it in with the wine of the chalice, and you administer the sacrament with a spoon. You forget that Jesus Christ took the bread whole, and having broken it, administered it by pieces to his disciples. The church of Jerusalem, more ancient than all, has preserved this holy tradition; its priests consecrate the entire host upon the patines; they divide it, not as do the Greeks with an iron blade, but with the fingers, as the consecrated bread is then friable, and of wheaten flour. After the communion, if there remain any pieces, they do not burn them, nor cast them into the sweepings of the church: but, on the contrary, they are religiously placed in a sacred coffer, and are

given to the faithful at the communion on the next day. In your Greek churches you cast the fragments of the sacred body of God into the filth of your sacristies. We, who conform to the custom of the church of Jerusalem, place the host upon the altar, thin, sound, and entire; after the consecration we break it with our hands, and give it to the people; then we place the blood of Christ in the chalice, and our lips draw it in with delight."

Humbert justified the Roman ecclesiastics in singing the *halleluia*, except in Lent; and finally, addressed severe reproaches to the Greeks for re-baptizing the Latins, and permitting the marriages of the priests; for refusing the communion or baptism to women in peril of death in consequence of a dangerous childbirth; and for excluding them from the sacraments during the time of menstruation; as also, for the ridiculous prohibition to monks and nuns, of wearing drawers. He then combated the writings of Nicetas, surnamed *Stethatos* or *Pectorat*, a monk of Studa, who enjoyed a great reputation in the East. This monk had accused the western clergy of breaking their abstinence, by celebrating mass during Lent at the third hour, which prevented them from fasting until afternoon prayers; whilst the Greeks did not say the hallowed service, without consecrating the host at the hour of afternoon prayers, as they still practise.

Humbert also maintained, "that the holy sacrifice should not be celebrated upon silk or coloured stuff, but upon linen cloth of virginal purity, in order that it might represent the shroud of Christ, as holy Sylvester had ordered. We fast rigidly all Lent," added he, "and even make children ten years old to fast; for it is false that the communion breaks the fast. He who receives the body of Jesus Christ, receives eternal life, and not corruptible flesh, subject to the impure laws of digestion. Besides, though we may celebrate mass at the third, eighth, or any other hour, we do not reserve the least part of the oblation, because we are convinced the apostles did not celebrate mass in a way differing from ours. God himself, after having blessed the bread, did not reserve it until the next day; he broke it and distributed it immediately to his disciples. We are not ignorant, that the Greeks have established the custom of performing divine service at the third hour on Sunday, and the days of solemn feasts, in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles; but we also believe, that we are not guilty of sin in celebrating mass on fast days at the afternoon prayers, or at vespers, since our Lord instituted this sacrament in the evening, and finished his sacrifice at the ninth hour. Thus, although the morning is the most convenient for the celebrating of the mass, we do not break our fast by performing it at other hours, as the institution of the midnight mass testifies. In all these cases, we do not pretend to learn the ritual of your mass, because we do not wish to practise your scandalous usages. When you break the sacred



bread you let the piece fall, which you trample under feet; and you are equally neglectful in brushing off the patines with the leaves of the palm-tree or with brushes of hogs' bristles. We also know, that many among you bring with them to the holy tables vegetables and roasted meat, which they eat with the body of Jesus Christ."

Humbert finally terminated this long reply by excommunicating Nicetas, if he should persist in his errors in relation to the unleavened bread. Constantine Monomachus, who was deeply interested in preserving terms with the court of Rome, constrained the poor monk to retract, under penalty of losing the wealth which he had received from him. The legates of the Holy See went to the convent of Suda; and, in the presence of the sovereign, the great dignitaries of the state, and a numerous clergy, Nicetas condemned the writings published in his name against the Latin clergy, in relation to unleavened bread, the Sabbath, and the marriages of priests; he anathematized all those who denied the orthodoxy of the Roman ritual or the infallibility of the Holy See; finally, he burned his book in the midst of the assembly.

Michael Cerularius steadily resisted the threats of Constantine, and refused to commune with the legates. On the next day, at the third hour, Humbert and his colleagues went to the church of St. Sophia, penetrated even to the sanctuary, and deposited upon the high altar an act of excommunication fulminated against him. They then left the church and shook off the dust of their shoes, exclaiming "Anathema upon Michael Cerularius."

The deed of excommunication was conceived in these terms: "We, Humbert, Peter and Frederick, envoys sent by the Holy See to this imperial city to judge it, declare that we have found much good and much evil. The columns of the empire, the men elevated to high dignity, and the principal citizens, are orthodox; but the monk Michael, who calls himself patriarch, and his adherents, are filled with heresies and crimes. They simoniacally sell the gifts of God; they make eunuchs, like the Valesians, and elevate those unfortunate persons not only to the clerkships, but even to the episcopacy; they affirm, like the Donatists, that, without the pale of the Greek church there is no true church of Jesus Christ in the world, no true sacrifice of the mass, no true baptism; like the Nicolaites, they permit ministers of the altar to marry; like the Severians, they speak ill of the law of Moses; like the Macedonians, they cut off from the creed the affirmation that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; like the Manicheans, they maintain that all that is leaven is animated; and finally, like the Nazarenes, they practise Judaical purifications, and refuse communion to the faithful who cut their hair and beard.

"Michael has been warned by the pontiff Leo to renounce these errors; he has, however, despised the sage advice of his father; he has refused to commune with us, and to grant us churches in which to celebrate di-

vine service; he wishes to abase the dignity of the Holy See, and has dared to take the title of universal bishop. We, therefore, by the authority of the Holy Trinity, of the apostolic throne, of the seven œcumenical councils, and of all the Catholic church, subscribe the anathema which Leo the Ninth pronounced against Cerularius, and we declare him an infamous clerk, an usurping patriarch, an ignorant neophyte, who has clothed himself in the monastic garb to shun the chastisement which his crimes deserve. With him we condemn Leo, scandalously called bishop of Acrida, Constantine, sacellary of St. Sophia, who has trampled with profane feet upon the body and blood of Christ, which were consecrated by Latin priests. Finally, we excommunicate all their followers, be they who they may; we proscribe them from the temple of God, and we devote them to Satan and his angels, if they refuse to humble themselves before the supreme power of the pope! Amen! amen! amen!"

This blow of authority, or rather, this insolence of the Roman legates, instead of frightening the patriarch of Constantinople, excited his just indignation; and believing, that in order to cure the wound which had been inflicted on his church, he must employ a remedy more violent than the evil, he made a vehement decree against the excommunication pronounced against him, and in his turn excommunicated the whole Latin church. He then wrote to Peter of Antioch: "Impious barbarians, sallying from the darkness of the West, have come to this pious city, from whence the sources of an orthodox faith have flown through the whole world. They have endeavoured to corrupt the holy doctrine by the impurity, of their dogmas; they wish to constrain us to Judaize like themselves; they maintain that monks should eat strangled food, and they eat lard during the whole year, and even during the first weeks of Lent.

"They have dared to add those heretical words to the Nicene creed, 'I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son;' they prohibit the marriage of priests, and condemn ecclesiastical eunuchs. These infamous persons permit, that at the moment of the communion the handsomest young clerks should place impure kisses upon the mouth of the officiating priest. Their bishops wear rings to recall to the remembrance of the faithful that their churches are their spouses, and yet they go to war, soil their hands with the blood of their brethren, and after having murdered Christians, still dare to perform divine service. They administer baptism by a simple immersion, and by placing salt in the mouth of the neophyte; and, finally, instead of saying with St. Paul, 'a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' they maintain that it corrupts it. What heightens their iniquity is, that they have not come to be edified by the purity of our doctrine and our ritual; but on the contrary, with the impious thought of instructing us, and of causing us to embrace their sacrilegious prin-

ciples under penalty of anathema. We have avoided communing with these envoys of Satan, and have refused to treat of doctrinal questions with these accursed legates, unless you and the other patriarchs were assembled with us in council. These madmen have then, in order to overcome us, penetrated by force into our cathedral and placed on the high altar an excommunication against our orthodox church. We might have burned and destroyed this infamous writing, but we preferred to judge it publicly, that the condemnation of the authors of such a sacrilege might be a signal reparation, and one worthy of the majesty of our ministry. The emperor has ranged himself on our side, he has constrained the legates of Rome to go into the great saloon of the council to abjure their errors, and to apologize to us; but they have threatened their self-destruction, if we wished to draw a retraction from them. We send you these details, in order that you may be rightly informed of what has passed in our city, and that you may reply with the circumspection becoming a defender of the orthodox faith, if one writes from Rome against our See."

Such were the causes which determined a new schism between the East and West, or rather which rewoke the old dispute formerly excited under the celebrated Photius; and which had, we may say, never been interrupted, notwithstanding the intervals of apparent peace between Rome and Constantinople.

We must not, however, suppose that these scandalous divisions, which have caused such great troubles in Christendom, had as a motive the ridiculous theological quarrels upon the procession of the Holy Spirit, the unfeathered bread, the Saturday fast, and other questions of as little importance. They were but the specious pretext to conceal from the eyes of the people the true cause of the hatred which animated patriarchs and popes. The cupidity and ambition of these proud priests gave aliment to the discord, and filled Greece and Italy with wars, robberies, and assassinations; for although the pretensions of the Greeks to religious independence were even contrary to the canons of the church, this fault was not sufficiently great for the Holy See to condemn to eternal fires two thirds of Christendom. After the death of Constantine Monomachus, the patriarch completed the task commenced by Photius, and separated for ever the church of the East from that of the West.

Among the legates sent to Constantinople, Humbert, the cardinal bishop, was the most influential personage, on account of the authority which his title gave him above his colleagues; it thus becomes necessary to inform ourselves of the origin of the cardinalate, and of the importance which this dignity had obtained in the church towards the conclusion of the eleventh century.

The most ancient author, who has spoken of the cardinals, is St. Gregory, in 596, the first pope whose policy laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Holy See. In those

first ages of the church, the cardinal priest was simply the curate of the principal parish in which he was not born. In consequence of political changes and revolutions, very many ecclesiastics, driven away by the barbarians, took refuge in the cities which were under the protection of the empire, and in which they were entertained from the common purse of the clergy, as the ecclesiastics of the city. When an ecclesiastic died, his office was sometimes assigned to a refugee priest, who took the title of *incardinatus*, that is, of received or transferred, to distinguish him from the clergyman who obtained a ministerial charge without having left another, and who was called *ordinatus*, or priest hierarchically ordained.

This usage was established in Italy at the beginning of the seventh century, when a great number of bishops, priests, and deacons were deprived of their churches by the Lombards. As the greater part of those fugitives came to the cities of Ravenna or Rome, which offered to them more chances of place, it happened that in these two cities almost all the charges were occupied by them; those titularies were called cardinals. They were distinguished as cardinal deacons, cardinal priests, and cardinal bishops; but soon this title, which at the commencement designated a precarious and subaltern state, changed its signification, and served to distinguish the difference of churches and employments; for example, a canon of a cathedral was called a cardinal to distinguish him from ecclesiastics, who served the churches of the second order; but the title of cardinal was inferior to that of bishop, and prelates did not habitually preserve it when they arrived at the episcopate.

During the pontificate of Pascal the First, in 817, the curates of Rome took the title of cardinals, to designate that they were the ministers who approached nearest the person of the pope, and who participated in his election; afterwards, when the clergy had taken from the Roman people the right of election, the authority of the cardinals so increased, that the pontificate fell almost always to one of them. Little by little the cardinalate was transformed into a particular dignity, and the prelates who were clothed with it, insensibly constituted themselves into an electoral college. In the twelfth century, however, they had not yet any distinctive mark of their title; the red hat was not given to them until the following century; in 1464, Paul the Second authorized them to wear the red cap and scarlet stockings, when they mounted on horseback; and finally, Urban the Eighth gave them the title of eminence, by a solemn bull. It was thus that by degrees this dignity became the first in the church after the papacy, and cardinals are now to the pontiff what senators or secretaries of state are to an emperor or king. In the Catholic church they are regarded as the pivot on which the whole church turns, and the common people honour them as lords, for whom there exists no title sufficiently magnificent.

## VICTOR THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1055.]

*Singular election of the pontiff—He is enthroned by the name of Victor the Second—Council of Tours—Council of Toulouse—Complaint against the bishop of Narbonne—The pope violates the privileges of the abbey of Monte Cassino—Journey of the holy father—His death.*

AFTER the death of Leo the Ninth, the Romans dared not elect a new pontiff for the Holy See without the orders of the emperor, and they deputed to him the subdeacon Hildebrand to beseech him, in the name of the clergy, the grandees, and the people, to designate himself, him whom he should judge the most worthy to mount the throne of St. Peter. Hildebrand, who constantly pursued his ambitious projects, and wished to render the pontifical elections independent of the will of the prince, went immediately into Germany, and persuaded the bishops of that country that it would be advantageous to them to elevate to the pontificate the venerable Gebehard, a relative of the emperors, whom the Romans had already designated. The prelates, docile to his request, presented themselves before the sovereign, and besought him to approve of this nomination.

Henry tenderly loved this bishop, who was one of the richest and most powerful lords of his empire; he was profoundly afflicted at the choice which had been made, foreseeing that the pontifical dignity would change the inclinations of his relative, and raise up a formidable enemy to the empire. He refused at first to confirm this election, under the pretext that the presence of Gebehard was necessary in Germany, and he proposed others for the papacy; but all the reasons which he brought forward, not being able to overcome the determination of Hildebrand, he was obliged to yield to his urgency. Gebehard parted for Rome with the ambassador; he was recognized as pope by an unanimous vote, and consecrated as such on Holy Thursday, the 13th of April 1055, by the name of Victor the Second.

A legend relates that shortly after his enthronement, a deacon of St. Peter, who lived in concubinage with his own sister, and who had been censured for this incest, formed a plan to revenge himself on the pope, and mixed poison with the blood of Jesus Christ in the chalice, whilst the pontiff was celebrating divine service; but that when as Gebehard had pronounced the sacramental words, and wished to raise the chalice before the people, he could not detach it from the altar by any effort he could make. Surprised at this prodigy, the holy father prostrated himself with his face to the ground, imploring God in a loud voice to inform him of the cause of this miracle; immediately the poisoner, who was on his knees beside him, was seized by the spirit of darkness and fell across the steps

of the altar, pronouncing horrible blasphemies, and accusing himself of the parricide which he wished to commit; the pious Gebehard, moved at the horrible sufferings of the possessed, then prayed again with the people until the obsession of the deacon had passed off; he then raised the chalice without difficulty, and enclosed it in the tabernacle of the oratory to preserve it with the relics. Maimburg very gravely tells this story as an irrefragable proof of the holiness of Victor.

During the same year the emperor went into Italy to assist at the feast of Pentecost, which the pontiff had ordered to be celebrated at Florence. A great council was held in that city, at which several abuses which had been introduced among the clergy, were condemned. The prohibition to alienate church property was renewed, and the penalty of excommunication was pronounced against clergy or laity who should contravene this law. After this assembly rose, Gebehard sent the subdeacon Hildebrand into France as his ambassador, to put a bridle upon the disorders of the clergy, and particularly to repress simony, that sacerdotal leprosy which had covered all the churches of Italy and Gaul. In execution of the orders of the holy father, Hildebrand convoked a synod at Lyons. At the opening of the sitting, a bishop was accused of having bought his See at auction; but as the discussion was prolonged into the night, the fathers were obliged to defer until the next day, the judgment in this case. During the night the accused profited by the delay which had been granted to him, and corrupted the accusers and witnesses with gold; and the next day, when the council had assembled, he boldly presented himself, demanding to be confronted with his enemies. The accusers were called with a loud voice and no one appeared.

The wary Hildebrand then rose with dignity, and said to him: "Do you firmly believe that the Holy Spirit sees everything, and that it is of the same substance with the Father and the Son?" The bishop replied, "I do." "Then," added the deacon, "recite with a loud voice, and in the presence of this assembly, the Gloria Patri." The guilty man commenced the doxology with a firm voice, but having reached the words Spiritui Sancto, he could not articulate them; he immediately fell at the feet of the legate, and with floods of tears confessed his crime, and demanded to be condemned with all the rigour of the canons. Hildebrand immediately pronounced a sen-

tence of deposition against him, and he could at once say the *Gloria Patri*. All the assistants, alarmed and fearful of the same chastisement, implored the clemency of the legate. Peter Damian, who recounts this miracle, adds, that he heard Hildebrand himself relate it, and that Hugh, abbot of Cluny, as well as Pope Calixtus the Second, were eye witnesses of it.

Fleury says, that at the same period, the sub-deacon legate convoked a council at Tours, at which appeared Berenger, with Lanfranc, his implacable adversary; that he had permission given to him to defend his opinion, but that he dared not do it, and publicly confessed the common belief of the church, swearing that for the future he would conform to the decisions of the Holy See. The same author adds, that Berenger subscribed this retraction with his own hand, and that Hildebrand then admitted him to his communion: Father Ignatius Hyacinthus affirms, that the monk of Bec had a learned discussion with Berenger, that he convicted him of his errors, and compelled him to retract them in the presence of Hildebrand.

In the following year a new council was held in the city of Toulouse; Raimbault, Ponce and Geoffrey, the metropolitans of Arles, Aix, and Narbonne, presided over this assembly in the capacity of legates of the pope. The fathers made some regulations in regard to the incontinence and simony of the priests; they then heard the complaints of Berenger, viscount of Narbonne, against the archbishop, one of the legates of the Holy See, and one of the presidents of the assembly.

Berenger thus spoke: "During the time of archbishop Ermengaud, my uncle, the See of Narbonne was the most important from Rome to Spain; it was rich in lands and castles; the church was filled with books and plate; it possessed large sums in its treasury, numerous canons served it, and more than a thousand serfs cultivated its domains. On the death of Ermengaud, Geoffrey, the count of Cerdagne, whose sister I had married, came to Narbonne, and proposed to me to obtain the vacant archbishopric for his son who was then but ten years old, with the promise of dividing an hundred thousand pennies of gold between my father and the count of Rhodes, if they would acquiesce in this proposal. My father and mother refused to accept it, but I was weak enough to follow the advice of my wife; I resisted the authors of my day, and was even so transported with anger against them, as in a moment of wrath to threaten to put them to death, if they did not yield to the demand of the count of Cerdagne. My father, whom age had rendered timid, obeyed; Geoffrey paid down the hundred thousand pennies, and his son was placed in possession of the archbishopric of Narbonne, after having sworn that neither we, ours, nor the diocese should ever suffer any harm by his will or negligence. When the infant prelate, however, became a man, he failed in all his promises; he sold the domains of the

church and those of the canons, to bestow them on his concubines and minions; he constructed strong forts in which to lodge his troops, and has waged a terrible war in which thousands of Christians have found their death. He has purchased the See of Urgel for his brother William, with an hundred thousand pennies of gold, and has paid this sum with the crosses, chalices, shrines of the relics and patines of gold and silver which he has sold to the Jews. He has finally placed himself under the protection of the countess Urgel, his relative, with whom he maintains a criminal intercourse.

In order to put a finishing stroke to his crimes, this wretch has lanced an excommunication against me, my wife, my children, and my territories; he has prohibited ecclesiastics from administering baptism, communion, and the burial of the dead in my province. It is true that we regard of but little account the anathema of a man who is laden with all iniquities, and whom Pope Victor, in the council of Florence, himself excommunicated for simony; not only has he sold all the ecclesiastical orders, but he had been paid for the consecration of the bishops, and the dedication of the churches of my domains. It is on these accounts that I complain to you and to Christ, and entreat the pope to give me justice against my bishop. Otherwise I shall hold of no account the excommunication lanced against me by Geoffrey, and shall not keep the truce of God."

In order to understand this last expression, it is necessary to recall to our recollection, that since the reign of Louis the Good Natured, the royal authority was no longer respected; the lords and nobles maintained their right to administer justice, by force of arms; hence arose the wars of province against province, county against county, castle against castle; pillage, robbery, incendiarism and murder became customary, and were no longer regarded as crimes. At length, during the reign of King Robert, and particularly in the kingdom of Aquitaine, a more efficacious means than those which had yet been tried, was resorted to, to arrest these ravages. A council held in the diocese of Elne, a dependancy of Roussillon, declared, that in future, from Wednesday night until Monday morning, no one should seize by force of arms upon the domains of his enemy, nor should avenge any injury, under the penalty of paying a fixed fine, or of being excommunicated and banished from his province; this agreement was called the truce of God.

The history of the church has left us in ignorance of the result of the complaints of the viscount of Narbonne; it is most likely they were not received by the synod of Toulouse, as the accused was himself one of the legates of the Holy See.

Whilst the French clergy and nobility were ruining provinces by their quarrels, and demanding justice, one against another at the court of Rome, Richer, abbot of Monte Cassino died, and the monks chose as his suc-

essor, Peter, the senior of the convent, a venerable old man, who had passed his long career in the study of the sacred Scriptures, and in the practice of Christian virtues; but the pope, enraged that this election had been made without his authority, and that he had not derived any benefit from it, sent Cardinal Humbert to Monte Cassino, with orders to annul the nomination of the new abbot. To bring the monks to reason, the cardinal invested Monte Cassino with his soldiers, seized the venerable Peter by force, and sent him to Rome. The holy father caused him to be confined in the dungeons of the palace of the Lateran, where he died of famine. The monk Frederick, who afterwards reached the pa-

lacy under the name of Stephen the Tenth, was named abbot.

After this exploit, Victor came to Goslar in Germany, where he received the last sighs of the emperor Henry the Third, who died in his arms, on the 5th of October, 1056. Some days before, the bishops and principal lords of Germany had solemnly recognized his son as his successor to the empire, although the young prince was but five years old; the empress Agnes, his mother, was named regent, and took the reins of government, until his majority.

The pope then prepared for his return to Italy, but on arriving in Tuscany, he was suddenly taken ill, and died on the 28th of July, 1057.

## STEPHEN THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1057.]

*History of Stephen before his pontificate—His election—He wishes to reform the church—Letter of Peter Damian to the cardinals—State of the Eastern schism—The pope wishes to overthrow the power of the emperors—His death.*

STEPHEN THE TENTH, was the brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, one of the most powerful princes of that period, who had for a long time combatted against the emperor in the provinces of Upper and Lower Lorraine, which he had finally re-united under his sway. His wars with the empire only terminated on the occasion of the journey of Pope Leo the Ninth, his relative, into Germany, who had negotiated a treaty of alliance between Henry and Godfrey. Three years afterwards, the duke of Lorraine came into Italy, accompanied by his brother Frederick, who was then the archdeacon of Liege; the holy father made him a cardinal deacon, with the offices of librarian and chancellor of the Roman church; he then sent him as his legate to Constantinople, to reduce the patriarch Michael Cerularius to obedience. This embassy was attended with disagreeable results to the young Frederick; for on his return into Italy, he was arrested, as well as his colleagues, Humbert and Peter, by Trasimond, duke of Spoleto, who seized upon the rich presents which the emperor Constantine Monomachus sent to the church of St. Peter, and drove them from his states, after having despoiled them even of their vestments.

Leo was dead when Frederick returned to Rome; as he was ambitious of the title of pope, he lost no time, and went into Germany to obtain the protection of Henry. But he found the dispositions of the emperor towards him but little favorable, on account of the marriage of Godfrey with Beatrix, the widow of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, which opened to his brother a great preponderance in Italy, and gave to him facilities to seize the

imperial crown. The deacon having failed in his ambitious projects, shut himself up in Monte Cassino, to wait the progress of events, and embraced the monastic life. He afterwards bought from Pope Victor, the dignity of abbot of his monastery and of cardinal priest. But scarcely had he taken possession of his church, when Boniface, bishop of Albano came to Rome, to announce the news of the death of the pontiff.

New intrigues for the tiara immediately commenced. Frederic scattered his gold profusely among the clergy, and bought up the soldiers; and, finally, when the corporations of the trades came together to consult upon the choice which they should make, he dared to reply, that he alone was worthy to occupy the throne of the apostle. His partizans exclaimed, "Amen," and bore him in triumph to the church of St. Peter, where he was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, under the name of Stephen the Tenth. He was then conducted with the same pomp to the palace of the Lateran. On the next day, all the cardinals, the clergy, and the people followed him to the church of St. Peter, where three bishops consecrated him with the usual ceremonies, and without waiting for the commissioners of the emperor.

During the first four months which followed his election, Stephen held several councils to repress the disorders of the church, and to arrest the incontinence of priests; he then went to Monte Cassino, for the purpose of appropriating to himself a part of the riches of the good fathers, who already possessed entire provinces, and were still occupied with fabricating false deeds for the purpose of augment-

ing the immense domains of their monastery. Stephen sold the abbey to Didier, who, in the end, became pope; he wished also to bring out from the cloisters, the venerable Peter Damian, by naming him bishop of Ostia, and first of his cardinals, in order to attach to his See a man whose talents could be of great assistance to him; but as the holy monk refused all dignities, preferring the calm of retreat to the turbulence of greatness, the pope ordered him to assume the pastoral baton and to follow him to the palace of the Lateran, under penalty of excommunication. Peter obeyed; he, however, always complained of the violence which had been done to him in drawing him from his monastery, as we find from one of his letters, addressed to the seven cardinal bishops of the church of the Lateran, whom he styles his brethren.

The cardinal bishops were alone entitled to celebrate mass in the church of the palace; they called them also collaterals, because they were ordinarily by the side of the pontiff; they also bore the title of weekly, because they officiated, in turn, each for a week. We cite a letter of Peter, as a precious document, which throws light upon the spirit of the church at that period:—"Ecclesiastical discipline is everywhere abandoned; the canons of the church are trampled under foot; priests only labour to satisfy their cupidity, or to abandon themselves to incontinence. The duties of the episcopate only consist in wearing garments covered with gold and precious stones, in enveloping oneself in precious furs, in possessing race horses in the stables, and in sallying forth with a numerous escort of armed horsemen. Prelates should, on the contrary, set an example for the purity of their morals and all Christian virtues. Misfortunes turn on those who lead a condemnable life, and anathema on those who intrigue for the dignity of bishops for a guilty end! Shame on ecclesiastics who abandon their country, follow the armies of kings, and become the courtiers of princes, to obtain, in their turn, the power of commanding men, and of subjugating them to their sway! These corrupt priests are more sensitive to terrestrial dignities than to the celestial recompenses promised by the Saviour; and to obtain bishoprics, they sacrifice their souls and bodies. It would, however, be better for them openly to purchase the episcopal Sees, for simony is a less crime than hypocrisy. Their impure hands are always open to receive presents from the faithful; their heads are always at work to invent new means of squeezing the people, and their viper-tongues are prodigal, by day and night, of flatteries to tyrants.— Thus I declare the bishops who have become the slaves of kings, three times simoniacal, and thrice damned!"

The pope, desirous of pursuing his projects of reform, for the purpose of arresting the encroachments of the monks, and of placing a rein on their insatiable avidity, reserved to himself, in the bargain he made with Didier, the free disposal of the immense revenues of

his convent, which was richer than a kingdom. But, in order not to violate the canons too openly, he sent him to Constantinople, in the capacity of legate of the Holy See, and declared himself the treasurer of the monastery during the absence of the abbot. Didier went, accompanied by Stephen, a cardinal, and Mainard, bishop of St. Rufinus; these prelates, on arriving in the East, found that the schism had made profound ravages in the Greek church, and that Michael Cerularius, an experienced man, had profited by the favourable circumstances which the weakness of the regency had presented to his ambition.

Stephen understood perfectly the situation of affairs in the East; he knew that Cerularius had obtained great privileges for his church, had augmented the wealth of his clergy, and placed all the priests beyond the jurisdiction of the officers of the empire; he understood well that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the heresy, and to re-establish the authority of the Holy See in the imperial city; but the pretext was a specious one, and served to remove Didier, which enabled him to remain sole master of the immense treasures contained in the cellars of Monte Cassino. His intention was to employ the wealth of the monks in subsidizing troops, and putting in execution the project which he had for a long time formed of giving the empire of the West to his brother Godfrey, and of excluding the lawful heir, Henry the Fifth, king of Germany. Immediately after the departure of Didier, he ordered the priors and dignitaries of the monastery to send him immediately, the gold, silver, and precious ornaments intrusted to their care, menacing them, in case of a refusal, with suspending them from their functions, and with anathematizing them. The Jesuit Maimburg thinks that this action should leave no stain on the reputation for sanctity which the pontiff enjoyed at Rome; but the chronicle of Monte Cassino is not of this opinion, and severely blames the pope for having formed so sacrilegious a project. "However," adds the legend, "when the vehicles arrived at Rome, laden with the wealth of the abbey and escorted by the monks, the pope was suddenly seized with an holy terror, and after having heard the recital of a vision which was communicated to him in confidence by the monk Andrew, he sent back the brethren with their treasures, and even gave them his benediction."

It is probable that the threats of the monks were the only cause for this change in Stephen. After this check, the pope went to Tuscany to confer with his brother upon the means to be taken to commence the war against the empire; but he had scarcely arrived in Florence, when he was suddenly attacked by a grievous malady, which carried him off on the 29th of March, 1058. St. Hugh, the abbot of Cluny, relates, that he assisted Stephen at his death, and, adds the pious monk, "I had all imaginable trouble to drive away the spirit of darkness, which wished to seize, in despite of me, upon the soul of the holy father.

## BENEDICT THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1058.]

*Violent and simoniacal election of Benedict the Tenth—An archpriest is forced to consecrate him to escape death—Election of Nicholas the Second—Benedict lays down the tiara, and voluntarily abandons the Holy See.*

STEPHEN the Tenth, before his departure for Tuscany, had assembled the cardinals, and most influential members of the clergy, and had caused them to swear that, in case of his death, they would not nominate a successor until the return of the sub-deacon Hildebrand, who had been into Germany on an affair of state. Thus this monk was to exercise in the council the functions of the Holy Spirit, and inspire the Romans in the choice of a sovereign pontiff. But the instructions of Stephen were despised; and on the very night in which his death was known at Rome, Gregory, the son of Alberic, count of Tusculum, and Gerard of Galene, giving ear to their ambition alone, assembled the principal citizens in their palace, and proclaimed John Mincina, bishop of Veletri, their relative, as sovereign pontiff.

Peter Damian, being desirous of conforming to the decree of Stephen the Tenth, opposed the ordination of the new pontiff, and pronounced an anathema on the seditious persons who had chosen Benedict to be the supreme head of the church. But his opposition produced no result, and he was obliged to leave the palace of the Lateran to escape from the soldiers, who threatened to put to death those who should resist the will of the counts of Tuscanella. An archpriest was conducted by force to the church of St. Peter, and constrained, by a dagger at his breast, to consecrate Benedict on the 5th of April, 1058. The new pontiff occupied the Holy See for about ten months.

Whilst Rome had become the theatre of bloody wars, Didier, the abbot of the convent of Monte Cassino, and the two other legates sent to Constantinople by Stephen, returned from their mission, and disembarked at Bari, on the shores of the Adriatic. As soon as they learned the death of the pope, Didier quitted his escort, and went with great speed to Monte Cassino, in order to take at once the government of his rich monastery, and to prepare for new intrigues. He was put in possession of his abbey on Easter-day, by Cardinal Humbert, who had taken refuge in this pious retreat to escape the vengeance of the counts of Tuscanella.

The ambitious Hildebrand, in his pride, immediately left the court of the empress Agnes, and started to intrigue for the sovereign pontificate; but on his arrival at Florence, he learned the election of Benedict. He at once wrote violent letters to the ecclesiastics and

notables of Rome, reproaching them for the weakness they had shown in bending their heads beneath the yoke of the counts of Tuscanella, and of allowing them to impose a pontiff upon them. He enjoined on them to drive Benedict from the Holy See, and to come to him in order to proceed to a regular election. A small number of prelates who regarded Benedict as a charitable pope, of extreme goodness and exemplary piety, pardoned his ignorance for the sake of his good qualities, and remained attached to his party; but some others were drawn off in hopes of enriching themselves under another reign; they sent in their adhesion to the sub-deacon Hildebrand, and approved, without restriction, of all that he should decide to be for the interest of the church. He immediately assembled the priests of his party, and ordered them to elect as sovereign pontiff the bishop Gerard, whom Henry the Fourth had himself designated, when the Romans came to him to beseech him to give them a pope of his choice. Gerard was consecrated by the name of Nicholas the Second, and the church recognized two pontiffs!

Peter Damian, being consulted by an archbishop as to who was the true pope whom they should obey, made this singular reply: "He who is now upon the Holy See was enthroned at night by troops of armed men, who caused him to be elected by distributing money among the clergy. On the day of his nomination, the patines, the holy pyxes, and the crucifixes from the treasury of St. Peter, were sold throughout the city. His election was then violent and simoniacal. He alleges in his justification, that he was forced to accept the pontificate; and I would not affirm that it is not so: for our pope is so stupid, that it would not be at all extraordinary if he were ignorant of the intrigues which the counts of Tuscanella have carried on in his name. He is guilty, however, for remaining in the abyss into which he has been cast, and for being ordained by an archpriest whose ignorance is so great, that he cannot read a line without spelling every syllable. Although the election of Nicholas the Second was not entirely regular, I would submit more willingly to the authority of this pontiff, because he is sufficiently literary, possesses an active mind, pure morals, and is filled with charity. Still, if the other pope could compose a line, I will not say a psalm, but even an homily, I would not oppose him, and would kiss his feet."

Henry the Fourth gave orders to duke Godfrey to accompany Nicholas the Second to Rome, and to drag the bishop of Veletri from the chair of St. Peter by force, if he were unwilling to leave it voluntarily. Before, however, proceeding to violence, Gerard and Hildebrand convoked a council at Sutri, to declare the anti-pope dispossessed and excommuni-

cated if he should persist in maintaining himself upon the Holy See. Benedict, discovering that the counts of Tuscanelia were not powerful enough to protect him against the arms of Duke Godfrey, resigned like a philosopher. He laid down the tiara, and retired to his house, abandoning the palace of the Lateran to the ambitious Nicholas.

## NICHOLAS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1058 ]

*Enthronement of the pope—He takes off the excommunication pronounced against the anti-pope—Scandalous bargain between Nicholas and the abbot Didier—Deplorable state of the church—Council of Rome—Decree against the simoniacs—Synodical letter of the pope—Perfidy of the pope towards Berenger of Tours—Berenger persists in his doctrines concerning the eucharist—Nicholas the Second cedes the province of Apulia to the Normans—Philip the First crowned King of France—Council of the Gauls—Death of the pope.*

As soon as John Mincius had abdicated the supreme dignity of the church, Nicholas the Second, accompanied by Godfrey and the cardinals of his party, made his entry into Rome. He was received with great honours, and conducted to the palace of the Lateran. Some days after his enthronement, the anti-pope Benedict came to prostrate himself before him, protesting his devotion, and accusing himself of being sacrilegious, an usurper, and a perjurer. Nicholas then took off the excommunication which had been pronounced against him, under the express condition that he should not leave the church of St. Maria Majora. Benedict submitted; and the schism was terminated without causing any blood to flow in Rome.

But the captains of quarters, who had been appointed during the preceding reigns, did not evince the same compliance in regard to the revenues of the Holy See, on which they had seized. They treated with contempt the decrees of the new pope, and continued to collect the tenths of the clergy, under the pretext that they could without crime despoil the church of money which it collected from the superstition and ignorance of the people. Nicholas, too weak to struggle against the leaders of the military, left them in possession of the revenues of Rome, and addressed himself to the abbot of Monte Cassino, to obtain from him the sums which were necessary to satisfy the demands of the Italian clergy. Didier acceded to the demands of the pontiff; but in turn exacted from him the title of cardinal priest of St. Cecilia. The bargain was concluded; and the next day Nicholas surrendered to him the revenues of the church of St. Cecilia. He further augmented the privileges of his monastery, and named him as his vicar for the reformation of all the convents of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria.

Rome and Italy continued to be the scene

of frightful disorders. All the prelates, following the example of the pontiff, put up the holy orders at auction, and publicly adjudged them to the highest bidders, in order to regain for themselves, by this sacrilegious traffic, the money which they had given to obtain the episcopate. Besides, a luxury so scandalous was introduced into the church, that the revenues of the dioceses were no longer sufficient for the maintenance of the packs of hounds, equipages, minions, and courtezans, which filled the episcopal palaces.

Nicholas, desirous of remedying these disorders, which infallibly presaged the ruin of the church, convoked a council in the holy city. Three hundred bishops assembled at Rome and took their seats in the palace of the Lateran. The pope thus opened the session: "You know, my brethren, how, after the death of Stephen, our predecessor, the Holy See was exposed to the deplorable intrigues of simoniacs. In order to prevent such scandal in future, we order, in accordance with the authority of the fathers, that after the death of a pope, the cardinal bishops shall first deliberate upon, and choose a pontiff; they shall then call into the place of assembly the cardinal clerks, to hear their representations; and finally, the rest of the clergy and the people shall come together to approve the nomination of the new head of the church. We should, above all, have unceasingly before us the remembrance of this sentence of the blessed Leo: 'We should not call bishops the ecclesiastics who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor demanded by the people, nor consecrated by the prelates of the province, with the consent of the archbishop.' But, as there is no metropolitan to the Holy See, the cardinals shall fill his place; they shall give the preference, in the selection of a pontiff, to the Roman church, if it has a subject worthy to represent Christ upon earth; if not, they



shall choose a stranger prelate, having chiefly regard for the wishes of our son Henry, who is now king, and who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, as we have promised him. The same deference shall always be exhibited for the successors of this prince, who shall receive the imperial crown.

"If the misfortunes of the times or the tyranny of faction shall prevent their proceeding to a free election in Rome, the cardinal bishops assisted by the principal dignitaries of the church, and by some laymen, shall be authorized to assemble in the city which they shall judge most convenient, and proclaim a new pope. If, after the consecration of the pontiff, any obstacle shall oppose itself to his enthronement on the Holy See, according to the habitual usages and ceremonies, he shall be none the less regarded as the chief of the clergy; he shall govern the church, and dispose of the property of St. Peter, as Gregory the Great himself did before his consecration. If any one is chosen, ordained, and enthroned in contempt of this decree, let him be anathematized and deposed, with all his accomplices, as antichrist, an usurper and destroyer of the Christian faith."

Nicholas then made canons prohibiting the faithful from receiving mass from priests who lived openly with their concubines. With regard to simoniacs he added: "As to those who have been ordained for money, our clemency permits them to preserve the dignities to which they have been promoted, because the multitude of these ecclesiastics is so great, that by observing the rigour of the canons with regard to them, we should leave almost all the churches without priests."

After the council was terminated, the pope addressed synodical letters to the bishops and faithful of the Gauls, to announce to them the decisions of the assembly. He renewed the threats of excommunication against married or concubinary priests, and against apostate clerks and monks who abandoned the church or their convents to embrace a laical life. He finally anathematized the soldiery, who destroyed the pilgrims and put unarmed priests to ransom. This last consideration is singular, and proves that the clergy carried on war. The pope terminated, by condemning to eternal fire the lords who violated the freedom of the churches within sixty paces of their circuit, or within thirty paces of that of chapels. At this period, simple oratories were not so sacred as churches, and the more considerable the edifice, the greater was its sanctity.

Nicholas at last caught Berenger, the illustrious professor of Tours in a trap; he invited him to Rome under the pretext of explaining to him his doctrine in regard to the eucharist; but no sooner had he set foot in Italy than he was cast into prison, submitted to rigorous treatment and threatened with death by torture, unless he consented to present to the pope an abjuration, signed with his own hand and conceived in these terms: "I, Berenger, an unworthy archdeacon of the church of St. Martin of Angers, understanding the true

Catholic faith, anathematize all heresies, and especially that which I have professed until now, by which I pretended to maintain that the bread and wine placed upon the altar during the holy sacrifice, were not after their consecration, but the sacrament, and not the true body and blood of Jesus Christ. I now agree with the holy Roman church and the apostolical See, and I profess the same faith, in regard to the sacrament of the altar, as Pope Nicholas. I believe that the bread and wine are, after their consecration, the true body and blood of Jesus Christ; that they are touched and divided by the hands of the priest and the teeth of the faithful. I swear it by the holy Trinity, declaring those anathematized who combat this belief by their teaching or followers, and condemning myself with all the severity of the canons, if I shall ever revoke the sentiments declared in this profession of faith which I have read, meditated upon and willingly subscribed."

Berenger signed this formula of abjuration, and burned, himself, in the presence of the pope and his council, the works which he had written upon the eucharist. Nicholas immediately sent the proceedings which contained the solemn retraction of Berenger, to all the cities of Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, and England; he then loaded him with honours and placed him at liberty, promising him the first bishopric vacant in Gaul. But the latter had no sooner entered France, than he protested against the oath which had been wrested from him by violence, and opposed himself more than ever to the tyranny of the Holy See. In fact Berenger was not an heretic; he did not say that the bread and wine lost their nature after the consecration by the priest; he only maintained that Jesus Christ was not really present under the appearance of bread and wine, and that he was only fictitiously in the eucharist, because, affirmed he, God could not be transformed into bread and wine, nor could these substances become God. A century later, the celebrated Rupert reconciled these two contradictory ideas, by creating the system of impanation, which consists in saying, that the substance of the bread is not destroyed in the sacrament of the eucharist, but that the body of Jesus Christ is mixed with the consecrated bread.

The holy father was not more successful in his projects against the Normans, than he had been in his cowardly persecution of the learned Berenger. He was obliged to abandon the hope of expelling those terrible neighbours from Italy; he then changed his policy, and resolved to transform into defenders of the Holy See those who had been its most ardent enemies. For this purpose he went into Apulia, and convoked a council at the city of Melfa, to which the Normans sent their deputies. Nicholas granted to Robert Guiscard, their chief, all Apulia and all Calabria, with the exception of Beneventum; he gave the principality of Capua to Richard, and surrendered to him Sicily, of which he had already commenced the conquest from the Saracens. The

pope then took off the excommunication they had incurred under Leo the Ninth, and permitted them to send their children to the colleges of Rome. The Normans took the oath of fidelity to the Holy See, swore to arm in its defence, and personally engaged to pay the pontiff an annual revenue of twelve denarii, money of Pavia, for each pair of oxen that worked in his domains.

Such was the commencement of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the origin of the rights which the pontiffs claimed over them. The Holy See obtained considerable augmentation in its temporal affairs from the position of the Normans, who declared themselves vassals of the pope, to prevent the emperor from laying claim to a part of the provinces they had seized, and to put an end to the invasions of the neighbouring lords, who could not declare war against them without exposing themselves to the thunders of the church. After this assembly was concluded, Nicholas ordered his new allies to assemble their troops and ravage the territories of Prenestum, Tusculum and Nomento, whose inhabitants had revolted against the Holy See; then, still at the instigation of the pope, the Normans passed the Tiber, and carried fire and sword into the city of Galeria and all the castles of Count Gerard, to punish him for levying a tribute upon the pilgrims and bishops who traversed his domains on their way to the holy city. The Normans thus became the instruments which the popes used to free the church from the petty lords who had for a long time tyrannized over it.

Nicholas sent two legates into France, who assisted at the coronation of Phillip the First, the eldest son of King Henry, who was consecrated by Gervais, the metropolitan of Rheims; it is the first consecration of the kings of the third race, of which we have an authentic account. The ambassadors, on this occasion, held several councils in France, and caused them to approve of the canons which had been brought from Rome for the purpose of arresting the simony and incontinence of the clergy.

In England, Eldred, archbishop of York, taking advantage of the weakness of King Edward, had persuaded him, that in accordance with the custom of the Italian clergy, he was permitted to accumulate bishoprics and abbey, and consequently revenues and large property were awarded to him; but his ava-

rice having excited the general indignation, he was obliged to go to Rome, accompanied by bishops Gison of Ely and Walter of Hertford, and by Tostin, earl of Northumberland, brother-in-law of the king. The pope deprived Eldred of all ecclesiastical dignity, not only because he was a simoniac, but also on account of his extreme ignorance, and granted on the contrary to Gison and Walter, confirmation in the episcopate. He loaded, besides with honours and presents, Earl Tostin, and seated him at his right hand in the assemblies and festivals, up to the time when the pilgrims wished to return to their country.

Unfortunately, on the day of their departure, when they were but a few miles from Rome, they were attacked by robbers, who took from them all they possessed, and left them nothing but indispensable clothing. They immediately retraced their steps, and traversed the holy city in a piteous plight, pursued by the shouts of the rabble, even to the palace of the Lateran. Earl Tostin, furious at this adventure, broke out into outrageous language against the pontiff. He accused him of having an understanding with the robbers to despoil pilgrims, and asked of him what was the power of his excommunications, if at the very gates of Rome, the Italian lords would despise them with impunity; he threatened him with all the wrath of the king of England, and the suppression of Peter's pence, which the people of his kingdom had the stupidity to pay him. Nicholas, frightened by this last threat, hastened to replace what had been stolen from the illustrious pilgrims. He even consented to bestow the pallium on Archbishop Eldred, in order to make a partizan of him; and he sent a numerous escort to accompany them, and also legates instructed to apologize to King Edward for this unfortunate event.

Some months afterwards the pope made a new journey to Florence, but he had scarcely arrived in that city, when a violent fever seized him and carried him off in a few hours, at the beginning of the month of July, 1061. He was interred in the church of St. Reparaturus.

Bishop Mainard exalts the great virtues of Nicholas, and affirms that he never passed a day without washing the feet of a dozen poor persons. Baronius adds, that it were better to feed these unfortunates than to parody the humanity of Christ by a ridiculous ceremony.

## ALEXANDER THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1061.]

*Struggles between the factions—Vacancy in the Holy See—The cardinals consecrate a pope—The new pontiff is enthroned by the name of Alexander the Second—The faction opposed to him send a deputation to the emperor—General diet at Basle—Election of an anti-pope.*

AFTER the death of Nicholas, the clergy and the people, divided into two powerful factions, proceeded in the midst of the troubles and seditions to the election of a new pope. Hildebrand, that obstinate monk, whom we have seen, during the preceding reigns, seize upon the direction of all the political affairs of the Holy See, wished to profit by the decree of Nicholas in relation to the election of the popes, and to take away from the empire the right of choosing a chief of the church.

The minority of King Henry appeared to him to be a favourable circumstance for breaking the yoke of the emperors, and re-establishing the electoral independence of the court of Rome. These sentiments were also entertained by the cardinals, and the large majority of the bishops, whose interests were the same, and they all resolved to consecrate the new chief without submitting his nomination to the approval of Prince Henry.

But the counts of Tuscanella and Galeria, as well as the other lords of the opposite faction, having different interests, undertook to re-seize upon the authority which they had lost during the pontificate of Nicholas. For this purpose they openly declared themselves the defenders of the rights of the prince, introduced soldiers into their palaces to intimidate the clergy, and united with Cardinal Hugh, the commissioner of the emperor, protesting that they would oppose all efforts tending to overthrow the prerogatives of the crown.

Hildebrand, surprised by this formidable opposition, dared not proceed to the election of a pope; he, however, sent into Germany several ambassadors carrying letters to the empress Agnes, to obtain authority to convoke a synod, and nominate a pontiff, in accordance with the new mode of election. The delegates returned from Germany, after an absence of three months, without having been able to obtain an audience of the court, and having the seals of their letters unbroken. Hildebrand then resolved to go further, and took an energetic step; he brought into Rome Norman troops, commanded by the prince of Apulia; he then convoked the cardinals, and lords of his party, and proposed to the assembly the election of Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, as the sovereign pontiff. Prince Robert Guiscard, and the abbot Didier, supported this motion; the council proclaimed Anselmo chief of the church, and on the next day the new pope was consecrated by the name of Alexander the Second.

The counts of Tuscanella and Segni not being able to oppose his enthronement, immediately despatched ambassadors to the king of Germany, and the empress, who were joined by those of Lombardy, whom Gilbert of Parma sent to Agnes.

When the ambassadors arrived in Germany, King Henry and his council decided, that on a subject of so much importance it was necessary to convoke a general diet. Almost all the German and Lombard prelates met at Basle, where the king was crowned anew in the presence of the lords and the bishops, who conferred on him the title of patrician of the Romans. The bishops of Verceil and Placenza then brought charges against Alexander the Second, who had by his election openly violated the sacred rights of the king of Germany. They declared him deprived of the Holy See, and proposed as his successor, Cadalus or Cadalous Palavian, bishop of Parma, who was at once proclaimed sovereign pontiff. Three bishops consecrated him, and he immediately clothed himself with the pontifical ornaments.

At this period there lived at the monastery of Luceola, in Umbria, a cenobite called St. Dominic the Mailed, who wore, instead of hair cloth, a breastplate of iron. The hermits of Luceola were eighteen in number; they drank nothing but water, and used no grease to season their food, and ate no flesh except on Sundays; they fasted on bread and water the other six days, and passed all the night in prayer. They kept an absolute silence during the whole week, except on the Lord's day, between vespers and compline, when their rules authorized them to exchange some religious words. St. Dominic not finding this discipline sufficiently rigorous, redoubled the rigidity of the fast; he inflicted on himself cruel macerations; during winter he slept on the frozen earth of his cell, with naked feet and legs, having no covering for his body but an iron shirt of mail, over which he put his cuirass; he lacerated his face, neck, and legs, with rods and thorns; and it is related that on one evening he presented his bleeding body before the abbot, and cast himself at his feet, exclaiming, "my father, I accuse myself of having lived as a carnal man; impose upon me a severe penance." The venerable abbot sought to calm the violent grief of the monk, and asked him if he had eaten eggs or cheese? "No, my father," replied he in wrath, nor fish nor fruit; I leave them to the sick; but I have eaten fennel

seed with my bread." Strange aberration of the human mind.

Dominic recited, daily, twelve psalms, twenty-four times in succession, with his arms extended like a cross, and he added the canticles, hymns, creed of St. Athanasius, and the litanies. Some years before his death, having discovered, by an experiment, that leathern thongs were rougher than rods, he habituated himself to this new discipline. His macerations, and the use of his coat of mail,

had rendered his skin as black as that of a negro. He even wore beneath his cuirass, eight iron rings, which he drew together with buckles until they penetrated the flesh. This frightful penance did not prevent his attaining an extreme old age; he died in the year 1062, and was interred in his cell with his cuirass and coat of mail. We have cited this remarkable example in order to show the excess of fanaticism.

## HONORIUS THE SECOND, POPE OR ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1061.]

*Vices of the new pontiff—Pope Alexander flies from Rome—The forcible removal of the emper-  
ror—The empress Agnes is deposed by Alexander the Second—Schism of Florence—Council  
of Rome—The embassy of Damian to Florence—Proof by fire—Peter Aldobrandin miracu-  
lously traverses the flames of a burning pyre—Consequences of the schism of Florence—Council  
of Mantua—Honorius the Second enters Rome—He is betrayed by Cencius, who retains  
him prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo—The anti-pope is forced to quit Rome in the dress of  
a pilgrim—His death.*

The new pontiff, whom several chroniclers designate by the name of anti-pope, was a concubinary, and had already been condemned for the crimes of extortion and adultery in the councils of Pavia, Mantua, and Milan.

When Peter Damian was apprized of the election of Honorius, he addressed the following letter to him:—"Until now, my brother, the witnesses of your bad conduct were the inhabitants of a single city in Italy. Now your crimes will be published throughout all Italy, France, England, Spain, and Germany...." Cadalous, without disquieting himself about the discontent, occupied himself in raising an army for the purpose of entering the holy city by force; he first bought up the partizans of Alexander, then through their medium he carried on communication with the city, and on a day agreed upon, he suddenly presented himself at the gates of Rome at the head of his troops.

Alexander, abandoned by his party, who had almost all of them sold themselves to his enemy, immediately quitted the palace of the Lateran and embarked on the Tiber, in order to go by sea to Germany, for the purpose of bringing back with him Duke Godfrey and the vassals of his domains. The ambitious Duke permitted himself to be seduced by hopes of receiving the imperial crown from the pope; he hastily assembled his troops and marched on Rome to combat the bands of Honorius, who were then encamped in the meadows of Nero, near the Vatican.

On his side, Didier abbot of Monte Cassino, had distributed immense sums of money in the absence of the holy father, and had rallied the Romans around him to repulse the attacks of Honorius; but having made a sortie upon the camp of the anti-pope, which he hoped to carry by surprise, he was vigorously repulsed

and his troops were cut to pieces. Honorius made a frightful massacre of them; he pursued the fliers up to the very gates of Rome, when Godfrey arrived; this latter charged the flank of the army of Honorius with his veterans and routed it. The anti-pope himself fell into the power of his enemies, but by promise of a large ransom, he induced the officers who guarded him, to set him at liberty. He then retired to the city of Parma, where, notwithstanding his defeat, he preserved the title of pope, in hopes of remounting the throne of the church.

Master of the ground, Alexander followed up actively the criminal plots into which he had entered in Germany with Anon archbishop of Cologne, for the purpose of placing the imperial crown on the head of Godfrey. By his orders, Anon invaded the dwelling of the young king Henry, at the head of an armed band, and carried him off, notwithstanding his entreaties and his tears, and conducted him to the episcopal palace. He then convened a general diet, in which he made them confer the government of the empire upon him during the minority of Henry; he solemnly confirmed the election of Pope Alexander, and condemned that of Cadalous as being opposed to the laws of the church. Finally, the empress was deposed from the regency and condemned to make a pilgrimage to Ravenna, to ask pardon for her crimes from the sovereign pontiff. Agnes obeyed, and cast herself at the feet of the holy father, beseeching him, with tears, to prescribe a penance for her, to conceal from Christ the numerous sins which she had committed.

Alexander showed himself very indulgent to the faults of the beautiful penitent; it is even related that he became desperately enamoured of her, and that he gave to her the

government of a convent situated near the church of the apostle, where she lived for fifteen years. She was canonized after her death, doubtless because the priests found her sanctified by her amours with a pope.

At the same period, Florence became the theatre of violent seditions, which broke out between the bishop of the city and John Gualbert, abbot of the new community of Valambrosa. This monk maintained that the bishop, being a simoniac, and consequently an heretic, could not administer the sacraments nor ordain priests. In his furious zeal, he traversed the streets of Florence with his monks, proclaiming that the bishop Peter was a wretch soiled with every crime, and that the people should drive out this unworthy priest from the temple of the Lord.

Peter, in order to put a stop to the declamations of these fanatics, and to strike them with fear, went to the monastery of Valambrosa with armed men, seized the most excited monks, and after having despoiled them of their garments, whipped them with rods. The monks no longer dared to leave their convent, but they sent secretly, ambassadors to Rome, to ask for the convocation of a council, in order that they might denounce Peter of Pavia as a simoniac, a concubinary, and a murderer, offering even to walk in an heated brazier to show the truth of their accusations. In these troublous times, the pope not daring to expose himself to the discontents of the bishops, refused to listen to the complaint of the monks, and made the following decree: "In accordance with the canons of the synod of Chalcedon, we order monks, how virtuous soever they may be, never to exhibit their sanctity in public; and in conformity with the rule of St. Benedict, to remain always confined in their cloisters; finally, we prohibit them, under penalty of anathema, from ever appearing in castles and cities, even when they shall be sent for by the lords or the people."

After the termination of the council, he sent the cardinal, Peter Damian, to Florence, for the purpose of appeasing the murmurs of the people. In one of his discourses this ecclesiastic represented to the people, that they were guilty of culpable presumption in wishing to depose a bishop, who was not condemned, nor even juridically accused, but only suspected by insubordinate monks whom he wished to restrain in their duties, and he persuaded them to reject the councils of the fanatical abbot of Valambrosa. But this sage advice only increased the disorder. St. John Gualbert sallied forth at the head of his community, and came even to the residence of Damian, whom he charged with outrages, treating him as an ambitious person, a simoniac, and a murderer. He called upon the people to take up arms, in order to drive out the bishop and his unworthy supporter. On his side, Peter prepared to resist by force the armed bands which traversed Florence, threatening to burn the city, and murder the partisans of the bishop.

At length Duke Godfrey took vigorous measures to put an end to the tumult; he threatened to hang the monks to the trees of their abbey, if they did not promptly retire to their solitude. This threat was completely successful; tranquillity was not, however, entirely re-established among the people; and on the next day a great crowd went to the monastery of St. Saviour, to beseech the monks to restore peace to the city, by submitting to the judgment of God, and by unavailing an inflamed pyre as they had proposed to the sovereign pontiff. The monks joyfully consented to submit to this terrible proof, and named the Wednesday of the first week in Lent, in the year 1063, as the day for this extraordinary ceremony.

Peter Aldobrandin, a monk of great sanctity, was designated as chosen by God to represent the community in this solemn affair. On the day agreed upon, two great pyres, each thirty paces long by ten feet high, were erected, between which was left a small path three feet wide, filled with small wood, extremely dry, and so disposed as to be soon reduced to burning coals. The brethren went in procession to a church near to the place where the pyre was raised; Peter Aldobrandin celebrated a solemn mass, after which the monks advanced in two ranks, with the cross at their head and candles in their hands. They walked around the pyres, singing canticles, and set them on fire. The wood, mixed up with branches of the vine and dried fagots, immediately took fire, and the heat became so great that the monks were obliged to quit the places which they occupied.

The innumerable multitude which assisted at this spectacle, saw Aldobrandin approach alone these burning pyres, lay down the chasuble with which he had celebrated the divine mysteries, and advance towards them, holding in one hand a cross, and in the other a pocket-handkerchief to wipe off the sweat which covered his forehead. When he had arrived at the path, which separated the two fires, and which was full of burning coals as high as his knees, he stopped and made the sign of the cross. The people were in solemn contemplation!! One of the monks then addressing the crowd, summoned the citizens, the clergy, and the nobles to swear to abandon the cause of the bishop, if their brother should come forth safe and sound from this horrid proof; all swore to do so. Aldobrandin immediately thundered forth a religious song, beseeching God to preserve him in the midst of the flames, as he had before preserved from every evil the three young men, his prophets, in the furnace of Babylon. "Then," adds Baronius, "were seen his naked feet between the two embracing pyres, from which immense whirlwinds of flames escaped, in the mi"

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which they distended like a veil, rendering it of a more shining whiteness than that of snow; they caused the fringe of his maniple, the extremities of his stole, his hair and his beard to wave without leaving any trace. It was remarked, says the historian, that when Aldobrandin entered the pyre, the fire lost the devouring energy of its heat, and only preserved its brilliant light, to lighten the triumph of the holy monk. When he had arrived at the other end, Aldobrandin perceived that he had dropped his handkerchief in the midst of the path; he tranquilly retraced his steps, picked up his handkerchief, and came forth radiant from the pyres. The assistants immediately thundered forth praises to God; and having raised Aldobrandin upon their shoulders, they bore him in triumph to his monastery of St. Saviour. The monks then sent to the pope a statement of this marvellous event, and besought him to name a new prelate in the place of the unworthy bishop who had been condemned by the judgment of God."

Maimburg affirms that this fabulous adventure was witnessed in so authentic a way, that we cannot doubt it. Alexander the Second, however, who probably understood the secret of traversing the flames, still rejected their demand, and replied, like a skilful politician, that he did not doubt the exactitude of a miracle performed in the presence of a whole city, and which was confirmed by the attestations of the monks, the grandees, the clergy, and the magistracy; and that, besides, he could not contest its reality without bringing discredit on religion, in the eyes of the faithful; that he congratulated the venerable abbot on possessing in his convent a monk whose sanctity had merited from God so shining a mark of his protection. He added, that after this decided manifestation, he would already have deposed the bishop of Florence, if this latter person had not written to him that he was equally willing to undergo the proof by fire, engaging to perform the miracle in the same place and in the same manner as St. Aldobrandin. "But I was unwilling to grant him this favour," said the holy father, "from fear lest God, in performing a second miracle, should take away from you the glory which your monastery has acquired. We have been even rigorous towards Bishop Peter, and we have ordered him to absent himself from Florence for some months. We could not, however, suspend him from his episcopal functions after having refused to submit him, in his turn, to the judgment of God. We exhort you, then, for the interest of your community, to calm your people, and prepare yourselves worthily to receive your bishop on his return." The monks, fearing lest a new trial might expose their knavery, hastened to publish that the bishop had amended, and that Jesus Christ had pardoned him at the prayer of Aldobrandin.

This holy monk, who was afterwards called Petrus Igneus, or Peter of the Fire, was extremely ignorant, and filled, in his convent,

the duties of cowherd. He was now named abbot of another monastery; and when Cardinal Hildebrand became pope, he made him cardinal bishop of Albano, in order to avail himself of the credit which he had acquired in Italy since his famous miracle.

The anti-pope Cadalous still maintained himself at Parma, and by means of his intrigues, he even brought into his party Duke Godfrey, the first cause of his expulsion from Rome. This prince, discontented with the tardiness of Alexander, who had not fulfilled the promise which he had made him of placing on his head the imperial crown, resolved to conduct Honorius to the holy city, and to enthroned him sword in hand. Peter Damian, advised of the projects of the duke of Lorraine, addressed an energetic letter to him, exhorting him to abandon his projects of revolt against Pope Alexander. At the same time, the archdeacon Hildebrand wrote to King Henry, or rather to Archbishop Anon, that he was declared regent of the kingdom. He warned the court of Germany of the ambitious designs of Godfrey, of his alliance with Cadalous, and added: "The royal and sacerdotal power are united in Jesus Christ, in heaven. They should equally form an indissoluble alliance upon earth; for each has need of the assistance of the other to rule the people. The priesthood is protected by the strength of royalty, and royalty is aided by the influence of the priesthood. The king bears the sword to strike the enemies of the church; the pope bears the thunders of anathema to crush the enemies of the sovereign. Let the throne and the church then unite, and the whole world will be subjected to their law!"

Anon fearing to lose the sovereign power, if the duke of Lorraine obtained the empire, determined to go to Rome to condemn Honorius by a general council, in order that he should no longer have the right to consecrate an emperor. He immediately left Germany, traversed Lombardy and Tuscany, and arrived in the holy city without having forewarned the holy father of his visit.

In the first interview, the archbishop sharply apostrophized the pope, and asked him why he had accepted the pontificate without the order and consent of the king, who alone had the right to nominate the pontiffs. But the archdeacon Hildebrand, and the bishops who were present, denied this pretension, and replied to the metropolitan, that by the canons, temporal sovereigns had no rights whatever over the election of the popes. In support of their assertion, they cited numerous decretals, and several passages from the fathers. Anon, according to Damian, yielded to this view; he recognized the cardinals alone as having power to choose the popes; and he engaged, in the name of Henry the Fourth, to recognize Alexander as the head of the church, if the holy father would consent to justify himself, in a council, from the crime of simony, of which he had been accused.

All the prelates of Rome and Lombardy were invited to go to Mantua, where this synod was to be held. Alexander, defended by Peter Damian, was pronounced innocent, and Honorius the Second was condemned as a simoniac and concubinary by this assembly. The ecclesiastical thunders did not, however, terrify the intrepid Cadalous. When the archbishop of Cologne quitted Italy, he approached the walls of Rome, gained over the captains who guarded the city, distributed money to their soldiers, and penetrated as far as the city Leonine, on which he seized during the night.

On the news of this sudden attack, the cardinals caused all the bells to be rung, called the people to arms, opened the store rooms of the church, and led the populace, furious and gorged with wine, before the church of St. Peter. The soldiery of Honorius were so frightened, that they escaped from the temple, leaving Honorius almost alone to the mercy of the party of Alexander. But at the moment when the doors of the church were about to yield to the efforts of the assailants, Cencius, the son of the prefect of Rome, came to the aid of Honorius with his guards, overthrew the besiegers, carried him off from the city Leonine, and conducted him to the castle of St. Angelo. Scarcely had Cadalous shut himself up in the fortress, than the troops of Alexander, recovering from their first surprise, invested the castle and formed its siege, but uselessly.

The deceitful Cencius kept him his prisoner for two years. Instead of being the protector of Honorius, as he had promised him, he became his jailer, threatening him daily to give him up to the pontiff Alexander, in order to extract money from him, whilst on the other side, he exacted large sums from the holy father by threatening him with allowing his competitor to escape.

Finally, Honorius having privately procured the garments of a pilgrim, escaped during the night and reached the village of Baretta, from whence he came to Parma. He continued to exercise episcopal functions in this city; consecrated bishops, composed bulls, and excommunicated Alexander the Second, but he had not the satisfaction of overthrowing his competitor. A severe sickness, brought on by the privations and bad treatment which Cencius had inflicted on him, led him to the tomb towards the close of the year 1066.

Most ecclesiastical authors designate Cadalous by the name of anti-pope, not on account of the irregularity of his election, for they avow, that that of Alexander was not canonical, and that both were intruders on the Holy See, but on account of the corruption of his morals. We blame this extraordinary severity: for if we were only to count in the ranks of lawful popes, those who have been virtuous, we should reduce the successors of St. Peter to so small a number, that the adorns of the Roman purple would be annihilated!!

## ALEXANDER THE SECOND, BECOME SOLE POPE.

[A. D. 1066.]

*Set of the incestuous—Abuse of excommunications—Troubles at Milan—Alexander introduces the Latin instead of the Mozarabic ritual into Spain—Discussions between the emperor Henry and the pontiff—The latter sells absolutions—Revolutions in England—The pontiff makes a constitution for Great Britain—The right of tithes attributed to the archbishop of Mayence—The pope cites the emperor to appear at Rome to be judged—Death of Alexander.*

WHILST the pontiff Honorius and his competitor were disputing for the throne of St. Peter, great troubles were agitating Italy on the subject of marriages prohibited by the church, in the different degrees of consanguinity, and which the secular laws, however, permitted. Alexander having convoked a council to decide this important question, the assembly composed of bishops and lawyers, after having for a long time examined the canon and civil laws, decided that the degrees of relationship should be counted in accordance with the old custom of the church, and prohibited, under penalty of anathema, that marriages should be entered into by relatives within the seventh generation. Notwithstanding this ridiculous decision, made by the Holy See, the Italians continued to follow the usages of the provinces, from whence arose a sect called the sect of the incestuous.

"This contempt of ecclesiastical thunders, came" says Damiah, "of the abuse which the popes made of this terrible punishment. In all the decretals they pronounced the penalty of anathema against those who shall refuse to submit to the orders of the pontiffs; which sends to hell an infinite number of Christian souls, before they have perceived the fault which they have committed. This is to spread snares for those who believe they are walking in safety. In the secular tribunals the punishment is proportionate to the crime, by imprisonment, the confiscation of property, or simply a fine; but in the church, for the least disageement, one is separated from God even; which is to suppose with the Stoics, that all things are equal. St. Gregory, and the fathers did not so act; they only punished as in matters of faith. Their example, and place

in our decretals a pecuniary fine, or some other penalty against the transgressors of the laws of the Holy See."

The wise counsels of Damian were not listened to, and popes continued to inundate the kingdoms with their bulls of excommunication. After the death of his competitor, Alexander pursued with bitterness the ecclesiastics who had embraced the party of Cadalous, and left them no truce nor repose until they had submitted to his authority. Duke Godfrey himself was obliged to seek again the alliance of the pontiff, and in order to induce him to forget the protection which he had granted to Honorius, he consented to declare war against the Normans, who in contempt of treaties had seized upon several places in the states of the church.

This war was soon terminated; Godfrey, after some skirmishes, drove this people before him, as far as the environs of Aquina; as they found themselves shut up in the mountains, unable to continue their retreat, and not daring to give battle to so powerful an enemy, they sued for peace, offering to restore to the pope all the domains which they had usurped, and to pay a large sum to defray the expenses of the war. These conditions were accepted, and Godfrey returned to his dutchy with the blessing of the holy father.

Some troubles then broke out in Milan, occasioned by the violent declamations of the monk St. Arialdus, who, in imitation of Aldobrandin, publicly accused Guy, his metropolitan, of adultery and sodomy, in order to depose him from his See. Arialdus, instigated by Pope Alexander and the cardinals, who had ordered him to resist with violence the enemies of Jesus Christ or his vicar, urged on the people to revolt, and came himself at the head of a furious troop to besiege the episcopal palace; but Guy having penetrated the secret intentions of the pontiff, who wished to substitute his own authority for his, took energetic measures. He sallied forth with his men-at-arms, seized the monk and bestowed upon him the crown of martyrdom, by beheading him.

After this execution, quiet was restored; but the archbishop fearing new disorders, determined to send a letter of submission to the pope, which he accompanied with rich presents. The gold was all-powerful over the mind of Alexander; not only did the ambassador obtain for Guy the approval of the holy father for the severity which he had displayed during these troubles, but he even sent him back with two legates, Mainard, cardinal bishop of St. Rufinus, and John, a cardinal priest, who bore the pallium to the archbishop of Milan.

The deputies then published this singular constitution: "The clergy and laity who took an oath to us to repress the deplorable disorders of the clergy of Milan, and who, under this laudable pretext, have burned, pillaged, violated and massacred the inhabitants of the city and country, shall be punished in heaven, but we prohibit them from doing so in future."

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They should live in accordance with Christian morality, and bring their guilty before their archbishop, the canons of their churches, or the other suffragans. As the majority are more afflicted by temporal than eternal punishments, we condemn those who shall infringe this decree, if they are of the clerical order, to pay to the holy father an hundred livres of pennies, and we pronounce them under interdict until they shall have paid the fine. If they are nobles, we condemn them to pay twenty livres; if they are peasants, they shall pay ten; traders, five, and others in proportion,—the whole for the profit of the Holy See."

Alexander, following the example of his predecessor, wished to extend his dominion over all the churches, and sent into Spain, with the title of legate, the cardinal Hugh the White, who was instructed to introduce into the kingdom of Arragon the Latin in place of the Mozarabic ritual, which was in use throughout the whole peninsula. Hugh then went into Aquitaine. He convoked a council at Auch, and caused this assembly to confirm the independence of the convent of St. Orens, a privilege which the monks had bought with large sums. From thence he went to Toulouse, where he held another synod. The fathers who composed this assembly pronounced diverse judgments against simoniacs, re-established the church of Leitoure, which had been converted into a monastery, and swore a blind obedience to the pontiff.

In the following year (1068) a division broke out between the altar and the throne. The emperor Henry, wearied by the misconduct of Bertha, resolved to repudiate her. He informed the archbishop of Mayence of it, who approved of his determination, and wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the dissolution of his marriage; or asking him to give such power to legates, who should go to Mayence in order to pronounce upon the matter. Peter Damian was chosen by the sovereign pontiff to represent him in Germany; but, instead of giving the consent of the holy father to the emperor, he prohibited him from separating from his adulterous spouse; and even deposed the metropolitan of Mayence, because, of his own authority, he had consented to a separation, of which the pope was the sole dispenser.

Henry, informed of the hostile dispositions of Damian, quitted Mayence, and prepared to return to Saxony; but his favourites represented to him that he would act with want of foresight in thus rudely dissolving an assembly composed of the first lords of his kingdom, and that he should avoid increasing the number of malcontents if he wished to obtain a separation from the empress. The prince approved of their advice, and went to Frankfurt, where he convened a new synod.

The fathers having re-assembled, Peter Damian, in the name of Alexander, spoke thus: "Your conduct, my lord, towards your chaste spouse, Bertha, is unworthy not only of a sovereign, but even of a Christian. Take care, prince, how you brave the divine and human



laws which condemn you. Rome has terrible arms which will prevent the example of your conduct from perverting her subjects, and which will shake your imperial authority to its very foundations. I command you to conform to the supreme orders of the pontiff; otherwise you will force us to employ the severity of the canons against you, and to take from you that imperial crown of which you have shown yourself unworthy, by betraying the cause of religion." The bishops applauded this discourse, and declared that the pope acted wisely, and that they would sustain his decision.

Henry rose in great agitation, and replied to them: "Since the pope orders it, I will do violence to my own feelings, and bear the load of adultery for the edification of my people."

The pontiff, who showed himself so irritable on a question of divorce, did not manifest the same rigour in his other judgments. Thus, Herman, bishop of Bamberg, who had been excommunicated by the Holy See, for the crimes of simony and incest, authentically proved upon him, continued to exercise his episcopal functions, notwithstanding the anathema which he had incurred. Alexander, informed of this circumstance, wrote to the metropolitans Annon and Sigefroy, to appear at Rome with Herman, in order that he might be condemned a second time by a council. The prelates obeyed; but the guilty bishop took care to bring with him large sums of money, which soothed the anger of the pope; and not only did Alexander re-instate him in his dignity, but he even granted to him the pallium and all the privileges attached to archiepiscopal Sees.

Lambert of Schaferburg relates, that in a great festival given by the holy father to the three prelates, when the fumes of generous wine had clouded his reason, he declared that he did not regard simony as a crime; and that, if he deposed simoniacal or concubinary priests, it was for the purpose of selling absolution to them; that on the other hand, he much approved of those bishops who had mistresses, and knew how to increase their treasures.

Some years before these events, a great revolution took place in England. William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, had conquered that island. Alexander hastened to send a standard which he had blessed to the usurper, with a bull of investiture, which dispossessed Harold the legitimate king. William, from gratitude to the Holy See, or rather, in consequence of a compact with the court of Rome, augmented the tax of St. Peter, and doubled the tithes which the people paid to the clergy. He also sent to the pope a large quantity of gold and silver money, sacred vases, and the standard of King Harold, on which was embroidered an armed man, covered with armour of precious stones.

Legates and Italian monks soon came to avail themselves of this new conquest, and to extend the pontifical sway over all the churches. Rapin affirms, "that they carved and elipt ecclesiastical matters as they pleas-

ed." Lanfranc was named metropolitan of Canterbury, Thomas archbishop of York, and both went to Rome during the following year to make their submission to the pope. Alexander, as a recompense for their zeal, gave them the pallium, and overwhelmed them with honours, especially Lanfranc, before whom he rose deferentially, adding, "I do not render you this honour, my brother, because you are archbishop of Canterbury, but because I was your disciple in the monastery of Bec." He gave the prelates a letter for William the Bastard, in which he was prodigal of the most extravagant eulogies on that prince, he thus concluded it, "We entreat you to follow the councils of Lanfranc for the interests of the church, for we have granted to him all the authority of the Holy See over the ecclesiastical affairs of England. We authorize him to preserve the monks in the cathedrals, and we prohibit the clergy from employing the aid of the secular power, to drive away the monks from St. Saviour of Canterbury, and the other metropolitan churches."

But whilst the pontiff was disposing at will of the kingdom and church of England, Henry the Fourth, irritated against the Holy See, and the bishops who had constrained him to live with Bertha, his adulterous wife, took his vengeance on the unfortunate people for the outrages which he had received. The prince surrounded all the cities of Saxony and Thuringia with fortresses, and after having placed numerous garrisons in these castles, he organized the pillage of the provinces. By his orders the troops ravaged the country, violated girls and women, burned the farm-houses and massacred the cultivators.

For the purpose of justifying these violences, Sigefroy, metropolitan of Mayence, advised the king to decree, by a council, that sovereigns were permitted to sell or murder their subjects when they could no longer pay the imposts. This frightful assembly was convened at Erford for the 10th of March 1073, and the priests dared to declare that God authorized kings to massacre the people, when they refused to pay imposts or tithes. Notwithstanding this abominable decision, some Saxon nobles united with the citizens of Thuringia, and remonstrated with the king, threatening to appeal to the Holy See. Henry, exasperated by this opposition, burst out into an excess of rage, and in the midst of his imprecations, swore, that if any of his subjects had the boldness to write to Rome, he would put him to death by the most horrid punishments, and would cover the provinces with so great disasters, that they would be remembered for many years. Two courageous men, however, informed the Holy See of the exactions of which they were the victims. Alexander immediately wrote to the prince to come to Rome to be judged by a council; but the holy father did not live long enough to finish this matter; he died suddenly, on the 20th of April 1073, after having held the Holy See for eleven years and a half.

Alexander contributed much to augment

the wealth of the church, by instituting the offering of the first fruits, an impost imitated from the Mosaic law, which commanded the Jews to give to the priests the first fruits of their trees, and the first born of their flocks.

This pontiff, if we can believe William of Poitiers, was eloquent, well informed and worthy to rule the universal church; he cites some of his decisions, which are remarkable for their wisdom. For example, the holy father prohibited a married man from entering

upon a monastic life without the consent of his wife, because her husband had no right to force her to continence, if she was unwilling to submit to it.

Leo and Desiderius represent Alexander as a pope of great sanctity, and endowed with the gift of miracles. "He freed," they add, "from the spirit of evil, a monk of Monte Cassino; and one day, a lame woman having drunk some drops of water in which he had washed his hands, was miraculously cured."

## GREGORY THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1073.]

*History of Gregory before his advent to the throne of St. Peter—He is surprised in adultery with a young serving girl of his monastery—The election of Hildebrand the poisoner of popes—Portrait of Gregory the Seventh—Letter from the holy father to Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino—Singular actions of the pope—His trickeries in the affairs of Germany—Henry refuses permission to the legates of the Holy See, to hold a council in his kingdom—Project of the first crusade—The pope embroils himself with the French court—Letters of Gregory to the French bishops—Revolt of the concubinary priests—King Henry treats the thunders of the pope with contempt—Conspiracy against the pontiff—Gregory is deposed from the Holy See—Letter of Henry the Fourth against the pope—Gregory deposes the king of Germany—The pontiff is excommunicated by a council—Letter of the holy father on the excommunication of kings—Henry is abandoned by his subjects—Machiavelism of the pope—He causes Beatrice, his mistress, to be strangled in a debauch—Scandalous amours of the countess Matilda and Gregory—Henry is reduced to the last extremities by the excommunication of the Holy See—He goes into Italy—The countess Matilda poisons her husband—the pope escapes to Canossa with his mistress—Cowardice of the king of Germany—Indignation of the Lombards—Henry prepares for war against the pontiff—Rudolph of Suabia is chosen king of Germany by the legates of Gregory—Complaints of the Germans against the pope—Council of Rome—Retraction of Berenger—The pope excommunicates and deposes the king of Poland—He wishes to force the king of England to do homage to the Holy See—The pontiff is deposed from the Holy See, and Guibert of Ravenna nominated in his stead—Accusation of magic against Gregory—Warlike resolves of the holy father. King Henry gains a brilliant victory over Rudolph of Suabia—False prophecy of the holy father—The countess Matilda devotes herself for the pope her lover—Henry besieges Rome and seizes the holy city through treason—Attempt on the life of the pope—Robert Guiscard saves the pontiff—Death of Gregory the Seventh—His political maxims—History of religion during his pontificate.*

At length the ambitious Hildebrand, that fanatical monk, that poisoner of popes, whom we have seen struggling obstinately against all temporal powers, mounted the chair of St. Peter, after having buried eight pontiffs, who were the instruments of his policy and the victims of his ambition. He was an Italian by birth—his father, named Banizon, was a carpenter at Rome; his mother carried on an incestuous intercourse with her brother, the abbot of the monastery of Our Lady on Mount Aventine; and some authors affirm, that Hildebrand was the fruit of their amours. He was brought up by his uncle, who took great pains with his education, and when he had attained his fifteenth year, he was sent into France to continue his studies in the celebrated abbey of Cluny.

Some years afterwards, his education being completed, Hildebrand resolved, before returning to Rome, to visit the court of the em-

peror Henry the Black, for the purpose of preaching there the word of God. His sermons were so successful, that the most learned bishops of the age left their dioceses to come to listen to him. On the rumour of this renown, Leo the Ninth hastened to recall him into Italy, and attached him to his person in the capacity of a counsellor. He also gave him the monastery of St. Paul, which was in a deplorable state, and the church of which was used as a stable. The monks of this abbey instead of fulfilling their religious duties, were occupied in debauchery, and lived publicly with courtezans, whom they had introduced into the convent, and who served in the refectory.

Hildebrand, a skilful priest, at first exhibited great rigidity of morals; he reformed abuses, restored the rigour of discipline, and wished to drive from the convent the women whom he found there, but having been surprised

himself in adultery with one of the handsomest serving girls, he was obliged, in order to avoid a scandal which would have unmasked his hypocrisy, to review his first decision and authorize the monks to keep women in the convent. The reason which he gave to the holy father in explanation of this change in his ideas was, that he had discovered that they understood domestic economy and order better than the brethren.

After the death of Leo, his successor, Nicholas, elevated Hildebrand to the rank of archdeacon of the Roman church, and granted him great authority over the clergy. Other pontiffs also employed him near to kings and princes, in the capacity of ambassador from the Holy See, on account of his great reputation for address and eloquence. Finally, on the day of the funeral of Alexander the Second, the cardinals and other ecclesiastics assembled in the church of St. Peter to deliberate on the choice of a new pontiff. Some proposed Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino; others wished to name Jerome, a venerable priest of the chapter of St. Rufinus, but no one dreamed of elevating to the Holy See the son of the incestuous wife of Banizon the carpenter.

Suddenly, some priests, who had adroitly mingled among the people, exclaimed: "Hildebrand is pope, St. Peter has chosen him." Their words excited great acclamations; the crowd ran towards the church, where the cardinals were assembled, uttering the same cries. The affrighted cardinals dared not resist this public manifestation, and immediately signed the decree which elevated Hildebrand to the Holy See. He was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Seventh.

Cardinal Benno affirms, that Hildebrand entered the conclave followed by armed men; and that he used terror to force their suffrages, and thus usurp the supreme dignity of the church. "He knew by experience," adds this historian, "that the pontifical chair is the first throne in the world; he knew all the advantages of the papacy; and the secrets of the palace of the Lateran were no mysteries to him. He had rendered himself so powerful in the church, that Damian calls him the master of the popes, and that one day he said to him in the presence of several bishops, 'I honour the holy father as every ecclesiastic should; but you I adore on both knees, because you make our pontiffs supreme; and because they have made you a god.'"

Another historian, Heydegger, assures us that he obtained the Holy See through the assistance of Satan; he accuses him of having been a sorcerer, a magician, and the most abominable of men. Ecclesiastical authors, on the other hand, describe him as an incomparable pontiff; they cannot find eulogies sufficiently magnificent, in which to glorify his science and his virtues. They adduce his descent from the illustrious family of the counts of Petiliani, and maintain that the other versions in regard to his birth, are fables invented by his enemies.

Gregory the Seventh was sixty years old when he was elevated to the chair of St. Peter; he was fat and short, and nature had refused to him exterior gifts; but in recompense therefor his soul was great, his mind vigorous and enlightened. He possessed profound erudition in divinity, and especially in regard to religious legislation, and the customs of the church. Ardent, imperious, enterprising and bold, Hildebrand pursued all his enterprises with great energy, giving proof of an intrepid courage that no obstacle could arrest, and of an inflexibility which recoiled neither from treason nor crime; thus historians have accused him of having poisoned the seven popes who preceded him, in order to pave his way to the pontifical throne.

On the day succeeding his election, the hypocritical Hildebrand, desiring to prevent the reclamations of Didier, his competitor for the chair of St. Peter, hastened to write to him the following letter, which he sent to Monte Cassino, by one of his chamberlains. "The pope Alexander is no more, my brother, and his death has fallen upon me to overwhelm me; it has torn my entrails, and precipitated me into an abyss. Whilst they were celebrating the service for the dead over his mortal remains, a great tumult broke out among the people; priests, as if crazy, seized upon me and bore me on their shoulders to the palace of the Lateran, where they seated me on the chair of the apostle, so that I could but exclaim with the prophet: "I am come into the depths of the sea, and my forehead is ravaged by a tempest." I shall not detain you longer with my afflictions, but will claim from your charity the prayers of your brethren, that God will sustain me in the peril which I wished to shun. We wait for you in our palace, my brother, for you know how much the Roman church needs your devotion and your prudence. Salute for me the empress Agnes, and the venerable Rainard, the bishop of Coma, and beseech them to continue their affection and their prayers for me."

Hildebrand had laboured for a long time to take from the emperors the rights which they had acquired over the church of Rome. Become pope himself, he used the experience which he had acquired in his long career, and prepared for the success of his policy by crooked ways. At first he affected great deference for King Henry, and sent Didier as ambassador to him to inform him of his election, and to beseech him not to confirm it, because he preferred, he affirmed, the humble retreat of a monastery to the splendour of palaces. But no one was the dupe of his hypocrisy; and the council of Brixen, assembled by the prince, to receive the legates of the new pope, accused Hildebrand of having usurped the tiara, and refused to confirm his nomination.

Gregory seeing the turn which matters were taking, hastened to write to Didier, reproaching him for his lukewarmness in a matter so important, and even accused him of throwing the way of his nomination, through

prelate of Metz: "As for those who maintain that kings cannot be legitimately deposed by popes, I refer them to the words and the example of the fathers; and they will learn that St. Peter said: 'Be ye always ready to punish the guilty, whatever their rank.' Let them consider the motives which induced Pope Zachary to depose King Childeric, and to free all the Franks from their oath of fidelity. Let them learn that St. Gregory, in his decretals, not only excommunicated the lords and kings who opposed the execution of his orders, but that he even deprived them of their power. Let them not forget that St. Ambrose himself drove from the temple the emperor Theodosius, calling him a profane man, sacrilegious, and a murderer.

"Perhaps these miserable slaves of kings would maintain that God, when he said to St. Peter: 'Feed my lambs,' excepted princes; but we will demonstrate that Christ, in giving to the apostle power to bind and loose men, excepted no one. The Holy See has absolute power over all spiritual things: why should it not also rule temporal affairs? God reigns in the heavens,—his vicar should reign over all the earth. These senseless wretches, however, maintain that the royal is above the episcopal dignity. Are they, then, ignorant that the name of king was invented by human pride, and that the title of bishop was instituted by Christ? St. Ambrose affirms that the episcopate is superior to royalty, as gold is superior to a viler metal."

The astute policy of the pope drew off the greater part of the prelates and lords of Germany into the party of the Holy See; and Henry saw all his friends retiring gradually from his cause. Several bishops who had before subscribed to the condemnation of the pope, sent deputies to Rome to make their apologies. Others went in person, with naked feet, to the tomb of the apostles, in order to obtain their pardon.

Gregory received them all with great honours, loaded them with presents, and took with them skilful measures which would lead to the entire destruction of the party of the king of Germany. On the other side, the criminal intercourse which the pope carried on with the empress Agnes, his mother, the Duchess Beatrice, his aunt, and the countess Matilda, his cousin-german, assured to him still more perfectly the execution of his ambitious projects.

Beatrice possessed immense estates in Italy, and Matilda her daughter, the wife of Godfrey the Hunchback, was, through her husband, still more powerful than she; these two women after the rupture which had taken place between the altar and the throne, abandoned Henry, renounced the ties of blood, and loudly declared for Gregory.

Matilda, who was publicly recognized as the mistress of the pope, wished to force the duke her husband to embrace the cause of the Holy See; but he resisted all her seductions, and on the contrary raised troops which he led to the king. Hildebrand, fearful lest these

re-inforcements should place his enemy in a situation to march on Rome, determined the princess to employ violence to deliver him from her husband, and Godfrey the Hunchback was assassinated in the city of Anvers on the night of the 20th of February 1076.

Gregory, in his turn, out of gratitude for the service which had been rendered him, resolved to disembarass himself of the dutchess Beatrice, the rival and mother of Matilda; he solicited from his former mistress the favour of a meeting, passed the night with her, and caused her to be strangled in the morning.

By this double crime the countess Matilda became the absolute sovereign of immense estates; she became the inseparable companion of Hildebrand, established herself in the palace of the Lateran, where she assisted with the cardinals at the private councils of the sovereign pontiff. Platinus affirms, that she followed him in all his journeys, served him in his bed, and frequently passed the nights in his chamber, to the great scandal of the chamberlains, who were not permitted to enter the apartments of the holy father.

Gregory had arrived at the height of his power; he feared no enemy; he trampled the people beneath his pontifical sandal; he abandoned himself to every license, pushed on provinces to revolt, named emperors, and declared the clergy and laity who remained attached to the unfortunate Henry, excommunicated. By his intrigues he soon formed a formidable league in Germany against the prince. Rudolph, duke of Suabia, Guelf, duke of Bavaria, Berthold, duke of Carinthia, Adalbert, bishop of Wirtzburg, Adalbert, bishop of Worms, and some other lords assembled at Ulm, and convened a general diet for the 16th of October, in the city of Tribur, near Mayence. They sent their decree to the lords of Suabia, Bavaria, Saxony, Lorraine, and Franconia, beseeching them, in the name of Christ, to abandon their private affairs and come to bring the aid of their intelligence, in taking suitable measures to re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom.

On the appointed day the assembly commenced its session; the policy of the holy father was fully successful; the metropolitan of Mayence and a great number of ecclesiastics, who had been devoted to the prince, were obliged to unite with the Roman legates, under penalty of being regarded as enemies to the state. One of the ambassadors of the pope spoke and recounted the whole life of Henry; he dragged forth the crimes which had soiled his early youth; he accused him of having removed the lords from all participation in the government, in order to elevate men of low birth to the first dignities in the kingdom; he affirmed that the prince had singular and anti-christian ideas; that he wished to exterminate the nobility, destroy the churches and the monasteries, in order to employ their riches in solacing the people; and he concluded by presenting, as the only remedy for so many evils, the election of a king of Germany, capa-

church had not already habituated us to see priests cause rivers of blood to flow, and become guilty of all crimes.

Gregory availed himself of the troubles which had broken out in Saxony, to try his strength with the sovereign, and for this purpose he addressed letters to Vezel, the metropolitan of Magdeburg, to Burchard, the prefect of Halberstadt, to the marquis Dedit, and other lords of that province, to bring about a suspension of arms, until the nuncios of the Holy See went into Germany to do them justice.

Before the departure of the legates he convoked a council, which regulated in advance the reforms to be exacted from the princes, and the concessions which it was useful to obtain for the interest of the Holy See. In this assembly the pope evinced an inflexible rigour. He decided against the marriage of priests; preferring, he said, a concubinary clergy, sodomites, and even incestuous persons, to those who contracted lawful unions. "Marriage," added Gregory, "attaches the clergy to the state in giving them families, and estranges them from the church, for which they should sacrifice every thing." He prohibited all the faithful, under penalty of anathema, from assisting at divine service which was celebrated by married priests; and he addressed this decree to the churches of France, Italy, England, and Germany.

The French clergy opposed this scandalous decision, and the bishops addressed this violent letter to him: "You are an heretic, most holy father, since you teach an insensate morality, contrary to the words of Christ and the doctrine of the apostle, who said, 'let him among you who cannot live in abstinence, marry; for it is better for him to marry than to burn.' As for you, sacrilegious pontiff, whose debaucheries with young monks, and adulteries with the countess Matilda and her mother are a public scandal, we learn that you would lead priests into your disorders, by forcing them to separate from their wives; but we declare to you that we would rather renounce the priesthood than our lawful wives."

In the same assembly Gregory accused the king of Germany, through bishops devoted to the court of Rome, and upon their complaints Henry was solemnly excommunicated. After the termination of the council, the bishops of Palestrina, Ostia, Coira and Como went to Germany on an apparent mission to pacify the troubles of that kingdom. Henry came as far as Nuremberg to meet them, but they refused to see him, and insolently informed him that they had orders to treat him as an excommunicated person, and that they could not confer with him until he had submitted to the penance which the laws of the church imposed on him, and had taken an oath of obedience to the pope.

The king, fearful lest his troops, in consequence of the excommunication lanced against him, should abandon him at the moment when the Saxons were in full revolt,

and were threatening to drive him from his kingdom, confessed himself guilty, consented to perform the penance indicated to him, engaged to remain submissive to the pontiff, and finally obtained absolution. In the confession which the nuncios of the Holy See caused him to subscribe with his own hand, Henry admitted "that he had not employed the sovereign power as a true servant of God, that he had usurped ecclesiastical domains, and sold churches to augment his treasures, and that he had massacred his subjects for the purpose of depriving them of their wealth."

But the German bishops, indignant at the cowardice of the prince, soon forced him to assume another attitude. A council having been convoked by the legates, they claimed the presidency of it as the representatives of Gregory the Seventh. The German prelates then declared that they opposed this proud pretension as contrary to the canons, and that they would never yield the right of presiding but to the pope in person, since the ecclesiastical rules formally indicated that provincial synods should be presided over by the metropolitan of the province in which the assembly was held, and that consequently they rejected the new usage which the court of Rome wished to introduce into Germany. Liemar, archbishop of Bremen, severely reprimanded the nuncios for their pride, saying that the metropolitan of Mayence and himself being the vicars of the Holy See, in accordance with the privileges granted to their predecessors, they alone had the right of representing the pontiff, which the bishops of Palestrina, Coira, Ostia, and Como could not do, who were the mere envoys of Rome, instructed to carry the orders of the holy father. Henry sustained this opinion with all his authority, and wished to take from them the confession which he had subscribed; unfortunately it was already in the hands of the pontiff.

As soon as Gregory was informed of the opposition of the prelates of Germany, he wrote to the metropolitan of Mayence: "We hoped, my brother, you would recollect how much you loved us before we were on the throne of the apostle, and we thought you would have preserved the recollection of the confidence with which we advised with you on our most secret affairs. We had even conceived great hopes of your piety, since you manifested a desire of retiring to Cluny. We now learn that you deceive our hopes, and we should be wanting in the sacred duty of friendship, if we failed to warn you of it. You will come to Rome, then, during the first week in Lent, and will bring with your suffragans Otho of Constance, Garnier of Strasburg, Henry of Spires, Herman of Bamberg, Imbrick of Augsburg, and Adalbert of Wirtzburg."

The holy father wrote at the same time to Liemar, accusing him of ingratitude; he suspended him from his episcopal functions, and ordered him to go to the synod to hear a definite judgment pronounced against him. He also addressed a letter to King Henry, which he besought him to make public; the follow-

ing was its tenor: "We are informed, my son, that the Christians beyond the sea, persecuted by the infidel, and pressed down by the misery which overwhelms them, have sent entreaties to the Holy See, imploring our aid, lest during our reign, the torch of religion should be extinguished in the East. We are penetrated with an holy grief, and we ardently aspire after martyrdom. We prefer to expose our life to protect our brethren, rather than remain at Rome to dictate laws to the world, when we know that the children of God are dying in slavery. We have consequently undertaken to excite the zeal of all the faithful of the West, and to lead them in our train to the defence of Palestine. Already have the Italians and Lombards, inspired by the Holy Spirit, heard our exhortations with enthusiasm, and more than fifty thousand warriors are preparing for this far distant expedition, determined to wrest the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidel. I have the more decided to conduct this enterprise in person, as the church of Constantinople asks to be re-united to ours, and that all the inhabitants may wait upon us to put an end to their religious quarrels. Our fathers have frequently visited these provinces, in order to confirm the faith by holy words; we wish in our turn to follow in their footsteps, if God permits; but as so great an enterprise needs a powerful auxiliary, we demand the aid of your sword."

Hildebrand wrote a general letter on the same subject to all the nations of the West, in which he excited the princes to the holy war against the infidel, beseeching them to send ambassadors to Rome, with whom he could arrange the execution of an expedition beyond the sea. Gregory, however, notwithstanding his obstinate perseverance in the project of conquering the Holy Land, could not put it in execution, in consequence of the refusal of the king of Germany to become an associate in this dangerous enterprise. The pope fearing the ambition of the prince, if he abandoned Italy to combat the infidels, renounced his designs, and applied himself only to augment the temporal grandeur of the Holy See.

Gregory, greedy of universal authority, which was the aim of his ambition, sought for every occasion of constituting himself absolute judge of sovereigns and lords. Thus, in order to punish Phillip the First of France, for his encroachments on the privileges of the churches, he took from him the right of investiture, and prohibited him, under penalty of excommunication, from undertaking any thing in future against the bishoprics and abbeyes of his kingdom. The pontiff addressed a vehement letter on this subject to the prelates of the Gauls, and in particular to Marvastes of Rheims, Richard of Sens and Richard of Bourges. "All crimes," he wrote to these bishops, "are committed with impunity in your provinces—perjury, sacrilege, incest, murder, are regarded as pious actions—citizens pillage and massacre one another. Pilgrims going to

or returning from Rome are despoiled, cast into frightful dungeons, or subjected to torture, in order to exact from them ransoms which ruin their fortunes: if they refuse to pay, they are murdered without pity.

"Phillip is the cause of these evils, that execrable Phillip, who does not deserve the name of king, but that of tyrant, and who passes his life in acts of infamy with his minions. Not content with having excited the divine wrath through his exactions, adulteries, rascalities, and murders, this avaricious wretch dares to rob foreign merchants who come into his states, under the guarantee of his royal word, to traffic.

"And you, unworthy bishops, why do you not resist the abominable prince who desolates your people? Are you willing to render yourselves accomplices of his outrages in the eyes of Christ? Do not believe that in opposing his depredations you are wanting in the fidelity and respect exacted from you; you would on the contrary prove your great devotion by drawing him back from the abyss into which he is plunged. Besides, we who are elevated as high above kings as heaven is above the earth, we give you absolute power over his person; no longer fear to resist him, and if you will unite in the defence of justice you will have a force capable of restraining him without any peril; and even though you may expose your lives in condemning him, should you hesitate to do your duty in the execution of our supreme will?

"Wherefore, by virtue of our apostolical authority, we order you to represent to your king how criminal his actions are. Engage him to abandon his habits of sodomy; to establish justice, and raise up again the glory of his crown. If he remains hardened in sin, without being willing to listen to you; if he shows no repentance nor compassion for his people, declare to him in our name, that the thunders of St. Peter will strike him, as God before struck Satan. Separate yourselves entirely from the communion of this reprobate; interdict, throughout all France, the celebration of divine service, and close all the churches.

"If this censure is not strong enough to bring him to us, asking for grace and pardon on his knees, publish immediately, that with the aid of God we will use our efforts to assemble troops, and come to deliver France from this abominable monster."

The threats of Gregory were inefficacious. The bishops of the kingdom, who partook with the king in the spoils of the unfortunate people, took his part, and Phillip continued his dilapidations, his debaucheries, and his massacres, with the full approval of his clergy. In his opposition to kings, Gregory was not moved by a religious sentiment of humanity, but by his insatiable desire for sway, which led him to extend his political vigilance into every country.

The council which the pontiff had convoked at Rome for the first week in Lent, assembled on the 24th of February. Gregory excommunicated five officers of the palace of King

1014 to the holy father, and asking him to come to their council and confirm the choice which they had made of Rudolph of Scabia as their sovereign. Finally, in order to crown his misfortunes, Matilda made a solemn donation of all her estates to the Holy See, to the prejudice of the house of Henry, who were her legitimate heirs. The king then, incited by despair, took an energetic resolve, and swore to draw down vengeance on Hildebrand, the author of all his ills. He traversed Lombardy, called to his side all the excommunicated, all who were enemies of the pope, and openly declared war on the Holy See.

In less than two months, the prince saw himself at the head of a numerous army, and made his dispositions to march on Rome. At the news of this levy of armed men, Gregory lost his arrogance, and tried negotiations, not daring either to declare against Henry, or abandon the cause of King Rudolph; and as it became impossible for him to go into Germany on account of the Lombard troops who guarded all the routes, he addressed letters to the Germans, expressing the doubts of his mind in regard to the rights of the two sovereigns.

The lords and bishops, surprised at this change, replied to the pope: "You know, holy father, and your letters, which we have preserved, are witnesses of it, that it was neither by our advice, nor for our interests, that King Henry was deposed; in that we obeyed the will of the Holy See. Since you prohibited us, under penalty of the most terrible evils, from recognizing him as king, we have executed your orders at the hazard of our fortunes and our lives; for the prince, after your sentence, exercised great cruelties against us. Our submission to your decrees first brought on us the ruin of our provinces; then the humiliation of seeing the sovereign of the country constrained to crouch at your feet like a dog, in order to receive absolution, and to obtain from your holiness permission to ravage our fields and our cities a second time, and to avenge himself on us for the ills you have drawn on him.

"After having left the kingdom for an entire year without a head, in conformity with your wishes, we have chosen a king whom you had yourself chosen; and now, whilst he is engaged for the good of his people, instead of confirming his nomination, you recognize two kings in the same country, and you send your legates to both. This indecision which exists in your mind, increases our divisions; for in your letters you call King Henry a prevaricator, and you ask from him a safe conduct to come to our meeting, as if he yet preserved some power. We are also informed that you listen favourably to those whom you have excommunicated with him, and yet you exhort us to remain faithful to Rudolph.

"This tortuous policy has surprised us. We desire to suppose that your intentions are as laudable as your views are profound; but we are too simple to penetrate them; we

only see the deplorable results of your conduct. In managing the two parties, you light up a civil war. You incite pillages, incendiarism, massacres, and the destruction of the royal domain; so that the kings, for the future, will only live by rapine and robbery. These evils would not have existed, if you had not lighted in our provinces the fire of discord. It is the excess of our grief which induces us to speak in language so severe, because we are exposed to the rage of the wolves, for having obeyed the shepherd. And now, if the shepherd becomes our enemy, we shall no longer have faith neither in the pontiffs, nor the apostles, nor Christ; we shall regard popes and kings as the implacable enemies of humanity, and we shall devote them to the execration of the people."

Gregory did not reply to this letter, and received with equal honours the ambassadors of the two kings of Germany. He was then occupied in holding several councils at Rome, to renew the anathemas pronounced against the partizans of Henry, and to compel Berenger of Tours to make a solemn retraction of his doctrine concerning the eucharist. He excommunicated, during the same year, Boleslas, the king of Poland, and wished to force the king of England to submit to the Holy See. Finally, having learned that Henry was about to enter Germany to combat his rival, he determined to excommunicate him anew, and publicly to recognize Rudolph, duke of Suabia, as the sovereign of Germany.

In this remarkable decree, the pope addressed St. Peter and St. Paul in these terms: "Blessed apostles, you are witnesses that the German lords and bishops, without our advice, chose duke Rudolph as their king; and that this prince immediately sent ambassadors to our legate, declaring that he had undertaken, despite of himself, the government of the kingdom, and that he was ready to obey us in all things; offering, as a proof of his sincerity, to send us rich presents, and to give us as hostages, his son and that of duke Berthold. You know that Henry, at the same time, besought us to declare in his favour, against Rudolph, and that we replied, that we would act of our own will, after having heard these two princes in a council. But as soon as Henry supposed that he could overthrow his competitor without our aid, he repulsed our interference with contempt.

"It is therefore, most holy apostles, after having invoked your testimony as a guarantee of our sincerity, we employ your authority in condemning this sovereign and his accomplices. We declare Henry dispossessed of the crown of Germany and Italy; we anathematize him, and we invoke on his head the thunders of heaven; we beseech you to take from him all prudence in council, and to render him cowardly in battle, so that he may never gain any victory. We declare Rudolph the lawful king of the Teutonic states, and we grant to all who shall betray Henry, absolution from all their sins, and the blessing of Christ in this world and the next.

"Now blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, let the world know, by giving victory to Rudolph, that you can bind and loose in heaven; that you can give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, countships, and the goods of all men; finally, that you take from the unworthy and bestow on the good, the pontificate, primacies, archbishoprics and bishoprics. Let the people learn that you judge spiritual things, and that you have an absolute power over temporal affairs; that you can curb the demons, who are the councillors of princes, and annihilate kings and the powerful of the earth. Display then your greatness and your power, and let the world now tremble before the redoubtable orders of your church. Cause especially the sword of your justice promptly to strike the head of the criminal Henry, in order that all Christians may learn that he has been stricken by your will."

This sentence was decreed at Rome, on the 7th of March, 1080, and Hildebrand sent it to King Rudolph, with a magnificent crown of gold enriched with precious stones.

Notwithstanding all the imprecations of Gregory, events gave a striking lie to him. Henry entered Germany at the head of a numerous army, and gained a signal victory over his competitor, in the famous day of Fladeheim; after which the prince convoked a synod at Brixen, to which he called all the bishops and lords of Lombardy, and a large part of the ecclesiastics and nobles of Germany.

In this assembly they accused Gregory of heresy, impiety, sacrilege, simony, extortions, adultery, murder and magic; they produced witnesses who proved that the pope had cast the holy host into the fire, whilst conjuring up demons; the priests of the interior of the palace of the Lateran declared that he had poisoned the seven popes, his predecessors, by means of his intimate confidant, Gerard Brazurus; finally, the fathers pronounced an excommunication against Gregory, deposed him from the Holy See, and proclaimed Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, sovereign pontiff; who assumed the name of Clement the Third.

As soon as the pope was apprized of the election of Guibert, he hastened to send legates to Apulia and Calabria to draw off the population to his side. He thus expressed himself about these schismatics, "They have been forced to renew their old conspiracy; they have chosen as their chief an heretic, a sacrilegious person, a perjurer, an assassin who wished to wrest from us our tiara and our life—an antichrist—a Guibert!! In a cabal composed of tremoniacal and concubinary prelates, our enemies have even pushed their fury so far as to condemn us, because we refused to their entreaties and their threats pardon for their crimes. But God sustains us, he will make us triumph over the wicked, and we despise their anathemas."

Notwithstanding his apparent security, Gregory laboured actively to obtain the protec-

tion of William, king of England, whom he had excommunicated some months before; he also entered into treaties with Robert Guiscard, with Jourdain, the prince of Capua, and other Norman lords, whom he had before excommunicated. He granted to them absolution, confirmed them in possession of the estates they had usurped, and in exchange, concluded with them a treaty, by which they engaged to defend the Holy See against its enemies, and to unite with the lords of Tuscany, the vassals of the countess Matilda, in attacking the antipope in the city of Ravenna. At the same time, he addressed letters to Germany, exciting the people in favour of Rudolph, and affirming that the apostle Peter had appeared to him, and announced that a false king would die this year before the day of his feast. "If this prediction be not accomplished," adds he, "I swear before God and men, that I am unworthy to be pope."

Sigebert relates that the Saxons, full of confidence in this prophecy, induced Rudolph to try the chance of arms; he marched to meet Henry, with an army inferior in numbers to that of that prince. The affair took place on the borders of the river Ellestre, near to Mersburg, in Saxony. Five times were his troops repulsed with loss, and five times he led them back to the charge. Finally, in the last charge, Godfrey of Bouillon, pushed his horse right against Rudolph, wounded him with a blow of his lance in the lower part of his belly and overthrew him on the field of battle; at the same moment, a knight struck the unfortunate king with his sword and cut off his right hand; Rudolph died almost at once. The soldiers, alarmed at the loss of their chief, abandoned their ranks and took refuge in Mersburg.

Rivet informs us that Pope Gregory, in a public discourse, had announced anew in prophetic terms, the victory of Rudolph, and the death of Henry; but that, thanks to an active care, the assassins sent by the holy father had been arrested, and that Gregory then, in order not to compromise his dignity as a prophet, affirmed that the prediction only related to the soul of the king.

Bayle, in his dictionary, reasons thus singularly: "Either Hildebrand believed that his prediction would be accomplished, or he did not believe it. If he believed it, we must call him a false prophet, and if he did not believe it, an infamous impostor, because he sacrificed the holiness of religion to his temporal interests; from whence we must conclude," adds he, "that the popes have been more than once wicked hypocrites, worthy of the rope and fire."

After the decisive victory which he had gained in Germany over his competitor, Henry re-entered Italy and conquered the troops of his cousin Matilda, near Mantua. Thus, the countess found herself menaced with the loss of her states. Notwithstanding these checks, the intrepid Hildebrand assembled new troops to oppose the prince; but the latter drove these illy disciplined bands before him, and



intrepid deacon entered the pontifical palace, put aside the guards, and going straight up to the holy father, said to him: "The emperor, my master, as well as all the German and Italian bishops, order thee to descend at once from the apostolic throne, which thou hast dishonoured by thy crimes." Then turning towards the Roman clergy, he added: "My brethren, I command you, in the name of the king, to go to him on the day of Pentecost, to choose a new pope in the place of him who has the audacity to preside here."

He had scarcely spoken, when the bishop John, and the prefect of Rome, at the head of his soldiery, precipitated themselves upon him to murder him; but Hildebrand was too skilful a politician to allow them to commit a crime which would have rendered him odious to all the world. He covered with his own body the ambassador of the prince, and prohibited any attempts upon his life.

He then calmly resumed his place, and addressed the assembly. "My friends," said he, "let us not trouble the peace of the church by becoming guilty of an useless murder. These are the dangerous times of which the Scriptures speak. We shall see proud, greedy, and cruel men, who would rend the bosom of their mother. Christendom must be filled with desolation; and Christ has sent us as sheep for the wolves. We should then have the mildness of the dove, and support with resignation the outrages of senseless men, who desire to betray the laws of God. The Lord wishes to water his house with the blood of the saints. Let us then prepare for martyrdom, and let our death assure the glory and triumph of the church, as God himself has revealed to us by sending us a mysterious sign, which we now place before your eyes." At the same time he showed them a hen's egg, found accidentally, he affirmed, near the church of St. Peter.

Upon this egg was engraved, in relief, a serpent armed with a sword and shield, which appeared to wish to elevate itself upon the upper part of the egg, although by a secret power it was constrained to writhe even to the lower. The pope gave an enigmatical explanation of this singular phenomenon, and thus concluded his disclosure: "This sign, my children, announces to us that we must now employ the sword of the word to strike the serpent in the head, and to avenge the church. Let us act, then, since God orders us, for we have already had too much patience."

The holy father then, with one of those contradictions which would be sufficient to demonstrate all the hypocrisy of his conduct, after having commenced his discourse with a feigned moderation, finished it with menaces of death against the sovereign. The council approved unanimously of the sentiments of Gregory; and all the bishops declared they were ready to endure the most terrible punishments in so holy a cause.

Gregory pronounced the following anathema against Henry and his accomplices: "St. Peter, prince of the apostles, hear thy servant,

whom thou hast nourished from his childhood, and whom thou hast protected against the wicked who persecute me. You are my witnesses, you, holy mother of God, St. Paul, and all the saints of heaven, that the Roman clergy constrained me to govern them, and that I would rather have finished my days in exile, than have usurped your place by unworthy means. But since I have reached this throne by your grace, I believe that it is your will that Christian people should obey me, by virtue of the power which you have transmitted to me of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth. Thus, for the safety of the church, and in the name of God all powerful, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I prohibit Henry, who by reason of an unheard of pride, has elevated himself against us, from governing the kingdoms of Germany and Italy. I free all Christians from the oaths which they have taken to him, and I prohibit all from serving him as king; for he who would oppose our authority, deserves to lose his crown, his liberty, and his life. I burden Henry, then, with anathema and malediction; I devote him to the execration of men, and I deliver up his soul to Satan, in order that the people may know that the sovereign pontiff is the rock upon which the Son of the living God has built his church, and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

Hildebrand sent to all the faithful in Germany, Italy, and Gaul, the sentence which he had pronounced against the sovereign of Germany. He addressed a circular to the German and Italian bishops and lords, in which he ordered them, in case Henry should persist in his revolt against the Holy See, to choose another king who would govern the empire in accordance with the laws of the church.

This decree of excommunication filled Germany and Italy with divisions, and was the cause of long and cruel wars. The prelates, however, openly treated the censures of Gregory with contempt. William of Utrecht, in particular, defended with much zeal the interests of the prince against the criminal enterprises of the pope. Every time that he mounted the pulpit, he preached against the pontiff, whom he called a simoniac, adulterer, robber and poisoner; and he renewed every Sunday the excommunication pronounced against Hildebrand by the German bishops. The Lombard prelates did the same. Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, convened a new synod at Pavia, and a second time excommunicated the holy father.

Still, some ambitious lords detached some bishops from the party of the prince, who defended the Holy See, and maintained that no one had a right to anathematize the pope, since he was infallible. This miserable reasoning drew off a great number of nobles, who persecuted those who wished to remain faithful to Henry.

Gregory also employed all the resources of his policy to detach the refractory bishops from the party of the prince. He wrote the following remarkable letter to Herman, the

prelate of Metz: "As for those who maintain that kings cannot be legitimately deposed by popes, I refer them to the words and the example of the fathers; and they will learn that St. Peter said: 'Be ye always ready to punish the guilty, whatever their rank.' Let them consider the motives which induced Pope Zachary to depose King Childeric, and to free all the Franks from their oath of fidelity. Let them learn that St. Gregory, in his decretals, not only excommunicated the lords and kings who opposed the execution of his orders, but that he even deprived them of their power. Let them not forget that St. Ambrose himself drove from the temple the emperor Theodosius, calling him a profane man, sacrilegious, and a murderer.

"Perhaps these miserable slaves of kings would maintain that God, when he said to St. Peter: 'Feed my lambs,' excepted princes; but we will demonstrate that Christ, in giving to the apostle power to bind and loose men, excepted no one. The Holy See has absolute power over all spiritual things: why should it not also rule temporal affairs? God reigns in the heavens,—his vicar should reign over all the earth. These senseless wretches, however, maintain that the royal is above the episcopal dignity. Are they, then, ignorant that the name of king was invented by human pride, and that the title of bishop was instituted by Christ? St. Ambrose affirms that the episcopate is superior to royalty, as gold is superior to a viler metal."

The astute policy of the pope drew off the greater part of the prelates and lords of Germany into the party of the Holy See; and Henry saw all his friends retiring gradually from his cause. Several bishops who had before subscribed to the condemnation of the pope, sent deputies to Rome to make their apologies. Others went in person, with naked feet, to the tomb of the apostles, in order to obtain their pardon.

Gregory received them all with great honours, loaded them with presents, and took with them skillful measures which would lead to the entire destruction of the party of the king of Germany. On the other side, the criminal intercourse which the pope carried on with the empress Agnes, his mother, the duchess Beatrice, his aunt, and the countess Matilda, his cousin-german, assured to him still more perfectly the execution of his ambitious projects.

Beatrice possessed immense estates in Italy, and Matilda her daughter, the wife of Godfrey the Hunchback, was, through her husband, still more powerful than she; these two women after the rupture which had taken place between the altar and the throne, abandoned Henry, renounced the ties of blood, and loudly declared for Gregory.

Matilda, who was publicly recognized as the mistress of the pope, wished to force the duke her husband to embrace the cause of the Holy See; but he resisted all her seductions, and on the contrary raised troops which he led to the king. Hildebrand, fearful lest these

re-inforcements should place his enemy in a situation to march on Rome, determined the princess to employ violence to deliver him from her husband, and Godfrey the Hunchback was assassinated in the city of Anvers on the night of the 20th of February 1076.

Gregory, in his turn, out of gratitude for the service which had been rendered him, resolved to disembarass himself of the dutchess Beatrice, the rival and mother of Matilda; he solicited from his former mistress the favour of a meeting, passed the night with her, and caused her to be strangled in the morning.

By this double crime the countess Matilda became the absolute sovereign of immense estates; she became the inseparable companion of Hildebrand, established herself in the palace of the Lateran, where she assisted with the cardinals at the private councils of the sovereign pontiff. Platinus affirms, that she followed him in all his journeys, served him in his bed, and frequently passed the nights in his chamber, to the great scandal of the chamberlains, who were not permitted to enter the apartments of the holy father.

Gregory had arrived at the height of his power; he feared no enemy; he trampled the people beneath his pontifical sandal; he abandoned himself to every license, pushed on provinces to revolt, named emperors, and declared the clergy and laity who remained attached to the unfortunate Henry, excommunicated. By his intrigues he soon formed a formidable league in Germany against the prince. Rudolph, duke of Suabia, Guelf, duke of Bavaria, Berthold, duke of Carinthia, Adalbert, bishop of Wirtzburg, Adalbert, bishop of Worms, and some other lords assembled at Ulm, and convened a general diet for the 16th of October, in the city of Tribur, near Mayence. They sent their decree to the lords of Suabia, Bavaria, Saxony, Lorraine, and Franconia, beseeching them, in the name of Christ, to abandon their private affairs and come to bring the aid of their intelligence, in taking suitable measures to re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom.

On the appointed day the assembly commenced its session; the policy of the holy father was fully successful; the metropolitan of Mayence and a great number of ecclesiastics, who had been devoted to the prince, were obliged to unite with the Roman legates, under penalty of being regarded as enemies to the state. One of the ambassadors of the pope spoke and recounted the whole life of Henry; he dragged forth the crimes which had soiled his early youth; he accused him of having removed the lords from all participation in the government, in order to elevate men of low birth to the first dignities in the kingdom; he affirmed that the prince had singular and anti-christian ideas; that he wished to exterminate the nobility, destroy the churches and the monasteries, in order to employ their riches in solacing the people; and he concluded by presenting, as the only remedy for so many evils, the election of a king of Germany, capa-

ble of arresting the license and strengthening the tottering state.

The unfortunate Henry at first retired to Oppenheim with some faithful friends; then seeing that his cause was lost, he sent deputies to the diet, who offered in his name to abandon the government of the state to the lords, reserving only to himself the royal insignia and the name of sovereign. But the prelates were inexorable; they replied that they could not accept any of his offers, because they were not permitted to communicate with an excommunicated person, and that consequently they would proceed to his deposition, conformably to the orders of the pope. They consented, however, to refer the matter to the pontiff, if the prince would engage to come to the council of Augsburg to submit to the judgment of Gregory, in the presence of all the lords of Germany. They threatened to declare him for ever excluded from the throne, if he did not obtain absolution within a year and a day, and they ordered him, whilst awaiting the judgment of the pope, to send away all the excommunicated who were about his person, to disband the garrison of Worms, to re-install the bishop of that city in the exercise of his functions, and to retire himself to Spire with some domestics who were designated by the assembly. Finally, they enjoined on him to lead a simple, frugal life; to use no equipages, nor bear the tokens of imperial dignity, nor occupy himself with civil or religious affairs.

Henry acceded to these disgraceful conditions; he sent away from his camp the metropolitan of Cologne, the bishops of Bamberg, Strasburg, Basle, Spire, Lausanne, Ceitz, Osnabruck, and the other excommunicated; he disbanded his troops, went to Worms, and retired to the city which had been assigned to him, where he lived like a private citizen.

The legates immediately informed the holy father of the result of their embassy, and engaged him to go in person to the synod of Augsburg. Henry, in his impatience to be released from the anathema pronounced against him, was unwilling to wait for the arrival of Gregory, and determined to present himself as a suppliant at Rome, in order to obtain absolution. He departed secretly from Spire, some days before Easter, with the empress his wife, and his son, still an infant; he traversed Burgundy and arrived in Savoy, where he was traitorously arrested by Count Amedeus, the brother of his wife, who only restored him his liberty on condition of his surrendering a province bordering on the states of Germany.

The winter was, this year, very severe, and rendered the passage of the Alps extremely dangerous; no dangers, however, could suspend the execution of his project; he traversed snow and ice, and descended into Lombardy. The noise of his arrival had scarcely spread abroad, when the Lombard bishops and lords, who were discontented with the pope, came to meet him, and regardless of the excommunication, they rendered him great honour, and formed an imposing

escort for him. Some lords even proposed to him to declare war on the Holy See, offering him succours of men and money; but the prince broken down by so great reverses, dared not accept their proposals, and continued his route to Rome.

Gregory had already quitted the holy city to go to Augsburg, accompanied by the countess Matilda, who followed him in all his journeys; but when he was informed of the arrival of Henry, and of the demonstrations on his behalf, made by the Lombards, he was alarmed, retraced his steps, and shut himself up in a castle called Canodium or Canossa, which belonged to his mistress, and was regarded as impregnable.

It was during this retreat, that he received the German bishops and several lay lords whom he had excommunicated. They had travelled to Italy with naked feet, and covered with sackcloth, to implore the pity of the holy father. The fear of a general rising in favour of Henry, rendered the pontiff indulgent to the pilgrims; he consented to receive them into the bosom of the church, always on condition that they would sincerely confess their crimes, and submit to pay a fine to the Holy See, and undergo a public penance. They declared their readiness to suffer every thing they were ordered to do. Gregory then commenced proving them by prescribing for them a rigorous fast, "a penance still more severe," adds Bayle, "since these prelates came from a cold country, where fasting is one of the severest mortifications that can be imposed, especially on priests, who are accustomed to make long meals, at which they gorge themselves with food and drink."

After proving them for some days, Gregory made them appear anew in his presence, addressed to them a severe reprimand, and gave them absolution; before, however, dismissing them, he ordered them not to communicate with the prince, until he had made an apology to the Holy See, except to exhort him to repentance.

Henry having arrived at Canossa, solicited a private interview with his cousin, the concubine of the pope; Matilda consented to receive him, and the result of this conference was, that she presented to Gregory on the following day, the countess of Savoy, mother-in-law of the prince, the count her son, the marquis Azon, and Hugh, the abbot of Cluny, in order that they might implore in his name the mercy of the holy father. The presentation took place, but Gregory replied to the solicitors, that it was contrary to the laws of the church to examine an accused, but in the presence of his accusers; that if Henry were innocent, he had nothing to fear by appearing before the synod of Augsburg, where he promised him he should receive ample justice, without permitting himself to be prejudiced by his enemies. The abbot of Cluny represented to the holy father that the king did not fear the judgment, but that he besought him to absolve him from the anathema launched against him, because the year of his

excommunication had almost expired, and the prelates of Germany waited for that fatal term to declare him dispossessed for ever of the royal dignity.

The inflexible pontiff resisted all their entreaties; finally, gold was proposed to him, and he yielded to this powerful argument. He, however, exacted that the prince, in token of his repentance, should deposit his crown and other ensigns of royalty at his feet, declaring himself unworthy to reign. Henry consented to undergo this humiliation; he presented himself alone at the outer gate of the fortress, and waited with patience until the pope was ready to have them opened. When he had passed the outward entrance, he laid aside all his royal ornaments, unclothed himself entirely, and put on sackcloth; a broom and scissors were then placed in his hands as a sign that he consented to be whipped and shaven; he remained in this position for three days and three nights, with naked feet, during the most extreme severity of the winter, without covering, without taking any nourishment, shedding torrents of tears, and imploring, with many groans, the mercy of the pope!!!

Gregory, in one of his works, boasts of this conduct and avows that his justice resembled rather the cruelty of a tyrant, than the severity of a judge. At length the countess Matilda took pity on the prince and obtained from the pontiff the pardon of her cousin. Henry having been admitted to an audience of the pope, absolution was granted to him on condition that he should present himself at the diet of the German lords, and would reply to the accusations brought against him. Gregory wished him to engage to submit himself to the orders of the Holy See, whether he should lose his crown or not: and that in any case he should declare his lords relieved from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him, and perfectly free before God and men to choose another sovereign; he made him promise never to avenge himself for the judgment pronounced against him, whatever it might be, and to show himself entirely submissive to the orders of the pontiff on all occasions. Finally, he warned him, that if he should fail in a single one of these conditions, he would declare his absolution null, and give to the German lords the right of choosing another king. Henry signed these promises, and confirmed them by solemn oaths upon the gospels and the relics of St. Peter; the pope then declared him relieved from the sentence of excommunication.

On the next day they went together to the church of the city, in which Gregory celebrated mass in the presence of an immense crowd; when he had pronounced the words of consecration, he made the prince approach the altar, and holding the consecrated host in his hand, addressed these words to him: "King Henry, I received letters from you and your bishops, in which you called me an usurper, a poisoner of popes, incestuous and a sodomite; now in order to overthrow these

accusations, and efface for ever even the shade of the scandal, I take the body of our Lord to witness my innocence, and I trust it will prove a poison to me if I am guilty." At the same time he took the host, broke it into two pieces, and communed. The stupid people uttered loud shouts of joy, praising God and the pontiff for so admirable an action.

Gregory having obtained silence, turned towards the prince: "Do in your turn, my son, that which you have seen me do. The German lords accuse you of exactions, adulteries, and murders; they maintain that you should be driven, for your crimes, from the communion of the faithful; and they ask that you should be judged by a council. You are not ignorant how uncertain are the judgments of men; take this other part of the host which I present to you; call down upon your head the wrath of Christ if you are guilty, and commune, as I have done, in the presence of all the assistants, in order that the proof of your innocence may destroy all the calumnies of your enemies."

Henry, surprised and confounded by so strange a proposal, asked for some moments to deliberate upon it with the lords who were with him. He then replied to the pope, that the opinion of his councillors was, that he should incur the chances of a general council. Hildebrand, satisfied with his victory over the superstitious mind of the prince, administered to him the communion, without exacting that he should pronounce the horrid imprecation of which he had himself set the example.

After the service, he invited him to dine in the fortress, and dismissed him with deference. Eppon, bishop of Ceitz, was instructed to accompany him, for the purpose of absolving those who had communed with the king during his excommunication; but the Lombard lords, and especially the bishops who knew the secret of all the pontifical tricks, refused the absolution, and chased off the legate, heaping upon him blows and insults.

A new provincial synod assembled in Lombardy. The bishops a second time excommunicated the monk Hildebrand. They renewed their terrible accusations against him; they accused him of having poisoned the seven popes, his predecessors; of having usurped the Holy See, and of having dishonoured it by adultery, incest, and assassinations. The king was declared a traitor to the country for having cowardly submitted to an heretic soiled with every crime, and for having abandoned their cause, when, in order to avenge him, they had openly declared against the court of Rome.

Henry soon became the object of universal contempt. The priests, the grandees, and the people, resolved to dethrone him, and conduct his son to Rome, by force of arms, to drive away Gregory, and to name a new pontiff, who should consecrate the young prince emperor of Italy. On the other hand, the metropolitan of Mayence, with the bishops and lords who were hostile to the king, assembled at Forasheim, in Franconia, and addressed let-

lets to the holy father, and asking him to come to their council and confirm the choice which they had made of Rudolph of Suabia as their sovereign. Finally, in order to crown his misfortunes, Matilda made a solemn donation of all her estates to the Holy See, to the prejudice of the house of Henry, who were her legitimate heirs. The king then, incited by despair, took an energetic resolve, and swore to draw down vengeance on Hildebrand, the author of all his ills. He traversed Lombardy, called to his side all the excommunicated, all who were enemies of the pope, and openly declared war on the Holy See.

In less than two months, the prince saw himself at the head of a numerous army, and made his dispositions to march on Rome. At the news of this levy of armed men, Gregory lost his arrogance, and tried negotiations, not daring either to declare against Henry, or abandon the cause of King Rudolph; and as it became impossible for him to go into Germany on account of the Lombard troops who guarded all the routes, he addressed letters to the Germans, expressing the doubts of his mind in regard to the rights of the two sovereigns.

The lords and bishops, surprised at this change, replied to the pope: "You know, holy father, and your letters, which we have preserved, are witnesses of it, that it was neither by our advice, nor for our interests, that King Henry was deposed; in that we obeyed the will of the Holy See. Since you prohibited us, under penalty of the most terrible evils, from recognizing him as king, we have executed your orders at the hazard of our fortunes and our lives; for the prince, after your sentence, exercised great cruelties against us. Our submission to your decrees first brought on us the ruin of our provinces; then the humiliation of seeing the sovereign of the country constrained to crouch at your feet like a dog, in order to receive absolution, and to obtain from your holiness permission to ravage our fields and our cities a second time, and to avenge himself on us for the ills you have drawn on him.

"After having left the kingdom for an entire year without a head, in conformity with your wishes, we have chosen a king whom you had yourself chosen; and now, whilst he is engaged for the good of his people, instead of confirming his nomination, you recognize two kings in the same country, and you send your legates to both. This indecision which exists in your mind, increases our divisions; for in your letters you call King Henry a prevaricator, and you ask from him a safe conduct to come to our meeting, as if he yet preserved some power. We are also informed that you listen favourably to those whom you have excommunicated with him, and yet you exhort us to remain faithful to Rudolph.

"This tortuous policy has surprised us. We desire to suppose that your intentions are as laudable as your views are profound; but we are too simple to penetrate them; we

only see the deplorable results of your conduct. In managing the two parties, you light up a civil war. You incite pillages, incendiarism, massacres, and the destruction of the royal domain; so that the kings, for the future, will only live by rapine and robbery. These evils would not have existed, if you had not lighted in our provinces the fire of discord. It is the excess of our grief which induces us to speak in language so severe, because we are exposed to the rage of the wolves, for having obeyed the shepherd. And now, if the shepherd becomes our enemy, we shall no longer have faith neither in the pontiffs, nor the apostles, nor Christ; we shall regard popes and kings as the implacable enemies of humanity, and we shall devote them to the execration of the people."

Gregory did not reply to this letter, and received with equal honours the ambassadors of the two kings of Germany. He was then occupied in holding several councils at Rome, to renew the anathemas pronounced against the partizans of Henry, and to compel Berenger of Tours to make a solemn retraction of his doctrine concerning the eucharist. He excommunicated, during the same year, Boleslas, the king of Poland, and wished to force the king of England to submit to the Holy See. Finally, having learned that Henry was about to enter Germany to combat his rival, he determined to excommunicate him anew, and publicly to recognize Rudolph, duke of Suabia, as the sovereign of Germany.

In this remarkable decree, the pope addressed St. Peter and St. Paul in these terms: "Blessed apostles, you are witnesses that the German lords and bishops, without our advice, chose duke Rudolph as their king; and that this prince immediately sent ambassadors to our legate, declaring that he had undertaken, despite of himself, the government of the kingdom, and that he was ready to obey us in all things; offering, as a proof of his sincerity, to send us rich presents, and to give us as hostages, his son and that of duke Berthold. You know that Henry, at the same time, besought us to declare in his favour, against Rudolph, and that we replied, that we would act of our own will, after having heard these two princes in a council. But as soon as Henry supposed that he could overthrow his competitor without our aid, he repulsed our interference with contempt.

"It is therefore, most holy apostles, after having invoked your testimony as a guarantee of our sincerity, we employ your authority in condemning this sovereign and his accomplices. We declare Henry dispossessed of the crown of Germany and Italy; we anathematize him, and we invoke on his head the thunders of heaven; we beseech you to take from him all prudence in council, and to render him cowardly in battle, so that he may never gain any victory. We declare Rudolph the lawful king of the Teutonic states, and we grant to all who shall betray Henry, absolution from all their sins, and the blessing of Christ in this world and the next.

"Now blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, let the world know, by giving victory to Rudolph, that you can bind and loose in heaven; that you can give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, countships, and the goods of all men; finally, that you take from the unworthy and bestow on the good, the pontificate, primacies, archbishoprics and bishoprics. Let the people learn that you judge spiritual things, and that you have an absolute power over temporal affairs; that you can curb the demons, who are the councillors of princes, and annihilate kings and the powerful of the earth. Display then your greatness and your power, and let the world now tremble before the redoubtable orders of your church. Cause especially the sword of your justice promptly to strike the head of the criminal Henry, in order that all Christians may learn that he has been stricken by your will."

This sentence was decreed at Rome, on the 7th of March, 1080, and Hildebrand sent it to King Rudolph, with a magnificent crown of gold enriched with precious stones.

Notwithstanding all the imprecations of Gregory, events gave a striking lie to him. Henry entered Germany at the head of a numerous army, and gained a signal victory over his competitor, in the famous day of Fladeheim; after which the prince convoked a synod at Brixen, to which he called all the bishops and lords of Lombardy, and a large part of the ecclesiastics and nobles of Germany.

In this assembly they accused Gregory of heresy, impiety, sacrilege, simony, extortions, adultery, murder and magic; they produced witnesses who proved that the pope had cast the holy host into the fire, whilst conjuring up demons; the priests of the interior of the palace of the Lateran declared that he had poisoned the seven popes, his predecessors, by means of his intimate confidant, Gerard Brazurus; finally, the fathers pronounced an excommunication against Gregory, deposed him from the Holy See, and proclaimed Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, sovereign pontiff; who assumed the name of Clement the Third.

As soon as the pope was apprized of the election of Guibert, he hastened to send legates to Apulia and Calabria to draw off the population to his side. He thus expressed himself about these schismatics, "They have been forced to renew their old conspiracy; they have chosen as their chief an heretic, a sacrilegious person, a perjurer, an assassin who wished to wrest from us our tiara and our life—an antichrist—a Guibert!! In a cabal composed of tlemoniacal and concubinary prelates, our enemies have even pushed their fury so far as to condemn us, because we refused to their entreaties and their threats pardon for their crimes. But God sustains us, he will make us triumph over the wicked, and we despise their anathemas."

Notwithstanding his apparent security, Gregory laboured actively to obtain the protec-

tion of William, king of England, whom he had excommunicated some months before; he also entered into treaties with Robert Guiscard, with Jourdain, the prince of Capua, and other Norman lords, whom he had before excommunicated. He granted to them absolution, confirmed them in possession of the estates they had usurped, and in exchange, concluded with them a treaty, by which they engaged to defend the Holy See against its enemies, and to unite with the lords of Tuscany, the vassals of the countess Matilda, in attacking the antipope in the city of Ravenna. At the same time, he addressed letters to Germany, exciting the people in favour of Rudolph, and affirming that the apostle Peter had appeared to him, and announced that a false king would die this year before the day of his feast. "If this prediction be not accomplished," adds he, "I swear before God and men, that I am unworthy to be pope."

Sigebert relates that the Saxons, full of confidence in this prophecy, induced Rudolph to try the chance of arms; he marched to meet Henry, with an army inferior in numbers to that of that prince. The affair took place on the borders of the river Ellestre, near to Mersburg, in Saxony. Five times were his troops repulsed with loss, and five times he led them back to the charge. Finally, in the last charge, Godfrey of Bouillon, pushed his horse right against Rudolph, wounded him with a blow of his lance in the lower part of his belly and overthrew him on the field of battle; at the same moment, a knight struck the unfortunate king with his sword and cut off his right hand; Rudolph died almost at once. The soldiers, alarmed at the loss of their chief, abandoned their ranks and took refuge in Mersburg.

Rivet informs us that Pope Gregory, in a public discourse, had announced anew in prophetic terms, the victory of Rudolph, and the death of Henry; but that, thanks to an active care, the assassins sent by the holy father had been arrested, and that Gregory then, in order not to compromise his dignity as a prophet, affirmed that the prediction only related to the soul of the king.

Bayle, in his dictionary, reasons thus singularly: "Either Hildebrand believed that his prediction would be accomplished, or he did not believe it. If he believed it, we must call him a false prophet, and if he did not believe it, an infamous impostor, because he sacrificed the holiness of religion to his temporal interests; from whence we must conclude," adds he, "that the popes have been more than once wicked hypocrites, worthy of the rope and fire."

After the decisive victory which he had gained in Germany over his competitor, Henry re-entered Italy and conquered the troops of his cousin Matilda, near Mantua. Thus, the countess found herself menaced with the loss of her states. Notwithstanding these checks, the intrepid Hildebrand assembled new troops to oppose the prince; but the latter drove these illy disciplined bands before him, and

chased them from several important places which belonged to the countess. On his route he arrested all pilgrims, and did not restore them to their liberty until he had exacted from them an oath not to lend assistance to the monk Hildebrand and his concubine. Finally, the king encamped in the meadows of Nero, half a league from Rome, with the archbishop Guibert, without being able, however, to penetrate into the city, which was then defended by Matilda. Not only did this courageous woman repulse his assaults, but she even obliged the king to raise his camp and retire into Lombardy.

During this whole war the countess exhibited surprising activity and energy. No sacrifice in men or money was too dear to her, in order to increase the means of defence to her lover. Her palace became the refuge of the Italian and German bishops, clergy, monks, and laymen, whom the king had driven away or despoiled; and she daily detached new partizans from the party of Henry. To some she granted fiefs; to others, money. The richer received in her arms the price of their devotion or their treason. The malcontents were pursued to extremities. Their domains were devastated, their serfs murdered, and their castles burned.

At length, as this struggle between the throne and the altar threatened to be indefinitely prolonged, Henry determined to strike a great blow; and, notwithstanding the bad success of his first effort, he led his army a second time beneath the walls of Rome. The summer passed by without his being able to do anything; and he was even obliged to retire during the extreme heat, leaving in the neighbouring castles garrisons which made frequent sorties and kept the city in alarm. When winter returned, he recommenced the labours of the siege, and pushed them on with vigour. The Romans, on their side, continued to defend themselves obstinately. Henry then resolved to change his tactics, and to contend with the holy father by hypocrisy. He set at liberty several prelates whom he retained as prisoners; he solemnly declared he would protect all pilgrims who went to Rome to visit the holy places; that the war was finished, and that he only wished to enter the city to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Gregory. The Roman lords manifested great joy at the pacific intentions of the prince; made a secret treaty with him and instructed some of their number to present it to the holy father, beseeching him to take pity on their country, and not to sacrifice it to his personal enemies.

The pope replied to the deputation: "We know too well the tricks of policy, to believe in the promises of a king. Still, if Henry will consent to ask pardon of God and the church, in the form which we shall prescribe, we will absolve him from all his sins, and grant the crown to him. Otherwise, do not hope to deceive me. If he refuse my proposals, and you still shall dare to implore our mercy for him, I declare to you, that I will put you all

to death in punishment, and that Rome shall be engulfed beneath its rubbish before I yield to the emperor."

Fearful of a vengeance which they knew to be inexorable, the lords cast themselves at his feet, and avowed to him that they were bound by an oath to the emperor to oblige the pope to crown him or abandon the tiara. Gregory feigned to pardon their treason; and to reassure their consciences, he besought them to repeat to him the formula of the oath which they had taken. Having listened attentively, he observed that they had only engaged to give a crown, not a dignity. He consequently wrote to Henry in the name of the Romans, that he could come to seek the imperial crown which had been promised to him, and that it should be placed on his forehead with all the honours of consecration, if he would make amends to the Holy See; or that it should be cast to him as alms from the top of the dome of the castle of San Angelo, if he refused to submit. The king having rejected both these proposals, Hildebrand declared that the Romans had fulfilled their oath, and were freed before God.

Betrayed by the nobles, Henry then turned to the people, and caused it to be published that every inhabitant who should present himself at his camp, should receive a sum of money as an indemnity for the losses which he had sustained during the war. One hundred and forty-four thousand pence of gold were distributed in this way. Thus, this largesse having considerably increased the number of his partizans, the gates of the city were opened to him, and he was enabled to make his triumphal entry into Rome.

He went at first to the palace of the Lateran with the anti-pope Guibert, whom he caused to be consecrated sovereign pontiff by the bishops of Bologna, Modena, and Cervia, and who was enthroned by the name of Clement the Third. The new pope then solemnly crowned Henry emperor of the West.

Gregory shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo with the lords who remained faithful to him, and continued to defend himself against the troops of the king. But, fearful of being compelled soon to yield to his enemy, he endeavoured to rid himself of him by a new crime. He was informed that Henry performed his devotions nightly in a church, in which he had chosen a solitary chapel, in order to pray with more meditation. He gained over the cardinal priest who served in this church. By his orders they pierced the beam which sustained the ceiling immediately over the place of the king, and masked this opening by an enormous stone, which could detach itself at a moment's notice and crush the prince.

These preparations were made with the greatest mystery. That night Henry came, in accordance with his custom, to kneel in the chapel. The cardinal immediately drew a cord which was fastened to the stone; but whether it was the violence with which the cord was drawn that caused the stone to deviate, or

whether the prince was not in his habitual place, it did not touch him, and broke before him. Some splinters alone inflicted on him slight wounds. The guilty priest was seized at once, and cut to pieces by the guards. His dead body, after having been dragged through the streets of Rome, was cast into the sewers without the city. This attempt at assassination served to sink Gregory into disrepute, and almost all his partizans abandoned him to join the king.

But Henry, who feared a new effort against his person, was unwilling to prolong his stay in Rome, and retired into Lombardy, where the countess Matilda was carrying on a war of extermination. Germany also demanded his presence to resist the enterprises of the Saxons, whom the legates of the Holy See had excited to revolt. During his absence, Robert Guiscard yielded to the solicitations of the pope, abandoned Greece in order to come to his aid, disembarked in Italy, and presented himself before Rome. The gates having been closed, treason came to his aid. He penetrated into the city during the night, abandoned it to be pillaged by his soldiers, set it on fire in every quarter, and re-instated Gregory on a throne soiled with murders and carnage.

The proud pontiff found himself a second time the absolute master of Rome; he immediately held a new council, at which he reiterated the excommunication pronounced against the anti-pope Guibert, against Henry and their partizans; he then retired to Salerno, an impenetrable fortress, in order to place himself beyond the vengeance of the prince.

In the early part of the spring, Henry returned to Rome, where he was received with transports of joy; Guibert was forcibly re-installed in the palace of the Lateran and seated on the pontifical throne. On receiving the news of the victory of his competitor, Hildebrand became so enraged that he became sick; a burning fever seized him, the illness increased daily; finally, when he was at the point of death, the bishops who assisted him, and even his mistress, wished him to employ indulgences towards his enemies; he replied to them, "No, my hatred is implacable; I curse the pretended emperor Henry, the anti-pope Guibert, and the reprobates who sustain them; I absolve and bless the simple who believe that a pope has power to bind and

loose." He died on the 20th of May, 1085, uttering this blasphemy. He had reigned almost eleven years.

Gregory the Seventh is the priest who laboured with the most boldness to elevate the pontifical power; he displayed on the throne of St. Peter all the qualities of Charlemagne, and showed himself worthy to found the empire of the church on the ruins of the empire of the West.

Bayle affirms, that the triumph of the church militant has been the result of a war of a thousand years, during which were displayed more courage and address than would have been necessary to conquer the whole world. "The power of Christian Rome is more extraordinary," adds he, "than that of pagan Rome, and it appears that Providence destined this city to be first, the mistress of nations by its arms and then by its intelligence. In fact we cannot consider without astonishment, that men, by the assistance of the Word of God, a Gospel which preaches disdain of grandeur, which exalts humility and poverty, have had the hardihood to aspire to absolute sway over the sovereigns of the earth. But what surprises us still more is, that the popes have been enabled to maintain this incredible sway during almost a thousand years; this conquest is more admirable than those of the Alexanders and Cæsars; and Gregory the Seventh, who is the principal author of it, ought really to have his place among great conquerors."

These paradoxical reflections have a certain amount of certainty; for Gregory was made rather for a captain and emperor, than priest and pope. He was a great statesman; his life as well as his maxims prove it in an incontestable manner: "God is a Spirit," says Gregory; "he rules matter; thus the spiritual is above the temporal power. The pope is the representative of God on earth; he should then govern the world. To him alone pertain infallibility and universality;—all men are submitted to his laws, and he can only be judged by God;—he ought to wear imperial ornaments; people and kings should kiss his feet; Christians are irrevocably submitted to his orders; they should murder their princes, fathers and children, if he commands it;—no council can be declared universal without the orders of the pope;—no book can be received as canonical without his authority;—finally, no good nor evil exists but in what he has condemned or approved."



## VICTOR THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1085.]

*History of Victor before his pontificate—Intrigues for his election—Victor refuses the papacy—He is clothed, in spite of himself, with the pontifical ornaments—He abdicates the pontificate—Finally accepts the papacy—The countess Matilda protects Victor—Letter from the pope to the Germans—Diet of Spire—Death of the pontiff.*

SOME days before his death, Gregory the Seventh, having assembled the cardinals around his bed, pledged them to choose as his successor, Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Cecilia, who partook of his hatred towards the emperor, and wished with him to elevate the chair of St. Peter above thrones.

Didier was of the illustrious family of the princes of Beneventum. From his very infancy he assiduously frequented churches, listened with delight to the Holy Scriptures, and constantly associated with pious persons, in order to prepare himself for a religious life; but his parents, who were desirous of maintaining the splendour of their name, exacted a pledge from him that he would live in the world, and affianced him to a noble girl. Before the consummation of the marriage, the father of Didier, having been slain by the Normans, he resolved to retire secretly into a monastery, and he escaped from the residence of his parents, aided in his plans by a monk named Jacquint. Didier received the monastic garb from the hands of the holy hermit Santari; his family having discovered the place of his retreat, he was brought back by force to Beneventum, where he remained for a year, closely watched, in the castle of his mother. He escaped a second time and went to Salerno, to his cousin Prince Gaimar, to whom he said, "Since I cannot be a monk in my own country, permit me to be one in your's." The prince promised him his protection, since he positively wished to embrace a monastic life. Didier then entered the monastery of the "Trinity of the Cave," near to Salerno, where he remained until his mother granted him permission to become a monk, and to live in the convent of St. Sophia, in the environs of Beneventum. During the pontificate of Leo the Ninth, he entered the monastery of Monte Cassino; Stephen the Tenth appointed him abbot of that monastery; and finally, during the reign of Hildebrand, he showed himself an ardent defender of the privileges of the Holy See, and obtained new honours.

Thus, after the death of Gregory, the bishops, cardinals and lords who had remained faithful to that pontiff, besought Didier to accept the tiara; which he formerly refused to do in order to avoid inevitable dangers. He consented, however, to labour actively for the Roman church; he even engaged Jourdain, prince of Capua, Rainulph, count of Averna, and Matilda, to form a league

with the Normans, for the purposes of opposing the anti-pope, and of nominating a pontiff worthy to govern the church. Under his directions the allied bishops and lords marched on Rome, and having become masters of the palace of the Lateran, they proceeded to nominate a pope. Didier was proclaimed as alone worthy of the tiara, and notwithstanding his active opposition to it, he was borne in triumph to the church of St. Luke, where he was consecrated in accordance with the canonical rule, by the name of Victor the Third. He was then clothed in the red cape, but they could not put the aube on him on account of his resistance.

The governor of Rome, taking advantage of the tumult which reigned in the city in consequence of the ceremony of consecration, seized upon the capitol, spread his troops through the streets, and forced the new pontiff to leave the city three days after his election.

Didier having arrived at Terracina, abandoned the cross, the cape, and the other signs of the papacy, and on some entreaties made to him, he refused to resume them, threatening to fly to the ends of the world, if they wished to do violence to his sentiments. The prelates and principal lords of Italy then determined to convene a synod at Capua, in which he consented to take a seat. At the close of the council, all those assisting at it besought him to accept the pontificate. Roger, duke of Calabria, Jourdain, prince of Capua, and a great number of bishops, cast themselves at his feet, beseeching him with tears to resume the tiara, and save the church from ruin. Didier finally consented to become pope, and decided to return to Rome with the princes of Capua and Salerno.

The anti-pope and the German soldiers undertook the defence of the church of the apostle, which was the most exposed point; but notwithstanding their efforts, it fell into the power of the enemy, and on Sunday, the ninth day of May, 1087, the pontiff, Victor the Third, was solemnly consecrated in this church, by the bishops of Ostia, Tusculum, Porto, and Albanum, in the presence of several cardinals, a great number of prelates, and a prodigious concourse of people. Didier remained some days in the city Leonina, whence he repaired to Monte Cassino.

Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, availed himself of this circumstance to excite the countess Matilda against the new pontiff, by misrepresenting facts. He wrote to her as follows; "You know that the election of the abbot

Didier was accomplished before my arrival in Italy; and if my brethren and myself approved of it, it was in hopes that he would raise up the dignity of the church, and repair the ills which the enemies of God have caused us to endure. But we did not then know him; now that we are with him at Monte Cassino, we have penetrated into his true character, and have learned the fault which we committed in choosing him for our chief. Crafty and perfidious, he now condemns the conduct of Gregory the Seventh; he accuses that great pope of revolting crimes; he refuses to walk in his footsteps, and wishes to bestow on Henry the imperial crown."

The countess did not believe the accusations of the archbishop Hugh; on the contrary, she went into Italy, and besought Victor to come to her in order that she might have the consolation of seeing the best friend of him whom she had so much loved, promising to become the pledge of his safety, and to restore him to the palace of the Lateran. Didier, notwithstanding his bad health, acceded to her desires, and came up the Tiber as far as Rome. He was received on disembarking by the countess, and the enemies of the king of Germany, who, by the assistance of their troops, had seized upon all that part of the city called Trastevera, the castle of St. Angelo, the church of St. Peter, and the isle of Tiber, in which the pope took up his residence.

A great part of the nobles declared for Didier. The people took the side of the anti-pope Clement, who remained master of Rome, that is to say, of all the old city. He dwelt in the church of the Rotunda, then called St. Mary of the Towers, because it had two bells. The two factions came to blows daily, and combatted even in the churches.

Didier sent letters into Germany, to apprise the lords of that kingdom of his election, and to inform them that he confirmed the condemnation which Gregory the Seventh had pronounced against Henry and his adherents. These letters were read at Spires in a general diet, convened by the nobles and bishops who recognized Victor the Third as the legitimate pontiff; all pledged themselves to lend their assistance to the prince, if he wished to become absolved from the excommunication lanced against him, but declared that on his refusal the revolt would become general and more violent than before. Ladislaus, king of Hungary, informed the diet, through his ambassadors, that he remained faithful to Pope Victor, and that he would go to Rome to the aid of the Catholics, with an army of twenty thousand horse.

Fortunately, the sickness of the pope, which daily increased, retarded the execution of this threat, and forced him to return to Monte Cassino, of which he had retained the government, notwithstanding the canons which prohibited the cumulation of benefices. When he perceived his end approaching, he named the deacon Ordericus abbot of his monastery. Then having called around him the bishops and the cardinals, he induced them to pledge themselves to choose, as head of the Roman church, Otho, bishop of Ostia. As this ecclesiastic was present, Victor took him by the hand, and presenting him to those who surrounded him, said to them, "accept him as your chief, and ordain him as sovereign pontiff of Rome."

Didier died on the 16th of September, 1087, after a pontificate of a few months; he was interred in the chapel of the monastery of Monte Cassino.

## URBAN THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1087.]

*Intrigues for the election of a new pope—Urban obtains the papacy—History of Urban before his pontificate—He continues the policy of Gregory the Seventh—Schism of Germany—Urban induces Matilda to marry the young son of the duke of Bavaria—Councils of Melfi and Beneventum—Affairs of France—Perfidy of the pope—Chastisement of Conrad—Urban becomes master of Rome—Excommunication of King Philip—Urban is recognized as the lawful pontiff in England—The pope comes to France—Council of Clermont—Journey of Peter the Hermit—Secret causes of the crusades—Harangue of the pope to excite the people to take the cross—Prodigious effect of his discourse—Religious fanaticism of the crusaders—Their cruelties—Departure of the crusaders—The pope returns to Italy—Utility of the crusades for the Holy See—History of the spiritual monarchy of Sicily—Council of the anti-Urbanists—Death of Urban.*

AFTER the death of Didier, the prelates, notwithstanding their desire to conform to the wishes of the pontiff, by nominating as his successor, Otho, cardinal bishop of Ostia, were forced to separate before having chosen him,

on account of the diversity of sentiments in regard to the measures necessary to be adopted in order to re-establish peace in the church. But frequent deputations having been sent to them by the Romans, the Germans and the

countess Matilda, beseeching them to give a chief to the clergy of the holy city, they assembled a second time, and drew up letters of convocation, pledging all the clergy and laity to assemble at Terracina during the second week in Lent, to proceed to the election of a pope.

The meeting was held in the cathedral dedicated to St. Peter and St. Cesaire. At the opening of the session, the bishop of Tusculum read the decisions of Gregory and Victor for the government of the church. Ordericus, the abbot of Monte Cassino, the metropolitan of Capua, as well as the other prelates and lords who had been intimate with these two pontiffs, confirmed the exactness of these assertions. It was then decided that the fathers should, as usual, pass three days in prayer, fasting, and the bestowal of abundant alms, to obtain from God a manifestation of his will. On the following Sunday, they re-assembled anew in the same church, and after a secret deliberation, the three cardinals who governed the council, mounted the tribunal of the church, and declared that they had chosen Otho sovereign pontiff.

All the assistants approved of this choice by loud acclamations. The bishop of Albano then proclaimed him pope by the name of Urban the Second. They clothed him with a purple cape, and carried him on to the episcopal seat of Terracina; after which the holy father solemnly celebrated mass at the altar of St. Peter. The cardinals afterwards congratulated themselves on having nominated a pope who was as ambitious as his predecessors, and who laboured to increase their wealth at the same time that he extended the temporal power of the Holy See.

Urban was the son of the lord of Lageri, and was named Eudes, or Otho. He had been brought up in the church of Rheims, under the direction of St. Bruno, then the chancellor of that cathedral. He afterwards became himself the canon of that metropolis, and was ordained archdeacon of Rheims in 1070. Some time after his promotion, having been surprised one night in the cell of a nun, he was obliged to retire to the abbey of Cluny, where St. Hugh named him prior. Finally, Gregory the Seventh, having become pope, called him to Rome in order to consecrate him bishop of Ostia, in place of a prelate who had obtained from Henry the investiture of that See. Otho then became the principal confidant of the policy of Hildebrand. During four years he remained attached to the person of the pontiff; and it was he who published in Germany the last bull of excommunication lanced by Gregory against the anti-pope Clement and Henry.

On the day succeeding his election, Urban addressed a circular to all the ecclesiastics of Italy and Germany, declaring to them, that he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. He then went to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and appointed the monk Gaëtan, deacon of the Roman church, attaching him in the capacity of a councillor.

This monk afterwards occupied, in his turn, the chair of St. Peter by the name of Gelasus the Second.

Induced by the councils of Gaëtan, the pontiff sent letters to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, to endeavour to bring about a reunion between the Greek and Latin churches. That prince listened favourably to these overtures, and replied to the holy father, that he could, however, decide on nothing until he had himself come to Constantinople to convocate a general council. But the schism supported in Rome by the anti-pope Guibert, was of more importance to Urban, and he was compelled to refuse the pacific overtures of Comnenus.

In Germany, Gebehard still laboured with the same zeal for the party of the Holy See, and drew off to it a large number of schismatics. As this prelate was desirous of pursuing the excommunicated vigorously, he wrote to the holy father, to obtain from him the names of those whom he should signalize for the reprobation of the faithful. Urban replied to him: "I place in the first rank of the excommunicated the heretic Guibert of Ravenna, the usurper of the apostolic throne, and the king Henry; then those who sustain them; and finally all the clergy or laity who commune with these two criminals. We do not, however, pronounce an anathema especially against all; but we do not admit them to our communion without imposing on them a penance, which we regulate according to the degree of sin, whether these guilty ones have acted from ignorance, fear, or necessity. We wish to treat with extreme severity those who have voluntarily fallen into the abyss. We confirm you," added the pontiff, "in the power of governing in our stead in Saxony, Germany, and the other neighbouring countries, in order that you may regulate all ecclesiastical affairs, in accordance with the interests of the church."

Whilst the pope was pursuing his intrigues in Germany, Italy, and even Greece, for the purpose of overthrowing Henry from his throne, the countess Matilda and Ordericus, the abbot of Monte Cassino, corrupted the partizans of the anti-pope Guibert, and drove him from Rome. Urban then re-entered the holy city; but, being desirous of strengthening his power and preventing the return of his competitor, he induced Matilda, who was then forty-three years old, to marry the young son of Guelph, the duke of Bavaria. The holy father then went into Apulia; and, on the 10th of September, 1089, held a council at Melfi, at which eighty Italian prelates and a great many lords, among whom was Duke Roger, did homage to the pope for all their states.

The assembly decreed sixteen canons, which confirmed the old ordinances in relation to investitures. They were prohibited from ordaining a sub-deacon under fourteen years of age, a deacon under twenty-four, and a priest under thirty. The accephali or independent clergy, and the vagabond monks, were condemned; lords were permitted to seize on

the concubines of priests and reduce them to a state of slavery; and, finally, prelates were prohibited from admitting into the ecclesiastical ranks men of a servile condition, and from bestowing on monasteries, without the consent of the pope, the tithes or churches which belonged to laymen.

Henry, informed of the progress which the party of the pope had made in Italy during his absence, hastened to the interior of Germany to destroy the powerful league which had been formed against him. He immediately invaded Normandy, ravaged the states of Duke Guelph, the husband of the countess Matilda, and compelled him to sue for peace. But the dauntless countess broke off the negotiations, and recommenced the war more terribly than before.

On the subject of this war, the infamous reply made by the pope to Godfrey, bishop of Lucca, is cited, who consulted him to know what penance he was to inflict on priests who massacred the excommunicated. "Impose on them a light penance," wrote the holy father, "and one proportioned to the intent which presided over the murders, in accordance with the usage of the Roman church; for we do not declare those homicides, who, burning with an holy zeal for religion, have murdered some excommunicated." This system of morals was worthy of the confidant and successor of Gregory the Seventh.

Henry, having settled his affairs in Bavaria and Saxony, seized on Mantua and marched at once on Rome. The Italians, fearful of the wrath of the prince, hastened to send an embassy to the anti-pope Clement the Third, who remounted the Holy See after an interregnum of two years.

Urban did not, however, permit himself to be depressed by these reverses. He became bolder than ever; and, not content with filling Italy with anathemas, he lanced forth the thunders of the Vatican on France, on account of the marriage of Phillip the First with Bertrade, the third wife of Foulk, count of Anjou. Ives of Chartres wished to oppose this alliance, but his remonstrances had brought on him disgrace from the king, and a violent persecution. The pope, informed of this matter, wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims and his suffragans, to reproach them with their silence on so scandalous a crime. "We order you," added the pope, "to seek out Phillip, and to warn him from God and us, that he must free himself from so horrible a crime by a severe penance; for, if he despises our admonition, we shall be compelled to employ the spiritual sword against him. Use the same threats to him to compel him to set at liberty our brother Bishop Ives; and if he refuses compliance to our wishes, anathematize him, close the churches, put his castles and his lands under interdict, prohibit his servants, his wife, even his children, from holding intercourse with him. We must impress such terror on these kings, that they will no more dare to seize the persons of ecclesiastics without our permission."

Whilst the legates of the Holy See were on their way to France, Urban formed the project of pushing on the young Conrad to a revolt against King Henry his father. In fact, the prince raised the standard of revolt, and came to Milan to be crowned king of Italy by Anselm, the metropolitan of that city. The Italians ranged themselves in mass beneath the standard of the young king. Henry was constrained to fly before the arms of his son, and retired into Germany. The anti-pope was driven from Rome, and Urban established himself in the city, without being, however, master of all its quarters, the German soldiers being able to maintain themselves in the pontifical palace, and in the upper parts of the city. The partizans of Urban could not even freely traverse the streets; and Geoffry the new abbot of the Trinity of Vendome, having come to confer with the holy father, was obliged to disguise himself as a pilgrim in order to avoid the dangers he would have incurred without this precaution.

Geoffry remained with the pope during all Lent in the year 1094, and sent to him a large sum of money, which he employed in corrupting the troops of Henry. He concerted his plans so well, that a few days before Easter, the captain, Ferruchio, who commanded the guard at the palace of the Lateran, promised to give up to him the tower which commanded the castle, if he would give him a thousand pounds weight of gold. Urban, who had scarcely half the money, immediately called together the bishops and cardinals of his party, to obtain the money from them; but none of them could afford him the least aid, being, like himself, deprived of the revenues of their dioceses. His affliction was so great, he could not restrain his tears. The abbot Geoffry spoke, consoled the pope, and promised him that the traitor Ferruchio should be paid. In fact, the abbot sold his table equipage, his mules, and even his ecclesiastical ornaments. The sum was thus made up, and the holy father obtained possession of the palace of the Lateran. Geoffry was recompensed by being allowed to kiss his feet on the day of his installation, and with the rank of cardinal, with the right to transmit it to his successors, the abbots of Vendome, who preserved it for more than three centuries.

Letters from Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, were then received in Rome, who declared that he recognized Urban as the lawful head of the church, asking for his communion, and swearing eternal hatred against the schismatics. The pontiff was so moved by these protestations, that he not only admitted the prelate to his communion, but even made him his legate in France. From that moment Hugh became one of the most devoted partizans of the court of Rome; he renewed the anathema pronounced against Henry and against the anti-pope Clement, and lanced a terrible excommunication against Phillip the First, to punish him for having married Bertrade during the life of Bertha, his first wife.

The king of France, fearful of the fatal

consequences of the censures of the church, hastened to send ambassadors to the holy father, to ask him to take off the excommunication pronounced against him by the archbishop of Lyons, promising to put an end to his intercourse with Bertrade; but Ives of Chartres having already forewarned the holy father, that his deputation was but a trick and artifice on the part of Phillip, the craftiest of kings, Urban was unwilling to grant him a delay, permitting him, however, to use the crown at the festival of the saints.

In order to understand the meaning of this authority, we must know that kings, in solemn ceremonies, appeared in public, clothed in royal ornaments, in order to impose on the stupid crowd, and received their crowns from the hands of a bishop, before placing it on their heads. Ives of Chartres, relates that the crown was presented to Phillip on Easter day, by the metropolitan of Tours, and on the day of Pentecost by a bishop of Belgium. This ceremony had no connection with that of consecration, which was only practised once, namely, at the commencement of each reign.

Urban at last consolidated his authority in Rome, and his partizans became so numerous that he could traverse Italy without fearing the faction of the emperor Henry, and the anti-pope Clement. He then went to Piacenza in Lombardy, at which place he convened a council, in order to render justice to the empress Adelaide. More than two hundred bishops of Burgundy, Germany, Bavaria, and Saxony, assembled in this city; they were followed by four thousand clergymen, and at least thirty thousand laymen. As there was no church large enough to hold such a multitude, they assembled in the open country without the walls. The unfortunate queen appeared as a suppliant before the council, and related the violences which had been committed against her. They excited the indignation of the assembly, and determined many schismatics, who had until this time supported Henry, to leave his party and range themselves on the side of the pope.

The condemnation of the errors of Berenger, in regard to the eucharist, was renewed in this council, and it was declared in formal terms, that the bread and wine after the consecration were changed, not only in spirit but in essence, and became the actual body and blood of Christ. Strange aberration of the human mind! A contradictory opinion will afterwards prevail, and another pope, also presiding over a council, will declare that the bread and wine after being consecrated by a priest, are changed in spirit and not in essence, and do not really become the body and blood of Jesus Christ!

The fathers condemned the heresy of the Nicolaites, that is of priests who maintained, relying on the authority of the gospel and the canons, that they were not obliged to preserve continence. They prohibited all clergymen stained with this error, from exercising ecclesiastical functions, and the people from assisting at divine service, when performed by these

heretics; they then confirmed all the decrees previously made in regard to simony, in order to prevent priests from exacting any pay for administering the holy unction, baptism and funeral rites; and finally they declared the ordinations made by the anti-pope Clement the Third, and by the other intrusive or excommunicated bishops, null and void.

After the termination of the council, the pontiff went to Cremona to confer with Conrad on their political interests. The prince came to meet the holy father a mile from the city, and led his horse by the bridle as far as the palace; he then took an oath of fidelity and obedience to Urban, promising on the Gospels and the cross to preserve the life, members, and dignity of the sovereign pontiff. Urban in turn, declared him the son of the Roman church, and promised him his aid and council to maintain him on the throne of Italy.

The affairs of Lombardy were scarcely settled, when the holy father received letters from Anselm, the metropolitan of Canterbury, who informed him that England and King William the Red, recognized him as the lawful pope, and rejected his competitor Clement. In the joy which this news caused him, Urban immediately nominated legates for Great Britain, in order to send the pallium to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to compliment the English monarch. He then took his way towards France, went up the Rhine as high as Valence, and from that city went to Puy-en-Velay, where he celebrated the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady, and where he published the Bull which convoked the celebrated council of Clermont.

Whilst waiting for the opening of the session, the holy father visited Cluny, near to Macon, where he had been a monk. He consecrated the grand altar of the new church of the monastery: and on the same day caused three other altars to be dedicated by Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, Daibert of Pisa, and Bruno, bishop of Segni. After the ceremony, Urban delivered the following discourse to the monks in the presence of the bishops and cardinals: "Our predecessors, my brethren, have particularly loved and protected this abbey, and they have done so justly, since the pious duke William, its founder, was unwilling that it should have any protectors after God, but St. Peter and his successors. I am by the will of Providence, of this number; but none of those who have preceded me on the apostolic chair, has honoured this place by his presence. Christ has doubtless reserved this grace for me, because my youth flowed by in this solitude, and I have returned to the cell in which I prayed when a child, and I avow that the wish to again see it is the first and principal cause of my journey to France..." The pope granted a territorial privilege to Cluny: and he himself marked out the bounds within which it was prohibited to exercise violence, pillage, capture, or mutilation. He then went to the council of Clermont, where he found already assembled, four hundred prelates who bore the cross, and thirteen me-

metropolitans, as well as a great number of lords and monks.

The first sitting was held on the 18th of November, 1095. They first confirmed all the decrees which the pope had made in the synods of Melfi, Beneventum, Troyes, and Placenza. After which they renewed the prohibition of the usurpation of the property of ecclesiastics at their death; they decided that their wealth should be reserved for the successors in their dignities, or be distributed in pious works, as was provided for in their last wills. They also prohibited a clergyman, who had not been a deacon, from being chosen archdeacon, nor who had not been a priest, an archpriest, and from elevating to the episcopate those who had not been deacons.

They also established as a rule, that curates could never have two prebends in two different churches, nor two dignities in the same church; they decreed that no one could take the communion without receiving separately the eucharist under the two kinds, bread and wine; and, finally, the truce of God was confirmed to be maintained from the beginning of Advent to the Octave of the Epiphany, from Septuagesima to the Octave of Pentecost, and for the rest of the year during Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, in each week; it was declared to exist for ever for priests and monks, and for three consecutive years for farmers and merchants, on account of the dearth of provisions. Urban then declared "the king of France excommunicated, as well as all those who shall call him king, or who shall obey him while he remains in his shameful sin."

But the most remarkable of all the proceedings of this council, and that whose consequences were the most baneful for the nation, was undoubtedly the publication of the first crusade. Before investigating the secret policy of the popes, which excited the fanaticism of the people, and urged them on to these extravagant expeditions, in which millions of men perished, we must go back to the first cause of the crusades in order to remark their absurdity.

Among the pilgrims who, about the year 1093, undertook the journey to the Holy Land, was a monk, a Frenchman by birth, born in the city of Amiens, in Picardy, named Peter the Hermit. This monk, during his sojourn at Jerusalem, paid several visits to the patriarch of that city, who gave him an exaggerated account of the evils under which the Christians of Judea laboured from the sway of the Mussulmen. Peter, ambitious like all other monks, seized with avidity on the opportunity which offered itself to him, of acquiring a certain kind of importance, and promised the patriarch to ask aid from the pope against the infidels.

On his return to Italy, he presented himself at the court of Rome, which he found fully disposed to second his views, not from zeal for religion, but from secret motives of policy, as Urban already well knew all the advantages he could derive from an expedition,

which was to take the lords from their domains, and leave the population to the discretion of the priests.

One historian, Jovian, affirms that Peter was not a hermit; that he never was at Jerusalem, and, that he was in the whole matter but an agent of the Holy See, charged with the successful issue of the knaveries of the pope. "He received," adds he, "a large amount of gold, for playing the part which he did in the end, and for depicting, in emphatic terms, the piteous state, in order to lead away senseless persons to the conquest of this land of Canaan, which, for three hundred years, was constantly watered by the blood of fanatical crusaders."

Christianity was then extinguished in the East; the Mussulmen had already conquered the greater part of Asia Minor; they attacked the pilgrims, took from them presents destined for the holy sepulchre, and constrained them to pay a ransom to redeem themselves from slavery. On the other hand, Alexis Comnenus, seeing his capital threatened by the infidels, had sent ambassadors to Europe, imploring the aid of the French, Germans, and English; but his entreaties had been treated with contempt, and the people of the West refused to combat for the cowardly Comnenus. The wily Greek then turned to the Holy See, and bound himself by an oath to recognize Urban as universal bishop, and to submit all the churches of his empire to him, if he should determine the princes of the West to make an irruption into the East. The bargain was concluded, and the intervention of Peter the Hermit, or rather the intrigues of the politic Urban, led to the council of Clermont.

We cite as a model of furious eloquence and sublime hypocrisy, the harangue of the holy father on this memorable circumstance.

"We are, beyond doubt, happy to see our presence excite acclamations in this great and illustrious assembly; but we cannot conceal beneath the appearances of deceitful joy, the marks of profound sadness; and your hearts will see in bitterness, and your eyes will shed torrents of tears, when you regard with me, my brethren, the misfortunes of Christianity, and our negligence of the faithful of the East.

"Thanks be to God, we have almost entirely extirpated the heresy which desolated the Western church; we have exterminated obstinate schismatics by fire or sword; we have reformed the abuses and augmented the domains and riches of the Holy See. Notwithstanding this success our soul remains plunged in sadness, and we declare to you that we will taste of no repose until the implacable enemies of the Christian name shall be driven from the holy land, which they outrage by their impious and sacrilegious conduct.

"Yes, dear brethren, Jerusalem, the city of God, that heritage of Christ, which has been bequeathed to us by the Saviour, that venerated land, in which all the divine mysteries have been accomplished, has been for several centuries in the sacrilegious hands of the Saracens and Turks, who triumph over

God himself. Who can tell the horrible profanations which they commit in these holy places? They have overthrown the altars, broken the crosses, destroyed the churches; and if in their rage they have spared the church of St. Sepulchre, it was only from a sentiment of avarice, for they have speculated on the devotion of the faithful, who go from all parts of the world to the divine tomb. They exact a ransom from pilgrims to permit them to penetrate into the holy places; they then despoil them, when they permit to go away, and even attack them when they regain their vessels; in order to seize on their persons and reduce them to the harshest slavery.

"And we, children of Christ, contemplate the massacre of our brethren coldly and without indignation; we appear indifferent to outrages which the barbarians commit on God; we abandon quietly to them an heritage which belongs to us alone; we allow them peacefully to enjoy a conquest which is the shame of all Christendom, and we remain their tributaries without daring to claim our rights by force of arms.

"Christians, however, do not shun battle, since almost all Europe is almost constantly at war; but the swords which should exterminate the enemies of Christ are drawn against himself and strike his sacred members. How long will you leave the Mussulmen masters of the East? Arise from your lethargy, which has destroyed our holy religion? A single one of our armies could easily triumph over the infidel; but our quarrels and intestine wars constantly decimate us and add strength to our foes. What great things we could accomplish if the princes of the West were not obliged to keep their troops about them in order to defend them from the attacks of their neighbours, and if the Spirit of God would unite our efforts in so beautiful an enterprise! We hope that he will lend eloquence to our words, and will descend into your hearts that you may comprehend this important truth.

"We have chosen from preference this most Christian kingdom to give an example to other people, because we recollect that it was your ancestors, the Franks, who exhibited so great a zeal for religion, and because we hoped you would reply to the voice of God and draw all Europe in your steps. The people of the Gauls have already been formidable adversaries to the Huns, the African Moors and the Arabs; already under the leading of Charles Martel and of Charlemagne, have they exterminated armies of infidels more numerous than the sands of the sea; now your legions will be still more terrible, your victories more brilliant, because you will combat under the standard of the God of armies, who sends you to conquer the heritage of his Son, and who orders you to drive the infidels from the holy sepulchre.

"Follow, intrepid Franks, the chief who calls you to the succour of religion, to the succour of your brethren of the East, to the succour of Christ himself! See that divine Saviour who sallied forth victorious over the world,

death, and hell; he is now a slave to the Saracens; he presents to you his cross; he gives it to you as the sacred emblem under which you are to conquer his enemies and acquire eternal glory. Do not forget that God, by my mouth, promises you the victory and abandons to you the rich spoils of the infidels. Those who shall shed their blood in this sacred war, shall receive the ineffable crown of martyrdom; if, however, fear of death . . ." Urban was about to continue, when he was interrupted by a general uproar; the assistants shed tears, struck their breasts, raised their eyes and hands to heaven, all exclaiming together, "Let us march, God wills it! God wills it!"

The pope taking advantage of this emotion, rose from his throne, extended his hand as if to demand silence, and added, "What more magnificent expression of the divine will can there be than these simple words, 'God wills it,' issuing simultaneously from every mouth. Dear children, you have followed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and we receive this revelation as an oracle which guarantees the success of a war which God himself comes to declare. Let this sublime expression be the device of the army; let us engrave it on our standards and our breasts, that it may become the cry of soldiers and chiefs in combat. Yes, God wills it! Let us march to the holy sepulchre; let us go to deliver Christ, and until the blessed day on which we restore him to liberty, let us carry like him, on our right shoulders, the holy cross, on which he expired to snatch us from the slavery of sin."

The holy father then declared, that the truce of God decreed by the council should last for the Crusaders during the whole expedition, and that before their return from the Holy Land they should not be attacked either in goods or person; he freed them from all the penalties against them, and granted to them unlimited indulgences for all the robberies and murders they had committed. He appointed as apostolic legate of the crusade, Aymar de Monteil, bishop of Puy, a prelate of consummate prudence, of heroic courage, and who had made the fervour of his zeal conspicuous by being the first of all in the council to ask for the cross, and permission to devote himself to the service of Christianity. Finally, the pontiff, on dismissing the assembly, ordered all ecclesiastics every where to preach the crusade for the deliverance of Jesus Christ.

Urban thus concealing his ambitious views beneath the veil of religion, excited the fanaticism of the people of the West, and promptly brought together an army of six hundred thousand foot and one hundred thousand horsemen. "Then," says Beovius, "men went in crowds, without distinction of age or condition, after the princes who departed on the crusade; women even exhibited an ardour altogether martial, and an Amazonian intrepidity; miracles were not wanting to the priests in order to deceive the simplicity of the faithful, to urge them into the Levant, where they died

by thousands, through famine or the pestilence." This period, adds the historian, has been more fertile in superstitions than any other; but independently of the religious motives which led so many men of honest faith, the greatest part of the Croises only went into Asia from love of pillage, and because there was nothing more to pillage in their own country.

Albert also affirms, that these bands of Croises were composed of perjurers, adulterers, incestuous persons, thieves, and assassins; and that with them pillage was the true end of this holy expedition. William of Tyre, the monk Guibert and the Jesuit Maimburg avow that they resembled an army of brigands. Finally, Bayle exclaims: "Who will dare maintain that these monsters, who exhibited so much ardour for the Holy Land, were the flower of Christendom? Could those wretches who abandoned their country, their wives and their children, to go and fight against the infidels, be called the soldiers of Christ? No, for those hypocrites who pretended to see angels and saints at the head of their armies, were but pillagers and assassins; they violated women, deflowered young girls, and murdered those who granted them hospitality. The cruelty and depravity of those barbarians were so great, that the Christians of Asia whom they went to succour, evinced more fear at their approach than at the arrival of Turks and Saracens. The crusades are assuredly the most hideous pages of the history of Christianity. . . ."

Whilst the emissaries of the Holy See were traversing all Christian kingdoms, preaching the crusade, the pope was traversing France, assembling councils, selling privileges, distributing indulgences, and promising the honours of martyrdom to all the faithful. Finally, he fixed the period of departure for Jerusalem, on the day of the Assumption in the same year, 1096.

Urban then came to Tours; he catechized the people on the banks of the Loire, in the presence of a great number of bishops and lords, among whom was Foulk, count of Anjou. He also held a council of the bishops of the province, and dismissed them on the fourth Sunday in Lent, after a solemn procession, in which he appeared in a crown of thorns, according to the custom at Rome. In this ceremony, the count of Anjou received the golden rose which the popes were accustomed to bless on that day. No trace of this practice is found previous to that century. It consisted in consecrating a rose which was full of musk and balm, and offering it after the ceremony to a prince or lord whom the Holy See wished to honour. The pontiff also visited Poitiers, Saintes, Bordeaux, Maguelonne and Nismes, where he also convoked a council.

Finally, the day of departure for the holy land having arrived, the armies of the Croises began to move on all points; the first troop was commanded by Walter the Penniless, whose surname sufficiently informs us of the

true motive of his ardour for the crusade. He departed on the 8th of March, 1096, with a multitude of persons clothed in rags, and on foot like himself. They took the route through Germany and stopped at Mayence and Cologne. "They there committed so many horrors and atrocities," says the monk Guibert, "that the citizens barricaded themselves in their houses to escape from the barbarity of these monsters. Mothers become furious, murdered the infants whom they nourished; husbands poinarded their wives, and young people put themselves to death, to avoid falling into the hands of those merciless fanatics who bore the cross on the shoulder."

These first bands were followed by forty thousand vagabonds, led by Peter the Hermit, and recruited in France or on the borders of Germany. A monk, named Gondescale, went by the way of Hungary, having as his train an army of fifteen thousand pillagers. They committed so many atrocities by the way, that the exasperated inhabitants rose in mass and massacred them to the last man. But this gallant nation was soon exterminated by two hundred thousand bandits, who fell upon its cities and plains.

Urban returned to Italy, escorted by a troop of French Croises, who had at their head Robert, duke of Normandy, and Stephen, count of Blois. By their aid the pontiff entered Rome in triumph, and drove the partizans of the anti-pope Guibert from the fortresses which they occupied, excepting the castle of San Angelo, which remained alone in the power of the enemy. On the other hand, the troops of the countess Matilda drove the army of Henry out of Lombardy, and forced it to fall back on Germany.

Whilst the pope was thus labouring to consolidate his sway in Italy, the crusaders embarked for Constantinople. The ambitious Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, cherished the hope of conquering for himself the Greek empire, and of availing himself of the crusades to assure his entry into Constantinople. He asked permission from the emperor Alexis for seven thousand Knights to cross his states. Urban was charged by the prince with the negotiation; but the emperor who had already been informed of the acts of brigandage committed by the Croises on their route, and of the plans of the ambitious Bohemond, a crafty, implacable, and hypocritical man, conducted himself so prudently in his intercourse with them, that the leaders of the Western Christians found it impossible to favour the designs of Bohemond.

Before the arrival of the troops, Alexis was careful to send officers who established immense markets and furnished an abundance of provisions to the soldiery to prevent their pillaging. He attached to every corps, interpreters who understood the Roman tongue, which was then beginning to become the common language of the Gauls; he instructed them to put an end to any differences which might break out between the Franks and the Greek population, with the express recom-



mendation not to spare money, to place all his ships at the disposal of the crusaders, and to heap great marks of honour on all the leaders.

Notwithstanding all these wise precautions, the crusaders sacked the environs of Constantinople, burned the dwellings, massacred the cultivators, forced the convents of the nuns, and, in their thirst for pillage, tore even the leaden roofs from the churches to sell them to the Jews.

Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor, relates, that Peter the Hermit was one of the most cruel and rapacious of the leaders of the crusade. "His soldiers," adds the historianess, "committed such frightful atrocities in the environs of Nice, that the other crusaders were indignant at them. 'They cut children to pieces to eat them in stews; they placed them on spits and roasted them alive; they forced the mothers of these victims to drink the blood which flowed from their bodies; they assuaged their brutality on these unfortunate females and then murdered them. Finally, they outraged nature with young people, and then hung them up by the hair, or the beard, and amused themselves with cutting off their arms or their legs by a single blow of the sword . . . .'"

Several French lords, eaten up by ambition, joined the army of the crusaders, in hopes of placing a royal crown on their brow, and concealed their projects under an hypocritical mask. Anna Comnena thus expresses herself concerning them.

"Hugh the Great, the brother of the king of France, was very proud of his birth; before his departure, he wrote to the emperor Alexis, 'Prince, you are invited to come with pomp and magnificence to meet me; for know, that I am the king of kings, and the greatest prince under heaven.' Our skilful emperor, after having read this letter, sent orders to John, the son of Isaac, the governor of Durazzo, and to Nicholas Maurocatocalan, who commanded the fleet to watch, in order to apprise him of the arrival of the French prince.

As soon as Hugh reached Lombardy, he sent to Durazzo twenty-four ambassadors, covered with cuirasses and cuisses of gold, to prepare lodgings for his train. They said to the governor, "Know, duke, that our master, Hugh the Great, is about to arrive in this city, having taken the standard of St. Peter at Rome. He is the generalissimo of the army of the Franks; prepare, then, to receive him in a manner suitable to his dignity, and to render him the honours he deserves, or you will have to dread the power of his arms."

Such were the soldiers and leaders whom the policy of Rome pushed into the East. This war of extermination was only profitable to the Holy See and the clergy, who took under their protection the domains of the crusaders, and seized on their revenues in their capacity of tutors or curators of the widows, pupils and minors. The Jesuit Maimburg, devoted to the court of Rome, never, that it augmer

by the spoils of the crusaders. He relates that Godfrey of Bouillon, pledged all his patrimony in order to obtain the sums necessary to equip the troops whom he led to the Holy Land. "He sold," adds the historian, "his countships of Bouillon and Ardennes to Aubert, bishop of Liege, whose successors remained possessors of them. Richer, bishop of Verdun, also availed himself of the crusades to purchase the city and castle of Stenay, with their dependencies and all the other domains which the brother of Godfrey surrendered to that lord. Thus, whilst secular princes were impoverishing themselves to serve Christ, churchmen took advantage of the religious enthusiasm to enrich themselves with their spoils . . . ."

An incredible number of crusaders perished miserably in Palestine, or were massacred by the infidel; some bodies of them, better disciplined, or better led, alone arrived at Jerusalem, on which they seized, after having suffered all the horrors of pestilence and famine.

Urban continued his intrigues in Italy, pushed on Roger, duke of Apulia, the son of Robert Guiscard, into a war with his uncle Roger, duke of Calabria and count of Sicily; he even came beneath the walls of Capua to confer with him on the means of assuring their sway forever in the peninsula; but on the news that their enemy was at Salerno with imposing forces, he betrayed his new ally, and made a treaty with the count of Sicily, whom he appointed legate of the Holy See, although he was a layman. This remarkable act conferred on Roger and his successors a kind of royal theocracy over Sicily; the following is its tenor:—"Count, in gratitude for the services you have rendered the church by your valour in extending the sway of the popes over the land taken from the Saracens, and particularly to recompense the devotion which you have always manifested to the Holy See, we give to you and your heirs, the power of governing, in the name of St. Peter, the spiritual and temporal affairs of Sicily." One author alone, Hamelot de la Housseaye, has maintained that this decretal is apochryphal; but all other historians, and among them, monks and priests, have recognized its authenticity, and relate that it was subscribed by Urban the Second, on the 5th of July, 1098, in the city of Salerno.

Thus, an infallible pope declared that it was not necessary to be an ecclesiastic in order to have the right of governing the churches of a kingdom, and of representing the Holy See: that is to say, of ordaining bishops, presiding over councils, anathematizing priests, and receiving the offerings and tithes which superstition wrenches from ignorant and credulous people. A pontiff has thus sanctioned the hereditary transmission of this unlimited power, and as the states of Sicily do not recognize the Salic law, he has given to females the right to be at once queens and popes; and the incontestable proof that this right was conceded by Urban is, that the ancient manu-

scripts of the sixteenth century recognize Jane the Simple by the title of most blessed, and most sanctified holy father. "During this century," says Sismondi, "there were four pontiffs and four sacred colleges in Christendom. One pope was seated at Rome, another at Constantinople, a popess in Sicily, and a popess in England."

Whilst the holy father was at Salerno, the faction of Guibert rose up again in Rome, and was soon sufficiently powerful openly to hold a council, at which eight cardinals, four bishops, six priests, and a great number of deacons and monks assisted. Urban was solemnly anathematized by the fathers, who made this decree: "We are unwilling to leave the faithful in ignorance, that we have assembled in council to destroy the heresies introduced into the church by the monk Hildebrand and the imitators of his policy. We consequently publish the condemnation of Pope Urban, and of all who recognize him. We, however, permit the guilty to plead their cause before us, promising them, even though they should be condemned, entire safety for their persons until the festival of All Saints, because we do not thirst for blood, and sincerely desire peace, truth, and unity in the church." This was the last effort of the party of the anti-pope. Urban, on his return, dispersed his enemies.

During the following year, the pontiff convened a general synod in the church of the Lateran, to the canonization of St. Nicholas Peregrini. One might be surprised to find saints in this age of corruption; but if we study the history of the church, we will discover that saints, like miracles, have been most numerous in proportion as ignorance and superstition have been most profound. Bizancus, the metropolitan of Trany, presented to the fathers, according to custom, the relation of the pious acts and prodigies performed by Nicholas Peregrini, and the pope made the following decree: "We place in the catalogue of saints the venerable Nicholas, surnamed Peregrini, and we order that he be

honoured by the church." By virtue of this decision, the Archbishop Bizancus erected a church in honour of the new saint, and sold his relics to a community of monks, who exposed them to the veneration of the faithful, and made use of them to extort offerings and money from devotees.

The assembly then received a deputation of monks from the abbey of Molesme, who came to accuse Robert, their abbot, of having abandoned them in order to retire with some fanatics to a place called Cisterium in Latin, and Citeaux in the Roman tongue, which was five leagues from Dijon, which was a desert covered with woods and rocks. They had commenced clearing it, having dug out some cells in a rock, and having then built some others with branches of trees, covered with thatch. Robert gradually increased the number of his monks; and, authorized by Eudes of Burgundy and the archbishop of Lyons, he built a church, which was solemnly consecrated on Palm Sunday, in the year 1099, the day of St. Benedict. Such was the foundation of the celebrated abbey of Citeaux.

The monks of Molesme claimed their holy abbot, whose absence caused notable prejudice to their convent; and they obtained a decree which declared Robert deprived of his title of abbot, if he refused to return to his old monastery. Robert consequently returned to Molesme, and the new monks of Citeaux were compelled to proceed to an election to replace him.

After the termination of this council, chronicles make no further mention of the acts of Urban. We only know that he died on the 29th of July, 1099.

Pride, avarice, ambition and hypocrisy formed the character of Urban. He walked in the footsteps of Hildebrand; and, although he did not possess the energy and talents of that monk, he knew how, however, by means of a perfidious policy, to re-establish the authority of the Holy See, which the pride of Gregory the Seventh had strongly compromised.

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## THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

## PASCAL THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH POPE:

*Character of the twelfth century—The origin of Pascal—Election of a pontiff—Conquests of the crusaders—Consequences of the schism caused by the anti-pope Guibert and the emperor Henry—Quarrel about the investitures—Councils of Poitiers and Rome—Letter of the pope to the metropolitan of Guesne—New council at Rome—The countess Matilda renews the act of donation of her property to the Holy See—Reply of Ives of Chartres to the complaints made against him—Revolt of young Henry against his father—Henry the Fourth makes his submission to the Holy See—Infamous letter of the pope—Reply of the clergy of Liege—Preparations for a new crusade—The pontiff goes to France—The Eastern church—Quarrels between the pope and king of Germany—The pope is made prisoner—Revolt of the Romans—Pascal grants the investitures—He is set at liberty—Coronation of the emperor—The pope is accused of heresy—He wishes to renounce the pontificate—Councils of the Lateran, of Ceperan, and of Beauvais—New seditions against the pope—The emperor enters Rome at the head of an army—The pope flies—His death—His character.*

THE history of the church in the twelfth century affords a long train of horrible crimes and infamous corruptions. Cardinal Baronius, the zealous defender of the popes, himself avows, that it appeared as if antichrist then governed Christendom. St. Bernard, who lived in these deplorable times, wrote to Ganfrid: "Having had for some days the happiness of seeing the pious Nobert, and of listening to some words from his mouth, I asked him what were his thoughts with regard to antichrist. He replied to me that this generation would certainly be exterminated by the enemy of God and of men; for his reign had commenced."

Bernard de Morlaix, a monk of Cluny, their contemporary, also wrote: "The golden ages are past; pure souls exist no longer; we live in the last times; fraud, impurity, rapine, schisms, quarrels, wars, treasons, incests, and murders, desolate the church. Rome is the impure city of the hunter Nimrod; piety and religion have deserted its walls. Alas! the pontiff, or rather the king, of this odious Babylon, tramples under foot the Gospels and Christ, and cañses himself to be adored as a God."

Finally, Honorius, the priest of Antron, expressed himself with still more energy concerning the clergy. "Behold," cried he, "these bishops and cardinals of Rome! these worthy ministers who surround the throne of the Beast! They are constantly occupied with new iniquities, and never cease committing crimes. Not only do these wretches abandon themselves to all kinds of depravity with young deacons, but they even wish to oblige the clergy of the provinces to imitate them. Thus, in all the churches, the priests neglect divine service, soil the priesthood by their impurities; deceive the people by their hypocrisy; deny God by their works; render themselves the scandal of nations, and forge a chain of iniquities to bind men. These are the blind who precipitate themselves into the abyss, and drag with them the simple ones who follow them.

"Look also at those monks! Knavery and hypocrisy shelter themselves beneath their cowls; the frock covers every vice: gormandizing, cupidity, avarice, luxury, and sodomy. Examine also those convents of nuns. The Beast has made his bed in those dormitories, all of whose couches are defiled by the most horrid debauchery. These abominable girls no longer choose the Virgin for their model; they take Phryna and Messalina; they no longer prostrate themselves before Christ, but before an idol of Priapus. The reign of God has finished, and that of antichrist has commenced; a new law has replaced the old; scholastic theology has sallied from the depths of hell to strangle religion; finally, there are no longer morality, tenets, nor worships—and lo! the last times announced in the Apocalypse have come! . . ."

Pascal the Second was worthy to occupy the apostolic throne at this deplorable period. Before he was pope, he was called Rainerius, or Regnerus. Italy was his country, and his father dwelt at Bleda, in Tuscany, eight leagues from Rome. In his childhood he had been sent to the abbey of Cluny, to be instructed in the sacred Scriptures, where he afterwards embraced the ecclesiastical state. At the age of twenty he was sent by his community to Rome, to treat of an important matter with the pope Gregory the Seventh, who was then reigning, surprised at the address and tenacity of the young monk, wished to retain him at his court, and attached him to his person in the capacity of scribe. Some time afterwards, he ordained him a cardinal priest; and finally the young Rainerius became abbot of St. Paul's during the pontificate of Urban the Second.

After the death of that pope, the cardinals, bishops, other ecclesiastics and notables of the city, having assembled in the church of St. Clement, to proceed to a new election, chose the cardinal Rainerius unanimously. The latter, in accordance with the custom of the successors of the apostle, immediately

escaped from the church, in order to be brought back in triumph to the assembly. The prothonotary of St. Peter cried out three times—"Pascal is pope!" and the assistants replied by the same acclamations. They then clothed him with a scarlet cape and the tiara, and conducted him on horseback to the southern door of the palace of the Lateran.

He then dismounted, walked up the steps of the porch, and entered the saloon in which were the two porphyry chairs. A girdle was then fastened round him, to which were attached seven keys and seven seals, which indicated the seven spiritual gifts, by which the pope could bind or loose in heaven. He was then placed alternately, and half reclining, on each of the seats; and when all the proofs were gone through, the pastoral baton was given to him, and he took possession of the apostolic throne. On the next day, Pascal was consecrated by Otho, bishop of Ostia, assisted by four prelates.

Berthold affirms, that his election was miraculous and divine, and that it was revealed in several visions to a large number of ecclesiastics and monks. Some months after his election, the holy father received a letter from Palestine, which was addressed to all the faithful, and in which the crusaders gave a detailed recital of their conquests, from the capture of Nice to that of Jerusalem. Pascal wrote them a long letter, in which he dwelt principally on the discovery of the holy lance which had pierced the Saviour, and which was miraculously found at the siege of Antioch. He claimed from their piety the gift of several very precious relics, and of a great part of the true cross which had been disinterred at Jerusalem. He also advised them of the departure of his legate, Maurice, bishop of Porto, who was about to rejoin them, fortified with the necessary powers to regulate the interests of the Holy See in the churches which had been conquered by the infidel.

From the very commencement of his pontificate, Pascal continued the policy of his predecessors, and pursued Henry the Fourth, king of Germany, and the anti-pope Guibert, who was the creature of that monarch. He did this the more successfully, as he was sustained by Count Roger, who sent him seven thousand ounces of gold and a well disciplined army, in exchange for the spiritual and temporal sovereignty of Sicily.

The anti-pope was soon besieged in the city of Albano, his residence, and he was about falling into the hands of his competitor, when he was enabled to escape; but in his flight the unfortunate Guibert was poisoned by one of his domestics, gained by the gold of Pascal.

The death of Guibert could not, however, subdue the schismatics, and they chose a new pontiff named Albert. But treason still came to the aid of Pascal. The anti-pope was seized on the very day of his election and confined in the dungeons of the monastery of St. Lawrence. King Henry nominated the priest Theodorice to replace Albert. Three months after

his consecration, the new anti-pope was also carried off by the agents of the Holy See, and confined in the abbey of Lava. The obstinate schismatics then chose the priest Maginulph, who was enabled to maintain himself for some days. Pascal drove him from Rome, and the unfortunate man died in exile.

Peace at last seemed restored to the church and Italy, under the government of Conrad, when death suddenly carried off that young prince. This unfortunate event became the signal for new disorders. Pascal published that Conrad had been poisoned by his father. He excited the people to avenge the martyr, and ordered the citizens to take up arms. But this new sedition was quickly stifled by the king of Germany, and Pascal was constrained to write to him, beseeching him to restore peace to the church, by assisting at a council which had been convoked at Rome.

At this period, England was a prey to the violent dissensions which had been excited by Archbishop Anselm on the subject of investitures. This prelate, devoted to the Holy See, had excited these quarrels in order to avenge himself on King William the Red, who had refused to recognize Urban the Second as the legitimate pontiff. The prince had in turn punished the metropolitan, by depriving him of the primacy of Great Britain, and by taking from him the benefices he had seized.

Anselm went to Rome, to obtain, by means of his intrigues, a bull which should constrain the king, under penalty of excommunication, to re-instate him in all his honours, and to re-install him in the enjoyment of the revenues of the See of Canterbury, and of the churches or monasteries dependant on that archbishopric, with which he had invested other bishops by royal ordinances. Pascal, faithful to his policy, approved of the conduct of the prelate; and, in a council held at Rome, he pronounced an anathema against all laymen who should bestow ecclesiastical investitures, or should receive presents to confirm them.

Notwithstanding the declaration of the holy father, William was immovable in his determination, and Anselm could not return to England until after the death of that prince. His successor Henry the First, having also refused to conform to the decisions of the court of Rome, the metropolitan loudly declared against the Norman kings; he threatened Henry with anathematizing him, in virtue of the canons of the last council of Rome; he demanded, in the name of the pope, Peter's pence; and excited the greatest part of the English clergy against the throne.

Pascal, informed by the archbishop of the progress which the insurrection was making, wrote to him, to congratulate him on his apostolic vigour, adding: "Robert, duke of Normandy, has laid before us his complaints against the king of Great Britain, his brother, who has seized upon the crown to his detriment by giving to the people a constitution, which he calls a charter of liberty. You are not ignorant that our aid and protection are due to Robert, who has laboured for the deliver

ance of Asia. It is on this account that we are pledged to maintain the just rights of this prince against Henry. . . ." The king learned that the duke of Normandy was about to make a descent on England, hoping to be seconded in his plans by the nobles and priests.

The wary Henry then called to his court the metropolitan Anselm, and won him back to his party by brilliant promises. The archbishop, gained over by the presents of the monarch, laboured for his interests, re-affirmed in their duty the ecclesiastics whose fidelity was wavering, and brought back to the army of Henry the nobles whom he had detached from it. Thus, when Robert disembarked in England, those who had at first favoured his intentions showed themselves opposed to his pretensions, and he was obliged to accept a rental of three thousand marks of silver, which his brother engaged to pay him yearly for his renunciation of the crown.

Such was the end of that war which threatened Great Britain with a new revolution. As soon as quiet was restored, Anselm came to claim from Henry the price of his devotion, and the services which he had rendered him; but the monarch, who had no longer any need of the archbishop, replied to him harshly, that he had better retire as soon as possible to his diocese, if he wished to avoid the chastisement which his treason merited. At the same time, he spat upon him before all his court, and threw in his face a letter which he had received from Rome. This missive, which had so strongly excited the indignation of Henry, was conceived in these terms: "Anselm has informed us that you arrogate to yourself the right of investiture, and that you attribute to the royal power an authority which belongs to God alone; for Christ has said: 'I am the door.' A king, then, cannot be the door of the church; and ecclesiastics who enter the priesthood by the will of sovereigns are not shepherds, but robbers. Your pretensions are unworthy of a Christian, and the Holy See cannot approve of them. Do you not know, that St. Ambrose would have suffered every punishment, rather than permit Theodosius to dispose of the dignities and property of the church; and are you ignorant of his reply to that emperor: 'Do not think, Cæsar, that you have any rights over divine things. Palaces belong to princes, churches to the pope. . . .'" The archbishop of Canterbury, furious at the signal insult he had received, quitted the court, and returned to his See to excite new enemies against the king.

Henry, on his side, pursued the metropolitan and his partizans with the greatest rigour; and threatened to refuse obedience to the pope, and prevent the collection of Peter's pence in his kingdom, if he did not recognize the right of ecclesiastical investitures to reside in the crown. In this extremity, Anselm convened a provincial council, at which the commissioners of the king assisted, at which it was determined to send deputies to Rome to confer with the pope, and put a final end to these deplorable quarrels. The ambassadors,

having arrived in the holy city, were admitted into the presence of Pascal to explain to him the cause of their journey and the intentions of the king.

At first, the pope was unable to reply, so violent was his rage. He then rose from his seat, dashed it upon the floor, and exclaimed with frightful blasphemies: "Not if it were a question of my head, will the threats of a king force me to yield a single one of the prerogatives of the apostolic throne! Return to your master, and tell him to dread how he raises the holy anger of the vicar of God." He then wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to induce him to resist more vigorously than ever the pretensions of the monarch.

Henry, irritated by the insolence of the pope, immediately assembled the lords of his kingdom at London, and caused the archbishop Anselm, the cause of the dissensions, to appear before it, in order that he might hear the royal sentence which exiled him from Great Britain. The metropolitan made no complaint, and embarked the same day for Italy.

This apparent submission of the proud prelate induced the monarch to fear fresh treason; and, in order to disconcert his machinations at the court of Rome, he sent immediately into Italy, and by land, William of Varevast, with full powers to put an end to all the differences existing between the crown and the Holy See. The ambassador used such speed, that he arrived in the holy city a month before the archbishop, and had time to gain to the side of the king a large number of the priests and cardinals. Finally, Anselm made his entry into the holy city, and, on the next day, Pascal convoked a council of the bishops, cardinals, and priests of all Italy, to hear the accusations of the metropolitan of Canterbury against Henry, and to judge of the reclamations which that prince had addressed to the pope through his deputy.

William of Varevast presented the case of his master with great skill, and displayed a rare eloquence, which excited the applause of the whole assembly. Anselm and the pope alone remained immovable, without permitting their sentiments to be known. William, interpreting the silence of the pontiff, as well as the applause of the other ecclesiastics, as certain signs of a victory, added with assurance: "All Italy must learn, that the sovereign, my master, will not suffer the investitures ever to be taken from him, when he would, in defence of this right, lose his kingdom." At these last words, the pontiff suddenly rose, and, looking at the ambassador with a fierce and imperious air, replied to him in a voice of thunder: "Know, then, ambassador of Henry, that Pascal, though it should cost him his life, and we swear it before God, will never permit a layman to govern the church." There was no need of more to change their minds, and the fathers, rising tumultuously, excommunicated the king, as well as the lords who elevated clergymen to ecclesiastical dignities.

Notwithstanding this victory, Anselm could not return to England, and was obliged to go to France, where he chose the city of Lyons for his residence, in order to be enabled to awaken, with more facility, the old hatred of the duke of Normandy to his brother, and to excite him to make a second descent on the shores of Great Britain. In consequence of his intrigues, the war broke out with more fury than ever between Henry and Robert; and, as the king feared least a single defeat might hurl him from his throne, he decided to send an ambassador to Italy, with large sums of money, in order to enter into an arrangement with the court of Rome. The prince then promised Pascal to discharge the churches of England from the rent which William the Red had imposed on them; he pledged himself to receive no pay for investitures; not to exact taxes from the curates, and to levy Peter's pence regularly. Anselm, also, received permission to return to his diocese of Canterbury; he recovered all his benefices, and was declared legate a latere to the Holy See. In this capacity he received, in the presence of the grandees and bishops of the kingdom, a decree of Henry's, in which it was said, that for the future, no one in England should receive an investiture of a bishopric or abbey, by the cross or the ring, in the name of a lord or of the king himself. On his side, Anselm declared that he would not refuse consecration to any prelates who should do homage to their sovereign. Finally, they were occupied with providing ecclesiastics for the churches of England, almost all of which had been without pastors for several years. Thus, an end was put in England to the quarrel of the investitures.

But in Germany the war broke out fiercer than ever. Towards the end of the year 1102 the pope had convened a council, at which were assembled the deputies of Italy, France and Bavaria; the emperor of Germany alone failed in the appeal which was made to him, to renew his submission to the Holy See. His absence was regarded as an irremissible crime, and the fathers decreed this formula of an oath against schismatics, or rather against the partizans of that prince. "We anathematize every heresy, and especially that which now troubles Christendom, and which teaches that we may despise the anathemas and censures of the court of Rome. We promise unlimited obedience to the pontiff Pascal and his successors, in the presence of Jesus Christ and the apostle; accepting, without examination, all that the church affirms, and condemning what it condemns; promising to sacrifice in its defence riches, friends, parents, and even our life, if it is required of us." They renewed the excommunication pronounced against Henry the Fourth by Gregory the Seventh and his successor Urban the Second. Pope Pascal himself mounted the pulpit of the church of the Lateran on Holy Thursday, the 3d of April, the same year, and in the presence of an innumerable crowd of the faithful, read the sentence, employing strange imprecations

in order to impress terror on the coarse men of that period, who only judged of the value of things by their appearance.

In this same assembly, the countess Matilda accused the king of Germany of having stolen, by his agents, the act of donation by which she had made the Holy See the inheritor of all her property. This implacable woman, after eighteen years had flown by in strife and battle, still wished to avenge Gregory the Seventh, her lover, on Henry, whom she accused of his death. She made a solemn declaration, in which, disinheriting her family for ever, she made the Holy See the sole legatee of her immense domains.

We translate this singular act, in which the countess glories in her title of concubine: "In the time of the illustrious pontiff Gregory the Seventh, our most beloved and most dear, and of whom we were the greatest joy, I gave to the church of St. Peter all my goods, which I then had or might acquire; and I wrote with my own hand, in the chapel of the Holy Cross, in the palace of the Lateran, a writing which constituted this donation. Since then, this deed has been destroyed by the enemies of the Holy See and mine. Thus, fearing lest my wishes should be called in question after my death, I now declare, with the formalities usual in such cases, that I abandon all my property to the Roman church, without I or my heirs being ever able to claim it against my present will, under the penalty of a fine of four thousand pounds weight of gold, and ten thousand of silver."

Whilst the pontiff was triumphing in Italy and England, he also subjected France to his authority; and he sent the bishop of Albano as legate to the court of King Phillip, to absolve that prince and the infamous Bertrade from the excommunication they had incurred from the council of Clermont during the reign of Urban.

Ives of Chartres has left us the following relation of this ceremony, which he wrote to Rome: "We inform your paternity, that the prelates of the provinces of Sens and Rheims, convoked by Richard, your legate, assembled in the diocese of Orleans, in a city called Baregenci, to relieve King Phillip and Bertrade, his wife, from the anathema pronounced against them. The two guilty ones presented themselves in the assembly with naked feet, and covered with sackcloth, weeping and crying for mercy, and swearing they would renounce their nuptial intimacies, and ever speaking together, if your legate placed this condition on their absolution. They then placed their hands on the Gospels and swore never to fall into the sin of fornication with each other, and the anathema was raised.

"I ought also, most holy father, to inform you of an accusation brought against me in the council of Baregenci, and of which I am to justify myself. It is false that I have ever been guilty of simony. This crime is, in my eyes, one of the most hideous sores of the clergy; and since I have been a bishop, I have pursued it, as far as was possible for me

to do through the whole extent of my jurisdiction. I ought, however, to inform you, that notwithstanding my recommendations, the dean, chorister, and other officers of the canons of Chartres, receive money from clergy and laity; they maintain that it is their right, and that they follow the usages of the Roman church, in which your chamberlains and the ministers of your palace receive rich presents from bishops and abbots, at the time of their consecration, under the name of offerings and benedictions. They maintain that the court of Rome gives nothing gratis, and is even paid for pens and paper. To this I could only oppose to them the words of the evangelist, 'Do as the pope commands and not as he does.'"

Pascal, whose policy was characterized by the perfidy of that of Urban and the violence of that of Gregory, seconded Matilda's schemes of vengeance, and sent prelates into Germany and Saxony, to publish the anathema against Henry the Fourth, and to excite the young Henry to revolt against his father, after the example of his brother Conrad.

The legates at first stirred the people by furious preaching; they represented the king as a renegade who had refused to take part with the faithful in the glorious enterprise of the crusades; they accused him of having excited bloody schisms since his advent to the throne, and of having desolated the church by persecutions worthy of the age of Diocletian. By way of contrast they exalted the merits and piety of his son; they spread gold liberally about, and when the young Henry, at their instigation, raised the standard of revolt, a formidable party rallied around him to combat the king of Germany. After this, Gebhard, the legate of the Holy See, the soul of all these intrigues, being desirous of increasing the pontifical influence by the splendour of an external ceremony, convoked all the grandees and clergy in a church. On the appointed day, in the presence of an immense crowd, he conducted the young Henry to the altar of Christ, gave him in the name of the pope, power to combat against his father, to dethrone him and put him to death by torture.

After this ceremony Henry entered Saxony at the head of the nobility of Bavaria, Suabia, the upper Palatinate and Franconia; he was received with transports of joy by the Saxons, who were worn out by the tyranny of the father. But the young chief, concealing under an apparent modesty, the ambition which devoured him, declared that he had not taken up arms from a desire of reigning, and would not submit that his lord and father should be deposed. "On the contrary," added he, "as soon as the king shall have determined to obey St. Peter and his successors, we shall immediately lay aside the sword, in order to submit to our father, as the humblest of his subjects; but if he persist in his disobedience to the orders of the vicar of Jesus Christ, as we devote ourselves to God before all things, we will put him to death with our own hand, if it be necessary, in defence of religion, as the pontiff Pascal has ordered us."

The king of Germany finding himself almost abandoned by his troops, dared not march against the rebels, and retired to his northern provinces. He then determined, in order to put an end to all pretexts for revolt, to replace the Teutonic kingdom under the authority of the Holy See, and to make his submission to the pope. For this purpose, an ambassador was despatched to Rome with the following letter: "The pontiffs Nicholas and Alexander honoured me by their friendship, always treating me as a son; but their successors, animated by a fury whose cause is inexplicable to me, excited our people and even our son Conrad against us; it is still the same, our only remaining child is infected by the same poison; he has raised himself against us in contempt of his oaths, urged on by knaves who seek to increase their wealth by injury to our crown. Several of our wise councillors have exhorted us to pursue him without delay by arms; but we have preferred to suspend the effects of our wrath, so that no one in Italy or Germany may impute to us the evils of such a war. Besides, we are assured that your legates themselves excited our subjects to rebellion, by accusing us of troubling the peace of the church. We, therefore, send to you one of our faithful friends to learn your intentions, and to know if you desire our alliance without prejudice to our rights, such as our ancestors exercised, and you preserving your apostolic dignity as your predecessors preserved it. Finally, if you wish to act paternally to us, send us some one in your confidence, carrying your secret letters, and who will inform us of your wishes; then we will send you ambassadors who will finish this great matter with you."

All these tokens of submission were useless; Pascal continued his dark schemes; he even purchased the treason of the officers who surrounded Henry the Fourth, and the old king of Germany was given up to his son at the castle of Bighen. In vain he cast himself at the feet of the bishop of Albano, the legate of the Holy See, imploring absolution from the censures of the church, he was despoiled of the ensigns of royalty and forced to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Henry the Fifth. He was then sent in chains to Ingelheim, where he was subjected to the most cruel treatment.

These barbarities excited general indignation; the lords, as well as the people of the cities this side the Rhine, declared in his favour and refused to recognize Henry the Fifth. One of the other side, Henry of Limburg, who possessed the Dutchy of Lower Brittany, having been secretly informed that the court of Rome intended to strangle the old king, hastened to inform him of it. By the interference of this generous friend, the emperor was enabled to escape secretly from Ingelheim, where he was strictly guarded, and he descended the Rhine as far as the city of Cologne, from whence he went to Liege. From that place he addressed messages to all the princes of Christendom, and in particular

to the king of France, imploring their assistance in the general interest of sovereigns, whose majesty the popes had violated in his person.

But the indignant Pascal, furious at the escape of the emperor, and at the manifesto which he had lanced in all courts against the Holy See, also wrote to the bishops, lords and princes of France, Germany, Bavaria, Suabia and Saxony, and to the clergy of Liege: "Pursue every where, and with all your strength, Henry the chief of the heretics," he said to them; "exterminate that infamous king! you will never be able to offer a sacrifice more agreeable to God than the life of that enemy of Christ, who would snatch their supreme power from the popes. We order you and your vassals to put him to death in the most cruel tortures, and if you faithfully execute our will, we grant to you remission of your sins, and an arrival after death at the heavenly Jerusalem."

"This sanguinary order disgusted even the ecclesiastics themselves, and the bishop of Liege addressed this reply to the Holy See: "We have searched in vain through all the texts of the Holy Scriptures, and of the fathers, and have found no example of a command such as you send us. We learn on the contrary from the sacred books, that popes cannot bind or loose any one without examination; from whence then comes this new law, which condemns a Christian to expiate in tortures an error of which he has not been convicted? from whence has the Holy See power to command a murder as a meritorious act, whose sanctity will efface not only crimes which are passed, but even bestow in advance absolution for incests, robberies, and assassinations? Command such crimes to the infamous hired assassins of Rome, we refuse you obedience."

"Did there formerly exist in ancient Babylon, a more horrible confusion than that monstrous mixture of barbarity, pride, idolatry and impurity which now reigns in the holy city? Alas! the words of the apostle are already realized; a frightful vision, coming from a horrible land, strikes my mind; I see an impetuous whirlwind rising in Rome which overwhelms the world, and in which the prince of darkness acts with his infernal cohorts. . ."

Notwithstanding the firmness of the bishop of Liege, the unfortunate king of Germany could not escape pontifical vengeance: he died, poisoned by the agents of the Holy See, whilst his son was besieging the city. The inhabitants of Liege having no longer the emperor to defend, and fearing the horrors of a siege, sent deputies to the camp of Henry to announce to him the death of his father and make their submission. This monster dared to demand that the dead body should be delivered up to the executioner to undergo the frightful tortures ordained in the sentence passed by the pontiff; after having committed this horrid sacrilege, he ordered that the shreds of the dead body should be deposited in a stone sepulchre, which remained for five

centuries before the porch of the cathedral, with this inscription: "Here lies the enemy of Rome."

At this period, bands of pillagers traversed the provinces of Gaul, sometimes under the leading of ruined lords, sometimes under the orders of plebeian adventurers, and frequently even under the command of debauched monks who had been driven from their monasteries. It is related that the famous Robert d'Abrissel commanded one of these troops, when, struck by an inspiration from heaven, he resolved to quit this life of crime, and retire to a pious retreat with the men and women of his band, in order to labour with their own hands. He impressed his sentiments on all his followers, and went to the extremity of the diocese of Poitiers, two leagues from Cande in Touraine, near to an uncultivated ravine, covered with rocks called Fontebrault. They first built cabins and a chapel; they then cleared the land, and when the young colony increased, Robert separated the men from the women, destining the one for prayer, the other for labour in the fields. He, however, permitted them to maintain intimate relations every Sunday. Such was the origin of the celebrated abbey of Fontebrault. Pascal confirmed the foundation of this establishment as well as the rule which permitted this multitude of men and women to live in the same enclosure.

At the beginning of this year (1106) the holy father resolved to travel over Italy, France and Germany, in order to consolidate his sway over these three kingdoms. He went first to Florence where he convened a council for the purpose of assuming to himself the right of rule over that church; but the bishop of that city destroyed his hopes by maintaining in the assembly in the presence of the pope, and of a crowd of priests and laymen, that antichrist was born, and that he wished to seize on the throne of the church. This opinion, from the application which was made of it to the pope, created so great a tumult, that they could neither decide the question nor terminate the council, and Pascal was obliged to escape from Florence to avoid being stoned by the people. The holy father then directed his efforts upon Lombardy, and held a general synod at Guastalla; at this it was decreed that the whole province of Emilia, with the cities of Parma, Modena, Piacenza, Reggio and Bologna, should no longer be submitted to the metropolitan of Ravenna, who only retained Flaminia.

Pascal thus wished to diminish the influence of the archbishopric of Ravenna, whose titularies, for two hundred years, had constantly exhibited hostility to the Roman church. The council renewed the censures pronounced against laymen who pretended to have the right of investiture of ecclesiastical benefices. The deputies of King Henry the Fifth, then swore filial fidelity and obedience to the pope in the name of their master, and demanded that his holiness should authentically confirm the dignity of emperor.



The pontiff went from Guastalla to Parma, where he consecrated the cathedral of that city, in compliance with an invitation from the citizens, in honour of the Virgin. When the ceremony was finished, he declared the new church to be a dependency of the Holy See, and sold it to Cardinal Bernard, a cruel and sodomite priest, who was execrated throughout all Italy. Finally, Pascal started for Bavaria, where he was to wait for the festivals of Christmas; but having been informed on his journey that the people were not disposed to confirm the decrees against the investitures, and that the emperor was not as docile as he had appeared, he suddenly changed his determination and went towards France, contenting himself with simply informing Henry by letter of his new plan, and telling him that he was going into France, because the door of Germany was not yet open to him.

The holy father having arrived at the monastery of Cluny, with a numerous suite of bishops, cardinals and Roman lords, found the Count de Rochfort, the seneschal of the king of France, who had been sent as his guide through the kingdom. After having visited the convents of la charité and St. Martin of Tours, Pascal went to St. Denis, where he was received with great honours by the abbot Adam, who then ruled that abbey. He entered it, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, with his tiara on his head, in the midst of the cardinals wearing their violet coloured capes, and his bishops bearing the cross and mitre.

The most extraordinary part, says the abbot Suger, who was present at that ceremony, was, "that the pontiff, whose sordid avarice was well known to all the clergy, carried off neither the gold nor the silver, nor the precious stones of this monastery as the monks feared; he scarcely deigned to regard all this wealth, and prostrated himself humbly before the precious relics of the saint. He then lifted up his face bathed in tears, and asked the good monks, with the tones of a suppliant, if they would give a part of the garments tinged with the blood of the blessed martyr? "Do not refuse," said he, "to give us some little of the episcopal ornaments of him whom our apostolic See so liberally sent to you for an apostle."

Philip and his son came the next day to visit the pope and kissed his feet. Pascal raised them up and conferred familiarly with them on the affairs of the church, beseeching them pathetically to protect it as Pepin and Charlemagne had done, and courageously to resist the enemies of the Holy See, and particularly the king of Germany. The two princes swore a boundless submission to the pontiff, and as he expressed fears in relation to the conference which he was about to have with the ambassadors of Henry at Chalon-sur-Marne, they promised to place at his disposal a numerous escort which was capable of defending him against every enterprise.

When the holy father arrived in the city of Chalons, he found the envoys of the king of Germany, the bishops of Treves, Halberstadt

and Munster, as well as several German counts and the terrible duke of Guelph. This lord went nowhere without an herald-at-arms carrying his long sword before him. His height, imposing stature, even the formidable sound of his voice, every thing about him appeared to indicate that he had been sent to intimidate the pontiff rather than confer with him. The escort of the French was fortunately composed of redoubtable warriors: and thanks to their presence, the negotiations could commence unshackled. The archbishop of Treves, who understood the Roman language, spoke in the name of his master, and offered to submit to the Roman See, saving the rights of the imperial crown, which consisted in bestowing a cross and ring on the pope chosen by the clergy and people, and whose nomination had been approved by the emperor.

The bishop of Placenza rejected this proposition, and replied in the name of the holy father, "The church, purchased by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, has conquered its liberty by the martyrdom of the apostle Peter, and that of many of his successors. We will not permit it to fall back into servitude, which would happen if we could not appoint a chief without consulting the emperor. To wish to constrain it to such subjection, is to commit treason against the divinity! I then pronounce an anathema on the prince who wishes to arrogate to himself the investiture of the sacred throne of the apostle! and malediction on the ecclesiastic who would receive the cross and ring from a king whose hands are empurpled by the sword."

The German ambassadors understood from this reply that it was useless to continue the negotiations, and the duke of Guelph exclaimed with a thundering voice, "It is not here by vain discourse, but at Rome, by blows of the sword, that we must settle this quarrel." After these words they all retired, without even taking leave of the assembly.

Pascal, although of an impetuous character, knew how to curb his anger; and he even sent some of his most skilful counsellors to Adalbert, the chancellor of Henry, to beseech him to listen quietly to the representations of the Holy See. But he could do nothing, as the ambassadors were ordered to make no concessions opposed to the right of investiture claimed by the emperor. The conferences were then entirely broken off, and the deputies returned to the court of Germany. The holy father, who counted on the assistance of the king of France, seized eagerly upon the opportunity which was afforded of kindling a war in Germany and following the example of his predecessors, he resolved to act against the son as they had done against the father. He went to Troyes in Champagne, where he held a council, in which the liberty of ecclesiastical elections was decreed, and the condemnation of investitures confirmed.

Henry, on his part, had foreseen the intentions of the pope, and his ambassadors declared, in the presence of all the French clergy, that the emperor possessed the right

of investiture since the times of Charlemagne, which Adrian the First had confirmed by an authentic act, which they were ready to produce to the assembly. As the pontiff was unwilling to submit to the tenor of this writing, he affirmed by oath that it was apocryphal, and ordered the fathers to pass it by. The Germans protested that their master would never ratify any determination made by judges so unjust as to refuse the verification of an authentic act, and threatened the pope with all the wrath of their sovereign. Pascal at last, intimidated by this energetic opposition, broke up the session, and granted the king a whole year to plead his cause at Rome before a general council.

Henry was indignant at the Holy See; he, however, dissimulated his resentment, being occupied with subjugating Flanders, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; but when tranquillity was restored to his kingdom, and he was freed from a redoubtable adversary, Philip being dead, and the king, Louis the Gross, who succeeded him, having too many affairs of his own on hand to oppose his projects, he convened a general assembly of his estates at Ratisbon, and declared that he had resolved to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors. He consequently ordered his princes, dukes, counts, all his nobility, even the bishops themselves, to join him at his court with their richest equipages, to render his train more imposing, and to follow him into Italy.

Pascal, informed of the hostile disposition of Henry, immediately went into Apulia, where he convened the Italian dukes, the prince of Capua, and the counts of these provinces. He made them swear to aid him against the king of Germany; he then returned to Rome and made the grandees and people take the same oath. All these steps were useless; the emperor entered Lombardy at the head of a powerful army, and was crowned king of Italy by the archbishop of Milan. After the ceremony, Henry hastened to send ambassadors to the Holy See to propose an accommodation, or rather to gain time; for his troops continued their march, ruining, on their passage, the cities which refused to recognize his authority.

Finally, the ambassadors of Henry and of the pontiff met on the 5th of February, 1111, on the porch of St. Peter, in the church of our Lady of the Tower, and made the basis of a treaty on the following propositions—On the day of his coronation the emperor was to renounce in writing all ecclesiastical investitures, and deposit the act in the hands of the holy father, in the presence of the clergy and the people; he was to engage to leave all churches at liberty, as also their oblations and domains, which they did not receive directly from the crown; he was to restore to the Holy See all the donations which had been made to it by Charlemagne, Louis le Debonaire, and the other emperors; he was to contribute neither by counsel, nor actions, to injure the

pope in his pontificate, life, members, nor liberty. This last promise extended to the faithful servants who had guaranteed the execution of the treaty in the name of the Roman church. In addition, the emperor was to give as hostages his nephew Frederick, and twelve of the principal lords of Germany.

On his side, Pascal engaged to restore to the king on the day of his coronation, the lands and domains which belonged to the empire in the times of Lewis, Henry, and his other predecessors; he promised to publish a bull which should prohibit all bishops, under pain of anathema, from usurping regalities, that is to say, cities, duchies, marquises, countships, jurisdictions, mints, marches, lands or castles, which were under the jurisdiction of the throne.

This treaty granted to Henry one of two things which he had demanded—the surrender of the great wealth which the priests possessed in his states, in exchange for the right of investiture; but foreseeing that the prelates would refuse to obey the pontiff, when he ordered them to give up their wealth, and that they would boldly maintain that no power could take from them the domains they possessed, the prince made an extremely adroit determination in order not to be himself despoiled and to be beyond the reproaches which might be made if he were forced to retain the investitures. He ratified the treaty, adding, however, as an indispensable clause, that the exchange which he made of the right of investiture for the royalties or property which the priests held from the crown, should be approved and solemnly confirmed by all the princes of the states of Germany.

After these preliminaries he came to encamp near Rome; as soon as he was beneath the walls of the city, the pontiff sent to meet him, the principal officers of the palace of the Lateran, the magistrates, the schools, an hundred young nuns veiled, and carrying torches, and a multitude of children who cast flowers in his way. When Henry had entered Rome, all the ecclesiastics surrounded him, singing hymns in his praise, and conducted him in triumph to the church of St. Peter, where he found the pope, who awaited him on the porch. The prince prostrated himself before the pontiff and humbly kissed his feet; they then entered the temple by the silver door amidst the loud acclamations of the people.

Pascal saluted Henry as Emperor of the West, and the bishop of Ravenna pronounced the first prayer of the consecration; when it was finished, and before continuing the ceremony, the holy father demanded from the prince the oath, in writing, of his renunciation of the investitures; Henry replied, that he was ready to fulfil his promise, but that his conscience required he should first consult the German bishops, who had a great interest in the matter. He went in fact with his prelates into the sacristy to deliberate over the demands of the pope. The discussion was long and stormy: Pascal, impatient to know the

result of their deliberations, sent to ask the emperor if he were willing to execute the convention which had been agreed upon. This step of the pope decided the question; the bishops immediately rose from their seats protesting that they would never suffer themselves to be despoiled of their goods, and went tumultuously towards the saloon of the wheel of porphyry, where the pope was seated, waiting for them. The pontiff endeavoured to calm them by addressing to them a long discourse to represent to them "that they should render to Cæsar that which belonged to him; that he who devoted himself to God, should not be engaged in temporal affairs; and that, according to St. Ambrose, worldly priests were unworthy of the priesthood." But they interrupted him quickly, saying to him, "Most holy father, we would enjoy the property of our bishoprics as you do the patrimony of the Holy See: and we would not permit the apostle himself to take from us the least part of our revenues."

During the discussion, the duke of Guelph, overmastering all other voices, exclaimed to the holy father, "what is the end of your discourse, priest of Satan? We have nothing to do with your foolish conditions. We wish you to crown our emperor, as his predecessors have been by yours, without your making any innovations nor taking from him or our bishops what belongs to them."

Henry then took the tone of a master, and said, "most holy father, it is our will that all these divisions should cease, and that you should finish at once the ceremony of our consecration." Pascal, humbled in his pride, replied, "the greater part of the day is past; the ceremony is long, and we shall not have time to crown you to day." The emperor, indignant at this obstinacy, caused the sanctuary to be surrounded by armed men, in order to reduce the pope to obedience. He manifested no fear, slowly mounted up to the altar of St. Peter and performed divine service, after which he wished to return to the palace of the Lateran. But the guards of the emperor presented to him the points of their swords and interdicted his passage; he then retraced his steps and seated himself in silence before the confessional of the apostle.

Suddenly a loud noise was heard in the church; the priests, who had mingled themselves in the crowd, cried, "to arms! to arms! they wish the life of the pontiff,"—and at their call, the faithful having assembled, charged the German troops furiously. These, obliged to defend themselves, drew their swords, struck without discrimination priests, women, and men, and drove all these fanatics out of the church. The emperor remained master of the field, and during the night he sent the pope to a fortress, the custody of which he confided to Altro, count of Milan.

The cardinals of Tusculum and Ostia, who had made their escape during the tumult, traversed the streets, exciting the citizens to punish the infamous treatment of the emperor. All flew to arms, fell upon the Germans whom

they met in the streets, and on the next day, at daybreak, all the companies of the Romans advanced in good order under the leading of their captains, passed the gates and attacked the imperialists with such impetuosity that they slew a great number and put the rest to flight. Henry himself was thrown to the ground, wounded in the face, and would certainly have been massacred if Otho had not given him his horse and devoted himself to save him. The Romans seized the count, and, to punish him for his generous sacrifice, they cut him in pieces before the palace of the Lateran and made the dogs devour the bleeding morsels of his dead body.

Henry regained his camp, where he found the prisoners whom he had sent in advance, under a good escort; the next day he approached Rome and commenced the siege; his troops devastated the country, pillaged the convents and churches, burned the domains of the Holy See, and massacred the cultivators.

On his side, the bishop of Tusculum, to whom the defence of Rome was committed, did not remain inactive; he encouraged the people in their resistance, and his emissaries traversed Italy to engage its princes to come to the succour of the church: but all his efforts were useless. The emperor daily pressed the place more actively; and the cardinals, as well as the other prelates who were prisoners, finding themselves threatened with death or the mutilation of their members, if they refused to submit to the will of the prince and the German bishops, determined to confirm the privilege of ecclesiastical investitures in the crown, and besought Pascal to grant to the emperor the right which he claimed, since there remained to them no hope of succour or of escape from captivity. Finally, overcome by their urgency and their tears, the pontiff said to Henry that he was submissive to his will. "I will save my children," he added, "but I take God to witness, that I do for them, and the peace of the church, an act which I should have wished to shun at the price of my own blood."

The treaty was drawn up which accorded the investitures to the king; and in the act the pontiff solemnly engaged never to pronounce an anathema against the king, and never to disturb him for the violences which his soldiers had used in the states of the church. It was, besides, specified, "That the rights of the throne should be confirmed by a privilege contained in a bull in proper form, and prohibiting clergy and laity from opposing their exercise under penalty of excommunication; still more, that the emperor should grant investitures, as in times past, by giving a cross and a ring to the bishops and abbots who should have been canonically elected without simony, and with his consent; that metropolitans and even bishops should freely ordain prelates whom the king and his successors had invested with the privilege; but that the claimant should not be consecrated except with the authority of his sovereign

It was finally agreed that the pope should crown Henry without delay, and would faithfully aid him to preserve his states and empire.

On his side, the prince engaged "to set the holy father at liberty, as well as all the bishops, cardinals, lords, and hostages who had been seized with him; he promised to preserve peace with the Roman people; to restore immediately the patrimonies and domains of the church; and to swear obedience to Pope Pascal, saving the rights and honour of the kingdom and the empire, as the Catholic emperors had done towards the chiefs of the Holy See." These conditions were signed by the pope and the prince, and solemnly confirmed upon the Gospels.

Henry, however, who distrusted, with reason, the sincerity of the pontiff, was unwilling to surrender him, before the promulgation of the bull which bestowed on him the right of investitures. In vain did the pontiff make protestations of his good faith, and affirm that the seal of the Holy See remaining in the palace of the Lateran, he could not seal the diploma which the emperor claimed; for at the very moment a secretary came to present to him the seal, which had been found in his chamber. The bull was drawn up, and the pope was obliged to sign it. The face of Pascal was pale from rage at seeing his knavery unmasked; he however signed it. The following is its tenor:—"We grant and confirm to you the prerogative which our predecessors have granted to yours, to wit, that you should invest with the cross and a ring bishops and abbots of your kingdom, freely chosen and without simony; and that no one can be consecrated if he has not received the investiture by your authority; and that because your ancestors have given so much property of the crown to the churches; that prelates should contribute their first fruits to the defence of the state. The clergy or laity who shall dare to contravene the present concession, shall be anathematized, and shall lose all their dignities."

The emperor and pope then made their entrance into Rome. They went to St. Peter's holding each other's hand, in the midst of a triple line of German soldiers, who kept all the avenues in order to prevent any effort at sedition. Pascal crowned Henry and solemnly performed divine service. After the consecration, he took the host, broke it into two parts, and turning to the emperor, said to him, "Prince, behold the body of Christ: I give it to you in consecration of the peace we have made, and of the concord which should reign between us. But as this part of the encharist has been divided from the other, so let him who shall seek to break the union be separated from the kingdom of God." The mass being finished, the pontiff left the church with his cardinals, and went to the palace of the Lateran.

On the following day Henry broke up his camp, and retook his way to Germany, full of confidence in the solemn oaths of the pope; but he soon learned how knavish are priests,

and how they sport with the holiest things, and the most august ceremonies of religion. The cardinals who were at Rome during the captivity of Pascal, openly condemned the cession of the investitures which had been made to Henry, and refused to ratify it, declaring it contrary to the laws of the church. Fra Paolo relates that they were excited to this resistance by the pontiff himself, who went to Terracina that they might be able to condemn his acts. In fact, during the absence of the pope, they assembled under the presidency of John, bishop of Tusculum, and lanced a decree against the holy father and his bull. Pascal immediately addressed a letter to them, which he published, and in which he promised to annul that which was only done to avoid the ruin of Rome and of all the province. "I have failed in my aim, my fathers," wrote the hypocritical Pascal, "but I am ready to do penance for my fault, and repair the evil I have done."

Brunon, bishop of Segni, who presided over the council, replied to his letter in the name of the prelates: "My enemies publish, most holy father, that I have no affection for you, and that my words accuse you; they calumniate me, for I love you as my father and my lord; but I ought to love him more who has immolated himself upon the cross to ransom us from death and hell. In his name I have declared to you, that we do not approve of the bull granted by your holiness to the emperor, because it is opposed to religion. Your avowal then filled us with joy, when we learned that you also condemn it. What priest could approve of a decree which would destroy the liberty of the church, close on the clergy the only door by which they could legitimately enter the priesthood, and open several secret issues to robbers? The apostles condemn those who obtain a See or order through the secular power, because laymen, how great soever may be their piety and their power, have no authority to dispose of churches; the constitutions which you yourself before have made, condemn clerks who receive institution from the hand which bears the sword; these decrees are sent out, and no one who opposes their execution is a Catholic. Confirm, then, your old ordinances, and proscribe the thought which would destroy them, for it is an infamous heresy. You will then see tranquillity restored to the church, and all ecclesiastics prostrate at your feet. In vain will you oppose the sanctity of the oath which you have taken. You should violate it if the interests of religion demand it; and no one can condemn a pope who breaks his oath by order of God."

Pascal then returned to Rome, and convened a synod to decide on the measures to be taken to break with the emperor. The assembly commenced its sessions in the church of the Lateran on the 28th of March, 1112. Twelve metropolitans, one hundred and four bishops, and a great number of other ecclesiastics, were present. The holy father first spoke and said: "I have sworn by the bishops and cardinals, that I would never more disturb

the emperor on the subject of investitures, and that I would not pronounce an anathema against him. I will keep this promise. But I declare the bull which I made from constraint, without the counsel of my brethren, and without their subscription, to be tainted with heresy, and I ask this assembly to correct it, that neither the church nor my soul suffer any harm." Gerard, bishop of Aquitaine, rising then, read the following decretal: "We all, the fathers of this holy council, condemn by ecclesiastical authority, and the judgment of the Holy Spirit, the privilege which the violence of King Henry wrested from the pontiff Pascal. We declare it null, and prohibit clergymen or laymen from conforming to it under penalty of excommunication." All replied: "Amen, amen."

The pope then rose, laid aside his tiara and cape, declared himself unworthy of the pontificate, and besought the council to depose him, inflicting the most severe penance, for having faltered before the sword of a king. The assembly refused to condemn the holy father, and cast all the blame on Henry, who was declared the enemy of God and the church, and a heretic, like his father. They finally pronounced an anathema on him and his partizans.

Pascal wrote immediately to Guy, the metropolitan of Vienne, and legate of the Holy See, to inform him of the decisions of the synod, and to exhort him to put them in execution. "Remain firm," added he; "resist the cajolements and threats of the excommunicated emperor; publish our sentence throughout Germany, being careful to avoid throwing the blame on me, lest I be accused of having betrayed the oath sworn upon the host and the Gospels. Declare to the faithful that the treaties made in the camp to which I was carried prisoner by means of the most odious tyranny, are null of right. . . ."

Guy faithfully obeyed the instructions of the holy father, and fulminated a terrible anathema against the king of Germany. The Saxons revolted at his word, and the ambitious lords, using the excommunication as a pretence, refused to obey the emperor. The pope, however, desirous of preserving the appearance of justice towards the prince, sent to him the following paternal advice: "The divine law and the holy canons prohibit priests from being engaged in secular matters, or from going to the court of princes, except when they are called to deliver the condemned, or to obtain pardon for the unfortunate oppressed. Notwithstanding these prohibitions of the church, ministers of the altar have become in your kingdom the ministers of the throne. Bishops and abbots clothe themselves in armour, and march at the head of their armed bands to devastate the country, and pillage and massacre Christians. They hold from the state duchies, marquisates, provinces, cities and castles. From this has arisen the deplorable custom of not consecrating prelates until they have received an investiture at the hands of the king. These dis-

orders have been justly condemned by Popes Gregory the Seventh and Urban the Second; and we confirm the judgment of our predecessors, ordering that ecclesiastics shall render to you, our dear son, all the royal rights which formerly belonged to the empire during the reigns of Charles, Louis and Otho, your predecessors. The churches, with their oblations and domains, shall always remain free, as you promised God on the day of your coronation."

Notwithstanding all the address of the pontiff not to declare himself in open hostility to the emperor, Henry had penetrated the secret intentions of the court of Rome, and determined to pass over into Italy a second time. Whilst preparations were making for this expedition, Pascal convened a council at Cepera to judge the metropolitan of Beneventum, who had excited a sedition against the constable Landulph, whom the pope had sent to that city. At the opening of the synod the pope accused the archbishop of having seized on the regalia of St. Peter and the keys of the city of Beneventum; of having borne casque and buckler, and of having compelled the prefect Foulk to take an oath of obedience to the Normans, who had been introduced into the place. The prelate fiercely replied, that he had never received the regalia, but to pour the product into the treasury of St. Peter; that he had never had the keys of Beneventum in his power, and that the officer who kept them was always faithful to the court of Rome; that finally, it was false that he had introduced the Normans into the city; and that if Foulk, as well as the people, had sworn fealty to them, it was of their own accord, and not by his orders.

Pascal, exasperated at this reply, wished to have the archduke condemned of being guilty of high treason. In vain did Duke William, Count Robert, Peter de Leo, and a great number of bishops who were at the council, implore the clemency of the holy father, not to dishonour publicly the chief of the clergy of Beneventum; in vain did he himself offer, though innocent, to go as an exile from Italy. Pascal was inflexible, and declared that he wished the guilty man condemned with all the severity of the canons. The fathers of the council, who all feared the wrath of the pontiff, were compelled to condemn the venerable prelate, and though they had recognized his innocence, pronounced sentence of deposition against him. The archbishop, indignant at such cowardice, rose from his seat, tore off his sacerdotal garments, and having loaded the pope with imprecations left the council chamber.

Some months after, Conon, bishop of Palestrina and legate of the Roman church, convened a synod at Beauvais, at which Henry was excommunicated. This new bull was confirmed by a large number of German lords and bishops who had assembled at Cologne, under the presidency of Thierry, the cardinal legate. The king, irritated by this inconvenient manifestation, sent the bishop of Wirtzburg with orders to dissolve the council and pursue those who should refuse to leave Cologne at

once as rebels. This mission resulted deplorably; the synod refused to receive the envoy of the excommunicated sovereign, and passed a decree which declared all those who remained in the service of the prince excommunicated and anathematized. The ambassador left Cologne in alarm, and did not dare to appear again at court. The fear, however, of losing his bishopric determined him to go to the prince, and he once more celebrated mass in his presence; but on the next day he felt so much remorse that he fled from the capital.

Henry, fearing the consequences of an anathema on the superstitious minds of his people, returned to Italy at the head of an army, with which he encamped in the environs of Pavia; before, however, recommencing hostilities he wished to try the effect of negotiations, and sent the celebrated Peter, abbot of Cluny, as his deputy to the pope. Pascal convened his clergy in council in the palace of the Lateran, to reply to the ambassador. At the opening of the session, the holy father thus spoke, "We have come, my brethren, through the greatest perils by land and sea, to treat of peace between the church and the throne. We declare at once in your presence, that it is to free the holy city from the pillage, incendiarianism and massacres of the barbarous soldiers of the king of Germany, that we have signed a condemnable treaty;—we have committed this fault, because the pontificate does not bestow the privilege of infallibility, and because a pope is made of dust as other men. It is on this account we beseech you to pray to God to pardon us for this action; and with you we anathematize that infamous bull, whose memory should be odious to all Christians." The pope then renewed the decretal of Gregory the Seventh, which prohibited investitures by princes under penalty of excommunication.

The agents of Henry seeing that the synod shunned even raising the question of agreement between the prince and the pope, sought to excite a popular movement against Pascal, and availed themselves of the death of Peter the prefect of Rome, to declare his son his successor in this important office. This young man, who was scarcely grown up, appeared to be easy to seduce, and they hoped that he would enter readily into a plan of revolt against the Holy See. In fact, on Holy Thursday, whilst the pope was saying the first prayer in the divine service, the leaders of the imperial faction entered the church with the young prefect, and summoned Pascal to confirm the nomination of the people; the holy father did not reply, and continued the service. They then raised their voices and calling on God as their witness, threatened the pontiff with an approaching revolution.

On the next day, the seditious raised a mob and after having sworn not to lay aside their arms until they were victorious, attacked the clergy during a solemn procession, at which the pope was assisting. Several cardinals were seriously wounded. Pascal himself was struck with blows of a club, and he would have

been murdered on the spot, if he had not formally pledged himself to ratify the election of Peter during the following week. This promise did not entirely satisfy the prefect. He gave orders to raze the houses of the lords who had declared against him, and even threatened to invade the palace of the Lateran if the pontiff did not proceed immediately to the ceremony of his installation.

Pascal, fearful that he could not resist the mob, judged it prudent to quit Rome, and he fled to Albano. His absence did not, however, suspend the civil war; they continued to fight furiously in the streets of the holy city; all the partizans of the pope were driven out. Convents were pillaged, churches burned, and the massacres did not cease in the country until the time of harvest. When Henry learned the success of his measures, he sent rich presents to the new prefect and the chiefs of his faction, informing them that he would come to Rome to recompense them for their zeal, as soon as he had completed the conquest of the estates of the countess Matilda, who was about to die. In fact he soon advanced towards the holy city at the head of a numerous army, forcing on his way all the small places and castles which held out for the pope.

On entering into Rome, the king of Germany was received in triumph by the prefect and Roman barons; he went to St. Peter's, and demanded the crown from the ecclesiastics, protesting that he had no other desire than to receive it at the hands of the pontiff, whose absence he regarded as a misfortune, since it deprived him of his blessing. He then received the imperial crown before the tomb of the apostle, from the hands of Maurice Bourdin, the metropolitan of Braga, who had been sent to his court some months previously in the capacity of legate, and regulated the principal political affairs with the senate and prefect, after which he repaired to Tuscany, in order to avoid the excessive heat, promising, however, to return at the end of the season, and leaving in Rome, from wise precaution, a large body of German troops.

A few days after the departure of Henry, the Normans, at the instigation of the holy father, made an attack on the city. This first expedition failed completely. Pascal, however did not lose his courage; on the contrary, anger doubled his energy; he made a second effort, entered Rome by the aid of a dark night, and on the next day his enemies were so frightened by his boldness that they submitted to him. The pope drove the Germans from the city and was at once engaged in constructing machines to besiege the fortresses to which they had retired.

At the termination of all these troubles Pascal fell seriously ill, and finding that his end was approaching, he convened the cardinals and bishops in the palace of the Lateran, and exhorted them to bid defiance to the factions of the emperor in the election of the new pope. He died during the same night, on the 18th of January, 1118. His body, embalmed

and clothed in the pontifical ornaments, was borne, according to the usual ceremony, by the cardinals to St. John's of the Lateran, and deposited in a sepulchre of marble admirably made.

Pascal was of a perfidious, vindictive, and implacable character; his avarice was extreme, and he would beyond doubt have sold to Henry the right of investitures, if that prince had been rich enough to pay for it.

## GELASUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1118.]

*History of Gelasus before his pontificate—His election—He is maltreated by Cencius—The faction of the Frangipani makes him a prisoner—He is delivered by the prefect—He is enthroned—He escapes from Rome at the approach of the emperor—Election of the Anti-Pope, Gregory the Eighth.*

GELASUS was of Gaëta, and of noble parents, who consecrated him from his infancy to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Ordericus, abbot of Monte Cassino, being informed of the progress which the young clerk was making in the sciences, took him to his monastery, where he soon distinguished himself by his aptitude and skill. He was still very young when Pope Urban ordained him a cardinal deacon, and soon after made him chancellor, charging him to restore to the works emanating from the Holy See, the elegance of style which had been lost in the church since the seventh century.

John of Gaëta, had shown great affection for Pascal, aiding to support him in all his afflictions and seconding him with indefatigable zeal in his plans of conquest over empires. The Jesuit Maimbourg says he was a man of holy life, of consummate prudence and skill, and the most learned of the sacred college.

The Holy See remained vacant for twelve days after the death of Pascal, whilst his funeral rites were celebrating; then Peter of Porto, who had for a long time occupied the first rank in the church, convened the cardinals, bishops and principal clergy in the pontifical palace, to proceed to a new election; in this caucus they agreed to choose Gaëtan pope. The father in consequence, wrote to him, he having retired to Monte Cassino after the death of Pascal, to beseech him to return among them to aid them with his wise councils. John mounted his mule and quitted the convent, ignorant of the decision to which the sacred college had already come. On his arrival in Rome, they re-assembled in a monastery of the Benedictines, called the Palladium, where Gaëtan was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Gelasus the Second, and enthroned notwithstanding his resistance.

Although this election was made with the greatest secrecy, Cencius, the head of the family of the Frangipani, was informed of what was taking place in the convent of the Benedictines. He immediately sallied in fury from his palace, followed by a band of armed men, broke open the gates of the monastery,

and penetrated forcibly into the church in which they were celebrating the ceremony of adoration. He cast himself, like a madman, on the new pope, struck him with his gauntlets, threw him down on the steps of the altar, tore his face with his spurs, and dragged him by the hair to the threshold of the door; he then caused him to be bound and borne by his soldiers to one of the dungeons of his palace. A great number of bishops, cardinals, and even laymen, who assisted at the election, were also arrested by the satellites of Cencius.

This scene of violence exasperated the populace—they assembled in arms—the prefect, Peter de Leon, placed himself at their head, hastened to the capitol, and sent a deputation to the Frangipani to demand the liberty of Gelasus, threatening to sack the palace of Cencius if he refused to give up the pontiff. He, alarmed by the menaces of the clergy, went himself to open the dungeon of the pope, and set him at liberty. Gelasus was immediately placed on a white horse, and conducted in triumph through the streets to St. John of the Lateran, preceded and followed by banners, in accordance with the usage followed at the ceremony of the coronation. On the following day he gave audience to the counts, barons, and ecclesiastics who had business to transact with the Holy See.

These troubles at last appeared to be settled, when on the following night some priests hastened to the palace of the Lateran to warn Gelasus, that the Emperor Henry, whom they thought in Lombardy, was about entering the church of St. Peter at the head of armed men. At the same time they produced a letter from him which contained only these words: "If you confirm the bull published by Pascal, in favour of the investitures, we will recognise you as pontiff, and will take an oath of fidelity to you; if not, another pope shall be chosen, and we will put him in possession of the apostolic throne."

Gelasus who wished to pursue the policy of his predecessors, refused to yield to the wishes of the prince, and resolved to fly from

Rome; he embarked on the Tiber, and reached Porto, where he was obliged to stop on account of the bad weather, which prevented ships from putting to sea. The holy father there underwent new dangers, finding himself in the alternative of having his vessel upset or run ashore before the city, from which the troops of Henry hurled poisoned darts at the people of his train. At last the tempest having calmed with the setting of the sun, the galleys ran, under cover of the night, into a covered place, in front of the castle of St. Paul of Ardea. Gelasus could go no further on account of his age and infirmities, and especially the fatigue which he had undergone. The cardinal Hugh d'Alatri, who was very strong, then took him on his shoulders and carried him to the castle. On the following night they disembarked, and two days afterwards arrived at Gaëta, the country of the pontiff.

As soon as the news of the arrival of Gelasus had spread through the province, a great number of bishops came to him: the emperor also sent ambassadors to him to beseech him to return to Rome to be consecrated, and who assured him that their master was very desirous of assisting at that ceremony, and would authorize it by his presence; they added that a single conference would infallibly re-establish concord between the altar and the throne. But Gelasus who had been already imprisoned with Pascal by Henry, was unwilling to expose himself a second time to the word of a king; he replied to the deputies, that he must above every thing else be consecrated pontiff, and that then the king of Germany would find him ready to treat with him wherever he pleased. As he was but a deacon, he was, on the following day, ordained a priest and bishop, in the presence of William, duke of Apulia, Robert, prince of Capua, and several other Italian lords who took the oath of obedience and fidelity to him.

Henry, irritated by the obstinacy of Gelasus, then resolved to cause a new pope to be chosen, and selected Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Braga, the same who had crowned him emperor during the preceding year. This ecclesiastic was, according to Maimbourg, a wretch who regarded neither laws nor religion, so that he could satisfy his daring ambition. He relates that Bernard, the metropolitan of

Toledo, on his return from Rome, during the pontificate of Urban, had taken Bourdin from a monastery of Limousin to ordain him archdeacon of his church; that he afterwards obtained the See of Coimbra, and finally the archbishopric of Braga. Maimbourg adds, that in his measureless ambition, he had aspired to the possession of the See of Toledo, to the detriment of his benefactor, and even went to Rome to confer with the pope on the subject; but that not having offered enough money to the pontiff, his claim had been rejected, and that this refusal was the cause of his hatred towards the Roman church, and his treasons in favour of King Henry, whom he followed in court and camp, where he led a very dissolute life.

Baluze gives a very different account of the life of this bishop, which appears to us to be the most authentic: "Bourdin," says this historian, "after his installation on the See of Coimbra, undertook the holy pilgrimage to Jerusalem, towards the year 1108. He stopped at Constantinople, where he was laden with honours by the emperor Alexis, and formed relations of friendship with several grandees of the empire. He had scarcely returned to Portugal, after an absence of three years, when he was chosen archbishop of Braga, to succeed St. Geraud who had died. This new appointment obliged him to go to Rome to have his translations approved, and to receive the pallium, which Pope Pascal granted to him in consideration of large presents. When Bourdin returned to his diocese, he found himself exposed to the jealousy of Bernard, the metropolitan of Toledo, and legate of the Holy See; he was even constrained to return to Italy to implore the protection of the pontiff against the vexations of the primate of Spain. During his sojourn at the court of Rome, in pursuing this important affair, Pascal, recognizing his superior abilities, appointed him his legate to treat of peace with the emperor Henry, who was in Lombardy: and it was in this capacity that he crowned the prince after the flight of the pope. His condescension having been imputed to him as a crime, he was excommunicated in the council of Benevento, which determined him to attach himself to the person of the king, who caused him to be chosen pontiff on the 14th of March, 1118, by the name of Gregory the Eighth.

## GREGORY THE EIGHTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1118.]

*Letter of Gelasus against the emperor Henry and Gregory the Eighth—The anti-pope is recognized as the lawful pontiff in Germany and England—Gelasus re-enters Rome—Bloody revolt against him—He comes to France—Implores the aid of the Normans—Retires to the monastery of Cluny—His death.*

GELASUS was still at Gaëta, when he heard that Gregory the Eighth was enthroned; he immediately addressed the following letter to

the lords and ecclesiastics of Gaul: "We inform you my brethren, that after our election, the emperor Henry introduced himself fur-



tively, at the head of his cavalry, into Rome, and obliged us to quit it. This prince pursued us as far as Gaëta, threatening, through his ambassadors, to use his power against us, if we refused to approve of the bull of our predecessors. We courageously replied, that we would do nothing adverse to the liberties of the church; he then placed the metropolitan of Braga on the Holy See, that intruder who had been excommunicated the year before by Pope Pascal at the council of Beneventum. We order you then to prepare to wrest the holy Roman Church, your mother, from the execrable tyranny of the king of Germany . . .” He also wrote into Portugal that they should choose another metropolitan for the diocese of Braga, in place of Maurice; and, finally, he addressed a circular to the clergy and people of Rome, prohibiting all communication with the emperor and the anti-pope, who were both anathematized by the authority of St. Peter.

Whilst Gelasus was using all the resources of policy to excite the French, Spaniards, and other Catholic nations against his enemies, Gregory the Eighth seated himself in the palace of the Lateran, gave magnificent fêtes to Henry the Fifth, renewed the ceremony of the coronation, and consecrated him a second time emperor. The monarch was soon after obliged to return into Germany, whither the interests of his throne called him; Bourdin sent his bulls into every country, and was recognized as chief of the Holy See in Germany by Herman, the metropolitan of Augsburg, and in England by several bishops who regarded Gelasus as anti-pope.

Scarcely was Gelasus informed that the king had returned to his kingdom, when he hastened to re-enter Rome, where his friends had prepared a retreat for him in the church of St. Mary, situated between the palaces of his friends, Stephen the Norman, and Peter of the Lateran. Encouraged by this first success, he resolved to celebrate mass publicly in the church of St. Praxides, in opposition to the advice of several ecclesiastics, who represented to him that this church being located among the dependencies of the castle of the Frangipani, his most mortal foes, he ran the risk of an attempt upon his person. But all advice was useless; he followed the inspiration of his pride, and went to that church. He had but commenced divine service when the Frangipani made an irruption into the church with a numerous band, and attacked Gelasus and his party with stones and darts. Stephen the Norman, and Crescentius Gaëtan, the nephew of the pope, resisted their adversaries vigorously, and protracted the combat for a part of a day. The pope, taking advantage of the tumult, escaped through the presbytery, and escaped from Rome on a poor horse, without having had time to put off his pontifical ornaments. After the flight of the holy father, the combatants separated and retired to their fortified palaces.

On the next day the partizans of Gelasus sought for him and found him, worn out with fatigue, several miles from Rome, concealed

behind a grove of trees, in which he had passed the night. They held a council in his presence, as to the measures to be taken under the circumstances, for re-entering the city; but the pontiff, who had scarcely recovered from the fright of the preceding day, stopped them in the midst of their discourse, “No, my brethren, it is better we should follow the example of the fathers, and the precept of the Gospel; and since we cannot live in this frightful Babylon, this abominable Sodom, let us fly into another city.” His cowardice disgusted his friends; no one urged him to change his decision, and they only asked him before going to appoint Peter of Porto vicar of the Holy See in his absence, and to designate a council of cardinals to direct the affairs of the church. He did all that was required of him. He confided the keeping of Beneventum to Hugh, cardinal of the holy apostles, and placed the singers under the direction of Nicholas; he left the prefecture of Rome to Peter, and intrusted the standard of the holy city to Stephen the Norman, the most influential personage of his party.

When these matters were settled, he embarked on the Tiber, and descended it as far as Ostia, where he took another vessel accompanied by six cardinals, twelve noble Romans and an imposing train. He stopped for some days at Pisa, and was received by the bishops of that city, and the principal inhabitants, with great honours; after a fortunate passage he disembarked in Provence at the port of St. Gilles, where the abbot Hugh received him in his monastery. During his sojourn in this abbey the bishops and nobles made him splendid presents. The abbot of Cluny, amongst others, offered him forty horses and their equipages. He received also large sums from Peter of Libranus, who had been sent from Saragossa by Alphonso of Arragon, and who had come to be consecrated metropolitan of that city by the pope himself.

After the ceremony of the consecration, Gelasus gave him a bull by which he granted plenary indulgences to the Spanish soldiers who were fighting the Moors, and to all the faithful who should aid in the conquest of the church of Saragossa, which had been in the power of the Mussulmen for four hundred years. Peter of Libranus found himself authorized by this bull to collect alms from the faithful, and to sell indulgences through the whole kingdom of Spain, on the sole condition of paying over a tenth of the proceeds into the treasury of the holy father. Gelasus was informed in the interval, that the king of England had convened a council at Rouen to regulate the affairs of his clergy; he availed himself of the circumstance to send an envoy into that city to create partizans. The young Conrad, whom he chose as his ambassador, spoke before the fathers with great eloquence; he drew, in a most masterly style, a picture of the miseries of the Roman church, surrendered to the profanation of the anti-pope Bourdin, and the tyranny of the emperor Henry. He represented the virtuous Gelasus as the

sole and legitimate successor of the apostles; who had, however, been forced to fly from Italy, and to cross the Alps, to implore the succour of the French princes, and especially that of the king of England. He finished his speech by asking from the faithful of Normandy pecuniary aid to prevent the pope from being reduced to beggary.

As soon as King Louis the Sixth was apprised of the arrival of the holy father in Provence, he deputed to him Suger, a monk of St. Denis, who carried rich presents, to beseech him to go to Vezelay to confer with him on the pacification of the church. In compliance with the orders of the king, Gelasus quitted St. Gilles and went to Cluny, where he was received with great magnificence, as was becoming in lords so opulent as were the monks of that abbey. The prelates and lords of Burgundy also crowded to visit the holy father. He profited so well by their good will, that in less than a month he was enabled to fill all his trunks with rich offerings, and even to send some to Rome to his allies.

At length everything foretold the near triumph of Gelasus over his competitor, when he was attacked by a most violent pleurisy,

which reduced him extremely in a few days. He then summoned the cardinals who had accompanied him around his bed, and designated the bishop of Palestine to them as his successor. That prelate, who was present, refused to accept it, observing, that the Holy See had need of a pope who could maintain his authority by great personal wealth and a high temporal position. "My nomination," added he, "would be prejudicial to the interests of the church, and I am unwilling to take upon myself a burthen which I have not strength to bear; I pray you, then, holy father, to elevate to the pontificate the metropolitan of Vienne, who alone can deliver the church from the tyranny of the emperor." Gelasus assented to his views, and ordered an express to be sent for the archbishop, but before the arrival of that prelate his illness increased, so that the pontiff only thought of dying. He made his general confession in a loud voice, before a large number of ecclesiastics and lords, received the communion, laid himself on the earth according to the monastic custom, and in this position died, on the 29th January, 1119, after a reign of a year. He was buried at Cluny, in the church of the monastery.

## CALIXTUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1119.]

*Election of Guy, archbishop of Vienna—Council of Toulouse—The Emperor Henry renounces the investitures—Council of Rheims—Conferences of Mousson and Gison—Pope Calixtus enters Rome—Flight of the anti-pope—History of Abelard and Heloise—Punishment of the anti-pope Gregory the Eighth—Calixtus exercises the sole pontifical authority—Council of the Lateran.—Complaints against the monks—Death of Calixtus.*

Guy, the metropolitan of Vienne, arrived at Cluny fifteen days after the death of Gelasus. He was immediately proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the cardinals and bishops, and consecrated by the name of Calixtus the Second. He was the son of William, count of Burgundy, surnamed the Hard-head, and a relative of the emperors of the West, and the kings of France. His sister Wilhelmina had married Humbert the Second, count of Maurienne, and their daughter Adelaide, the niece of the archbishop, was the queen of France. Thus his election was enthusiastically approved of not only in Italy, but even in Germany. All the prelates of Germany swore obedience to him, and approved of the convocation of a council to be held at Rheims. The emperor himself promised to be present at this assembly, in order to bring about a re-union of the churches.

The holy father, however, judged it prudent to send ambassadors to Henry, to determine the basis of an alliance. Guiliam of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons, and Pons, abbot of Cluny, were sent on this delicate mis-

sion. They represented to the prince that it was impossible to establish perfect concord between the Holy See and the empire, whilst the crown preserved the right of investiture. After some conferences, the emperor declared his consent to yield his privilege to the pope, provided an equitable consideration was granted him. He then swore on the Gospels between the hands of the bishop and the abbot, to maintain the integrity of the engagement into which he had entered.

Pons and William, satisfied with the success of their negotiation, immediately returned to the holy father at Paris. Calixtus heard them with an air of incredulity, and exclaimed, "Thank God that the thing was already done." He, however, designated the city of Mousson as the place for the conference, and the definite signing of the treaty. The holy father then went to the council at Rheims, where he found assembled more than three hundred bishops from Italy, Germany, Spain, England, and France, as well as a great number of lay lords of all those countries.

At the opening of the sittings, the pope ex-

plained to the fathers the different causes they were called upon to examine. That of King Louis was the first called. He entered the saloon, followed by the principal lords of his court, and seated himself on the platform by the side of the sovereign pontiff. He thus spoke:—"We have come, my fathers, to lay before you the disloyal conduct of Henry the First, of England, who has not only invaded one of our provinces, Normandy, in contempt of treaties, but has even seized the person of one of our vassals, Duke Robert, his brother, and has confined him for some years in prison at London. I have frequently summoned him to give up his prisoner to me, without my entreaties, complaints or threats being able to change his resolve; and you now see by my side William, the son of that noble duke, who comes to implore the aid of your intelligence and justice in recovering his estates."

Hildegarde, countess of Poitiers, in her turn presented herself before the assembly with the ladies of her suite. She accused her husband, count William, of having abandoned her to live in disgraceful commerce with Maubergeon, the lawful wife of the viscount of Châtelleraut. The holy father ordered the count of Poitiers to be loudly called, that he might justify himself before the synod. The bishop of Saintes and other prelates of Aquitaine, his creatures, replied, that their lord was grievously sick. This excuse was admitted by the council, which granted a delay to the count to present himself at Rome, or to retake his wife, declaring him excommunicated, if he refused to obey one of these conditions. They then called up some affairs of minor importance; and then the holy father announced that the sitting was closed. He added:—"We are going to Mousson, my brethren, where the emperor waits for us to treat of the peace of the church. The archbishops of Rheims and Rouen, and some other prelates whose presence is necessary, will accompany us. We beseech you during our absence to address fervent prayers to God for the success of our enterprise. We will soon return to you, and recommence our sessions, before sending you in peace to your homes. Finally, when the council has terminated, we will go ourselves to find the king of England, our spiritual son, and our relative according to the flesh, and will pledge ourselves to put an end to the causes of discord which exist between him and William his nephew, and will inflict a terrible anathema on those who shall be deaf to our words."

Calixtus having arrived at Mousson assembled the prelates of his suite in council, and submitted to them the matters which had been concerted between him and Henry. After this examination, the cardinal of Crema, the bishops of Viviers and Châlons, and the abbot of Cluny were sent with them to the camp of the emperor, that he might give them his definite sanction. Henry at first denied having promised any thing of the kind; when William of Champeaux, no longer restraining his indignation, turned on the prince, called

him a traitor and knave, and demanded from him if he were ready to swear on the host, that he had not placed this promise in his hands. The Emperor was obliged to confess that he had given a writing somewhat similar to it; but that he had not reflected that he could not execute the tenor of it without considerably weakening the royal authority. The bishop replied to him "prince, you still seek an excuse for your disloyalty; the pontiff does not pretend to diminish your power; he declares, on the contrary, that all your subjects, no matter of what rank, should follow you to war and serve you as heretofore, as was the custom under your predecessors. Do not think that your crown will be weakened, because you will be prohibited from selling bishoprics; on the contrary your authority will be more respectable in the eyes of the people, when you shall have renounced, of your own free will, a sacrilegious traffic." The emperor then asked time, until the next day, to confer anew with his barons, and to determine them to give their consent to his promise.

Calixtus, despairing of triumphing over the obstinacy of the king, wished to return immediately to Rheims, that he might avoid the snares which the German monarch might lay for him; he yielded, however, to the counsels of the count of Troyes and several other lords, and agreed to remain until the next day, in order to deprive Henry of all excuse from bad will. As soon as day dawned, the bishop of Châlons and the abbot of Cluny returned to the camp, and, having been admitted to the presence of the emperor, said to him "we might my lord have retired yesterday, but his holiness was unwilling to break with you about a delay of a few hours, and he still waits for your subscription to the treaties which are to assure tranquillity to the church. Here are the deeds; no obstacle can now oppose their ratification." Henry replied to the prelates, that they pressed him too urgently to subscribe to the treaty, and that he wished to await the general diet of his kingdom, which alone had power to decide on a question that interested all his lords.

William of Champeaux and Pons at once broke off the negotiations and retired without even taking leave of the prince. After their departure the emperor sent troops to besiege the castle to which the pope had retired: but Calixtus had already quitted the place and taken refuge in an impenetrable fortress belonging to the count of Troyes. Henry then sent a courier to him to urge him to retrace his steps, promising to sign the treaty definitely before the expiration of two days. The pope made this reply to the king. "I have done from a love of peace, that which was never done by any of my predecessors; I left a general council and came to find a man who has not in his heart any disposition for concord. I now retire; if, however, after the synod is terminated, Henry shall have learned that he ought to keep his promises, I will pardon him and receive him with

open arms." He continued on his journey and arrived on the same day at Rheims, where he celebrated divine service in the cathedral.

The sessions of the council recommenced on the following day, and John, a cardinal priest, thus informed them of the result of the negotiations with the Emperor: "We went to Mouson my brethren, as we had announced to you, to conclude a peace with King Henry; we found that prince at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, as if he had come to war with numerous enemies. Thus fearing some sinister plans, we closed the gates of the castle in which the holy father was, and presented ourselves only at the camp of Henry. We several times demanded, in the name of the pope, a private interview with the prince, without being able to obtain it; and when at last this favour was granted us, we found ourselves surrounded by soldiers who sought to intimidate us by brandishing their lances and swords. We had, however, gone unarmed, as ambassadors instructed to treat of peace. The emperor spoke to us with a feigned mildness, asking to see the pope that he might render homage to him, he said; whilst we knew he wanted to seize on his person as he had done at Rome on the pontiff Pascal. Finally, all our hopes having been deceived, we hastened to return to Rheims to escape the troops whom the tyrant had sent in pursuit of us."

The fathers having heard this report, approved of the conduct of Calixtus, and passed several canons against simony and the investitures of bishoprics and abbeys. They also condemned the usurpers of the wealth of the church, and prohibited benefices from being bequeathed by inheritance, and the exaction of pay for administering baptism, the holy oil, extreme unction, and sepulture.

In the closing session they sung the hymn of the Holy Spirit; the pope exhorted all those present to concord and submission to the authority of the Holy See; he then caused lighted candles to be distributed to all the prelates who carried a cross. The gates of the church were opened, all the bells of the city were loudly rung, and, by the light of tapers, to the lugubrious sound of the bells, Calixtus standing upon the steps of the altar, pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry, and the anti-pope Gregory the Eighth.

The council having terminated, the pontiff went to Gison to confer with the king of England. Henry the First received him with great honours, prostrated himself at his feet, and took an oath of submission and fidelity to him. Calixtus raised him kindly, and after having embraced him said to him, "As we must by the law of God, restore to every one that which belongs to him, we beseech you to restore freedom to your brother Robert, and the duchy of Normandy to his son." The prince replied, "I have not despoiled my brother of his estates, but I have freed that province, the heritage of my father, from the nobles

who covered it with disasters. Monasteries were pillaged, monks massacred, virgins dishonoured, churches were burned, and the unfortunate, who sought an asylum in consecrated places, were massacred. I then came to the aid of this afflicted people; and as I found it impossible to stop the tyranny of the lords without employing the power of the sword, I was forced to make war. God favouring my designs, gave me the victory, and I re-established the reign of the laws and of public security. It was, however, necessary, in order to consolidate peace, that my brother Robert should remain a prisoner in England, where he is treated with all the honour and respect which his rank and the ties of blood demand of me. I have not forgotten that we are brothers, and if he had not taken his son from me, I would have educated him with my own."

Calixtus, satisfied with this reply, granted to King Henry a confirmation of the privileges which his father had obtained for England and Normandy; he promised, besides, not to send into his kingdom, in the capacity of legates, any prelates but those whom he should himself ask for; and, finally, he besought him to restore the prelate Tunstan to his friendship, and re-instate him in the archbishopric of York. But the prince observed that he had sworn upon the Gospels never to receive that metropolitan into favour.—"Is that all?" replied Calixtus. "Do as I ask you, without disquieting yourself; I am the pope, and I permit you to violate your oath."

After this conference, the pope determined to go into Italy to take possession of the Holy See. He went towards the Alps, and entered Lombardy, where the people received him with great veneration. He then traversed Tuscany, and came to Lucca, where the militia gave him a triumphal reception. At Pisa he was received with the same enthusiasm, and he dedicated one of the churches of that city. In proportion as he approached Rome was his cortège increased, by the crowds who came to meet him, and who accompanied his march.

This general manifestation alarmed the partizans of the emperor, and Gregory, who not daring to remain longer in the palace of the Lateran, fled to Sutri, and shut themselves up in the fortress, waiting for succours from Germany. After the departure of the anti-pope, the Roman militia advanced to meet Calixtus, three days march from the city; and when he approached the holy city, the schools, the lords, the magistrates, and the monks, came to receive him at the principal gates, all carrying branches in sign of joy, and singing hymns in his praise. The streets, richly tapestried, were strewed with flowers, and the crowd of people was so great, that the cortège employed ten hours in defiling before the palace.

On the day succeeding his installation, the holy father was engaged in the organization of an army, and the conclusion of an alliance with the Normans, in order to accelerate the

ruin of the faction of the king of Germany and of Bourdin. By his care, troops were soon assembled, under the orders of John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, who laid siege to Suri, the residence of the anti-pope. It is related that Calixtus himself directed the labours of the siege, and mounted several times to the assault, with his casque on his head and his sword by his side.

At length, after a vigorous resistance, the German soldiers, decimated by sickness and the sword of their enemies, agreed to surrender, and delivered up Bourdin to his competitor. The pontiff had the cruelty to cause him to be shamefully mutilated by the hand of the executioner. His eyes were put out and his natural parts torn from him. The unfortunate man was placed backwards on a camel, the tail between his hands instead of a bridle, and a sheep-skin, reeking with blood, upon his shoulders, in mockery of the scarlet cape which the pontiffs wore. In this condition he was led to Rome, to prolong his humiliation, and to intimidate by this example of severity, the ambitious who would dare mount the Holy See.

The anti-pope was then confined in the monastery of Cava; the next year he was transferred to the convent of Janula, from which Honorius afterwards took him to confine him in the abbey of Fumon near Alatri, where he passed his days miserably. Such was the end of the unfortunate Maurice Bourdin, a prelate distinguished for his merit, and whose only fault consisted in having wished to place himself between the altar and the throne, at the moment in which these two powers were disputing for the pre-eminence.

In order to bequeath to posterity a monument of his victory, the pontiff caused a saloon of the palace of the Lateran to be magnificently decorated, in which he was represented trampling the anti-pope, Gregory the Eighth, beneath his feet. He caused the palaces of Censius Frangipani, and such other lords as had shown themselves to be his enemies, to be razed; he drove from their castles the Italian counts who devastated the domains of the church, and sought to re-establish an absolute government over all Italy. Having no more enemies to combat, he occupied himself with the religious quarrels of other churches, and sent his legate Conon and the archbishop, Ralph the Green, to Soissons, to judge in council a work on the Trinity written by Peter Abelard, one of the most remarkable dialecticians of the twelfth century.

This extraordinary man, whom his amours have rendered even more celebrated than his vast knowledge, was the son of a lord of a small city called Palais, situated in the neighbourhood of Nantes. He had surrendered himself, from his tenderest youth, with an incredible ardour, to the study of the sciences and of languages. Poetry, eloquence, philosophy, jurisprudence, theology, mathematics, the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages, in fine, all human knowledge became familiar to

him. Having arrived at man's estate, and being desirous of completing his studies, he went to the university of Paris, whose professors were regarded as the best rhetoricians in the world.

Among these, William of Champeaux, the archdeacon of Notre Dame, was styled the prince of scholastic logicians. Abelard studied under him, and profited so well by his lessons, that the master was frequently unable to resolve the subtle questions of the scholar. The teacher was at first attached to his learned disciple, but hatred succeeded friendship when he discovered that his proud pupil gloried in confounding him in argument. William even drove him from Paris. He retired at first to Melun, and then to Corbeil. Some years afterwards, Abelard became reconciled to his former master, and obtained permission to return to the capital to open a school of eloquence. His great talents soon caused all the academies to be deserted; and chroniclers relate that his auditors exceeded three thousand in numbers. The method which he pursued in his course, consisted of the praise of science, and the censure of men who, in these barbarous times, regarded ignorance as a title of nobility. He taught logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and, finally, astronomy. He became the fashionable teacher, because he was the only one who united the science of philosophy with the eloquence of the tribune.

Abelard was much run after by the distinguished women of the day; but Heloise, the niece of the canon Fulbert, was alone able to attract the attention of the professor. Although he was now thirty-nine years old, and she only seventeen, he conceived so violent a passion for her that he resolved to do every thing to gain her love. Historians say he was admitted into the house of the canon as a boarder, by paying a high board, and that he then obtained permission from the greedy old man to educate his niece without receiving any pay therefor. The confidence of the canon was so great, that he not only left the two lovers entirely alone, but even, before leaving home, would recommend to the master to chastise his scholar if she were neglectful of her lessons.

There was no necessity for so great severity to control Heloise, for she responded with equal ardour to the passion of Abelard. These tender lovers passed a whole year in the ineffable joys of requited love. Abelard, formerly so ambitious of glory, so greedy of renown, entirely deserted his school, and consecrated all the time he could to his mistress, and to composing songs in her praise. Heloise herself informs us of these particulars in one of her letters. "Among your brilliant qualities," she wrote to him long afterwards, "you possessed two which moved me more than all the others: the grace of your language and the sweetness of your song; and no other woman would have been less touched than I. The melodies which you composed, in simple measure or in rhyme, had an irresistible charm

which compelled me to sing them, on account of the sweetness of the expressions and the softness of their amorous poetry. The most insensible women could not refuse you their admiration; and as your verses celebrated our lives, my name was soon spread through the whole world, and all women envied the happiness of Heloise."

The canon Fulbert at length discovered the criminal intercourse of his niece and Abelard, but it was too late to break off the intimacy of this connection. Heloise carried within her a pledge of their love. According to the chroniclers of the time, the canon wished that marriage should stop the public scandal; but Heloise having declared to her uncle that she wished to be the mistress of Abelard, and not his wife, he became violently enraged, and swore to be avenged. To appease the chagrin of the canon, the two lovers consented to a private marriage, which took place in the presence of the canon and some witnesses. Fulbert, not being yet satisfied with this reparation, demanded that the marriage should be public; and on the refusal of Heloise, retook his plans of vengeance. During the night masked men entered the chamber of Abelard, and whilst four of them held him by the arms and legs, the canon, armed with a razor, subjected him to a horrible mutilation, which separated him for ever from Heloise. Abelard concealed his tears and his shame in the abbey of St. Denis, and Heloise took the veil in the convent of Argenteuil.

Time soothed the grief of Abelard, and he yielded to the solicitations of his admirers, who besought him to recommence his admirable teaching. Soon, as formerly, he found himself surrounded by numerous pupils; but with his success also appeared the envious. Two powerful enemies, Alberic and Leotulph, theologians of Rheims, denounced to the council of Soissons, in 1122, a treatise which he had composed upon the Trinity, and which had been received with general enthusiasm. As unfortunate in his literary career as in his amours, Abelard was condemned by the fathers of the synod, and forced to burn his book in the presence of the assembly. He was then confined at St. Medard, and afterwards at St. Denis, and placed under the supervision of the abbot. Some years afterwards he determined to escape, and retired to Nogent on the Seine, where he built a convent at his own expense, which he dedicated to the Holy Spirit, and which he called the Paraclete, or the Consolation. Heloise, and some other nuns of Argenteuil, came to dwell in this retreat, and it was there that the lovers met for the first time after a separation of eleven years.

Abelard was then made abbot of St. Gildas; but his enemies pursued him even in the silence of the cloisters, and accused him of heresy. The illustrious professor wished to go to Rome to justify himself; but on his arrival at Cluny, the venerable Peter dissuaded him from the journey, and even retained him at the abbey. Two years afterward, worn

out by the injustice of men, he determined to finish his days in retirement, and shut himself up in the priory of St. Marcel, near Châlons in the Saône, where he died in 1142, aged sixty-three years. He was at first interred in the convent, but afterwards, at the entreaty of Heloise, his remains were transported to Paraclete.

This unfortunate lover lived twenty-two years longer, mourning him whom she had loved so well. After her death, her body was deposited near that of her spouse; and the chroniclers of the times relate that Abelard opened his arms to receive her when they raised the stone which covered his coffin. Since then a new translation has changed the place of the monument which contained their dust; but the last wishes of Heloise have been religiously respected, and the tomb which has been erected to them in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, still re-unites the two lovers.

Calixtus having affirmed his authority in Rome, was desirous of exercising the most absolute despotism over other kingdoms. For this purpose he gave to a monk of Cluny, named Peter, the legation of France, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Orkneys, for the purpose of subjugating the church of England to the court of Rome, and of re-establishing the affairs of the Holy See in France. But Louis the Fat had already protested against a judgment of the pontiff in the following violent letter: "By suspending the execution of the sentence which you had pronounced against the metropolitan of Sens you have, holy father, moderated our anger. But we are not yet satisfied, for the ambiguity of your decision leaves to the archbishop of Lyons the hopes of obtaining from us the satisfaction he demands. Since I must tell you all I think on this subject, I will avow, that I would rather see my kingdom in flames and my life in danger, than obey that priest.

"We beseech you, then, to preserve to the church of Sens the freedom which it now enjoys, and to prevent it from suffering any harm by the subjection which they would imprudently impose on it. The privileges of a See belong to it, and not to the prelates who govern it, and if the metropolitan of Sens has alone disposed of a property to which he had no right, his church should not be punished for the fault of its chief, and lose the prerogatives of its former freedom. Besides, holy father, be careful lest the city of Lyons, which belongs to the emperor, is not strengthened to our injury; and fear, lest by desiring to subjugate our cities to a foreign jurisdiction, you break the peace which exists between King Henry and our crown. We, moreover, declare to you, that if our wishes were treated with contempt in so simple a matter, we would not longer expose ourselves to the shame of a refusal, nor the scorn of our dignity, but would do ourselves justice."

No reply was made to this letter; the legate of the Holy See only presented himself at the court of France to hold out hopes which were evasive and in conformity with the policy of

Rome. The monk of Cluny then went to England, whither he had been preceded by skilful envoys, who knew how adroitly to excite the curiosity of the nation about the ambassador. But the king did not partake of the general disposition, he even sent Bernard, bishop of St. David's, and a clerk named John, to meet the legate, with orders to prohibit his entrance into Great Britain, if he refused to promise not to stop at the monasteries or the churches, and to pay all his own expenses. Peter accepted the conditions which were imposed on him, and went to court in hopes of changing the sentiments of the king. He soon discovered his error. Henry received him with great coldness, and was unwilling to permit him to exercise any act of authority. This prince maintained, with reason, that a legate should make no attempt on the established customs of a kingdom, especially when they were consecrated by the manners of the inhabitants and the wishes of the people. Peter learned that it would be dangerous to enter upon a struggle with a monarch so absolute in his decisions; and, baffled and humiliated, he retook the way to Rome.

If the enterprises of the pope failed in France and England, they were crowned with entire success in Germany. The archbishop of Mayence, by publishing the decree of anathema against Henry, had drawn all Saxony into revolt, and the emperor had been constrained to assemble a formidable army to subdue the rebels. But as the two parties alike dreaded the chances of a general battle, they agreed to enter upon negotiations before coming to blows. For this purpose, twelve lords of each party signed a truce, by which they engaged to suspend hostilities until the termination of a diet of the kingdom, which was fixed to be held on the day of the festival of St. Michael, in the city of Wurtzburg. The assembled at first discussed a mode of putting an end to the schism which separated the churches; they then decreed an absolute peace through all Germany, ordering the belligerent parties to restore, under penalty of death, all usurped property, whether by ecclesiastics, princes or lords. On the subject of the excommunication of the emperor they decided that the bishop of Spire, and Arnold, abbot of Fulda, should go to Rome to refer it to the pontiff, and obtain the convocation of a great council, in which this important matter should be definitely judged.

These ambassadors discharged their mission with great zeal; they entirely changed the hostile disposition of the pope, and took back with them as legates, Lambert, bishop of Ostia, Gregory, a deacon, and Suxon, a priest, with full powers to assemble a synod and relieve Henry from the excommunication if he would renounce the investitures.

A general diet was convened anew at Worms, for the month of September, 1122, and after a conference of ten days it agreed upon the following: "We, the legates of the Holy See, grant to the emperor the power of causing the bishops and abbots of the king-

dom of Germany to be chosen in his presence, without employing violence or simony, and under the auspices of the metropolitan and co-provincial prelates. The elected shall receive from the prince the investiture of the regalia by the sceptre, and not the ecclesiastical regalia, and he shall perform such duties to his sovereign as are imposed on him by his title of subject. By virtue of this treaty we grant to Henry a durable peace, and the same to those who embraced his side during the unhappy times of our discords."

The prince in turn replied by a writing, in which he thus expressed himself: "For the love of God, and the holy Roman church, of Pope Calixtus, and the safety of our soul, we renounce the privilege of investitures by the ring and the cross, and we grant to all the churches of our empire, canonical elections, and free consecrations. We restore to the Holy See the lands and royalties on which we have seized during our divisions, and we promise our assistance to the pope to recover those on which our subjects have seized. We will also restore to the churches, lords, and citizens the domains which are in our possession. Finally, we grant an entire and durable peace to Pope Calixtus, the holy Roman church, and all those who have aided it during our discords."

These two deeds were read and exchanged on a plain on the left bank of the Rhine, where tents and an altar had been erected. Thanks were then returned to God, and a solemn mass celebrated by the bishop of Ostia, at which he admitted the emperor to communion, and gave him the kiss of peace. He also gave his absolution to the troops who surrounded them, and to all those who had taken part in the schism. Thus the pope and the king cemented their union, after having devastated Germany and Italy, and murdered the people of Saxony, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Lombardy, for half a century, for a miserable quarrel about investitures.

Deis says, on this subject, "We see clearly, that matters which overturn states and cost so many tears and so much blood to the people, are but puerilities or pretexts employed by the ambition of priests and kings. From the time of Charlemagne to Henry the Fourth, investitures were given by the cross and ring, as a matter of perfect indifference to the state and church; but under this last emperor, the popes thought of making of the cross and ring a sacred palladium, which the impure hands of laymen could not approach; and by the assistance of this futile pretension, they overthrew society, increased their wealth, and murdered more than three millions of men."

During the following year, (1123), the pope held a new council in the palace of the Lateran, to confirm the treaty concluded with Henry, and to prohibit the usurpation of the property of the church, particularly that of Beneventum. They granted to the crusaders who should go to Jerusalem, an entire remission of sins; they declared their houses, families, and property under the protection

of St. Peter; they prohibited laymen, under penalty of anathema, from carrying off the offerings which were placed on the altars of the churches, and they interdicted to the lords the right of fortifying churches, so as to make them fortifications; and, finally, they condemned in general all the alienations made without the consent of the clergy. They ordered abbots and monks not to visit the sick, not to celebrate divine service outside of their monasteries; and not to call in other prelates than their diocesan bishops to administer the holy oil, to consecrate clerks, and to dedicate new monasteries.

The bishops who composed this assembly, complained strongly of the monks, and thus expressed themselves: "The glory of the canons and of other ecclesiastics, has been entirely obscured, since the monks, departing from the rules of their orders, seek, with an insatiable ambition, the privileges of the bishops, and refuse to live by the labour of

their own hands, as the rules of St. Benedict prescribe. They possess churches, lands, and houses; they levy dimes and oblations on the faithful, and, finally, there is only left to them to take from us the cross and the ring, in order to have completely despoiled us."

After the termination of this council, the pope, always alive to the consolidation of the authority of the Holy See, sent into France as his legates, Gregory, a cardinal, and Peter de Leon, who convened several synods at Chartres, Clermont, Beauvais, and Vienne to confirm the acts of the council of the Lateran. But at the moment, when the holy father, having arrived at the apogee of his power, was congratulating himself on the success of his policy, he was suddenly attacked by a violent fever which carried him off in a few hours. He died on the 12th of December, 1124, after a pontificate of five years and ten months.

## HONORIUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1124.]

*Preliminaries to the election of Honorius—Celestin, chosen pope, is forced to abdicate—Schism in the monastery of Cluny—The abbots Peter and Pons go to Rome to be judged—Pons is confined in a tower by the order of the pope—Honorius turns the sincere piety of the prior Mathew into derision—Schism in the convent of Monte Cassino—The treasurer Nicholas chosen abbot—He robs the treasury of the convent—Honorius causes another abbot to be chosen—War between the pope and Count Roger—Affair of Stephen bishop of Paris—Death of Honorius.*

On the death of Calixtus, two factions were immediately formed for the election of a pope; Leo, of Frangipani, wished to elevate Lambert, bishop of Ostia, to the pontificate, and the other party demanded the cardinal, Saxon of Anagina. The adroit Leo, in order the more easily to deceive the cardinals, employed a very singular ruse; he feigned to abandon his protégé, and on the eve of the election, went very mysteriously to the residence of each cardinal, to engage their chaplains to go to the conclave, on the following day, with a red cape concealed under their black ones, in order to be able to clothe their masters with it, thus leaving each of them to suppose he would be chosen pope. On the following day, all the prelates assembled in the chapel of St. Pancrace, in the palace of the Lateran; Leo of Frangipani was alone absent. They proceeded, however, to an election, and on the proposal of Damian and Jonathan, they clothed with the red cape, Thébald, a priest of St. Anastasius, who was proclaimed pope by the name of Celestin, amidst the acclamations of the nobles, and despite the active opposition of the cardinals, who all counted on the papacy.

At last quiet was restored, and they were even commencing to sing the Te Deum, in

sign of rejoicing, when suddenly the Frangipani entered the church with their partizans, exclaiming, "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, is pope by the will of St. Peter." They immediately clothed him in the pontifical ornaments, and ranged themselves around him, with their drawn swords in their hands. Then the venerable Celestin, fearing the deplorable consequences of a combat in the church, devoted himself for the safety of all. He advanced between the two parties, despoiled himself of the cape and purple, and yielded the tiara to his rival, who took the name of Honorius the Second.

Notwithstanding the voluntary renunciation of the throne of the apostle by Celestin, the ecclesiastics, the people, and the majority of the lords continued to regard him as the sole pope, and declared the election of Honorius to be irregular and sacrilegious. The latter discovering this state of affairs, employed all his resources to create partizans to himself; he made rich presents to the cardinals, distributed money to the people, showed himself gracious to the principal citizens of Rome, and pushed his hypocrisy so far as to publish that he wished to renounce the papacy. He accordingly convened all the electors in the church of St. John, of the Lateran, and laid down the



tiara in their presence, seven days after he had been proclaimed pontiff. The assistants, deceived by this trick, and being fearful, besides, of introducing a dangerous precedent into the elections by nominating a new pope, declared him to be the lawful chief of the church. The cardinals, nobles, and people, accordingly prostrated themselves at his feet and swore obedience to him.

The pontiff was originally from the county of Bologna; his parents were poor farmers, who had placed him when very young in the cathedral of Bologna, where he distinguished himself among the young clerks by his love for study and great regularity of morals. The metropolitan having conceived an affection for him, had ordained him arch-deacon of his church, and afterwards pope Pascal called him to Rome, where he consecrated him bishop of Velletri or Ostia. As soon as he reached the pontificate, he sent Otho, bishop of Bamberg, to accelerate the conversion of the people of Pomerania, who were governed by Bratislaus. This mission was entirely successful, thanks to the duke of Poland, Boleslaus the Third, who forced the Pomeranians to embrace the Christian faith by massacring them by thousands.

In the following year (1125), the church was strongly agitated by a schism, which broke out in the abbey of Cluny. The former superior of the monastery, Pons, had some time before laid down the abbatial baton to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, not from devotion, but in the hopes of becoming archbishop or governor of a province of Palestine. His desires not being realized, he resolved to return to Italy, and stopped in the diocese of Treviso, where he built an oratory some miles from that city. He lived in this retreat with extreme rigour, praying, fasting, and imposing on himself the most rigorous macerations. His hypocrisy on this occasion, however, not having yet drawn to him the honours which he believed to be due to his great merits, he determined to return to his old monastery. He then wrote to France to obtain the expulsion of Peter his successor, and pledged himself to his partisans to distribute among them the wealth of the convent, if they would reinstate him in the dignity of abbot. His intrigues having created powerful protectors for him, he went secretly to Cluny, and taking advantage, one day, of the absence of the abbot Peter, he entered the convent and drove out the prior Bernard, a venerable old man, and the monks who refused to submit to his authority; he then gave up the monastery to pillage, he took the crosses, the chalices, the candelabras, the reliquaries, caused them to be melted into ingots, and drew from them enormous sums which he distributed to the lords of the vicinage and the men at arms who had joined his cause.

Once master of the abbey, he employed himself in reducing the farms and country houses which were dependent on it; his efforts were turned principally against the prior Bernard, who had taken refuge in the fortified

oratories with the monks, who held out for the abbot Peter. This war of the monks lasted for an entire year; at length Honorius being advised of all these disorders, sent the cardinal Peter Defontaines as his legate into France, who pronounced a terrible anathema against Pons and his partisans, enjoining on them to go to Italy with the abbot Peter to be judged by a council.

The intrepid Pons went to Rome accompanied by some nobles of his faction; Peter, his competitor, came, having with him Mathew, the prior of St. Martin des Champs. But as Pons was excommunicated, and consequently, by the canons, incapable of appearing for judgment before the pope, a legate said to him, when introducing him into the council chamber, that he ought to prepare to receive absolution. The proud abbot, raising his voice, replied, "I have nothing to do with your absolution, since no man living, I care not what is his rank on earth, has power to excommunicate me; since I have received plenary indulgences for my sins, past, present and to come, by undertaking the journey to the holy land; the apostle alone can judge me when I shall present myself before him to be introduced into the kingdom of Heaven."

Honorius was indignant at such a reply, as were all the Roman ecclesiastics who were present, and he flew into a rage with the abbot, calling him a schismatic, an heretic and anti-christ; he caused him to be put out of the hall. They then demanded from those who had accompanied this monk, if they wished to imitate his example, or do their duty by asking pardon from the Holy See, in order to be relieved from the censures which had been pronounced against them. All declared that they were ready to give entire satisfaction to the holy father, and presented themselves at the palace of the Lateran, with naked feet, covered with ashes, striking their breasts and crying for mercy. Having received absolution, they were admitted to plead their cause; the prior Mathew spoke the last in favour of the abbot Peter, and he made himself remarked for his profound erudition and eloquence.—After the pleadings were over, the pope retired with his cardinals to a privy council, to deliberate on the matter.—At the end of some hours, they returned to the great hall, and the bishop of Porto pronounced the following sentence:—"The holy Roman church deposes for ever from every dignity, and all ecclesiastical functions the usurping, sacrilegious, schismatic, and excommunicated Pons; it restores the church of Cluny, the monks and all the dependencies of the convent, to the abbot Peter, here present, who has been unjustly despoiled of them."

This judgment was loudly applauded by the assistants, and those who had separated from Peter immediately came to make their submissions to him; thus was checked the schism which had scandalized the holy abbey of Cluny. Pons alone wished to protest against the decision of the fathers; he was then confined in a tower, where he died some months

afterwards of a contagious malady, and in final impenitence. — The pontiff, however, caused him to be honourably interred from regard to the frock of the monks.

Honorius retained the prior Mathew, whose talents he admired, about his person, and created him bishop of Albano; this new dignity did not change the habits of the monk, he continued to lead the chaste and sober life of the convent in the midst of the luxury of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the sarcasms of the pope, who turned the holiness of the prelate into ridicule, calling him his anchorite, and snubbing him that he had not like the other bishops, mistresses, palaces and horses.

Scarcely was the dispute of the monks of Cluny terminated, when a new schism broke out in another celebrated abbey, the monastery of Monte Cassino. This time the pope was the author of the deplorable division. Whilst Honorius was but the simple bishop of Ostia, when flying from the persecution of the anti-pope Gregory the Eighth, he had taken refuge in this convent, and had besought the abbot, Oderisus the Second, to grant him, as an asylum, a priory which was dependent on the monastery, as his predecessor, Leon de Marsique, had obtained. Oderisus refused this demand; through fear, lest as a consequence, the prelates of Ostia might use it as a precedent to seize on this cloister. Lambert retired in fury, and from that moment vowed an implacable hatred to the abbot.

On the day succeeding his advent to the pontificate, he demanded from Oderisus a considerable sum for the wants of the Roman church. The latter, who was a cardinal, replied, that not having participated in the election of their master, he ought not to contribute to his support. Honorius, exasperated at this new insult, summoned the abbot to appear immediately before him at the castle of Fremona, where he was with a numerous court, and there, in the presence of his cardinals, in a public audience, he reprimanded him severely; he accused him of dissipating the property of the monastery in shameful debauchery; reproached him with bearing the casque and the sword more frequently than the mitre and the cross, and finally treated him as a rebel, and drove him from the assembly. Not content with having subjected the abbot to such an humiliation, Honorius, on his return to Rome, subjoined false witnesses, who presented themselves with Adenulph, count of Aquin, the mortal enemy of Oderisus, and affirmed before the council of the holy father, that the abbot, in contempt of the canons, exercised the papacy in his monastery. The bishop of Terracina was immediately sent to Monte Cassino, to order the abbot to come to Rome, and reply to the accusations against him; he refused to obey. The holy father then assembled a council, and after having three times called the rebel with a loud voice, and no one having replied, he pronounced a sentence of deposition against him. The abbot, without disquieting himself about

this pontifical decree, continued to sit in the chair of his church, with the cross in his hand, which led to his excommunication, and that of those who supported him.

This last censure divided the monks and the people of the city of St. Germain, a dependency on the abbey, into two parties; their minds became excited; they flew to arms, and after several bloody combats, the people having become masters of Monte Cassino, constrained the monks to drive out Oderisus, and choose another abbot. They elected Nicholas, who was the treasurer of the convent. But the pope, whose only intention was to seize on the riches of the monastery, disapproved of this election, under the pretext that Nicholas had been promoted to the dignity of abbot at the close of a sedition, and he ordered the fathers to proceed to the nomination of another superior, whom he designated to them. Nicholas, foreseeing that his reign would be of short duration, wished to use the time to advantage; he filled several chests with money, and embarked for Greece with the treasures of the convent. His flight was so skilfully executed, that the monks did not even know of it until it was too late to seize the robber.

Honorius caused the prevost of Capua, named Signoret, to be elevated to the place of Nicholas, and wished to compel him to take an oath of obedience to him; but the monks forcibly opposed this new pretension, which placed the keys of Monte Cassino under the dependency of the bishops of Rome, and openly violated their privileges. The holy father despairing of overcoming their resolution, at length consecrated the new abbot, only exacting from him a large sum of money.

Shortly afterwards, William, duke of Apulia, having died without children, Roger, count of Sicily, his great uncle and heir, came to Salerno to be recognised as sovereign prince by the inhabitants, and to be consecrated by Albanus, bishop of Capua; he then went to Reggio, where he was proclaimed duke of Apulia, after which he returned to Sicily. His vanity not being yet satisfied with the title of duke, he sent ambassadors, laden with rich presents, to Honorius, to obtain the title of king and the investiture, by the standard of the provinces which William had possessed, promising, in return for this favour, to surrender to the Holy See the cities of Troies and Montefosco. The pontiff, who had for a long time aspired to the possession of the provinces of Apulia and Capua, profited by this step of the prince to establish it as a principle that Roger was not the lawful heir to the estates of his nephew, since he had taken possession of them before having received the investiture from the Holy See, and he rejected his demand.

Roger, indignant at this reply, which unveiled all the ambitious views of the court of Rome, resolved to punish the pontiff; he immediately levied troops, invaded the territory of Beneventum, and advanced as far as the Campagna of Rome, devastating all the domains of the church. Honorius, on his

side, judging that the moment was favourable for seizing on Apulia, went to Capua, where he consecrated prince Robert, who had entered into secret engagements with the Holy See. After the ceremony the pope harangued the people; he represented Roger as the enemy of religion; he dwelt on the evils he would inflict on the faithful, and swore, with horrid imprecations, that he would never receive him into favour. He finished by shedding a torrent of tears, and imploring the aid of those around for his own defence and that of the church. He promised a plenary indulgence to those who died in this expedition, and a simple indulgence to those whom death spared.

Roger, in defiance of the ecclesiastical thunders, continued his march across Apulia, but retiring towards the mountains, and shunning the army of the pontiff, which was superior in numbers to his own. The duke hoped by these tactics to fatigue the troops of the pope, who, being new recruits, could not long endure the fatigues of marches and countermarches. His predictions were verified. The partizans of the holy father, tired of keeping the field, and suffering from want of provisions and clothing, were obliged to disperse and return to their homes. Honorius seeing his forces almost reduced, by the desertion of his soldiers, to only the bands of Robert, determined to regain Beneventum. Roger, in his turn, took the offensive and blockaded him in the place. After the trenches had been opened some days, he summoned the pope to surrender himself a prisoner, or grant him the investiture of Apulia. The holy father, before a danger so imminent, forgot the oaths which he had taken never to pardon him; he sent him the standard, and the treaty of peace was signed on the 22d of August, 1128.

Honorius, on his return to Rome, found ambassadors from Robert de Senlis, the chancellor of France, who, four years before, had been elevated to the dignity of metropolitan of Paris. They were instructed to bear to the pope the complaints of their master against the king, Louis the Fat, whom he accused of sustaining the disorders of the French clergy,

by extracting from them benefices prejudicial to ecclesiastical liberty. Stephen even accused the prince of having seized on the property of his church, and of having even wished to murder him, by his soldiers, at the moment he was leaving his palace. Honorius replied to him, that he should immediately launch a decree of anathema against the sovereign, and place the kingdom of France under interdict. The metropolitan obeyed the Holy See, and drew to his party the bishop of Sens and a large number of prelates.

Alarmed at the consequences of a revolt of the clergy, the king immediately sent ambassadors laden with rich presents to Rome, who bought from the Holy See the absolution of the anathema and the suspension of the interdict, after which he was able to continue his persecution of Stephen, and the dilapidation of the churches. Saint Bernard and Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, addressed eloquent letters to the court of Rome on the same subject, but they were unanswered. Stephen of Senlis discovered that the justice of his cause would always be despised if he did not fortify his complaints by a large sum of money; he then collected all his resources, sold the chalices of his church, borrowed from the Jews on pledges of the sacred ornaments of the metropolis, and sent to Rome four thousand deniers of gold in exchange for the protection of the pope. Honorius did not resist so conclusive an argument; he granted authority to Stephen to assemble a council at Rheims, to judge the king of France, and to anathematise him in the name of the apostle, if he refused to restore the property he had seized. Louis did not wish to encounter the bishop of Paris again; he perceived that it was better in this matter to have a good understanding with him, and peace was made between them without the intervention of the pope.

Soon after this the holy father became very sick, and as he felt death approaching, he was carried to the monastery of St. Andrew, where he died on the 14th of February, 1130. His remains were deposited in the church of the *Lateran*.

## INNOCENT THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH POPE.

### ANACLET THE SECOND, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1130.]

*Double election of a pope and anti-pope—History of the two pontiffs—Schism in the Roman church—Letters of the anti-pope Anaclet—Legates of Anaclet—He concludes an alliance with Roger, king of Sicily—Innocent the Second takes refuge in France and implores the aid of the lords—He is recognized in Germany as the lawful pontiff—Comes to St. Denis—Council of Rheims—Anaclet is excommunicated—The pope grants privileges to the monastery of the Cîteaux—His return to Italy with a foreign army—He is installed in the palace of the Lateran by the emperor of Germany—Coronation of Lothaire—Council of Pisa—Saint Bernard is sent as ambassador to Milan—Return of Lothaire into Italy—The monks of Monte Cassino submit to Innocent the Second—Differences between the pope and the emperor—Death of the anti-pope and end of the schism—General council of the Lateran—Peace is concluded between King Roger and the pope—Schism of the Greeks and conferences for their re-union—History of Arnold of Brescia—His doctrine and condemnation—Death of the pontiff.*

THE cardinals and principal citizens of Rome, seeing the end of Honorius approaching, and being desirous of preventing the disorders which took place at the election of the pontiff, agreed to assemble secretly in the church of St. Mark, and proceed together, in accordance with the canons, to the election of a new pope. But the chancellor Aimeri and some other cardinals of his party, fearful of losing the influence which they had in the government of the church under Honorius, resolved to nominate a pontiff who was devoted to their interests and would retain them in their honours and dignities. For this purpose, as soon as Honorius had expired, and before even making public his death, they hastened to choose as his successor Gregory, cardinal of Saint Angelo, and having clothed him in the pontifical ornaments, they conducted him to the palace of the Lateran, and proclaimed him the supreme chief of the church, by the name of Innocent the Second.

The Roman lords, the other cardinals and bishops, furious at this great knavery, in their turn assembled with the people in the church of St. Mark and elevated Peter, the cardinal of St. Mary of Trastevera, to the dignity of sovereign pontiff, by the name of Anaclet the Second. Platinus endeavours to show that this second election did not take place immediately, but some months after, on account of the war which the pope wished to make on Duke Roger, who claimed the title of king of Naples and Sicily, and also the sacerdotal as well as political authority over these two provinces, by virtue of the privilege granted by Urban the Second to the countship of Sicily. "Innocent," adds he, "not only rejected the pretensions of Roger, but even endeavoured to take the city of Naples from him. It was a very common thing in that age to see popes at the head of armies plunge their cruel hands in Christian blood to satisfy their insatiable ambition. But this expedition was not fortunate, and the holy father, with three of his cardinals, fell into the power of the count,

who retained them prisoners until the pope had decided to confer on him the royal crown of Naples and Sicily. It was during the captivity of Innocent that the Romans elected Pope Anaclet the Second. . . ." This version is not true, and it is impossible to find it in the chroniclers to whom Platinus has referred us.

Innocent the Second had been in early life a monk of St. John's of the Lateran, then abbot of the convent of St. Nicholas and St. Primitive, which was located without the walls of Rome. Urban the Second had ordained him a cardinal deacon, and Calixtus the Second had sent him to France as his legate. Arnulf affirms that he always evinced extreme regularity of morals, and that he joined to great affability, mildness, eloquence, and an evangelical humility. According to this historian Innocent wished twice to renounce the pontificate, to put an end to the schism, but the cardinals who had chosen him, prevented him from putting his good designs into execution.

Anaclet, the anti-pope, was the grandson of a converted Jew, who had been baptized by pope Leo the Ninth; this Jew, by his talents and great wealth, became very powerful at the court of Rome; his son, Peter de Leo, still further increased his credit and reputation by serving the Holy See usefully in the quarrel about the investitures. As a recompense the popes gave to him the government of the Tower of Crescentius, or Castle of St. Angelo, and increased his fortune by marrying him to the heiress of one of the most powerful families of Rome. He had several children by his marriage, of whom Anaclet was the eldest; he destined him for literature and sent him to the University of Paris as a student.

After passing some years in the schools, the young Anaclet finding himself called to a religious life, went to the abbot of Cluny, who admitted him into the number of his monks. At the entreaty of his father, Pascal the Second afterwards called him to his court and created

him a cardinal. During the pontificate of Calixtus he was sent to France with Gregory in the capacity of legate, and he exhibited in several councils an imperious character, which gave a foresight into what he would in the end become. In fact, as soon as he was nominated as Pontiff, he pursued his competitor to extremities, drove him from the territories of the church, and obliged him to take refuge with the Frangipani, whose fortresses placed the unfortunate Innocent beyond the reach of his wrath. Not being able to reach his enemy in his inaccessible retreats, he turned his rage upon the Romans, drove out the clergy from the church of St. Peter, carried off the sacred ornaments, as well as the statues of gold and silver, pillaged the church of St. Maria Majora and the other temples which were esteemed the richest. As he could find no Christians impious enough to lay a sacrilegious hand upon the tabernacles, he called to his aid the ancient co-religionists of his family and caused them to break to pieces the pixes, chalices, and crucifixes, which were converted into gold and silver money. These depredations considerably increased his private fortune, which came from the inheritance of his father, and the exactions which he had committed at the court of Rome and in his legations; he was thus enabled to bestow largesses on his partizans and to subsidise assassins.

Innocent was soon forced to quit Italy, to avoid falling into the power of his cruel enemy. He embarked secretly on the Tiber with several cardinals, reached Ostia rapidly, from whence he went to Pisa, where he was received with all the honours due to his dignity. The holy father remained for some time in this latter city to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Tuscany, and to choose the ambassadors whom he sent to the kings of Germany and France, to inform them of the schism which had broken out in the holy city.

Anaclet, on his part, displayed all the resources of his policy, and was prodigal of the basest flatteries to princes and lords, to induce them to recognise him as the lawful pontiff. He addressed the following letter to Lothaire the Second, the successor to Henry the Fifth, after having reminded him of the former friendship which united their families:—"Dear prince: We have been canonically elected and consecrated by the bishop of Porto, before the altar of St. Peter, in the presence of other prelates, before all, and with great solemnity; whilst the schismatics chose their pope in darkness, and were compelled to fly from Rome during the night, to conceal their shame, and shun the wrath of the people. As we have been chosen by all the Romans, clergy and laity, we freely exercise the pontifical functions, and consecrate bishops and cardinals without difficulty. Do not, then, grant your confidence to the ex-chancellor Aimeri, that robber-priest, that shameless and simoniacal wretch; no longer place confidence in the soft words of John of Crema, who is an infamous man, a veritable

Nicolaite; but be convinced by the voice of the people, which designates us as the sole, true, and lawful successor of the apostle." He joined to his letter a bull of the clergy of his party, signed by twenty-seven cardinals, the archpriests, abbots, dean and suffragan bishops of Rome. "We write to you," said they, "as well as to the other princes of the East and West, to dissipate the calumnies of the schismatics, who accuse the pontiff Anaclet the Second of not having been chosen canonically, and of having seized upon the Holy See by violence, and with effusion of blood."

In the embarrassment in which he found himself, in regard to which of the two popes was the usurper, Lothaire took the wise part of replying to no one. Anaclet, annoyed by his silence, wrote to him again, by the prefect and principal lords of Rome, in the name of the whole city. He complained of the contempt Lothaire had shown for the Holy See by not answering his letter, and pledged himself to take him under his protection, if he himself desired to be recognised as emperor of the Romans.

Whilst he was thus seeking to assure himself of the support of Germany, he sent into France Otho, bishop of Lodi, with the title of legate, and charged with several letters, in which he reminded the king of the friendship with which he had honoured him in his youth, and of the affectionate cares with which he had laden him. Another legate, Gregory, a cardinal-deacon, was sent into Aquitaine, to remit to the abbot and monks of Cluny, the sentences of anathema pronounced against those whom he called schismatics; that is, against all those who refused to recognise his authority. Finally, other ambassadors were sent to John Comnenus, emperor of the East, and to the bishop of Drivasto, in Albania, as also to the king of Jerusalem.

But all these embassies resulted unfavourably. In Italy only were the intrigues of Anaclet fully successful. The greater part of the lords took the oath of obedience and fidelity to him. He even concluded an alliance with Duke Roger, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, granting to him the title of King of Sicily, and the right to be crowned by the metropolitans of his kingdom. He surrendered to him, besides, the principality of Capua and the lordship of Naples; and he authorised the archbishop of Palermo to consecrate the prelates of Syracuse, Girgenti, Mazaria, and Catania, without the approval of the court of Rome. This bull is dated on the 27th September, 1130, and forms the first authentic title of the royalty of Sicily.

Whilst the anti-pope, sustained by the arms of his brother-in-law, caused himself to be recognised, either willingly, or by force, in all the provinces of Italy, Innocent had embarked at Pisa, and gone towards the coast of France. He disembarked at St. Gilles, in Provence, and from thence went to Viviers, then to Puy, in Auvergne, and finally to Clermont, where he held a council, at which Eri-

bert and Conrad, archbishops of Munster and Saltzburg were present. The pope then went to Cluny to thank the monks who had sent him, on his disembarkation, sixty horses, with suitable equipages for himself and his cardinals. Innocent remained eleven days in this opulent retreat, where he dedicated a new church which was built in honour of the apostle St. Peter. This solemn reception by the monks of Cluny gave him a great preponderance throughout all France, and even in Germany, where his election was adjudged to be canonical.

During the sojourn of the holy father at the abbey of Cluny, king Louis sent Suger, abbot of St. Denis, to present him his best compliments. He then went himself, with the queen and princes, as far as St. Benedict, on the Loire, to meet the pontiff. As soon as he perceived Innocent, he dismounted from his horse, prostrated himself at his feet, took an oath of obedience and protection to him, and pledged himself, by oath, to overthrow the enemies of the church, and exterminate the schismatics. Saint Bernard, the celebrated abbot of the Citeaux, was then sent to the court of Henry of England, to induce him to recognise Innocent. The pious monk was received with great coldness, which taught him, that the English prelates, corrupted by the gold of Anaclet, had already alarmed the king by threatening him with eternal damnation. Bernard was at last able to overcome the scruples of the prince, by reasoning, and in a last audience to convince him by saying to him—"What do you fear my lord? Is it to burn in hell for having recognised the pope? Fear not; only think of obtaining pardon from God for your other sins; I take that to my own account." The king of England had no reply, and at once recognised the pontiff. On the next day he assembled an imposing train and went as far as Chartres to meet Innocent.

All had been prepared in advance for this first interview; Henry, following the example of the king of France, prostrated himself at the feet of the holy father, and swore filial obedience to him in his own name and that of his people. He then conducted him in triumph to the city of Rouen, where the pope received considerable presents from the king, the lords, and the Jews. During his sojourn at Rouen, the holy father received from his legate Gauthier, the metropolitan of Ravenna, the proceedings of the council of Wurtzburg, which informed him of the favourable turn his affairs were taking in Germany, and at the same time a letter from king Lothaire and the prelates of his kingdom, who besought him to go to Liege to preside over an assembly of Saxon, German, Bavarian, and Lorraine bishops and lords which was to be held on the 22d of March, 1131.

Innocent went at once on the invitation of the prince, who came to meet him, three miles from Liege, with the queen his wife, and a numerous train of priests and nobles. It is related that Lothaire accompanied the

pontiff as far as the cathedral, holding in one hand a rod to keep off the people, and with the other leading his horse. After the celebration of divine service, the pope went to the council to preside over its session; but Lothaire, who had intended to profit by the division in the church to regain the right of investiture, wished them above all to deliberate on this important question, and urged the holy father to restore to the crown a privilege which had been wrested from the emperor Henry, by the necessity of the circumstances.

At this proposal the cardinals, and the pontiff himself, grew pale, fearful lest they had fallen into greater danger at Liege, than that which they had so fortunately shunned at Rome. All were silent and bowed their heads. Saint Bernard, indignant at the cowardice of the pope, alone spoke; he remonstrated with the king of Germany on the dangers of a new strife between the altar and the throne, and forcibly represented to him, that he would commit an irremissible crime by reducing the churches, and compelling the prelates to become simoniacs. Lothaire, moved by the eloquence of the monk, desisted from his pretensions, only exacting a promise from the holy father to crown him emperor in the cathedral at Rome. All the conventions having been agreed on and signed, the council terminated its sessions, and Innocent returned to France to celebrate the festival of Easter at St. Denis, as he had engaged to do. Suger went in procession at the head of the community to receive him, and on Holy Thursday the pope solemnly officiated.

Three days afterwards Innocent performed a magnificent ceremony which was called the largesses of the presbytery. We find the following details of this day in the chronicles of Suger: "On the next day as soon as the light appeared, the pope left the abbey mysteriously, and went to St. Denis de l'Étrée with his suite. The cardinals were all clad in their Roman ornaments. The pope, wearing a tiara, bordered and adorned with a circlet of gold, enriched with precious stones, advanced mounted on a white horse covered with scarlet housings; the cardinals, wearing their violet coloured mantles, followed him, two and two, mounted on horses whose reins and trapping were of glittering whiteness; then came the barons, the vassals of the church of St. Denis, and the Castellans, who marched on foot and served in turn as squires to the pontiff. Heralds at arms preceded them with large baskets filled with pieces of gold and silver, which they scattered freely among the crowd which pressed around the cortège. When the pope was near St. Denis, the nobles, the principal magistrates of Paris, and even the rabbis and wealthiest of the Jews, advanced to meet him to do him homage. Having thus passed on, he reached the great church through streets hung with tapestry and strewed with flowers, where gold, silver, and precious stones glittered around. Innocent celebrated a solemn mass, assisted by the abbot, gave his blessing to

the people, and returned to the monastery with his magnificent train. All the walls of the convent were adorned with rich hangings, and the saloons had been transformed into refectories to receive the guests; they first ate the pascal lamb, half reclining in the ancient fashion: the festival then proceeded according to the usage of ordinary ceremonies.<sup>7</sup>

After the three days of Easter, the pope came to Paris to thank the king, and to ask permission from him to travel through France. This permission having been granted to him, he started immediately on his journey. He ransacked pitilessly the churches and monasteries, under the pretext that they ought to defray the expenses of his court, and his avidity threatened to ruin the southern provinces entirely; when, fortunately for the people, he was arrested in his exactions by the death of Philip, the eldest son of the king, who was killed by a fall from his horse, at the age of fourteen. The monarch wrote to the pontiff to retrace his steps immediately, to convene a general council at Rheims, and solemnly consecrate Louis, his second son.

Innocent obeyed the prince, and fixed the time of this assembly for the 18th of October in the same year. The assembly was composed of thirteen metropolitans, two hundred and sixty-three bishops, and a great number of French, English, German, and Spanish abbots, clergy, and monks. The pope first caused his own election to be approved by the council, and excommunicated Anaclæt; he then decreed seventeen canons of ecclesiastical discipline, which present nothing of importance. At the second session Louis entered the assembly, accompanied by his relative Ralph, count of Vermandois, and several other lords of his kingdom; he explained in a few words the sad accident which had snatched prince Philip from him, and besought the assembly to proceed to the coronation of his other son. The holy father replied to the prince, exhorting him to submit himself to the immutable will of the King of kings and Lord of lords, after which he gave the royal unction to Louis, the second son of the French monarch.

At the end of the ceremony, the archbishop of Magdeburg presented to the pontiff letters from Lothaire, in which that prince declared that he was disposed to invade Italy. Hugh, the metropolitan of Rouen, also produced letters of obedience from king Henry of England; and Spanish ambassadors came to offer like letters, written by the two sovereigns of the Iberian peninsula. Innocent received these marks of submission with feigned humility, and replied to the ambassadors of the different sovereigns that he was preparing to re-enter Italy to obey them.

Before, however, crossing the Alps, as he well knew the power of gold over the Roman clergy, he determined to make some fresh visits to the monasteries, to place them under contribution. For this purpose he went to Clairvaux, where he was received with great

respect by the monks who came to meet him poorly clad, and carrying a wooden cross. This ostentation of poverty discontented Innocent, and his deception was still greater when he saw the church without any ornaments; the saloons of the convent, the refectories, the dormitories, destitute of furniture, and when they told him that gold and silver were proscribed in that retreat. Black bread, milk, and herbs, were served up to the cardinals and the train of the pontiff, whilst some boiled fish, which were regarded by the good fathers as a very choice dish, were reserved for the holy father. Innocent did not sojourn long in the abbey; and on the same day he went to Cluny, and celebrated the festival of the purification of our Lady. On the next day, he confirmed the privileges of this monastery, particularly the immunity of the place which guaranteed it against the violences of the lords. He also granted to Saint Bernard, for the abbey of the Cîteaux, and in consideration of the services which the abbot had rendered him, a new charter in the following terms:—"We prohibit all Christians, under penalty of anathema, whatever their rank, from exacting, or even receiving from you and your brethren, dimes for the lands which you cultivate with your own hands, nor dimes for your beasts, declaring your congregation entirely freed from such servitude."

Before quitting France, Innocent imposed on all the clergy a kind of tribute, under the name of *cueillette*, for the pious work of the conquest of the apostolic throne. At last the holy father entered Lombardy by the mountains of Genoa, and came to Piacenza, where he convened in council the prelates of that province, whilst waiting the arrival of the troops of king Lothaire; the assembly confirmed the election of Innocent, and the prelates took the oath of fidelity and obedience to him. As soon as the pope was apprised that Lothaire had entered Italy, he pursued his route, entered Tuscany, and established himself at Pisa. By his exertions, the inhabitants of this city concluded a peace with the Genoese, and swore to submit to his decision in regard to the difficulties which had caused the war. Saint Bernard, who had followed the pontiff in his new journey, was the mediator of this treaty. He negotiated the peace with great skill, and determined Innocent to put an end for the future to any return of the difficulty, by erecting the city of Genoa into a metropolis, as was the city of Pisa, and to give the pallium to the bishop of Syrius, with three prelates of the island of Corsica as his suffragans.

Lothaire joined the pontiff at Pisa, accompanied by only two thousand horsemen. Notwithstanding the weakness of this army, they both decided to march on Rome, the one being impatient to seat himself in the chair of the apostle, the other to be crowned emperor. After a march of two days they encamped beneath the walls of the holy city, near to the church of St. Agnes, whither Thébald, the prefect, and some nobles, came to receive

them. Anaclet, fearing treason, retired with his partizans into the fortified houses of Rome, and abandoned the palace of the Lateran to his competitor, who immediately installed himself there. On the next day, Innocent proceeded to the consecration of the emperor Lothaire, and the empress Richilda, his wife; but he was constrained to perform this august ceremony within the church of the Saviour, because the anti-pope remained master of the church of St. Peter, and the greater part of the quarters of Rome.

Before receiving the crown, Lothaire swore, as usual, to preserve safe the life and limbs of the sovereign pontiff and his successors, to defend the Holy See, to maintain the pope in the enjoyment of the regalia of St. Peter, and to use all his power to re-establish him in the provinces which had risen against him. Innocent, on his side, engaged not to excommunicate the prince, and to surrender to him the usufruct of the domains of the countess Matilda, for himself, his daughter, and his son-in-law, Henry, duke of Bavaria. This deed is dated on the 8th of June, 1133.

Anaclet remained for some months confined in his towers, from whence they hurled darts and stones at the people of the emperor, without permitting their own to come to an engagement; he obstinately declined any conference with the prince, and would not listen to any proposition, tending to cause him to abandon his dignity. As Lothaire had not sufficient force to reduce the castle of San Angelo, and the other fortresses of the anti-pope, nor to engage King Roger, who was advancing with a numerous army, to deliver Anaclet, he was obliged to return towards Germany and abandon the holy father. The latter not being longer in safety in the holy city, after the departure of the prince, was obliged to return to Pisa, where he assembled a new council. His competitor, Anaclet, was anathematized for the fourth time, as were all his defenders, especially Roger, king of Sicily, whose kingdom was declared to be under interdict. The pope also excommunicated the Milanese, to punish them for having followed the party of Anaclet, and for having declared in favour of Conrad, the usurper of the crown of Italy. Such is the justice of princes! Lothaire had pardoned his rebellious subject and received him to his friendship; whilst the destruction of the unfortunate city, which had been led into rebellion, had been sworn. The Milanese having no other resource to save their city and their lives, than to submit to Pope Innocent, declared themselves subjects of St. Peter; they wrote to Saint Bernard to beseech him to become the mediator between them and the pontiff, and entreated him to come to Milan to take off the anathema pronounced against the city.

The holy abbot, in his reply, congratulated them on their return to the unity of the church, and the desire which they evinced to restore peace to their province; he excused himself for not being able to go immediately to them, and assured them he would come as soon as

possible. In fact, when all the proceedings of the council of Pisa had been expedited into different kingdoms of the East and West, Saint Bernard went to Milan, accompanied by Guy, bishop of Pisa, and Mathew the prelate of Albano, to give to the inhabitants absolution from the anathema they had incurred. This ceremony was celebrated with great solemnity, and all the people took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the sovereign pontiff.

During the following year, (1135), Lothaire returned into Italy at the instigation of Innocent, to confer with him on the means to be employed to extirpate the party of Anaclet, and especially to detach King Roger from his alliance with the anti-pope. They consulted on this important matter with Saint Bernard, who was the pillar of the church, and who possessed the art of causing strange paradoxes to be admitted as incontestable truths. The latter engaged to write a circular letter to the schismatics, and to bring over the largest part of the partizans of Anaclet to the holy father. All these intrigues met with no great success, but it was the absolute want of money which led to the ruin of the anti-pope. His court became deserted; his festivals were no longer resplendent as in the first days of his power: his servants badly clothed, appeared emblebled by forced abstinences, and the sad state of his dwelling announced his approaching fall.

Innocent, informed by his spies of the penury of his enemy, resolved to march a second time on Rome, and was preceded by the son-in-law of the emperor, who commanded three thousand horsemen. On his way, the pope carried by assault the cities of Albano and Beneventum, seized even on the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, and obliged the ecclesiastics, lords, monks, and people of that province, to take the oath of obedience to him.

Whilst the pontiff was conquering Campania, the emperor was chasing Roger from Apulia and Calabria. Innocent rejoined him with his army in the city of Bari, where the ambassadors of John Comnenus, emperor of the East, who had been sent to the camp of Lothaire, to congratulate him on his victory over the king of Sicily, waited for him. Unfortunately for the holy father, there was among them an audacious monk, who publicly censured the conduct of Innocent, and cast discredit on his court. In his preaching he maintained, that the pope was a Pagan Emperor, and not a Christian bishop, and affirmed that the Roman clergy was heretical.

Bernard endeavoured, uselessly, to strive with the monk; the latter turned on the holy abbot himself, and demanded from him for what motive he had abandoned his convent, instead of consecrating himself solely to prayer, and a renunciation of the world, to live in solitude as he had vowed; he reproached him for living in camps, in the midst of combats and disorders; he accused him of prevarication, adultery, and sodomy. "What then, false monk," said he, "darest thou defend this pope, whose hands, armed with the



sword, are red each day with the blood of his brethren? and, instead of anathematising such a wretch who wishes to usurp the Holy See, thou art the first to rise up to shield his infamies by that sacrilegious falsehood . . ." Several historians affirm, that the emperor, alarmed by the declamations of the Greek monk, had resolved to abandon the side of the pontiff to embrace that of his competitor, but he was suddenly seized by an unknown malady, which carried him off in two days; he died in a cottage near the city of Trent, on the night of the 3d and 4th of December, 1137.

When this was known, Roger re-assembled in haste a new army, invaded Apulia a second time, carried fire and blood every where, sacked the cities, pillaged the churches, and put the inhabitants of Capua to the edge of the sword. He then marched on Beneventum, which submitted and recognised the anti-pope anew. But Anaclet had not the satisfaction of seeing his triumph; for whilst his protector was advancing on Rome by forced marches, he died of poison. He was secretly interred by his friends, who feared lest Innocent should pursue his vengeance on the dead body of his victim.

Arnulph represents the anti-pope as an infamous man, who was soiled by the greatest crimes; he accuses him of all kinds of excesses and debaucheries, and even of incest with his sister, the wife of Roger. After his death, the schismatics, by the orders of the king of Sicily, chose the cardinal Gregory as sovereign pontiff; but they soon renounced their schism to avoid the fate of the unfortunate Anaclet, and made their submission to Innocent, who received them graciously, and loaded them with presents. The new anti-pope, abandoned on all sides, in his turn left the camp of Roger during the night, and came to seek Saint Bernard to beseech him to obtain his pardon; the abbot conducted him immediately to the palace of Innocent, who pardoned the past and re-instated him in his old dignity.

Thus terminated the schism on the 29th of May, 1138; the strife between the popes had lasted eight years; it had filled Italy with blood, ruined France, and carried off from Germany the elite of its people. Innocent was at last victorious over his enemies and absolute master in Rome.

His first care was to convene a general council, at which more than a thousand bishops were present. In this assembly Rome was declared to be the capital of the world, and the pontiff the supreme dispenser of ecclesiastical dignities. The canons of the council of Rheims were confirmed, and particularly the one against tournaments; the ordinations made by the anti-pope Anaclet, were declared null, and the pope terminated the session by a terrible sentence of excommunication against King Roger and all his partizans.

After the termination of the synod, Innocent assembled some troops and marched against his enemy, whom he met at the foot

of Monte Cassino. Both parties sent deputies to propose a treaty of alliance, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, but as the negotiations were long drawn out, the son of the king, at the head of a thousand horse, made a skillful counter-march, took the army of the pope in flank and made him prisoner.

Roger treated the holy father with the greatest respect, and proposed to him peace in exchange for his liberty; the latter not daring to refuse any thing to his conqueror, invested him by the standard with the kingdom of Sicily, gave Apulia to his eldest son, and the principality of Capua to the younger. The two princes took the oath of fidelity and obedience to him on their knees, as was the custom. Innocent then received permission to go to Beneventum, where he was received as if he had been St. Peter himself; he at length re-entered Rome on the 6th of September, 1139.

It is believed that it was during this year that Leo Stypiot, the patriarch of Constantinople, condemned in a council the heretical work Chrysomalus, at the entreaty of John Comnenus, who wished by this step to restore the unity of the Eastern and Western churches. But the Greeks persisted none the less in their hatred to the Latins, and the emperor found himself, notwithstanding his opposition to it, dragged into a war with the Christians of the West.

Several historians place at this time the new interdict, which was lanced against the kingdom of France, on the occasion of the election of Peter of Chartres, archbishop of Bourges, who was consecrated by the pope without waiting for the consent of Louis the Young. The king, irritated at the audacious prelate, sent troops into Berry, ravaged the province, destroyed the cities, and compelled Peter of Chartres to take refuge with Thebald, count of Champagne. The intrepid archbishop, in his turn, raised troops, placed himself at their head, gave battle to the army of the king and re-conquered his metropolis. Louis the Young threatened to invade Berry a second time with new armies; Peter of Chartres wrote to Rome, and claimed the aid of the Vatican. Louis was deposed and excommunicated by the authority of St. Peter, and the kingdom of France placed under interdict. In that age, the consequences of an anathema were terrible to kings, and Louis hastened to recognise the archbishop of Bourges, that the holy father should take off the sentence of excommunication.

In Italy, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, commenced preaching on the effeminate lives of the priests and the disorders of the monks. This bold man, the precursor of reform, spoke strongly against the ecclesiastical debaucheries; he reproached them with their sordid avarice, their unrestrained love of grandeur, their hypocrisy, and their lubricity; at last, by his eloquence, he raised a powerful party against the clergy. The holy father endeavoured, but in vain, to annihilate him with the thunders of the Vatican; but his doctrines had touched men's minds, and they

spread through all the cities with incredible rapidity. Rome especially, divided between the two parties of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, embraced with ardour the doctrines of the excommunicated; the citizens rose against the pope, assembled in the capitol and re-established the ancient institution of the senate, which had been abolished for some centuries.

Innocent was so chagrined at not having been able to arrest the effects of a revolution which struck so severe a blow against the pontifical authority, that he was attacked by a dangerous sickness, to which he succumbed on the 24th of September, 1143. He was interred in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

## CELESTINE THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1144.]

*Election of Celestine—Letter of the pope to Peter, abbot of Cluny—Reply of the monk—Death of Celestine after a pontificate of five months.*

On the very day of the death of Innocent, the Guelphs, the partizans of the popes, and the Ghibelines, the supporters of the emperor, disputed for the right of choosing a new pontiff; but during their discussions, the people and principal magistrates of Rome elevated Guy of Castel to the pontifical throne, and proclaimed him by the name of Celestine the Second.

As soon as he was installed on the throne of St. Peter, the new pope addressed a letter to Peter, abbot of Cluny, with whom he was on terms of friendship; he informed him that his election had taken place in the church of St. John the Lateran, amidst the acclamations of the clergy and people; and that he had only accepted the chief dignity in the church to reform the disorders of the Italian ecclesiastics and monks. Peter, in his reply, encourages the holy father to repress with severity the licentiousness of the priests, and bestows great eulogiums on Arnold of Brescia; he finishes his letter by announcing to the pontiff that he will undertake the journey to Rome to renew their former friendship. But he could not realize this plan, for the pope Celestine died on the 9th of March, 1144, after a reign of five months and a half; he was buried in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

Some months before the death of Celestine,

the patriarch Michael Oritus renewed in the east the persecution against the Bagomiles, who had been already proceeded against, during the reign of the emperor Alexis Comnenus. Their doctrine taught that the oldest son of God, named Satanael, having revolted against his father, had drawn very many angels into rebellion; that having been exiled to the earth for this crime, he had created all things visible, and deceived Moses by giving him the old law; that God the Father had afterwards engendered a second son called Jesus Christ, who came to destroy the power of Satanael, and to shut him up in the abyesses of hell, taking from his name the angelic syllable, so that he was now called Satanas. According to the Bagomiles, the incarnation of the Word, his life upon earth, his predictions, his passover, his death, his resurrection, were but deceitful appearances, and they regarded it as a folly to make them religious dogmas.

Michael found that the most expeditious mode of arresting the progress of the heresy, was to hand over the monk Nippon, the head of the doctrine, to punishment. By his orders they tore from the poor monk, one by one, all the hairs of a magnificent beard, which fell even to his sandals; they put him to torture, plucked out his eyes, and then made him mount the scaffold.

## LUCIUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1144.]

*Election of Lucius the Second—His history before his pontificate—Truce with King Roger—Differences between the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Dol—The primacy of Toledo—Consequence of a revolt of the Romans against the papacy—The citizens seize on the revenues of the city—Letters from the pope and the seditious to the Emperor Conrad—He listens favourably to the envoys of the pontiff—Lucius places himself at the head of his troops, and besieges the Roman senators in the capitol—He is slain by a stone in the mêlée.*

On the day succeeding the death of Celestine, the cardinals and nobles of the Guelph faction, having secretly assembled in the palace of the Lateran, chose, without the participation of the clergy and people, Gerard, a cardinal priest of the order of the holy cross, as sovereign pontiff, and consecrated him by the name of Lucius the Second.

This pontiff was from Bologna, and had been destined to the ecclesiastical state from his infancy. Honorius had brought him to Rome, on the recommendation of one of his relatives, and made him a cardinal and librarian of the church. Gerard afterwards reconstructed the church of his order, augmented its revenues by extortions, and founded there a community of regular canons. Innocent the Second, who knew his skill, created him chancellor after the death of Aimeri; he afterwards made him chamberlain, and confided to him the guardianship of the treasury of St. Peter.

Instead of seeking by prudent conduct to cause his fraudulent election to be forgotten, he showed himself to be proud, avaricious, vindictive, and sought to re-establish the pontifical despotism in Rome. Before, however, entering upon an open contest with the people, he judged it prudent to assure himself of the protection of the emperor, and the other princes of Italy. He first concluded a truce with Roger, king of Sicily, whom he induced, by the payment of an enormous tribute, to send him the aid of the royal troops to subjugate the Romans to his odious tyranny; he then sent ambassadors to the kings of France, England and Germany, to implore their aid.

Whilst his legates were on their way to the different courts of Europe, the holy father appeared to be entirely occupied in restoring harmony between the prelates of Gaul and Spain. He terminated the differences which had existed since the pontificate of Urban the Second, between the Sees of Tours and Dol, in relation to the jurisdiction of the bishoprics of Brittany, which Hugh, the metropolitan of Tours, had always claimed, by virtue of the ordinance of Pope Urban, without being able to obtain it. Innocent the Second had given, some time before, to Geoffrey the prelate of Chartres, his legate, full powers to settle it: but the death of the pontiff having prevented the matter from being definitely arranged, the bishop of Dol obtained a new reference to the

Holy See, to have a definite judgment pronounced. Lucius published the following decree on this subject: "We have examined in council the title of the metropolitan of Tours, and particularly the bull of our predecessor Urban; and after having advised with our bishops, cardinals, abbots and lords, we have invested, by the episcopal baton, the archbishop Hugh, with the right of absolute jurisdiction over all the prelates of the province of Brittany. We, however, declare that our brother Geoffrey, chief of the clergy of Dol, shall, so long as God shall spare his life, govern his diocese, without being responsible to any other authority than that of the Holy See; and we send him the pallium in recompense for the obedience he has always shown. Done at the palace of the Lateran, on the 13th of May, 1144."

Lucius rendered a second judgment in favour of the metropolitan Raymond of Toledo, to whom he accorded the primacy over all Spain, and the churches which had lost their prelates in consequence of the invasion of the Saracens. In the same session he received from the archbishop the deed by which Alphonso, Duke of Portugal, agreed to pay to the court of Rome an annual tribute of four pounds weight of gold, in exchange for the title of king.

But, if foreigners appeared submissive to the Holy See, such was not the case with the Romans, who showed themselves each day more hostile to the papacy. At last the preaching of Arnold of Brescia excited their spirit. A new revolution broke out; the people assembled in arms, declaring themselves to be independent of the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, and appointed a patrician to govern Rome. This eminent dignity was bestowed on Jourdain, the son of Peter de Leo. All the citizens took an oath of fidelity to him, as if he had been absolute sovereign, and in the same manner that their ancestors had done to Charlemagne and Otto the Great. The senate then went in a body to the palace of the Lateran, and reclaimed from Lucius all the regal rights on which the popes had seized; and declared to him, that in future he must content himself for his support with the offerings of the faithful, as the gospel commanded, and the bishops of Rome had practised for more than six centuries. Jourdain also seized the revenues of the city, appointed officers to re-

place the creatures of the pope, and administered justice in the name of the citizens.

The holy father and his cardinals wished to oppose these dangerous innovations. As they were destitute of force, they were constrained to yield to the wishes of the people. Lucius sent new legates to the emperor Conrad, with letters filled with flatteries and falsehoods, in order to induce that prince to come to the aid of the Roman church. The senate, on their side, informed of the secret measures of the pope, sent ambassadors to the court of Germany, with letters written by the principal Ghibelines. "We are desirous," said the senators to the prince, "to re-establish the Roman empire, as in the days of Constantine and Justinian, that it may be worthy to have you for its supreme chief. We have taken by force the fortified houses and towers of the lords who refuse to recognise your authority. Some have been razed: the most important are still standing, and ready to receive your troops. We beseech you to establish your residence in our city, because you will be able to rule with an absolute authority over all Italy; and you will be able to chastise the insolence of the priests, who have so often turned your kingdom upside down. Finally, we consider it our duty to inform you, that Lucius has made a treaty with Roger, king of Sicily; that he has given to him the baton and the pastoral ring, the dalmatics, the tiara, and the sandals; and the right to be no longer dependent on the Holy See in ecclesiastical affairs."

Conrad the Devout refused to admit the deputies of the Romans into his presence, and gave no reply to the letter they had sent him. On the other hand, he received the legates of the pope with great honour; among whom were Guy of Pisa, the cardinal-chancellor, the most consummate statesman of the age. Guy obtained from the emperor an assurance of his protection, and permission to levy a numerous army for the defence of the church.

But their minds were in such a state of exasperation at Rome, that the pope, excited by

the Guelphs, did not even wait the return of his envoys. He hastily assembled some troops, placed himself at their head, and went to attack the senate in the capitol. It is related, that Lucius, axe in hand, himself struck the gates of that edifice to break them, and that they were already shaking beneath his blows, when he fell, struck by a stone in the forehead. He died on the next day, the 3d of February, 1145, after a pontificate of about a year.

During his pontificate, appeared a very remarkable work, by Peter of Cluny, the celebrated friend of Celestine the Second. It was divided into two parts: the first was a refutation of the errors of Mohammed; the second was composed of the statutes for the government of the convents of his order, whose discipline was very much relaxed, if we are to judge by the statutes themselves. The following are some of them:

"The monks of Cluny are prohibited from eating water-fowl and wild ducks on Fridays, under the plea that these birds are aquatic. They are prohibited, after the evening repast, from using hypocras, that is, wine mixed with sugar, honey, and spices. They are prohibited from making more than three repasts a day; from wearing ornaments and precious stuffs; from having more than two domestics; and from remaining in the parlors with young women during the hours of night. They are prohibited from playing for gold, raising monks, and retiring to the cells with the novices under the pretext of instructing them to pray. They are prohibited from receiving young monks, without the special authority of the abbot, because it might fill the abbey with vagabonds and infamous debauchees.

"The abbots should endeavour to re-establish manual labour, as soon as possible; because it is deplorable to see to what extent idleness prevails in the cloisters. These residences, which the pious Saint Benedict reared to moralise Christian society, have abandoned the holy mission of their founder, and become the dwelling of corruption and infamy. . . ."

## EUGENIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1145.]

*Election of Eugenius—Arnold of Brescia again returns to Rome—He induces the Romans to revolt in the name of liberty—The pope escapes from the holy city—He then takes refuge at Viterbo—Deputation from the bishops of Armenia—Second crusade—The pope returns to Rome—He escapes again and takes refuge in France—Combat between the officers of the pope and the canons of St. Genevieve—Ill success of the crusade—Council of Paris against Gilbert of Poree—Condemnation of Eon de l'Etoile—The king of Castile accuses the pope of having sold the title of king of Portugal to Henriquez Alphonso—Journey of Eugenius to the abbey of Clairvaux—Treaty between the emperor and the pope—New dissension between the two sovereigns—Jourdain of Ursini is sent into Germany as legate—Origin of archbishopsrics in Ireland—Death of Eugenius.*

AFTER the tragical end of Lucius the second, the patrician Jourdain, the senate and the people, met to choose a pope favourable to the new revolution. But the cardinals had already secretly assembled in the convent of St. Caesar, and proclaimed the abbot, Peter

Bernard, sovereign pontiff, by the name of Eugenius the Third. This monk, born at Pisa, had been at first vidame of the cathedral of that city; he then took the monastic habit at Clairvaux, under the direction of Saint Bernard. Afterwards, Atenuiph, abbot of Farsa in Italy, having asked from the saint for some monks to found a community of the order of the Citeaux, Bernard of Pisa was sent to him, with several French monks. Pope Innocent brought them to Rome and gave them the church and abbey of Saint Athanasius.

Bernard had been for several years the abbot of his convent, when they came after him to conduct him to the palace of the Lateran. The cardinals and bishops, desirous of accomplishing the ceremony of the consecration, had already made all their preparations in the church of the apostle, when a deputation from the senate came to summon them to break off an election which had been made without their consent, and to choose, in conjunction with them, a pope who would take an oath to obey the laws, and maintain the new constitution. The cardinals asked for time until the next day to give their reply, but during the night they escaped from Rome with the pontiff, and took refuge in the fortress of Monticello.

On the next day, Eugenius was conducted by them to the monastery of Farsa, where he was consecrated on the following Sunday, the 28th of February, 1145. After the ceremony, he returned to the holy city, determined to strive against the partizans of popular liberty, and to employ force to subjugate the Romans to the yoke of the Holy See; but he found, that during his absence a redoubtable adversary had introduced himself into the place. It was the famous Arnold of Breecia, who had come to Rome a second time, to defend the interests of the people.

This intrepid reformer preached in the streets, in the public places, and exhorted the citizens in the name of the ancient republic, to reconquer the liberties which had rendered their fathers the masters of the world. He adjured the people to break the debasing yoke of popes and priests; he loudly announced that the time was come in which ecclesiastics and monks should really renounce the world to be engaged in the things of God, and that if they refused to follow the precepts of the gospel they should be constrained to do so. His eloquent discourses animated their minds; the Romans ran to arms, attacked the palace of the Lateran, and were on the very point of forcing the pontifical residence, when they learned that Eugenius had escaped beyond the walls by a secret outlet, and had reached Viterba in the disguise of a pilgrim. The populace then turned their rage towards the supporters of the tyranny; the palaces of the cardinals, bishops and nobles, who had declared in favour of absolutism, were pillaged, burned, and sacked. The crowd then went, armed with lances and clubs, to the church of St.

Peter; the offerings of pilgrims, which were destined for the pope, were distributed to the poor, and the priests, who wished to resist this act of justice, pitilessly massacred.

Calm succeeded this first outbreak; a new oath of fidelity was taken to the patrician by the senate and the magistrates; all with one accord, decided that they would repel by force princes or kings who should again pretend to subjugate them to an infamous theocracy, which, for eleven centuries and a half had soiled Rome by its incests and assassinations.

Whilst the people, by a return of energy, were re-establishing their old freedom, Eugenius was holding his court with his cardinals at Viterba, and receiving an embassy from the patriarch of Armenia. The clergy of that country sent to consult the Holy See, in regard to several points of ecclesiastical discipline, and as to several ceremonies in their ritual, which differed from those of the Greek church. The pope received the deputies with great honours; he even celebrated a solemn mass at their desire, and caused them to be placed in the sanctuary, that they might observe all the details in the performance of divine service. A legend relates that God exhibited his power on this occasion, and permitted one of the ambassadors to see, at the moment of the elevation of the host, a luminous aureole behind the head of the pontiff, and two doves at his side—an incontestible proof, adds the pious legendary, of the infallibility of the Holy See and the holiness of Eugenius!!

Otho, prelate of Frisingen, who relates the same fact, was then at Viterba, and pretends that he spoke to the ecclesiastic for whom God had accomplished this miracle. In his work he gives an account of the interviews he had on this subject with Hugh, bishop of Gabale, in Syria, one of those who had laboured the hardest to reduce Antioch to the See of Rome; he also repeats the complaint of the prelate against his patriarch and the mother of the prince of Antioch, who refused a dime of the spoils taken from the Saracens.

Hugh informed the Holy See of the pleasant news, that a Nestorian prince, called priest John, celebrated for his bravery and his victories over the Persians, was coming to the aid of the church of Jerusalem. The pious bishop shed floods of tears whilst relating the miseries of the Christians of the East, and of the cruelties which the infidel practised against them; he besought the pope to promise him to cross the Alps, to implore the assistance of the kings of Germany and France. But it was not necessary to excite the fanaticism of the French for the Holy Land; king Louis had already held a general assembly of the clergy and nobility of his kingdom, and declared that he desired to undertake a crusade in person, to blot out from the eyes of God, the massacre of the inhabitants of Vitry, in Pertois, and the horrid cruelty he had shown in burning alive the unfortunate persons who had taken refuge in the church of that city.

Eugenius received the deputies of the king with great honour, and sent them back laden with presents for their master; he gave them also a bull for the French nation, by which the holy father commanded the people, in the name of the apostle, to take up arms in defence of the church, and follow their lords in the holy enterprise of the crusades. He accorded plenary indulgences for all past and future crimes, to those who should obey his orders; he placed their wives, children, and property under the protection of the Holy See, and gave them permission to mortgage their fiefs to the churches, to raise the money necessary for their journey. At the same time he addressed an apostolic brief to Saint Bernard, ordering him to preach the crusade in France and Germany, and to engage the people, kings, and lords, to take the cross for the remission of their sins. The eloquence of the abbot brought out one hundred and fifty thousand fanatics, who sold their property to go to Asia, to perish by famine, pestilence, or the sword of the Mussulmen.

Haimant relates, that the words of Saint Bernard were heard as orders from Heaven. "It appears," added he, "as if this extraordinary man had received from God, power to govern the mind; he was seen to sally from his desert to appear in courts without mission, without title. The simple monk of Clairvaux was more powerful with the king than the abbot Suger, the first minister of France, and he preserved over pope Eugenius, who had been his disciple, an incomprehensible ascendancy. Saint Bernard was not, however, as skilful a politician as he was a great orator . . ."

Whilst the crusaders were rising at the voice of Bernard, the pope was dreaming of annihilating the followers of Arnold of Brescia; for this purpose he levied numerous troops, made a treaty with the Tiburtines, the declared enemies of Rome, and went in person to besiege the apostolical city. The unfortunate inhabitants, soon reduced to the last extremity, were constrained to implore the clemency of the holy father, and engaged to abolish the patriciate, to re-establish a prefect of his choice, and to recognise that the senators only held their authority from the pontiff. Not content with having reduced them beneath his sway, Eugenius exacted that the people should come to meet him, carrying branches, and that the senators should prostrate themselves at his feet and kiss his sandals. He then made his entrance by the gate of St. Peter; but as he feared some attempt at assassination, he shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

His sojourn in the holy city was not of long duration; the faction of Arnold having regained its strength, obliged him once more to leave Rome, and even quit Italy.

Whilst the pope was flying disgracefully, and coming to seek an asylum in France, Louis the Seventh was assembling a parliament in Burgundy, to have Ralph of Vermandois, his brother-in-law, and the abbot Suger,

recognised as the regents of the kingdom in his absence. On this occasion Saint Bernard delivered a very remarkable discourse to obtain mercy for the Jews of France and Bavaria, whose general massacre had been resolved upon, in order to draw down the blessing of God on the Christians. Then the king, his wife Eleonora, and a great number of lords and nobles, received the cross at the hands of the abbot of Clairvaux.

This crusade resulted deplorably, especially for the emperor Conrad, and the army which he led into the holy land. Notwithstanding the prophecies of Saint Bernard, who had announced victories and conquests to the crusaders, almost all perished on the way, and those who returned from Palestine found their property seized by the clergy.

"This war," says the historian Fra Paolo, "was only advantageous to the pope, who employed the troops which went to Jerusalem in the conquest of provinces adjoining the Roman church. Besides, the large sums of money which were wrested from the superstition of the faithful, and chiefly from women and other persons who could not go to combat in the holy land, were not scrupulously employed in the crusade; the pope, the bishops, and the princes, adjudging the greater part to themselves."

Before the departure of the Christians for Syria, Eugenius held a general council at Treves, where the works of Saint Hildegard were examined. All the fathers of the council were astonished at the wisdom exhibited in the writings of this young nun, and addressed a letter to her to urge her to publish all that the Holy Spirit had revealed to her in its divine inspirations. In the same assembly, Henry, abbot of Fulda, having been convicted of having abandoned the care of his church to secular persons, in order to abandon himself to mundane pleasures, was deposed and anathematized. After the termination of the synod, the holy father went to Paris, where he was received with great honour by Louis and bishop Thibald; both went to meet him, and conducted him to the church of Notre Dame, where he celebrated divine service, and blessed the standard which was to be borne in Palestine.

Eugenius also celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Genevieve, in presence of the king and his court. During the ceremony a very strange event took place; the officers of the church had laid upon the steps of the altar a magnificent cloth of silk, bordered with gold and silver, which excited the covetousness of the holy father. After the first prayer, he prostrated himself on the carpet, which, according to the custom of the court of Rome, was taking possession of it; he then went to the sacristy to clothe himself in the pontifical ornaments. The Italian priests immediately approached the altar, and seized on the carpet which had been used by the pope; the canons perceiving the intentions of these ecclesiastical strangers, precipitated themselves upon them to wrest it from their hands;

the latter resisted, a struggle took place between the French and the Romans, and they beat each other with candles and candelabras; at length the canons succeeded in rescuing their magnificent carpet, but all in strips. The officers of the pope, beaten and humiliated, took refuge in the sacristy, and showed to the holy father their torn garments and bloody faces. Eugenius re-entered the church, and imperiously demanded justice for the insult to his officers. The bigot king decided that the canons should be driven from St. Genevieve, and that their church, with its dependencies, should be given to the black monks, that is, to the monks of Cluny. Louis confided the execution of this order to the abbot Suger, and made preparations for his departure to the Holy Land.

The emperor Conrad had already set out for Palestine with a formidable army of seventy thousand men. The king of France commanded several bodies, which amounted to more than eighty thousand men, he was also followed by a guard of honour, which served as an escort for the queen, his wife. After a march of three months, the two princes arrived at Constantinople, where they found immense magazines of provisions prepared for them by the care of Manuel Comnenus, and all things necessary to transport them into Asia. But they found a great change as soon as they had crossed the Hellespont; the wary Comnenus was desirous of the aid of the crusaders, but his policy prevented him from rendering them too powerful, and he laboured to disorganize their armies; now by delaying to send provisions, now by poisoning the flour with gypsum and lime, now by giving them infidel guides, who delivered up entire bodies to the steel of the Mussulmen. The army commanded by Conrad was almost entirely exterminated, and he himself obliged to fly and go to Ephesus to the king of France. The troops of Louis soon underwent the same fate; they were cut to pieces by the infidel, and the two princes disgracefully escaped, abandoning their soldiers in distant countries. Conrad returned to Constantinople, from whence he went to Germany. Louis disembarked in Calabria, and returned to France.

Such was the result of this expedition which had been announced by prophecies and miracles. Saint Bernard lost much of his consideration, and was accused by the people of imposture and knavery. "This great saint," says Maimburg, "replied that his predictions would have been realised, if the abominable sins of the Christians had not excited the wrath of Jesus Christ, and hindered the effect of his promises. He made it appear that the crusaders had been soiled by abominations more frightful than those of the children of Israel. These facts are true, but with like reasoning," adds Maimburg, "it would be easy for all impostors to explain their false prophecies which did not come to pass."

Whilst the armies of the crusaders were wetting with their blood the sands of Palestine, the holy father was holding ecclesiastical

assemblies in France to judge the heresies of Gilbert de la Poree, one of the most learned men of the day. The accused appeared before a council of French bishops, among whom was Bernard, who had been appointed the prosecutor by virtue of his office. Bayle affirms, that the holy abbot had himself solicited the employment, not from zeal for religion, but from a base motive of jealousy of the reformers of that age. Two doctors of theology were produced against Gilbert: Adam du Petit-Pont, a canon of the church of Paris, and Hugh of Champ-Fleury, the chancellor of the king. Both affirmed that they had heard the accused offer propositions contrary to the discipline of the church; for example: "that the divine essence was not God himself; that the properties of the persons of the Holy Trinity were not the persons themselves; finally, that the divine nature could not become incarnate, and that the person of the Son had alone been made human." Gilbert denied formally having ever said that the divinity was not God; and he produced in testimony of the truth of his assertions, two of his disciples—Ralph, bishop of Evreux, who afterwards became the metropolitan of Rouen, and the doctor Ives de Chartres. Eugenius found it impossible to render a judgment on account of the diversity of the depositions, and he was obliged to refer the decision of this important matter to the general council which had been convened at Rheims for the following year. In the mean time, he sent Alberic, bishop of Ostia, as his legate into the countship of Toulouse, with orders to pursue the monk Henry, a disciple of Peter de Bruya, a heretic who had been burned some time before at St. Gilles by order of the pope.

This intrepid monk continued to teach the precepts of his master without being alarmed by dread of the scaffold. He preached openly against the pontiff, urging the faithful to withdraw from obedience to him, and to restrain his authority within the limits of the diocese of Rome. Eugenius, fearful of the consequences of these pernicious doctrines, which threatened his temporal power and his spiritual infallibility, authorised the legate Alberic to employ all the resources which he had at his disposal to annihilate the heretics to the last man. He ordered him to use sword, fire, and poison; to pursue and follow them every where like wild beasts; and to give to this mission a character of solemnity, he sent Geoffrey of Chartres, and St. Bernard to accompany his legate.

Among the cities infected by the heresy of Peter de Bruya, Alby was especially distinguished for its hatred of the pontifical tyranny which gave to all this sect the denomination of Albigenes; thus it was towards this city that the legate of the pontiff and his associates directed their steps. They entered Alby towards the end of the month of June. The people, who had been informed of the object of their journey, came to meet them with tambours, flutes, and kitchen utensils, and accompanied them even to the bishop's resi-

dence in the midst of shouts and the discordant noise of their instruments. The legates, furious at this reception, resolved to take vengeance for it. On the following day they caused those who had been pointed out by the priests of the country to be arrested, and compelled them, by frightful tortures, to denounce the other heretics, and abjure their belief.

Notwithstanding the severity which they displayed in their punishments, the legates could only obtain a small number of conversions; and as the exasperation of the people continued to increase, they were obliged to leave the south of France without having finished their mission. St. Bernard returned with his colleagues to Rheims, whither had already come more than twelve hundred prelates from all parts of France, to assist at the council convened by the holy father. They were first engaged with the heretic Eon de l'Etoile, a Breton gentleman, who was grossly ignorant, and whose mind was wandering. This poor insensate believed himself to be the Son of God, on account of the resemblance of his name with the word Eum, by virtue of these words: "Per eum qui venturus est;" and, in his folly, committed extravagancies which the crowd took for miracles. He had been soon surrounded by a large number of disciples, who had defended him against the attempts to arrest him made by several lords; the archbishop of Rheims had at last arrested him, by drawing him into a snare, under the pretext that he was a convert to his doctrine. The pope himself interrogated him; and though he could only obtain replies which were so many proofs of his madness, he condemned him to be burned alive. This sentence was, however, moderated at the solicitation of the archbishop of Rheims, who obtained permission that the unfortunate man, who was confined to his keeping, should be confined in a cloister for the rest of his life, and submitted to a rigorous fast. The abbot Suger, who was charged with the execution of the order, sent him to a convent of his order, and the fasting clause was so barbarously observed, that the unfortunate Eon died of famine in his dungeon after three months of agony. His disciples were all delivered over to the executioner, and burned alive in expiation of their folly.

The council then passed on to other matters; they decreed several canons to arrest the debauchery of the priests, monks, and nuns; they reformed some abuses of simony, and finally examined the heresy of Gilbert de la Poree. A commission, composed of the bishops Geoffrey of Leroux, Milan, Jocelyn, and Suger, to whom St. Bernard and several cardinals were joined, were charged to write out a report of it before the pontiff, and to interrogate the accused.

At the first session, Gilbert brought in a great number of the works of the fathers, in order to read entire passages which his adversaries only cited in detached extracts, so as to force the sense of the propositions. The

holy father, fatigued with listening to these long dissertations, apostrophised him sharply, and ordered him to say briefly whether he believed the divine essence was God. "No," replied Gilbert. "We then hold him for an heretic," exclaimed St. Bernard. "Let his avowal be written down." Henry of Pism, who filled the post of secretary of the council, was about to obey this order, when Gilbert turned towards Bernard, and said, regarding him with indignation, "Write also, monk of Clairvaux, that the divinity is God." The abbot, unmoved, continued his address to Henry: "Secretary, leave your pen and paper, and write with iron and the diamond, that the divine essence, its form, goodness, wisdom, power, all in fine, is really God." This bold proposition scandalized the cardinals, and produced a long discussion. At length St. Bernard, conquered by the arguments of the Roman prelates, and particularly by the dialectics of Henry, terminated the discussion by saying, "Well, if the form of God is not the divinity, it is more than it, since it derives its essence from itself."—The cardinals immediately broke up the sitting, declaring that they were sufficiently informed on the matter, and that they would retire to deliberate before pronouncing judgment. They then left the hall, and the pope adjourned the council for three days.

Saint Bernard, who foresaw a check, intrigued with the French bishops, and on the following day assembled in his residence ten metropolitans, with a great number of abbots, bishops, and doctors of the Gallican church, in order to decide with them as to what it was necessary to do to alarm the cardinals and constrain them to condemn the doctrines of Gilbert. It was agreed among them, that they should send the cardinals a creed at the end of the articles consecrated by the French prelates, and the tenor of it was reduced to these strange terms: "We believe that the simple nature of the divinity is God, and that God is the divinity; we also believe that God is wise by wisdom, which is himself; that he is great by greatness, which is himself; that he is good by goodness, which is himself, etc. . . . When we speak of three divine persons, we say that they are one God and one divine substance; on the other hand, when we speak of the divine substance, we say it is in three persons, and thus of the rest. . . . We affirm that God alone is eternal, and that there exists nothing else, whatever may be its denomination, that can be eternal without being God. . . . Finally, we firmly believe that the divinity itself, or the divine nature, is incarnate in Christ."

Three deputies, Hugh of Auxerre, Milon of Terouanne, and the abbot Suger, were instructed to present this creed to the pope, and when they had been admitted to his presence they made this harangue: "We have permitted from respect to you, most holy father, discourses which we ought not to hear, when we brought the tribute of our intelligence to the decision which was to be taken on the heresy



of Gilbert. But since you have preserved for yourself and cardinals the right of pronouncing on this question, we bring you our profession of faith, that you may compare it with that of the heretic, so that you may not judge without hearing both parties. There exists, however, a difference between the conduct of the accused and ours; Gilbert has declared that he was ready to correct in his profession of faith that which was not in conformity with your sentiments; we, on the other hand, protest to you, that we will persevere for ever in the creed which we deposit in writing at your feet."

Eugenius, desiring to avoid a scandal, replied to the delegates, that the Roman church partook of the belief of the Gallican; that it condemned like it the doctrines of Gilbert de la Poree, and that the interest manifested by the cardinals was only for the person of that bishop, who was commendable for his merit. On the day appointed the council re-assembled in the palace called Tan, on account of its form representing the letter T; Gilbert was interrogated by the pope himself upon different points of his doctrine. At each incriminated article the accused replied: "Holy father, if you have any other opinion on this proposition, I submit to your wisdom; if, on the other hand, you speak or write in its favour, I will do as you." On this, the assembly declared that it could not find one so doctile as a schismatic, and contented itself with lacerating the writings accused of heresy. They prohibited their being read, but they pronounced no censure against the author.

In the same council Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, came in the name of Alphonso the Eighth, the sovereign of Castile, to accuse pope Eugenius of having sold to Alphonso Henriquez, the count of Portugal, the title of king, for an annual payment of four pounds weight of gold; he also complained of the metropolitan of Braga, who had insolently refused to recognise the primacy of Toledo, since the countship of Portugal had been erected into a kingdom. "Thus," added he, "for a little gold has your pope of Satan destroyed the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy of Spain, and our misfortunes call down the vengeance of God upon his head."

Eugenius rose, pale and trembling with rage, to reply to him; but a single glance around the assembly showed him that the conduct of his adversary met the approval of the fathers. He then restrained himself, and putting on an hypocritical air, said to the archbishop, "Your master is illy informed; we have never wished to diminish the greatness of his authority, nor attack the rights of his crown; on the contrary, we desire to favour his kingdom by granting to him the same indulgence as to the crusaders of the East, if he wishes to combat the infidels of Spain. We are equally desirous that Toledo should remain the seat of the primate, and we suspend from his episcopal functions the archbishop of Braga, who has refused to submit to his superior, the primate Raymond. Finally, as a

mark of our affection, we will send to king Alphonso, by the hands of the bishop of Segovia, the golden rose which the pontiffs are accustomed to bless on the fourth Sunday in Lent of each year."

After the termination of the council of Rheims, the Pope went to Clairvaux, where he ostentatiously displayed his humility and his macerations; he wore constantly next his skin his woollen tunic and never put off the cowl; his bed was covered with rich stuffs which allowed the mattress made of beaten straw and rough horse hair to be seen. He also wished to assist at a general chapter of abbots as a simple monk, and not as president or pontiff.

During his absence from Italy, the Romans had been conquered by the emperor. After their submission he hastened to leave France, and made his solemn entry into Rome in 1149. The priests and monks alone came to meet him; the people refused to join in the acclamations. Without troubling himself about the hatred of the Romans, he determined to affirm the sway of the Holy See over Italy and the people who were recently converted to Christianity. He sent into Denmark and Norway, Nicholas, bishop of Albano, with the rank of legate, to establish an archbishopric; but as the Goths and Swedes could not agree, either as to the city which was to be chosen as the metropolis, nor the prelate whom they wished to elevate to the new see, the one demanding the archbishop of Bremen, the others him of Upsal, Nicholas was obliged to return without having settled any thing. The legate, however, established the archbishop of Lund as provisional primate of Sweden, and gave him authority over all the churches of Norway, until they should have designated a metropolitan.

Conrad the Third died in Germany during the following year, leaving his crown to his nephew, Frederick the First, surnamed Barbarossa. As soon as this prince was mounted on the imperial throne, he sent as delegates to the pontifical court, Hilin, the metropolitan of Treves, and Everard, the prelate of Bamberg, to inform the pope of his advent to the empire, and to propose to him a treaty of alliance. Eugenius received the ambassadors of the monarch favourably; he appointed seven cardinals and Brunon, the abbot of Cavalla, to confer with the ambassadors of Frederick. The bases of the treaty were that the sovereign should grant neither truce nor treaty to the citizens of Rome, nor Roger, king of Sicily, without the consent of the Holy See; that he should promise to push the war against them until they had submitted to the pope, themselves, their persons, vassals, and domains; and that, finally, he would engage by oath to defend him against all his enemies, and to recover for him the domains which the church had lost.

His holiness promised, on his side, to give the imperial crown to Frederick, whenever he should come to the holy city to receive it; he engaged to aid him with all his power to maintain obedience among his people, to

employ ecclesiastical censures against his enemies, and, finally, to hinder the Greek emperor from making any conquests in Italy. This protocol is dated on the 23d of March, 1152.

But the treaty had scarcely been signed, when the old quarrel between the empire and the priesthood broke out more violently than ever, on the occasion of the investiture of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, whose titular was about to die. Two parties disputed for this rich metropolitan church; one wished to appoint the treasurer of the chapter of the cathedral as archbishop, the other presented the provost, as being alone worthy to occupy the Episcopal See. As the two factions, equally powerful, were unwilling either of them to yield, and threatened the city with the greatest disorders, the emperor determined to appoint a metropolitan himself, to put an end to the interminable disputes of the clergy, and chose Guisman, bishop of Ceits, to occupy the archbishopric.

Frederick was doubtless in the right in so acting; for the court of Germany, in the treaty between Pascal and Henry the Fifth, had reserved to itself the power, in a case of schism in the nomination of bishops, to choose him who appeared most worthy of the episcopate, after having advised with the lords of the empire. But the ambitious Gerard, the provost of Magdeburg, seeing all his hopes cast down by this promotion, cried out scandal; threatened the prince with ecclesiastical thunders, and went immediately to Rome to have the election of Guisman, whom he regarded as an intruder into his archbishopric, annulled. Eugenius took the side of Gerard, and wrote to the emperor, that he must immediately drive his protégé away from Magdeburg, if he did not wish to incur the excommunication of the Holy See.

In vain did eight of the principal prelates of Germany address letters to the pontiff in favour of the new metropolitan. Eugenius was inflexible; he even replied to them severely, for having dared to defend a prince, who treated the canons of the church with contempt; he blamed them for what he called their cowardly condescendence to the wishes of the powers of the earth; and, finally, enjoined on them to constrain King Frederick, by energetic representation, to leave the church of Magdeburg free to choose its pastor: "for," added he, "even we ourselves would not dare to do any thing contrary to the law of God and the holy canons of the church." Father Maimburg thus interprets this last thought: "We must conclude from these last words, that the pope could not permit any thing contrary to the service of God, because he recognised himself as inferior to God. And also that he could not change the canons and decrees of general councils, because he recognised his authority as submissive to that of these councils. An opinion very different from that of a great number of popes, who pretend to be infallible and above the entire universe."

Notwithstanding the censures of the church, Frederick, persuaded that he had not exceeded his lawful rights, maintained the election of the archbishop of Magdeburg. The pope then sent prelates into Germany, commissioned to depose Guisman, but the emperor interfered, and drove them out of his kingdom, as Conrad, duke of Franconia, had already done Jourdain des Ursini.

On this subject, and to let it be seen what kind of persons were the representatives of the popes, we will cite the letter which St. Bernard himself wrote to Eugenius about his legate:—"Your Jourdain des Ursini, most holy father, has committed shameful actions everywhere. He has stolen the sacred vessels from the churches; he has conferred the ecclesiastical degree on young lads, whose beauty informs us by what act of complaisance they have merited them; he has entered the holy dwellings of nuns, where he has brought his infamies to their height. It is for you, most holy father, to judge what is to be done with such an ecclesiastic. For myself, I have done as my conscience dictated; and, I will add, with my ordinary freedom, that it were well if your palace were purged of all the abominations which it contains. It was my first intention not to lay my complaints before you; but the prior of the convent of Mont Dieu has pressed me to write, and know that I have said less than the public. . . ." This letter of St. Bernard's produced no sensation at the pontifical court; besides, Eugenius was too much occupied in establishing his sway over foreign churches, to think of undertaking the least reform in his own court.

Another of his legates, John Paperon, started for Ireland about the year 1151; but, the king of England having refused to grant him a safe-conduct, he was forced to return to Rome to confer with the pope. By the advice of the cardinals, it was decided, that he should repair to Ireland, but by passing through Scotland, which was then governed by King David, who was devoted to the Holy See. This second journey resulted more favourably than the first. He arrived safely in Ireland, and held a council in the new monastery of Mellifont, of the order of the Citeaux, where he convened the bishops, abbots, kings, dukes, and all the lords of the island. The assembly decreed the erection of archiepiscopal sees at Dublin, Tuam, Armagh, and Cassel. The legate then distributed to the new metropolitans the palliums which he had brought from Rome; he reduced the Irish priests to the law of celibacy, which they had not practised before; and reformed a great number of abuses and old superstitious practices. But he was unable to render an account of the success of his mission to Eugenius, who died before his return to Rome, on the 8th of July, 1153. The body of the pontiff was carried in great solemnity, and deposited in the church of the Apostle, where it performed several miracles.

It was during this reign, that the monk Gra-

tan published his collection of apocryphal canons and false decretals, which commenced with the pontificate of St. Clement, and finished with Pope Siricus: that is, up to the year 398. Not only did Eugenius sanction, with all his authority, this lying compilation, which placed the pontifical See above all the thrones of the earth, but even instituted the grades of bachelor and licentiate in the canon law, for young priests who made the maxims of his book their especial study.

About a month after the death of Eugenius, the celebrated St. Bernard rendered his soul to God in the abbey of Clairvaux. His body, clothed in its sacerdotal ornaments, was borne by the monks into the chapel of the Virgin, in the presence of an immense concourse of the nobility and people of the neighbouring country. For two days it was exposed to the

reveration of the faithful, who came to apply bread, pieces of money, and linen, to make relics of them, and use them in the cure of sickness. On the second day, the crowd was not content with applying the relic to the dead body; they commenced disrobing the saint of parts of his clothing; they then cut off his hair; and, finally, the profanation was carried to such a point, that the body, entirely naked, and placed upon the altar of the Virgin, became an object of scandal and horror.

During his lifetime, Bernard was one of the most ardent props of pontifical despotism, and the most implacable enemy of the heretics. This fervent apostle of the crusades infected Europe with his black monks, and founded, himself, three hundred and seventy-two monasteries. Thus the church has canonised him.

## ANASTASIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1153.]

*Election of Anastasius—William, the metropolitan of York, is reinstated in his see—Quarrel between the church and the empire—Privileges granted to the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem—Death of Anastasius.*

AFTER the obsequies of Eugenius had been performed, the cardinals assembled in the church of St. John, of the Lateran, to give him a successor; and chose Conrad, bishop of Sabine, a Roman by birth, who was proclaimed pope, by the name of Anastasius the Fourth. The new pontiff was a venerable old man, who was especially distinguished for great regularity of morals, and great experience in the usages of the court of Rome. As soon as the news of his election was known in England, a metropolitan of York, named William, who had been unjustly deposed by Eugenius in the council of Rheims, hastened to Rome, to demand the revision of the sentence pronounced against him. Anastasius, after having examined the grounds of the judgment against him, discovered that his predecessor had been guilty of great iniquity in condemning an innocent man. He revoked the sentence of deposition, reinstated William in all his dignities, and even granted the pallium to him.

The holy father was then engaged in arresting the deplorable effects of the war which his predecessor had imprudently excited between the altar and the throne, and which threatened to be more terrible than any which had occurred under the preceding reigns. For this purpose, the cardinal Gerard was sent to the court of the emperor, to put an end to all differences between the Holy See and that prince, without, however, sacrificing the interests of the church. Unfortunately, the

embassador did not conform to the orders of the pontiff, but had the impudence to speak to the sovereign, at a public audience, with such arrogance, that he was driven from the royal presence. This affront exasperated the legate, and produced so violent a fit of anger, that he was strangled by an effusion of blood, before they could give him any assistance.

Frederick was desirous, however, of showing to the pontiff, that he knew how to render justice to his good intentions, and to distinguish him from his envoys. He sent the archbishop of Magdeburg to him to give him an account of his election, and to submit himself to his judgment. Anastasius received Guisman with distinction, and after having heard his explanations, he confirmed him in his archiepiscopal dignity, and even granted him the pallium. This conduct of the pope scandalised the greater part of the fanatical clergy, and if we can believe Otho of Frisingen, the priests dared accuse the holy father of criminal condescendence towards the emperor.

According to several historians, Anastasius published, during the following year, that remarkable bull concerning the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the same who afterwards took the name of the Knights of Rhodes and Malta and whose foundation goes back to the year 1113, as is indicated by a decree of Pascal the Second, addressed to Gerard, the first grand master of the order.

Anastasius in his bull, which is most explicit, confirmed the grand master Raymond, in his right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem; he added—

“As all your property is designed for the support of pilgrims and the poor, we prohibit laymen and ecclesiastics of any rank, from exacting tithes therefrom. We interdict all bishops from publishing suspensions or anathemas in the churches placed under your authority, and even when an interdict is obliged to be fulminated in a country in which you are located, divine service shall still be celebrated in your churches, only with closed doors, and without ringing the bells. That you may be able always to celebrate mass, we permit you to receive into your temples, priests and clergy of all nations, after having first informed yourselves of the correctness of their morals, and the regularity of their ordination. If the prelates to whom they are subjected, refuse to grant them to you, I authorize you, by virtue of the power which has been delegated to the Holy See, to take them by force, and from the moment they

shall have entered your temples, they shall be subject to your chapter and the pope alone. We also permit you to receive into your hospitals, laymen to serve the poor. We prohibit the laymen, that is the knights who shall be received into your company, from returning to the world, after having taken the habit and the cross. We prohibit them also from going into another order under the pretence of leading a more austere life. You will cause your altars and oratories to be dedicated to the diocesan bishops, if he will do it gratuitously; but if not, you will select another prelate. Finally, we confirm you in all the domains and lordships, which your order possesses in Asia or in Europe, or which it may in future acquire.”

History is silent on the other actions of this pope. It is probable that he followed the counsels of wisdom and moderation, as he did at the commencement of his reign. He held the Holy See for fourteen months and some days, and died on the 2d of December, 1154, regarded as the best pontiff who had governed the church for several centuries.

## ADRIAN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1154.]

*Singular history of Adrian before his pontificate—His election—Troubles at Rome—The emperor goes into Italy—Arnold of Brescia is arrested—Interview between the pope and Frederick Barbarossa—Deputation of Romans—Coronation of Frederick Barbarossa—Violent sedition at Rome—Adrian quits the holy city, and the emperor goes to Germany—Excommunication of the king of Sicily—Complaints of the people against the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem—Peace is concluded between the pope and the king of Sicily—Adrian gives the crown of Ireland to the king of England—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—Death of Adrian.*

“DIVINE Providence appears to have been careful to have drawn Adrian from the dust, to seat him on the throne of St. Peter, and to place him above the princes of his people.” Such is the exordium of Maimburg in his history of Adrian the Fourth. The holy father was an Englishman by birth, and the son of a village clerk, named Nicholas Breakspere, who was so poor, that, having no means of living after the death of his wife, he had been obliged to serve as a domestic in the kitchen of the convent of St. Albans. The young Nicholas, abandoned by his father, lived by alms until he had attained the age of manhood; he then crossed the sea, and went to France to mend his fortune. He stopped by chance at St. Rufus, near Avignon, a chapter of regular canons. The poor Englishman interested the superior; and as he was of an agreeable exterior, wise in his discourse, and of a mild and modest character, he insinuated himself, little by little, into the good graces of the canons, and finished by obtaining the habit of the order. For several years Nicholas exhibited a scrupulous regularity in his duties,

and applied himself to study with great aptitude. His progress in science and oratorical art acquired for him such a reputation, that after the death of the abbot, William the Second, he was chosen to succeed him in the government of the chapter, and the direction of all the cloisters of the order. As he was truly a good man, he was desirous of undertaking the reform of the canons, whose discipline was very much relaxed. They then leagued against him, and revolted against his authority, and even dared to accuse him, before Pope Eugenius, of infamous crimes, in order to procure his deposition and excommunication.

But the holy father was so touched by the wisdom and moderation which Nicholas exhibited in his defence, that he took his part, and drove the canons from his presence, saying to them:—“I now know the shameful cause of your calumnies. Go, false monks, choose an abbot who tolerates your disorders; this one shall remain with me.” They retired in confusion, though inwardly satisfied with the decision of the pontiff. Nicholas

was then elevated to the bishopric of Albano, and sent, with the title of legate, into Norway, to instruct that barbarous people in evangelical truth. He had only returned into Italy eight days, when Anastasius the Fourth died. On the day succeeding his funeral ceremonies, the cardinals assembled in the palace of the Lateran, and proclaimed Nicholas sovereign pontiff by the name of Adrian the Fourth. This election filled the king of England with joy, who was flattered at seeing on the apostolic throne, a pope who was born his subject. He addressed to him a letter of congratulation, in which he exhorted him to fill the church with worthy ministers, and to procure aid for the Christians of the Holy Land.

The partizans of religious reforms, who had concurred in the election of Adrian, hoped that the pope, out of gratitude, would restore to the Roman people the rights of which they had been despoiled during the pontificate of Eugenius. The members of the senate consequently presented themselves before him, to ask that the members of the assembly should be charged with the government of the state, as during the primitive republic. But they soon discovered how much sovereign power can change men. Adrian, become pope, forgot that he owed his tiara to the people, refused this just demand, and drove away the senators; after which he retired to the Vatican, whose high walls, garnished with soldiers, placed him beyond the reach of the rage of the people.

Arnold of Brescia, immediately recommenced his eloquent preaching, and Rome was in full revolt; no excess was, however, committed by the insurgents, except against Gerard, a cardinal priest, who was discovered to be a spy of the holy father. He was met in the street by a party of rebels, who beat him with the flat side of their swords, and left him for dead on the spot; he, however, recovered from his wounds.

Adrian, alarmed by a revolt which threatened to become general, resolved to strike their superstitious minds by a blow of authority. He lanced a bull of excommunication against the holy city itself, and caused divine service and the sacraments to be every where intermitted. Then, as he had foreseen, superstition conquered hatred, and the Romans came to beseech him to pardon them, pledging themselves on the gospels to drive Arnold of Brescia, and his followers, from the city and territories. The pontiff received their oath, and promised to raise the interdict as soon as they had fulfilled their promises. The unfortunate Arnold of Brescia was sacrificed, and compelled to quit the city at the moment when the holy father sallied forth in triumph, from the city Leonine, to go to the palace of the Lateran, where he solemnly celebrated divine service.

Whilst the Romans were driving away and taking back their pontiffs, Frederick Barabrosa was laying siege to the Italian cities, which refused to recognise his authority. He had already received the iron crown at Pavia,

and was preparing to push on to the holy city to be crowned emperor, where Adrian, informed of his plans, and fearing lest his journey had a hostile end, sent three cardinals to confer with him regarding his coronation, and his intentions towards the Holy See. The ambassadors went to St. Quiricus in Tuscany, where they found Frederick; he, from considerations of policy, received them with great honours, promised entire submission to the Holy See, and even had the meanness to surrender Arnold of Brescia, who had taken refuge under his protection. This courageous apostle of liberty was immediately loaded with chains and sent to Rome, where the cardinals condemned him to be burned alive. The sentence was carried into execution on the very day of the condemnation, and the executioner cast his ashes into the Tiber. Thus died he who wished to free the people from disgraceful pontifical slavery.

Frederick, who well knew the policy of the holy father, and dreaded some perfidy in the pope, was in no hurry to ratify the treaty which had been submitted to him, and wished to await the return of Arnold and Anselm, the metropolitans of Cologne and Ravenna, who had been sent as ambassadors to the sovereign pontiff. The latter, who also distrusted Frederick, refused to give a definite answer, until the return of his ambassadors who were at St. Quiricus. During this negotiation, which was long protracted, the holy father remained retired in an impenetrable fortress, called Citta di Castello.

At last the deputies, shuffled from place to place, met on the road, and by common consent decided to go together to the king, who had advanced as far as Viterba with his army. Frederick listened to their propositions in regard to the treaty, and promised to give the pope all the sureties he asked. The cardinals immediately brought in the relics, the cross, and the Bible, and a knight swore in the name of the emperor to preserve the pontiff Adrian, and the ecclesiastics of the sacred college, safe in their lives, members, liberty, honours, and property. The legates then returned to the holy father, who determined to go to the camp of Frederick. He was received by the German lords, and a multitude of clergy and laymen, who accompanied him with great pomp as far as the tent of their sovereign; but the bishops and cardinals of his suite having perceived that the prince had refused to hold the stirrup of the pope, retired at once from the cortège, and retook their way to Citta di Castello.

Adrian at first appeared embarrassed by their departure; he, however, descended from his horse, and placed himself on the sofa which was prepared for him. The emperor then prostrated himself at his feet: and after having kissed his sandal, rose to receive the kiss of peace; but the pontiff repulsed him with his hand. "You have rendered yourself unworthy of this favour, Prince, by refusing to fill an office by which all orthodox sovereigns have regarded themselves as honoured."

In vain did Frederick observe that no ecclesiastical canon obliged him to conform to ridiculous practices. Adrian was unwilling to listen to any explanation, and two days passed in useless conferences. At last the king, on the third day, consented, by the advice of his lords, to perform the duties of squire to the holy father; and in the presence of the whole army, held his stirrup for a stone's cast, to obtain from the pontiff the kiss of peace.

On their side, the Romans, who, after the departure of the pope, had undertaken anew to obtain their liberty, dreading the pontifical vengeance, hastened to send an embassy to the prince to place themselves under his protection. The deputies addressed him as follows: "We come, great prince, in the name of the senate and Roman people, to offer you the imperial crown, and to beseech you to free us from the disgraceful yoke of priests. We have already made you our fellow citizen and our prince; in return, however, you owe us the confirmation of our ancient customs, and of the laws which your predecessors have granted us. You should re-establish the senate and the order of knights, and you should defend us from every insult, even to the shedding of blood; and for all this we ask from you guarantees by letter and oath."

... They were about to continue, but Frederick, astonished at the commencement of this address, interrupted them by a motion of his hand, and taking up the word said, "Rome is no longer what it has been; its power is annihilated; it was first subjugated by the Greeks, then by the Franks, and now, height of humiliation! it is governed by a priest; I do not desire to be either your fellow citizen or your prince; my predecessors, Charles and Otho, conquered Italy and Rome by their valour; like them, I am your master by the right of the sword, the only one which establishes the legitimate possession of princes; and no power under heaven can release you from my authority."

After this discourse, the courtiers of the proud monarch insolently demanded from the ambassadors, if they had any thing to reply in relation to the great truths which the emperor had so well expressed. They kept silence, and returned to Rome.

As soon as the pope was informed of the departure of the Romans, he sought out the prince, and having mildly reproached him for the vivacity of his language in regard to himself, said to him, "You have done all the better in driving away these deputies, since you are ignorant of the perfidy of the senators. They hate equally popes and kings, and if they came to you it was to betray me; and now they have returned to Rome to deceive you. Prevent this then by sending your troops at once beneath the walls of the city Leonine, and the church of St. Peter, that my officers may surrender them to you, whilst there is yet time."

The emperor followed this advice, and sent a thousand knights, under the command of

cardinal Octavian; the city and church were immediately occupied by the Germans, and on the next day, the pope, accompanied by his cardinals, went to the city Leonine to wait for the king, who followed him at the head of a numerous escort. The prince made his entry in robes of ceremony, and presented himself at the church of St. Martin of Tours, where he first took the oath of obedience to the pontiff. They both then went to the church of St. Peter.

Frederick approached the confessional of the apostle, and knelt before the prince of the cardinal bishops, who recited the first prayer; two other prelates pronounced the second prayer, and a third administered to him the sacred unction; he then received the sword, sceptre, and imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff. After the ceremony, he returned to his camp with the same train, and in the same manner, as he had come; but he had scarcely quitted Rome, when the citizens rushed on the church of St. Peter, and massacred all the priests they could seize, in revenge of the infamous treason of the pontiff. Some squires of the prince who had remained in Rome experienced the same fate, and the insurgents even wished to besiege the pontifical palace. The emperor arrested the execution of this plan by marching all his troops on Rome; the people fought bravely until night, and repulsed the Germans. On the next day the strife recommenced with new rage; at last, overcome by numbers, the citizens were compelled to yield and submit.

As the heat was excessive, and the plains were parched by the sun, forage began to fail, and the emperor was constrained to quit the environs of Rome with his cavalry; the holy father accompanied him to his new quarters at Ponte-Lucano, near to Tibur or Tivoli, where he celebrated the festival of the apostle Peter. During divine service Adrian granted absolution to all the German soldiers who had combated in his cause against the Romans, and granted them the same indulgence as if they had made war in the Holy Land against the enemies of God.

It is a political axiom, that it is difficult for a good understanding to exist between two tyrants who claim the same rights. Thus a simple accident divided the pontiff and the emperor. When they were entering Tibur, the consuls of the city came to present the keys to Frederick, declaring that they submitted to his authority and not to that of the pontiff; in this the prince acquiesced. But Adrian and his cardinals immediately protested against what they called the felony of Tibur, maintaining that this city pertained to the Roman church and had no right to choose for itself a master. This opposition irritated the emperor, who replied, that he should regard the acquisition of the city as just and equitable until he should have conferred with the lords of his court. These endeavoured to appease him, and to show him, that by exhibiting at this moment hostility to the pope, he might excite against himself the

prince of Capua, the duke of Apulia and even the king of Sicily. Frederick then restored the keys to the holy father, and confirmed him by an authentic deed in possession of this city, with, however, this clause, "Saving the imperial right." He, however, took occasion to leave the pontiff, and Adrian found himself compelled to return to Rome.

William, surnamed the Bad, had mounted the throne of Sicily and sent ambassadors to the apostolic court to demand the confirmation of the rights and privileges of his kingdom. But the pontiff, who claimed several important cities for his see, refused to satisfy the just demands of the prince. The latter, indignant at the bad faith of the pope, took up arms, attacked the territories of the Roman church, blockaded Beneventum, and seized several palaces of Campania. Adrian, on his side, lost no time; he lanced the thunders of the Vatican against William, declared his states under interdict, and invoked the wrath of God on the head of the guilty one; he then collected troops, entered Campania, and reduced the whole country as far as Beneventum. Whilst he was besieging this city he received a letter from Manuel Comnenus, offering him aid in men and money to achieve the conquest of the Peninsula, if he would surrender to him three maritime cities of Apulia. William, informed of this negotiation by his spies, endeavoured to avert the storm by treating himself, with the holy father. He proposed to him in exchange for the investiture of Sicily, to grant freedom to all the churches of his kingdom, to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to him, to grant him three places in full sovereignty, to furnish troops to reduce the Romans, and finally, to pay large sums as an indemnity for the war.

Adrian, in the pride of triumph, intoxicated by a new victory which had rendered him master of Beneventum, rejected the offers of the prince and replied that he would not stop until he had driven his troops into the sea. Taking counsel from his desperate position alone, William advanced into Campania with hastily levied bands, reconquered the cities he had lost, and in his turn laid siege to Beneventum, in which the pontiff was. The siege was urged with such vigour, that Adrian, having no hopes of being succoured in time, was obliged to capitulate and conclude a very different treaty from that which had been proposed to him, and in which it was agreed that the prince should preserve the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily without indemnity or condition. After the bull was signed, William was admitted to prostrate himself at the feet of Adrian, to do him liege homage and receive the kiss of peace.

During the same year (1156) Foucher, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent letters to the pope, complaining of the knights hospitallers, and of the abuses which they made of their privileges by receiving into their churches Christians who had been excommunicated by the bishops, and by causing the priests of their order to administer the viaticum, extreme

unction, and ecclesiastical sepulture. In his letter, Foucher accused them of not observing the interdicts lanced against cities, of ringing the bells of their churches in contempt of the canons, of celebrating service publicly and in a loud voice, and in receiving the offerings of the people to the prejudice of the mother churches. He finally besought the holy father to prohibit them from proceeding to the consecration or deposition of their priests without the participation of the prelates, and to order them to pay him a tithes on their lands and revenues. He further accused them of having made him undergo humiliation, by erecting a magnificent hospital opposite the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, from the richness of its architecture, eclipsed his metropolitan church; he complained that they rung their bells with all their might whenever he rose to preach, and added, that having dared to reproach them for their conduct, he had been assailed by the knights even in the patriarchal palace, and that darts had been hurled at him even at the very altar of the Holy Sepulchre. The hospitallers had, in fact, rendered themselves so redoubtable that no one dared resist them in the kingdom of Palestine, not even the bishops and patriarch, because they were entirely independent by virtue of the bull granted them by Anastasius the Fourth.

Foucher, worn out by the continual persecutions of which himself and his clergy were the objects, determined to go to Rome to fortify his demands. He consequently embarked with two Metropolitans, and came as far as Otranto; when they arrived in that city, they learned that all Apulia was invaded by the troops of the king of Sicily, the Greeks, and the allies of the pontiff; fearful of falling into the hands of these undisciplined bands, they returned by sea as far as the March of Ancona, and sought to find the holy father by land,

But Adrian was already advised of the coming of the patriarch by the hospitallers, who had gained him to their side, and when the oriental prelates presented themselves at Ferrentina, they found an inflexible judge who refused to give them the slightest satisfaction; they were then compelled to retrace their steps in sadness to Jerusalem.

John of Salisbury, a celebrated historian, the compatriot and intimate friend of the pope, was so shocked by this denial of justice, that he addressed violent sarcasms to him, which have been preserved in his writings. "Do you know what is the opinion of wise men about the Roman church?" wrote this bold prelate. "It is not favourable to you, holy father, they affirm that your church instead of being the mother of the faithful, is the stepmother; they say that it only contains scribes and pharisees, who carry the burthen of their iniquities upon their shoulders; they say that the priests, instead of serving as models to the flock, accumulate precious furniture in their palaces, and load their tables with gold and silver; they say that their avarice is extreme,

and that they do nothing for the poor but by way of ostentation. They accuse your clergy of committing exactions through all Christendom—of encouraging collisions between the people and princes, to enrich themselves in the midst of the general confusion. Even you, holy father, have become an object of hatred; the faithful maintain that you build superb palaces at their expense, and allow the temples of Christ to go to ruins; they say that you are covered with ornaments of gold and purple, whilst the poor, covered with rags, die with hunger on the steps of the palace of the Lateran. For myself, I declare that I practice what you teach, and am careful how I imitate what you do. All the world applauds and flatters you; they call you father and sovereign. But if you are a father, why do you not listen to your children, when they present themselves before you with empty hands, and figures gaunt with famine? If you are a sovereign, why do you oppress the people who give to kings the very robes that cover them? a true Christian does not so conduct himself, and I must inform you that you are out of the evangelical way."

Adrian, in his reply, avowed to the prior bishop, that he found only misery and turpitude in the Holy See, and that he would rather, for the safety of his soul, live still by alms in England than wear the tiara.

John of Salisbury then went to the holy city, to solicit the investiture of Ireland for the king of England. The pope yielded to his solicitations, and published the bull in favour of Henry. It is as follows: "Prince, no one doubts, and you yourself admit, that Ireland, as well as all islands which have received the faith of Christ, belong to the Holy See, and that the popes can dispose of them as they see right. As you have engaged to cause this people to submit to the religious and political laws of the Roman church, and to constrain them to pay to our see a penny a year for each house, we authorise you to subjugate them by all possible means; but always with the express condition, that you preserve the rights of the Holy See."

As a token of investiture, the pope joined to this bull a ring of gold, set with an emerald, and a deed by which he freed the king from the solemn oath he had taken, to preserve to his brothers their appanages, on which he had already infamously seized.

On the following year, occurred a violent quarrel on account of the arrest of Esquel, archbishop of Lunden. This prelate, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, where he had made magnificent presents to the holy father, had been attacked in the territory of the empire by highway robbers, who had not only entirely despoiled him, but even retained him as a prisoner, to wrest a large ransom from him.

Adrian being informed of this sacrilegious arrest, wrote to the emperor to complain of the negligence of the court of Germany, in hunting up and punishing the guilty. "Several requests have already been addressed to you, prince," he said to him, "to recall to

your justice that an unheard of crime has been committed in your kingdom, and we are astonished that you have not yet pursued the authors of this attempt. You know, however, that our venerable brother Esquel of Lunden, has been robbed by wretches who still retain him in bonds; and you are silent, instead of employing the authority and the sword which you have received from God to punish the guilty. Who are these wretches who merit such indulgence at your hands? must we believe the calumny which accuses you of protecting them? must we recall to your recollection, that we have not conferred on you the dignity of emperor to authorise crime? Hasten then to obey our orders, since you have promised us a filial obedience."

This letter having been translated literally into German by Rinaldus, the imperial chancellor, to the lords who were assembled in council, they, indignant at the insolence of the pontiff, exclaimed, that it was disgraceful to suffer a priest to pretend that the emperors of Germany held the empire and the kingdom of Italy only by permission of the pope. They protested against this tendency of the Holy See to transmit to posterity falsehood for truth, and which it enforced by enregistering it in history, not only by its writings, but even by its decretals and monuments. In fact, in a saloon of the palace of the Lateran, Lothaire had been represented receiving the crown on his knees, from the hands of the pontiff Pascal the First; and above the picture this legend was written:—"The king stopped at the silver door, after having sworn to preserve the rights of the church; he was then admitted into the temple, and acknowledged himself to be the vassal of the pope, who conferred on him the supreme crown."

Frederick severely reproached the legates who had dared to bring him the letter of Adrian. One of them boldly replied to him:—"Prince, from whom, then, do you believe you hold the empire, if not from the pope?" At these words the Germans sprang from their seats; and Otho, the imperial sword-bearer, rose precipitately and threw himself upon the legate to kill him. Frederick had barely time to seize his arm. He thus saved the life of the envoy of the pontiff, and contented himself with driving him from the council-chamber, enjoining on him to leave Germany at once.

Frederick then published a manifesto against the Holy See, in which the holy father was accused of altering the union between the empire and the priesthood. "The legates of this sacrilegious pope," added the prince, "the cardinals Roland and Bernard, were the bearers of several blank letters, to be used, according to circumstances, either to despoil the churches of Germany, or to excommunicate and depose us, as if we were a bishop in subjection to the jurisdiction of the Holy See. But we foresaw their designs, and for the safety of our people and ourselves have driven them away in disgrace. For, as we hold the empire from God alone, who has subjected nations to the sword of force, as the apostle



Peter himself said, 'honour Cæsar,' we declare that clergy and laity, of every rank, who shall maintain that our crown is a dependency on the court of Rome, shall be immediately punished; for we have decided to expose our throne and our life in the maintenance of our dignity."

Well determined to punish the pope and cardinals, Frederick assembled his troops at Augsburg, and was preceded into Germany by the chancellor Rinaldus and by Otho, count palatine of Bavaria, commissioned to cause the imperial authority to be recognised in all the cities. Adrian, alarmed by the success of the lieutenants of the emperor, and fearing the effects of his vengeance, decided to send an embassy to him to treat of peace. Two cardinals, Hans and Hyacinthus, were selected for this difficult negotiation. Before their departure, the legates demanded of the commissioners of the emperor, whom they found at Modena, a safe-conduct into Germany, which was readily granted them. But, notwithstanding, two counts palatine attacked their escort in the passes of the Alps, made them prisoners, and placed them in irons. In vain did they exhibit the safe-conduct of the imperial commissioners: their captors refused to set them at liberty; and they were obliged, in order to obtain permission to continue their route, to bring the brother of Hyacinthus from Rome, who remained as a hostage for them until their ransom was entirely paid.

At last, after many fatigues and dangers, they arrived at the camp at Augsburg. Having been admitted, on the following day, to the presence of Frederick, they prostrated themselves at his feet, saluting him in the name of the pope and the sacred college, as emperor of Rome and of the world. They besought him to grant a full pardon to the pontiff for all that had passed; and presented him a letter, retracting the one which had excited his anger. Frederick, satisfied with this act of submission by the Holy See, declared, that he restored his friendship to the pontiff and clergy of Rome; and gave to the ambassadors the kiss of peace. He also made them magnificent presents and sent them back into Italy. But this quarrel had scarcely terminated, when there broke out another, still more violent, between the emperor and the pope, on account of the duke of Poland, who had refused to do liege homage on his knees to Frederick, and had placed himself under the protection of the court of Rome.

The emperor Barbarossa was now undoubtedly the most powerful monarch in Europe. Of his own authority he had given the royal crown of Bavaria to Ladislaus, and the investiture of Poland to the king of Denmark; Hungary was a tributary of the empire, and England itself sent ambassadors, carrying rich presents to this prince, to obtain his alliance. Finally, all Germany was under the absolute sway of Frederick, and throughout the whole extent of his immense estates, no enemy dared to rise against the sovereign. Milan

alone had sought to reclaim its freedom, and a numerous army had immediately invaded Italy; the country had been devastated, the people murdered, and all returned to their duty. Adrian, jealous of his exercising for himself and his own advantage a despotism which he regarded as an attribute of the Holy See, had eagerly seized on the occasion which Boleslaus furnished him to censure the emperor. He wrote a respectful and energetic letter to Frederick, to recall to his memory the solemn oath which he had sworn, before the confessional of St. Peter, to protect all the allies of the church. A priest only was commissioned to carry this missive to the court of Augsburg; but the prince received the remonstrances of the holy father very badly, and sent him the following letter, in the formula used by the emperors in the first ages of the church, placing his own name before that of the pope: "Art thou ignorant, then, bishop of Rome, that thou holdest all thou possessest from the liberality of princes? Open history, and thou wilt fully convince thyself of this truth. Therefore, why should we be prohibited from exacting homage from him who holds his royalty from us? Is it because thou hast decided that this ceremony was useless? Render then to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's. Thou complainest that our churches and cities are closed against thy cardinals; but would it be better, false bishop, that we should open our coffers to thy pillagers, to permit them to carry off our silver and gold? Are we then so very culpable, because we wish to place a bridle on thy insatiable avarice? When thy priests shall come to preach the holy maxims of the church, we will no longer interdict their entering our dwellings! Go to! we know too well the infamous morals of thy clergy, and we know that the demon of pride and avarice has seized for ever on the throne of the apostle. . . ."

This letter was given to officers who were to carry it to Rome, and who were to avail themselves of their mission to confer with the citizens as to the best means of seizing on the principal fortresses of the city; but this project was suspended by the death of Adrian, which took place on the 1st of September, 1159, in the city of Anagnina. His remains were transported to Rome, and deposited in the church of St. Peter. Conrad of Ursperg relates a very singular story about the death of the pontiff; he affirms, that on the day on which he wrote the bull of excommunication against Frederick Barbarossa, he drank a cup of water from a fountain in which there was accidentally an insect, which fastened on his throat, and ate the œsophagus, notwithstanding all the aid of the most skillful physicians. Other historians attribute his death to a quinsy.

During a reign of about five years, Adrian was occupied in increasing the domains and treasures of Saint Peter, and his avarice was so sordid, that he constantly refused to send the least aid to his relatives at Canterbury,

preferring that they should live by alms and the charity of the pariah priest, rather than see his purse diminish.

To judge of the spirit of reform during the second half of the twelfth century, it is sufficient to analyse two works which John of Salisbury published during the pontificate of Adrian. In the first, called *Polycraticus*, he treats of the amusements of the courtiers, and the vestiges of the philosophers; he condemns play, the chase, music, and the dance, which were the sole occupations of the lords; he blames the customs of courts in maintaining troops of buffoons, magicians, and astrologers; and, finally, expresses very singular ideas, for a priest, on the subject of regicide. "Not only," says the learned prelate, "is it permitted to put a king to death, but it is even just, even meritorious, to strike down a tyrant; for he who oppresses by the right of the sword, should perish by the sword. God, in the Holy

Scriptures, commands the death of oppressors of the people, and the prophets have cited Jael and the beautiful Judith." His book terminates with maxims which recall to our minds those of Gregory the Seventh. He says, "that kings are subject to the church; that they receive from it the power to punish, as the executioner receives from justice the right to torture men, and that thus they are the instruments of the priesthood, since they exercise functions which would soil the hands of the priest."

In his second work, entitled *Metalogicus*, he treats of wholesome dialectics and true eloquence; he enumerates the great men who were his contemporaries, and criticises the rhetoricians and sophists with profound sagacity; he even attacks Aristotle, and points out the errors of that philosopher, whilst still showing himself to be an admirer of his writings.

## ALEXANDER THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH POPE.

### VICTOR THE FOURTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1159.]

*Election of Alexander the Third—Schism in the Roman church—Election of Victor—The anti-pope persecutes his competitor—Letters for Alexander—Letters for Octavian—Deputation from the emperor to Alexander—Conduct of the pope to the ambassadors—The anti-pope is favoured by the emperor—Consequences of the schism—Alexander takes refuge in France—He communicates the emperor—Conferences of St. Jean de Laune—Honours rendered to the pope by the kings of France and England—Death of Victor—Election of the anti-pope, Pascal the Third—Return of the pontiff to Rome—Second flight of Alexander—Embassy from England—Assassination of the archbishop of Canterbury—Absolution of the king of England—The emperor is crowned by the anti-pope—Cowards of Frederick Barbarossa—He consents to be trampled under feet by the pontiff—Peace between the altar and the throne—Submission of the anti-pope Calixtus—History of the anti-pope Lando—Council of the Lateran—Crusade against the Albigenses—Persecution of the Waldenses—Death of Alexander the Third.*

AFTER the death of Adrian, the bishops and cardinals assembled in the church of St. Peter, to proceed to the election of a pope. But a division having broken out in the conclave, they were obliged to separate, after having discussed it for three days, without coming to any conclusion. One party wished to choose Roland, the cardinal chancellor of the Roman church, because he openly favoured William the Bad against the emperor; another party wished to name the cardinal Octavian pope, because he supported the other side. At length both parties, wishing to put an end to the struggle between the two rivals, assembled a second time, in the church of St. Peter. At the commencement of the sitting, the partisans of Roland, exclaiming with one voice, "Roland is pontiff! Roland is pontiff!" clothed him with the purple cape, and proclaimed him by the name of Alexander the Third. This scandalous proceeding exasperated

Octavian; in his rage, he fell upon his competitor, struck him a violent blow on his face, which drew blood, tore the cape from his shoulders, and would without doubt have finished him on the spot, but for the intervention of a senator, who cast himself between them.

When the tumult was quieted, the party of Octavian exclaimed in their turn, "Octavian is pope! Octavian is pope!" His chaplain immediately presented to him the cape which he had brought with him, and his haste to put it on was so great, that he placed the caponch, which should have gone behind, before, which excited the mirth of all the assistants. But, without being stopped by this, he opened the doors of the church, his partisans entered sword in hand, and he was enthroned by the name of Victor the Fourth. His competitor, and the cardinals of the opposite party, promptly escaped from the church, and took refuge in the fortress of Saint Peter, which

was that same night invested by the troops of the anti-pope, who made them all prisoners.

Alexander was closely guarded for nine days in the castle of San Angelo; he was then transferred to a prison beyond the Tiber; but all the city being excited by the bad treatment to which he was subjected, Hector Frangipani placed himself at the head of the citizens, and freed him and the cardinals of his suite. They traversed Rome amid exclamations of joy and the ringing of bells, escorted by their liberators, who accompanied them as far as Sacra Nympha, four leagues from the holy city, where the pope was consecrated with the usual forms by the bishop of Ostia, assisted by five other bishops, and in the presence of the cardinals, abbots, priests, deacons, chanters, and seminarists of the Roman church. They placed on his head the tiara or mitre, which was round, and pointed in form of a cone, surmounted by two crowns; the assistants were then admitted to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to him.

Octavian, on his side, had attached a great number of bishops, cardinals, and priests to his party, and had been consecrated by the bishops of Tusculum, Mehu, and Ferentina.

During all these discussions, the emperor, not losing sight of his projects, continued to push his conquests in Lombardy; but whilst he was engaged at the siege of Crema, he received an embassy from the holy father, and an order to suspend his expedition, if he did not wish to incur the censures of the church. Frederick not having made any reply, the pontiff proceeded at once to his excommunication in the city of Terracina, where he was at the time, and by the light of candles, and the tolling of bells, all the doors of the cathedral being opened, he solemnly anathematised the emperor and the anti-pope.

Frederick replied to the excommunication of the pontiff by the following circular letter, addressed to all the bishops and abbots of Italy: "We inform you, lords bishops, that, after having advised with a great number of prelates, doctors, and pious persons, we have determined, in accordance with the decretals of popes, and the canons of councils, that it was our duty, whenever a schism occurred in the Roman church, to call the two competitors who had been chosen pontiffs, into our presence, and to decide upon their pretensions, in accordance with the judgment of orthodox ecclesiastics. In consequence of this, we have ordered the cardinals Roland and Octavian, both chosen popes, to appear before us at Pavia; and we prohibit you from taking the part of either, until the council we are about to hold has decided between them."

Two envoys were sent to carry the citation to pope Alexander, at the city of Anagni, whither he had retired. This step alarmed the cardinals of his court; after mature deliberation, however, they resumed courage, and resolved not to abandon the pontiff, who had received their oaths of fidelity, and made the following reply to the envoys of Barbarossa. "We recognise in the emperor the

avowed defender of the Roman church, and we desire to honour him as the greatest of earthly princes, unless indeed he shall pretend to elevate himself above the king of kings. We are, therefore, surprised that he has dared to convene a council without our authority, and to order the holy father into his presence, when he should know that the power of the popes is superior to that of princes. Teach him, that the church derives from Jesus Christ the power to judge all causes, without being herself submitted to the judgment of any one; tell him we cannot describe our astonishment at this privilege being attacked by the very sovereign who ought to defend it. Beside, canonical tradition, and the authority of the fathers, do not permit us to submit to his jurisdiction, and we should be guilty before God, if, through ignorance or weakness, we were to reduce the church to servitude. Our reply is, that we prefer undergoing every peril, rather than submit to such an encroachment." The two commissioners of Frederick immediately left Anagni and went to Segni, to the anti-pope, who evinced excellent dispositions towards the prince. Victor the Fourth was consequently recognised as the lawful successor of St. Peter in the kingdom of Germany.

Shortly afterwards took place the council of Pavia, which had been convened by the emperor. A great number of bishops, abbots, and priests from Germany and Lombardy were present at this synod, which was rendered still more imposing by the presence of the ambassadors of the kings of France and England, as well as by that of the deputies of other Christian princes. Frederick opened its sessions in the following speech—"Illustrious lords, we know that in our capacity as emperor, we have the right to preside over councils, especially when the church is in danger; nevertheless, from respect to this great assembly, in which we recognise the right of judging ourselves, we surrender to it the decision of the quarrels which distract Christendom." He then retired, in order to give the fathers entire freedom in their deliberations.

For five days the question was agitated, which of the two popes should be recognised as the lawful successor of St. Peter; at length, on the sixth, this piece of information, which was strangely wide from the truth, was produced. "The lord Octavian was solemnly clothed with the cape, in the church of St. Peter, on the demand of the clergy and the people; he was elevated to the pontifical chair in the presence of the chancellor Roland, without any one opposing his election; after which the cardinals and other ecclesiastics sang the Te Deum, and gave to the new pope the name of Victor. When the ceremonies of the consecration and the pious chair had terminated, the clergy and principal citizens of Rome came in crowds to kiss his feet, and a secretary having mounted the tribune, exclaimed, according to custom; "Hear, ye Romans: our father the pontiff Adrian, has

been dead for four days, and now the lord cardinal Octavian has been chosen to succeed him; he is clothed with the purple, and enthroned by the name of Victor the Fourth; do you approve of him?' All replied in a loud voice, and three different times, 'we do.' The pope was then conducted to the palace of the Lateran, with banderoles and other marks of his dignity, in the midst of universal acclamations, and the chapter of St Peter, as well the chiefs of the clergy of Rome, took the oath of obedience to him."

After the reading of this, they heard witnesses, who affirmed by oath the correctness of all the facts related in the writing; the council pronounced a judgment in favour of Octavian, and fulminated a decree of deposition against Roland. On the following day, the anti-pope was conducted in procession from the church of the Saviour to the cathedral church, where Frederick waited to hold his stirrup, whilst he dismounted from his horse; he led him by the hand up to the altar and kissed his feet. Candles were then distributed to all the assistants, and by their light, and to the ringing of bells, Victor the Fourth pronounced an anathema against the schismatic Roland.

The envoys of France and England alone refused to recognise him as pontiff, until they had referred the matter to their sovereigns. Notwithstanding this opposition, Frederick caused the decretals of the synod of Pavia to be published in all Christian courts, and ordered the bishops of the empire to obey pope Victor, under penalty of perpetual banishment; some prelates were self-condemned to exile, to avoid becoming schismatics, but the much larger number submitted to the wishes of the prince.

Alexander, exasperated against Frederick, excommunicated him a second time on holy Thursday, of the year 1160. Following the example of Gregory the Seventh, he declared all the subjects of the empire entirely freed from their oaths of fidelity; he also reiterated the anathema fulminated against Victor and his partizans, and sent legates to publish these bulls in all Christian kingdoms. By his intrigues he gained to his side Abbot of Alms, of the convent of Citeaux, St. Peter of Tarentaise, a monk of the same order, several French bishops, more than seven hundred abbots, and an incredible number of monks. His two legates, Anselmo and Geoffrey, by means of gold, presents, or promises, also determined all the Carthusian friars to embrace the cause of Alexander.

Victor convened a council at Lodi to resist this formidable opposition, at which were present the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, the lords of their courts, and a great number of bishops and priests. They at first read letters sent by the kings of Denmark, Norway, and Hungary, by several metropolitans and foreign bishops, recognising Victor as the sole and lawful chief of the church; they then proceeded to the deposition of the archbishop of Mainz, and declared for Alexander, and

maintained a siege against the troops of the emperor. The bishops of Placenza and of Brescia, with the consuls of those two cities, were also excommunicated; and finally they deposed the prelate of Bologna, and suspended him of Padua.

After the termination of the synod, Frederick returned to his camp, and urged the siege of Milan with such vigour, that the unfortunate inhabitants, finding themselves a prey to the most horrible famine, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The consuls presented themselves before the conquerors, having naked swords suspended from their necks, and crosses in their hands, asking for mercy! The prince spared their lives, but he razed the city without sparing the churches, and cast salt into a trench which he caused to be traced out, as a mark that he condemned the land to an eternal curse.

Whilst the anti-pope was holding his synod at Lodi, Alexander was pushing his way into Rome, to endeavour to instal himself there; but the family of Octavian was so powerful that he was compelled to leave it on the same day he entered it, to return into Campania, under the protection of the king of Sicily. The soldiers of Frederick soon pursued him, even into this retreat, and constrained him to seek another place of refuge. He then recollected that his predecessors, in their reverses, had always found in France imbecile kings disposed to employ the gold and blood of the people to replace them on the throne, he embarked at Terracina with his train, and sailed for Provence.

Montpelier was the first city which the holy father visited; he entered it in the imposing apparel of a victor, mounted on a white horse surrounded by his cardinals. A Saracen ambassador came to receive him, at the head of a brilliant escort of Moorish soldiers, bearing the crescent and singing the praises of Mohammed; the Mussulman humbly prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, offered him magnificent presents, and adored him as the God of the Christians. He then addressed him in Arabic—the holy father replied benevolently to him, and placed him on his right hand during the ceremonial.

As soon as king Louis was apprised that Alexander was at Montpelier, he sent Thibault, abbot of St. Germain des Prés, and a clerk of his chapel as deputies to him; but as these ambassadors carried no money for him, he received them with insulting disdain and even threatened to drive them from his presence if they should dare to reappear with empty hands. They returned to the monarch and rendered an account to him of what had passed at Montpelier; Louis, enraged at the pontiff, immediately wrote to Manasses, bishop of Orleans, to learn from the emperor the exact circumstances attending the election of Octavian and Roland the chancellor, as he repented having too easily recognised the pretensions of Alexander.

At the end of the month of June, 1162, the pope left Montpelier, after having anathema-

tried his competitor a third time, and went to Clermont in Auvergne, with the intention of excommunicating him a fourth time. But Frederick Barbarossa, being desirous of driving him from France, had addressed the following letter to Hubert of Champ-Fleury, bishop of Soissons, and chancellor of the kingdom. "We have been apprised, illustrious prelate, that the ecclesiastic Roland, to whom our servants have left no place of retreat in Italy, has escaped with some partizans, and taken refuge in the states of your master; be careful, most venerable prelate, that this unworthy schismatic does not despoil your provinces, for he is overwhelmed with debt, and will seek to extort money from your people to pay his creditors. We pray you then, as a matter of interest to your prince, to drive away this anti-pope and his cardinals, who are our mortal enemies, and who may excite between Louis and ourselves an enmity fatal to our subjects."

Whilst this message was on its way to the court of France, Henry, count of Champagne, was advising the emperor of the new intentions of Louis. Frederick then sent an ambassador to propose to the king a meeting of an equal number of French and German prelates, who should be instructed to decide on the validity of the elections of Alexander and Victor. This offer was accepted, and the small city of St. Jean de Laune in Burgundy, which was situated on the borders of Germany and France, was selected as the place of conference; the count of Champagne, the son-in-law of the king, and the friend of the emperor, was charged by the two monarchs to propose the principal questions which were to be submitted to the prelates, and he acquitted himself so well of his mission, that he determined the king to take the side of the anti-pope.

The following considerations prevailed with the court of France: "Illustrious prince," he wrote to Louis, "it is indispensable for the interests of your crown that the decisions of the assembly which you have convened should be irrevocable; consequently the emperor pledges himself if the election of Roland is decided to be canonical, to place himself at his feet. If that of Octavian is alone recognised as regular, I have engaged in your name to recognise him immediately as the lawful chief of the church. We have still further determined to appeal to the two competitors to meet, and he who shall refuse to present himself at the conference, shall for that act alone, be judged to be unworthy of the pontificate, and shall be deposed. As a guarantee for my promise, I have sworn on the host, that if you, after so solemn a proof, refuse to confirm the judgment of the fathers, I will at once pay obeisance to the emperor: that is, I will do him homage for all the fiefs I hold from your crown."

Before breaking entirely with the pope, Louis at the entreaty of some bishops, went to Souvigny, a priory of Cluny, to induce him to accompany him to the conference at Saint Jean de Laune; but Alexander obstinately re-

fused to appear before the emperor, or even to go as far as Vergy, which was an impregnable castle. The king, irritated at his resistance, left him abruptly, saying to him—"It is very strange, holy father, that you who appear confident of the justice of your cause make such resistance to the judgment of a council." The pontiff immediately retired to the monastery of Bourg Dieu, near to Châteauroux in Berry, and the king was obliged to renounce going alone to Saint Jean de Laune, trusting to commissioners to procure a delay. The emperor arrived at Dole on the day appointed with Octavian. Both, without loss of time, advanced as far as the middle of the bridge of Saint Jean, and as no one appeared, they left a declaration of appeal attached by a dagger to the parapet of the bridge and returned to their camp.

On the next day, the representatives of Louis arrived at Saint Jean, to ask for a delay from the representatives of Frederick; on their refusal to grant one, the cardinals sent by Alexander to assist at this interview returned to Vezelay, delighted that the negotiations had been broken off. But the count of Champagne, who was truly attached to both monarchs, and who foresaw the disagreeable consequences of such a measure, immediately started for the camp of Frederick to re-establish concord between him and his father-in-law. He represented to the former, how silly it was that a pope should be a cause of war between two such powerful sovereigns, especially when a delay of a few days might bring about a favourable solution. Frederick finally permitted himself to be gained by his eloquence, and consented to wait for three weeks for the arrival of the king of France at Saint Jean de Laune.

Satisfied with his success, the count immediately hastened to Louis, at Dijon; he told him that he could no longer avoid going himself to the emperor, since he (the king) had not fulfilled his promises; but that, by urgent entreaty, he had obtained from Frederick a delay of three weeks, on the express condition that the sovereign of France should go to Saint Jean de-Laune, taking Pope Alexander with him, and that he should submit to the judgment decreed by the fathers, under penalty of becoming a prisoner of the emperor's at Besançon. These conditions were extremely rigorous, but the king could not refuse them, seeing himself on the point of losing one of the great feudatories of his crown; he accepted them unreservedly, and gave as hostages to guarantee his word, the duke of Burgundy and the counts of Nevers and Flanders.

Two days afterwards Louis set out, and sent to inform the emperor that he was coming to confer with him on some preliminary points. Frederick, who was already discontented at the first breach of his word by the king, did not answer his letter, and sent Arnold, his chancellor, with full powers. Louis at first made some difficulty about entering into a conference with the commissioner of the em-

peior; he then consented to it, provided the conventions should be reciprocal, and obligatory on both sovereigns, as had been originally arranged by the count of Champagne.

Arnold refused to take upon himself the responsibility of compromising the interests of the empire; declaring that his powers were sufficient to accept the promises of the king of France, but not to make them in the name of his master. Louis, delighted at finding an opportunity of disengaging his pledge, without losing his vassal, the count of Champagne, addressed the German and French lords, and said to them.—“You see, lords, that the emperor is not here, notwithstanding his promise to come; you are also witnesses that his commissioners desire to change the conditions of the treaty. I am thus freed from my engagements:” and immediately, without waiting for a reply, he mounted his horse and started off on a gallop. All hopes of an arrangement were now at an end, but the wary Victor availed himself of the negotiation of the count of Champagne with the emperor to increase the preponderance of his faction, and he wrote to Rome that the king of France had finally declared in his favour, and repudiated his competitor Roland, who had refused to appear at the conference at Saint Jean de Laune.

In fact, Alexander having been apprised of the bad success of the negotiations, and fearing the anger of the king of France, had quitted Cluny to take refuge in Aquitaine, a province which was dependent on the king of England, who had already recognised him as pope. Henry on hearing of his arrival in his states, went as far as the monastery of Bourg Dieu to receive him; he prostrated himself humbly at his feet, kissed his sandals, and though the holy father urged him to take it, refused the seat which had been prepared for him by his side, and seated himself on the earth. After three days of secret conferences, the English monarch took his leave of the pontiff, promising him to determine the king of France to submit to him; which happened. At the close of the negotiations, the pope obtained permission to go to Coucy-sur-Loire, to receive the homage of Louis and Henry. The two princes gave him a magnificent reception; they conducted him as far as the palace, walking on foot, and holding on each side the reins of his horse, two kings thus serving as squires, which had never before happened to any of his predecessors.

In the beginning of the following Lent, the pope held a council at Tours, at which almost all the bishops of France and England were present. Arnold, bishop of Lisieux, was charged to deliver an address, or kind of sermon, which Alexander had composed, to exhort the assembly vigorously to oppose the schismatics, and restore unity to the church. The following is one of the passages of this long homily: “Rome, my brethren, should rule all the kings of the earth; and notwithstanding all their efforts to divide and subju-

gate it, it will remain one, and will reject its enemies from its bosom. Unity will not be broken, because several popes shall be appointed; on the contrary, those who have desired to weaken it by dividing it, will find themselves stricken by the sword of the Spirit. Rome will come forth glorious and triumphant from all these struggles; and we shall soon see its oppressors, beaten down at its feet, recognise it as the mistress of the world. The emperor, that man whose wrath is as terrible as thunder, and whose arm is more dreadful than whole legions, Frederick Barbarossa himself, will bow his forehead in the dust, exclaiming, ‘Rome, thou conquerest! Thy power exceeds that of Cæsar, for it comes from God.’ Then the bold champions who have combated and suffered to assure victory to the church, will be recompensed; then those who have cowardly abandoned the field of battle, will be blighted and condemned. Let us strive, my brethren, with perseverance and vigour; let us boldly expose our wealth, our liberty, even our lives, in this thrice holy war.”

The synod made several canons, and renewed the oath of obedience to the pontiff, as well as the anathema against the anti-pope and the emperor. After that, the ambassadors of the kings of France and England proposed to the pope to designate the city he would prefer for his residence. He selected the metropolitan city of Sens, which was situated in a fertile and pleasant country; he remained there almost two years, holding a mimic court, and sending his bulls through all kingdoms, as if he had been in the palace of the Lateran.

At length, the anti-pope Victor died at Lucca, on the 22d of April, 1164. Petrus Blesensis says, in his history, that Octavian was solely occupied during his life in increasing his wealth, “in which,” adds the historian, “he did well; for with gold he was enabled to purchase the consciences of priests, prelates, princes, and kings, who permitted him tranquilly to govern the churches of Italy.” Victor the Fourth was vain and proud, and caused himself to be adored as an idol. He had a great aversion for the poor and beggars, and took a certain pleasure in mortifying the afflicted. After his death, the canons of the cathedral of Lucca, and those of Saint Erigian refused to inter him in their churches, declaring that they would rather abandon them than receive the body of a damned person. They buried him in a monastery, situated without the city, where it was afterwards pretended that he performed many miracles. The funeral ceremonies being terminated, his partizans met and chose, as his successor, the cardinal Guy of Crema, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Pascal the Third. This election was confirmed in Germany by the emperor, who sent Henry, bishop of Liege, to Lucca to consecrate the new pope.

But in the meanwhile, affairs changed; on the one side the partizans of Alexander spread

gold through Rome, subsidised all the bandits of the city, and prepared a revolution in favour of the pontiff; on the other, the emperor, by his exactions and cruelties, excited against himself a powerful league through all the Lombard cities, which, since the commencement of the century, had little by little constituted themselves into small independent republics, at the head of which was Venice.

Alexander, seeing a powerful party rise up in opposition to Frederick, determined to return to the holy city, where his party waited to decree to him the honours of a triumph; but as he was unwilling to return to Italy without leaving behind him a remembrance of his journey through France, he imposed a collection on the churches, obtained loans from all the monasteries, and finally embarked with the spoils of a people who had accorded to him so generous an hospitality.

After a passage of fifteen days, the holy father disembarked at Messina, in the states of the king of Sicily, who had already recognised him as his lord. William treated him as the successor of Saint Peter, sent him to Palermo with rich presents, and armed a red galley, magnificently adorned, which he destined for him, and four others less sumptuous, which were to transport the cardinals, bishops, and lords of his suite. Alexander arrived at Ostia with his retinue, where he was joined by a multitude of nobles, senators, clergymen, and citizens, bearing branches of olives. He mounted the Tiber, escorted in triumph by the holy standard bearers, with their ensigns displayed, and in the midst of a crowd of squires, secretaries, advocates and judges, who followed the progress of his vessel, on either bank of the river; the schools, even the Jews, bearing, as was their custom, the book of the law under their arms, followed this immense procession. On arriving at Rome, the pope descended from his vessel, and went towards the pontifical residence, conducted by many young girls, who sang sacred hymns in his honour; between each verse he was saluted by the thundering acclamations of the crowd; at last he entered the palace of the Lateran, and seated himself on the chair of St. Peter; the day closed with a splendid banquet, at which the principal members of the nobility, magistracy, and clergy assisted.

On the following day, the pontiff wrote to the princes of his party, to advise them of his happy installation, with the exception of Henry of England, his relations with that prince having been entirely broken off. This king was too skilful a politician to allow his kingdom to be subjected to the aristocracy of the lords and the government of priests. He had at first made war with the nobles, dismantled their castles, sacked their domains, and rendered them powerless to renew their seditions; that done, he had directed all his efforts against the priests, and particularly against Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, the most elevated ecclesiastic in dignity in the kingdom, who endeavoured to increase the authority of the clergy at the expense of the

crown. Henry, discontented with this priest, had caused him to be arrested in his metropolis, and had constrained him to swear to the constitution of Clarendon, in which the nobility and the church admitted that they held their privileges from the king.

Becket had no sooner, however, recovered his liberty, than he retracted his oath and took refuge with the pope. Alexander interfered in the quarrel, threatening to launch an anathema against the prince, and place the kingdom of England under interdict, if the archbishop of Canterbury was not immediately re-instated in his see, and if the king wished to exact an oath from him, contrary to religious freedom. Henry, fearful of some rising among his people, in consequence of the superstitious ideas of the period in regard to excommunications, submitted to the orders of the pontiff, and permitted Becket to re-appear at his court. The latter, proud of having triumphed over his king, placed no bounds to his audacity. He openly persecuted those who had declared against him; anathematising some, and deposing others, by virtue of the illimitable power he had received from the pope. He even attacked in preference the favourites of the sovereign, and refused to obey him in the most indifferent affairs, under pretext that he was prohibited from touching the privileges of the church.

At last the king, fatigued by this constant strife, suffered complaints to escape him, and exclaimed, "How unfortunate I am in not having a friend who dares avenge me for the insults of a miserable priest." These words, pronounced with bitterness, made an impression on four young lords, who concerted among themselves to deliver the prince from his enemy. For this purpose they went secretly to Canterbury; and, at the moment when the archbishop was leaving his palace to go to church, they suddenly attacked him, and pierced him with nine blows of their daggers. This murder spread general grief among the clergy of Great Britain; all the churches were hung in black; Thomas Becket was declared a martyr; a magnificent tomb was reared to his memory; and he was canonised by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Henry, alarmed at this manifestation, feigned to be much grieved by the death of the metropolitan. He immediately sent deputies to Italy to plead his cause with the holy father, and to prevent any anathema from being fulminated against Great Britain. But the pope had been already apprised of it by Gallic prelates and by Walter Flaman, who had gone to Rome to demand justice for the assassination of the archbishop. Alexander refused to permit the English envoys to enter the holy city. He manifested an extreme affliction for the unfortunate Thomas, and loudly reproached himself before the cardinals for not having sustained with sufficient vigour the cause of the church, for which Thomas had merited the palm of martyrdom. Arnolph, one of the ambassadors of the prince, fearful lest the pope should immediately pronounce a sen-

tence of excommunication against Henry, resolved to go to Tusculum, where Alexander was. Not only did the pontiff refuse to receive him, but the cardinals scarcely deigned to speak to him.

At last, by urgency and presents, he obtained an audience of the holy father. As soon as he had pronounced the name of the king of England, all the ecclesiastics exclaimed: "Stop! stop!" as if Alexander could not hear it without horror. This first interview was without any result; but in the evening, having had the happy inspiration to bribe cardinals and chamberlains, he obtained a private audience. Arnolph gave to him a faithful recital of what had occurred at Canterbury. He recalled the benefits which the king had heaped on Becket, and the injuries with which the latter had repaid the kindness of the monarch. The pope listened very attentively to the ambassador, and put him off until Holy Thursday, a day consecrated to excommunications, without apprising him at all of his intentions.

At last the terrible day arrived. Arnolph had, in the mean time, skilfully gained some members of the sacred college by gold, who informed him that he, the holy father, would in the presence of his clergy, on that very evening, pronounce the anathema against Henry and all his states. Arnolph, without losing any time, at once despatched the following protest: "We are instructed by the king, our master, to swear in your presence, most holy father, that he will defer entirely to your orders for the punishment which you shall judge necessary to inflict on the guilty, and we protest his innocence."

The cardinals decided that after such an absolute mark of submission, they could not excommunicate the king. Orders were immediately given to introduce the metropolitan of York and the bishops of Salisbury and London, who were without the walls of the city, and they made them swear on the Bible that such were the intentions of the monarch. After this, Alexander pronounced a general anathema against the murderers of the martyr St. Thomas Becket, and against all who had given them counsel, aid, assistance, or consent, or who had procured an asylum and succour for them. He confirmed the sentence of interdict which the archbishop of Sens had fulminated against the territories of England on the continent; he anathematised all the bishops of the kingdom, and suspended them from the exercise of their episcopal functions until the guilty were punished; and announced that he would send legates to see that these decrees were fully executed. The ambassadors, however, before quitting Rome, prevailed on him to raise the excommunication pronounced against the English clergy in a month, if his nuncios had not, by that time, passed the Alps.

Henry, apprised of the hostile intentions of Alexander, and fearful of treason, hastened to go to England, and closely watched the ports and shores of the island to arrest all strangers

who were the bearers of the interdict. He then assembled troops at Portsmouth, and went to Ireland with a fleet of four hundred sail to take possession of the country before the arrival of the legate, and went to Waterford, where the kings of Cork, Limerick, Ulster, and Mida, with all the lords of Ireland, who had come to do homage to him. The king of Connaught, who regarded himself as an independent sovereign, was alone absent from the meeting, declaring, through his ambassador, that he would not take an oath of obedience and fidelity to Henry.

After some useless conferences, Henry determined to subdue him by force of arms. He pursued him, drove him from all his towns, and would have certainly destroyed him in a final battle, when he was informed of the arrival of the legates in Normandy. At once, and as if from the effect of a thunderbolt, all his energy left him; he became feeble and trembling before the censures of the Vatican, quitted his army, and embarked for Normandy to obtain his pardon from the envoys of the holy father. The latter at first refused to receive him; then they permitted themselves to be softened by his supplications, and especially by his presents. They however exacted, that before being admitted to their presence he should make a public confession of all his sins in the form of an apology. Henry was base enough to assent to it, and pronounced the following words upon the Bible:

"I neither meditated nor ordered the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and when I was informed of the crime, I was more profoundly afflicted than if I had lost my own son. I however avow that I was the involuntary cause of the murder from the hatred which I felt towards that holy martyr. Therefore, being desirous of repenting my fault, I engage to send to Jerusalem two hundred knights, who shall serve for a year at my expense; and, if the pope exacts it, I will myself take the cross, and make the journey to Palestine. I stop for ever the unlawful customs which I have introduced against the churches, and will hereafter permit my prelates to carry their appeals to the court of Rome. I will restore to the archbishopric of Canterbury all the lands and other properties which were dependent on it before the disgrace of Thomas Becket, and will pardon the defenders of that prelate. I will submit myself to such fasts, alms, and other penal works, as the pope shall impose upon me; and I will go with naked feet to the tomb of the martyr, to receive flogellation from the hands of the monks. Finally I swear to submit always to the Roman church."

The legates made the son of Henry take the same oath, who pledged himself to fulfil the promises of his father, if the latter perjured himself. They then presented to the sovereign his deed of submission, to which he affixed the royal seal. This affair having been terminated, they proceeded to the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, and the king was admitted to the communion.

Since his return to the holy city, Alexander



had enjoyed the supreme authority in full security; but at the end of the year 1166 the emperor determined to re-enter Italy to drive away the pontiff and establish the anti-pope in the palace of the Lateran. For this purpose he instructed the metropolitans Rinaldus and Christian, his generals, to ravage Lombardy and advance on Rome with their divisions, whilst he himself besieged Ancona. This invasion alarmed the court of the holy father, and their fear was the greater, as the Germans, having rendered themselves masters of the neighbouring cities, kept the field and gained ground. In Rome even, parties began to move, and a great number of nobles, magistrates, and citizens, gained by the gold of the enemy, traversed the streets of the city uttering seditious cries. Alexander, on his side, sought to strengthen his party by lavishing his treasures on the Roman clergy; but those corrupt and hypocritical priests profited by the circumstances to increase their wealth, and received presents from the pontiff and the prince whilst betraying both.

In the midst of these troubles Jourdain, the son of Robert, prince of Capua, came to Rome as ambassador from Manuel Comnenus, to offer to Pope Alexander the aid of the Greek emperor against the king of Germany. He pledged himself in the name of Comnenus, to re-establish the unity between the Greek and Latin churches as it had subsisted in the best ages of Christianity, so that the Greeks and Latins should in future form but one people, submitted to one religious chief. He only asked in exchange for his protection, that the pontiff should consent to restore to him the imperial crown, which had been snatched from him by the emperor of Germany. Although it might appear difficult for that prince to collect an army to aid the Holy See, still Alexander, by the advice of his cardinals, sent the bishop of Ostia, and the cardinals of St. John and St. Paul as deputies to Manuel, to open serious negotiations. On the other hand, Frederick Barbarossa found himself arrested in his march by the troops of the confederated republics, who had assembled on the old territory of Milan to protect the citizens of that city, who were reconstructing their ramparts. The holy father at last, very fortunately, received considerable sums which William the Bad had bequeathed to him. This money, distributed among the nobles and the priests, caused the balance to bend in his favour; an army of at least forty thousand men was immediately organised, the neighbouring cities were retaken from his enemies, and an attack was pushed even as far as Tusculum, which had declared for the emperor.

Christian, who commanded the place for the emperor, endeavoured, in vain, to defend the city with his division, composed of Flemings and Brabançons; his soldiers were hurled down, and the papal army was already planting its flag on the ramparts when the archbishop Rinaldus arrived at the head of a powerful body of cavalry. The intrepid prelate charged the enemy, trampled them under

feet in the great plain, made a dreadful massacre of them, and entirely freed Tusculum. On the news of this victory, the emperor quitted the city of Ancona, on which he had seized, hastened his march, and came to encamp before Rome with all his army. Three assaults were sufficient to render him master of the lower part of the city, and of the castle of San Angelo. As he could not storm the church of St. Peter, he set it on fire and forced all its defenders to surrender.

The pope had at first maintained himself in the palace of the Lateran; then fearing lest his place of retreat should be forced, he had taken refuge in the fortified castles of the Frangipani, from whence he kindled the fire of revolt, by distributing among the people fresh sums, which William the Good, the new king of Sicily, had sent him. Rome was defended by a fanatical multitude, who obstinately disputed every house, every street, every place which Frederick attacked. At last the prince being convinced of the impossibility of seizing the person of the pope by force, determined to enter into negotiations with the clergy and magistrates. He told them that if Roland would consent to renounce the pontificate, without prejudice to his episcopal ordination, he would engage that Pascal would do the same, and that then they might all proceed together to the election of a new pope. On these conditions the prince promised to the church a durable peace, to restore to the Romans all the prisoners and all the booty he had made, and, finally, in future not to interpose his authority in the election of the pontiffs.

These proposals appeared very wise to the citizens who were tired of the war, and they replied to the envoys of the prince that they would accept them, and compel Alexander to ratify the engagements. But the impracticable pontiff refused to hear any proposals uttered horrid blasphemies, and swore he would never renounce the pontifical throne, his obstinacy detached all his partisans from his cause, and he was obliged to quit Rome secretly in the garb of a pilgrim to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. He went to Terracina, thence to Gaëta and finally to Beneventum.

Pascal, after the flight of his competitor, celebrated a solemn mass at Saint Peter's, and consecrated the emperor and the empress Beatrice, his wife, placing on their foreheads crowns of gold, adorned with precious stones. The Romans also consented to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to Frederick, and to recognise Pascal as the lawful pontiff, on condition that the prince would ratify the first proposals which he had made to them. All things were agreed to on both sides, and the emperor sent commissioners from the other side of the Tiber to receive the oath of the Romans.

This day, however, became the prelude to a succession of terrible reverses for the Germans; the historian Acerbo Morena, who relates the details of this affair, was himself one of the deputies. "We were in the month

of August," says he, "at a period of the greatest heat; scarcely had we crossed the river when a dreadful storm suddenly occurred, the hail fell in torrents, and, in a few minutes, the country was changed into a immense lake, and two hours afterwards the sun re-appeared beneath a heaven of fire. These sudden transitions of temperature struck all the army as if supernaturally; an epidemic broke out in the camp, and on the following day, when we returned from Rome, the mortality was so frightful that we could no longer bury the dead who fell beneath the scourge. In less than a month, this epidemic carried off one half of the German troops, and forced Frederick to remove from Rome. Alexander immediately left Beneventum and returned to the holy city, publishing every where that the hand of God had struck the sacrilegious prince. At his call the people of Lombardy rose in mass and fell on the Germans—the Milanese especially showed themselves most bitter in this war of extermination. Frederick, reduced to the last extremities, and having no longer but a very small number of troops, saw himself hemmed in in Italy without hope of escape; he then determined to dissimulate, and demanded a truce in order to negotiate with Alexander; but pending the conference he sent his relative, the Count de Murienne, secretly, who obtained a passage for him through the territory of the marquis of Monterrat. Under favour of a disguise, the emperor left his camp in the month of March, 1168, traversed the country of Burgundy, and arrived safely in Germany, where he made new preparations to return to Italy with a formidable army."

Pascal the Third had still remained in Rome, where he courageously maintained himself in the church of St. Peter; but in the month of September of that year, in consequence of an excess at table, he was attacked by a disease which carried him off in a few days. His party chose as his successor, John, abbot of Strum, bishop of Albano, whose morals were worse than his, and who was enthroned by the name of Calixtus the Third; notwithstanding the approval of his election by Frederick, the new pope was unable to maintain himself in Rome, but was obliged to wander about among the cities of Italy.

Alexander continued proudly to occupy the palace of the Lateran, and was engaged in repairing the loss of his treasures, "a thing which he understood marvellously well" say the chronicles. Falcand relates a very singular anecdote on this subject; he says Gauthier, the chaplain and preceptor of the king of Sicily, had been promoted to the archbishopric of Palermo, without the consent of the clergy of that church, who rejected his election as simoniacal and sacrilegious. Complaints had been made to Rome of this appointment, and the queen herself, who wished to give this important see to the chancellor Stephen, one of her lovers, had urged the pope to annul the election; Alexander replied through the cardinal of Gaëta, his legate, that the princess had but

to count down a thousand ounces of gold and he would at once annul the nomination of Gauthier. In the mean time, the latter having been informed by the pope of the efforts against him, hastened to send to Rome an ecclesiastic of Palermo and two lords, who handed over to the holy father, from the archbishop, two thousand ounces of gold. Alexander, who had already accepted the thousand ounces from the queen to depose Gauthier, then received from the prelate this sum, which was double the first, to maintain him in his see, and he insolently replied to the princess, that the archbishop of Palermo had produced arguments of great weight against her, and that he awaited her reply. The queen was unwilling to continue this strife, and renounced the hope of seeing her favourite on the see of Palermo."

History has preserved a letter of Alexander, addressed to the sultan of Iconium. "We have been apprised by your letters, and by the relation of the faithful, who have visited your kingdom," wrote the holy father, "that you are desirous of being converted to the Christian faith, and that you have already received the pentateuch of Moses, the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the epistles of Saint Paul, and the gospels of Saint John and Saint Matthew. We send you, in order to complete your instruction in our religion, a complete exposition of its dogmas, morality, and worship, and we charge our delegates to explain them to you." We are ignorant of the result of this mission.

Albert, archbishop of Saltzburg, had for a long time declared in favour of Pope Alexander, notwithstanding the attempts of the emperor to bring him over to his party. Frederick at length, weary of his obstinacy, determined to take energetic measures, and caused him to be solemnly deposed by the diet at Ratisbon. The metropolitan immediately sent Erchembold, his chaplain, a canon of Reichenberg, to the court of Rome, to complain of the prince and the prelates of Germany. Alexander annulled the decision of the diet, anathematised the intruder in the see of Saltzburg, and declared Albert to be the sole legitimate prelate of that city.

About the same period, a singular quarrel took place in England between an abbot of Malmesbury, and the bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, in regard to the abbatical benediction, which the prelate wished to sell at too high a price. The monk wishing to buy it for less, went to Wales, and was blessed by the bishop of Llandaff, who was more accommodating. A complaint was immediately made against the monk to the archbishop of Canterbury, by his diocesan, who condemned him to pay his diocesan for a second blessing. Whilst, however, rendering this sentence, the archbishop of Canterbury said, "Abbots are very cowardly, or very miserable, since for an ounce of gold a year they can annihilate the power of the bishops, and obtain an entire independence from the pope." In fact, simony was carried so far at the court of Rome, that

the French monks, and especially the regular abbots, obtained for money all kinds of imaginable dispensations, and even purchased the right of dissipating the wealth of their monasteries in shameful debaucheries.

Since the rout of Frederick, Alexander had consolidated his power; he governed his church without the anti-pope dreaming of disturbing him, and most of the Lombard cities recognised his authority. A single city had been able to repulse the attacks of the enemies of the Holy See; it was Alexandria, which was recently built by the Milanese in honour of the pope. The Germans experienced from it the shame of a defeat, and Alexandria had come out of the strife victorious. The holy father, from gratitude, erected it into a bishopric.

Frederick wished to take revenge, and after having repaired the losses he had suffered, entered Italy, for the fifth time, at the head of a numerous army. He pushed into the Milanese, ravaged that province, and put all to fire and sword. The confederated states assembled their troops with equal rapidity, marched to meet him, and engaged him in a furious battle, in which the Germans were cut to pieces. The emperor himself had his horse slain under him, and barely escaped from the strife. This last victory was fatal to the empire, and exalted the pride of the Roman church to the highest point.

Heis says that the emperor was overwhelmed by this new check. "Having been accustomed to conquer and reign in the midst of laurels," adds the German historian, "Frederick, whose character was indomitable, saw himself, by a single blow, compelled to bend before necessity, and to abandon a party which he had sustained for sixteen years against all Christendom. But what still added to his humiliation, was seeing most of the princes of Germany separate themselves from his cause to embrace the interests of the sovereign pontiff. The powerful duke of Saxony and Bavaria, urged on by Alexander, who engaged him to invade Germany to conquer it, showed himself one of his most ardent foes. Frederick, who knew all the plans of his adversaries, saw well that his ruin was imminent; not only were his armies destroyed, but even prince Henry, his oldest son, who commanded his fleet against the Venetians, had been conquered by the generals of the republic; all his vessels had been taken, and he himself made prisoner."

Frederick, however, waited until his generals had obtained some advantages, in order to commence negotiations with the Holy See; and chose as his ambassadors, the metropolitans of Mayence and Magdeburg, and the bishop of Worms, to whom he gave full powers to conclude a definite peace between the church and the empire. They went to Anagni, the residence of the pope, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy. "We have waited for a long time for you, my brethren," said Alexander to them on their entrance, "and we feel a sweet satisfaction at

your arrival; for we could hear no more agreeable news in this world, than that of peace between the altar and the throne. If the intentions of your sovereign are sincere, we will recognise him as the greatest of the princes of the earth. But that our union be durable, he must also grant peace to our allies, and especially to the king of Sicily, the Lombards, and the emperor of Constantinople."

Whilst the German ambassadors were treating with the pontiff, Frederick continued the war against the confederate cities; he even gained a great victory, which induced him to hope he might re-establish his affairs by force of arms, and he determined to suspend at once the negotiations which had taken place between his envoys and the holy father. These prelates, who had been already gained over by Alexander, represented to him that this rupture would excite general discontent against him, and as he replied that his resolution could not be shaken, they declared that nothing was left for them, but to retire to their dioceses, from whence they would assist him with their counsels, as they had sworn to do; but that his power extending only over temporal things, they were determined, for the salvation of their souls, to recognise Pope Alexander as the true chief of the church. Frederick, who feared the consequences of such a determination, then appeared to yield to their urgency, and said to them, "That it was but right for a king to conform to the sentiments of his ministers, and the princes of the empire." In fact, on the next day he went to Venice to conclude a definite peace with the pontiff, and especially to obtain the liberation of his son.

Fortunatus Ulmus relates, in the following terms, the humiliating ceremony to which this prince was obliged to submit. "When the emperor arrived in the presence of the pope," says the historian, "he laid aside his imperial mantle, and knelt on both knees with his breast to the earth; Alexander advanced and placed his foot on his neck, whilst the cardinals thundered forth in loud tones, 'Thou shalt tread upon the cockatrice, and crush the lion and the dragon.' Frederick exclaimed; 'Pontiff, this prediction was made of St. Peter and not of thee!' 'Thou liest,' replied Alexander; 'it is written of the apostle and of me;' and bearing all the weight of his body on the neck of the prince, he compelled him to silence; he then permitted him to rise and gave him his blessing, after which the whole assembly thundered forth the Te Deum."

Peace was concluded and signed on the same evening. On the next day, Alexander celebrated a solemn mass at St. Mark's, when Frederick, with a rod in his hand, performed the duties of a beadle, preceding the holy father, and causing the laity to stand aside. He remained without in the choir, with the German prelates and clergy, who chanted the service. The pope mounted the pulpit on the left side of the altar, and delivered a sermon on the concord which had been established between the two powers, touching

with pride in the predominance of the sword of St. Peter over that of Cæsar. After the sermo, the emperor came with all his train to prostrate himself before the pope, and to kiss his feet; and, finally, when the mass was finished, the holy father mounted his horse to return to his palace, and Frederick conducted him on foot, holding his horse by the bridle.

Six days afterwards, peace was solemnly sworn to in the great hall of the doge's palace. The pope presided over the assembly; he was placed on a throne above the bishops and cardinals with the prince on his right hand. He pronounced a long discourse, in which he testified the joy he felt at the conversion of the emperor, and declared that he received him with open arms into the bosom of the church, as his dear son. Frederick in turn rose from his seat, laid off his imperial mantle, and loudly declared that he admitted he had been deceived by perfidious counsellors, and accused himself of having persecuted the church whilst he thought he was defending it; he thanked God for having drawn him from this error, and swore that he abandoned the schism; that he recognised Alexander as the lawful head of the church, and that he granted peace to the king of Sicily and the people of Lombardy.

The holy Gospels, the relics, and a piece of the true cross, were brought in, and by orders of the emperor, Henry, count of Dieppe, swore by the soul of Frederick Barbarossa, that he would always maintain peace with the church, that he would grant a truce of fifteen years to the king of Sicily, and another of six years to the cities of Lombardy. Twelve princes of the empire took the same oath. On their side, the ambassadors of Sicily and the deputies of the Lombards, swore faithfully to observe the conditions of the treaty. The holy father then granted absolution to the emperor, and entirely freed him from the anathema.

In the acts which relate these proceedings it is remarkable that Frederick was only absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred as a schismatic, and that no mention is made of his reinstatement as if having been deposed by the Holy See.

After the oath had been taken, the German lords came each in their turn to abjure the heresy at the feet of the pope and receive absolution. Alexander then announced that he would hold a council in the church of St. Mark's on the Sunday of the following week. The German and Lombard prelates, the cardinals, emperor and doge, with the Sicilian ambassadors, composed this magnificent assembly. The session was commenced with the prayers from the litany and a discourse from the holy father. After this all the assistants received lighted candles, and the pontiff lanced a terrible excommunication from the pulpit against those who, in future, should dare to trouble the peace which had been sworn to. The candles were then all extinguished, and the assistants sprang to their feet exclaiming, "Amen."

Such was the termination of this bloody quarrel, brought on by the insatiable ambition of an emperor, and maintained by the indomitable pride of a pope. The people, the passive instruments of tyranny, found the chains of slavery still heavier.

Before leaving Venice the prince and the pontiff appointed three commissioners to proceed to the restitution of the territories of the church which the emperor had conquered. Frederick at last bade farewell to Alexander and returned to Césena; the pope embarked with his train on the Venetian galleys for Lepanto; from thence he went to Troja, thence to Beneventum, and finally, to Anagni, which he entered on the 14th of December, 1176, after an absence of a year.

The anti-pope Calixtus, having heard of the abjuration of the emperor, went to the holy father with some ecclesiastics, and in the presence of cardinals and bishops he abjured the schism, took the oath of fidelity, and implored his pardon. Alexander did not reproach him, but declared, on the contrary, that the Roman church received him with joy and rendered to him good for evil; he afterwards treated him with much distinction and frequently admitted him to his table.

The schism was not, however, entirely extinguished; and some obstinate persons who refused to recognise the holy father, chose in the room of Calixtus, Landositino, of the family of the Frangipani, and proclaimed him by the name of Innocent the Third. A Roman knight, a brother of Octavian, took him under his protection and gave him the castle of Palombra, an impregnable fortress which he had near Rome. But, faithful to his policy of corruption, the pontiff offered the knight a large sum for his castle and all it contained; the unworthy lord accepted the offer, and sold the fortress. Landositino was plunged into the dungeons of Cava, subjected to frightful tortures, and finally strangled. Thus was entirely terminated the schism which had for twenty years desolated Italy, France, and Germany.

In the midst of all the disorders caused by the wars, grievous abuses had been introduced into the church; the pope, under the pretext of putting an end to them, convened a general council at Rome, for the first Sunday of Lent, in the year 1179. In his letter of convocation, Alexander informed the prelates of Italy that their presence at the synod was obligatory, which did not render them more punctual; for all knew that councils were only a mode employed by the pope to levy imposts on bishops and abbots, who preferred to purchase with gold the right of not abandoning their habits of sloth and debauchery. On the appointed day, the assembly, though not very numerous, assembled in the church of the Lateran; the pope was placed on a platform with the cardinals, prefects, senators, and consuls of Rome.

Several canons were made to prevent schisms in the election of popes; they decided that a vote of two thirds of the members of the sa-

cred college was indispensable to render the promotion regular; and that an ecclesiastic not having obtained them, who should, however, assume the title of pope, should be deprived of sacred orders and be excommunicated until his death, as well as all those who should have recognised him. It was then engaged about the alienations of ecclesiastical property; it declared those prelates suspended from sacred orders and episcopal dignity who obliged their suffragans and their dioceses to pledge the revenues of the churches to give them fêtes, or to treat them magnificently, when they made their pastoral inspection. In fact, many of the bishops traversed their dioceses several times a year with all their household, and caused the priests and monks to lodge them, in order to husband their revenues.

Among the different canons made by the council of the Lateran, the last is unquestionably the most remarkable, since it is the decree which laid the foundation of the terrible inquisition. It runs thus: "The church, as the holy Leo saith, whilst it rejects bloody executions from its code of morals, does not admit them in practice, because the fear of corporal punishments sometimes causes sinners to recur to spiritual remedies. Thus the heretics who are called Catharins, Patarins, or Publicans are so strongly fortified in Gascony, among the Albigenes, and in the territory of Toulouse, that they no longer conceal themselves, but openly teach their errors; it is on that account we anathematise them as well as those who grant them an asylum or protection; and if they die in their sin, we prohibit oblations being made for them, or sepulture being granted to them. As for the Brabançons, Arragoneses, Navarrese, Basques, Cotterels, Triabechins, who respect neither churches nor monasteries, who spare neither widow nor orphan, nor age nor sex, and who pillage plains and cities, we also order those who shall receive, protect or lodge them, to be denounced and excommunicated in all the churches at the solemn feasts; nor do we permit them to be absolved, until after they shall have taken up arms against these abominable Albigenes. We also declare, the faithful who are bound to them by any treaties, to be entirely freed from their oaths; and we enjoin on them, for the remission of their sins, to be wanting in faith to these execrable heretics, to confiscate their goods, reduce them to slavery, and put to death all who are unwilling to be converted. We grant to all Christians who shall take up arms against the Catharins, the same indulgences as to the faithful who take the cross for the holy sepulchre."

This infamous decree, and the furious preachings of the legates of the Holy See, excited so well the superstitious zeal of the kings of England and France, that these two monarchs resolved to go in person to convert the heretics or exterminate them. The advice, however, of some lords, prevented these tyrants from directing this sacrilegious crusade in person: and they confided the execu-

tion of it to bishops, under the direction of the Roman legate, Peter Chrysogonus.

In his history of the Vaudois, Perrin relates the origin of this heresy, and of the terrible consequences which it produced in the south of France. "In the year of our Lord 1160, the penalty of death was pronounced against those who did not believe in the literal interpretation of the sacramental words pronounced by the priest over the eucharist: that is, that Christ was really in the host, in the form of bread with the tenuity and whiteness of that substance, yet preserving the primitive grossness and form of his body, when it was placed on the cross; it was also ordered, under the same penalty, to adore the host, to tapestry the streets on the days of procession, to go on the knees before it, to call it God, and to strike the breast.

"Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lyons, courageously opposed these new superstitions; he spoke against the clergy and the abominations which had crept into the bosom of the Roman church, saying that the pope had abandoned the Christian faith, that the holy city was the prostitute Babylon, the sterile fig-tree which God had cursed, and that they must no longer obey the pope, nor believe him infallible; that the monkish race was a putrid and pestilential body; and that their vows were the fatal marks of the beast of the Apocalypse. He, finally, unmasked the knaveries of the priests, showing that purgatory, masses, the dedication of churches, the veneration of saints, the commemoration of the dead, were but the inventions of the clergy to extort money from the simple. Valdo assembled a numerous audience at all his harangues, as he was held in great esteem in the country on account of his learning and sincere piety; it was also known that he generously expended in alms the great wealth which he had received from his patrimony. He taught that the material bread was for the nourishment of the body, but that the soul must be nourished by humility and charity, which were the sole and true precepts of evangelical morality. He preached still more by example than words, and led an irreproachable life, imitating the apostles, reading the Holy Scriptures unceasingly, and searching in them for the true means of safety.

"A merit so remarkable, a courage so sublime, could not fail to make the priests his enemies; and he who showed himself the most desirous of his destruction, was the metropolitan of Lyons, who was called John des Belles Maisons. This prelate, exasperated at Valdo for having dared to instruct the people and blame the vices of the popes and clergy, sent him an order to stop teaching, under penalty of being excommunicated and burned as an heretic. The philosopher replied to the archbishop, that he did not fear punishment, and that he should continue to preach against the abominable corruption of the priests, since he would rather obey his conscience and his God, than a prelate who was an atheist and an abominable sodomite. This energetic re-

ply increased the rage of John, who at once sent guards to arrest him; but the people took the side of the apostle, and drove away the minions of the archbishop. Valdo remained three years in Lyons, under the protection of his friends; but Pope Alexander, the third of that name, who was very cruel, though he affected not to appear so, having been informed that a great number of the Lyonese doubted his sovereign authority, and fearful lest this rebellion against his authority should be propagated in France, anathematised Valdo and all his adherents, and ordered John des Belles Maisons to persecute them to their complete extermination. The reformers were then tracked like wild beasts, given up to the most frightful punishments, or compelled to quit Lyons. They spread in bands through the south of France, under the name of Vaudois, derived from Valdo, their chief; and the new doctrines soon made such rapid progress that the countship of Toulouse, and all the people of the southern provinces, declared against the pope . . . .”

It was for the purpose of arresting this religious propagation that Alexander fulminated new anathemas, and preached a crusade against the Vaudois. At his call, thousands of fanatics took up arms and marched for Toulouse, which had then for its consul a venerable old man named Peter Durand, who employed his great wealth in succouring the poor, and who was particularly distinguished for his virtues and intelligence. Regardless of his age and character, the legate, John Chryogonus, seized all his wealth and drove him from France, prohibiting him from returning until he had served the poor for ten years at Jerusalem; he then confiscated the wealth of his relatives, and of those who had communicated with him; he exiled all the opulent citizens because they were suspected of heresy, and put several to the torture to obtain denunciations.

This first expedition against the Vaudois appeared to be terminated, when there arrived another legate named Henry, a former abbot of Clairvaux, who had been elevated to the cardinalate. This execrable prelate advanced at the head of an army of banditti, fortified with merciless orders, which had been sent to him from Rome. Then the scaffolds were erected, the instruments of torture rent anew the victims of superstition; then reappeared all the frightful apparatus which the ministers of tyrants carry with them. Thousands of heretics, old men, women, and children were hung, quartered, broken upon the wheel, or burned alive, and their property confiscated for the benefit of the king and the Holy See.

Whilst Alexander was exterminating the Vaudois or Albigenese, for refusing to recognise his supreme authority, Scotland had revolted on account of the promotion of the Doctor John to the bishopric of St. Andrew's. King William, discontented with the canons of that church for choosing a bishop without his permission, refused to confirm their candidate, and appointed his chaplain Hugh to govern the vacant see. John complained to the court of Rome, and Alexander immediately sent Alexis, a sub-deacon of the Roman church, as his legate to Scotland, who pronounced an interdict against the bishopric of St. Andrew, deposed Hugh as an intruder, and re-instated John as the lawful bishop of the diocese; prohibiting him, however, from taking off the interdict from his church until the king had consented to his election.

William appeared to submit to force, and approved of the election; but as soon as the excommunication had been raised he arrested John, and sent him out of his kingdom. Alexis uttered a new anathema, which was confirmed by the pope in a letter to the bishops of Scotland, and particularly to the clergy of St. Andrew's. Through the inspiration of his machiavelian policy, he gave the legation of Scotland to Roger, the metropolitan of York, who, as an Englishman, was the natural enemy of the Scotch, and ordered him to excommunicate William, to place his kingdom under interdict, and to depose him if he persisted in not leaving John in free possession of the diocese of St. Andrew's. Alexander commanded the prelate to return to Scotland and not to abandon his see, and to merit, if necessary, the palm of martyrdom like St. Thomas of Canterbury. All these steps did not aid the cause of John; he was a second time driven from the kingdom, and prohibited, under penalty of death, from re-entering it. It is true that the prince was immediately excommunicated and Scotland placed under interdict.

This was the last act of authority exercised by Alexander; he died at Citta di Castello, on the 30th of August, 1181, after having occupied the pontifical chair for twenty-two years. This pope, proud, vindictive, avaricious, despotic, and cruel, exhibited a cowardly hypocrisy so long as he had to fear the sword of the emperor Frederick; but as soon as he saw his authority affirmed, he cast aside the mask and revealed himself as implacable as Gregory the Seventh, and even prouder than the monk Hildebrand. How strangely blind are men who even now prostrate themselves before the successors of such monsters.

## LUCIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1182.]

*Election of Lucius the Third—He is driven out of Rome—He makes war on the Romans and re-enters the holy city at the head of an army—He begs for mercy in every kingdom of Europe—He is again driven from Rome—Interview between the pope and the emperor—Council of Verona—Infamous decree against the Vaudois—The affairs of Scotland—New crusade in the East—History of the patriarchess of Jerusalem—Insolence of the patriarch Heraclius—Death of Lucius.*

THE decrees of the last council of the Lateran had definitely devolved the elective power on the cardinals. The clergy and people could no longer interfere in the elections by a negative vote, since it was sufficient for the canonical election of a pope to have united two thirds of the votes of the electoral college in his favour. Thus from this time the cardinalship became the first and most important dignity in the church.

In their haste to enjoy their new prerogatives, the cardinals did not even wait until the funeral rites of Alexander were terminated. On the day succeeding his death, they secretly assembled and proclaimed Ubaldo, bishop of Ostia, sovereign pontiff, who was consecrated at Veletri, under the name of Lucius the Third, by Theodin, bishop of Porto, and the archpriest of Ostia. The new pope, born in the city of Lucca, in Tuscany, was, it is alleged, very ignorant, and possessed, as his only merit, a perfect knowledge of the ceremonies of the church.

See why this unfit prelate obtained the honours of the pontificate. The cardinals having, by virtue of the decree which conferred on them the elective power, assembled to choose a successor to Alexander, pledged themselves to each other not to choose a pope from without the college. But when this determination was agreed upon, it produced a great difficulty; all wished to be popes, and no one would vote for any other than himself. Finally, to put an end to the difficulty, they agreed to choose the cardinal Ubaldo, as being the oldest, and consequently as likely soon to give place to the ambition of the others. Notwithstanding their foresight, Lucius lived four years.

The history of the first part of this pontificate is barren, and offers nothing but uncertainty; it only commences to be interesting towards the year 1183. Lucius is accused of a defect which, among sovereigns, is a monstrous vice,—avarice. On the very day of his exaltation, he wished to reform many usages established from time immemorial; for example, the custom of bestowing largesses on the people, at the periods of great solemnities, and the distribution of clothing and food on the anniversaries of the fête of the popes, or of their enthronement.

The Romans fearing lest this rapacious old

man would finish by hoarding up all their wealth in the vaults of the palace of the Lateran, revolted against him, invaded the pontifical residence with arms, pursued him from fortress to fortress, and compelled him to quit Rome. The populace then spread themselves through the country which belonged to him, pillaged his houses, ravaged his domains, burned his palaces, and over their smoking ruins all swore to die with arms in their hands rather than obey the infamous Lucius, who had gone to beg aid from the emperor and had obtained his consent that Christian, the metropolitan of Mayence, should replace him on the Holy See, by the aid of a German army. This prelate, who was one of the most skilful generals of the empire, would have doubtlessly re-established the affairs of the pope, if death had not arrested him on his march. After the loss of their chief, the army dared not penetrate into the heart of Italy, and retreated towards Lombardy.

Lucius found himself a second time deprived of all assistance, and far from being in a condition to reduce the rebels, he perceived that he himself would soon be forced to obey them. He then changed his tactics, and not being able to conquer the people, he resolved to corrupt their leaders. As he had no money, he sent his monks to all the courts of Europe for the purpose of extracting it from kings, lords, and the common people. All the sums which he thus procured were distributed among the leaders of the revolt, and by their aid, he returned in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. Unfortunately his success was not of long duration; the Romans, irritated at his wish to impose an extraordinary impost on the city, revolted against his fiscal agents, and drove them away with the odious pontiff.

In this second revolution it is just to say, that the people committed horrible excesses; churches were pillaged and burned, nuns violated and murdered on the public squares, priests killed by stripes and mutilated in a shameful manner, and finally, historians relate, that after sacking a convent, they tore out the eyes of all the monks, covered their heads with mitres by way of derision, and sent them forth in a procession, bound in couples, and led by a lay brother, to whom they had saved one eye.

When Lucius was informed of the cruelties which had been inflicted on his clergy, he broke out into a transport of bitter anger. He fulminated the most terrible anathemas against the Romans, and immediately retired to Verona to hasten the succours which the emperor was about to send him. Frederick joined him there, and renewed to him the oath of fidelity and obedience which he had taken to Pope Alexander, under the condition that he would grant to him an investiture of the estates of the Countess Matilda.

A council was immediately convened; and Lucius officially instructed the fathers to resolve the difficulties which had formerly arisen between the Holy See and the emperor. But, in the secret instructions, he ordered them to dally over the matters in relation to the heritage of the Countess Matilda, and principally to occupy themselves with the condemnation of the Romans, and with the measures to be taken to reduce them. The synod at the same time rendered a decree against the heretics of Italy and France, which included the principal dispositions of the council of the Lateran, with an addition of cruel measures, in order to arrive more promptly at the extermination of people who refused to submit to the court of Rome. "Ecclesiastical justice could not show too much rigour," said Lucius, in this bull, "in annihilating the heresies which now multiply in a large number of the provinces. Already has Rome braved the thunders of the Holy See; and her intractable people have dared, from hatred of our person, to lay a sacrilegious hand upon our priests. But the duty of vengeance is preparing; and, until we can return to those Romans the evils they have inflicted on us, we excommunicate all heretics, whatever may be their appellation. Among others, the Catharins, the Patarins, those who falsely call themselves the Humiliated, or the Poor of Lyons, as well as the Passagins, the Josephins, the Arnaudists; and, finally, all those wretches who call themselves Vaudois, or enemies of the Holy See. We strike these abominable sectarians with a perpetual anathema; we condemn those who shall give them shelter or protection to the same penalties, and who shall call themselves Consolated, Perfect Believers, or by any other superstitious name.

"And as the severity of ecclesiastical discipline is sometimes despised and powerless, we order, that those who shall be convicted of favouring heretics, if they are clergy or monks, shall be despoiled of their sacerdotal functions, and of their benefices, and shall be abandoned to all the rigours of secular justice; if laymen, we order that they suffer the most horrid tortures, be proved by fire and sword, torn by stripes, and burned alive. We add, by advice of the bishops, and on the remonstrances of the emperor and the lords, that every prelate shall visit, several times during the year, either in person or by his archdeacon, all the cities of his diocese, and particularly the places in which he shall judge that the heretics hold their assemblies.

They shall cause the inhabitants, and especially the old men, women, and children, to be seized. They shall interrogate them to know if there are any Vaudois in their country, or people who hold secret assemblies, and who lead a life differing from that of the faithful. Those who shall hesitate to make denunciations, shall be immediately put to the torture. When the bishop or archdeacon shall discover the guilty, he shall cause them to be arrested, and shall exact from them an abjuration; or, on their refusal, shall execute the sentence we have pronounced.

"We order, besides, the counts, barons, rectors, and consuls of cities, and other places, to engage by oath, in accordance with the warning of the bishops, to persecute heretics and their accomplices, when they shall be so required to do by the church; and to execute, with all their power, all that the Holy See and the empire have appointed in regard to the crimes of heresy: otherwise, we declare them deprived of their offices and dignities, without the power ever again to hold any employment; and, moreover, they shall be excommunicated for ever, and their property placed under interdict.

"The cities which shall resist our orders, or which, having been warned by the bishops, shall neglect to pursue the heretics, shall be excluded from all commerce with other cities, and shall lose their rank and privileges. The citizens shall be excommunicated, noted with perpetual infamy, and as such declared unfit to fill any public or ecclesiastical function. All the faithful shall have the right to kill them, seize their goods, and reduce them to slavery."

After the reading of this infamous decree, the council heard the explanations of the Scotch bishops, John and Hugh, the same who had contended for the see of St. Andrew's. The pope and cardinals decided that neither had any right to the see, as both had been irregularly chosen and consecrated, and ordered them to resign the title of bishop into the hands of Lucius. A new struggle then took place between the two titularies, to obtain the protection of the holy father. John offered Lucius five hundred pennies of gold, provided he would favour his interests; Hugh gave him two thousand to declare for him against his rival. The pope took the money of the two competitors, and in order to reconcile them, he gave to Hugh the see of St. Andrew's, and to John the see of Dunkeld, with the benefices of which King William had deprived him. When the two prelates returned to Scotland, they wished to enter into the possession of their respective churches, but the king having refused to restore to John the benefices which had been granted to him by Lucius, the war commenced between the two rivals for the see of St. Andrew's, and the kingdom was again troubled by this ridiculous quarrel.

In the east the affairs of the Christians were in a deplorable state. More than a million of men had been buried in the sands of Palest-



time, and the price of so many sacrifices was the miserable conquest of Jerusalem. On one hand, dissolution of morals, incapacity of leaders, and a want of soldiery, left the Holy Land without defence. On the other, a horrible leprosy and continual sickness rendered Baldwin the Fourth incapable of defending his new subjects against the enterprises of the infidels. In this extremity, the prince determined to send a deputation into Italy to the pope, and to the Christian kings, to lay before them the misfortunes of the East. He chose as the chief of this embassy, the infamous Heraclius, the metropolitan of Jerusalem, the same who had been elevated to this important see, notwithstanding the active opposition of William, archbishop of Tyre. This latter wished to profit by the circumstance, to go himself to Rome, and to renew his accusations before the pope, demanding the deposition of Heraclius. But the sacred college and the pope, already won by gold, refused even to hear the illustrious metropolitan. He, indignant at such cowardice, threatened Lucius to proclaim through all the courts of Christendom the traffic which he was carrying on in ecclesiastical dignities. All was useless; the rich presents of Heraclius caused the balance to declare in his favour, and he was solemnly recognised by the holy father.

Besoldus thus speaks of the morals of Heraclius:—"This patriarch became enamoured of the wife of a tavern-keeper named Pascha de Riveri, of the city of Napolis in Palestine, twelve leagues from Jerusalem. He frequently mounted his horse and came to see his mistress, who accompanied him to the patriarchal palace; after some days of debauchery, he sent her back laden with presents, in order that her journey might not be too displeasing to her husband. The latter, however, worn out by the pleasantries of his neighbours, became enraged at his wife, and threatened to put her to death, if she did not cease her intercourse with the patriarch. The beautiful tavern-keeper informed Heraclius of it, and the next day the husband was found dead in his bed. La Pascha then came to reside at Jerusalem in a rich palace, which she publicly inhabited with the metropolitan. When her lover preached at the cathedral, she went there in the equipage of a queen, followed by a crowd of servants, more richly equipped than those of the princess Sybilla, the sister of the king; and if strangers asked her people what was the name of this lady they boldly replied, the patriarchess.

Heraclius had several children whom he carried about with him publicly, to the temple and the court. It is even related that one day, in full council, in presence of the king, the barons, and the generals, one of the servants of La Pascha came to announce to him that she had been delivered of a boy.

It was, however, in the name of this unworthy priest, in the name of Arnold, grand master of the Templars, and in that of Roger, grand master of the Hospitallers, that the metropolitan of Ravenna exposed to the coun-

cil of Verona the sad state of the eastern church; and besought Lucius to permit the Christians of the West to go to the succour of the Holy Land. The pope evinced very favourable dispositions towards the ambassadors; unfortunately it was not so with the kings; they showed very little enthusiasm, and replied to the court of Rome, that the welfare of their kingdoms would prevent them from engaging in an enterprise so perilous and so long as a crusade in Palestine. In fact, almost all of them had wars to maintain. Frederick Barbarossa was engaged in re-establishing his authority over Italy; William, king of Sicily, was repulsing the efforts at invasion of Andronicus Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople; Philip the Second, king of France, was engaged in war with the great vassals of the crown; Henry the Second, king of England, was also detained in his kingdom by the incessant revolts of his French provinces, which wished to detach themselves from his authority.

Heraclius, seeing the bad success of his negotiations, wished to make a last effort, and went himself to Paris, where he was received with great distinction by the king and young lords of the French court. All testified to the patriarch their desire to go to Jerusalem; but the wise portion of the prelates and nobles assembled in council, and decided that the sovereign, who was not yet twenty years old, could not direct a crusade, and should remain in his kingdom. Philip then promised the eastern ambassadors to cause the holy war to be preached in his kingdom, and to furnish from his own purse the necessary sums for the equipment and support of those who should take up arms.

After this first rebuff, the metropolitan went to England, persuaded that king Henry could not refuse to undertake the defence of his relative, the king of Jerusalem, especially as he had to fulfil his promise made to the Holy See of going to the aid of the Holy Land, to expiate the murder of Thomas Becket.

On the arrival of the patriarch, Henry convoked the lords and prelates of his kingdom in the city of London, to deliberate on the question of a crusade. The council decided unanimously that the king should not leave his kingdom, and must be content with permitting his subjects to take the cross. Henry then rose and said to the patriarch: "Since our counsellors have decided that our presence is indispensable for the safety of our people, we will follow their decision, because, above all other things, a prince owes himself to his nation; we, however, promise to give from our treasury fifty thousand marks of silver, to succour our cousin, the king of Jerusalem."

This new disappointment exasperated Heraclius. "Prince," he exclaimed, "what matters your munificence to us? we have more gold than we want; and if we have come so far, it was to seek for a man capable of making war on the infidel, and we hoped to find him here. Since our anticipations have been deceived by him who ought to realise them.

learn in your turn, prince, that if you have reigned until this time with glory, it is because the pope reserved you for his defence; but, as you abandon his cause, know that he also will abandon you, and that injustice shall at length punish your ingratitude and your crimes. Have you forgotten, perjured vassal, that you have violated the fidelity you owe to the king of France, your sovereign? Do you no longer remember, infamous prince, the assassination of the holy archbishop of Canterbury?"

At these bitter reproaches, made before all his court, Henry changed colour, and his countenance exhibited the expression of con-

centrated rage; but Heraclius, without appearing alarmed, continued: "Do not think I fear the effects of the fury which I see on your face; strike me as you struck holy Thomas, and let my martyrdom teach the world that you are more cruel, and more impious than the Saracens." Such was the dread which the priests of that period inspired, that the king, unable longer to restrain himself, and not daring to avenge himself, quitted the assembly.

Pope Lucius died at Verona, before the return of Heraclius to Italy, on the 24th of November, 1185, and was interred in the cathedral of that city.

## URBAN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1185.]

*Election of Urban—The emperor Frederick decrees the title of Caesar to his son—Quarrel between the pope and the emperor—Complaints of Frederick Barbarossa against the pope—Letters of the German bishops to the holy father—Urban is driven from Verona—Conquests of the Sultan Saladin—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Lucius, the Milanese Hubert Crivelli, cardinal of St. Lawrence and metropolitan of Milan, was proclaimed pontiff by the sacred college by the name of Urban the Third.

Frederick Barbarossa, who thought to assure to himself rule over Italy, profited by the moment of respite, which the death of the pope and the care of a new election gave him, to marry his son Henry to Constance, the posthumous daughter of King Roger and niece of William the Second, who then reigned over the states of Sicily. This marriage was celebrated at Milan, on the 27th of January, 1186, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, the emperor had been crowned by the metropolitan of Vienne—Henry by the patriarch of Aquileia, and Constance by a German prelate. Frederick then solemnly declared his son Caesar, and yielded the imperial authority to him.

But Urban, who in the interval had been chosen pope, immediately exhibited intentions hostile to the emperor, and refused to confirm the declaration of the sovereign and the marriage of the young prince, under the pretext that this union threatened to weaken the Roman church. He reproached Frederick with his usurpation of the property bequeathed by the countess Matilda to St. Peter; he accused him of robbing the heritages of bishops after their death, and of obliging their successors to live by extortion; and he finally threatened him with excommunication if he did not restore to the monasteries of men and women the wealth of which he had deprived them by falsely accusing them of employing it in debauchery. All these imputations, how-

soever founded, were but pretexts to justify the conduct of the pope; the true motive of his opposition arose from a sentiment of cupidity. Urban coveted for the Holy See the inheritance of King William, who was childless and appeared to be threatened by a speedy death.

Henry was still in Lombardy, at the time of the declaration of the holy father: he immediately retraced his steps, resolved to take vengeance on the court of Rome. He first attacked a bishop whom he met on his way, and imperiously demanded from him, from whom he had received his investiture; on his reply that he had been ordained by Urban, because he possessed neither regalia, offices, nor a royal court, the young prince became excited against him and ordered him to be beaten by his people. He treated still more cruelly a legate who was carrying considerable sums to Rome; he seized the money by force, and in order to punish the ecclesiastic for the resistance he made, ordered his nose to be cut off.

Urban immediately cited the emperor and his son to Rome to be judged by a council, threatening them with a terrible excommunication if they refused to obey his orders. The two princes not only treated the threats of Urban with contempt, but even redoubled their severity towards the prelates who sustained the side of the pontiff; they blocked up the passages of the Alps and the neighbouring countries, to prevent ecclesiastics from passing from Italy into Germany, and to arrest the Germans who wished to go to the court of Rome: they then convened all the prelates and lords of the kingdom of Geilenhusen.

Frederick opened the sitting by the following speech: "Lords and bishops, you know in what manner we have been attacked by the Holy See, without having failed in the respect and obedience we had promised it. The ambitious pontiff however, who now governs the church, wishes to ruin the privileges of our empire in order to snatch the crown with more ease from the brows of our successors. He maintains, that no layman, whatever be his dignity, should take the tithes which the people pay to those who serve the altar; that it is unjust that kings should claim the right of advowson over lands or vassals of the church, and that prelates alone should freely enjoy them. All these exactions are contrary to the usages of the empire, and we do not believe we can change our ancient customs to obey a priest; still, to show how desirous we are of peace with the pope, we will conform to the decisions which this assembly shall make."

Then Conrad, metropolitan of Mayence, rose and replied to the prince, "this is a grave affair, my lord, and it is not possible lightly to resolve it. We will first write to the pontiff to exhort him to peace and to render you justice." All the fathers acceded to this proposal, and a synodical letter was addressed to the holy father.

In this writing, the bishops of Germany

exhibited their profound affliction at the discord which had broken out between the altar and the throne; they reproached the pontiff with the abuse which he made of his authority in wishing to annihilate the imperial power by depriving it of its privileges, and of encroaching daily upon its prerogatives.

Notwithstanding the lively discontent which Urban exhibited at the letter of the prelates of Germany, he remained none the less firm in his resolve to excommunicate the emperor, and he cited him to appear at Verona to be judged and anathematised. This new step of the holy father was unsuccessful; the inhabitants of Verona, alarmed at the consequences which might result to them from the enmity of Frederick, drove the pope from their city, and obliged him to take refuge in Venice. In this city Urban regained all the advantages of his position; he even formed a league against the emperor, and organised an army destined for the succour of the Holy Land. But at the very moment when he was commencing to embark his troops, he learned that the sultan Saladin, after having defeated the Christian army and made Guy of Lusignan prisoner on the day of Tiberiade, had seized the city of Jerusalem, and subjugated all the kingdom. Urban was so chagrined that he fell sick and died three days afterwards, on the 19th of October, 1187.

## GREGORY THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1187.]

*Election of Gregory—Consternation of Christians at the news of the conquest of Jerusalem—The pope negotiates a peace between the Genoese and the Pisans—His death.*

ALBERT, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Lawrence and chancellor of the Roman church, succeeded Urban the Third, by a canonical election. He was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Eighth, and consecrated on the following Sunday.

Beneventum was the country of the new pope, who, by the testimony of historians, was learned, eloquent, and of pure and austere morals. Like his predecessor, he was much distressed by the capture of Jerusalem; so that, as soon as he was seated on the pontifical throne, he sent his monks through all Christendom, to preach new crusades for the purpose of reanimating the zeal of the faithful for the deliverance of the Holy Land. By his orders, the missionaries promised plenary indulgences to those who should undertake the journey to Palestine, or furnish money for the wants of the crusaders.

With Gregory the Eighth, as with his predecessors, religion was not the only motive which determined him to aid the Christians of the East against the infidel. The hope of

re-establishing in Asia the authority of the Holy See, and of weakening the Greek church, acted most powerfully on the minds of these popes. Besides, this was the policy which had been steadily pursued at Rome since the reign of Gregory the Great.

A contemporary author, Roger Hoveden, relates, that the conquest of Jerusalem produced so terrible an effect on all minds, that the Roman cardinals pledged themselves in writing to renounce their concubines, not to ride on horseback, and not to follow the chase as long as the Holy Land remained in the power of the infidel. Several even engaged to take the cross and to go at the head of the pilgrims into Syria. But, adds he, this increase of devotion only lasted a few days, and all soon resumed their ordinary way of living.

Gregory was diverted from his grief by a difficult negotiation, which he undertook in order to reconcile the Pisans and Genoese, two rival and very powerful cities. His intention was to unite the forces of these two republics, for the purpose of pushing the war

in Palestine. Already had his overtures been favourably listened to by the Saracens; he had even decided them to join all their land and sea forces to those of the crusaders; already had the Genoese sent ambassadors to him to treat of peace with the inhabitants of Pisa,

when, most fortunately for them, he was attacked by a violent fever which retarded the disasters of a new crusade. He died after a sickness of some days, on the 16th of December, 1187, having filled the Holy See for two months.

## CLEMENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1188.]

*Election of Clement—Treaty between the pope and the Romans—Clement pursues the plans of his predecessors in regard to the Holy Land—Fanaticism of the Croisades of France, England, and Germany—Rules for the new crusade—Saladin's dime—Termination of the Scottish schism—Privilege granted to the king of Scotland—Quarrel between the pope and the king of France—Death of Clement the Third.*

PAUL, or Paulinus, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, and a Roman by birth, was chosen to succeed Gregory the Eighth, by the name of Clement the Third. The ceremony of his consecration took place at Pisa, some days after the death of his predecessor. He was scarcely seated on the throne of St. Peter, when his first care was to put an end to the quarrel between the people of Rome and the Holy See. For this purpose, he sent deputies to the senate and the prefect, to make arrangements in regard to the city of Tusculum, which was the chief cause of the discord, and of which the popes claimed possession, to the prejudice of the city. His ambassadors displayed great skill in the negotiation; they showed to the Romans the loss they would sustain if the popes were obliged to choose another city for their residence; they besought them not, themselves, to bring about the destruction of the ancient capital of the Christian world, by refusing to receive the pontiff as their father, and unconditionally. The Romans did not fall into the snare which was laid for them, knowing too well that the presence of the pontiff produced discords and disasters among them. They however replied, that, in order to obtain peace, they would receive Clement within their walls, provided he would aid them to repair the losses suffered in their wars with the Holy See on account of Tusculum.

The pontiff, finding it impossible to deceive the Romans, finally acceded to their just demands, and signed the treaty which was imposed on him.

All things being arranged on both sides, Clement made his dispositions to return to the pontifical city. Before, however, removing from Pisa, he did not lose sight of his project of a crusade; he assembled the citizens in the great church, delivered a long exhortation to them to determine them to undertake the journey to the Holy Land, and even gave the standard of St. Peter to Hubald, the metropolitan of that diocese, with the title of legate;

after this he took the road to Rome, into which he made a triumphal entry.

As soon as the holy father had regulated the administration of the church, he sent the cardinal Henry, bishop of Albano, with William of Tyre, in the capacity of legates to France, to put an end to the quarrels between kings Henry and Philip, and to determine these two princes to unite their armies to march to the conquest of Jerusalem. This embassy was entirely successful. Henry and Philip were reconciled. They received the cross from the hands of the legates, and pledged themselves to go to Palestine. A great number of the lords of both nations following their example, took the cross. The French adopted a red cross, the English a green one.

Whilst the metropolitan of Tyre was fanaticising the people of France, the other legate, Henry of Albano, had separated from his colleague, and had gone to Germany for the same purpose. Thus, on the very day on which King Philip assembled his parliament at Paris to demand subsidies for the succour of Jerusalem, Frederick held a solemn diet at Mayence, in order to publish the crusade. The emperor took the cross with his son Frederick, the duke of Suabia, and sixty-eight of the most powerful lords of his empire. The rendezvous for their departure was fixed at Ratisbon, on the day of the festival of St. George, in the following year; but in order to prevent the disorders which the movements of such large bodies of troops produced, by the conjunction of all the vagabonds who follow armies, under the name of sutlers, valets, and others, all who could not go to the expense of three marks of silver were prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, from joining the crusaders.

Henry of England levied in his kingdom an extraordinary impost of one tenth of the revenues and moveables of all his subjects, excepting only arms, horses, the dress of the officers, as well as the books, garments, and

benefices of the clergy. This impost, known by the name of Saladin's dime, was collected in each parish by a monk, nominated by the bishop, and assisted by a sergeant of the king, and a templar or hospitaller. The king of England made, besides, different ordinances for the discipline of his army—proscribing dice and other games of chance, interdicting to his knights furs of ermine, martin, and sable, scarlet clothing, and ornamented dresses. He also prohibited the officers from blaspheming, from having more than two kinds of meat served at table, and from introducing women into the camp, with the exception of some old and homely sutlers. He authorised the crusaders who had before pledged their property, to exact from their creditors one year's revenues, without this new debt bearing interest during the expedition; finally, he permitted his subjects, even the ecclesiastics, to mortgage their estates for three years, and reserved for those who died during the journey the right of disposing of the money which they carried with them, in favour of their domestics, or for the aid of the Holy Land.

Philip Augustus levied also the Saladin dime in his kingdom, and made ordinances similar to those of king Henry.

Whilst France, England, and Germany were thus preparing for a war in Palestine, the pope was engaged in extinguishing the schism which separated Scotland from the Holy See. For this purpose he wrote to king William and the clergy of that kingdom: "We inform you, my lord, that Hugh not having presented himself at the court of Rome, as he was ordered by Urban the Third, we have declared him deprived of the bishopric of St. Andrew's, and have suspended him from all ecclesiastical functions, freeing his vassals from the oath of fidelity and obedience. We also order, in conformity with the holy canons, which prohibit churches from being left without pastors, that the chapter of St. Andrew shall immediately assemble to choose a worthy priest; and we recommend to it bishop John, whose merit we know. We exhort you, our dear son, to give your aid to this prelate. . . ." William, after having taken cognizance of these letters, was reconciled to the bishop John; he surrendered to him the see of Dunkeld, with its revenues, on condition that he would renounce the diocese of St. Andrew in favour of Hugh. This determination of the king smoothed all difficulties; John was installed in his bishopric, and Hugh went to Rome to be reinstated in his see. He received absolution from the pope, and died on his return.

William, desiring to guarantee his kingdom for the future from the censures of English metropolitans, sent deputies to Italy, instructed to negotiate with Clement for a bull which should declare the church of Scotland subject to that of Rome, and independent of that of England. The brief rendered on this occasion terminated with the following clause: "From henceforth the church of Scotland shall be immediately freed from its depend-

ency on the Holy See, and no pope, or legate 'à latere,' shall be permitted to lanch or publish, interdict or excommunication upon this kingdom. No one, for the future, shall be able to exercise the functions of a legate, unless he is a Scotchman, or taken from the body of the Roman church; and differences which shall break out in regard to benefices situated in Scotland, shall not be brought before any foreign tribunal, except that of Rome, and by way of appeal."

This dispute of the Scotch and English was scarcely settled, when a terrible war broke out between Henry the Second and Philip, on account of the sister of the latter, whom Richard, the son of the king of England, wished to espouse in despite of his father. At first the young prince placed himself at the head of a body of French troops and made war on his father, who, fearing the ambition of his son, obstinately refused to consent to this marriage. Philip then, finding the war protracted, took arms on the side of Richard; and the two people, French and English, murdered each other for a quarrel of their tyrants. As all the money of the Saladin dime was swallowed up in these interminable disputes, the holy father, fearful of seeing his hopes of the crusades vanish, sent a new legate, John of Anagni, who obtained an agreement from the princes to meet at Ferté Bernard, to confer upon a mode of terminating the war.

In this interview, Philip exhibited an inconceivable pride; he imperiously demanded the accomplishment of the marriage arrested between his sister Alice and Richard, count of Poitiers; demanding, besides, that the prince should do homage to him for his estates, and that his brother John should assume the cross. Henry of England offered to espouse Alice to the younger of his sons: but Philip rejected this proposal with insolence, and conducted himself in outrageous language; when the legate interposing between the two monarchs, threatened Philip to excommunicate him, and to place his kingdom under interdict, if he refused the conditions offered by the king of England.

Philip then protested against the decree of the legate, maintaining that it did not pertain to the Roman church to censure a kingdom, when the prince was repressing his rebellious vassals, and avenging the injuries done his crown; and soon the war recommenced more furiously than ever. Henry the Second having died at Chinon soon after, his son Richard succeeded him and restored peace to the two nations.

The two kings were then able to accomplish the vow they had made to conquer the Holy Land; they embarked together towards the end of the year 1190, and sailed for Syria, where Frederick Barbarossa had already arrived at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men. This unfortunate emperor was drowned in crossing the river Salef, or Cydnus. Henry the Sixth, his son and successor, immediately quitted the army of the crusaders, and came to Italy, to receive the crown from

the hands of the pope, and to claim at the same time the succession of William the Good, king of Sicily, who died without children. On his route, he learned that Clement the Third, attacked by a severe malady, had rendered

his last sigh on the 28th of March, 1191.— This pontiff, gifted with great political skill, had re-established during his reign the supremacy of the altar over the throne and had paved the way for his successors to rule all Europe.

## CELESTIN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1191.]

*Election of Celestin—His consecration is deferred—Coronation of the emperor Henry the Sixth—Exhumation of the dead body of Tancred—Frightful punishment of Count Jourdain—Return of King Philip to France—Troubles in England—Complaint against the bishop of Ely—The Normans refuse to receive the legates of the pope—The king of England made prisoner by the duke of Austria—New crusade—Quarrel between the courts of Rome and France—Death of the emperor—Sordid avarice of the pope and cardinals—Philip, repudiates Ingerburge—Death of Celestin.*

Two days after the death of Clement, cardinal Hyacinth was chosen sovereign pontiff. He was a Roman by birth, and was eighty-five years old when he reached the papacy. He was enthroned by the name of Celestin the Third; but, before being ordained, the sacred college decided that a treaty of peace should be preliminarily made with Henry the Sixth, and that he should oblige the prince to make a composition with the Romans, for the restitution of Tusculum.

Celestin having given his adhesion to this measure, a deputation was sent to the king of Germany, to claim the restoration of Tusculum and of the other fortresses near Rome, promising, that on this condition the pope would crown Henry emperor of Italy. The king consented to this arrangement, and the ambassadors returned with this reply: "You perceive, holy father, that I occupy your estates with my army; I can ravage your farms, your vineyards, and your olive plantations; do not then put off my consecration; since, instead of injuring you, I pledge myself to do honour to your city, obey your holiness, and pay you a tribute."

Celestin replied to the king, that he accepted his proposals of alliance, and immediately made preparations to proceed to his ordination, fixing on Easter Monday for the consecration of the emperor and the empress Constance, his wife. The following was the ceremony:—The holy father was seated on his throne, with the imperial crown deposited at his feet; Henry approached the apostolic chair, and kneeled to receive the diadem; the pope, without rising, placed it on the brows of the monarch; he then knocked it off with his foot, wishing to figure by this action that the Holy See was the sole dispenser of thrones, and could at its pleasure make or unmake emperors. Henry having bowed his head in sign of assent, the cardinals lifted up the crown and placed it anew upon his head.

Thus was accomplished the sacrilegious

compact which united two implacable tyrants. Celestin sacrificing the unfortunate inhabitants of Tusculum to the interests of his ambition, destroyed their city to its foundation, and drove away its citizens. Henry, on his side, abandoned himself to all the inspirations of his ferocious character. He passed over into Apulia, to punish it for having named another as king of Sicily, to the prejudice of his pretended rights; he caused the dead body of Tancred, whom he regarded as an usurper, to be exhumed, and following the example of the infamous pontiff Stephen towards Formosus, he caused his head to be cut off by the executioner! His revenge was not arrested by a sacrilege. The young William, the son of Tancred, was condemned to have his eyes burned out by a hot iron, and this unfortunate youth had his natural parts torn off in his presence. Finally, this monster, this unchained tiger, wishing to stifle the spirit of rebellion by frightening his enemies, invented an atrocious punishment, which, until his time, no tyrant had yet conceived. A Count Jourdain, one of the Norman counts, took up arms to dispute with him a fief which belonged to his family; Henry having seized him by treachery, condemned him, in derision, to die upon a burning throne. The count was bound by chains on a bed of heated iron, and crowned with a diadem of burning silver, which was fastened on his head!

Whilst the emperor Henry was ravaging Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, the kings of France and England were leading their armies on the shores of Syria. These two princes, who before the death of Henry the Second appeared to be united in an indissoluble friendship, soon became implacable enemies. This division was caused on the part of Philip by his opposition to the massacre of the inhabitants of Messina, whom the English army wished to put to the sword; on the part of Richard by his refusal to ratify his engagement contracted with Alice of France,

and by his marriage with Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre.

On their arrival in the Holy Land, the princes no longer dissimulated the feelings of hatred which actuated them, and their discord took the character of open hostility. Philip had declared for the marquis of Montserrat, and had recognised him as king of Jerusalem, to the detriment of Lusignan. Richard immediately took the part of Lusignan, against the king of France, and Leopold, duke or marquis of Austria, who, in the absence of the emperor of Germany had remained in command of his troops, and had joined Philip to avenge himself for an insult of the English monarch. These divisions soon disorganized the Christian army, and caused them to lose sight of the objects of the crusade.

Phillip, attacked by a sickness which caused his nails and hair to fall off, was forced to abandon his troops and return to Europe. He embarked for Otranto where he arrived on the 10th of October, 1191; from thence he went to Rome, where he was received with honour by Pope Celestin, who released him from his vow, bestowing on him the emblems of a pilgrim, the palm branch and the cross. The prince then took leave of the holy father and continued his route to Paris, where he arrived during the Christmas festivities.

Soon after the departure of Philip, Duke Leopold followed his example, and returned to Germany. Richard alone remained in Syria, and performed prodigies of valour; but his courage was only of assistance to his glory, for his absence caused him even to lose the kingdom of England, rent by the factions of the earl of Morlay and of Geoffrey, metropolitan of York. These two lords, availing themselves of the absence of the king, formed a powerful party against William, bishop of Ely, chancellor of the kingdom and legate of the Holy See, and, in this capacity, invested with the supreme power. They constrained him to quit Great Britain and take refuge in Normandy. His enemies even pushed their boldness so far as to send ambassadors to the Holy See to complain of him, and to have their rebellion sanctioned. Notwithstanding the accusations brought against William, Celestin refused to condemn him; he drove his detractors from Rome and sent this reply to the English prelates:

“King Richard being absent on the service of God, we are compelled to take his kingdom under our protection. Having been apprised that John, earl of Morlay, and some other disturbers have risen against his authority, and have even driven from England our venerable brother, William, bishop of Ely, we order you to assemble and excommunicate all the guilty, to the sound of the bells and with lighted candles; we also interdict divine service in all the estates of these criminals, until they shall come to Rome to implore our pity.”

An express was also sent into the East to Richard, to inform him of the troubles which were desolating his kingdom. The prince hastened to conclude a truce of three years

with Saladin, and embarked on his return to Europe. Unfortunately he encountered a tempest in the Adriatic, and stranded on the shores of Venice. This misfortune, which retarded his arrival in his kingdom, determined him to take the land route and traverse the provinces of the duke of Austria in the disguise of a trader. During his journey he was denounced by a priest and arrested by his enemy the duke, who kept him as a prisoner at Vienna, and then sent him to the emperor, Henry the Sixth. Richard finally obtained his liberty by paying a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, and continued on his journey. But his brother, John Lackland, assisted by the king of France, had already seized on the crown of England, and Richard of the Lion Heart was obliged to reconquer his states.

During the following year, died the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, the celebrated Saladin, whose sword had been so redoubtable to the Christians. This illustrious conqueror left several sons, heirs of his power, but not of his courage and talents. His death revived the ambition of the Holy See. Celestin then conceived the hope of reconquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, and caused a new crusade to be preached in France and Germany. Cardinal Gregory, the legate of the pope in Germany, convened a general diet at Worms, and spoke with so much eloquence in favour of the holy sepulchre, that a great number of prelates, lords, and magistrates determined to take the cross; the emperor himself wished to command the expedition in person, and would have done it if wise counsels had not diverted him from it.

Some time after, Henry at length received the chastisement due his crimes. He died, poisoned by his wife Constance and a lord of his court, the paramour of that princess. This tragical end excited no regret, so much hatred had this monster raised against himself by his cruelties and exactions. Celestin who had excommunicated him on account of the captivity of Richard, prohibited his dead body from being interred; and only departed from his severity, on condition that his successor should restore to the Holy See the one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver which the king of England had paid. He had even the audacity to demand for the coronation of the son of Henry a thousand marks of silver for each of his cardinals, and moreover compelled the empress Constance to swear upon the consecrated host, that the young prince was really of the blood of the emperor, and not the fruit of her adulteries.

At this same period, Philip Augustus espoused Ingerburge, the daughter of Valdemar the First, and sister of Canute the Sixth, king of Denmark. All writers of the time agree in describing this princess to have been as beautiful as virtuous. According to Mezerai, she had a secret defect which rendered her unfit for marriage. Immediately, from the very first night of his marriage, Philip separated from her, and demanded from his

bishops a sentence of separation. The judgment was pronounced by the metropolitan of Rheims, the legate of the pope, and by some prelates who were moved to join in the divorce, under a pretext of relationship in the sixth degree. This unfortunate princess was confined in the convent of Soissons, and her husband left her in such destitution, that she was reduced to sell her household vessels, and even her clothing for her subsistence. The king of Denmark complained to the Holy See against his son-in-law, and obtained an annulment of the sentence of separation. Celestin even ordered the king to take Ingerburge back again, and to treat her as Queen of France: prohibiting him, under penalty of excommunication, from contracting a new alliance. Philip, without disquieting himself about the threats of the pontiff, married the daughter of the duke of Bohemia.

Notwithstanding this opposition to his orders, Celestin did not launch an anathema against the king, perhaps because he had abandoned the cause of the princess—perhaps

because, worn down by years and infirmities, he thought of nothing but dying. Towards the festival of Christmas (1197) he assembled the cardinals, and besought them to choose John of St. Paul, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Prisque, in whose favour he offered to abdicate. But as all the cardinals coveted the apostolical chair for themselves, they refused to accede to the wishes of Celestin, under the pretext, that it was irregular, and contrary to the canons, for a pontiff to lay down the tiara. Some days afterwards, on the 8th of January, 1198, the holy father died at the age of ninety-three years, having governed the church for six years and nine months.

During the twelfth century, we have seen the popes arrogate to themselves the right of disposing of the imperial crown, and deposing princes. It was from this time that the power of the Holy See could be regarded as really constituted; and it chiefly owed its new influence to the organization of the college of cardinals, which found itself charged with the election of the chiefs of the church.

## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

### INNOCENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1198.]

*Reflections of the historian Mathew Paris on the church in the thirteenth century—Cardinal Lothaire chosen pope by the name of Innocent the Third—His history before his election—Commencement of his pontificate—Treaty between the pope and the queen of Sicily—Innocent preaches a new crusade—He places France under interdict—Pretensions of the pope in regard to the elections of emperors of the west—Innocent erects himself into an arbiter of peace and war between all powers—Foundation of the Latin empire of Constantinople and temporary reunion of the Greek and Latin churches—Coronation of the king of Arragon—Coronation of the emperor Otho—Massacre of the unfortunate Albigenses—St. Dominick orders the burning of Beziers—The pope bestows England on the king of France—The king of England declares himself a vassal of the pope—Council of Lateran—Curious adventure of St. Francis of Assise—The English and French refuse to obey the pope—Death of Innocent the Third—Reflections on his character.*

A monk of St. Alban's named Mathew Paris, who wrote the cotemporaneous history of the thirteenth century, thus speaks of the church: "The little faith which still existed under the last popes, and which was but a spark of the divine fire, was extinguished during this century—all belief is annihilated; simony is no longer a crime; usury is no longer disgraceful, and greedy priests can devour without sin the substance of the people and the lords. Evangelical charity has now taken its flight towards the heavens; ecclesiastical liberty has disappeared, religion is dead, and the holy city has become an infamous prostitute, whose shamelessness surpasses that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Every country is abandoned to the rapacity of monks in rags, ignorant and unlettered, who fall upon the

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provinces armed with Roman bulls, and with effrontery adjudge to themselves all the revenues granted by our ancestors for the subsistence of the poor and the exercise of hospitality. Those who resist this dilapidation of the public money, or who refuse a part of their demand to the envoys of the pope, are immediately stricken with the thunders of anathema.

"Thus the pontiffs not only exercise an odious tyranny, which is still the more insupportable, as their agents, like true harpies armed with iron talons, not only snatch even the last rags which cover the faithful to maintain the luxury of the court of Rome, but even overthrow the traditions of the first ages of the church, and drive away from the domains of St. Peter the citizens who directed them to

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replace them with wretches, called Roman farmers, who leave the work of the fields to pillage the inhabitants of the provinces, and who, in hopes of meriting the good graces of the holy father, send to Rome the spoils of the unfortunate. Thus do we deplore such scandals, and say, in the grief of our soul, that we would rather die than assist at this sight of horror and abomination."

As soon as the burial honours were rendered to pope Celestin the Third, the cardinals secretly assembled in a place called *Septa Solis*, in order to confer with more freedom upon the election of a new pontiff; they first assisted at the mass of the Holy Spirit; they then saluted one another and gave to each the kiss of peace. After this, they proceeded to an election and named the tellers. On the first ballot, the votes were proclaimed, in a loud voice, and it was ascertained that a majority of the votes were given to the cardinal Lothaire who was but thirty-seven years old. His age was discussed at length and, finally, they agreed to choose him chief of the church, and at the tenth ballot he had two thirds of the votes, and was proclaimed pope by the name of Innocent the Third. The election having been proclaimed, the clergy and people conducted him, with acclamations of praise, to the church of Constantine, and from thence to the palace of Lateran.

Lothaire was the son of Trasimond, and, according to some authors, was descended from the counts of Segni. His childhood was passed in Anagni, his native city, and it was only when he had attained the age of sixteen that his mother, named Clarina, a noble Roman dame, conducted him to the holy city and entrusted him to skilful masters to finish his education. Having become a man, he went to Paris to hear the learned dissertations of the professors of the University of that capital; finally, he returned to Bologna to enter into orders. At length Lothaire was named canon of St. Peter's at Rome. Gregory the Eighth conferred on him the subdeaconate, and Clement the Third made him a cardinal deacon of the order of St. Sergius. As he was only a deacon when he reached the papacy, they were obliged to defer his consecration, in order to confer on him the other ecclesiastical degrees.

After his consecration, he received the oath of fidelity and liege homage from Peter, prefect of Rome, who bestowed on him a mantle as the investiture of his charge, a right which belonged to the emperor. This proud beginning was followed by a series of political acts which presaged his future plans for Italy. He visited, in person, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the other provinces which were formerly dependent on the Holy See, in order to bring them back to his authority, affecting all the time not to be engaged in temporal affairs, and repeating, unceasingly, that sentence of scripture—"Whoso toucheth pitch shall defile himself," he loudly declared himself an enemy to the venality of offices, in order to render himself popular; and even fixed the salary of the officers of his court,

prohibiting them from exacting any thing from the faithful. He abolished the office of door-keeper of the chamber of the notaries, in order that the access to it should be free; and caused to be taken away from the palace of the Lateran, as unworthy of pontifical majesty, a counter, at which were sold, on account of the pope, vessels of plate, and where they trafficked in ornaments and false stones. He set in action the sittings of the public consistory, whose use was almost abolished. Three times a week he gave a solemn audience to all the faithful who had complaints to bring; and in the judgments he pronounced as supreme arbiter, he had no regard to the quality of persons nor their fortunes, but only to the justice of their claims.

As he anticipated, his reputation for impartiality soon drew to his tribunal appeals in all important or celebrated cases; for it must be said, that this great ostentation of equity did not take its rise only in a love for justice, but flowed more particularly from an insatiable thirst for authority and despotism, as appeared in the case of Andreas, son of Belas the Third, king of Hungary, who was obliged to go to the Holy Land under penalty of excommunication, and the loss of the inheritance of his father. It was with the same arrogance that he demanded the restitution of the prisoners whom the emperor had made in the last war, and, in particular, that the metropolitan of Salerno should be set at liberty. His legates audaciously signified to the prince that they would grant him twenty-four hours to restore the captives, if he did not wish his whole kingdom to be placed under interdict; at the same time they sent to the prelates of Spire, Strasburg, and Worms different bulls, which ordered these bishops to aid the measures of the Holy See, and to join themselves to the abbot of Sutri, and to St. Anastasius, abbot of the order of Citeaux, who were commissioned to foment the troubles in Germany.

Thus Pope Innocent, faithful to the maxim of the church, that the hatred of the priest should be eternal and implacable, continued to pursue Barbarossa in the person of his grandson Frederick, as his predecessors had done in the person of the emperor Henry. On the day of the death of that prince, the young Frederick was hurled from his throne by two powerful factions—the one led by Philip, his uncle and tutor, who had caused himself to be chosen king of the Romans, the other by Otho, duke of Saxony, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the pretext that his competitor was incapacitated from possessing the crown because he was excommunicated. Then Philip, who was deeply interested in being absolved from the anathema pronounced against him, approached the holy father, and by means of money, obtained his absolution. The price of this felony, besides the payment of large sums, had been the promise of setting at liberty, without a ransom, the archbishop of Salerno and the prelates who were his fellow prisoners. This done, the bishops of Sutri

proceeded in his pontifical habit, with the ceremony of the coronation of Philip.

Ten years of civil war was the result to Germany of the astute policy of the court of Rome. The pope did not fail to profit by these deplorable divisions, to recover, by temporal and spiritual arms, Romagna, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and the patrimony of the countess Matilda. After this he despoiled the senate and prefects of Rome of all their rights, and sought to render the pontifical see independent of the authority of the emperors.

During this year (1198) the empress Constance, the widow of Henry the Sixth, died at Palermo; appointing Innocent the Third regent of the kingdom of Sicily, and leaving him enormous sums to assure him the reimbursement, in advance, of all the expense he would be obliged to be at in defence of the estates of her son. This regency was so profitable to the holy father, that after exercising it for one year, Innocent had not only repaired the losses of his treasury, but had been able to lay by enough money to undertake an active war against the neighbouring princes, for the purpose of re-establishing his authority over the old domains of the church.

The pope, content with his actions in Italy, wished to perform the same beyond it. He published new crusades, and sent his legions of monks through all parts of Europe, to excite the fanaticism of the nations. As usual, France was the first to range itself beneath the flag of Christ, notwithstanding the active opposition of king Philip, who was excommunicated. Thanks to the skill of Peter of Capua, the legate of the Holy See, the prince was constrained to obey the church and make peace with England, in order to send his best troops into the Holy Land. A part of his army went to Marseilles, and the rest to Venice, for the purpose of passing over into Syria more expeditiously; it, however, turned out otherwise, on account of the failure of vessels and money. Fortunately, the doge of Venice consented to place the galleys of the republic at the service of the crusaders, provided they would aid him in chastising the pirates of the Adriatic, and would besiege Zara, a maritime city belonging to the Venetians, but which had been conquered by the Hungarians. This arrangement was agreed to; and without farther delay, the French invested Zara and carried it by storm, without troubling themselves concerning the prohibition of the pope, who had taken it under his protection. This event did not make much noise, and the conquerors were excused on the payment of a sum of money to the court of Rome, to raise the excommunication they had incurred by making war against a crusader.

Innocent, whose only object was the extension of his authority over foreigners, endeavoured to enter into negotiations with the eastern empire; but his excessive pride caused him to repel all kinds of concessions; furious, then, at not having been able to subject the

Greeks to his sway, he resolved to destroy them by inciting the Bulgarians to revolt, and detaching from the empire a great part of Serbia, which he gave to Voulk, the governor of that province. He had even commanded the French to march against Constantinople, when a new rupture took place between the courts of Rome and France, occasioned by the second marriage of Philip with Agnes of Meranie. The pope, whose policy was hostile to this union, ordered his legate, Peter of Capua, to place the kingdom under interdict, until the prince had retaken his first wife Ingerburge, and made his submission to the Holy See. At the same time he wrote to all the French prelates, declaring himself to be the sovereign dispenser of churches, and that they must observe and execute the sentence in the dioceses of their jurisdiction, under penalty of deposition, and the loss of their benefices. The prelates of France, fearing the thunders of Rome, obeyed the orders of the holy father with such rigour, that all the churches were closed for eight months, and the dead remained unburied. Finally, as such a state of things could not continue without serious injury to the royal authority, Philip solicited pardon, and the excommunication was raised, on condition that he would take back his wife Ingerburge, before the expiration of a delay, which was fixed at six months, six weeks, six days, and six hours.

Germany continued exposed to the horrors of a civil war, in consequence of the divisions excited by the Holy See. The empire of the West had three emperors, the young Frederick, Philip of Suabia, and Otho of Saxony, who disputed for the imperial crown with arms. Innocent had at first declared for Philip; he then suffered himself to be gained over by the presents of Otho of Saxony, and recognised him as emperor, to the prejudice of the young king of Sicily, his pupil, alleging as a pretext for such strange conduct, that Frederick would be too formidable to the Holy See, if he united on his head the crowns of Sicily and Germany, and that Philip of Suabia was unworthy of the crown, having invaded the patrimony of St. Peter with arms.

The pope consequently wrote to Otho: "By the authority which God has given us in the person of St. Peter, we declare you king, and we order the people to render you, in this capacity, homage and obedience. We, however, shall expect you to subscribe to all our desires as a return for the imperial crown." The legate charged with the publication of this bull came to Cologne, where he convened in an assembly all the partizans of Otho; in their presence he declared him emperor of Germany, and excommunicated all who bore arms against him, and, in particular, Philip of Suabia and his partizans.

The decree of the holy father was received by the people of Cologne with great demonstrations of joy; but it was not so in the northern provinces of Germany. A great number of prelates and lords refused to confirm the election of Otho, and sent the following ener-

tine, and the price of so many sacrifices was the miserable conquest of Jerusalem. On one hand, dissolution of morals, incapacity of leaders, and a want of soldiery, left the Holy Land without defence. On the other, a horrible leprosy and continual sickness rendered Baldwin the Fourth incapable of defending his new subjects against the enterprises of the infidels. In this extremity, the prince determined to send a deputation into Italy to the pope, and to the Christian kings, to lay before them the misfortunes of the East. He chose as the chief of this embassy, the infamous Heraclius, the metropolitan of Jerusalem, the same who had been elevated to this important see, notwithstanding the active opposition of William, archbishop of Tyre. This latter wished to profit by the circumstance, to go himself to Rome, and to renew his accusation before the pope, demanding the deposition of Heraclius. But the sacred college and the pope, already won by gold, refused even to hear the illustrious metropolitan. He, indignant at such cowardice, threatened Lucius to proclaim through all the courts of Christendom the traffic which he was carrying on in ecclesiastical dignities. All was useless; the rich presents of Heraclius caused the balance to declare in his favour, and he was solemnly recognised by the holy father.

Besoldus thus speaks of the morals of Heraclius:—"This patriarch became enamoured of the wife of a tavern-keeper named Pascha de Riveri, of the city of Napolis in Palestine, twelve leagues from Jerusalem. He frequently mounted his horse and came to see his mistress, who accompanied him to the patriarchal palace; after some days of debauchery, he sent her back laden with presents, in order that her journey might not be too displeasing to her husband. The latter, however, worn out by the pleasantries of his neighbours, became enraged at his wife, and threatened to put her to death, if she did not cease her intercourse with the patriarch. The beautiful tavern-keeper informed Heraclius of it, and the next day the husband was found dead in his bed. La Pascha then came to reside at Jerusalem in a rich palace, which she publicly inhabited with the metropolitan. When her lover preached at the cathedral, she went there in the equipage of a queen, followed by a crowd of servants, more richly equipped than those of the princess Sybilla, the sister of the king; and if strangers asked her people what was the name of this lady they boldly replied, the patriarchess.

Heraclius had several children whom he carried about with him publicly, to the temple and the court. It is even related that one day, in full council, in presence of the king, the barons, and the generals, one of the servants of La Pascha came to announce to him that she had been delivered of a boy.

It was, however, in the name of this unworthy priest, in the name of Arnold, grand master of the Templars, and in that of Roger, grand master of the Hospitallers, that the metropolitan of Ravenna exposed to the coun-

oil of Verona the sad state of the eastern church; and besought Lucius to permit the Christians of the West to go to the succour of the Holy Land. The pope evinced very favourable dispositions towards the ambassadors; unfortunately it was not so with the kings; they showed very little enthusiasm, and replied to the court of Rome, that the welfare of their kingdoms would prevent them from engaging in an enterprise so perilous and so long as a crusade in Palestine. In fact, almost all of them had wars to maintain. Frederick Barbarossa was engaged in re-establishing his authority over Italy; William, king of Sicily, was repulsing the efforts at invasion of Andronicus Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople; Philip the Second, king of France, was engaged in war with the great vassals of the crown; Henry the Second, king of England, was also detained in his kingdom by the incessant revolts of his French provinces, which wished to detach themselves from his authority.

Heraclius, seeing the bad success of his negotiations, wished to make a last effort, and went himself to Paris, where he was received with great distinction by the king and young lords of the French court. All testified to the patriarch their desire to go to Jerusalem; but the wise portion of the prelates and nobles assembled in council, and decided that the sovereign, who was not yet twenty years old, could not direct a crusade, and should remain in his kingdom. Philip then promised the eastern ambassadors to cause the holy war to be preached in his kingdom, and to furnish from his own purse the necessary sums for the equipment and support of those who should take up arms.

After this first rebuff, the metropolitan went to England, persuaded that king Henry could not refuse to undertake the defence of his relative, the king of Jerusalem, especially as he had to fulfil his promise made to the Holy See of going to the aid of the Holy Land, to expiate the murder of Thomas Becket.

On the arrival of the patriarch, Henry convoked the lords and prelates of his kingdom in the city of London, to deliberate on the question of a crusade. The council decided unanimously that the king should not leave his kingdom, and must be content with permitting his subjects to take the cross. Henry then rose and said to the patriarch: "Since our counsellors have decided that our presence is indispensable for the safety of our people, we will follow their decision, because, above all other things, a prince owes himself to his nation; we, however, promise to give from our treasury fifty thousand marks of silver, to succour our cousin, the king of Jerusalem."

This new disappointment exasperated Heraclius. "Prince," he exclaimed, "what matters your munificence to us? we have more gold than we want; and if we have come so far, it was to seek for a man capable of making war on the infidel, and we hoped to find him here. Since our anticipations have been deceived by him who ought to realise them

learn in your turn, prince, that if you have reigned until this time with glory, it is because the pope reserved you for his defence; but, as you abandon his cause, know that he also will abandon you, and that injustice shall at length punish your ingratitude and your crimes. Have you forgotten, perjured vassal, that you have violated the fidelity you owe to the king of France, your sovereign? Do you no longer remember, infamous prince, the assassination of the holy archbishop of Canterbury?"

At these bitter reproaches, made before all his court, Henry changed colour, and his countenance exhibited the expression of con-

centrated rage; but Heraclius, without appearing alarmed, continued: "Do not think I fear the effects of the fury which I see on your face; strike me as you struck holy Thomas, and let my martyrdom teach the world that you are more cruel, and more impious than the Saracens." Such was the dread which the priests of that period inspired, that the king, unable longer to restrain himself, and not daring to avenge himself, quitted the assembly.

Pope Lucius died at Verona, before the return of Heraclius to Italy, on the 24th of November, 1185, and was interred in the cathedral of that city.

## URBAN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1185.]

*Election of Urban—The emperor Frederick decrees the title of Cæsar to his son—Quarrel between the pope and the emperor—Complaints of Frederick Barbarossa against the pope—Letters of the German bishops to the holy father—Urban is driven from Verona—Conquests of the Sultan Saladin—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Lucius, the Milanese Hubert Crivelli, cardinal of St. Lawrence and metropolitan of Milan, was proclaimed pontiff by the sacred college by the name of Urban the Third.

Frederick Barbarossa, who thought to assure to himself rule over Italy, profited by the moment of respite, which the death of the pope and the care of a new election gave him, to marry his son Henry to Constance, the posthumous daughter of King Roger and niece of William the Second, who then reigned over the states of Sicily. This marriage was celebrated at Milan, on the 27th of January, 1186, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, the emperor had been crowned by the metropolitan of Vienne—Henry by the patriarch of Aquileia, and Constance by a German prelate. Frederick then solemnly declared his son Cæsar, and yielded the imperial authority to him.

But Urban, who in the interval had been chosen pope, immediately exhibited intentions hostile to the emperor, and refused to confirm the declaration of the sovereign and the marriage of the young prince, under the pretext that this union threatened to weaken the Roman church. He reproached Frederick with his usurpation of the property bequeathed by the countess Matilda to St. Peter; he accused him of robbing the heritages of bishops after their death, and of obliging their successors to live by extortion; and he finally threatened him with excommunication if he did not restore to the monasteries of men and women the wealth of which he had deprived them by falsely accusing them of employing it in debauchery. All these imputations, how-

soever founded, were but pretexts to justify the conduct of the pope; the true motive of his opposition arose from a sentiment of avarice. Urban coveted for the Holy See the inheritance of King William, who was childless and appeared to be threatened by a speedy death.

Henry was still in Lombardy, at the time of the declaration of the holy father: he immediately retraced his steps, resolved to take vengeance on the court of Rome. He first attacked a bishop whom he met on his way, and imperiously demanded from him, from whom he had received his investiture; on his reply that he had been ordained by Urban, because he possessed neither regalia, offices, nor a royal court, the young prince became excited against him and ordered him to be beaten by his people. He treated still more cruelly a legate who was carrying considerable sums to Rome; he seized the money by force, and in order to punish the ecclesiastic for the resistance he made, ordered his nose to be cut off.

Urban immediately cited the emperor and his son to Rome to be judged by a council, threatening them with a terrible excommunication if they refused to obey his orders. The two princes not only treated the threats of Urban with contempt, but even redoubled their severity towards the prelates who sustained the side of the pontiff; they blocked up the passages of the Alps and the neighbouring countries, to prevent ecclesiastics from passing from Italy into Germany, and to arrest the Germans who wished to go to the court of Rome: they then convened all the prelates and lords of the kingdom of Gothenhusen.

Frederick opened the sitting by the following speech: "Lords and bishops, you know in what manner we have been attacked by the Holy See, without having failed in the respect and obedience we had promised it. The ambitious pontiff however, who now governs the church, wishes to ruin the privileges of our empire in order to snatch the crown with more ease from the brows of our successors. He maintains, that no layman, whatever be his dignity, should take the tithes which the people pay to those who serve the altar; that it is unjust that kings should claim the right of advowson over lands or vassals of the church, and that prelates alone should freely enjoy them. All these exactions are contrary to the usages of the empire, and we do not believe we can change our ancient customs to obey a priest; still, to show how desirous we are of peace with the pope, we will conform to the decisions which this assembly shall make."

Then Conrad, metropolitan of Mayence, rose and replied to the prince, "this is a grave affair, my lord, and it is not possible lightly to resolve it. We will first write to the pontiff to exhort him to peace and to render you justice." All the fathers acceded to this proposal, and a synodical letter was addressed to the holy father.

In this writing, the bishops of Germany

exhibited their profound affliction at the discord which had broken out between the altar and the throne; they reproached the pontiff with the abuse which he made of his authority in wishing to annihilate the imperial power by depriving it of its privileges, and of encroaching daily upon its prerogatives.

Notwithstanding the lively discontent which Urban exhibited at the letter of the prelates of Germany, he remained none the less firm in his resolve to excommunicate the emperor, and he cited him to appear at Verona to be judged and anathematised. This new step of the holy father was unsuccessful; the inhabitants of Verona, alarmed at the consequences which might result to them from the enmity of Frederick, drove the pope from their city, and obliged him to take refuge in Venice. In this city Urban regained all the advantages of his position; he even formed a league against the emperor, and organised an army destined for the succour of the Holy Land. But at the very moment when he was commencing to embark his troops, he learned that the sultan Saladin, after having defeated the Christian army and made Guy of Lusignan prisoner on the day of Tiberiade, had seized the city of Jerusalem, and subjugated all the kingdom. Urban was so chagrined that he fell sick and died three days afterwards, on the 19th of October, 1187.

## GREGORY THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1187.]

*Election of Gregory—Consternation of Christians at the news of the conquest of Jerusalem—The pope negotiates a peace between the Genoese and the Pisans—His death.*

ALBERT, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Lawrence and chancellor of the Roman church, succeeded Urban the Third, by a canonical election. He was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Eighth, and consecrated on the following Sunday.

Beneventum was the country of the new pope, who, by the testimony of historians, was learned, eloquent, and of pure and austere morals. Like his predecessor, he was much distressed by the capture of Jerusalem; so that, as soon as he was seated on the pontifical throne, he sent his monks through all Christendom, to preach new crusades for the purpose of re-animating the zeal of the faithful for the deliverance of the Holy Land. By his orders, the missionaries promised plenary indulgences to those who should undertake the journey to Palestine, or furnish money for the wants of the crusaders.

With Gregory the Eighth, as with his predecessors, religion was not the only motive which determined him to aid the Christians of the East against the infidel. The hope of

re-establishing in Asia the authority of the Holy See, and of weakening the Greek church, acted most powerfully on the minds of these popes. Besides, this was the policy which had been steadily pursued at Rome since the reign of Gregory the Great.

A contemporary author, Roger Hoveden, relates, that the conquest of Jerusalem produced so terrible an effect on all minds, that the Roman cardinals pledged themselves in writing to renounce their concubines, not to ride on horseback, and not to follow the chase as long as the Holy Land remained in the power of the infidel. Several even engaged to take the cross and to go at the head of the pilgrims into Syria. But, adds he, this increase of devotion only lasted a few days, and all soon resumed their ordinary way of living.

Gregory was diverted from his grief by a difficult negotiation, which he undertook in order to reconcile the Pisans and Genoese, two rival and very powerful cities. His intention was to unite the forces of these two republics, for the purpose of pushing the war

in Palestine. Already had his overtures been favourably listened to by the G'sans; he had even decided them to join all their land and sea forces to those of the crusaders; already had the Genoese sent ambassadors to him to treat of peace with the inhabitants of Pisa,

when, most fortunately for them, he was attacked by a violent fever which retarded the disasters of a new crusade. He died after a sickness of some days, on the 16th of December, 1187, having filled the Holy See for two months.

## CLEMENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1188.]

*Election of Clement—Treaty between the pope and the Romans—Clement pursues the plans of his predecessors in regard to the Holy Land—Fanaticism of the Croises of France, England, and Germany—Rules for the new crusade—Saladin's dime—Termination of the Scottish schism—Privilege granted to the king of Scotland—Quarrel between the pope and the king of France—Death of Clement the Third.*

PAUL, or Paulinus, cardinal bishop of Palestine, and a Roman by birth, was chosen to succeed Gregory the Eighth, by the name of Clement the Third. The ceremony of his consecration took place at Pisa, some days after the death of his predecessor. He was scarcely seated on the throne of St. Peter, when his first care was to put an end to the quarrel between the people of Rome and the Holy See. For this purpose, he sent deputies to the senate and the prefect, to make arrangements in regard to the city of Tusculum, which was the chief cause of the discord, and of which the popes claimed possession, to the prejudice of the city. His ambassadors displayed great skill in the negotiation; they showed to the Romans the loss they would sustain if the popes were obliged to choose another city for their residence; they besought them not, themselves, to bring about the destruction of the ancient capital of the Christian world, by refusing to receive the pontiff as their father, and unconditionally. The Romans did not fall into the snare which was laid for them, knowing too well that the presence of the pontiff produced discords and disasters among them. They however replied, that, in order to obtain peace, they would receive Clement within their walls, provided he would aid them to repair the losses suffered in their wars with the Holy See on account of Tusculum.

The pontiff, finding it impossible to deceive the Romans, finally acceded to their just demands, and signed the treaty which was imposed on him.

All things being arranged on both sides, Clement made his dispositions to return to the pontifical city. Before, however, removing from Pisa, he did not lose sight of his project of a crusade; he assembled the citizens in the great church, delivered a long exhortation to them to determine them to undertake the journey to the Holy Land, and even gave the standard of St. Peter to Hubald, the metropolitan of that diocese, with the title of legate;

after this he took the road to Rome, into which he made a triumphal entry.

As soon as the holy father had regulated the administration of the church, he sent the cardinal Henry, bishop of Albano, with William of Tyre, in the capacity of legates to France, to put an end to the quarrels between kings Henry and Philip, and to determine these two princes to unite their armies to march to the conquest of Jerusalem. This embassy was entirely successful. Henry and Philip were reconciled. They received the cross from the hands of the legates, and pledged themselves to go to Palestine. A great number of the lords of both nations following their example, took the cross. The French adopted a red cross, the English a green one.

Whilst the metropolitan of Tyre was fanaticising the people of France, the other legate, Henry of Albano, had separated from his colleague, and had gone to Germany for the same purpose. Thus, on the very day on which King Philip assembled his parliament at Paris to demand subsidies for the succour of Jerusalem, Frederick held a solemn diet at Mayence, in order to publish the crusade. The emperor took the cross with his son Frederick, the duke of Suabia, and sixty-eight of the most powerful lords of his empire. The rendezvous for their departure was fixed at Ratisbon, on the day of the festival of St. George, in the following year; but in order to prevent the disorders which the movements of such large bodies of troops produced, by the conjunction of all the vagabonds who follow armies, under the name of sutlers, valets, and others, all who could not go to the expense of three marks of silver were prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, from joining the crusaders.

Henry of England levied in his kingdom an extraordinary impost of one tenth of the revenues and moveables of all his subjects, excepting only arms, horses, the dress of the officers, as well as the books, garments, &

benefices of the clergy. This impost, known by the name of Saladin's dime, was collected in each parish by a monk, nominated by the bishop, and assisted by a sergeant of the king, and a templar or hospitaller. The king of England made, besides, different ordinances for the discipline of his army—proscribing dice and other games of chance, interdicting to his knights furs of ermine, martin, and sable, scarlet clothing, and ornamented dresses. He also prohibited the officers from blaspheming, from having more than two kinds of meat served at table, and from introducing women into the camp, with the exception of some old and homely sutlers. He authorised the crusaders who had before pledged their property, to exact from their creditors one year's revenues, without this new debt bearing interest during the expedition; finally, he permitted his subjects, even the ecclesiastics, to mortgage their estates for three years, and reserved for those who died during the journey the right of disposing of the money which they carried with them, in favour of their domestics, or for the aid of the Holy Land.

Philip Augustus levied also the Saladin dime in his kingdom, and made ordinances similar to those of king Henry.

Whilst France, England, and Germany were thus preparing for a war in Palestine, the pope was engaged in extinguishing the schism which separated Scotland from the Holy See. For this purpose he wrote to king William and the clergy of that kingdom: "We inform you, my lord, that Hugh not having presented himself at the court of Rome, as he was ordered by Urban the Third, we have declared him deprived of the bishopric of St. Andrew's, and have suspended him from all ecclesiastical functions, freeing his vassals from the oath of fidelity and obedience. We also order, in conformity with the holy canons, which prohibit churches from being left without pastors, that the chapter of St. Andrew shall immediately assemble to choose a worthy priest; and we recommend to it bishop John, whose merit we know. We exhort you, our dear son, to give your aid to this prelate. . . ." William, after having taken cognizance of these letters, was reconciled to the bishop John; he surrendered to him the see of Dunkeld, with its revenues, on condition that he would renounce the diocese of St. Andrew in favour of Hugh. This determination of the king smoothed all difficulties; John was installed in his bishopric, and Hugh went to Rome to be reinstated in his see. He received absolution from the pope, and died on his return.

William, desiring to guarantee his kingdom for the future from the censures of English metropolitans, sent deputies to Italy, instructed to negotiate with Clement for a bull which should declare the church of Scotland subject to that of Rome, and independent of that of England. The brief rendered on this occasion terminated with the following clause: "From henceforth the church of Scotland shall be immediately freed from its depend-

ency on the Holy See, and no pope, or legate 'à latere,' shall be permitted to lanch or publish, interdict or excommunication upon this kingdom. No one, for the future, shall be able to exercise the functions of a legate, unless he is a Scotchman, or taken from the body of the Roman church; and differences which shall break out in regard to benefices situated in Scotland, shall not be brought before any foreign tribunal, except that of Rome, and by way of appeal."

This dispute of the Scotch and English was scarcely settled, when a terrible war broke out between Henry the Second and Philip, on account of the sister of the latter, whom Richard, the son of the king of England, wished to espouse in despite of his father. At first the young prince placed himself at the head of a body of French troops and made war on his father, who, fearing the ambition of his son, obstinately refused to consent to this marriage. Philip then, finding the war protracted, took arms on the side of Richard; and the two people, French and English, murdered each other for a quarrel of their tyrants. As all the money of the Saladin dime was swallowed up in these interminable disputes, the holy father, fearful of seeing his hopes of the crusades vanish, sent a new legate, John of Anagni, who obtained an agreement from the princes to meet at Ferté Bernard, to confer upon a mode of terminating the war.

In this interview, Philip exhibited an inconceivable pride; he imperiously demanded the accomplishment of the marriage arrested between his sister Alice and Richard, count of Poitiers; demanding, besides, that the prince should do homage to him for his estates, and that his brother John should assume the cross. Henry of England offered to espouse Alice to the younger of his sons: but Philip rejected this proposal with insolence, and conducted himself in outrageous language; when the legate interposing between the two monarchs, threatened Philip to excommunicate him, and to place his kingdom under interdict, if he refused the conditions offered by the king of England.

Philip then protested against the decree of the legate, maintaining that it did not pertain to the Roman church to censure a kingdom, when the prince was repressing his rebellious vassals, and avenging the injuries done his crown; and soon the war recommenced more furiously than ever. Henry the Second having died at Chinon soon after, his son Richard succeeded him and restored peace to the two nations.

The two kings were then able to accomplish the vow they had made to conquer the Holy Land; they embarked together towards the end of the year 1190, and sailed for Syria, where Frederick Barbarossa had already arrived at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men. This unfortunate emperor was drowned in crossing the river Salef, or Cydnus. Henry the Sixth, his son and successor, immediately quitted the army of the crusaders, and came to Italy, to receive the crown from

the hands of the pope, and to claim at the same time the succession of William the Good, king of Sicily, who died without children. On his route, he learned that Clement the Third, attacked by a severe malady, had rendered

his last sigh on the 28th of March, 1191.—This pontiff, gifted with great political skill, had re-established during his reign the supremacy of the altar over the throne and had paved the way for his successors to rule all Europe.

## CELESTIN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1191.]

*Election of Celestin—His consecration is deferred—Coronation of the emperor Henry the Sixth—Exhumation of the dead body of Tancred—Frightful punishment of Count Jourdain—Return of King Philip to France—Troubles in England—Complaint against the bishop of Ely—The Normans refuse to receive the legates of the pope—The king of England made prisoner by the duke of Austria—New crusade—Quarrel between the courts of Rome and France—Death of the emperor—Sordid avarice of the pope and cardinals—Philip repudiates Ingerburge—Death of Celestin.*

Two days after the death of Clement, cardinal Hyacinth was chosen sovereign pontiff. He was a Roman by birth, and was eighty-five years old when he reached the papacy. He was enthroned by the name of Celestin the Third; but, before being ordained, the sacred college decided that a treaty of peace should be preliminarily made with Henry the Sixth, and that he should oblige the prince to make a composition with the Romans, for the restitution of Tusculum.

Celestin having given his adhesion to this measure, a deputation was sent to the king of Germany, to claim the restoration of Tusculum and of the other fortresses near Rome, promising, that on this condition the pope would crown Henry emperor of Italy. The king consented to this arrangement, and the ambassadors returned with this reply: "You perceive, holy father, that I occupy your estates with my army; I can ravage your farms, your vineyards, and your olive plantations; do not then put off my consecration; since, instead of injuring you, I pledge myself to do honour to your city, obey your holiness, and pay you a tribute."

Celestin replied to the king, that he accepted his proposals of alliance, and immediately made preparations to proceed to his ordination, fixing on Easter Monday for the consecration of the emperor and the empress Constance, his wife. The following was the ceremony:—The holy father was seated on his throne, with the imperial crown deposited at his feet; Henry approached the apostolic chair, and knelt to receive the diadem; the pope, without rising, placed it on the brows of the monarch; he then knocked it off with his foot, wishing to figure by this action that the Holy See was the sole dispenser of thrones, and could at its pleasure make or unmake emperors. Henry having bowed his head in sign of assent, the cardinals lifted up the crown and placed it anew upon his head.

Thus was accomplished the sacrilegious

compact which united two implacable tyrants. Celestin sacrificing the unfortunate inhabitants of Tusculum to the interests of his ambition, destroyed their city to its foundation, and drove away its citizens. Henry, on his side, abandoned himself to all the inspirations of his ferocious character. He passed over into Apulia, to punish it for having named another as king of Sicily, to the prejudice of his pretended rights; he caused the dead body of Tancred, whom he regarded as an usurper, to be exhumed, and following the example of the infamous pontiff Stephen towards Formosus, he caused his head to be cut off by the executioner! His revenge was not arrested by a sacrilege. The young William, the son of Tancred, was condemned to have his eyes burned out by a hot iron, and this unfortunate youth had his natural parts torn off in his presence. Finally, this monster, this unchained tiger, wishing to stifle the spirit of rebellion by frightening his enemies, invented an atrocious punishment, which, until his time, no tyrant had yet conceived. A Count Jourdain, one of the Norman counts, took up arms to dispute with him a fief which belonged to his family; Henry having seized him by treachery, condemned him, in derision, to die upon a burning throne. The count was bound by chains on a bed of heated iron, and crowned with a diadem of burning silver, which was fastened on his head!!

Whilst the emperor Henry was ravaging Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, the kings of France and England were leading their armies on the shores of Syria. These two princes, who before the death of Henry the Second appeared to be united in an indissoluble friendship, soon became implacable enemies. This division was caused on the part of Philip by his opposition to the massacre of the inhabitants of Messina, whom the English army wished to put to the sword; on the part of Richard by his refusal to ratify his engagement contracted with Alice of France,



and by his marriage with Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre.

On their arrival in the Holy Land, the princes no longer dissimulated the feelings of hatred which actuated them, and their discord took the character of open hostility. Philip had declared for the marquis of Montserrat, and had recognised him as king of Jerusalem, to the detriment of Lusignan. Richard immediately took the part of Lusignan, against the king of France, and Leopold, duke or marquis of Austria, who, in the absence of the emperor of Germany had remained in command of his troops, and had joined Philip to avenge himself for an insult of the English monarch. These divisions soon disorganized the Christian army, and caused them to lose sight of the objects of the crusade.

Philip, attacked by a sickness which caused his nails and hair to fall off, was forced to abandon his troops and return to Europe. He embarked for Otranto where he arrived on the 10th of October, 1191; from thence he went to Rome, where he was received with honour by Pope Celestin, who released him from his vow, bestowing on him the emblems of a pilgrim, the palm branch and the cross. The prince then took leave of the holy father and continued his route to Paris, where he arrived during the Christmas festivities.

Soon after the departure of Philip, Duke Leopold followed his example, and returned to Germany. Richard alone remained in Syria, and performed prodigies of valour; but his courage was only of assistance to his glory, for his absence caused him even to lose the kingdom of England, rent by the factions of the earl of Morlay and of Geoffrey, metropolitan of York. These two lords, availing themselves of the absence of the king, formed a powerful party against William, bishop of Ely, chancellor of the kingdom and legate of the Holy See, and, in this capacity, invested with the supreme power. They constrained him to quit Great Britain and take refuge in Normandy. His enemies even pushed their boldness so far as to send ambassadors to the Holy See to complain of him, and to have their rebellion sanctioned. Notwithstanding the accusations brought against William, Celestin refused to condemn him; he drove his detractors from Rome and sent this reply to the English prelates:

"King Richard being absent on the service of God, we are compelled to take his kingdom under our protection. Having been apprised that John, earl of Morlay, and some other disturbers have risen against his authority, and have even driven from England our venerable brother, William, bishop of Ely, we order you to assemble and excommunicate all the guilty, to the sound of the bells and with lighted candles; we also interdict divine service in all the estates of these criminals, until they shall come to Rome to implore our pity."

An express was also sent into the East to Richard, to inform him of the troubles which were desolating his kingdom. The prince hastened to conclude a truce of three years

with Saladin, and embarked on his return to Europe. Unfortunately he encountered a tempest in the Adriatic, and stranded on the shores of Venice. This misfortune, which retarded his arrival in his kingdom, determined him to take the land route and traverse the provinces of the duke of Austria in the disguise of a trader. During his journey he was denounced by a priest and arrested by his enemy the duke, who kept him as a prisoner at Vienna, and then sent him to the emperor, Henry the Sixth. Richard finally obtained his liberty by paying a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, and continued on his journey. But his brother, John Lackland, assisted by the king of France, had already seized on the crown of England, and Richard of the Lion Heart was obliged to reconquer his states.

During the following year, died the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, the celebrated Saladin, whose sword had been so redoubtable to the Christians. This illustrious conqueror left several sons, heirs of his power, but not of his courage and talents. His death revived the ambition of the Holy See. Celestin then conceived the hope of reconquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, and caused a new crusade to be preached in France and Germany. Cardinal Gregory, the legate of the pope in Germany, convened a general diet at Worms, and spoke with so much eloquence in favour of the holy sepulchre, that a great number of prelates, lords, and magistrates determined to take the cross; the emperor himself wished to command the expedition in person, and would have done it if wise counsels had not diverted him from it.

Some time after, Henry at length received the chastisement due his crimes. He died, poisoned by his wife Constance and a lord of his court, the paramour of that princess. This tragical end excited no regret, so much hatred had this monster raised against himself by his cruelties and exactions. Celestin who had excommunicated him on account of the captivity of Richard, prohibited his dead body from being interred; and only departed from his severity, on condition that his successor should restore to the Holy See the one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver which the king of England had paid. He had even the audacity to demand for the coronation of the son of Henry a thousand marks of silver for each of his cardinals, and moreover compelled the empress Constance to swear upon the consecrated host, that the young prince was really of the blood of the emperor, and not the fruit of her adulteries.

At this same period, Philip Augustus espoused Ingerburge, the daughter of Valdemar the First, and sister of Canute the Sixth, king of Denmark. All writers of the time agree in describing this princess to have been as beautiful as virtuous. According to Mezerai, she had a secret defect which rendered her unfit for marriage. Immediately, from the very first night of his marriage, Philip separated from her, and demanded from his

bishops a sentence of separation. The judgment was pronounced by the metropolitan of Rheims, the legate of the pope, and by some prelates who were moved to join in the divorce, under a pretext of relationship in the sixth degree. This unfortunate princess was confined in the convent of Soissons, and her husband left her in such destitution, that she was reduced to sell her household vessels, and even her clothing for her subsistence. The king of Denmark complained to the Holy See against his son-in-law, and obtained an annulment of the sentence of separation. Celestin even ordered the king to take Ingerburge back again, and to treat her as Queen of France: prohibiting him, under penalty of excommunication, from contracting a new alliance. Philip, without disquieting himself about the threats of the pontiff, married the daughter of the duke of Bohemia.

Notwithstanding this opposition to his orders, Celestin did not launch an anathema against the king, perhaps because he had abandoned the cause of the princess—perhaps

because, worn down by years and infirmities, he thought of nothing but dying. Towards the festival of Christmas (1197) he assembled the cardinals, and besought them to choose John of St. Paul, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Prisque, in whose favour he offered to abdicate. But as all the cardinals coveted the apostolical chair for themselves, they refused to accede to the wishes of Celestin, under the pretext, that it was irregular, and contrary to the canons, for a pontiff to lay down the tiara. Some days afterwards, on the 8th of January, 1198, the holy father died at the age of ninety-three years, having governed the church for six years and nine months.

During the twelfth century, we have seen the popes arrogate to themselves the right of disposing of the imperial crown, and deposing princes. It was from this time that the power of the Holy See could be regarded as really constituted; and it chiefly owed its new influence to the organization of the college of cardinals, which found itself charged with the election of the chiefs of the church.

## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

### INNOCENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1198.]

*Reflections of the historian Mathew Paris on the church in the thirteenth century—Cardinal Lothaire chosen pope by the name of Innocent the Third—His history before his election—Commencement of his pontificate—Treaty between the pope and the queen of Sicily—Innocent preaches a new crusade—He places France under interdict—Pretensions of the pope in regard to the elections of emperors of the west—Innocent erects himself into an arbiter of peace and war between all powers—Foundation of the Latin empire of Constantinople and temporary reunion of the Greek and Latin churches—Coronation of the king of Arragon—Coronation of the emperor Otho—Massacre of the unfortunate Albigenses—St. Dominick orders the burning of Beziers—The pope bestows England on the king of France—The king of England declares himself a vassal of the pope—Council of Lateran—Curious adventure of St. Francis of Assise—The English and French refuse to obey the pope—Death of Innocent the Third—Reflections on his character.*

A MONK of St. Alban's named Mathew Paris, who wrote the cotemporaneous history of the thirteenth century, thus speaks of the church: "The little faith which still existed under the last popes, and which was but a spark of the divine fire, was extinguished during this century—all belief is annihilated; simony is no longer a crime; usury is no longer disgraceful, and greedy priests can devour without sin the substance of the people and the lords. Evangelical charity has now taken its flight towards the heavens; ecclesiastical liberty has disappeared, religion is dead, and the holy city has become an infamous prostitute, whose shamelessness surpasses that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Every country is abandoned to the rapacity of monks in rags, ignorant and unlettered, who fall upon the

provinces armed with Roman bulls, and with effrontery adjudge to themselves all the revenues granted by our ancestors for the subsistence of the poor and the exercise of hospitality. Those who resist this dilapidation of the public money, or who refuse a part of their demand to the envoys of the pope, are immediately stricken with the thunders of anathema.

"Thus the pontiffs not only exercise an odious tyranny, which is still the more insupportable, as their agents, like true harpies armed with iron talons, not only snatch even the last rags which cover the faithful to maintain the luxury of the court of Rome, but even overthrow the traditions of the first ages of the church, and drive away from the domains of St. Peter the citizens who directed them to

replace them with wretches, called Roman farmers, who leave the work of the fields to pillage the inhabitants of the provinces, and who, in hopes of meriting the good graces of the holy father, send to Rome the spoils of the unfortunate. Thus do we deplore such scandals, and say, in the grief of our soul, that we would rather die than assist at this sight of horror and abomination."

As soon as the burial honours were rendered to pope Celestin the Third, the cardinals secretly assembled in a place called Septa Solis, in order to confer with more freedom upon the election of a new pontiff; they first assisted at the mass of the Holy Spirit; they then saluted one another and gave to each the kiss of peace. After this, they proceeded to an election and named the tellers. On the first ballot, the votes were proclaimed, in a loud voice, and it was ascertained that a majority of the votes were given to the cardinal Lothaire who was but thirty-seven years old. His age was discussed at length and, finally, they agreed to choose him chief of the church, and at the tenth ballot he had two thirds of the votes, and was proclaimed pope by the name of Innocent the Third. The election having been proclaimed, the clergy and people conducted him, with acclamations of praise, to the church of Constantine, and from thence to the palace of Lateran.

Lothaire was the son of Trasimond, and, according to some authors, was descended from the counts of Segni. His childhood was passed in Anagni, his native city, and it was only when he had attained the age of sixteen that his mother, named Clarina, a noble Roman dame, conducted him to the holy city and entrusted him to skilful masters to finish his education. Having become a man, he went to Paris to hear the learned dissertations of the professors of the University of that capital; finally, he returned to Bologna to enter into orders. At length Lothaire was named canon of St. Peter's at Rome. Gregory the Eighth conferred on him the subdeaconate, and Clement the Third made him a cardinal deacon of the order of St. Sergius. As he was only a deacon when he reached the papacy, they were obliged to defer his consecration, in order to confer on him the other ecclesiastical degrees.

After his consecration, he received the oath of fidelity and liege homage from Peter, prefect of Rome, who bestowed on him a mantle as the investiture of his charge, a right which belonged to the emperor. This proud beginning was followed by a series of political acts which presaged his future plans for Italy. He visited, in person, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the other provinces which were formerly dependent on the Holy See, in order to bring them back to his authority, affecting all the time not to be engaged in temporal affairs, and repeating, unceasingly, that sentence of scripture—"Whoso toucheth pitch shall defile himself," he loudly declared himself an enemy to the venality of offices, in order to render himself popular; and even fixed the salary of the officers of his court,

prohibiting them from exacting any thing from the faithful. He abolished the office of door-keeper of the chamber of the notaries, in order that the access to it should be free; and caused to be taken away from the palace of the Lateran, as unworthy of pontifical majesty, a counter, at which were sold, on account of the pope, vessels of plate, and where they trafficked in ornaments and false stones. He set in action the sittings of the public consistory, whose use was almost abolished. Three times a week he gave a solemn audience to all the faithful who had complaints to bring; and in the judgments he pronounced as supreme arbiter, he had no regard to the quality of persons nor their fortunes, but only to the justice of their claims.

As he anticipated, his reputation for impartiality soon drew to his tribunal appeals in all important or celebrated cases; for it must be said, that this great ostentation of equity did not take its rise only in a love for justice, but flowed more particularly from an insatiable thirst for authority and despotism, as appeared in the case of Andreas, son of Belas the Third, king of Hungary, who was obliged to go to the Holy Land under penalty of excommunication, and the loss of the inheritance of his father. It was with the same arrogance that he demanded the restitution of the prisoners whom the emperor had made in the last war, and, in particular, that the metropolitan of Salerno should be set at liberty. His legates audaciously signified to the prince that they would grant him twenty-four hours to restore the captives, if he did not wish his whole kingdom to be placed under interdict; at the same time they sent to the prelates of Spire, Strasburg, and Worms different bulls, which ordered these bishops to aid the measures of the Holy See, and to join themselves to the abbot of Sutri, and to St. Anastasius, abbot of the order of Citeaux, who were commissioned to foment the troubles in Germany.

Thus Pope Innocent, faithful to the maxim of the church, that the hatred of the priest should be eternal and implacable, continued to pursue Barbarossa in the person of his grandson Frederick, as his predecessors had done in the person of the emperor Henry. On the day of the death of that prince, the young Frederick was hurled from his throne by two powerful factions—the one led by Philip, his uncle and tutor, who had caused himself to be chosen king of the Romans, the other by Otho, duke of Saxony, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the pretext that his competitor was incapacitated from possessing the crown because he was excommunicated. Then Philip, who was deeply interested in being absolved from the anathema pronounced against him, approached the holy father, and by means of money, obtained his absolution. The price of this felony, besides the payment of large sums, had been the promise of setting at liberty, without a ransom, the archbishop of Salerno and the bishops of Sipontino, who were his fel-

low prelates, who were his fel-

bishops of Sipontino

proceeded in his pontifical habit, with the ceremony of the coronation of Philip.

Ten years of civil war was the result to Germany of the astute policy of the court of Rome. The pope did not fail to profit by these deplorable divisions, to recover, by temporal and spiritual arms, Romagna, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and the patrimony of the countess Matilda. After this he despoiled the senate and prefects of Rome of all their rights, and sought to render the pontifical see independent of the authority of the emperors.

During this year (1198) the empress Constance, the widow of Henry the Sixth, died at Palermo; appointing Innocent the Third regent of the kingdom of Sicily, and leaving him enormous sums to assure him the reimbursement, in advance, of all the expense he would be obliged to be at in defence of the estates of her son. This regency was so profitable to the holy father, that after exercising it for one year, Innocent had not only repaired the losses of his treasury, but had been able to lay by enough money to undertake an active war against the neighbouring princes, for the purpose of re-establishing his authority over the old domains of the church.

The pope, content with his actions in Italy, wished to perform the same beyond it. He published new crusades, and sent his legions of monks through all parts of Europe, to excite the fanaticism of the nations. As usual, France was the first to range itself beneath the flag of Christ, notwithstanding the active opposition of king Philip, who was excommunicated. Thanks to the skill of Peter of Capua, the legate of the Holy See, the prince was constrained to obey the church and make peace with England, in order to send his best troops into the Holy Land. A part of his army went to Marseilles, and the rest to Venice, for the purpose of passing over into Syria more expeditiously; it, however, turned out otherwise, on account of the failure of vessels and money. Fortunately, the doge of Venice consented to place the galleys of the republic at the service of the crusaders, provided they would aid him in chastising the pirates of the Adriatic, and would besiege Zara, a maritime city belonging to the Venetians, but which had been conquered by the Hungarians. This arrangement was agreed to; and without farther delay, the French invested Zara and carried it by storm, without troubling themselves concerning the prohibition of the pope, who had taken it under his protection. This event did not make much noise, and the conquerors were excused on the payment of a sum of money to the court of Rome, to raise the excommunication they had incurred by making war against a crusader.

Innocent, whose only object was the extension of his authority over foreigners, endeavoured to enter into negotiations with the eastern empire; but his excessive pride caused him to be unable to subject the

Greeks to his sway, he resolved to destroy them by inciting the Bulgarians to revolt, and detaching from the empire a great part of Servia, which he gave to Voulk, the governor of that province. He had even commanded the French to march against Constantinople, when a new rupture took place between the courts of Rome and France, occasioned by the second marriage of Philip with Agnes of Meranie. The pope, whose policy was hostile to this union, ordered his legate, Peter of Capua, to place the kingdom under interdict, until the prince had retaken his first wife Ingerburge, and made his submission to the Holy See. At the same time he wrote to all the French prelates, declaring himself to be the sovereign dispenser of churches, and that they must observe and execute the sentence in the dioceses of their jurisdiction, under penalty of deposition, and the loss of their benefices: The prelates of France, fearing the thunders of Rome, obeyed the orders of the holy father with such rigour, that all the churches were closed for eight months, and the dead remained unburied. Finally, as such a state of things could not continue without serious injury to the royal authority, Philip solicited pardon, and the excommunication was raised, on condition that he would take back his wife Ingerburge, before the expiration of a delay, which was fixed at six months, six weeks, six days, and six hours.

Germany continued exposed to the horrors of a civil war, in consequence of the divisions excited by the Holy See. The empire of the West had three emperors, the young Frederick, Philip of Suabia, and Otho of Saxony, who disputed for the imperial crown with arms. Innocent had at first declared for Philip; he then suffered himself to be gained over by the presents of Otho of Saxony, and recognised him as emperor, to the prejudice of the young king of Sicily, his pupil, alleging as a pretext for such strange conduct, that Frederick would be too formidable to the Holy See, if he united on his head the crowns of Sicily and Germany, and that Philip of Suabia was unworthy of the crown, having invaded the patrimony of St. Peter with arms.

The pope consequently wrote to Otho: "By the authority which God has given us in the person of St. Peter, we declare you king, and we order the people to render you, in this capacity, homage and obedience. We, however, shall expect you to subscribe to all our desires as a return for the imperial crown." The legate charged with the publication of this bull came to Cologne, where he convened in an assembly all the partizans of Otho; in their presence he declared him emperor of Germany, and excommunicated all who bore arms against him, and, in particular, Philip of Suabia and his partizans.

The decree of the holy father was received by the people of Cologne with great demonstrations of joy; but it was not so in the northern provinces of Germany. A great number of prelates and lords refused to confirm the election of Otho, and sent the following ener-

getic letter to the pope: "Holy father, we cannot understand your conduct. From whence have you derived examples of such audacity? Who are the popes, your predecessors, who have interfered in the election of kings? Did not Jesus Christ separate the temporal from the spiritual power, in order that the apostles and their successors should not be seated on the thrones of the world? . . ."

Innocent replied to this letter: "You are ignorant, unskilful priests, and rude laymen, that princes derive the right to choose emperors from us. Is it not the Holy See which granted them this privilege, when it took from the Greeks the empire of the West, in order to transfer it to the Romans in the person of Charlemagne? Do you think the popes have not reserved the right of examining those who are chosen emperors, when it is they who bestow the crown and the consecration? Learn then, that if we judge him whom you have nominated as sovereign, unworthy of the throne, we are exercising our right in refusing to crown him, and even in choosing another prince to govern the people."

Notwithstanding this manifestation of hostility, Philip of Suabia continued to solicit the aid of the court of Rome; but every thing, entreaties and threats, was useless. Innocent replied to the ambassadors of the different powers, who had interested themselves in favour of the prince of Suabia, these words of evangelical charity, "I hate this family of the Barbarossas; either Philip must lose his crown, or I my pontificate." "In fact," says the abbot of Ursperg, "he lighted the torch of civil war in unfortunate Germany, and committed such deplorable acts, that he deserves to be regarded as the most execrable of the popes."

Whilst the court of Rome was urging on the people of the west to wars of extermination, the crusaders were finishing their preparations for departure. Already had a part of the troops embarked, and were only waiting a favourable wind to set sail for the coasts of Syria, when the young Alexis Angelus arrived at Venice, having escaped from the prisons of Constantinople to claim the protection of the crusaders against his uncle, the usurper Alexis. They consulted the pope as to their course in such an occurrence, which promised a powerful aid to the army of Palestine, and might bring about the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. But Innocent, who had shortly before been gained to the cause of the usurper Alexis, by the large sums which had been sent to him, and by the promise of recognising him as supreme pontiff, refused to give his consent to an expedition which was to hurl that prince from his throne. He even imperiously ordered the crusaders to renounce every enterprise of this kind, and to embark immediately for Palestine.

It was not difficult for the French and Venetians to discover the secret motives which actuated the pope: thus, without stopping on account of the menaces of the court of Rome, the confederated fleets changed their first des-

tinuation; the crusaders attacked Constantinople, which they carried by assault, and reinstated Isaac Angelus and his son upon the throne. This success immediately changed the hostile dispositions of the holy father, and from being the enemy of the two princes, he became their devoted friend; he declared that the crusaders had acted for the greatest good of Christendom, and demanded the submission of the Eastern churches. But the Greeks were already tired of the Latin yoke; they refused to obey the orders of the pope, and even declared war on the crusaders. The Venetians and French then returned with their fleets beneath the walls of Constantinople, besieged it a second time, and took it on the 12th of April, 1204.

From that period until 1260, that is, for fifty-six years, the Eastern empire was subject to the sway of French princes. Baldwin, the count of Flanders, was the first who was chosen emperor, and reduced beneath his authority the provinces of Europe, which were still dependencies of the crown. All the cities of Asia, however, as well as their territories, remained with the Greeks, who founded independent kingdoms. Michael Theodore Lascaris established himself at Nice in Bithynia; Michael Comnenus reigned over a part of Epirus; David governed Heraclea, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, and his brother Alexis installed himself in the city of Trebizond, which continued to form a separate empire from that of Constantinople, even after the reunion of the other states. These princes, with the exception of Theodore, were all descendants of the family of the Comneni.

Baldwin was authorised by the pope, who had gone over to the side of the conqueror, to preserve his conquests, under the express condition that he would compel the churches to recognise the supremacy of Rome, and would restore all the domains which the emperors had taken from the Holy See, as well as the right of supreme jurisdiction, and the right of nomination of bishops. But the Greeks obstinately refused to resubmit to the yoke of the Latin church, and as neither punishment nor tortures could overcome their determination, Baldwin was forced to permit the prelates to govern their dioceses as they chose.

Towards the end of the year, Peter the Second, king of Arragon, came to Rome to be crowned by the sovereign pontiff. He took an oath in the confessional of St. Peter to be submissive to the pope, both himself and his people, to defend the liberty and immunities of the church at the price of his blood; finally, he deposited on the master altar his sceptre, his crown, and a deed, by which he bound himself to pay each year a considerable rent to the Holy See.

Affairs had changed in Germany; Philip of Suabia, after six years of strife, had finally gained a great victory over Otho of Saxony; had taken the city of Cologne by assault, and had in consequence compelled his competitor to take refuge in the city of Cologne. King Philip was informed

of the success of Philip, he abandoned the party of Otho, in accordance with his policy, declared for the conqueror, and recognised him as emperor. Otho, seeing no hope of again raising up his party, determined to make his submission, and even demanded Beatrice, the daughter of Philip, in marriage. But Innocent was not the man to permit his enemies to live a long time; a secret plot was formed at the instigation of the pope, and the unfortunate Philip of Suabia was assassinated by a count palatine, named Otho de Witelspach. Otho the Saxon at the same time assembled an army, which he led to Bologna, where he had convened an assembly of all the orders of the empire, to decide on the measures to be taken in this circumstance. The result of the deliberations was, as had been arranged in advance by the confidants of the prince, to send ambassadors to treat with Innocent on the conditions of his consecration.

The patriarch of Aquileia and the bishop of Spire went promptly to the pope, who gave them the formula of an oath which Otho should take to his legates. It ran as follows: "Holy father: we promise to render you the honour and obedience which our predecessors have rendered to you; we promise you not to interfere in the elections of prelates, nor in appeals to the Holy See in ecclesiastical affairs. We declare the ancient abuses, by which our predecessors seized upon the property of deceased ecclesiastics or vacant churches, abolished; and we promise to labour efficaciously in the extermination of heresies. Finally, we will leave in possession of the Roman church the property which it has obtained from emperors and other persons; and we will aid it in preserving it, and even in recovering that which has been unjustly retained by its enemies."

As every thing had been arranged in advance, it was soon agreed to; the German army received orders to march, and the prince encamped before Rome. On the next day Otho was consecrated at St. Peter's, after having sworn on the body of the apostle to be the defender of the church and its patrimony. Unfortunately, a few days after the ceremony, a fatal collision took place between the Romans and the German soldiers; all ran to arms, and it was computed that in the affray eleven hundred German knights lost their lives.

Otho immediately quitted the holy city, very much discontented with his reception, and retired towards Bologna; from thence he wrote to the pope, that regarding the unfortunate events which had occurred at Rome as traitorous, he desired to restore the patrimony of the countess Matilda; he even threatened to attack the territories of the king of Sicily, under the pretext that Apulia belonged to the empire, and advised him that he would retake several provinces which were formerly dependences of his crown, and on which the pope had seized during the minority of the prince: Furious at having found an enemy more powerful than himself, Innocent lanced

the thunders of excommunication against Otho, declared all his subjects relieved from their oath of fidelity, and prohibited them, under pain of anathema, from recognising him as their sovereign; at the same time he ordered his legate to excommunicate the podesta and people of Bologna, and even to threaten them with closing their schools, which were the source of the city's prosperity, if they again opened their gates to his enemies.

In the midst of all these wars with princes and kings, Innocent did not lose sight of heresies. He had already sent the monks Rainier and Guy, to the south of France, with power to constrain the Vaudois to abjure, and to employ for this purpose the sword, water, and fire, as these good monks should judge it necessary to use one or the other, or all three together, for the greater glory of God. "Thus," says Perrin, "all Christendom was agitated by the sight of unfortunate men hung to gallows, tortured on wooden horses, or burned on funeral piles, because they placed their trust in God alone and refused to believe in the vain ceremonies invented by men." As the monks, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, failed in their task, and did not progress sufficiently in their work, in the opinion of the pope at least, three new legates left Rome commissioned to exterminate all heretics to the last man; that is to say, four fifths of the southern population. These three monks who were invested with the confidence of the holy father, were called Arnaud, Pierre de Castelnaud, and Ralph, worthy monks of the order of the Citeaux. The obstinacy of the Vaudois was such, that notwithstanding preachings and persecutions the sect increased daily, and even found recruits among the great lords of the country; amongst others, Raymond the Fourth, count of Toulouse, and Raymond Roger, count of Foix. The executions then became more difficult for the missionaries; the executioners refused to perform their duty; the people rose and in a moment of effervescence stoned Pierre de Castelnaud, who was the most cruel of the three. As soon as the pope was informed of this murder he resolved to avenge it terribly, so that its example might not affect the catholic provinces, and he caused a crusade to be preached against the unfortunate Vaudois. The count of Toulouse and his subjects were excommunicated; plenary indulgences were granted to those who should arm against the heretics; and the palm of martyrdom was promised to the fanatics who should perish in this war.

The unfortunate Raymond, foreseeing the disasters which were to fall on his states, soon made his submission to the legates of the pope and took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the Holy See. Nothing could appease the wrath of Innocent the Third; the count himself was obliged to take the cross against his own subjects, after having submitted to an infamous punishment.

Perrin in his history of the Albigenses thus relates the humiliating ceremonial to which the

count was submitted: "The legate caused Count Raymond to be stripped of all his clothing on the threshold of the church of St. Gilles; he put a stole around his neck and caused him to make the tour of the grave of Pierre de Castelnau nine times, scourging him with rods in the presence of counts, marquises, barons, prelates, and a great concourse of people. And as Raymond protested against this penance which was inflicted on him for a sin that he had not committed, the legate imposed silence on him by saying that he was guilty, as the sin had been committed in his states. He then caused him to swear on the crucifix, the gospel, and the relics, an entire submission to the Holy See, and named him chief of the crusade, in order that the Vaudois might see that they were lost, since their friends and protectors combated against them."

The crusaders could not, however, penetrate into the interior of the country until the arrival of a new legate named Dominick, and the count de Montfort, who brought with him an army of twenty-four thousand men. Then only did the operations of the campaign commence, and they laid siege to Beziers. This flourishing city courageously resisted the efforts of the fanatics for an entire month; at length a horrible famine constrained the inhabitants to make proposals of surrender; but as these infamous persecutors had sworn to exterminate this brave population, all offers were rejected. In vain did the Count de Beziers and the venerable prefect of the city cast themselves at the feet of St. Dominick, beseeching him to spare at least the Catholics, who formed a majority of the inhabitants of Beziers—the monk was inflexible, and replied, that he had received orders from the pope to burn the city and put all the population to the sword; and that, moreover, after the massacre God would recognise his friends.

The siege was pushed with more vigour than before, and, in a last assault, the city fell into the power of the crusaders. Then commenced a butchery of which history affords no second example. The frightful Dominick, with the cross in one hand and the bull of the pope in the other, animated the combatants and incited them to carnage, to rape, to incendiarism! . . . He fulfilled so well the orders of the pope that sixty thousand dead bodies of both sexes, men, women, children, and old persons, were swallowed up beneath the smoking ruins of their city, reduced to ashes! . . . Those among the unfortunate whom the soldiers spared on account of their youth, or their beauty, were reserved for new scenes of horror. Young girls and young boys were led, entirely naked, before the tomb of Pierre de Castelnau—were beaten by the monks with thongs loaded with lead, and when their bodies were entirely covered with blood, were abandoned to the brutality of the soldiers, then murdered, and their dead bodies horribly polluted!

All these atrocities were not arrested at the single city of Beziers. The executioners having no more victims at hand, pursued their march

and attacked the Count de Beziers, who had retired to Carcassonne, well resolved to defend that place to the last. But he had not foreseen that he should have all the forces of the crusaders upon him, and he was soon obliged to propose terms. At Carcassonne, as at Beziers, St. Dominick was inflexible: he replied, that the only condition he could offer was, that the inhabitants of Carcassonne, men, women, and children, should abandon their walls, without clothing, and should retire to a neighbouring place to await their fate. The lord of Beziers, knowing his enemies, refused to expose his subjects to the rage of these tigers, and continued his defence for a month longer. Treason finally came to the aid of the crusaders. Carcassonne was delivered up to the Count de Montfort, and was treated with the same cruelty as Beziers. Toulouse, Alby, Castelnau, and all the cities of the south which contained Albigenes, were also devastated by this army of assassins.

Innocent was not contented with exercising his despotism over France, Italy, Germany, and Greece, he wished to extend it also over England, and gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to one of his cardinals, Stephen Langton, without consulting King John, who had proposed another prelate to him. This act of authority was illy received by the king of England, who wrote the following energetic letter to him:—"Wherefore, pope of Satan, hast thou rejected the election of the bishop of Norwich? Is it because thou hast sold the metropolitan see of Canterbury to a prelate, who is only known to us from his intimate connection with our enemies of France? We declare that if thou dost not retract thy nomination, we will prevent our subjects from going to Rome to make their offerings, and will take from thee the jurisdiction of our churches."

Innocent became furious on reading this letter, and immediately wrote to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to place the kingdom under interdict, unless John immediately confirmed the election of Stephen Langton. They, sold to the interests of the court of Rome, immediately acquitted themselves of their mission; they sought out the king, and exhibited to him the terrible orders they had received from Rome, and which they would be forced to put in execution if he refused to obey the injunctions of the Holy See.

John, indignant at the insolence of the pope and the hypocrisy of the prelates, drove them from his presence, threatening them, that if they should have the audacity to lanch the interdict, he would banish them from England, confiscate their property, and send them to Rome to be maintained at the expense of St. Peter. Such, however, was the influence of the popes of that period, that nothing could intimidate the prelates; the bull of Innocent was published throughout the kingdom, and divine service was suspended. John endeavoured, in vain, to reduce the clergy to submission; monks preferred to

abandon their convents, and bishops to lose churches and their property, rather than contravene the orders of the pope. In the midst of this strife, a terrible sentence of the court of Rome aggravated the disorders; John was declared dispossessed of his crown; the nation freed from its oaths of fidelity; all Christians were ordered to oppose the king of England; Philip Augustus was designated to replace him, and a crusade was preached against Great Britain.

The ambitious Philip, who had recently been reconciled with Innocent, immediately made immense preparations and threatened a descent on England. In this extremity, the unfortunate king, finding himself abandoned by all the world, determined to submit to the pope, and take the oath which Innocent had pointed out, and which was as follows:—  
“We promise by the Christ and the holy evangelists, to be reconciled with Stephen Langton, the metropolitan of Canterbury, and with the five bishops, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Giles of Hertford, Jocelyn of Bath, and Herbert of Lincoln, as well as with all other persons, as well clerical as lay, who have opposed us by the orders of the holy father; we will restore to them all that has been taken from them, and we will liberally recompense them for the losses which we have made them suffer. We swear entire submission to the Holy See, and we recognise in it alone the right of nominating prelates, and of governing the churches of our kingdom.”

But this oath was only the prelude for new exactions of the court of Rome; and two days after, the Roman legate remitted a deed by which John declared, that for the expiation of his sins, with the advice of his barons, and of his own free and entire will, he gave to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights; that he held them as the vassal of the pontiff, and in that capacity did him liege homage. In addition to all this, as a token of his subjection, he engaged to pay a thousand marks of gold annually to the court of Rome, besides Peter's pence. He bound, by the same deed, all his successors to maintain this donation, under penalty of being deprived of the crown. The English lords, according to Mathew Paris, refused to ratify this disgraceful treaty which subjected them to the popes; they revolted against the king and reclaimed their franchises.

John thus still found himself on the eve of losing his crown, by having taken the means which he believed the best fitted to preserve it. He hastened to send deputies to Rome to inform the holy father of the revolt of the English barons, and to ask from him the aid of spiritual censures, in order to reduce them to their duty. Innocent having heard the complaints of his ambassadors, frowned and exclaimed, “What! do these English baronets wish to dethrone a king who is under the protection of our See, and give to another the property of the Roman church. By St. Peter, we will not suffer this effort to go unpunish-

ed.” He immediately called a scribe, and dictated this sentence to him, “We cancel all the concessions which King John has made or shall make to his barons, prohibiting him from having any regard thereto, under penalty of excommunication. We order all the English and Irish lords to renounce the privileges which they have extorted from their king, and we order them to come to Rome to lay their demands before us, in order that justice may be done them.” Neither this bull of the pope nor the threats of the bishops could arrest the disorders; and the barons continued to carry on the war to obtain new franchises.

In the same year (1215), Innocent held a general council in the palace of the Lateran, for the coronation of Frederick the Second, who was definitely recognised as the legitimate emperor, under the condition that Sicily and Germany should be separated.

The counts of Toulouse and Foix, also appeared before the fathers, demanding justice against the infamous Simon de Montfort, who had seized upon their estates, and in concert with St. Dominick, was continuing his massacres of the unfortunate Albigenes. Far from showing any indignation at the recital of the atrocities committed by his legate, the pope fiercely replied, that he had but executed his orders, and that he could not censure orthodox Christians from exhibiting too much zeal in their holy mission. He, however, appeared to yield to the urgency of these two lords, and engaged to re-establish them in their domains—a false promise—since at that very moment he was sending secret orders to Dominick and Simon de Montfort to redouble their severities towards the Albigenes.

Ferrand maintains that St. François d'Assise came also to the council of the Lateran, to have the regulations which he had made for governing his convents approved. The history of this visionary is so remarkable that we translate one of the episodes of his life, related by Ferrand, “St. François d'Assise,” says the chronicler, “at the commencement of his conversion, cast himself into a ditch full of ice, in the middle of winter, to conquer the demon of the flesh, and preserve from the fire of pleasure the white robe of his chastity. This pious anchorite preferred to suffer great cold in the flesh, than the warmth of the demon in his soul. Thus, one day, he underwent great temptation at the sight of a beautiful young girl, who came to demand his blessing. François, instead of listening to the inspirations of concupiscence, suddenly entered his cell, and reappeared, entirely naked, with a discipline of iron, striking himself redoubled blows, to the great edification of his brethren and the villagers, until his body was streaming with blood. He then rolled in the snow of the garden, crying out that the Holy Spirit had seized on him; in fact he made seven enormous balls with the snow, tinged with his blood, and his soul thus spoke to his body.—‘The largest and handsomest of these balls is your wife, the four others are your concubines, and the two last your servants; hasten then



to conduct them to your fireside, for they are dying of cold.' The saint having pushed them one after another before a brazier, they soon disappeared before the heat of the fire, and only left on the stones a large place soiled by blood and water; the soul of the saint thus continued; 'profit by this example, my body, and perceive how the delights of the flesh should vanish in the presence of the spirit.'

Bayle also relates, very gravely, a pleasant strife, which took place between Dominick, the leader of the crusade against the Albigenses, and St. François d'Assise. "These two saints," says he, "having one day quarrelled, came to blows. As François was the weakest, he escaped from the arm of his terrible adversary and concealed himself beneath a bed. Dominick not being able to reach him, armed himself with a spit from the kitchen, and inflicted on him five terrible blows; but God, who cherished the two monks, himself directed the spit, softened the blows, and preserved St. François from death; he, however, retained from this fight scars like the five wounds of Jesus Christ."

D'Aubigne has been more severe than these legends on the founder of the order of the Franciscans. "If any bishop or cardinal," says the historian, "became enamoured of his page, he need not fear to be damned; on the contrary, he would deserve to be canonized, since he would follow the example of St. François d'Assise, who called his carnal intercourse with brother Maceus sacred loves."

Notwithstanding his fight with St. Dominick, and his well-established reputation as a sodomite, François d'Assise was received with great honours at the pontifical court, and left Rome laden with presents; and, what was still more extraordinary, he alone, of all who had assisted at the synod, was not obliged to borrow from the usurers to make presents to Innocent, but even received gifts from the sovereign pontiff.

Whilst the holy father was trying the strength of his anathemas against those who refused to recognise his absolute authority, Philip undertook the conquest of England, and sent his son Louis into that kingdom,

whither a powerful party called him. The young prince was already recognised as sovereign of Great Britain in several provinces, when he had the imprudence to inform the Roman legate that his new kingdom would never be the patrimony of St. Peter. Innocent, informed of this, immediately ordered a great ceremonial in the church of St. Peter: he mounted the tribune, and preached on these words of Ezekiel: "Sword, sword, leave thy scabbard, and sharpen thyself to kill." After the sermon, he declared Louis deprived of the throne of England, and excommunicated him and his adherents.

Finally came the decisive hour in which tyrants, like other men, must go to render an account to God of their good and evil actions. This fatal day came to Innocent; at the termination of a debauch at the table he was seized with a violent fever, which brought him to the tomb on the 16th of July, 1216.

Matthew Paris, in his history, represents Pope Innocent as the proudest, the most ambitious, and the most avaricious of men; affirming that there was no crime which he was not capable of committing or favouring for money. This judgment is entirely justified by the life of this pope. St. Lutgarde, a nun of the order of the Citeaux in Brabant, relates that, in a vision which she had after the death of Innocent, she saw the holy father surrounded by flames; and as she asked him why he was thus tormented, he replied that it was chiefly for three crimes; and that he would have been infallibly condemned to have burned for ever, but for the intercession of the Mother of God, in honour of whom he had founded a monastery—that notwithstanding even this powerful protection, he could not enter heaven until the day of the last judgment—and, after having suffered tortures incomprehensible by the human mind. Thomas of Cantinpré, who relates this, adds, that he was informed by Lutgarde, herself, of the three causes of the sufferings of the holy father; but that they were so horrible he could not make them known without abandoning the memory of Innocent the Third to the execration of men.

## HONORIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1216:]

*History of Honorius before his pontificate—His election—Troubles in England—Death of the execrable Simon de Montfort, and of the odious St. Dominick—Theodore Comnenus, king of Epirus, submits to the pope—New persecution of the Albigenses—Apparition of the Vaudois in Lombardy—Letter of the pope to Louis the Eighth—Coronation of Frederick the Second—Honorius desires to send that prince to Palestine—Quarrels on this subject between the emperor and the pontiff—Death of Honorius.*

CENCIO SAVELLI, a Roman by birth, had been chamberlain during the pontificate of Clement the Third. This post giving him the

superintendence of all the revenues of the Holy See, had created for him numerous partizans. He himself was not without merit;

and a remarkable work, called the *Book of Rents of the Roman Church*, composed from old records, was attributed to him. His literary labours had augmented the reputation he had already acquired, and had procured for him the title of cardinal. He afterwards composed a complete collection of ecclesiastical ceremonies, which is known by the title of the *Roman Order*.

After the death of Innocent, the cardinal Cencio Savelli was chosen to succeed him, and took the name of Honorius the Third. A faithful imitator of the policy of his predecessor, like him he wished to govern at once the east and the west. On the very day of his coronation he wrote to the king of Jerusalem, that he was about to raise the people of the west against the Saracens. He also addressed letters to the French emperor, who governed Constantinople, to reanimate his zeal against the Greek schismatics, and the Mussulmen. The same instructions were sent to the Roman legates in France, England, and Germany, to again light the torches of fanaticism, by preaching a new crusade.

As the war of usurpation undertaken by Louis of France, for the crown of England, retarded the execution of his plans, Honorius resolved to put an end to the disputes by declaring in favour of king John. After the death of that prince, he took his son, Henry the Third, under his protection, recognising him as the only lawful sovereign. In consequence of the new orders of the pope, the clergy of Great Britain every Sunday regularly excommunicated the young Louis and his adherents, throughout the whole kingdom. Little by little, the English deserted his cause, and as he received no assistance from his father, he was finally obliged to quit Great Britain, to avoid falling into the power of his competitor, and to urge the departure of new troops which he was levying on the continent. But during his absence, the legate of the pope used the time to such advantage as to fulminate terrible anathemas against the rebels, and pathetically exhorted the English to return to their duty, and remain faithful to their new sovereign, that is, the Holy See. They distributed so skilfully, gold, threats, and promises, that they were enabled to organise so powerful a party, that on his return to England, though accompanied by a powerful army, Louis was repulsed from all the cities, and forced to re-embark for France.

Having obtained this great success, Honorius could direct all his efforts to the end which his ambition proposed, the conquest of Palestine and Asia. For this purpose, he sent to all the bishops of the west a letter from the grand master of the Templars, announcing that the Saracens were extremely weakened, and that a single army would be sufficient to exterminate them. At the same time, he ordered public prayers at Rome, and went in procession to St. Maria Majora's, with his clergy and people walking with naked feet and carrying before him the heads

of St. Peter and St. Paul in their shrines. Similar ceremonies took place in all the cities of Christendom, and contributed powerfully to the organization of the numerous troops of crusaders who came together from all quarters, and directed their steps towards the Holy Land.

The king of Hungary was the first who marched at the head of an army; he was soon followed by a prodigious number of undisciplined bands, which, like torrents of lava, left but ruin and desolation on their passage. The alarm which the approach of the crusaders every where excited, became the source of enormous profits to Honorius, and he extracted ransoms from cities and princes, by threatening to cause these terrible avalanches to fall on them. It was the means he used against Theodore Comnenus, the king of Epirus, to compel him to set at liberty John Colonna, one of his legates, who had been retained a prisoner at his court. Neither entreaties nor threats could induce the Greek prince to send back the ambassador of the Holy See; Honorius then promised indulgences to the crusaders who should go to Epirus to avenge the injury done to the Roman church. Theodore Comnenus immediately changed his resolve, hastened to set the legate at liberty, and even furnished him with an escort to accompany him as far as Constantinople.

Though the pope appeared to be very much occupied with the new crusade, he did not, however, lose sight of the heretics of the west, and by his orders, St. Dominick and De Montfort continued their massacres in France, and covered all the southern provinces with funeral piles and scaffolds. The two instruments of pontifical despotism at length excited such a hatred in the generous population of the south, that the cities of Marseilles and Avignon, instead of marching against the heretics, as they had been required to do by the pope, sent reinforcements to Toulouse, which was a second time besieged by the execrable Simon de Montfort. God did not permit him to renew in this city the frightful scenes of the first siege; he was killed beneath the walls of the place whilst he was preparing the gibbets and instruments of torture which he designed for the inhabitants.

Dominick being left alone to continue the massacres, soon showed, by the new ardour which he brought to the persecution, that he had promised the court of Rome to replace Simon, and alone to perform the task of two executioners. Difficult as it was, he was fulfilling his promises, when death struck him in his turn, and gave some repose to the Abigenses.

This double loss would have discouraged any other than a pope; Honorius thought only of replacing his legate; and as it appeared to him that the work of an executioner could not be performed better than by a king, he wrote to Louis the Eighth, who had succeeded Philip Augustus: "Very dear Son, you know

that Christian princes are compelled to render an account to God of their defence of the church, their mother. You should then be deeply afflicted at seeing the heretics attack religion in the provinces of the Albigenes; if it is your duty to pursue robbers in your kingdom, you should the more purge it of those who wish to ravish souls. We find the efforts we have made against the heretics have become useless; and more than three hundred thousand crusaders have fallen in this holy cause, without making it triumph. Errors are more and more propagated; and it is feared lest they may soon infect your kingdom, which, until this time, has shown itself, by a particular blessing of God, to be more strengthened in the faith than other kingdoms. It is on this account, that in the name of Christ we exhort and conjure you, Catholic prince and successor of Catholic kings, to offer up to God the first fruits of your reign, by exterminating the heretics of the south. We are informed that Amaury, the new count of Toulouse, and son of the glorious Count de Montfort, has offered you all the rights which he has over the provinces of the Albigenes, and consents to unite these lands to your domains, in exchange for your protection. We authorise you to accept his proposals for yourself and your descendants, that they may show themselves to be ardent protectors of orthodoxy, in the south of France. Finally, we inform you that Raymond, the son of the former Count of Toulouse, so dreads your power, that he will not fail to submit immediately to the church, when he shall know that you are marching against him. Act then as religion wishes! Take arms, since God and your interest command it!"

In conformity with the orders of the pope, Louis levied an army, and joined his troops to those of Amaury de Montfort, to crush the unfortunate Albigenes. Raymond, pursued by his enemies, enclosed in his states, was soon compelled to submit to the Holy See. The heretics finding themselves exposed, defenceless, to all the rage of their persecutors, abandoned France, and took refuge in Lombardy, whither sacerdotal hatred still pursued them; for Honorius wrote to the bishop of Brescia, "It is our will, that the towers of all the lords who have given an asylum to heretics, be razed to the earth, without being able to be ever rebuilt, and those of the less guilty be dismantled to the half or third part, according to the importance of the crime."

As after the departure of the king, the Albigenes had again raised their heads, the pope wrote to Louis, to put an end to his disputes with the king of England, in order to direct all his troops upon the southern provinces. "And in order," said Honorius, "that my conduct should be in conformity with evangelical morality, which orders popes to use their power to put an end to useless wars, and to direct the sword against the enemies of God. You know that it was said to the high priest Jeremy, 'I have set thee over the people to destroy and to build up.' Thus popes

have the power of disposing of armies and kingdoms, and of raising or destroying empires! It is on this account, that we order you to restore to the English prince the territories which you have invaded, to cease all hostilities against him, and to employ your troops in the extermination of your heretical subjects."

These representations acted powerfully on the superstitious mind of Louis the Eighth; he concluded a treaty with the king of England, took the cross from the hands of the Roman legate, and went towards the south of France, at the head of his army. Avignon was the first city which fell into his power; its walls were thrown down, ditches filled up, and all its courageous population put to the sword. But divine justice did not permit this monster to continue the course of his cruelties; he fell sick and died, thirty days after the capture of Avignon.

Whilst half of France, in obedience to the sacrilegious orders of the pope, was precipitating itself upon the south, Frederick the Second was endeavouring again to strengthen the great imperial edifice, so much shaken by the rough attacks which proud pontiffs, during preceding reigns, had made on it. The better to succeed in his purposes, he feigned to be animated by a great zeal for the crusades, and was among the first to enrol himself in the sacred militia; he, however, retarded his departure under new pretexts, now alleging important affairs, now giving it as a reason that he could not quit his kingdom, until he had been crowned emperor.

Honorius penetrated his secret intentions, and in order not to furnish him with an excuse, he decided solemnly to consecrate him in the church of St. Peter at Rome. After the ceremony, Frederick received the cross from the hands of cardinal Hugolin, bishop of Ostia, and publicly renewed his vow to go to the Holy Land; as he however still deferred his departure, the pope, wearied with his tardiness, wrote to him:

"Would to God, prince, that you would consider with what impatience you are waited for by the eastern church, which hopes to see you abandon all other cares for the deliverance of Jerusalem. In France, England, and even in Italy, it is asked why you defer the execution of your vow, by retarding the departure of the galleys which you have armed for Syria, and where they would be of so much assistance to the crusaders in the defence of Damietta."

Frederick did not even reply to this letter, and continued to occupy himself in the administration of his estates. But when the loss of Damietta was known at Rome, the anger of the holy father broke forth; he accused the emperor of being the cause of the checks which the Christians had experienced in the east, and threatened to excommunicate him, if he did not go immediately with his army to combat the infidel.

So much insolence exasperated the young prince. He came to an open rupture with the Holy See, seized on several domains which

the pope had usurped, drove from the kingdom of Naples and Sicily all the prelates whom he suspected, and named others in their place in accordance with the privileges of the ancient monarchy of Sicily. He then wrote to the court of Rome, that the time had come to restore to him the rights of which Innocent the Third had despoiled him, and also those which Honorius had taken away at the time of his coronation, threatening in case of a refusal to march on Rome and sack it.

The pope discovering that he had been too hasty, and not daring then to engage in a strife which could only be fatal to him, immediately retracted, and replied to the prince with hypocritical mildness—"I exhort you, my dear son, to recall to your recollection that you are the protector of the Roman church; do not forget what you owe to that good mother, and take pity on her daughter the church of the East, which extends towards you her arms like an unfortunate who has no longer any hope but in you."

Notwithstanding this apparent mark of submission, the holy father none the less continued the organization of a powerful league against the emperor of Germany and Italy. Frederick, who was informed of it, immediately convened the German bishops and his nobility, in the city of Ferentina, to put the pope on his trial. Honorius, far from exhibiting fear, went to this assembly accompanied by John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and his daughter Yolande, by the commander of the templars, the grand master of the Teutonic knights, and several other great persons from various countries. The adroit pontiff knew how to avail himself skilfully of the beauty of the daughter of king John in serving his purposes; he brought about secret interviews between her and Frederick; and when the young prince, smitten by the charms

of the beautiful Yolande, expressed a wish to marry her, the pope declared to the two lovers that the marriage could only take place on condition that the king should go definitely into Syria to reconquer the throne of his father-in-law. Frederick appeared to yield to these proposals, in order to clear away the obstacles which opposed themselves to his union, and occupied himself with assembling his forces by land and sea, as if he was really going to transport them into Palestine. But as soon as the marriage was concluded, his ardour for the crusade relaxed, and he demanded further delay.

Honorius, who had had time to take his measures, refused to accede to the demands of Frederick, and immediately caused all the cities of Lombardy to revolt. The emperor essayed to re-establish order in his kingdom, and wished to levy troops in the duchy of Spoleto; but the clergy had there kindled the fire of rebellion, and the Spoletins refused to grant the troops without an order from the pope, whose vassals they declared themselves to be. This universal resistance alarmed the emperor. Through necessity he approached the Holy See, and promised to put his journey to the Holy Land in execution; and, as a proof of his submission, he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Roman church, and bound himself to pay it a considerable annual tribute.

The pope, fearful lest new obstacles to his plans should rise up, consented to make peace, and pressed the departure of the crusaders in all the countries of Europe. He died in the interval, and had not the satisfaction to see his policy triumph. His body was buried at St. Maria Majora, on the 20th of March, 1227. Honorius showed himself, in the course of his reign, to be as cruel and ambitious as his infamous predecessor.

## GREGORY THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1227.]

*Opinion of Mainz about Gregory—Enthronement of the new pope—War against the Albigenses—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—Frederick is excommunicated—He avenges himself on Gregory—His departure for the Holy Land—The pope makes war on his lieutenants—His return to Germany—He is again excommunicated—Great inundation at Rome—Peace between the emperor and pope—Gregory is driven from Rome by the people—He becomes reconciled with the Romans—New discords between the altar and the throne—Frederick the Second is excommunicated the fourth time—The pope offers the imperial crown to the king of France, who refuses it—Convocation of a council for a crusade—St. Louis prohibits the pope from levying dimes in his kingdom—Death of Gregory.*

Mainz affirms that Gregory was well made in his person, of a majestic carriage, and especially very learned in the canon law and Holy Scriptures. He adds, however, that we must deplore the extreme severity and violence of his character, which urged him

to extremes which were frequently very prejudicial to his interests. Having become pontiff, he abandoned the title of cardinal bishop of Ostia, though still keeping the revenues of that see, and gave up his name of Hugolin to take that of Gregory. He was ori-

usually from Anagni, and was descended from the illustrious family of the counts of Segni, as was his predecessor Innocent the Third.

His exaltation was made with unusual pomp; on the day of the ceremony he went to St. Peter's with an imposing train of cardinals and archbishops; and after having celebrated divine service, he went to take possession of the pontifical palace, traversing the streets of Rome mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned with scarlet housings, all shining with gold and precious stones. Every where on his passage were spread flowers and perfumes; the houses were hung with tapestry resplendent with gold and silver; at the head of the cortège walked young girls singing hymns of joy; then came the monks in double file, with the children of the schools, all carrying palm branches or bunches of flowers; after these followed the officers of the magistracy and the army clothed in silk and gold; and finally, the president of the senate and the prefect of Rome, walked by the side of the pope, leading his horse by the bridle. Behind this magnificent cortège, which extended from the great palace to the banks of the Tiber, followed by an innumerable crowd of priests and citizens, Gregory thus arrived in triumph at the palace of the Lateran, where he was submitted to the usual proofs.

On the day succeeding his installation, the new pontiff wrote to all the bishops of Europe to accelerate the departure of the crusaders, under the penalty of incurring ecclesiastical censures. He sought at the same time to reanimate the persecutions against the unfortunate Albigenses, and availing himself of the ascendancy which he exercised over the mind of Blanche of Castille, the mother of St. Louis, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son, he induced her to confide the command of her troops to Imbert of Beaujeu, one of the most ardent fanatics of the day. Under the command of that lord, the religious war recommenced as terribly as in the time of Simon de Montfort. All the Albigenses who fell into the power of the Catholics were massacred with extreme cruelty; and those who, to avoid death, surrendered, were pitilessly condemned to the funeral pile by Arnelin, the legate of the pope. "But," says Perrin, "the more the persecution increased, the more did the number of the heretics multiply."

Gregory, though much occupied with the Albigenses, was not forgetful of Germany, and he ordered the emperor to depart for the Holy Land, in fulfilment of the vow which he had taken at the time of his marriage with the daughter of the king of Jerusalem. As it was no longer possible for Frederick to put off his departure, he promised to obey him, and in fact fixed on a general rendezvous for his troops at Brindés. It was then in the middle of summer; an epidemic soon broke out in the army, and in a few days a large number of soldiers were carried off by the scourge.

The emperor took advantage of the general panic to invent a new trick to free himself from his promise. By his orders a priest appeared in the camp of the crusaders, representing himself to be a legate from the pope, and instructed by the holy father to release them from their vows, and authorise them to return home. This trick was entirely successful; on that very day the army disbanded, and the emperor remained with his own guards; he, however, embarked for Palestine, to fulfil, as he said, the promise made to the holy father; but three days afterwards he returned to the port of Otranto, alleging as an excuse, that he had discovered the impossibility of his supporting the fatigues of a voyage.

Furious at the emperor, Gregory was no longer careful in his proceedings; he went to the cathedral of Anagni, his residence, and there, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, surrounded by the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates of his suite, he thundered forth a sermon on this text, "We must remove the scandal from Christendom;" and after the sermon, he lanced ecclesiastical thunders against the emperor. Frederick replied by a manifesto against the Holy See, in which this passage occurs: "Learn, people of Italy, that the Roman church not only swallows up, in its orgies, the wealth which it snatches from the superstition of the faithful, but that it even despoils sovereigns, and renders them tributary. We do not speak of the simony, exactions, and usury with which it has infected all the west; for every one knows that the popes are insatiable blood suckers. The priests affirm that the church is our mother, our nurse; it is, on the contrary, an infamous step-mother, which devours those whom its hypocritical voice calls children. It sends its legates into all quarters to lash excommunications, to order massacres, and to steal the wealth of princes and people. In its hands the morality of Christ has become a terrible arm, which permits it to murder men in order to ravish from them their treasures, as a brigand would do upon the highway. Under the name of indulgences it impudently sells the right to commit every crime, and gives the best places in paradise to those who bring it the most money."

The publication of this manifesto increased still further the exasperation of the pope; he immediately returned to Rome, lanced a second excommunication against Frederick, and endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Apulia. For this purpose he addressed the following circular to the bishops of that country: "We have drawn against the emperor," said he, "the medicinal sword of St. Peter, and with a spirit full of mildness we have lanced our thunders against that proud prince who refused to fulfil his vows regarding the Holy Land." He then ordered the prelates to place all the cities and country which the emperor traversed under interdict, and to excite the inhabitants to assassinate him. On his side, Frederick, in order to resist the pon

tiff, called to his aid the Frangipani, and other Roman lords, who were enemies to the Holy See. He bought from them all the property which they possessed at Rome in houses and lands; he then restored to them their titles to their fiefs, on condition that they would become his allies, and would aid him on all occasions against the church. This done, the Frangipani returned to Rome, excited the people against Gregory, and on Easter Monday, whilst he was celebrating mass in the church of St. Peter, a revolt broke out in the city; the pope was insulted at the very altar, pushed out of the church, driven from the city, and forced to take up his residence at Perouse.

Some months afterwards, the emperor was apprised of the death of Noraddin, the sultan of Damascus; this news changed all his policy; judging the moment favourable for passing over into Syria, and reconquering the throne of Jerusalem, to which he had rights from his marriage with the daughter of John de Brienne, he immediately sent five hundred knights into Palestine, whilst he himself prepared to embark with a formidable army. The holy father, who saw with chagrin the triumph of his enemy, prohibited him from crossing the sea, before receiving absolution from the censures of the church. But the emperor having testified no more regard for its prohibition than he had for its injunction, Gregory excommunicated him for going to the Holy Land as he had before anathematized him for his refusal to go. Then taking advantage of the absence of Frederick, the holy father declared war on Rainald of Aversum, duke of Spoleto, who had been left by that prince in the government of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria. He sent an army against him, commanded by cardinal John Colonna and John of Brienne, the father-in-law of the emperor, who had taken up arms against his son-in-law out of base jealousy, because he saw him on the point of re-seizing a kingdom which he would never have abandoned, if he had entertained a thought of ever being able to reconquer it.

The papal army obtained for this war the same dispensations as the crusaders, and the only thing which distinguished the soldiery of the pope from the soldiery of Christ, was the sign they bore on the shoulder; the one had the cross, the other the keys; as to the rest their conduct was alike. As they had a provision of plenary indulgences, they stopped, neither the one nor the other, at the commission of massacres, rapes, and burnings, and it would be difficult to tell who excelled in cruelties and sacrilege: for the Christians of Apulia were treated with such barbarities by the legates of the pope, that it appears impossible for the infidels to have suffered greater disasters from the crusaders.

Thomas of Acquin, count of Acerra, rendered an account to the emperor of the invasion by the troops of the pope, in the following terms: "After your departure, illustrious prince, Gregory assembled a numerous army by the aid of John of Brienne, and of some other lords; his legates then entered your territories, say-

ing, that they would conquer by the sword, since they had not been able to break you down by an anathema. Their troops have burned the villages, pillaged the cultivators, violated the women, devastated the fields, and, without respecting churches or cemeteries, have stolen the sacred vessels and robbed the tombs; never did a pope act so abominably. He has now caused all the ports to be guarded, in order to seize your person if you arrive with a suite too weak to defend you; he is, finally, even intriguing in the Holy Land, in which you are; and he has made a compact with the templars to put you to death by the poinard of an assassin. May God keep you from the pope and his vicars!"

This letter enlightened Frederick as to the dangers which he incurred in the camp of the crusaders, and he hastened to enter into negotiations with Melec Camel, the sultan of Egypt, to conclude a treaty. He did well: for during the conferences the templars and hospitaliers sought to betray him, and had written to the sultan to inform him that Frederick was about to make a pilgrimage on foot, and almost without an escort, to the river Jordan, on the third day succeeding the reception of that letter, and that thus the Mussulmen could, without a blow, take him a prisoner or put him to death. Fortunately, Melec Camel was a generous enemy; and after having heard the message, he informed the emperor. The latter, judging that it was not prudent to allow his indignation to appear, feigned entire ignorance, promptly concluded his arrangements with the sultan, and embarked for Italy. His arrival changed the face of affairs: the papal troops were compelled to retreat, and the Sicilian army, in its turn, acted on the offensive.

But Gregory was not the man readily to abandon his aim; and as money was wanting to him for the continuance of the war, he gave orders to squeeze all Christian countries. England was taxed with a tenth part of the moveable goods of the kingdom. "All the children of the church must come to our aid," wrote the holy father to his legates; "for if we fail in our present contest with the empire, all the clergy will perish with their chief."

This extraordinary tithe was levied with the approval of the king; the legates acted with such rapacity, that they included in moveable goods, even the crops which were yet on the ground; and, as the holy father was unwilling to wait for the realization of this impost, they sold its collection to the bishops, at a low price, in order to receive the money at once; or in default of money, chalices, reliquaries, and the other sacred vases of their churches. After England, the pope ransacked Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and even Denmark and Sweden. With this money, drawn from the credulity of the faithful, he levied troops, and essayed to retake the country; but the new recruits were cut to pieces, and the emperor continued to advance on Rome, where his party

was all-powerful, thanks to the Frangipani, who had remained masters of the forts built since the expulsion of the pontiff.

Gregory, recognising the impossibility of subjugating Frederick by the sword, tried ecclesiastical thunders, and fulminated the following anathema. "We release all the subjects of Frederick the excommunicated, from their oaths of fidelity, especially those of the kingdom of Sicily; because Christians should not regard the sanctity of an oath towards him who is the enemy of God, and who tramples under feet the decrees of the church." Still the spiritual arms were impotent to arrest the march of the emperor, and Rome only awaited his arrival to open her gates to him, when a terrible event changed the disposition of their minds.

In a single night, at the end of a storm, the Tiber left its bed, and its waters covered the city even to the tops of the houses; a prodigious number of the inhabitants were drowned: others were crushed beneath the edifices which fell down; and, finally, others deprived of all succour, died of famine; and to heighten the disasters, when the waters had by degrees regained their bed there remained in the streets and cellars a great filth, which, mingling with the dead bodies in a state of putrefaction, engendered an epidemic which decimated the population.

The partizans of Gregory hastened to dwell on this public calamity, by representing it as a heavenly punishment; and they determined the citizens to send a deputation to Perouse to offer to restore the pope to the palace of the Lateran; it was accepted promptly, and Frederick, who knew the superstitious spirit of the Romans, dared not go further and even sought to enter into an arrangement with the holy father. His envoys were at first repulsed by the sacred college: presents then produced their usual effect, and it was decided to enter into conferences with them.

The following were the conditions of the treaty proposed by the pope:—"Frederick shall permit that, for the future, in the kingdom of Sicily, the elections, postulations, and confirmations of churches and monasteries shall be made in accordance with the decretals of the general council; he shall indemnify the templars and hospitallers for the damages which they have sustained in defence of the church, during the divisions; he shall pay all the expenses incurred in this war; and, finally, he shall give the Holy See sufficient security to guarantee the execution of the present convention."—Frederick ratified all the clauses of this treaty, and, in token of submission, went to Anagni, after which the two allies dined together, and renewed the oath to maintain the peace which they had signed.

But each sought to deceive his enemy, having decided to seize the favourable moment to overthrow the other. The emperor continued his intrigues at Rome, and the pope was soon driven a second time from the holy city, and compelled to take refuge at Nice; on his side the pope had sent secret emissaries

to Henry king of Germany, the oldest son of Frederick, to urge the young prince to revolt against his father. He had also, under pretence of pacifying the cities of Lombardy, sent into that province a celebrated preacher named John of Vincenza, to preach to the people union against the empire in case the emperor should wish to oppress them. Finally, for the same end, Gregory had published a collection of decretals, forming a species of code, in which all the decisions of the court of Rome, upon causes in which the pope was to judge as an arbitrary sovereign, were found classified. This collection was afterwards called the Book of the Decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth, and aided the popes in attributing to themselves the absolute government of benefices.

Such was the situation of affairs when the new revolt broke out against Gregory. He immediately wrote to Frederick to demand his aid, feigning ignorance of the part which he had taken in the matter. As the prince, in his reply, did not even take the pains to conceal the joy which he felt at the expulsion of the holy father, the latter made dispositions to take his revenge, and under pretext of a war against the Romans, sent legates into all Christian kingdoms to obtain a tenth of their revenues. The ambassadors of the pope were the bearers of the following bull: "In the war which we maintain against the Romans, we act merely, my brethren, for the interests of the whole church, we consequently order you to send us the tenth of the produce of your goods, and a proper succour of men-at-arms; that we may be enabled to crush our adversaries, so that for the future they shall not dare to rise against us." The sovereigns of France, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Portugal, Barcelona, Roussillon, Germany and Austria, hastened to obey the orders of the pontiff, to prevent their being excommunicated. These reinforcements of men were directed not on Rome, but Milan, to aid the Lombards who were in open revolt, and who recognised king Henry as their lawful sovereign.

In this extremity, Frederick endeavoured to reconcile himself with the pope anew, and offered conditions so advantageous to the Holy See, that Gregory immediately abandoned the unfortunate prince whom he had placed at the head of the revolt. Henry, reduced to his own forces, could do nothing but submit; he laid down his arms and came to implore the clemency of his father. The emperor, justly irritated against him, confined him in a strong fortress, where he died some years afterwards.

When peace was entirely re-established in his kingdom, Frederick again dreamed of taking vengeance on the pope, and sent into Sardinia Henry, one of his bastards, with a formidable army to conquer it; after which he declared him king of it to the prejudice of the rights of the Holy See, which for ages claimed the possession of that island. Gregory, furious at the success of his enemy, immediately assembled his cardinals in council,

and fulminated this new sentence of excommunication:—

“By the authority of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and that of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, we anathematise Frederick who calls himself emperor, as sacrilegious and a heretic. We excommunicate him because he has excited seditions in Rome against the church, for the purpose of overthrowing us from the apostolic throne, and of upsetting the sacred college of our cardinals. We anathematise him, because he calls us Anti-Christ, Balaam, and Prince of Darkness; because he has hindered our legate from persecuting the Albigenses; because he has seized upon the territory of the church, and especially Sardinia; and because he refuses to return to the Holy Land. We declare all his subjects absolved from the oaths they have taken to him, and we prohibit them, under penalty of excommunication, from obeying him until he shall have come to implore our mercy.”

Frederick was at Padua when he received the bull of anathema fulminated against him, and in his rage he replied with a terrible manifesto. Thus recommenced the war between the pope and the emperor. Frederick drove from Sicily all the preaching friars; he levied subsidies upon all ecclesiastics without distinction, and prohibited his subjects from going to Rome without especial authority. On his side the pope called to his aid the crusaders, who were ready to embark for Palestine, seized upon pious legacies and alms destined for their wants, and as he was not yet strong enough to attack the emperor, he sent legates to the court of France to solicit money and troops.

St. Louis permitted the ambassadors of the Holy See to convoke an assembly of the clergy and nobility at Senlis, and they there obtained permission to seize a twentieth of the revenues of the kingdom to succour Rome. Gregory was so well pleased with the conduct of the French, who for the third time, and at periods so approximate, had granted to him enormous subsidies, that he offered the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, the brother of the king. St. Louis rejected this odious proposal. “How has the pope dared to depose so great a prince?” he said to the legate. “If Frederick has merited the censures of the church, he ought above all to be judged in a general council, and not by his enemies. For our part, we regard him as innocent and as unjustly anathematized; we know that he has combated bravely in the Holy Land, and that he was exposed to all the dangers of war whilst the pope was seeking treacherously to deprive him of his kingdom and even to cause him to be assassinated.

“We are unwilling, then, to imitate the conduct of Gregory, and to combat against this prince to deprive him of his crown; we know that the holy father is not desirous of Christian blood when it flows for his temporal interests. Besides, if we were weak enough to subserve his fury what would it avail us? After the victory for which he would be indebted to us,

he would turn against us and trample us under foot, as his predecessors have so often done to the kings of France or emperors of Germany. You have asked for money from us: we have granted it to you, but we refuse to give you the soldiers you ask for to conquer a crown you are not permitted to dispose of.”

Gregory then wished to assemble a general council in order solemnly to depose the emperor; and as he feared lest Frederick would throw obstacles in the way of its assembling if he penetrated the true object, he entered into negotiations with him and gave out that the synod was to fix the basis of a definite peace between the altar and the throne. At the same time his legates spread themselves through France and England to distribute the letters of convocation, and to impress the bishops of these provinces favourably to him.

But Frederick was not the dupe of this ruse, and he wrote to the king of France, “You have already, prince, refused to become the instrument of the fury of Gregory, and to declare against us; the implacable pontiff has not, however, renounced the hope of ranging you on his side, and he essays a new trick to surprise your piety. No, the council which he wishes to assemble is not to be the mediator of peace; it is, on the contrary to be subservient to his ambition and to overthrow our empire. We declare to you then, to you, illustrious prince, whose interests are the same as our own, that as long as war shall exist between the empire and the Holy See we will not authorise the convocation of a council, because we consider it unbecoming in a king to submit to the decision of priests a case which has such important bearings on our secular power. We accordingly forewarn you that we will pursue to extremity those of your prelates who shall go to this assembly. We also inform you that the enormous sums which you have permitted to be raised in your estates are actually expended for the pay of the soldiers destined to make war on us; and that they are preparing to make new demands on you for money.”

In fact, the pope, seconded by his legates, had made a fourth levy of money in all the monasteries of France, and he waited for these new supplies to reinforce his army and attack the emperor. St. Louis, apprised of this by Frederick, stopped this money, already on its way towards Italy, and appropriated it to himself for the wants of his kingdom.

At the same time, the emperor surrounded all the sea-ports, and made prisoners of the cardinals and bishops who were going to the council. The war was pursued on both sides with equal vigour; at length the cardinal Colonna, the best general of the pope, having entered the service of Frederick, the party of the Ghibelines had the advantage; Beneventum, Faenza, Spoleto, Assise, and a great number of other cities fell into the power of that prince, and his troops were soon enabled to make incursions beneath the very walls of Rome.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the stubborn



Gregory obstinately refused to make peace with the empire, as a letter addressed to the king of France, by Frederick, testifies. "We learn," wrote the prince, "that the Tartars have invaded Hungary, and threaten to blot out the empire and the church; but ardent as is our desire to oppose the progress of this new invasion, we are constrained above all else to contend with the pope, our implacable enemy. It is on this account we are marching towards Rome; and we are about to besiege it, since we cannot obtain peace."

In the month of August, Frederick, having taken Tivoli, and the fortified castles of the monastery of Farsa by assault, established his camp at the grotto Ferra, from whence he ravaged the campagna of Rome.

Gregory continued to maintain himself in the holy city, although the inhabitants were divided into two powerful factions, the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, who daily came to blows, and according as one or the other were victorious, hoisted the imperial standard or the pontifical banner. In the midst of these alternatives of fear and hope, Gregory fell sick, and died on the 20th of August, 1241, after having filled Italy with disasters during a reign of fourteen years. This implacable old man was almost an hundred years old. He was buried in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

This embittered strife between the popes and the emperors is a very remarkable fact

in the history of the church. Since the pontificate of Gregory the Seventh, the Holy See, which derived all its power from the emperors of the West, declares itself their implacable enemy. The court of Rome no longer defends its rights by invoking charters granted by princes; it is from God alone that it pretends to hold its temporal as well as its spiritual power; and this principle of theocracy once established, the popes deduce from it frightful consequences; they declare themselves the masters and rulers of the entire world; they call themselves infallible; they attribute to themselves the same prerogatives as the divinity; they proudly call themselves the vicars of Christ, the representatives of God on earth!!

Thus they dispose of thrones and empires, overthrow the one, reconstruct the other, and according to the caprices of their imagination or the interests of their policy, they urge nations into interminable wars. Men are for them machines which they use to draw gold from the bowels of the earth, instruments which they employ to raise statues and palaces for them. Finally, these hypocritical pontiffs in the name of a God of humility, elevate the chair of St. Peter above the throne of kings. In the name of a God of charity, despoil the unfortunate people. In the name of a God of mercy, cause the unfortunate victims of their fanaticism to expire in tortures.

## CELESTIN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1241:]

*Division in the sacred college—The cardinals nominate two popes—Both compelled to abdicate—Election of Celestin the Fourth—His moderation—His plans of reform—He is poisoned by the priests.*

At the time of the death of Gregory, there were but ten cardinals at Rome. These wrote to Frederick to beseech him to set at liberty the prelates whom he retained in his camp, in order that the sacred college might be enabled to assemble and proceed to the election of a new pontiff. The prince acceded to their request, and permitted his prisoners to go to Rome to meet the conclave, on condition that they would choose the cardinal Otho, one of his creatures. He granted besides to the absent cardinals safe conduct to re-enter the holy city.—But so great a confluence of electors was not counted upon by the prelates who were assembled. As each of them had already made his terms when he sold his vote, they feared they could not control the majority of the assembly, because too numerous; and they hastened to terminate the election before the arrival of their colleagues.

Geoffrey, bishop of Sabine, had five votes, and the other three were given for Romain,

bishop of Porto. At the defeat of his protégé, the emperor declared that he would approve of the nomination of Geoffrey, who was generally esteemed for his virtues; but he pronounced with energy against that of Romain, the same prelate who had figured in the massacre of the Albigenses, and who had afterwards excited violent disputes against the university of Paris by means of the assistance of Queen Blanche, his mistress. Moreover, the two elections were null in themselves, neither of the prelates having received two thirds of the votes which the constitution of Alexander the Third required. They were both accordingly obliged to abdicate. On the next day they proceeded to a new election. On this occasion such a quarrel broke out in the conclave, that from words they would have come to blows but for the intervention of the senate and the prefect; finally, in this strife, Geoffrey gained one vote, and was solemnly proclaimed chief of the church.

The new pontiff was originally from Milan. He had first been a canon, and chancellor of the church of that city; then he had taken the monastic habit in the order of the Citeaux. Afterwards, Honorius the Third had ordained him a cardinal priest; and finally, during the pontificate of Gregory, he had been promoted to the bishopric of Sabine. After having un-

dergone the usual proofs, he was enthroned by the name of Celestin the Fourth.

This good pope endeavoured to reform the infamous morals of his clergy. Unfortunately he was not prudent enough to discard from his person the courtiers of the preceding reign; and eighteen days after his election, he died of poison, not having been consecrated.

## INNOCENT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1241:] † 1254

*Vacancy in the Holy See—Information against the assassins of Celestin—Flight of the cardinals—Frederick orders the Romans to choose a new pope—Exaltation of Innocent the Fourth—Negotiations for peace—Treaty between Frederick and the pope—Innocent betrays the emperor and flies from Rome—His journey into France—Council of Lyons—The emperor is solemnly deposed—Henry the Second, son of Frederick, is chosen king of Germany at the instigation of the pope—Civil wars excited by Innocent—Letter from the sultan of Egypt—Innocent excommunicates the kings of Arragon and Portugal—The English revolt against the legate of the court of Rome—The pope sells his protection to the Jews, and persecutes the Christians who refuse to pay the dimes—Example of a confessor's knavery—New crusades—St. Louis departs for the Holy Land—Death of Frederick—return of the pope into Italy—Conrad, the third son of Frederick, takes the title of emperor—Complaints of Bishop Robert Grosshead against the pope—Absolute sway of the Holy See over Italy—Death of Innocent the Fourth—Reflections on the odious character of the pontiff.*

THE poisoning of Celestin the Fourth plunged Rome into consternation and alarm. The people, who had placed all their hopes on the life of this pontiff, loudly demanded the punishment of the guilty, and threatened those whom the public voice designated as the assassins, with a terrible vengeance. A rigid examination, in fact, was commenced, and it led to such strange revelations that the magistrates were compelled to stop their inquiries, the murderers being cardinals and archbishops. These, finding themselves discovered, and fearful of a just punishment, secretly escaped from the city, abandoning to their colleagues the care of choosing a new pope. There then remained in the sacred college but six cardinals, all ambitious of the papacy, and each of them unwilling to make a concession to his competitors; thus, with such pretensions, it became impossible to nominate a pontiff.

Frederick, tired of waiting for the termination of their quarrels, threatened to hang them all if they prolonged the scandal of their rivalry any more. "Is it not shameful," he wrote to them, "that the faithful can justly say, it is not Christ who is among you, but Satan himself?"—St. Louis, on his side, had also addressed several letters to them, exhorting them to put an end promptly to the long vacancy of the Holy See.

The emperor, finally discovering that they regarded neither entreaties nor threats, quitted Apulia, whither he had returned after the death of Gregory, re-entered the land of La-

bour in the month of March, 1243, and led his army beneath the walls of Rome. The city was so closely blockaded, that provisions could no longer enter it by land or water; the magistrates then sent a deputation to Frederick to represent to him that it was unjust to punish them for a fault of which the cardinals alone were guilty, since the citizens were disposed to drive from the city the authors of all the disorders—which was done on the very same day.

Frederick yielded to these representations, raised the siege and placed the members of the sacred college under the ban of the empire. By his orders, all the domains of the Guelphs were ravaged, not only their lands and castles, but even the monasteries, churches, and convents of the nuns. Those who held out for the cardinals were pitilessly massacred; the city of Albano especially, which had opened its gates to them, was treated with the greatest cruelty. These latter, finally, finding themselves driven from their domains, despoiled of their dignities, and pursued by indefatigable enemies, determined to name a pope. It is said, moreover, that that which alarmed them the most, was the news that the French were preparing to erect an independent patriarchate to govern the church.

The conclave assembled anew in the city of Rome on the 24th of June, 1243, and proclaimed as sovereign pontiff, Sinibald of Fiesca, of the family of the counts of Lavagne, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Law-

rence. He was enthroned by the name of Innocent the Fourth, submitted to the usual tests, and consecrated some days after his promotion.

He had been the intimate friend of the emperor, therefore the ministers of Frederick congratulated him on an election which could not fail to be advantageous to the empire. But the prince, who knew the ambitious character of the new pope, interrupted them by saying: "Cease your congratulations, for this change of fortune is about to take from me the friendship of the cardinal and bring on me the hatred of the Holy See." We shall see, in the end, Innocent the Fourth, pursue his old friend with even more fury than his predecessor Gregory. Notwithstanding his sinister forebodings, the emperor caused masses to be celebrated throughout all his kingdom to render thanks to God for the election of a sovereign pontiff; and some days after, having returned into Sicily, he sent a solemn embassy to compliment Innocent, and offer him the aid of his arms, in order to assure the maintenance of the dignity and liberty of the church.

The holy father listened kindly to the ambassadors, and sent them back with three nuncios, Peter of Colmieu, the metropolitan of Rouen, William, the former bishop of Modena, and William, the abbot of St. Fagon, in Gallicia, to treat of the conditions of peace with Frederick. The instructions given to his envoys were, that they should demand that he should immediately set at liberty all the ecclesiastics who had been taken by the galleys of the Genoese, but without giving any satisfaction in exchange; and that after having heard all the proposals of Frederick, they should reply, that all questions in litigation between the church and the empire could only be judged of by a general council of kings, princes, and prelates. This first negotiation was without any result, on account of the obstinacy of the pope, who rejected the just claims of the emperor on the Holy See.

Towards the end of the month of October, Innocent left the city of Anagni, and came to Rome, where every thing was prepared for his reception. He found there the young Raymond, count of Toulouse, who had come to solicit his absolution; the holy father, who was aware of the diplomatic abilities of the count, resolved to employ him for the interests of the Roman church; he granted him absolution from all the anathemas which he had incurred, and induced Frederick to appoint him one of the imperial commissioners who, with Peter of Vignes, and Thadæus of Sweden, were to arrange the basis of a treaty. On his side, the pope appointed the bishop of Ostia and three other cardinals, Stephen, Giles, and Otho, to defend the privileges of the assembly;

With such commissioners, it was ordered to the holy father to have all the clauses of the treaty dictated approved. Thus there was a speedy arrangement. The following were the conditions of the treaty: — Frederick was to restore the territories which he had taken

from the Holy See, and to recognise by a public confession that it was not from contempt that he had refused to submit to the sentences pronounced against him by Gregory the Ninth, but through the inspiration of the devil: he was to proclaim that the pope, even though the greatest of criminals, alone possessed supreme power over all Christians, whatever might be their rank: and, finally, the prince was bound to set at liberty all those who had risen against him during his excommunication, and to found churches, hospitals, and monasteries, to expiate his crime of rebellion against the church. All these articles were sworn to by the commissioners of the king, amidst the applause of the cardinals and pope; but when Frederick had been informed of the treason of his delegates, he sharply refused to execute the treaty.

Innocent, not daring to break with the emperor, whose anger he dreaded, proposed an interview with him at Sutri. The prince refused to go there before having received his letters of absolution, and declared that it was at Rome itself he would cause his rights to be recognised. This threat, and the approach of the imperial troops, alarmed the holy father—secret orders were expedited to Genoa, to make dispositions of the galleys; and when all was ready, by night, without admitting any one into his confidence, to avoid being stopped by the Ghibelines, he laid aside the insignia of his dignity, armed himself lightly, mounted a strong horse, and, accompanied by a single domestic, took the road to Civita Vecchia.— He urged his flight so rapidly, that he had traversed eleven leagues by daybreak; he then caused his domestic to return, to inform Peter of Capua, and seven cardinals of his party of his flight, that they might join him at Civita Vecchia, where twenty-three galleys, each manned by sixty well-armed men, and one hundred and twenty rowers awaited them. These vessels had come under the leading of the admiral of the republic of Genoa, and the relatives of the pope. Innocent embarked on the same night with the cardinals and some bishops, and arrived on the 5th of July, 1244, at Genoa, his country. On his disembarkation, he was harangued by the principal persons of the republic, and borne in triumph by the clergy to the cathedral, amidst the acclamations of the people.

Frederick, informed by his spies that the pontiff meditated a second flight out of Italy, blockaded all the routes by sea and land, to make him a prisoner. Innocent had already asked from the king of France permission to establish himself at Rhoims, the see of which was vacant, and the latter had replied, that the barons of the kingdom, jealous of the liberties of the Gallic church, were unwilling to permit the pope to fix his residence in France. Like refusals had been received to the overtures which had been made in Spain, England, and several other kingdoms; "for," says Mathew Paris, "they knew too well the avidity and despotism of the Roman court to wish for the presence of the holy father; the

people were beginning to comprehend that religion was only a pretext made use of by the legates to pillage them; and they had learned from recent examples that popes and their cardinals, like swarms of grasshoppers, left behind them but ruin and desolation."

Disgracefully repulsed on all sides, and not daring to remain in Italy, Innocent determined to go to Lyons, a neutral city belonging to an archbishop. He had scarcely arrived when he expedited circular letters for the convocation of a general council. — His aim, he said, was to raise up the church which had bowed its forehead before an horrible tempest, to conquer the Holy Land, re-establish the empire of Romania, repulse the Tartars and other infidels, and, finally, constrain the emperor to humble himself before St. Peter.

According to the usage of his predecessors, the pope, regardless of the rights of the venerable archbishop who had received him, seized on his palace, his goods, and all his authority; he disposed of cures, prebends, and benefices, and sold them to strangers, or gave them to persons of his train. At length the Lyonese canons, indignant at the conduct of Innocent, revolted against him, and protested with oaths, that if the Italian priests showed themselves in their churches, they would cast them into the Rhone; the people took part with them, and a chamberlain of the pope having dared to strike with his wand a citizen who asked an audience of the pope, the latter drew his sword and cut off his hand.

Curiosity or fanaticism, however, drawing to Lyons bishops and French lords, the council took place, and behold, according to Mathew Paris, what were the events which passed in the assembly. "The emperor Frederick," says the historian, "sent ambassadors to defend his rights. They held, previously, a council to hear Thadeus of Sweden, who, in the name of the prince, his master, offered to re-establish concord between the empire and the church; to bring back to the obedience of the Holy See the states of Romania; to oppose the Tartars, Chorasmians, Saracens, and other enemies of the court of Rome; to go in person to deliver the Holy Land, and, finally, to restore to St. Peter that which he had taken from him, and do penance for the sins which he had committed." Innocent, who assisted at the conference, exclaimed, "Oh, these great promises! We see, my lord Thadeus, that your master fears the blow which threatens him. If I accepted his offers, and he should then break his oaths, what would be the security? Who would force him to keep his engagements?" Thadeus replied, "The kings of France and England, most holy father." Innocent immediately rejoined, "We refuse them; for if the emperor failed in his word, we should be compelled to turn to these princes and chastise them like him, which would excite against the church the three most redoubtable sovereigns of the West. No: we will not thus depart from the line of our policy, which is to reduce kings and people by making them combat each

other." "Who are the people," adds the chronicler, "who can read these terrible pages of the history of the popes, without raging with indignation? How long will kings, princes, and people consent to obey as slaves the court of Rome, and to bow before an insolent priest, who arrogates to himself the right to chastise them?"

At the close of the first session of the synod, Innocent pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against Frederick, declaring the empire vacant, and ordering the electors to choose a new emperor. Philip Fontaine, bishop of Ferrara, was sent immediately into Germany with orders to cause Henry, landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse, to be chosen king of the Romans and the metropolitan of Mayence, who had taken part in all these intrigues, was charged to preach a crusade against Frederick. Not content with creating confusion in the empire by means of his intrigues, the pope took assassins into his pay, and organised a vast conspiracy, into which he induced the relatives, friends, and even familiars of the emperor to take part. But the plot was discovered, and all the conspirators payed for the treason of the pope with their heads.

"Then," says Jurien, "the empire was covered by armed men, who ravaged by turns the most beautiful provinces. In Germany, Conrad combated for his father; in Italy Frederick disputed with his enemies for his crown and life. We see nothing but leagues, revolts, factions, sieges and battles; everywhere pillage, incendiariam and massacres reigned. The landgrave Henry, he whom the pope had proclaimed king, having been killed in a skirmish, Innocent proclaimed in his place, William, Count of Holland, who, in his turn, was forced to fly before the arms of young Conrad. During an entire year the war continued with the same fury, and Christian blood was shed by torrents in the name of an execrable pope."

Innocent, who wished to raise the whole world against Frederick, so implacable was his hatred, was infamous enough, vicar of Christ, to write to the sultan Melec Saleh, to induce him to make a descent on Italy, thus violating the faith sworn to the emperor. The Mussulman replied to him, "We have received your letters and given audience to your envoy. He has spoken to us of Jesus Christ, whom we know better than you appear to, and whom we honour more than you do. We refuse your request.—Safety."

During this same year, the pope, furious at seeing all his efforts fail, wished to try his power over princes less redoubtable than the emperor; he excommunicated James, king of Arragon, to punish him for having cut out the tongue of the bishop of Gironne, who had sold the enemies secrets of state. Upon the deposition of the prelates of Portugal, he also excommunicated King Sancho the Second. The sentence was pronounced against his states, the sovereign was deposed and the regency given to count Alphonso the father of

the prince. These two communications gave rise to civil wars in Spain, and during several years the Arragones and Portugese covered their countries with massacres and incendiarisms.

The ecclesiastical thunders were not so successful in England, and the legates of the Holy See, though armed with anathemas, were driven disgracefully from Great Britain, and prohibited from re-entering the kingdom, and levying new tenths upon the people. Innocent the Fourth, informed that a monarch dared to protect his subjects against the rapacity of his legates, immediately lanced a bull of excommunication against him, but he found no one who consented to publish it, and the holy wrath served but to unmask his hypocrisy.

In the midst, however, of all his crimes, we should give him credit for the protection which he extended to the Jews of Germany, who were crushed beneath the tyranny of bishops and archbishops. Thanks to him, the unfortunate Israelites could breathe in peace, without fear of being pillaged, robbed, and massacred by Catholics. It is true, that they paid dearly for the friendship of the pope, and that several among them, from being rich were reduced to misery.

During the sojourn of Innocent at Lyons, chance brought to that city a knight of the emperor, who had retired from his service in consequence of some discontent. As he lodged in the same hotel as Walter d'Ocre, doctor and counsellor of the prince, the two Germans soon made acquaintance, and became friends. The pope, informed by his spies that two partizans of the emperor inhabited the same hotel, soon originated a great piece of scandal, and sent emissaries through the city to report that Frederick desired to assassinate him. As absurd as was this accusation, the two Germans, fearing to be submitted to the torture, hastened to quit Lyons to regain Germany. Innocent did not discontinue the investigations; and as the hotel keeper, named Renaud, fell seriously ill, he gave him, as a confessor, in his last moments, an Italian priest, who, on the succeeding day, deposed before an assembly of the chapter of the cathedral, that the dying man had revealed to him the infamous plot of the agents of Frederick. This odious falsehood was published through all Europe; and, to give it more credence, the pope feigned that he dared not leave his palace, keeping about his person a guard of fifty armed men, who accompanied him even to the altar whenever he celebrated divine service. He did not, however, obtain from this new trick any of the advantages that he hoped for. He then fell back upon preaching crusades, which were inexhaustible sources of profit for the popes; his legates traversed all Christian countries, and came as far as Norway, from whence they brought to fifteen thousand sterling marks, the value of presents, and a donation as a penance of five marks of silver for each province of that country; other kingdoms produced

the holy father in the same proportions as Norway.

France, according to custom, distinguished herself by her religious enthusiasm; although exacted three times during the pontificate of Gregory the Ninth, it was she who furnished the most money to the pope: she alone then consented to make a new expedition into Palestine for the remission of the sins of St. Louis. That stupid and devotee king assembled a numerous army of crusaders, and departed on the 12th of June, 1248, for the Holy Land. At first he gained some advantages over the infidel, and seized upon Damietta, but the Saracens soon took their revenge; the French army was cut to pieces, and the king himself fell into their power. This new disaster lost the kingdom all its valiant youth, and the remainder of its gold, which it had to give for the ransom of its imbecile monarch.

Thus terminated the first crusade of St. Louis. The priests did not fail to attribute the reverses of the crusaders to their sins and their abominations, in order to explain the false prophecies which had announced great victories. These accusations were well founded: for, according to contemporary historians, the French lords abandoned themselves to so many excesses, that they appeared to be rather the defenders of Satan than the servants of Christ. Behold how the Sieur de Joinville, one of the actors in this crusade, expresses himself:—"The barons, knights, and other nobles, who were in the camp of St. Louis, and who should have wisely kept the money which they had for their future wants, spent it foolishly in banquets and festivities. Thus, when their ruin was commenced, they were obliged, in order to live, to rob the soldiers. Misery soon led to demoralization—no woman nor girl could enter the camp without being violated on the plain, and led into the lupanars which were kept around the royal pavilion; finally, those who would wish to relate all the abominations with young pages, nay, even of the sins against nature, would risk their salvation from the terms they would be compelled to use."

Brocardus Argentoratensis, one of the monks who had followed the army, gives a singular explanation of these disorders. "In the Holy Land," says this chronicler, "are men of all nations, and each lives according to the customs of his country, with a license which is unequalled; and to tell the truth, the Christians are the most corrupt of all—for the following reason: in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, when a wretch has committed all kinds of crimes, and wishes to escape from the justice of the prince, he goes to Palestine, where, thanks to the indulgences, all his sins are remitted him. When he arrives there, the theatre of his crimes is changed, but not his heart; he violates, pillages, murders, as before his departure for the promised land. Cursed be through eternity the popes who invented the crusades."

Whilst St. Louis, a victim to the councils of

the pontiff, was a captive among the Saracens, Innocent was pursuing Frederick with his hatred, and was subsidising assassins. He had gained over Peter de Vignes, ordinary physician to the prince, who was at the same time his counsellor and confidant. The emperor having fallen sick, in consequence of the fatigues and chagrin which he had undergone in the late wars, Peter de Vignes was assisted by a physician sent from Lyons, and presented a poisoned beverage to the monarch. Frederick had fortunately been apprised of this treason; when the assassins had placed the cup in his hands, he feigned to feel an insurmountable disgust for the drink which it contained, and gave it to the Italian physician, beseeching him to taste it himself. The latter, finding himself taken in his own snare, dared not refuse, and carried the cup to his lips; at the same time he made a false step, and threw it down on the ground. The guards immediately entered. Henry caused them to take up the liquor in a sponge, and ordered the condemned to drink it in his presence. Three of these unfortunate ones died in horrid convulsions. The emperor caused the Lyonesse physician to be strangled immediately, and condemned Peter de Vignes to have his eyes torn out, and be given up to the Pisans, his personal enemies, to be tortured. At the moment at which the punishment was commencing, the patient beat out his brains against a column to which he had been fastened.

Frederick had scarcely escaped from this peril when he received the news that Henry, king of Sardinia, one of his natural sons, had been taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and that another of his children was dead in Apulia. So many disasters overwhelmed the unfortunate prince, and as he found himself attacked by a disease called the sacred fire, he decided to offer peace to the Holy See on advantageous conditions. Innocent rejected all his proposals; he did not even wish to receive his envoys, and persisted in declaring him deprived of the empire. Frederick languished still for a year, consumed by the fever, and died on the 4th of December, 1250, leaving his kingdom to his son Conrad.

The pope, who was still in Lyons, immediately wrote to Germany and Sicily to kindle civil war in those kingdoms, and to cause them to recognise as emperor, William, count of Holland, to whom he had already given the title of king of the Romans. This prince, notwithstanding the protection of the holy father, was constrained to retire before the victorious arms of the young Conrad, and to renounce his vain title. On his desisting, the pope then offered the imperial crown to the count of Gueldres, the duke of Brabant, and the earl of Cornwall. These three princes refused it. Finally, he offered it to the king of Norway, who declared that he did not wish a dignity so easily obtained that even the popes could dispose of it.

Notwithstanding these different checks, the faction of the Guelphs obtained the supremacy in Italy, and Innocent made his dispositions to return to Rome. Before, however, quitting

France, he reiterated the excommunication against the memory of Frederick, and anathematised the young Conrad, to punish him for having seized on the insignia of the empire without his authority. He then went to Genoa, from thence to Milan, and traversing Lombardy rapidly, he established his court at Perouse to gain time to assemble the forces of his party.

Conrad, on his side, had also profited by the time; with the assistance of the Venetians, who had furnished him with a fleet, he had embarked at Pescara and gained a brilliant victory over the counts of Aquina and Sora, two Guelphs, who wished to oppose his entrance into Sicily. This defeat, far from discouraging the pontiff, only rendered his hatred the more violent; and not being able to levy nor subsidise troops, he sent his missionaries into Brabant, Flanders, and France, to preach a crusade against the emperor Conrad, promising to those who would undertake it, indulgences more extensive than those granted to the crusaders of the Holy Land; since these latter only gained pardon for their sins, whilst the others would obtain for themselves, their children, and their families, the right of committing all crimes with impunity.

But the French, at length worn out by these incessant demands for men and money made, —so often against the infidels, so often against the emperor Frederick, so often against his son Conrad, drove the missionaries out of all the cities of the kingdom, and the regent was compelled to assemble the states to take the advice of her subjects. The deputies complained loudly of the pope, and accused him of being the cause of all the disasters which overwhelmed Europe; they blamed severely the policy of the Holy See, which not only urged on the English, Germans, and French into wars of extermination in Syria, but which even essayed to hurl one part of the West on Italy to aggrandise his power. Finally, they constrained Queen Blanche to make a decree which authorised the confiscation of the property of the fanatics who were willing to embark in a crusade against the emperor Conrad; the lords did the same towards the vassals who held under them, and this step caused the crusade of Italy to fall through.

Repulsed in France, the pope fell back on England, and wrote to the bishop of Lincoln, a venerable prelate, esteemed by all on account of his wisdom and the purity of his morals, to ask for succours from him. The latter refused to obey the injunctions of the court of Rome, and sent a circular to all the ecclesiastics of England to urge them to resistance. "The pontiff," he wrote to them, "is not ashamed to annul the wise constitutions of his predecessors; he desires to govern us as a despot, and to dispose at his will of our fortunes and our lives; before him, many popes have afflicted the church: In his crimes he surpasses them all in wickedness. He has degraded Christian kingdoms with usurious practices, a thousand times harder than the Jews; he has ordained minor brothers and preaching friars called in at the last mo-

ments of the faithful to frighten them, in order to extort from them testaments in favour of the Holy See; under pretext of crusades he encourages the odious traffic in indulgences so well, that now they sell absolution to the laity, as in former times they sold animals in the temple; and his agents measure out salvation by the amount of money given them.

"He sells churches, prebends, benefices to strangers, ignorant and unlettered priests, and these intruders, on arriving in their new cures can neither preach, nor receive confessions, nor even succour the poor, because they do not understand the language of the inhabitants. He has introduced the custom of buying bishoprics, without having received orders and only to get the revenues. Finally, he has filled the world with so many scandals and abominations, that we cannot enumerate all his robberies, adulteries, assassinations—and as we cannot deliver Christendom from this prop of Satan, at least let us protect Great Britain against the encroachments of this enemy of humanity."

Notwithstanding the example set by England and France, the Italians, excited by the preaching of the monks, took up arms in favour of the Holy See; the Ghibelines once victorious, gradually lost all their conquests, and that which heightened their disasters was the death of Conrad, who was poisoned by his natural brother Mainfroy, at the instigation of the pope. Before yielding his last breath, the emperor perceived that the party of the court of Rome would be for a long time triumphant, and as he could not but fear for the life of his son, the young Conradin, who was only three years old, he wished to make a protector of his enemy, by giving to the pope the enjoyment of the revenues of the kingdom of Sicily.

Innocent accepted the tutelage which Conrad had bequeathed to him, and he declared that he would preserve for the young prince the kingdom of Jerusalem, the duchy of Suabia, and all his rights over the kingdom of Sicily, or his other states. He then received an oath of fidelity from the subjects of Conradin, permitting them always to add, "saving

the rights of the young prince." As to the assassin Mainfroy, who had so well served him, he caused it to be signified to him as well as to the marquis of Honebruc, and the other lords of their party, that they must leave the Roman church sovereign mistress of the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies, granting them time to make their submission until the nativity of the Virgin; which time passed, he threatened them with excommunication, and the privation of their dignities and fortunes, which was done as he had threatened them. After this, he sent his nephew, William of Fieeca, into Sicily in the capacity of legate, and supported him with a numerous army, to govern the kingdom. He permitted him to seize on the revenues of the vacant sees, or prebends, and gave him full power to impose collections, to coin new money, and to confiscate the property of those who had supported the party of Frederick, in the last wars, to sell the domains of the crown, and, finally, to lay hands on all the deposits of money and arms he might find in the kingdom.

Mainfroy, deceived in his ambition, at first thought of avenging himself on Innocent, and kept a part of Apulia and Calabria in revolt; but having then considered every thing he could draw from his position, resolved to make his submission to the Holy See. He accordingly proposed to the pope to place him in possession of Apulia, Calabria, and a great part of Sicily, if, in return, he would appoint him tutor to Conradin, and give him the principality of Tarentum, the countships of Gravine and Tricarique, and declare him his vicar over the unsubjugated parts of the kingdom of Sicily. Innocent, who saw himself freed at a blow from his most formidable enemy, consented to all, and delivered up the son to the assassin of the father. He then resolved to visit his new states, and came to Ceperano, where Mainfroy awaited him to sign the conditions of the treaty. From Ceperano, the pontiff went to Capua and Naples; but God had marked the term of his triumphal march; he was attacked in that city by a grievous malady, which carried him off on the 7th of December, 1254.

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POPE MARTIN V AT THE COUNCIL OF BASLE.

A

**COMPLETE HISTORY**

OF

**THE POPES OF ROME,**

FROM

**SAINT PETER, THE FIRST BISHOP, TO PIUS  
THE NINTH, THE PRESENT POPE;**

INCLUDING

**THE HISTORY**

OF

**SAINTS, MARTYRS, FATHERS OF THE CHURCH**

**RELIGIOUS ORDERS, CARDINALS, INQUISITIONS, SCHISMS,**

**AND THE GREAT REFORMERS.**

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

**LOUIS MARIE DE CORMENIN.**

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THE

## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

## ALEXANDER THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1254.]

*Election of Alexander the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He protects the mendicant monks—The pope offers the crown of Sicily to the king of England—revolt against Alexander—Sect of the flagellants—The pope undertakes to form a league of Christian princes to resist the Tartars—His death.*

DURING the sickness of the pope, Mainfroy finding the occasion favourable, anew declared himself hostile to the court of Rome, and had seized upon Nocera and Fogio, two important places. This sudden blow spread consternation through all minds, and the cardinals who were at Naples wished to retreat immediately towards Campania, in order to proceed to the election of a successor of Innocent. The marquis of Berthold, however, who commanded at Naples, reassured them, and determined them to form a conclave. This time, under the impression of fear, intrigues appeared and disappeared with great rapidity; for on the same day, they proclaimed Rainald Conti sovereign pontiff, by the name of Alexander the Fourth.

This cardinal was the son of Philip de Conti, the brother of Pope Gregory the Ninth, and was descended from the illustrious family of the counts of Segni. He was born in the castle of Jerme, a dependency of the abbey of Sublac, in the diocese of Anagni, where he had lived to the age of forty years as a simple member of the chapter of the canons of the cathedral, when his uncle, the pope, took a fancy to call him to Rome. He went on the call of Gregory the Ninth, and took rank among the cardinals, with the title of bishop of Ostia. The new prelate affected a great application to prayer, practised severe abstinences, and made a great show of humility, which did not, however, prevent him from having flatterers and mistresses.

Become pope, Alexander played well his part, and showed himself worthy to continue the policy of Gregory and Innocent. He was at first occupied in resisting the faction of the Ghibelins, who, under the leading of a valiant knight, named Eoclin, had seized the March of Trevisano, and threatened to invade all Sicily, in defiance of the anathemas of the Holy See. Alexander declared the chief of the rebels the enemy of God, degraded from

his dignities, and deprived of his property, which he gave to Count Alberic, the brother of that lord, for the purpose of arming brother against brother. He then excommunicated the fratricide Mainfroy, and opposed to him the cardinal Octavian Ubaldin, to whom he gave the legation of the kingdom of Sicily, in place of William, who had not been able to maintain himself in Apulia since the death of Pope Innocent. Without stopping to justify his conduct, Mainfroy continued his career of conquest, and advanced to meet Octavian, who had a numerous army, composed of troops badly provisioned and equipped. The legate, instead of fighting, cowardly demanded peace. It was agreed between them, that Mainfroy should abandon the territory of Labour to the pope, and should govern all the rest of the kingdom of Sicily, in the name of his nephew Conradin.

Alexander refused to ratify this treaty, attending that his legate had outstripped his powers, and that he had made it from necessity in order to save his army; consequently such an engagement could not be obliged Mainfroy, indignant, immediately retreated field at the head of his victorious troops, threatened to punish the pontiff severely for his breach of faith; the latter, who had covered that his arms were powerless against such an enemy, sought allies abroad, and offered the crown of Sicily to the young Edmund, second son of the king of England; Jacques Bourcambio, bishop of Bologna, was entrusted with this important mission. On his arrival in Great Britain, the legate convened an assembly of the grandees of the kingdom, and solemnly invested prince Edmund with the royalty of Sicily, by a ring which he placed on his finger in the name of the holy father; he also declared the king of England relieved from his vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on condition that he would authorise a new crusade against Mainfroy.

## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

As this bull excited violent murmurs among the people, Bourcambio, to put an end to them, assembled the prelates of the kingdom, and endeavoured to induce them to recognise that a pope had the right to absolve from all crimes those who shed their blood in his service, or who succoured him with their money. The English bishops, far from approving such a doctrine, spontaneously rose to cry out anathema upon the pope; they addressed sage remonstrances to the king, beseeching him not to accomplish an enterprise so disastrous as that proposed by Alexander, observing to him that the affairs of Sicily were in a deplorable condition, and that the unworthy pontiff offered him a crown it would be impossible to conquer; and that, besides, supposing that he gained advantages over his enemies, the popes would doubtless pursue him in his turn, as they had pursued the Greek emperors, the French princes and the German sovereigns. Finally, one of them, the archbishop Seval, spoke with so much eloquence, that the prince retracted the word which he had already given to the Roman legate; Alexander furious, against the metropolitan who was the cause of this check, resolved to be revenged on him; he sent him orders to confer the best benefits of his diocese on Italians who did not live in the country, and on his refusal to obey this unjust decree, he excommunicated him, and solemnly deposed him to the sound of the bells with an infamous censure. Seval underwent this persecution with courageous firmness, and contented himself with leaving us in his works several remarkable letters against the tyranny of the Roman court.

If the pontiff was an enemy of virtuous priests, by way of contrast he declared himself to be the protector of debauched monks, that hideous leprosy which for so many centuries still gnaws the people. He published a bull in their favour, which restored to them the privileges of which they had been deprived by his predecessor. At the beginning of this act was found this remarkable preamble: "It is not extraordinary that a series of decrees of those who have succeeded him in the apostolic chair, especially in their ordinances are infected with errors, have been made under the influence of prepossessions or with precipitation." Some months afterwards he published a second bull, to put an end to the quarrels which had broken out between the preaching brothers and the doctors of Paris, and in which, under a pretext for the good of religion, he modified, of his own authority, the regulations of the university, prescribing to the chancellor of Paris in what manner he should grant licenses, and pointing out to him that he wished him to confer them on an unlimited number of doctors. He further intimated to him an order to reinstate the preaching brothers in the ranks of the professors of the university, and renewed the statutes in relation to the intermission of the courses in cases of insults offered to the monks by the students.

Notwithstanding the injunction of the holy father, the university refused to admit into its bosom the preaching brothers whom it had already expelled. Alexander, to intimidate the university corps, fulminated his anathemas. Nothing shook the resolution of the doctors: they replied to the popes that they had excluded the mendicant monks for ever from their ranks, because they maintained horrible maxims, and they sent to him, in support of their assertions, a monstrous work entitled "The Eternal Gospel." The pope, on examining it, found the doctrines it contained so frightful, that he caused it to be secretly buried to avoid casting reprobation on its authors. It was, on the contrary, on William of Saint Amour, the impugner of the mendicant brothers, that all the pontifical wrath fell; he solemnly excommunicated him and caused all his works to be burned.

Notwithstanding these acts of authority, Alexander was far from ruling in temporal affairs; not only had he been unable to subjugate the Sicilians, but even in Rome the people evinced impatience at the yoke of the Holy See. A violent sedition broke out on the occasion of the imprisonment of Brancaléon, the first senator whom the pope disgraced in order to put one of his favourites in his place; the citizens, incited by an English baker, whom the new dignitary wished to whip with rods, hurled themselves on the guards, took their arms from them, hastened to the prison in which the senator was confined, broke open the doors, and led him in triumph to the capitol. Brancaléon, become all-powerful in consequence of this popular movement, boldly resumed his functions as a magistrate, drove his enemies from Rome, and caused two of the relatives of cardinal Anibaldi, the author of his disgrace, to be strangled. The pope endeavoured to intimidate him by excommunications; but the senator informed him it was an useless effort, since he had purchased from his predecessor the privilege of being anathematised; but that if, however, he continued his juggleries, he would hang him and all his cardinals. This menace alarmed the holy father very much, and as he knew Brancaléon to be a man of action, he escaped from Rome to take refuge with his partizans at Viterba.

Mainfroy, on his part, master of Sicily, the principality of Tarentum, of Apulia, and of the territory of Labour, was solemnly crowned at Palermo, while the valiant Ecclin was pushing his conquests over the domains of the church. Finally, every thing presaged for Italy a termination of its miseries through the abolition of the pontifical power, when the death of William, that phantom of an emperor who had succeeded the unfortunate Conrad in Germany, took place.

This event, by awakening ambition, turned aside the minds of men from their first aim, which was the ruin of the popes, and saved Alexander. Two parties disputed for the empire of Germany, the one chose Richard earl of Cornwall, the brother of the king of

England, the other, Alphonso of Castile. This last, who had the greatest chance of success, was preparing to come to take possession of the crown which was offered him, when an attempt of the Saracens of Spain against Cordova determined him to suspend his departure. He contented himself with sending envoys into Italy, with rich presents, to bring the pope into his interests. Alexander accepted these marks of the king's munificence and lied hypocritically to the deputies: "You my brethren, that usage has for a long established that the possession of the empire of Germany should be allied to that imperial crown; let your king then be consecrated at Aix-la-Chapelle, and we promise him our protection to cause him to be recognised as emperor. Let him, however, be careful how he quits Cordova to lose the crown of Castile and come into Germany, when it will be no longer possible for us to make his cause triumph." This reply is sufficient to show the bad faith of Alexander, since he had already conferred on Richard the title of king of the Romans, as is authentically proved by his own letters and those of several Italian lords, who had taken the oath of fidelity to that prince.

In the midst of these political disasters, Italy suddenly saw a sect of fanatics arise, who have not been equalled up to our own times. Entire populations seemed to be seized with a religious vertigo, and abandoned themselves to practices of piety of inconceivable extravagance. Perouse was the first city in which this fever of fanaticism manifested itself, which soon spread to Rome, and over the rest of Italy, Germany, Spain, and England. Old men, young men, women, and even children, under the excitement of a religious fury, traversed cities and the country naked, following each other two by two, and holding in their hands whips of loaded thongs, with which they rudely struck themselves over the shoulders and reins. These processions took place alike by day and by night, and even in the most rigorous winter; and, according to the reports of the historians of the times, there were sometimes counted ten thousand flagellants, entirely naked, performing their devotions and having at their head priests, cardinals, and bishops, bearing the cross and banners. In villages, in towns, and in the cities, the sect increased with an extraordinary rapidity. Women, even great ladies and young girls, showed themselves full of fervour for these new religious practices, and cruelly lacerated their bodies. The simple had commenced it—the wisest were drawn in by the example.

This singular superstition soon degenerated into an heresy. The flagellants confessed themselves to each other, and granted absolution, although of the laity. They maintained that their macerations were so meritorious

before God, that they moderated the sufferings of those who burned in hell, and augmented the happiness of those who contemplated the face of their creator in the kingdom of heaven. According to them, no one could enter into the heavenly Jerusalem unless he had performed for a month their penance and their fasts. But the most deplorable circumstances in these great assemblies, in which young men and women could see each other naked, were the scenes of debauchery, of sodomy, and incest between brothers and sisters, mothers and sons, so that the sect of the flagellants fell into public contempt, and was soon annihilated.

Sovereign princes also, who feared lest these great assemblages of men should weaken their authority, by exhibiting their strength, hastened to make severe ordinances against the flagellants. Mainfroy, and the marquis of Pallavacin, prohibited them under the penalty of death from appearing in the March of Ancona, or in Tuscany, as well as in the cities of Milan, Cremona, and Brescia. Religion and morality had no part in these coercive measures; the people of Italy were already accustomed to these processions, through means of some of the extravagant ceremonies which then existed in the church; thus the priests condemned those who had insulted them by words, to appear in a solemn procession entirely naked, and they whipped them during the entire ceremony. Women underwent the same punishment as men, and it was only by means of money that they were permitted to perform their penance within the church.

Alexander was occupied for a time with the means of extinguishing the ardour of these strange Christians, and then gave all his attention to the Tartars, who, already masters of Hungary, Poland, and Styria, threatened all Europe. Against a danger so imminent, he desired to form a confederation among all the people of the west to guarantee the safety of the Christian world against this inundation of barbarians. He consequently designated the force which each kingdom should furnish, as well as the levies of money which were to be imposed on the nobles, clergy, and citizens; the whole to be definitely arranged in a general council, which he had convoked. But death did not permit him to achieve that which he had commenced; on the 25th of May, 1261, he gave up his last breath in the city of Viterbo, which he had inhabited for four years.

"Thus," exclaims the historian of Boulay, "the muses of Paris were tranquillized, being delivered from that pope who had cruelly persecuted them during the entire continuance of his reign."

Some ecclesiastics have essayed to praise Alexander the Fourth; but their flatteries have only served to make his bad actions more conspicuous and to render him more odious.

URBAN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1261.]

*Election of Urban the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He continues the policy of his predecessors—Offers the crown of Italy to Charles of Anjou—Termination of the Latin empire at Constantinople—Urban wishes to arm the French against the Greeks—Secret treaty between the pope and the Greek emperor—Urban is driven from Viterba and takes refuge in the city of Orvietto—Crusade against Mainfroy—The pope is driven from Orvietto, and takes refuge at Perouse, where he dies.*

ALEXANDER had with him at Viterba but eight cardinals, all sick or infirm, when he died; thus the embarrassment of the sacred college was very great, when it was obliged to proceed to the election of a new pontiff. As each of the eight cardinals felt himself incapable of sustaining the burthen of the tiara, in the hard circumstances under which the church was placed, they agreed to take, for this time only, a pope from without the college, and to choose as sovereign pontiff James Pantaleon, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come to Viterba to lay a complaint before the Holy See, against the knights hospitaliers. The affair was thus brought about, and James Pantaleon was consecrated on the 4th of November, by the name of Urban the Fourth.

This pontiff, originally from Troyes, in Champagne, was the son of an itinerant shoemaker, who, to free himself from him, had sent him to Paris to beg. His youth and misery interested a doctor, who received him into his house, caused him to study at the university, and afterwards obtained for him the title of master of arts and doctor of the canon law. His taste led him particularly to the study of theology, in which he made great progress, and his talents procured for him first the archdeaconate of Liege, and then the dignity of chaplain to Innocent the Fourth.

In 1248 he obtained the legation of Poland; on his return, in 1252, he was consecrated bishop of Verdun, with the title of legate of Pomerania; the pontiff Alexander had then elevated him to the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, by declaring him his vicar in the Holy Land. They cite a remarkable reply which he made to a French lord, who reproached him for the humbleness of his birth: "Do you think a man is born noble?" said Pantaleon to him;—"no, my lord count, he becomes so by his virtues, and the people will one day do justice to these proud titles, which conceal shame and infamy." Unfortunately, he forgot these sentiments when he became pope, and so pernicious is the influence of sovereign power, that this man showed himself, in the exercise of his functions, as proud and implacable as his predecessors.

Mainfroy, the new king of Sicily, the fratricide and usurper, comprehending the necessity of strengthening his throne by powerful alliances, offered his daughter Constance in

marriage to Peter, the eldest son of James, king of Arragon, with the single condition that she should obtain for him an advantageous peace with the Roman church. Urban formally refused his agreement to this matrimonial scheme; not from the very natural sentiment of repulsion for a murderer, but from a motive of base jealousy. He brought St. Louis into his way of thinking, and induced him to declare to James of Arragon, that he would renounce his alliance with him, if he consented to the marriage of his son with the princess Constance. In defiance of the opposition of the two courts of France and Viterba, Philip of France espoused Isabella of Arragon, and Peter married the young daughter of Mainfroy.

This blow exasperated the holy father. In his rage he sent the crown of Sicily to St. Louis for one of his children, summoning him to assemble immediately an army to avenge the insult offered them, and to come and take possession of that kingdom. Wiser in this matter than he had been in the crusade, the French monarch refused to obey the pope. He replied to him, that he could not accept a throne which belonged to the young Conradin, the legitimate heir, and that the invasion of Sicily was an act of disloyalty punishable in the eyes of God. In vain did the pope endeavour to reassure the timorous conscience of St. Louis, by representing to him, that he and his cardinals had examined the matter with the greatest care, and that all had declared the Holy See the supreme dispenser of the crown of Sicily. All his reasonings failed before the will of the prince. His legates then turned to the count of Anjou, brother to the king, and to Robert, count of Artois, to whom Pope Innocent had already made the same proposals, and who had been dead for some years.

Whilst the west was occupied with these court intrigues, Greece was the theatre of grave events. Alexis Strategopoulos, the general of Michael Paleologus, of the house of Comneni, seized Constantinople, and destroyed, after fifty-six years of existence, the Latin empire, which the crusaders had founded under Baldwin the First, count of Flanders. On the news of the capture of Constantinople, St. Louis wrote immediately to Urban to ask him if this revolution did not threaten the orthodoxy of the church, and if it was right to

arm against the Greeks to recapture the empire.

The pope replied to him:—"You are, my dear son, the only Christian prince who sincerely compassionates the misfortunes of the church, and who show yourself always ready to aid it. Our thanks are given to you. In the extreme affliction which the loss of Constantinople has caused us, we are happy to learn that in you are placed our hope and our consolation. Already has the emperor, Baldwin the Fourth, embarked for Italy, as well as the ambassadors of Duke Rainier Zeno, the delegates of Venice, and the other Latin republics, all driven in disgrace from the territory of the Greek empire. Hasten, then, to succour these proscribed, not only for the greater glory of your crown, but for the interests of the Holy Land.

"An expedition against Constantinople cannot fail of success, being strengthened by the Latin lords, who are still masters of Achaia, the Morea, and the neighbouring islands, who will join their troops to your army. The Venetians offer for their share the services of their galleys for the passage of the crusaders. On account of all these motives we hasten to reply to you, and we send you our chaplain, Andrew of Spoleto, archdeacon of Naples, on whom you can bestow your entire confidence. We beseech you, my dear son, to be active in sending the men and money whom you destine for this holy enterprise; and we solicit from the prelates of your kingdom a private subsidy for the wants of our see."

Michael Paleologus, apprised of the preparations making against him in the west at the instigation of the pope, immediately determined to take measures to gain time, and to permit him to consolidate his power at Constantinople. As the pretext of schism was the sole apparent cause of the enmity of the court of Rome, he made overtures to the pontiff, proposed to him the reunion of the two churches, and at the same time sent him magnificent presents. Urban was well informed as to the secret intentions of Michael, who, whilst making proposals of peace, was carrying on war with William, prince of Achaia, and with the other lords established in the country: but the sums which were offered him were so large, that his avarice triumphed over reasons of policy; he sacrificed for gold the interests of the Latin princes, accepted the arrangements proposed to him by the emperor, and sent four minor-brothers to Constantinople to sign the treaty in his name.

The holy father could the more applaud himself for his policy, since the kingdoms of the west, England, France, and Spain, had sharply refused to give any subsidy for the war. It was impossible for Germany to furnish the least aid to the Holy See, being stripped of men and money by the civil war, which the election of Alphonso of Castile and Richard, earl of Cornwall, had lighted in that country.

At last the metropolitan of Mayence, and

some other German prelates, indignant at the conduct of the pope, determined to constrain him to obedience, and to put an end to the disasters of their country. For this purpose they convened a general diet of the electors. Urban, informed that they wished to bestow the crown on the legitimate heir, by declaring Conradin emperor of the west, immediately sent legates to them, prohibiting them, under penalty of anathema, from choosing that prince. Besides, in order to give new aliment to the fury of the parties, and to augment the disorders, he approved of the election of Alphonso of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, and declared them both to be kings of the Romans, reserving the right of pronouncing between them in regard to the imperial crown until the following year.

Whilst Germany, torn by factions, abandoned to pillage and incendiariam, was expiating in the horrors of civil war its fanaticism for popes and its stupid fidelity to emperors, Mainfroy was giving lively disquiet to Urban. He had already drawn into his party the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Tuscans; already was he approaching the March of Ancona, and with the assistance of the Ghibelines, who were all-powerful in the holy city, had seized upon much territory belonging to the Holy See, when the pope made a new appeal to fanaticism, and preached a crusade against his enemy. A crowd of ruined lords and Italian and French vagabonds, immediately hastened to Viterba, and formed an army which the holy father opposed to the troops of Mainfroy. Whilst he was directing the movements of his bands the Romans made a diversion in favour of the king of Sicily, drove Urban from Viterba, and compelled him to retire to Orvieto. In his flight his treasures were taken by his enemy, and as he had no more money left to pay his crusaders, his army disbanded.

The pope, forced to relinquish the hope of subjugating Mainfroy by the temporal sword, fell back once more on spiritual thunders; the king of Sicily was summoned to appear before the sacred college, to defend himself against a great number of accusations, under penalty of a second excommunication. The latter, tired of the war, and fearful of the dagger of assassins, determined at length to obey the pope, and sent to demand a safe conduct for himself and suite. Urban prescribed that his escort should consist of eight hundred persons, of whom only one hundred should be armed, and that the prince should not remain but eight days on the territories of the Holy See. Mainfroy, suspecting justly that the pope had hostile intentions against his person, refused to surrender at discretion, and towards the close of the year his kingdom was put under an interdict.

All hopes of an arrangement having failed, Urban sent into France, Bartholemew Pignatelli, the metropolitan of Coenza, a man of war rather than of the church, a traitor who had abandoned the cause of Sicily and sold himself to the pontiff. The object of his em-



bassy was to renew with the king, St. Louis, the negotiations which the great event of the capture of Constantinople had broken off, and which were to place the crown of Sicily on the head of Charles of Anjou, his brother.—Whilst the conditions of this compact were under discussion between the king and the legate, Urban was driven from Orvieto his new residence, by the citizens themselves,

and although sick, was transported in a litter as far as Perouse, where he died on the 2d of October, 1264.

Shortly before his expulsion from Orvieto, the pontiff had instituted the festival of the holy sacrament of the altar, in accordance with the pretended revelations of two extatic nuns, Julianna of Mont-Cornillon, and Eva, surnamed the recluse of Liege.

## CLEMENT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1264.]

*The history of Guy Fucoldi before his exaltation—He is chosen pope by the name of Clement the Fourth—His sentiments in regard to his family—Grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou—The fanaticism of the crusades spreads through all Christian countries—The young Conradin is excommunicated—Affairs of the Empire—Charles of Anjou causes Conradin to be decapitated at the instigation of the pope—Death of Clement.*

GUY FUCOLDI, surnamed the Fat, on account of his excessive *enbonpoint*, was born at St. Gilles, in Languedoc. Whilst very young he lost his mother, and was even deprived of the cares of his father, who had entered a convent of Chartreuse, after the death of his wife. The young Guy at first followed the profession of arms, which he soon quitted to embrace a more honourable career—that of the bar. He made such rapid progress, that Durand, the celebrated jurist of the thirteenth century, called him the light or the torch of the law. St. Louis, on the strength of his great reputation, admitted him to his secret councils, and married him to a woman of high distinction. His happiness was further increased by the birth of several children; but as nothing is durable in this world, a violent fever carried off his wife and two young sons in nine days. His despair at this loss was so violent, that he resolved to separate himself from the society of men, and become a priest. He was first made archdeacon of Puy, in Vevay, then bishop of that city, and, finally, metropolitan of Narbonne. Urban made him cardinal bishop of Sabine, to induce him to quit his church and go to Italy. The holy father sent him to England with the title of legate, to excommunicate the barons who had revolted against the king; not being able to land in Great Britain, he had assembled some English prelates at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and fulminated an anathema against the rebel lords, the city of London, and the Cinque Ports, which had refused to receive him; after which he retook his way to Rome.

Guy was in France when he received the news of his election; he hastened to Perouse, disguised as a mendicant brother, in order to avoid falling into the power of the people of Mainz, who guarded all the routes; he arrived very luckily, and was consecrated on

the 22d of February, 1265, by the name of Clement the Fourth.

On the day succeeding his consecration, he wrote to one of his nephews a very remarkable letter on nepotism, and which might serve for an example to the popes, his successors, who evinced so much cupidity for their families.

“Several of our relatives and friends,” said Clement in his letter, “rejoice in our promotion to the pontificate, because they hope to derive great advantages from it. We, on the contrary, deplore our elevation, because we feel the weight of so high a dignity. That you may know how to conduct yourself, now that we are sovereign pontiff, we warn you, that you should be even more humble. We are unwilling, that you or your brothers, or any of our relatives, should come to us without our order. If you do otherwise, you will force us to send you back, disgraced and humbled. Do not seek to marry your sister more advantageously than you would have done before our exaltation, for we will make no sacrifice for her; on the contrary, if you marry her to the son of a knight, we will give her, as her dowry, three hundred pounds of money; if your pretensions are more elevated, do not hope for a penny from us. We, however, wish that all this should be most secret, and that your mother alone should be informed of it.

“We are unwilling that our relatives should be inflated with pride, in consequence of our great elevation; and we desire that our well beloved daughters, Mabilla and Cecilia, should take as husbands those whom they would have chosen, if we were a mere clerk. Write to Gillia, that she does not leave Suzu, and that she keeps to the modest vestments of her old position. We prohibit her from giving any recommendations; for all her requests will be

refused, and will indispose us towards her. If they offer her presents, let her refuse them, to preserve our friendship. Salute your mother and brothers from us. We do not write to you and the other members of our family with the bull, but with the seal of the fisherman, which the popes use in their private business."

Clement the Fourth, in his private conduct, did not belie the sentiments which he had manifested in this letter. A canon of Liege relates, that several persons of the highest nobility having sought in marriage Cecilia, the oldest daughter of the holy father, he replied to them in raillery, "it is not Cecilia whom you would espouse, it is the pope." In fact, as he did not wish to give her a larger dower than her sister, both remained unmarried, and consecrated themselves to God. Antonin, in his chronicle, speaks of a brother of the pope, who was in orders, and whom he made the mere curate of his parish, without being willing to elevate him to a higher dignity. He had such an aversion for those who accumulated benefices, that he compelled his nephew, who possessed three prebends, to resign two. Finally, in the course of his reign, neither his relatives, nor princes, nor kings, could ever change his opinions on this subject.

Unfortunately, these beautiful traits as a private man disappeared before his political crimes. After the example of his predecessors, he showed himself to be insatiable in his love of rule, and implacable in his vengeance.

Scarcely seated on the throne, he determined to subjugate Sicily to the court of France; and, regardless of the incontestable rights of Conradin, and of the sentiments of equity which made it a duty not to despoil an heir and especially a pupil, he declared that the Roman church had full power over the kingdom of Sicily, and sold it to Charles, count of Anjou and Provence. The bull of investiture was dated on the 26th of February, 1265. It imposed the following conditions on the new king: "All the moveable or immovable goods taken from churches or priests shall be restored to them by Charles of Anjou; the elections for the metropolitan and other churches, shall be entirely free; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall be reserved entire, with liberty to pursue appeals to the court of Rome; clergymen shall not be bound to appear before a secular judge, and shall not be burthened with taxes or collections; finally, the king shall not claim any right over the vacant churches, and shall leave all the benefices to the Holy See. He shall also restore to the inhabitants of the kingdom the liberties they possessed under William the Second."

Charles of Anjou, urged on by the desire of possessing a crown, acceded to all these conditions, and determined his brother, Louis the Ninth, to furnish him with money to conquer his new kingdom. The prince made his preparations for the war, without loss of time; and after the festival of Easter, he embarked from Marseilles with a thousand knights, and sailed for Ostia, where he arrived very op-

portunately. From that city Charles went to Rome, where the citizens decreed to him the title of first senator, a thing which might have embroiled him with the pope, since Clement, constantly looking to the sovereignty of Rome, was unwilling to permit so great a prince to possess such an authority in that city for life. Means were happily found to reconcile every thing, by obtaining from Charles of Anjou a declaration by which he pledged himself not to accept the title of senator but for three years. He continued, however, to dwell at Rome, and even installed himself in the palace of the Lateran. The holy father still took umbrage at the choice which he had made of his residence, and wrote to him that if he did not immediately abandon the pontifical palace, he would immediately retract the crown of Sicily. Charles, who had need of the pope, obeyed this new injunction. He was, besides, magnificently recompensed for it. Clement sent four cardinals as deputies to him, who gave him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, by a standard.

During this year the new king fought no battle; he remained in Rome, waiting the arrival of the troops which he levied in France with the money of the faithful, as well as the bands of crusaders whom the cardinal of St. Cecilia enrolled for the crusade against Mainfroy, and against the Saracens of Nocera, his allies.

At this period of fanaticism, the fury of the crusades had seized on all minds; the holy war was preached every where; in Spain, against the Moorish kings of Murcia and Grenada; in Hungary, in Poland, in Bohemia, in Styria, in Austria, in Carinthia, and in the March of Brandenburg, against the Tartars; in England, against the rebel lords, who, in defiance of the anathemas of Rome, made war with the king; in France, crusaders were recruited for Palestine and Sicily; thus all Europe was in arms, and the popes, those vicars of a God of peace, urged on millions of men to wars of extermination.

Charles of Anjou, having finally assembled a formidable army, marched against his competitor, whom he met near Beneventum; the French, already defeated on several points, were beginning to fly, when the death of Mainfroy, who was slain in the mêlée, changed the face of the combat. The Italians gave way in their turn, and were soon in full rout. This victory annihilated the party of the Ghibelines; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the sovereign pontiff, at the same time that Sicily recognised Charles of Anjou as its king.

Clement, become all-powerful in Europe, sought to extend his sway over Asia; for this purpose he wrote the following letter to Michael Paleologus: "We invite you, prince, to enter into the holy league against the infidel, after the example of the king of France, who, for the second time, takes the cross with the princes his sons. Do not think by a subterfuge to disobey us; and do not say that you fear lest during your absence your empire should be attacked by the Latins, for it is easy to guarantee you against that danger, by

returning with your subjects into the bosom of the Roman church; if, on the contrary, you persist in schism, and refuse your concurrence in the conquest of the Holy Land, know that nothing shall protect you from the vengeance of the crusaders."

Michael Paleologus appeared convinced by the reasoning of the holy father; and as he could not hope to struggle with advantage against the forces with which he was threatened, he sought to gain time by sending his ambassadors to Rome to ask for authority to convene a general council in a city of the Greek empire, in order to bring about a reunion of the two churches. Clement hastened to grant the required permission, and sent by the ambassadors a confession of faith, which the Greek prelates were to accept without examination, in order to put an end to the schism between the East and West.

During this same year (1267) the holy father issued a bull, which gave to the Holy See predominance over all thrones, and rendered it the sovereign disposer of churches and all ecclesiastical benefices. As he feared, however, to raise a too formidable opposition by immediately declaring himself the master of the property of the clergy, he at first reserved to himself the right to fill vacant benefices. This decree, a masterpiece of audacity and knavery, terminated thus: "Since the free disposal of the goods of the clergy belongs entirely to the pope, so that he can dispose of them as he pleases when they are vacant, and even take them from those who possess them to give them to others, ancient custom has, however, reserved to the holy father more particularly the power to dispose of them when they are vacant. It is on that account we approve of this custom, and order it to be maintained."

In giving this slight modification to his plan, Clement set at work that machiavelian policy which knows how to tighten the chains of slavery without making the people revolt. If he had included in his decree that the disposal of benefices rightly belonged to him, and that he could dispose of them at his will, all Christendom would have exclaimed against the exaggerated extension which the pontifical authority was assuming; in presenting this proposition in the form of a doubt, all received it without remarking on the consequences which might flow from it.

Clement, who had foreseen all, did not delay to avail himself of the new right which he had attributed to himself, to the prejudice of ancient privileges and holy canons. He maintained that the archdeaconate of Sens was one of the cases specified in his decree, and he prohibited Girard de Rampillon, to whom St. Louis had given that church, from taking possession of it before he had received authority from Rome, and had paid for the rights of investiture. This first step taken, he continued to walk in the same path, and ruled in reality all the clergy of the kingdom which had the imprudence to adopt his bull.

In Germany the wars had ceased, and the

people commenced breathing, when Conradin attained his fifteenth year. Urged on by the counsels of the nobles, the young son of the emperor Conrad caused himself to be proclaimed king of Sicily, passed over into Italy, and placed himself at the head of the Ghibelines to contend for his rights with Charles of Anjou. The holy father, alarmed at this levy of armed men, prohibited Conradin from proceeding further, under penalty of excommunication, and addressed the same threat to the cities and lords who had ranged themselves under his banner. All these bulls not preventing Conradin from establishing his lieutenants in Tuscany and appointing governors for the cities of Sicily, the pope declared him excommunicated, deprived of the throne of Jerusalem, incapable of possessing any other, and deprived of all the fiefs which he held of the church; he relieved his vassals from the oath of fidelity, and placed his states under interdict.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Holy See to destroy the party of the young prince, the number of his partizans augmented in Italy; even Rome, which had before given so brilliant a reception to Charles of Anjou, declared for Conradin. The following was the cause of it; Henry of Castile, the son of Saint Ferdinand, and the brother of king Alphonso, surnamed the Astrologer, having quarrelled with this latter, left Spain and went to live with the king of Tunis. He remained among the infidel for four years, and, according to some historians, had even renounced Christianity. When he learned of the new fortunes of Charles of Anjou, his near relative, he left his place of exile, accompanied by several brave Spanish knights, and went to offer his services to Charles. The latter received him with great distinction, and on his departure for Rome, appointed him senator. As soon as Henry had the sovereign power in the holy city, like all those who are invested with too great authority, he abused it; he broke open the doors of the churches, seized the sacred vases and precious ornaments, and pillaged the rich churches of St. John of the Lateran, St. Paul, St. Sabas, St. Bazis on Mount Aventine, St. Sabinus, and a great number of others.

After these achievements against the clergy, as he feared the vengeance of the priests he wished to create assistance for himself, and declared for Conradin, drawing the Romans with him into this revolt. But the punishment was not delayed. Three days afterwards, Clement published the following bull against the holy city: "Since we have excommunicated Conradin, that sprig of an accursed race, the declared enemy of the church, one of his partizans, a child of malediction, Galvan la Larbe, has dared to enter Rome, displaying the banners of the prince. And what heightens the infamy of such an action is, that the citizens received him with pomp, have admitted him to their public games, and installed him in the palace of the Lateran. After this, having assembled in the capitol, solemnly de-

clared themselves in favour of Conradin, on the instigation of Henry of Castile their senator, of Guy de Montefeltro his lieutenant, and of several other officers. We excommunicate all these heretics, who have urged on the people to revolt against our authority."

This anathema being fulminated, the holy father, to distract the party of the young prince, resolved to rekindle the civil war in Germany by naming another emperor. He consequently caused the ambassadors of Richard of England and of Alphonso of Castile, to appear before him, both recognised kings of the Romans by Urban the Fourth, his predecessor, under the provision that they should conform to the decision which the Holy See would give after the delay of a year.

Henry, the oldest son of Richard, and Rodolph of Poggibonzi, presented themselves before Clement, the first in the name of the king of England, the other in the name of the king of Castile, to set forth their respective rights to the imperial crown. Henry bore with him insignificant titles of genealogy, by which he pretended to establish the legitimacy of the rights of his father upon Germany; but Rodolph did not even take the pains to produce any, saying, that the justice of the claim of Alphonso was too evident to need proofs. He, however, claimed the right to examine witnesses in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, if his assertions were doubted. Clement declared that inquiry was necessary, and fixed on the cities of Paris, Frankfort, Burgos, and Bologna, as the places of meeting at which commissioners should try the truth of the titles of the pretenders. He reserved always, as a principal condition, that, above all, the two sovereigns should be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, as kings of the Romans, by the archbishop of Cologne.

The term for the inquiry having expired, William, the archdeacon of Rochester, presented himself before the pope, claiming, in the name of Richard of England, that the imperial crown should be definitely adjudged to him, since the delegates of King Alphonso had not attended at the places of conference. The Spanish ambassador objected, because the bishop of Silva, entrusted with the inquiry, having been killed in Tuscany by the Ghibelines, and Rodolph of Poggibonzi having fallen sick in a besieged place, it had been impossible for the king of Castile to produce the titles which established the legitimacy of his rights, and for these reasons he claimed a fresh delay. Clement, whose party had been strengthened in the interval, did not judge it prudent to hasten to confer the imperial dignity on a too powerful defender, and appeared to yield to the urgency of the Castilian ambassador, by deferring the decision of this important cause to the following year.

Discontented at this delay, the Germans, who had hoped to see the termination of their disasters, resolved to convoke a diet to choose themselves a chief capable of defending them against the Holy See. Clement was unfortunately advised of this determination, and im-

mediately wrote to them that he prohibited them, under penalty of excommunication and interdict, to proceed to a new election.

In the midst of all these contests Conradin pursued his way, and continued his march across Lombardy and Tuscany, to reach Rome, where he was proclaimed emperor by the senator Henry of Castile and the people. He then went into Apulia, and offered battle to the troops of King Charles. The two armies met under the walls of Taglia Cozzo. The combat commenced in the morning and lasted until night, and victory still remained faithful to Charles of Anjou. Conradin, the young duke of Austria, and the senator Henry, compelled to abandon the field of battle, took refuge in the states of the church, where soon, through the efforts of the pope, their retreat was discovered. They were sold and led prisoners to Naples.

Charles having consulted the holy father as to what he should do with these unfortunate prisoners, Clement replied: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, and the death of Conradin is the life of Charles." This reply decided the fate of the prince.

A council was assembled as a matter of form, in order that the prisoners should be tried and condemned to death as guilty of lèse majesty. This tribunal was composed of deputies from provinces the most devoted to the Holy See; yet among these cattiff or sold magistrates there was found but one who dared to pronounce the penalty of death against the unfortunate who came to claim the heritage of his father. Scarcely had this iniquitous judge pronounced this terrible sentence, when Robert of Flanders, the son-in-law of Charles himself, stretched him dead at his feet, "for having," he said, "desired so harsh a punishment on so noble and gentle a lord." Notwithstanding this violent protest, the condemnation was supported by order of the conqueror.

Before the execution of his sentence, the young Conradin was delivered up to two monks, dragged through the park of the castle to the foot of a tomb, despoiled of his clothes, and beaten by these fanatics with loaded thongs, in expiation of the anathema he had incurred. He was then borne, all bleeding, upon the scaffold erected in the great square of Naples, and beheaded, with his cousin, who was scarcely seventeen years old. Historians say that the duke of Austria was executed first, and that Conradin seized his head and received the mortal blow whilst embracing it.

Thus perished, at Naples, in the year 1268, by the hands of the executioner, the last scion of the house of Suabia, which had struggled so long and in so fatal a way against the ambition of the popes. Lancia and Gherardesca, counsellors of the young prince, were beheaded on the same scaffold, as well as the other victims designated by the Holy See. Henry of Castile was surrendered to Charles by the abbot of Monte Cassino, from whom he had demanded an asylum, and im-

king reserved him to frighten the Italian lords; he shut him up in an iron cage like a wild beast, and thus led him through all the cities of Sicily.

Clement did not long survive Conradin. On

the 29th of November, of the same year, death struck him in his turn. This pontiff was, it is true, distinguished by extreme regularity of morals, but his political crimes must class him among the most cruel despots.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1269.]

*Division among the cardinals—St. Louis establishes the pragmatic sanction, and refuses to serve as arbitrator between the Greek and Latin clergy—Six cardinals appointed to choose a pope.*

AFTER the death of Clement the Fourth, the cardinals could not choose a new pope, each of them personally intriguing for the honours of the pontificate. The result was, a great scandal for the church and a vacancy in the Holy See for three years.

During this interregnum the fanatical Louis the Ninth placed himself at the head of a new crusade, and prepared to go to combat the infidel. Before, however, embarking for the Holy Land, he was desirous of taking suitable measures to assure the tranquillity of the Gallican church during his absence. For this purpose he published the decree called the Pragmatic Sanction. "In future the metropolitan and other churches shall exercise entire freedom of election; simony shall be proscribed from the kingdom; promotions, collations, provisions, and disposals of prelatships, dignities, and other benefices or ecclesiastical offices whatsoever, shall be made and given according to the disposal of the common law, of the councils and institutions of the ancient fathers; the liberties, franchises, and privileges accorded by kings to churches and monasteries shall be maintained; finally, no impost or exaction ordered by Rome shall force the Gallic churches to give money to the Holy See, without the approval of the sovereign."

Michael Paleologus, informed of the prepa-

rations of king Louis, and fearing lest he should unite with Charles of Anjou, his brother, to drive him from Constantinople, hastened to reconcile himself with the Latin clergy, by sending large sums to the cardinals. At the same time he sent ambassadors to king Louis, beseeching him, by the blood of Jesus Christ, to become the arbiter between the Greek and Latin churches, in order to put an end to the schism. The king refused to act, and wrote to the sacred college to appoint commissioners, who should discuss the mode of re-establishing union between the east and the west.

Although turned aside from his first purpose, Louis the Ninth nevertheless embarked with his troops, and landed at Tunis, with the design of constraining the inhabitants of that city to become converts to Christianity. This extravagant enterprise completely failed; the plague broke out in the camp of the crusaders; the prince himself was attacked with it, and died miserably beneath the walls of the place.

The cardinals had assembled at Viterba for three years, without being able to choose a pontiff; they finally assembled in conclave, and gave their full powers to six of their body, who, after eight days of violent disputes, proclaimed the archdeacon Thealdus sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Tenth.

## GREGORY THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1271.]

*History of Gregory before his pontificate—His efforts for a crusade—Negotiations with Michael Paleologus for a reunion of the two churches—Excommunication of Guy de Montfort—The pope causes Rudolph of Hapsburg to be chosen emperor—Council of Lyons—Constitution in relation to the election of popes—Interview between Gregory and the emperor—Return of the holy father to Italy—He dies at Arezzo.*

THEALDUS, or Thibald, was of Placenza, and of the powerful family of the Visconti; he had been a canon of Lyons, then arch-

deacon of Liege, finally a cardinal and legate of the Holy See, as the historians Ricordanus Malespina, and Joannes Villanius affirm; con-

tradiotig in that the deed of election, which designates him' by the title of archdeacon. Whatever he was, authors are agreed on this, that he was very ignorant of both profane and sacred literature.

After his election, the cardinals addressed to him, at Saint Jean d'Acre, where he was legate, the decree which conferred the tiara upon him, beseeching him to hasten his return to Italy. The new pope had no occasion to be urgently solicited to quit the Holy Land with which he was disgusted. He embarked immediately for Brindes, on the 1st of January, 1272. During his sojourn in that city he received an embassy of notables, who besought him to re-enter Rome and instal himself in the old pontifical residence, with his court, which Gregory refused to do. He went to Orvieto, where the cardinals awaited him to proceed to the formalities of the pierced chair and the ceremonies of the consecration.

The holy father then thought of the means to strengthen his authority over the churches of the east and west: and to arrive at his end he discovered there was nothing better than to preach crusades in imitation of his predecessors. For this purpose he wrote to the inhabitants of Pisa, Marseilles, and Venice, that they should furnish armed galleys for the Holy Land, and at the same time he sent legates into every kingdom to collect alms and pious legacies. He also recommenced the negotiations opened with Michael Paleologus, and sent to him the cordelier, Jerome of Arcoli, the most skilful monk of the period, who afterwards arrived in his turn at the pontificate.

Whilst the Roman legate was treating with the emperor, to urge him to approve, without any previous examination, of the profession of faith which Clement the Fourth had prescribed to him, secret agents prevented the Venetians from renewing the truce agreed upon between them and the Greeks, and induced them to send the ambassadors of Michael away from Venice. This sudden blow alarmed the emperor. To allay the storm, he submitted to the pope, and persecuted the Greek prelates so vigorously that he forced them to abjure the schism, in a general council which the pope had convened.

During the following year, Italy was excited by a horrible assassination committed by Guy de Montfort on the person of Henry of Germany. Edward, king of England, was obliged to return from the Holy Land, and go to Orvieto, where the pope resided with his court, to demand justice against the murderer, whom he had dared to take under his protection. Gregory, fearing the wrath of so powerful a prince, determined to fulminate this sentence of anathema against the assassin. "We curse Guy de Montfort, and we permit every one to seize him, but not to kill or mutilate him. We order the governors of provinces to arrest him, and we place under interdict all places which shall afford him an asylum. We prohibit all Christians from lending him any aid, or from having any

communication with him; and, finally, we absolve or dispense his vassals or subjects from the oath of fidelity they may have taken to him."

Guy de Montfort, finding no more safety in his domains, waited for the departure of the king of England, and came immediately to make his submission to the pope, without any clothes on but his shirt, and having a cord around his neck; in this condition he cast himself at his feet, and besought the holy father with tears to take off the sentence of anathema pronounced against him. Gregory, to avoid appearing as his accomplice in this farce, surrendered him to the king of Sicily to retain him as a prisoner during the rest of his life; he, however, some time afterwards, permitted the patriarch of Aquileia to absolve Montfort from the ecclesiastical sentences, and reinstated him in his dignities.

During the following year, Gregory quitted Orvieto and went to Florence, into which he made his entry on the 8th of June, 1273. He was accompanied by Charles of Anjou and Baldwin, the titular emperor of Constantinople. His residence at Florence was so agreeable to him, that he determined to pass the summer there, and chose for his residence the palace of a rich merchant of the family of the Mozzi. Any other than a priest would have shown himself grateful for the generous hospitality which he received; but Gregory only thought of laying the imprudent city which had opened its gates to him under contribution. He availed himself of the divisions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, to lay an imposition of forty thousand marks sterling, which each party was to pay yearly to the Holy See in remembrance of the peace, of which the pope pretended he was the mediator. Unhappily, some turbulent spirit destroyed the intentions of the holy father, and openly accused him of avarice. Nothing more was necessary to break off the negotiations, and Gregory was compelled to quit the city, mortified and humbled at seeing his hypocrisy unmasked. He avenged himself of this affront by lanching an interdict upon Florence. He then went to Placenza, from whence he wrote to the German princes that they must fill the imperial throne without delay, if they did not wish him to appoint a king himself. The electors immediately assembled at Frankfort, and proclaimed Rudolph, of Hapsburg, king of Germany.

After this appointment the holy father was engaged in convening a general council, to remedy the abuses which had crept into the church, and which were such that Gregory wrote to the bishop of Liege: "We are informed, lord bishop, that you have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict as a concubine; and that, in a debauch, you boasted of having had, in fourteen months, twenty-two children by fourteen different mistresses. We know that in one of your episcopal residences you keep a seraglio of nuns; and that, alone with these daughters of Satan, you abandon yourself to debaucheries, such as nothing in

pagan history can give us an idea of. We have been informed, that after the death of an abbeas, you have broken the canonical election of the nun designated to succeed her, in order to give the abbey to one of your daughters, who was at the same time one of your mistresses. Finally, not content with despoiling churches and convents, you dare to sell the ecclesiastical orders and places; you protect robbers and assassins; and you never appear at the altar."

Lyons having been designated as the place at which the assembly was to be held, Gregory went thither at the appointed time, and opened the sessions on the 7th of March, 1274, in the cathedral of St. John. Tartar envoys, ambassadors from all the courts of Europe, as well as the elite of the clergy of France, Germany, England, and Spain assisted at the council. Even a king, the sovereign of Arragon, came to be crowned by the pope.

In the first sitting, Gregory explained the reasons for the convocation of so great a number of prelates; he dwelt particularly on the necessity of publishing a new crusade, and of bringing about promptly the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches, and of reforming the morals of the clergy of the West. In the second sitting he summoned each metropolitan, and claimed from them a tenth of their revenues, which no one dared refuse. In the third sitting, the king of Arragon besought the pope to consecrate him, without exacting from him the tribute which his father had promised Innocent the Third. Upon the refusal of the holy father to agree to his request, he left the assembly and returned to his kingdom.

They were then engaged with the affairs of the East. The ambassadors of Michael Paleologus and the Greek patriarch were placed on the right of the pontifical throne. They addressed a long discourse to the assembly, in which they treated of the question of the schism, and pledged themselves to accept the faith of the Roman church and be submissive to the Holy See. Gregory then caused the letter of Michael to be publicly read, in which he was called sovereign pontiff, œcumenical pope, and father of all Christians. Finally, the grand logothetes, George Acropolitus, took, in the name of the emperor, his oath of abjuration.

On the following day Gregory decreed a constitution in relation to the election of pontiffs. The following was the tenor of this remarkable bull. "After the death of the popes, we order the cardinals who are present in the city in which the apostolical court is held, to wait for the absent for ten days only, before assembling in conclave. This time of delay having expired, they must assemble in the pontifical palace, keeping with them but a single servant. We enjoin on them all to lodge in the same room, without any interior separation of walls or curtains to conceal them, even when satisfying the laws of nature. This room shall be closed on all sides from the exterior, so that it shall be impossible for any one to come in or go out; there shall only

be left a single window, fifteen feet from the floor, through which to pass their food. We prohibit every one from speaking to the cardinals, or addressing messages to them in writing, during the duration of a conclave.

"If, after three days of deliberation, the pope shall not have been chosen, there shall only be served up to the conclavists a single dish for dinner, and but one for supper. Five days afterwards, if the election has not yet terminated, they shall only receive bread, wine, and water until the sovereign pontiff shall be finally proclaimed.

"During the duration of the elections all entertainments of the cardinals shall be suppressed, as well as the other revenues which they receive from the church or the apostolical chamber.

"Those who shall leave the conclave without the apparent cause of sickness, shall not be permitted to return to it: those who shall present themselves after the opening of the deliberations, shall also be excluded.

"When a pope shall die away from the city of his residence, the cardinals shall assemble in the episcopal city of the territory in which he shall have deceased, and the conclave shall be held in the house of the bishop, or a suitable dwelling. The lord of the magistracy of the city shall cause that which has been prescribed to be scrupulously observed, without adding any more severity, under penalty of excommunication, interdict, and all the censures of the church.

"Finally, they shall make no agreement, nor pledge, nor engagement among themselves, under penalty of nullity; and they shall proceed in good faith, without prejudice or passions, to the election of the pontiff."

This electoral constitution excited great opposition on the part of the cardinals, but all their intrigues for its suppression failed before the resolute firmness of Gregory.

In the last sitting of the council, the pope declared the assembly dissolved, and occupied himself exclusively with preparations for the success of the new crusade, and with levelling the obstacles which retarded the execution of his plans. He first wrote to the king of Castile, that he definitely recognised Rudolph of Hapsburg as king of the Romans, and ordered him to abandon his pretensions to the imperial crown. He then wrote to Rudolph to prepare for the crusade, in order to render himself worthy of receiving the investiture at his hands.

Alphonso of Castile refused to obey, and immediately went to the pope at Lyons, to reproach him with his perfidy. Threats, like promises, could not change the determination of Gregory, and the prince was obliged to return, as he came, into his kingdom. All divisions were not, however, extinguished in Germany, so that the king of Castile did not the less continue his intercourse with his partizans, and he even used the formularies and seal, in accordance with the usages of the emperors, in his correspondence with the lords and prelates of Germany.

Gregory, to put an end to the scandal of this revolt against his authority, wrote to the metropolitan of Seville, to summon the king, in the presence of witnesses, to desist from his pretensions, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures. This threat had the result which the holy father anticipated. Alphonso renounced the empire; and to recompense him, the pope permitted him to levy on his subjects a dime in silver, to defray the expenses of the war declared against the Moors.

Thus were terminated the divisions which had desolated Germany for so many years.

The pope then went to Lausanne, where Rudolph of Hapsburg, with his wife and children, waited for him; he took the oath between the hands of Gregory, and pledged himself to preserve all the property and all the rights of the Roman church; to furnish it with assistance to recover the domains which had been wrested from it, and particularly the crown of Sicily, which the holy father wished to retake from Charles of Anjou. He promised to publish an edict, by which he should leave the chapters of the churches of his kingdoms at full and entire liberty in the election of prelates; prohibiting his officers from seizing, in his name, on the property of deceased ecclesiastics, or of vacant prebends and bishoprics. He recognised the right of appeals to the Holy See, and promised to receive from the Romans no office nor dignity which should give him the least power in the holy city, nor over the vassals of the Roman

church. Finally, he took the cross, and swore he would depart for the Holy Land at the first bidding of the pope.

It is remarkable, that the chiefs of the church, since the close of the eleventh century, have always adopted the same policy, which was to show great zeal to reconquer the Holy Land, in order to strengthen more surely their temporal authority.

The conference of Lausanne being terminated, Gregory returned into Italy, and arrived at Milan on the 12th of November, 1275. From thence he continued his route by the way of Florence, but without wishing to enter that city, under the pretext that it was under interdict. As the Arno, however, was swollen by rains, and could not be crossed at a ford, he was compelled to retrace his steps to cross the river over a bridge; he then took off the censures pronounced against the city, and gave his blessing to all those whom he found on his way. But as soon as he thought himself out of danger, he changed his attitude and language, turned himself fiercely on his horse, and stretching out his arms in the direction of Florence, sent this anathema to it—"Cursed city, I devote thee to eternal damnation, for it is of thee that the psalmist wrote."

Gregory pursued his journey as far as Arezzo; but he was there attacked with a violent fever, which carried him off, on the 12th of January, 1276. He was buried in the church of St. Donatus.

## INNOCENT THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

*History of Innocent before his pontificate—His election—He re-establishes peace in Italy—His toleration—He removes the censures pronounced by his predecessors—His death.*

INNOCENT the Fifth, before his election, was called Peter of Tarentaise, from the place of his birth, a small village of Burgundy, situated on the borders of Iseria. Having entered, when very young, into the order of preaching friars, he soon became one of the most skilful doctors of his order; his talents caused him to be raised to the archiepiscopal see of Lyons, and then to that of Ostia. Onuphus Panvini says that he even held the place of grand penitentiary during the last pontificate.

Ten days after the death of Gregory, the cardinals assembled in conclave, in conformity with the regulations published at the council of Lyons, and chose as his successor Peter of Tarentaise.

The new pope went immediately to Rome, and was crowned in the church of St. Peter, after which he turned his attention to the quarrels which agitated Italy, in order to put an end to them. He first sent two legates into Tuscany, with the ambassadors of Charles of Anjou, to reconcile the inhabitants of Lucca

and Pisa. He then took off from the Florentines the censures pronounced against them by his predecessor. Finally, his tolerant spirit led him to send nuncios to Michael Paleologus, to obtain the confirmation of the deed of reunion of the Greek and Latin churches.

The cardinals were not long in discovering that they had committed a great error in choosing a simple and tolerant pope, who only desired the good of the people. Thus they hastened to repair it, and according to the expression of Bernard Guido, "this beautiful flower suddenly withered away."

Innocent the Fifth died of poison, and was interred on the 17th of June, 1276, in the church of St. John the Lateran. Charles of Sicily assisted at his funeral ceremonies.

It is truly strange in the history of the church, that among the small number of really virtuous popes who have occupied the throne of the apostle, there is not counted a single one who did not die after a short apparition on the Holy See; and the assassins have almost always been cardinals and monks.



## ADRIAN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

*Intrigues in the conclave—The cardinal Ottobon de Fiesca falls sick—He is chosen pontiff—He revokes the constitution of the conclave established by Gregory the Tenth—He dies before his consecration.*

AFTER the death of Innocent, the cardinals assembled in conclave, and remained shut up for seventeen days without being able to agree upon the election of a new pontiff. In accordance with the constitution of Gregory, from the fifth night they gave them only bread. Notwithstanding the severity of this regimen, they would doubtless have still longer prolonged the conclave, if Ottobon of Fiesca, a cardinal deacon, had not fallen grievously sick. They united all voices on the dying man, and proclaimed him sovereign pontiff, on the express condition that he would revoke the constitution of Gregory. The sick man consented to all that was demanded of him, and was immediately installed in the pontifical chair by the name of Adrian the Fifth.

On the next day the new pope revoked the constitution of Gregory the Tenth concerning the conclave,—not to fulfil the promise he had made, since by the very terms of the constitution itself he would have been freed from it, but from a motive more grave than the religion of an oath. Rainaldus maintains, that the holy father had obtained proof that the cardinals had poisoned him before voting for him, to put an end to their forced fast, and

that his reign should not be of long duration.

Adrian, a victim to the sacerdotal ambition, restrained by the constitution of Gregory, wished to prevent, for the future, the renewal of like assassinations, and broke the rules of the conclave. The unfortunate pontiff knew his murderers so well, that he said to his relatives, who had come together to compliment him on his election, "You had better have come before my election: the cardinal was in good health; whilst now, the conclavists have made a pope a dying man."

Adrian was not consecrated a bishop, nor even ordained priest. He had time, however, to write some letters to the faithful in the Holy Land, to raise their courage, by announcing that the crusaders were ready to depart for Palestine.

As his sickness became more and more severe, he wished to change the air, and gave orders to be transported from Rome to Viterba; but, at the moment his litter was passing the gates of that last city, he expired. He was buried in the church of the Minor Brothers, on the 18th of August, 1276. His tomb exists to our days.

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## JOHN THE TWENTY-FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

*Divisions among the cardinals—The inhabitants of Viterba constrain them to enforce the constitution of Gregory the Tenth—The election of Pierre Julien by the name of John the Twenty-first—Commencement of his pontificate—Charles of Anjou does homage to the holy father for his estates in Sicily—John intrudes himself as an arbiter between the kings of France and Castile—He is crushed to death by the fall of a part of a wall.*

AFTER the death of Adrian, the Holy See remained vacant for twenty-eight days. At length the cardinals assembled in the palace of Viterba, not in conclave, but as a mere assembly, to proceed to the revocation of the constitution of Gregory the Tenth. Despairing of putting an end to the ambitious views of their colleagues, the wisest among them declared their determination to retire to their bishoprics, without making a pontiff. This resolve was soon known in the city; and, as the inhabitants of Viterba feared the consequences of a schism, they immediately assem-

bled before the episcopal palace, with threats of death to the cardinals.

This manifestation was brought about by the procurers and other patricians of the court of Rome, who had come to Viterba to supervise the election of the pope; and who, aware of the ambition of the cardinals, knew that they would constantly raise obstacles to the elevation of a pontiff, as soon as they should be at liberty. They then went to the cathedral, in which these prelates announced that they would solemnly read the revocation of the constitution of Gregory the Tenth; and

when the metropolitan and his assistants appeared to publish it, they threw themselves upon them, tore the document from the hands of the patriarch, and drove him away with blows. After this scene of violence, the crowd went to the episcopal palace and broke open the doors. They then seized on the cardinals and shut them up in the conclave, forcing them to proceed to the election of a pope. Under the inspiration of fear, Pierre Julien, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, was chosen on the first ballot, and received the name of John the Twenty-first.

This pontiff is counted by some chronologists as the twentieth of that name; the last pontiff John the Nineteenth having died in 1033, and the anti-pope John the Twentieth not occupying a place in the order of the chiefs of the church. According to other historians, all of them blind partizans of the Roman church, he is counted as the twenty-first of the name of John—they reinstating the pope Joan in her chronological place, by the name of John the Eighth.

The new pope was originally from Lisbon, where he had taken the four degrees, which caused him, in the style of that age, to be called the universal clerk; he had, however, applied himself especially to the study of medicine, and a very bad work on therapeutics called "The Treasure of the Poor," which is still in the Vatican, is attributed to him.

As soon as he was consecrated, John revoked the constitution of the conclave, by publishing a bull which is cited by Rainaldus; at the same time he gave orders to arrest the persons who had committed violence on the cardinals before his election, and caused them to appear before a commission especially appointed to try them, declaring all who should protest against the competency of the tribunal anathematised. He then wrote to Charles of Anjou, that if he wished to preserve his relations of amity with the Holy See, he must do homage for his kingdom on the conditions dictated by Clement, especially in regard to the order of the succession. The king of Sicily, whose authority was not well affirmed, went speedily to the holy father; and took the oath of liege homage to him. In the following year John was desirous of reviving the plan of the crusades, interrupted by the death of the last popes; and as the disputes between Philip the Hardy, king of France, and Al-

phonso, king of Castile, might degenerate into a terrible war and retard the consequent execution of his designs, he sent legates to re-establish concord between the two princes.—In case the two sovereigns should persist in their disputes, the delegates were instructed to represent to them that the council of Lyons had ordered a general peace among all the people of Christendom, under penalty of excommunication and interdict, and to launch an anathema against their persons and kingdoms, if they did not immediately accept the pope as the arbiter of their quarrels. This menace produced its effect; Philip and Alphonso were reconciled.

John also sent ambassadors to the court of Rudolph, to claim the realization of the promises which he had made concerning the holy war. From thence his legates proceeded as far as the residence of the Khan of the Tartars, to achieve the conversion of that people. Other mandatories from the court of Rome went to Hungary to put an end to the civil wars which were depopulating that kingdom and depriving the Holy See of the succour of their armies: and, finally, an embassy sent to Constantinople was instructed to summon the Greek emperor to confirm the reunion of the two churches by a solemn act of approval.

He who had displayed this prodigious activity, and in the course of a single year, executed so many schemes, was not the pontiff, but the cardinal John Gaëtan, who directed all the business of the Holy See: Martin Polonais, Henry Stern, Ptolomæus, Lucensis, Bernard Guy, Platinus, Naucler, and many other historians, agree in representing John the Twenty-first as the most of a nullity of any pope who had ever been seated in the apostolical chair. If nature had done nothing for his mind, it had, by way of compensation, prodigiously developed his body; thus trusting to the strength of his constitution, which promised him secular longevity, he flattered himself that he would possess the pontifical chair long enough to see two generations of men live and die. But it happened otherwise. One day, whilst visiting a new palace that he was constructing at Viterba, a piece of wall fell upon him and crushed him. This event took place on the 16th of May, 1274. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Lawrence, at Viterba.

## NICHOLAS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1277.]

*Election of Nicholas the Third — Embassy from the Greeks — Rudolph yields to the popes the right of rule over Italy — Treaty between Nicholas and Charles of Anjou — Causes of the hatred of the pope for the king of Sicily — He prohibits tournaments — Quarrel between the pope and the king of Hungary — Nicholas secretly prepares — His death.*

THE constitution of the conclave having been a second time revoked by John the Twenty-first, the cardinals could give the reins to their ambition, and six months after

the death of the last pope, the apostolic chair was still vacant. At last John Gaëtan, a cardinal deacon, succeeded, and was chosen sovereign pontiff on the 25th of November, 1277, by the name of Nicholas the Third.

He was a Roman by birth, and of the Ursini family. Ancient chronicles relate, that he was presented in his childhood to St. François d'Assise, who predicted that the child would be the prop of the Franciscans and the master of the world. He was well formed in his person, and so modest and discreet, that he was surnamed the "Composer." He took his first ecclesiastical degrees in England and France, in the churches of York, Soissons, and Laon. Innocent the Fourth afterwards elevated him to the dignity of cardinal, and appointed him the protector of the Minor Brothers. At length, according to fathers Pagi and Desponde, he filled the office of inquisitor-general of the faith.

Nicholas went to Rome after his election, and was solemnly consecrated in the church of St. Peter. He received, in that city, the ambassadors of Michael Paleologus, who came to bring, on the part of the patriarch of Constantinople and the other oriental prelates, a profession of faith similar to that of the council of Lyons, and the promise of submission by the Greek church to the Holy See. Christians from Georgia also arrived at the same time, and for the first time, at Rome, who announced themselves as the ambassadors of Abaka, khan of Persia, and who came to offer the assistance of an army against the Saracens of Syria. The pope received them with distinction, and in a solemn audience gave them letters for their master. He then dismissed them, and sent with them five Minor brothers, commissioned to catechise the khan, and ask from him authority to teach the gospel to his people. This fact of the embassy of the Persians is contested by some esteemed authors, who maintain that this comedy was got up by the ambitious Nicholas to make an impression on the dull minds of the kings of the west, and to increase the prestige of his spiritual and temporal sway.

Rudolph of Hapsburg also sent an embassy to Nicholas to beseech him to proceed to his coronation, a ceremony which, from the disturbed state of the times, had not yet been performed. The pope replied, that he was ready to grant him solemnly the imperial crown, provided he would surrender to the church all his rights over Italy. The prince, who, happily, had not the ambition of his predecessors, immediately gave full powers to Conrad of Lubinge, provincial of the Minor Brothers, in upper Germany, to ratify the treaties concluded with Gregory the Tenth, and to renew his renunciation in favour of the Roman church, of the property which had been conferred on it by the donations of kings and princes, without even excepting the cities of Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cessene, Ravenna, Rimini, and Urbino, which had been for very many years subject to the emperors of Germany. The same ambassador was in-

structed to conclude a treaty between Rudolph and the king of Sicily, concerning the boundary of certain domains. As the pope had great influence over Conrad, he availed himself of it to be revenged on Charles of Anjou, who had refused to give one of his nieces in marriage to one of his nephews, replying insolently to his delegate: "Though Nicholas wears the red stockings, does he on that account think his family worthy of being allied to ours? Does he not know that his greatness will perish with him?" This ill-considered reply was the first cause of the disasters of Charles of Anjou. From that moment the holy father pursued him with his hatred. At first he ordered him to renounce the vicariate of the empire in Tuscany, and the dignity of senator of Rome; he compelled him never to undertake any thing against Germany without the authority of the Holy See; and finally, he forced him to sign a constitution, which declared the popes sole and legitimate masters of Rome, by virtue of a donation from Constantine. By this act, the king of Sicily and the emperor of Germany recognised, that, in future, neither emperor, nor king, nor prince, nor titled lord, could be placed in possession of the government of the holy city, under title of Senator, captain, patrician, or any other denomination.

During the following year, Charles, prince of Salerno, the eldest son of the king of Sicily, made a journey into France to see his cousin german, Philip the Hardy. His arrival gave birth to rejoicings and tourneys, to which all the nobility of France and Germany were invited. Nicholas, informed of the magnificent reception given to the young prince, hastened to write the following letter to his legate, the cardinal of St. Cecilia: "It is affirmed that tournaments are an useful exercise, and that the nobles learn in these meetings to exercise themselves in the management of arms for the defence of religion and the Holy Land: the popes, our predecessors, have, however, had another opinion, since they have refused ecclesiastical burial to those who die in these condemnable strifes. It is our will, then, that you publicly excommunicate the counts, barons, knights, and other lords, who have taken part in the late tourneys celebrated at the court of France, until they shall have confessed their fault, and implored the mercy of the church. It is not for secular men to judge whether exercises are useful or condemnable: they should be submitted to the decision of the pope, and he should be obeyed as God."

At this time brother Bonne Grâce, the new general of the Minor Brothers, went to Surien, the residence of the pontiff, to ask him to give them a protector, as their rules required, beseeching him to accept this post himself, as Alexander the Fourth had done. The holy father replied to the monk: "There is nothing I would do more willingly, if the cares of government would permit me to give the necessary attention to the good of your order." The shaven general then turned to the nephew of the pontiff, Mathew Rosso d'Ursini, a cardina

*Nicholas III*  
*AJ. 1277* 19

"and you, my lord," said he, "will you consent to become the protector of our brotherhood?" The cardinal having signified his acceptance, the pope drew a ring from his finger, and gave it to his nephew as a sign of his new office. "This order," added he, "does not need your government; it has wise and enlightened superiors, capable of directing its affairs; you will have only to protect it against its adversaries, who are powerful and numerous."

Nicholas always showed great attachment to the order of the Minor Brothers, and even worked for several months with two cardinals, Jerome of Ascoli, bishop of Palestrina, and Benivena, the prelate of Albano, in forming the declaration of the institution of the society which was published on the 4th of August, 1279.

During this year (1279), a revolt of the lords against the priests took place in Hungary; the latter had pushed their desire for sway so far, that the nobles, weary of their tyranny, took up arms to drive them away; a terrible struggle was the consequence, at the close of which the country was found to be devastated, cities ruined, churches burned, and convents sacked. To check the consequences of so serious a revolution, Nicholas despatched the bishop Philip into Hungary, giving him at the same time the legation of Poland, Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Comania, and the adjacent countries. This ambassador obtained an edict against the Hungarian lords from King Ladislaus the Third, in which he admitted, that the Roman church having brought the light of evangelical faith into his kingdom, he owed it full and entire obedience, and that, consequently, all his subjects should execute the orders of the court of Rome as he himself did. He convened, at the same time, a council at Buda, to take some steps on the subject.

Some lords having, in the interval, shown to Ladislaus that the pretensions of the priests were as injurious to the state as they were insulting to the royal dignity, he yielded to their representations, and gave orders to the magistrates and citizens of Buda to drive the legate away from their city and refuse provisions to the priests.

Nicholas being apprised of the unsuccessful issue of this legation, used all his efforts to induce the king of Hungary to return to more favourable sentiments; he even employed the intervention of Charles of Anjou, whose daughter Ladislaus had married, and of Rudolph of Hapsburg. With the same end, he addressed pathetic letters to the queen, bishops, and lords of Hungary; he induced his envoy Philip to remain in the environs of Buda, and to employ all his energy to subjugate this rebellious king. At length, as nothing could change the hostile sentiments of Ladislaus, he employed strong measures, and threatened him to release his subjects from the oath of fidelity to him, to place his states under interdict, to excommunicate him and nominate another sovereign in his place. The king, who dreaded the consequences of a civil war, was forced to

submit to the Holy See. He begged pardon, re-established matters on their former footing, permitted the clergy to return to Buda, and, as a mark of his repentance, founded an hospital in that city, to which he assigned an annual revenue of a hundred marks of silver, charged upon the treasury. He however exacted that the legate Philip should leave his kingdom, and the envoy was exiled into Poland.

Nicholas, endowed with a strong physical organization, counting upon a long reign, had formed an infernal plan; the execution of which he pursued with rare perseverance, and which was to bring back the whole of Italy beneath the sway of the Holy See, by the extermination of the French in Sicily. But God did not permit him to see this horrible massacre, which took place at a later date, and which history has handed down to us by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. He was struck by a fit of apoplexy on the 22d of August, 1280, and died in the city of Surien near Viterba. His body was taken to Rome, and buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Peter.

The life of the pontiff presents another proof of the truth, that supreme power almost always perverts the best natural gifts. Whilst he was a cardinal, Nicholas had shown perfect disinterestedness; as soon as he was made pope, he became avaricious; he pillaged churches and monasteries, and begged for money in every court in order to enrich his family, so that, in the few years during which he governed the church, his relatives, from being poor, became the richest lords of Italy. When death surprised him, he was preparing to create a kingdom in Tuscany, and another in Lombardy for his nephew. Happily, God, who is more powerful than pontiffs and kings, struck down this guilty head and prevented the execution of his wicked plans.

During this year (1280) died the celebrated Albert the Great, of the order of Preaching Friars, less known as a monk than a magician. The prodigious diversity of his learning, and the taste which he had for experiments in alchemy, which he himself called magical operations, caused a superhuman power to be attributed to him. Thus, in addition to the automaton which St. Thomas de Aquinas his disciple broke with a club, and which was his work, it is affirmed that Albert entertained William, count of Holland, at a miraculous banquet in the garden of his cloister; and that, though it was in the depth of winter, the trees appeared as in spring, covered with flowers and leaves, which vanished, as if by enchantment, after the repast. The number of his writings assures to him the title of the most fruitful of the ancient polygraphists. His works form twenty-one folio volumes; the first contains his commentary on the logic of Aristotle; the second, fifth, and sixth, notes upon physics; the third and fourth, dissertation on metaphysics, morals and politics; five volumes contain commentaries upon the scriptures—one his sermons, and the others a commentary on the pretended miracles of St. Dennis.

MARTIN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1280.]

*Divisions among the cardinals in regard to the election of a pope—Revolt at Viterba—Exaltation of Simon de Brie—Viterba is placed under interdict—Martin the Fourth is made senator of Rome—Michael Paleologus is excommunicated—The Sicilian Vespers—The pope deposes the king of Arragon—Martin bestows the crown of Arragon on the Count de Valois—check on the holy father—Sicilian affairs—Death of the pope.*

THE same thing happened after the death of Nicholas, as had occurred after the preceding reign. The cardinals assembled at Viterba to choose a new chief for the church. Not being able to agree, the Holy See remained vacant for six months. Charles of Anjou availed himself of this conflict of ambition, to assure himself of a protector in the new pope, by contributing to his election; for this purpose he went to Viterba, and took a part in all the intrigues. The cardinals were then divided into two factions. The one—that of the Ursini, had at its head the cardinals Mathew Rosso and Jourdain, relatives of the deceased pope. The other was sustained by the king of Sicily, and managed by Richard Annibaldi, whose family was one of the most powerful in Rome.

During the vacancy of the Holy See, Annibaldi endeavoured to take the government of Viterba from Orso of the Ursini, which so exasperated the cardinals of that family that they thwarted all the elections for the purpose of tiring out their colleagues, and causing them to restore the government of the city to Orso. Charles, finally, seeing that it was impossible to arrive at a conclusion whilst his enemies were at large, caused the tocsin of alarm to be sounded, assembled the citizens, and besieged the palace in which the conclave was held. The two cardinals of the Ursini were taken out of their chairs and confined in an apartment of which the doors and windows were walled up, so that there was only left a small opening through which to pass to them bread and water. This step succeeded perfectly; for three days afterwards the other cardinals of the same faction asked for a new conclave, and chose Simon de Brie, a cardinal priest, for pontiff.

The new pope was born at Mount Pincé, in Brie. As he had dwelt for a long time at Tours with the rank of a canon and treasurer of the cathedral of St. Martin, some Italian authors have supposed him to have been a native of that city. Urban the Fourth, one of his predecessors, a Frenchman also, had raised him to the cardinalate, in 1261, and had entrusted him with several legations in his own country. It is affirmed that he was not only not desirous of the pontificate, but that he even refused to put on the insignia of his new dignity. He however gave way at length by yielding to the urgency of the faction of King

Charles, and was enthroned by the name of Martin the Fourth.

On the day succeeding his election, Viterba was placed under interdict, and its inhabitants excommunicated, for having committed violence to the two cardinals, Mathew and Jourdain des Ursini. He set these prelates at liberty, after which he retired to Orvietto, not being able to enter Rome, which was still divided between the factions of the Annibaldi and Ursini. To put an end to these disputes, and especially to facilitate his return to the holy city, Martin instructed two cardinals—Hatin, bishop of Ostia, and Godfrey, a deacon of the order of St. George of the Veil of Gold—to threaten the two factions with ecclesiastical thunders, and to order the citizens to confer on him the government of Rome, with the title of senator. This was done, as the following act attests:—"On Monday, the 10th of March, in the year 1281, the Roman people having assembled as usual, at the ringing of the bells, the noble lords, Peter de Conte and Gentil des Ursini, senators and electors appointed by the people, considering the virtues of our holy father, pope Martin the Fourth, and his affection for the city of Rome, hoping that by his wisdom he will be enabled to re-establish order and peace among us, we have granted to him the government of the senate and the city, as well as the territories of Rome. We also grant him full authority to exercise this government in person or by deputies; to institute one or more senators, and for such time and with such salary as he shall please. He shall also dispose of the revenues of the city or the community of the Roman people. He shall be permitted to restrain rebels and factious persons, by all the means which he shall judge suitable. The present act, however, shall neither diminish nor augment the rights of the people, nor of the Roman church, in regard to the election of senators after the death of pope Martin."

This decree is an irrefutable proof that the pontiffs did not regard themselves, at that period, as the sovereigns of Rome; since Martin solicited from the citizens a regular election, in order to have the right to govern them.

As soon as the holy father had taken possession of the palace of the Lateran, he was occupied in fulfilling the engagements he had entered into with Charles of Anjou in

regard to Sicily and Greece. The ambassador of Michael Paleologus having come to Rome to renew the oath of obedience to the Holy See, and to compliment Martin on his election, he refused to receive them, and sent to them this sentence of excommunication, which he fulminated against their masters:—"We declare Michael Paleologus, who is called emperor of the Greeks, anathematised; and we prohibit kings, princes, lords, and other men of any condition, from associating or confederating with him, and from giving him aid and counsel, under penalty of being also excommunicated and placed under interdict."

Michael, indignant at the conduct of the pope, and comprehending that the intentions of the Holy See were to take the empire of the East from him, and confer it on Philip, the son-in-law of Charles of Anjou, immediately took steps to ward off the blow which threatened him. Through his means, emissaries traversed Sicily, organised conspiracies, renewed the old intrigues with the partizans of Nicholas so well, that from one extremity of the kingdom to the other all the cities and villages became active juntas, which only waited the signal to move. The soul of the conspiracy was Procida, a noble citizen of Salerno, proscribed since the time of Manfred. At length arrived the terrible day,—a day ever memorable,—the day of the Sicilian Vespers.

Let Mezerai describe this bloody catastrophe:—"John, the lord of the isle of Procida, had been despoiled of his property by Charles, and been banished from Sicily; which excited in him such resentment, that he formed the design of introducing the king of Arragon, as the heir of the house of Suabia, into Sicily. He found himself seconded in his plans by Nicholas the Third, who never pardoned Charles for refusing one of his daughters to one of his nephews. These two implacable enemies of the French introduced Michael Paleologus and Peter of Arragon into this league; and, in order to succeed the more easily in overthrowing the power of Charles of Anjou, they organised an infernal conspiracy in every city of Sicily. The gold which was scattered lavishly by the Holy See bought up all consciences, and they only waited this signal to commence the massacre, when Nicholas died.

"Martin the Fourth, his successor, mounted the Holy See with very different sentiments, and declared himself to be the protector of Charles; but the plans of the conspirators were not on that account abandoned,—their execution was only suspended. John of Procida, disguised as a monk, went to Constantinople, informed Michael that he was about to be excommunicated, and determined him to send his emissaries into Sicily. The prince gave him three hundred thousand ounces of gold for Peter of Arragon, with authority to levy troops in his kingdom, in order to hasten the execution of their plans. The indefatigable Procida immediately started, traversed the Mediterranean, and rejoined Peter at Barcelona, where he was with his fleet, ready to set sail, under

the pretext of making war on the Saracens, without exciting the suspicions of Charles of Anjou. Peter had even the address, the better to dissimulate his plans, to borrow twenty thousand crowns of gold from Charles, and a like sum from the king of France. His numerous galleys in fact sailed towards Tunis, to favour the concerted enterprise, whilst John of Procida disembarked at Palermo with a troop of bold adventurers.

"As for Charles, fascinated by a kind of fatality, he neglected the secret information which was given him in regard to this conspiracy, and dreamed of nothing but the conquest of Constantinople. His preparations being made, he wished himself to command his fleet, and besiege Michael Paleologus in his capital. Unfortunately, his army was defeated by the Greeks, and he was constrained to return to Naples.

"This news soon reached Sicily, and increased the boldness of the conspirators. On Easter day, the 30th of March, 1282, at the hour of vespers, at the first sound of the bells, the Sicilians rushed upon the French, massacred them in the streets, the houses, and even at the foot of the altar. Women also played their part in this butchery. Fathers were even seen to disembowel their daughters—to tear from them the fruits of their adulteries with the French. In fine, in less than two hours, eight thousand victims were massacred." Such were the frightful consequences of the pride of a prince, and the vindictiveness of a pope.

Charles of Anjou having escaped the general massacre, went at once to Rome to demand justice against Michael Paleologus and Peter of Arragon, of whose arrival at Palermo he had been apprised; and especially against the revolted Sicilians. Martin renewed the sentence of excommunication against the Greek emperor, and sent Gerard Branchi, of Parma, with the rank of legate, to threaten the Sicilian cities with the thunders of the church, if they persisted in their rebellion. That done, Charles came with the remains of his fleet to besiege Messina. That city offered to capitulate, in order to shun the horrors of a siege; and its example would without doubt have drawn in the other cities, if the implacable tyrant had been willing to receive the inhabitants to mercy; but he followed the counsels of his mortified pride, and replied to the envoys—that he had sworn to take a brilliant vengeance on Messina, and to inflict on all Sicily such a punishment that none of its cities would ever afterwards dare to revolt.

As the Sicilians knew what was the vengeance of a king, they thought no longer of any thing but defence. Despair doubled their strength, and they held the troops of Charles in check for a whole month. On his side, Peter of Arragon was occupied with assembling his partizans in the middle of the island; but discovering that it would be impossible for him to maintain a war against the French, who were every day receiving by sea fresh troops sent by Philip the Hardy, he hit upon

this singular ruse to disband the hostile forces. He sent heralds to Charles, to offer him to terminate their quarrel by a duel, in which they should each be assisted by an hundred chosen champions. Charles, imprudent and presumptuous, accepted the challenge, in opposition to the reiterated counsel and prohibitions of the pontiff. The day of meeting was fixed for the 1st of July, 1283, and the city of Bordeaux, which belonged to the king of England, Edward the First, was chosen as the field of battle. The French immediately raised the siege of Messina, and Charles granted a truce to the Sicilians until after the issue of his combat with Peter.

Pope Martin, more clear sighted than the prince, had divined the policy of the king of Arragon; he, therefore, employed all his efforts to ruin his party. He not only excommunicated him, but even degraded him from the princely dignity, and gave all his estates to one of the sons of the king of France by a bull thus conceived: "Philip the Hardy shall designate one of his sons, on whom our legate shall confer the kingdom of Arragon, to take possession of it, and enjoy it fully, to him and his descendants for ever, on condition, however, that they shall recognise themselves as vassals of the pope, and shall pay us yearly five hundred small tournois of gold as quit rent."

Peter of Arragon treated the ecclesiastical censures with open contempt; the lords, magistrates, bishops, clergy, and even the monks of his kingdom imitated his example. At last the day fixed for the combat arrived. Charles went to the plain of Bordeaux, followed by a hundred chosen knights of his nobility. He entered the field, and remained there from the rising to the setting of the sun. "The Arragonese," says Mezerai, "did not care to appear, but at dusk he presented himself, when the field was clear. He went to the residence of the seneschal of Bordeaux, caused this magistrate to give a writing stating his presence in the enclosed field, and left his arms with him as a testimony thereof; he then retired in great haste, alleging that he feared some surprise by King Philip of France."

Charles of Anjou, mortified at having been tricked by his enemy in the face of Europe, immediately wrote to Martin to second him in his plans of vengeance. The holy father, who had already exhausted all his spiritual censures against Peter of Arragon, declared uncompromising war, and then preached a crusade against him. His emissaries tra-

versed Italy, France, and Germany, and promised plenary indulgences to all who should take up the cross against the king of Arragon.

Philip the Hardy, who had accepted the donation which the holy father had made him of the kingdom of Arragon, and of Valencia, as well as of the countship of Barcelona, for Charles of Valois, his second son, took the cross with several lords, and made great preparations for war. But, in the interval, Peter had improved his affairs prodigiously. Lauria, his admiral, having laid siege to Naples, had drawn into an ambuscade the son of the king of Sicily, Charles the Second, surnamed the Hobbler, and having cut the French to pieces, had seized upon the prince, whom he had carried a prisoner to Palermo, to be judged there. Constance of Arragon, fortunately, arrived in time to prevent the Sicilians from putting him to death; she carried him off from Messina during the night, and sent him, well guarded, to her husband.

Charles of Anjou, ignorant of these events, arrived with a numerous and well armed fleet, determined to accomplish his plans of vengeance. When he was informed of the defeat of his troops, and the captivity of his son, his anger was so violent that he fell, as if struck down by a thunderbolt. The care bestowed on him recalled him to life, but succeeding attacks of epilepsy carried him to the tomb in a few months. Such were, for this prince, the deplorable results of his usurpation of the crown of Sicily, and of the hatred of Nicholas the Third.

This melancholy end of the king of Sicily sensibly affected the holy father, who saw himself deprived of a powerful protector; he sought, however, by new intrigues, to preserve the crown for Charles the Second. He thus wrote to the legate Gerard:—"We received from the deceased king, letters patent to govern his states, until his son shall be able to take possession of them. We; therefore, order you to take all steps which you may approve, to exterminate the rebels and re-establish order in the provinces which have rebelled against their legitimate sovereign." Martin had not time to put his plans in execution; on Easter day, the 25th of March, 1285, after having celebrated mass and taken his first repast, with his chaplains, he fainted; the physicians pronounced his sickness trifling; but notwithstanding this decision of the men of art, he died at the end of three days. He was interred in the church of St. Lawrence, of Prouse.

## HONORIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1285.]

*Election of Honorius—He continues the policy of his predecessor—Shameful conduct of the croises in Catalonia—Absolution of the inhabitants of Viterba—Constitution granted by the pope to the states of Sicily—He protects the Count of Valois, declared king of Arragon by Martin the Fourth—Excommunication of the republic of Venice—Treaty of Charles the Lame disapproved of by the pontiff—His death.*

SOME days after the death of Martin, the cardinals chose a cardinal deacon, named James Savelli, to replace him, who was enthroned by the name of Honorius the Fourth. The new pope, descended from a noble family of Rome, had studied in the university of Paris, and had then been received as a canon at Chalons-sur-Marne, and had, finally, been made a cardinal by Urban the Fourth. He was, as a consequence of his debaucheries, subject to the gout in his feet and hands, and this malady had attacked him so severely that he could only celebrate mass by the aid of instruments most ingeniously made. After his election he went to Rome, and was consecrated and crowned on the following Sunday. On the next day he received the ambassadors of Rudolph of Hapsburg, who came to complain that pope Martin had ordered his legates to levy a dime on the dioceses of Treves, Verdun and Basle, which were dependencies of the empire, to defray the expense of a crusade against the kingdom of Arragon. They claimed that this demand should be revoked, as the cause was one to which they were entirely indifferent. Honorius was unwilling to admit their reasoning, pretending that as this war was made by the Holy See against an enemy of the church, all the allies of Rome should bear the expense of it. The dime continued to be levied, and in the following spring the French army commenced its operations in Catalonia.

Wherever they went, the crusaders committed frightful ravages. The country was devastated, cities were abandoned to pillage, the citizens massacred even in the sanctuaries where they had taken refuge, and virgins violated even on the steps of the altar. All the convents of Catalonia, for males or females, were burned. The sacred vessels, the crosses, the holy pyxes—profaned in scenes of luxury—even the very bells of the churches were broken up and the pieces divided among the soldiery. These madmen were called the avengers of God! And the priests, to exalt their fanaticism, collected stones, and casting them at their victims, exclaimed to the soldiers: "In the name of the pope slay these infamous Arragonese, if you wish to gain heaven."

Exasperated by so many evils, the Spaniards in turn flew to arms, fell upon the French, and made a general massacre of them. The crusade found itself naturally terminated from

want of combatants, and Philip was obliged to renounce the hope of giving the throne of Arragon to his son. Honorius also gave himself no anxiety about it. He was otherwise employed—in selling to the city of Viterba absolution from the anathemas which it had incurred during the reign of his predecessor. He made, as the first condition, that the inhabitants should throw down their walls; that they should pay a thousand marks of gold, and build, at their own expense, an hospital dependent on that of the Holy Spirit at Rome. He also deprived them of all jurisdiction, and reserved the right of proceeding as he judged proper, against the citizens who were accused of sedition. The holy father also published a constitution for Sicily, and suppressed several abuses which had been introduced into the exercise of government under Charles of Anjou. He lanced, at the same time, a bull against the partizans of the king of Arragon, who refused to submit to Charles the Lame. A few days after these events, Peter of Arragon died, leaving the crown of Sicily to James, his second son, who was immediately crowned king, at Palermo.

This young prince had been, with his mother, Queen Constance, already excommunicated by Honorius. When the holy father was apprised of his consecration, he excommunicated him a second time, and placed all the cities which acknowledged his authority under interdict. Then, availing himself of the division which existed in the family of Peter of Arragon, on account of his will, which conferred his states of Spain on his eldest son, and those of Sicily on James, he endeavoured to excite a war between the two brothers, and demanded the freedom of Charles the Lame.

Alphonso of Arragon dared not openly resist the pope, from fear of a new crusade; he temporised, and sent ambassadors to him, who promised, in his name, to do justice to the claims of the church, as soon as he had reduced his kingdom to order. Honorius, too skilful not to see the end of these steps of his enemies, imperiously demanded the freedom of Charles the Second, and a solemn engagement that Alphonso would take up arms against James, under penalty of incurring the same censures as his brother. This declaration broke off the negotiations. The ambassadors at once quitted Rome, and the pope wrote to his legate, the cardinal John Cholet



to suspend from their functions all ecclesiastics who favoured Alphonso of Arragon, or who refused to excommunicate him in their dioceses.

Whilst the pope was struggling energetically for Charles, the latter was soliciting Edward of England to negotiate a peace between him and Alphonso, offering to abandon all Sicily, and the archbishopric of Reggio, as the price of his liberty. He engaged, besides, to have the treaty approved by the pope, and to obtain from the court of Rome a revocation of the censures pronounced against the deceased king, the queen Constance, and the two princes Alphonso and James. The outline of this treaty was immediately sent to the pontiff, who rejected it as derogatory to the rights of the Roman church. He even prohibited Charles from entering into any engagement with his enemies, under penalty of being included in their excommunication.

Honorius then employed himself in raising the censure of interdiction pronounced against the city of Venice during the pontificate of Martin, by the legate Bernard, bishop of Porto, on account of its refusal to arm a fleet against the revolted Sicilians. The envoy of the holy father maintained, that the fact alone of the repugnance of the Venetians to succour Charles of Anjou, was enough to render them partakers in the anathemas incurred by the rebels. He had in consequence excommunicated them, and placed their city under interdiction, which had lasted until the death of Martin. They then decided to send ambassadors to the new pope, to represent to him that they had never been wanting in submission to the Holy See, and that their refusal having been dictated by simple considerations of equity, they besought him no longer to maintain the anathema fulminated against them. Honorius listened to their request, and permitted the bishop of Venice to raise the interdiction, on the condition that the inhabitants should not hereafter take any part in the affairs of Sicily to the detriment of the Roman church or the heirs of King Charles.

This order was no sooner given than the pope revoked it, on receipt of the news that the doge had proceeded with rigour against the citizens who had enrolled themselves to

succour the French, without the permission of the council of ten. He immediately wrote a new letter to the bishop, and prohibited him from raising the interdiction, until the chief of the republic had abandoned the prosecutions against those who had obeyed his legate. The doge and the ten did as the pope ordered, and sent as deputies to him two Preaching Friars and two Minor Brothers, to testify their submission to the Roman church; and at length the interdiction which hung over Venice was raised by the bishop.

This was Honorius's last act of authority. He died on the 3d of April, 1287, from a frightful malady brought on by his debauchery. His remains were exposed in the palace which he had built near the church of St. Sabine at Rome. He was interred in St. Peter's.

The Jews were at this period the object of execration among the people of Germany and France, without any one being able to explain the cause of this universal hatred. They were accused of murdering children during the holy week, for the purpose of using their blood in magical operations. Different chroniclers have repeated to us these atrocious accusations, and have transmitted to us the history of young girls or boys hung or crucified. The most remarkable of these legends is that of young Verner, killed at Vesel in 1287.

The Bollandists give the following version of it:—"Verner was a lad of fourteen years of age, who was born in the village, and accustomed to labour with his hands for his support. He lived at Vesel, and was labouring for a Jew. When the holy week arrived, his hostess said to him, 'Take care of the Jews, Verner, on holy Friday: they will eat thee.' He replied, 'I trust in God, and have no fear.' On Thursday, however, of the holy week, he confessed and communed before commencing his work; but he had scarcely commenced his work, when the Jews cast themselves upon him, gagged him to stifle his cries, and then suspended him to a post, head downwards, to make him disgorge the host which he had eaten—after which, they murdered him with their poignards, opened all the veins in his body, and pressed them, to extract from them every drop of blood."

## NICHOLAS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1288.]

*Death of seven cardinals—Election of Pope Nicholas—His history before his pontificate—He continues the policy of his predecessor—Conversion of the Tartars—Charles the Lame is set at liberty—He is crowned king of Sicily—The infidels conquer the Holy Land—Nicholas claims the kingdom of Hungary for his see—Death of the holy father—Vices of the ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century.*

AFTER the death of Honorius, that pope whom Probus, the bishop of Toul, called the strap of anti-christ, the cardinals assembled

in a new palace which he had built. But, as the walls of this building were still damp, the heat of the summer produced from them a

pestilential miasma which carried off seven members of the sacred college. The other prelates quitted Rome with precipitation, leaving the cardinal Jerome d'Ascoli alone in this palace, during the nine months that the vacancy in the Holy See lasted. At the end of the following winter, the cardinals assembled a second time in conclave; and, on the first ballot, chose for pope that same Jerome, who was bishop of Palestrina. He was submitted to the ordinary ceremonies, and crowned on the 23d of February, 1288, by the name of Nicholas the Fourth. According to Ciaccioni, the new pontiff was originally from Ascoli, a city of the March of Ancona, and his parents were honest and laborious artizans.

Having entered the order of Minor Brothers when very young, Jerome distinguished himself by his application to study, and reached the grade of doctor of theology. St. Bonaventure, then the general of the order, made him provincial of Dalmatia, from whence he was sent as nuncio to Constantinople, by Gregory the Tenth. In the interval, the post of general of his order having become vacant, he was promoted to this high dignity in a chapter held at Lyons, in 1274; he was afterwards sent as legate to France. Pope Nicholas the Third, in gratitude for his services, made him a cardinal, and in his favour augmented the honours which the prelates of France paid the legates of the Holy See. In this matter Jerome evinced great disinterestedness; he refused an increase of his subsidy, and as the pope, in the act of promotion, called him the *ci-devant* minister-general of the order of the Minor Brothers, he believed himself discharged from the generalship, and refused to retake the functions until after a new order from the court of Rome. At length the postiff Martin, his predecessor, had conferred on him the bishopric of Palestrina.

Nicholas the Fourth was the first pope of the order of the Minor Brothers. Scarcely was he seated on the throne when his character and habits changed, as if by enchantment. From being generous he became avaricious—from tolerant, fanatical. Before his elevation he had exhibited great attachment to the church—after it he sacrificed even the interests of the Holy See to the aggrandisement of his family; and, what no other priest had ever done before him, he became the protector of the party of the Ghibelines, the avowed enemies of Rome—all this, it is true, secretly, and always showing himself favourably disposed towards the Guelphs and Charles the Lame.

A month after his elevation, the pope created six cardinals, among whom were Peter Colonna, one of his relatives, who was already married. This appointment was the beginning of the greatness of the Colonna family, who we shall see ruled over Italy in the following reigns. Nicholas received this year an embassy from the Khan Argoun, the sovereign of Iran, which announced to him the news, that several Tartar chiefs had embraced Christianity; the prince added in his letter, that it was his most ardent desire to be baptised at

Jerusalem, as soon as he had wrenched that city from the infidels. The holy father, justly fearing that this great devotion of the khan for Palestine only covered ambitious views beneath the veil of religion, wrote to him that it was not necessary to defer his conversion until that period, and that he would permit him to receive the remunerating water, before undertaking the conquest of the Holy Land, if his conscience was pure. Argoun did not reply to the pope, and Jerusalem remained in the power of the Musselmens.

Charles the Lame, unable any longer to support the weariness of captivity, resolved to put an end to it at any price and to purchase his freedom. Through Edward of England, he offered to Alphonso, a second time, to surrender to him all his claim on Sicily and the archbishopric of Reggio, and to procure for him a peace with Philip the Handsome and Charles of Valois. He moreover agreed to give three of his sons as hostages, and to return as prisoner to the king of Arragon, if he did not fulfil his engagements in three years.

Alphonso acceded to these proposals, set the prince at liberty, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to justify his past conduct to the pope. A consistory having been assembled to hear them, they argued, at length, that it was not equitable to render their sovereign responsible for the actions of his father; that long before the death of King Peter he had been placed in possession of the kingdom of Arragon; and that it was unjust to wish to despoil him of it; they finished their harangue, by offering to put the states of Alphonso beneath the protection of the pope.

Nicholas replied to them, "We would, my lords, find your master innocent. Unfortunately, however, he himself proves himself to be guilty by persevering in his sin. Do not his troops traverse Sicily? Has he not invaded the territory of the king of Majorca, an ally of the Holy See? Does he not retain in prison Charles the Lame; and does he not continue to govern the kingdom of Arragon in contempt of the excommunication of Pope Martin? And yet, notwithstanding all this, we are ready to pardon your master if he comes and casts himself at our feet to implore our mercy."

When Nicholas was evincing such favourable dispositions towards Alphonso, he still believed Charles the Lame in the prisons of Barcelona: but he had scarcely learned that his protégé had obtained his liberty, when, without even taking cognizance of the treaty which was presented to him, he fell into a frightful rage, and declared that he erased all that had been agreed upon without his authority.

Some months after, the hypocritical Nicholas solemnly crowned Charles the Second king of Sicily, and, in return for his oath of homage, granted him authority to levy tenths upon his estates for three years, to pay the expenses of a war against Alphonso. He annulled all the engagements entered into by that prince, by Charles of Valois, and by Edward of England, as having been exacted against

the laws of Christian morality. Finally, he declared Alphonso and James excommunicated and unworthy to wear the crown.

As one disaster is always followed by another, the holy father learned from the bishop of Tripoli of the capture of that city by the infidels, and of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre by an army of Saracens. The prelate had come himself to Rome, so pressing was the danger, to ask for twenty galleys well armed, and furnished with all the munitions necessary to remain at sea for a year on the coast of Syria; a service for which he offered to pay very generously. Nicholas hastened to comply with his demand, and in less than thirty days he had obtained the galleys from Venice. Before, however, placing them at the disposal of the prelate, he exacted from him a large sum of money, and an engagement to divide the command of the fleet with the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom he counted to extract a new tribute.

As a compensation for this sacrifice, the pope promised to publish a crusade for the purpose of exciting the people of the west to go over into Palestine, which he did faithfully. But the rage for crusaders was beginning to fade away in the west, and notwithstanding the efforts of Nicholas and his legates, no prince would agree to take the cross, and the unfortunate city of St. John d'Acre fell into the power of the Mussulmen. The capture of this city drew in its train the loss of all Palestine to the Christians.

Ladislaus the Third, the cruel king of Hungary, had at length received the punishment of his crimes, and had been assassinated by a brave Pomeranian, in the midst of his courtiers. As he had no heirs, three competitors for his crown appeared. Rudolph of Hapsburg, the most redoubtable of the three, took possession of it as a fief of the empire, and gave it to his son Albert. The pope, furious that Rudolph had seized upon it without his authority, claimed it in his turn for the Roman church, as the heir of all empires, and threatened the prince with ecclesiastical thunders, if he did not immediately restore it to him. A power more redoubtable than his own, death, terrible death, that cruel enemy of the great ones of the earth, did not permit him to put his threats in execution; he died of old age, on the 4th of April, 1292, and was buried in St. Maria Majora.

Nicholas possessed vast information. He loved science and letters, and protected the learned, and even took a very active part in the foundation of the celebrated university of Montpellier. Unfortunately, he had imbibed, in the order of Minor Brothers, that spirit of intolerance which would impose its belief on

all the world, and which does not recoil from any mode of conversion.

His memory should be handed down to the execration of men, because he first regularly constituted tribunals of inquisitors, in the cities of Venice and Avignon, to exterminate heretics. He augmented and confirmed the privileges of the Dominicans, who were in possession of these frightful functions; he gave them power to interpret ecclesiastical laws to their fancy; he authorised them to pursue heretics by sword and fire—to take from them their property, and to deprive them of their employments, their honours, and their benefices: and not only them, but even their children, their dependents, their adherents, and those who held employments, honours, or benefices from lords who were excommunicated, or who had obtained them through their influence. He also permitted them to destroy houses which had been used by heretics, as also the adjacent ones; and made a bull by which he enjoined on the lords and magistrates of cities which the inquisitors traversed, to aid them with force; to obey them in all things; to proceed against all regular ecclesiastics, whosoever they might be, notwithstanding their privileges, even though abbots, bishops, and archbishops, were pointed out to them; thus placing their jurisdiction above that of all the authorities, and making them only dependent on the see of Rome.

Following the example of one of his predecessors, Nicholas profaned the tombs of his enemies; he disinterred the dead bodies of John de Beziers, a Cordelier, and of Peter Cassiodore, his disciple, and commanded the executioner to burn them on a scaffold, and cast their ashes to the wind, because these holy monks had preached against him during their life time.

As a close to the history of his reign, we will cite a proclamation which Menard, count of Tyrol, addressed to his subjects when the holy father sought to push them into rebellion. "Give to the bishops your robe, and they will want your mantle," said the prince. "Who can be so stupid, or so cowardly, as to endure, without complaining, the pride, avarice, perfidy, debaucheries, in a word, all the crimes of these wretches? The occupations of the priests are to get bastards, preside over orgies, and invent new modes of extorting money from the people. What! is it not enough for the shepherd to shear his flock—must he also murder it? We have been long enough under the prestige of religious ceremonies. We have been long enough trampled under the feet of the priests. Let us rise and exclaim, 'Death and extermination to these enemies of humanity!'"

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1293.]

*Divisions among the cardinals—Sedition at Rome—The conclave reassembles at Perouse—Singular election of Peter de Mouron.*

AFTER the death of Nicholas, two factions were formed in the sacred college for the election of a pope. That of the Guelphs had at its head the cardinal Mathew Rosso des Ursini, that of the Ghibelines, James Colonna, the avowed enemy of Charles, the king of Sicily. Notwithstanding their mutual hatred, the conclave assembled in the palace of St. Maria Majora. The bishop of Ostia, Latin des Ursini, opened the session in a discourse full of wisdom; but he was not listened to, and ten days afterwards the conclavists separated without having made a pope. During the following month, they reassembled in the palace of St. Sabine on Mount Aventine, to separate a second time: and, finally, after several useless attempts at an arrangement, they retired to their estates.

During their absence, the election of the senators of Rome took place, when a violent sedition broke out. They fought in the streets, pillaged houses, set fire to the palaces of the Guelphs, and some cardinals who were in the holy city, having shown themselves in their sacerdotal robes with a view to put a stop to the disorders, were pelted with stones and driven away in disgrace. After several months of combat and strife, the senators were chosen and quiet was restored; three cardinals returned at once to instal themselves in the palace of the Lateran to choose a pontiff. But as they feared lest their colleagues, who had taken refuge at Viterba, should make a second choice, they wrote to them in these terms: "We can proceed to the election of a pope without your assistance, since you absent yourselves from Rome; we prefer, however, to wait some days in order to form a more regular conclave. Hasten, then, your departure; and reflect that there is urgent

need to put an end to the vacancy in the Holy See."

This declaration gave rise to the dread of a schism. For if, on the one hand, the three cardinals who were at Rome had the right to choose a pope on account of the privilege of the place, on the other hand the others might pretend to the same right on account of their numbers. The most skilful lawyers were consulted on the subject, and the result of their deliberations was, that the cardinals all assembled at Perouse, to put an end to the deplorable divisions which had deprived Christendom of a supreme chief for twenty-seven months.

In this new conclave, intrigues recommenced with the same ardour as in the preceding meetings, and threatened to prolong the vacancy in the Holy See—when, fortunately, an incident entirely foreign to the elections suspended the disputes. The brother of the cardinal Napoleon of St. Mark, having been killed by a fall from his horse, that prelate demanded permission to leave the conclave to perform the last duties to his brother. John Bouccarnace, bishop of Tusculum, availed himself of this circumstance to recall to the recollection of the members of the sacred college, that death might in its turn strike them down; and that Jesus Christ had appeared to a holy man, named Peter de Mouron, to whom he had revealed that they would all die in less than four months, if they did not hurry to put an end to the conclave. Under the inspiration of this singular prophecy, one of them proposed Peter de Mouron himself as the pope. This opinion prevailed with the rest, and the pious anchorite was immediately proclaimed chief of the church, by the name of Celestin the Fifth.

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CELESTIN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1294.]

*History of Peter de Mouron before his pontificate—The cardinals wish to retain him by force in Perouse—Consecration of Celestin—New promotion of cardinals—Arts and tricks of the cardinal Gaetan to reach the pontificate—Imbecility of Celestin—He abdicates.*

PETER DE MOURON was born in 1213, in the diocese of Isernia in the province of Apulia. His father's name was Angelier, his mother's, Mary; they were poor agriculturists and had twelve sons, of whom Peter, who was the eleventh, was the only one who devoted himself to the service of God. From his earliest youth he manifested so decided a

love for prayer and meditation, that his mother determined to teach him to read and even to give him some knowledge of the holy scriptures. Having arrived at the age of manhood, Peter retired to an hermitage situated on the side of a mountain near to the chateau of Sangre. Afterwards, not finding this asylum sufficiently solitary, he climbed the summit of the rocks which formed the crest of the mountain, and dug himself out a cell, which was a real burrow; for it was so small that he could scarcely stand upright in it, or stretch himself out to sleep.

He remained three years in this cave, living on the alms of the peasants who came to solicit the aid of his prayers. As very many pious persons interested themselves in having him ordained a priest, he went to Rome, where, notwithstanding his ignorance, he received orders. He was then obliged to abandon his residence, because the cultivators cut down the trees which covered the sides of the mountains. He then retired to another cave, called the cave of Magella, which had a very spacious grotto. He reared an altar in this retreat and inhabited it with several anchorites, his disciples.

Peter de Mouron passed whole weeks in fasting and maceration, which produced ecstatic fevers and reveries of madness, during which he was deprived of the senses of sight and hearing. The brethren around him regarded these ecstasies as revelations, and respected as prophecies the incoherent words which he uttered during these strange hallucinations. Ignorance aiding superstition, the anchorite obtained a great reputation for sanctity throughout all Italy, and numerous pilgrims came to offer up their devotions at the mount of Magella, and to ask a blessing from Peter. The concourse of the visitors became so great, that the brethren decided to employ the presents which were offered them, and solicited from pope Urban the Fourth authority, to found a monastery, and to live as a community under the rule of St. Benedict, which was allowed them.

Peter, far from softening his mode of living, rebouled his austerities, walled up his cell, and only left a wicket which he opened once a day to receive bread and water in small quantities. On Sundays and great festival days the only recreation he allowed himself was to open his wicket a second time to celebrate mass, that the brother who served might say the responses of the service. He slept on the bare ground without straw or hay, and with a stone for his pillow; he wore a girdle of iron chains, and a coat of mail for a shirt. The legend adds, that at length there exhaled from his cell and his body an odour so infected, that no one could approach him without being suffocated. Such was the man whom the cardinals elevated to the papacy.

The election having been regularly made, the cardinals deputed five of their number to go to the convent of Peter de Mouron. Having arrived at Salmona, the ambassadors traversed the mountain by a very rough road,

and presented themselves at the cell of the recluse, who opened his wicket to hear them. There they saw, at the bottom of this living tomb, by the light of a smoking lamp, an old man of about seventy-two years—ghastly, attenuated by fasting, with a bristled beard, and eyes inflamed and full of tears. They uncovered themselves before him, and prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground.—After a short prayer they rose, and the archbishop of Lyons, speaking in the name of all, announced to Peter that he had been chosen sovereign pontiff by the will of God, to put an end to the troubles which desolated the church.

At this news, as extraordinary as unexpected, the poor fanatic shed abundant tears, and demanded permission to counsel with himself before replying. He took the decree which conferred on him the papacy, and closed the wicket of his cell. Three hours afterwards he was heard to cry out, "I accept the pontificate." They immediately demolished his prison, and the cardinals kissed his feet. This strange appointment excited general curiosity, and a crowd hastened from all sides to see the new pope. Cardinals, bishops, nobles, princes, and kings, all went to Mont de Mouron. Charles the Lame, and his son, even wished to hold the bridle of the ass on which Peter was mounted, when he went to the city of Aquila.

The new pope, though very ignorant, had a simple and good soul; he, however, evinced an extreme distrust of the cardinals and secular clergy, and only bestowed his confidence on King Charles and some lawyers, for whom he had conceived great affection. He even chose a layman for his secretary, to the great scandal of the priests, who strongly opposed this innovation, and he appointed the monks of Abruzzo to a great number of ecclesiastical offices, in preference to the Roman priests. He then sent to the cardinals an order to come to the city of Aquila, where he was about to take up his provisional residence, not being able to make the journey to Perouse, during the heat of summer, on account of his infirmities. They, discontented at the step, replied to him, that it was impossible to remove the court without considerable expense; besides, that such a step established a bad precedent: since, if they should even choose a pope in a strange country, this example might be quoted to remove the residence of the pontiff from Rome. They cited to him the example of Pope Martin the Fourth, who preferred captivity to the shame of retiring into Apulia.—"As for your excuse as to the difficulty of the journey in the month of August, with your infirmities, could you not," they added, "be carried twenty leagues in a litter?"

Peter de Mouron did not allow himself to be influenced by their reasoning, and at the instigation of King Charles, he declared to the cardinals, that he had resolved to inhabit the city of Aquila, and to be consecrated there. In fact, he informed Hugh Séguin that he was about to elevate him to the see of Ostia, vacant by the death of cardinal Latin des Ursini, in order to dispose every thing for the cere-

many. On the day fixed for the ceremony, he clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, and caused himself to be crowned with a mitre adorned with gold and precious stones, by cardinal Napoleon; he then seated himself on the pierced chair, and kings, bishops, cardinals, and clergy, took the oath of obedience to him, by kissing his feet. On the next day he celebrated mass, and took the name of Celestin the Fifth. After the ceremony he mounted a platform erected on the steps of the church and gave his blessing to the people.

Celestin was full of sense and modesty. He spoke but little and always in Italian, not understanding Latin. He never advised with his cardinals, whom he called the enemies of the faith and the sores of Christians. A single passage of a synodical letter which he wrote on the day of his installation, is sufficient to apprise us of the humility of his mind, and the charity of his soul.

"For half a century," he wrote to the bishops, "we had renounced all care of the affairs of this world to devote ourselves entirely to God. Hence, on the news of our elevation to the pontificate, we were alarmed at the greatness of this dignity. We bent our forehead in the dust, as weighed down by the charge which Christ had imposed upon us, beseeching that Divine Master to bestow on our intellect the light which he caused to descend upon the apostles, in order to strengthen our heart against the danger of power and honours. After a fervent prayer, we rose up with the resolve to re-establish the practice of evangelical morality in the church by confiding the administration of its temporal affairs to seculars capable of administering them, and the safety of the faithful to prelates truly worthy of being the ministers of a God of peace and charity. We will consecrate all our watchings to accomplish this holy mission; but if our efforts are powerless to destroy the vices of the court of Rome; if, notwithstanding our perseverance and our firmness, we see the impossibility of driving without the sanctuary ambition, avarice, debauchery, and crime, we will cast the mundane crown of the popes beneath our feet and return to our solitude to weep over the misfortunes of the people."

He, in fact, informed himself most scrupulously as to the priests whom the Italian people recognised as truly worthy of veneration. He only found twelve, of whom seven were French and five Italian. He immediately made them cardinals, to the great scandal of the old prelates who composed the court of Nicholas. He renewed the decrees of the conclave published by Gregory the Tenth, and ordered that they should be executed in all their rigour when the Holy See should be vacant from the death of a pope or a renunciation of the pontificate. This prudent step indisposed the members of the sacred college towards Celestin, and their hatred became the more violent when the holy father declared he was about to establish his residence at Naples, the capital of the dominions of Charles

the Lame. A conspiracy was formed to hurl him from the throne, and the ambitious cardinal, Benedict Gaëtan, placed himself at the head of the conspirators.

They used the following trick to determine Celestin to abandon the pontificate. Having been informed by a chamberlain that the pope was frequently in the habit of shutting himself up in a secret chapel, to give himself up to fasting and prayer, as he did in his cell at Mont de Mouron, the cardinal caused the wall to be pierced behind the place occupied by the crucifix, and introduced into the opening a speaking trumpet, which communicated with a chamber of the upper story: then, during the silence of the night, when the pontiff had retired to his chapel to pray, he called out to him in a terrible voice: "Celestin! Celestin! cast aside the burden of the papacy—it is a charge beyond thy strength."

As the holy father saw that, notwithstanding his efforts, the disorders of the clergy increased, his imagination, already much weakened, received this warning as an order from heaven, and he promised God to return to his hermitage. He still, however, hesitated; fearful, lest he had been under the prestige of the devil, and not knowing whether it were possible for him canonically to renounce his dignity, and not daring to consult any one on the subject. Several weeks passed in this perplexity of mind. At length one night the voice was heard, more threatening than on the first occasion. Celestin exclaimed in tears: "They maintain, my God, that I have all power in this world over souls; why then cannot I assure the safety of my own, and free myself from the weight of dignity, to gain repose? Do you not know, Lord; that which you demand from me, is impossible; and have you elevated me so high, but to precipitate me into an abyss? In accordance with the maxims of the popes, I can do all, and I am infallible; how is it, that from all sides complaints arise against me? Am I not obliged, myself, to admit the impossibility of preventing the misconduct, debauchery, exactions and divisions of my ecclesiastics? Would it not be better for me to trample the tiara under foot, and avoid this impure Babylon which is called the church—to devote myself as before, entirely to thee, Lord, in an inaccessible solitude? Have you, then, condemned me to bear this cross until my last hour?" Gaëtan replied through his speaking trumpet: "Abdicate the papacy, Celestin: abdicate the papacy."

Five days afterwards, Peter de Mouron sent for some cardinals to his palace; he related to them how he had passed his life in repose, and poverty; how he had been borne from this contemplative life, which had obtained for him the protection of the Lord; and he added, shedding many tears, "My great age, my rustic manners, the simplicity of my language and morals, the ignorance of my mind, and my small experience in ecclesiastical intrigues make me fear lest I shall fall into an abyss. I believe that it is impossible to shun eternal damnation if I remain pope,

and I come to ask from you authority to yield this dignity to one more worthy of it than I am." The cardinals feigned a great repugnance to reply, and counselled the pontiff to order public prayers and processions, to obtain from God a manifesto of his will, for the greater good of the church.

The Celestine monks, however, were none the less advised of the design of their founder to abdicate the tiara, of which they spread abroad the news; and placing themselves at the head of the Neapolitans, hastened in crowds to the pontifical palace, and penetrating even to the cell of the holy father, knelt before him, and besought him to preserve the tiara—glorifying him as the only priest who had shown himself worthy to be called the Father of the Faithful since the apostle Peter. The king of Sicily, the bishops, cardinals, lords, monks, and all the clergy came in procession to beseech him not to abdicate.

Celestin felt his resolution waver before so general a demonstration; he kept silence and replied only by his tears to this testimony of the love of his people. He then advanced towards a window, and bestowed his blessing on the crowd which pressed into the court yard of the palace. Every one hoped that the holy father had abandoned his thought of abdicating; but the mysterious voice of the chapel recommenced its lugubrious warnings, and the holy father determined to obey it. On the day of the festival of St. Luke, he appeared in the consistory of the cardinals, his tiara on his head, and clothed in the scarlet cape. When all the members of the sacred

college had taken their places, he rose, and unrolling a paper which he held in his hand, read from it, "I, Celestin, Fifth of the name, declare that it is impossible for me to insure my salvation on the throne of St. Peter. Desiring, then, to lead a better life, and find again the repose and consolation of my past existence, I renounce the sovereign dignity of the church, of which my predecessors have made a trade. I recognise myself as incapable of exercising the pontifical functions: and I now give to the sacred college full and entire power to choose a chief to govern them." One of the cardinals, Mathew Rosso, then represented to the holy father that his abdication would not be regular, unless he gave, beforehand, a constitution expressly providing that the pontiffs might renounce their dignity, and that the cardinals had the right to accept their renunciation. Celestin complied at once with this form, and ordered that this constitution should be inserted in the decretals; he then quitted the session, that he might not influence their deliberations.

Benedict Gaëtan caused the renunciation of the pope to be approved at once. An hour afterwards, the assembly sent to inform Celestin that he was free. The holy father, then again become Peter de Mouron, quitted the pontifical garments, and retook his coat of mail, his iron chain, and his hermit's frock; he made a last prayer before the miraculous crucifix of his chapel, and then went with naked feet towards his retreat on Mont de Mouron. Thus terminated the reign of this pious anchorite.

## BONIFACE THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1294.]

*The cardinal Gaëtan causes himself to be chosen pope—His history before his pontificate—He establishes his court at Rome—His severity towards the unfortunate Celestin—He causes him to be confined in a horrid dungeon, and starves him to death—Boniface excites universal hatred against himself—He proposes himself as the arbiter of the destinies of kingdoms—Affairs of France—The pope makes terrible threats against Philip the Handsome—Quarrels of the pontiff with the Colonna—He preaches a crusade against his enemies—Philip avenges himself on Boniface—Institution of the Jubilee—Bull of the pope against Philip—The king causes the bull to be burned—The pope claims the kingdom of Poland—He pursues heretics—He excommunicates Philip the Handsome—He recognises Albert, king of the Romans, names Frederick king of Sicily, and declares Charobert king of Hungary—Pursuit of the pope by the king of France—The pope escapes from Rome—He is surprised by the French in the city of Anagni, and struck violently by Sciarra Colonna—The inhabitants of Anagni deliver him—He returns to Rome—His death—His impieties.*

AFTER the retirement of Celestin, the cardinals waited ten entire days, before reassembling, so that Benedict Gaëtan had time to finish his measures, and to assure himself of a majority in the sacred college. The conclave having at last formed in the palace of King Charles, the cardinal Gaëtan was chosen sovereign pontiff, by the name of Boniface the Eighth,

Benedict Gaëtan was originally from the city of Anagini, and his father was descended from the illustrious family of the Gaëtan. From his youth, Benedict, destined for the ecclesiastical state, had applied himself to the study of the canon law. When he had obtained the grade of doctor, his parents sent him to Paris, where he was made a canon of the cathedral. He then returned to Rome,

where his eloquence, as well as his flexibility of mind, caused him to be distinguished by the pope, who raised him to the grade of consistorial advocate, and pontifical notary. Martin the Fourth made him a cardinal, and Nicholas the Fourth entrusted several important legations to him. Ciacconius thus expresses himself, when speaking of him: "This cardinal had a great depth of iniquity, knavery, audacity, and cruelty, as well as a measureless ambition, and an insatiable avarice." From this portrait we may foresee what will be the misfortunes of his reign.

As soon as Boniface had been proclaimed sovereign pontiff, he left Naples and started for Rome, passing through Anagni, where the inhabitants gave him a magnificent reception, and where he found a deputation of the Roman nobility, who had come to meet him to confer on him the title of senator. Two days afterwards the holy father continued his journey, and entered the holy city amidst an immense concourse of the people. All the streets and public places were strewed with flowers, and it appeared as if all had been seized with a vertigo, on hearing the shouts of joy, and seeing the frenzied dances with which they celebrated the return of the tyrant to Rome. Boniface first went to the church of the Lateran to be seated on the pierced chair—from whence he went to St. Peter's, where he was solemnly consecrated, on the 16th of January, 1295. After the ceremony he mounted a white horse richly caparisoned; Charles, king of Sicily, held one of the reins, and the king of Hungary, his son, the other; they conducted him in this manner to the palace of St. John of the Lateran; then they assisted him to dismount from his horse, and accompanied him to his apartment, and served him at his table as mere waiting men.

On the day succeeding his consecration, he caused the act of abdication by Celestin to be confirmed by the sacred college, and in contempt of all the ecclesiastical rules, which formally prohibit the abdication of pontiffs, he caused all ecclesiastical renunciations made under oath to be valid. These precautions did not appear to him to be sufficient—he even had the cruelty to arrest his unfortunate predecessor.

The Bollandists thus relate this proceeding in the acts of the saints: "Peter de Mouron was torn from his cell by the guards of the pope, and conducted to his enemy. On his way the people ran to him in crowds to receive his blessing; some kissed his feet, others cut off pieces of his robe and plucked the hairs of the ass he rode, to preserve them as precious relics. On his arrival at Rome, he was received by the hypocritical Boniface with great demonstrations of friendship, but on the same evening they confined the unfortunate old man in the castle of Fulmona, giving him orders to confess, that he might prepare to die. Whilst the holy hermit was unveiling the secrets of his soul, the pope was concealed behind a tapestry, and when he had finished his confession, he suddenly appeared

before him, reproached him for the impious regrets he had expressed for his abdication, and caused him to be carried immediately to a horrible dungeon. Six knights and thirty soldiers were placed at the outer gate of the castle, to prevent any attempt to rescue him. Not being yet satisfied with this excessive rigour, and fearful of a rising of the people in favour of his victim, Boniface decided to starve him to death. It was announced, some days afterwards, that the holy anchorite, enfeebled by age, had expired whilst in the act of blessing the holy father; but the crime was soon discovered, and it rendered the assassin odious to all Christendom."

We will not narrate the numerous miracles which the legendaries attribute to Peter de Mouron to establish his sanctity; we will only say that Celestin was a good man, and had justly attracted the veneration of the people, by renouncing the trade of pope, as he quaintly called it.

Boniface, being now freed from his competitor, dreamed only of realising the plan which he had long formed of establishing the temporal and spiritual authority of the Holy See over all Christian kingdoms. At first he claimed new donations from the king of Sicily and other princes who were sustained by the court of Rome; he invested James, by his own authority, of the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, as if he had been the sole dispenser of thrones; he even disposed, in favour of his partizans, of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica; he ordered the kings of France and England to put an end to their disputes—and, upon their refusal to obey him, he sent a bull containing conditions of a treaty, which he commanded them to observe, under penalty of excommunication. He even essayed to chase out of Sicily Frederick the Second, the sovereign of that country. But his efforts failed before the obstinacy of the Sicilians, who treated his threats with contempt, and defeated his soldiers. He then made use of great means; he lanced his excommunications against the prince, called him a sacrilegious usurper, declared his election null, freed his people from their oath of fidelity, and prohibited Frederick from taking the name of sovereign and interfering with the government. The prince, without being disturbed by the anathemas of the pope, continued to keep the field, and finally gained the decisive victory of Falconara, which assured to him the throne of Sicily, and the conquest of a great part of Calabria.

In the midst of this struggle very important events took place, which, if they did not turn aside entirely the attention of the pontiff, at least suspended his plans on Sicily, and compelled him to combat with Philip the Handsome, to unite all his forces to the confederated troops of the king of England, the count of Flanders, the dukes of Austria and Brabant, and the new sovereign of Germany, Adolphus of Nassau, who had succeeded Rudolph of Hapsburg. The cause, or rather the pretext for this war, was the arbitrary detention of



the young daughter of the count of Flanders, whom the king of France had traitorously seized, and whom he refused to restore to her father. Boniface greedily seized on the opportunity of performing an act of political authority in France. He sent a bishop to Philip to summon him to render justice to the count of Flanders, in regard to the liberty of his daughter, and to appear before the sacred college at Rome to be judged there, under penalty of excommunication and deposition.

Philip, surprised and offended, replied to the legate: "Do you not know, lord bishop, that we have to render an account to God alone for the government of our kingdom and subjects? We think it very strange that the pope speaks so loudly in temporal matters. We have no need of the canonical light of the sacred college to judge our vassals; for, thanks be to God, our court is composed of very skilful magistrates. Thank Boniface for his officious care: tell him not to interfere in our kingdom beyond his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to be careful how he unites with our enemies."

Without regarding this considerate address, the pope, by a bull addressed to the clergy of France, prohibited them from granting subsidies to laymen, declaring those who paid and those who imposed this tax alike excommunicated. Philip in his turn published two edicts, by which he expressly prohibited all persons, of what quality or nation soever they might be, from transporting gold or silver out of his kingdom in ingots, vessels, jewels, or money; he also prohibited the exportation of provisions, arms, horses, or munitions of war without especial authority.

Boniface immediately wrote to the king that he must retract his ordinances, if he did not wish to incur his anathemas and be deposed from his throne: and as the prince dared not yet come to an open rupture with the pope, he consented to suspend his edicts for some time. Besides, the wary Philip saw that the court of Rome would soon need his aid against the family of the Colonna, who were levying troops to make war on the holy father.

This family was the more powerful that it was numerous, being composed of seven rich and powerful men—the two cardinals James and Peter Colonna, and five brothers of the latter, Otho, Agapet, Stephen, John of St. Vit, and James, called Sciarra Colonna. The holy father well knew the resources of the Ghibelin party, since he had been one himself until the day of his election, when he had changed his banner and his fortune together. Amelot de la Housseaye relates on this subject, that a month after his exaltation, the pope said to an archbishop, during the ceremony of Ash Wednesday: "Recollect, man, that thou art a Ghibelin, and will descend with them into the flames of hell;" and that in place of sprinkling the ashes on his forehead he cast them into his eyes; thus showing how little importance he attached to religious mummeries.

His hatred to the Ghibelins, and principally

to the Colonna, arose from the repugnance with which this party had sworn to recognise him as pope. Thus, on a vague suspicion that his enemies thought of deposing him, he hastened to send one of his chamberlains to the cardinal James and his nephew Peter, to summon them to appear immediately before the sacred college to renew their oaths of obedience. The two cardinals, who knew the perfidy of Boniface, judged it prudent not to appear before this assembly, and decided to quit Rome, in order to place their liberty and life beyond the reach of the holy father. He, furious at seeing them beyond his power, immediately accused them of rebellion; and, in a full consistory, fulminated against them a bull of excommunication, declaring them incapable of holding any public charge, ecclesiastical or secular; he placed all their domains under interdict, and ordered the inquisitors to pursue them as heretics. The Colonna having retired to their castle of Longuezza, protested against these proceedings of Boniface, and appealed from his censures to a general council; where they engaged to prove that their enemy had poisoned Celestin the Fifth. Unfortunately, the troops, whom they had levied in foreign countries, could not pass the frontiers; and they were obliged to struggle with their partizans alone, against the multitude of fanatics whom the holy father had assembled.

As, however, the want of money to pay his troops began to be felt, Boniface sought a reconciliation with the court of France. To this end he canonised St. Louis and offered the crown of Germany, which he engaged to take from Adolphus of Nassau, to Philip, for his brother the Count de Valois. Duped by this perfidy, the king of France permitted the agents of the Holy See to carry all the money which they could amass in his kingdom, into Italy. But scarcely was the gold of the French in the treasury of St. Peter, when the pope, changing his language and conduct, favoured the party of Albert of Austria, and crowned him emperor, in contempt of his engagements.

His hatred towards Philip did not stop with this first treason; he incited Edward of England and the count of Flanders to invade France by virtue of the truce which he had granted them: and when the prince, informed of the preparations which the English and Flemings were making for war, complained of them, beseeching the pope to be the arbiter between him and his enemies, Boniface had the boldness to reply to him, that the only counsel he could give him, was to offer his sister Margaret in marriage to Edward, and his daughter Elizabeth to the son of that prince; to place all that he had taken from England at the disposal of the Holy See; to restore to the count of Flanders his young daughter, who had now been a prisoner for two years; and lastly, to embark with all his nobility and a numerous army, to conquer the Holy Land.

This letter was carried to France by the

bishop of Durham, the ambassador of King Edward, who read it in full council; the Count d'Artois, who was present, rose indignantly, snatched it from the hands of the English prelate, tore it in pieces, and cast it in the fire. Philip protested against the orders of the pope, and declared, that instead of taking up arms to invade Palestine, he would march on Rome. He, in fact, commenced hostility, by permitting Stephen Colonna, and other members of his family who were flying from the fury of the pope, to enter his kingdom. Then, under pretence that the interdict with which the bull struck the churches of France put an end to all ecclesiastical functions, he seized on the revenues of the clergy, and used them to recruit fresh troops, with which the Count de Valois took the field, and gained a brilliant victory over the Flemings.

Philip, soon after, gained a powerful ally by marrying his sister Blanche to the emperor of Germany. Boniface, as soon as he heard of this alliance, immediately abandoned the party of Albert, and declared to the ambassadors of that prince, at a solemn audience, that the election of their master was null, that he devoted him to the hatred of the people as a homicide, and that he did not recognise him as either king of the Romans or emperor. Then, putting on a gilded cuirass and covering himself with a casque, he poised a sword above his head, exclaiming:—"There is no other Cæsar, nor king nor emperor, than I, the sovereign pontiff and successor of the apostles." He, after this, appeared in the great ceremonials, sometimes in the costume of the pope, sometimes in the imperial ornaments.

This year, the last of the thirteenth century, offered a very favourable opportunity to Boniface to extort money from the people, and to avail himself of the general superstition, which, since the commencement of civilization, attributed a remunerating virtue to the secular year. He instituted the jubilee, a kind of pilgrimage which was to take place at the close of the century, and for which he granted plenary indulgences to the fanatics who came to visit the tomb of the apostle and make offerings on it.

John Villani, the Florentine historian, relates, that during the year 1300, more than two hundred thousand pilgrims to Rome were counted. "I can bear witness to it," adds he, "since I dwelt in that city. By day and by night, there were two clerks at the altar of St. Paul, with rakes in their hands, to rake up the gold which the faithful unceasingly threw down there. Boniface amassed an immense treasure from these donations, and the Romans were enriched by selling their wares, at excessive prices, to the simple people who came to obtain indulgences and empty their purses." This institution was but a transformation of the secular games of the pagans. Moses, in his law, had established an analogous ceremony, which was renewed every fifty years. During this ceremony debts were remitted, each one regained the heritage of his fathers,

and slaves were set at liberty. Thus the popes have not even the merit of inventing this festival, which is of early origin; they only denaturalised it, to transform it into an ignoble speculation.

Philip the Handsome, who was, like his father, under the sway of the French clergy, determined to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land; but he wished to put an end to every cause of misunderstanding, previous to his departure, between the pope and himself, and sent William of Nogaret, as his ambassador to the pope, to treat of the conditions of peace. Boniface received the diplomatist very badly, and permitted insulting remarks towards the king to be made in his presence. Nogaret replied to him with the firmness becoming the representative of a great nation, and exposed to him the dangers to which he was exposing the Roman church by declaring himself the enemy of France. The pope, finally, discovered that the system of intimidation and violence which had succeeded with the Colonna, would be attended with very serious results, if attempted with the king of France. Making use of dissimulation, he pretended that the eloquence of Nogaret had led him to pacific sentiments, and persuaded the ambassador to write to Philip that there was nothing now to retard his departure for the Holy Land, as he accepted his proposals. He besought him, at the same time, to send the Count de Valois into Italy, at the head of his army, under the pretence of pacifying the troubles of that country—but, in reality, that France should be entirely freed from troops, and unable to oppose the guilty manœuvres of his policy.

When he supposed the moment favourable, Boniface sent to the court of Philip as his legate, Bernard Saisetti, bishop of Parma, a violent and proud man. This worthy ambassador of the pope spoke so insolently to the king that he drove him from his presence, and prohibited him from reappearing at court under penalty of being treated as guilty of lèse majesty. Bernard, forced to obey, immediately advised the holy father of the affront which had been offered him, and started for Languedoc, for the purpose of exciting, on his journey, the populace of the south against the royal authority, by preaching against Philip and promising indulgences and recompense to whoever would assassinate him.

This demonic was arrested by the metropolitan of Narbonne and sent to the king, who immediately sent Peter Flotte to Rome, to inform the pope of the conduct of his legate, and to demand the papal authority to punish him. But instead of complying with this just demand, Boniface became enraged. He replied to the ambassador, that the legate having only obeyed his orders, merited only eulogies for his firmness; and that if a single hair of his head fell, he would take a terrible vengeance. Three days after, the holy father dropped the mask, and published a bull, in which he declared himself to be the absolute sovereign of the kingdom of France, and

claimed for himself the power of disposing of dignity, and of secular and ecclesiastical benefices. At the same time he cited all the chiefs of the French clergy to Rome, to justify their conduct. Philip then judged that it was useless to put off matters any longer, and on the 10th of April, 1302, he convened at Paris the nobility, clergy, and third estate in high parliament, before whom he laid his complaints against the pope.

All the members of the assembly declared that they were ready to sacrifice their property and their persons to oppose the criminal enterprises of the head of the church. The ecclesiastics themselves blamed his ambition, and condemned the scandal of his pride. Philip declared, in the presence of the grandees of the court, the peers of the kingdom, and the principal magistrates, "That he disowned his eldest son as the heir of his crown, and all his descendants, if they ever submitted to the Roman pontiffs;" and he addressed the following letter to Boniface: "Know, insolent priest, that we are subject to no one in our temporal affairs, and that your great fauity must humble itself before us."

Boniface relaxed none of his proud pretensions, in the hope that Charles of Valois, who was still in Italy, would defend him against his brother Philip. But all his efforts to gain over that prince were useless. In vain did he appoint him generalissimo of the armies of the church, with power to make war and peace. In vain did he make him count of Romagna and grand pacificator of Florence. Charles remained faithful to the interests of France, and refused to take up arms against his brother. He even went to Florence, which was then rent by the factions of the Bianchi and Neri, to put an end to those deplorable quarrels. His good intentions were, however, illy understood by the Florentines. The faction of the Neri, believing themselves favoured by him, pursued the Bianchi to extremities. They burned their houses, devastated their domains, murdered their women and children, and committed every where excessive cruelties. The celebrated poet Dante, one of the chiefs of Florence, and a member of the council of ten, who had been sent as a deputy to Rome to negotiate a peace, had his palace demolished, his estate laid waste, and was condemned to perpetual banishment in the city of Ravenna, where he died.

Boniface, finding it impossible to push on Charles of Valois to revolt against his brother, wished, at least, to detain him in Italy, in order to deprive France of the aid of his sword; and he amused him into apparent preparations for war against the king of Sicily, whilst he was intriguing in England, Spain, and Germany, to obtain large sums for the Flemings, who had risen against Philip. The holy father finally assembled a consistory, at which a large number of prelates assisted, who had been convened at Rome to deliberate on the conduct of France towards the Holy See. The bishop of Auxerre was the representative of

Philip, and the prelates of Noyon, Constance, and Beziers, appeared in the name of the French clergy.

In his opening discourse Boniface declared, that the dynasty of the Capets was a race of thieves and murderers—that their great power was derived from the Holy See, which had unceasingly augmented their estates at the expense of other lords, by successively legitimatising all their usurpations and by authorising them to levy imposts and dimes upon their subjects. He remarked, that during the reign of Philip Augustus the kings of France had a revenue of but eighteen thousand livres, whilst, under his pontificate the reigning king received forty thousand, by means of the favours and dispensations which had been granted to him. He accused the king of ingratitude, in refusing to submit to his spiritual father; and finally, becoming gradually more animated, he concluded with these words:—"Yes, if the king does not become wiser, I shall chastise him as a scholar, and take his crown from him." He hoped that his prophecy would be realised, as he knew the Flemings were on the eve of a revolt. In fact, they soon heard the news, that the inhabitants of Bruges and Ghent, exasperated against the French, had assembled to the number of twenty thousand, and cut to pieces an army of more than forty thousand men, commanded by the Count d'Artois and the best captains of Philip. This encounter took place under the walls of Courtray. Twelve thousand gentlemen remained upon the field of battle; and amongst them were the Count d'Artois, Peter Flotte, and a number of distinguished lords. The pope ordered solemn masses to be celebrated in the churches of Rome as a token of his joy, and then renewed to Charles of Valois the offer to place him on the throne of France. The prince indignantly rejected his overtures, and hastened to the court of his brother to repair the disasters of the last campaign.

The king being apprised of the intrigues of the Holy See, resolved to be avenged, and held an assembly in the palace of the Louvre, on the 12th of March, 1303, to hear the complaint which William of Nogaret had to present against the pope. The ambassador thus expressed himself;—"I demand, illustrious lords, that the cardinal Benedict Gaetan, who calls himself pontiff, should be placed on trial as an atheist, a simoniac, an enemy of God and men, incestuous, a robber, a sodomite, and a destroyer of religion. I beseech the king to assemble the estates, to publish an ordinance convening a general council to judge Boniface. I also demand that they proceed without delay to the appointment of a vicar to govern the Roman church; and that the anti-pope be immediately arrested, that he may not oppose the reforms which shall be undertaken for the good of Christendom. Do not forget, great prince," he added, addressing Philip, "that you are compelled by the example of the kings, your predecessors, and by the oath which you have taken to protect

the churches of your kingdom, to pursue the cardinal Gaëtan until he shall be made powerless for injury."

The pope, having been informed of the proceedings against him in the conference of the Louvre, immediately wrote to the cardinal Lemoine, his legate, to excommunicate, individually, the king of France, and to depose the ecclesiastics who should be bold enough to administer the sacraments or to celebrate divine service after his prohibition. He sent an order to father Nicholas, a Jacobite, the confessor of Philip, to appear at Rome in three months, to answer before the consistory for the resistance which the king had made to the will of the holy father; he cited, also, all the French bishops to appear before his tribunal for the same cause.

The king, informed of these senseless attempts, caused the archdeacon of Constance, and Nicholas of Benebracto, the bearers of the pope's bull, to be arrested; at the same time he published an edict confiscating the property of the ecclesiastics who should go to Rome.

Boniface, who thus found himself at war with the most powerful princes of Europe, discovered but too late the danger to which he had exposed himself by pursuing Philip too far. He, however, endeavoured to contest the matter with him, and, as a preamble, put in use this political axiom: "When you have three enemies, make peace with two, in order to combat the third; then exterminate the two others in succession." He commenced by reconciling himself with Albert of Austria, recognising him as emperor; he no longer called him a rebellious subject and an assassin; he proclaimed him, on the contrary, sole and legitimate emperor of Germany, thus supplying, by all his ecclesiastical power, the irregularity of his first election. Before issuing this bull he exacted the following declaration from Albert:—"I recognise the empire to have been transferred, by the Holy See, from the Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charlemagne; that the right of choosing the king of the Romans has been delegated by the pope to certain ecclesiastical or secular princes; and, finally, that the sovereigns receive from the chiefs of the church the power of the material sword."

Boniface had demanded a like declaration from Frederick, king of Sicily, and upon his refusal, had excommunicated him and placed his kingdom under interdict. But as Robert, duke of Calabria, the eldest son of Charles the Lame, and Frederick, had been reconciled by signing a treaty which assured to the latter the sovereignty of that island during his life, on condition that he would marry Eleonora, the daughter of Charles of Valois, the pope was obliged to absolve him from the excommunication, and to grant him a dispensation to marry Eleonora. Frederick, however, consented, in order to obtain the investiture, to do liege homage for his kingdom to the holy father, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, and to furnish an hun-

dred armed knights for three months, whenever they should be required; and, finally, declared that he regarded the enemies of the Roman church as his own, and that he would combat them to the death at the first order from the court of Rome.

Boniface also thought of creating for himself alliances in Hungary, and availed himself of the lords of the kingdom having bestowed the crown on Venceslas, the son of the king of Bohemia, without being authorised to do so by him, to declare the election irregular, and to claim the free disposal of the throne. He cited the different pretenders to the royalty of Hungary to Rome, and declared that he would decide in favour of him who offered the greatest advantages to the Holy See. Neither Venceslas nor his son appeared; they merely sent three ambassadors, who declared in the name of these two princes, that they simply came to assist at a synod, and not to plead the cause of the king, who had been chosen by the free will of the Hungarians.

The pope replied insolently to them, that the throne of Hungary was transmitted by order of succession, and not by the voice of election, and that he consequently adjudged it to Queen Mary and her grandson Charobert. Orders were immediately expedited to Nicholas of Treviso, the legate of that kingdom, to put the city of Buda under interdict, and to return to Italy; but the Hungarian priests, regardless of ecclesiastical censures, continued to celebrate divine service and administer the sacraments; nay, further, they even excommunicated the legate and Boniface himself. But the blow was struck and a civil war broke out, which lasted until 1310, when Charobert was universally acknowledged as king of Hungary.

Having thus assured himself of powerful allies, the pope recommenced his strife with Philip; he declared him deprived of the throne, and gave his kingdom to whoever would deliver him up, dead or alive, to the Holy See. The king, on his side, held an assembly of the states-general, in the gardens of the Louvre, to depose the holy father. William of Plessis, Louis, count of St. Paul, and John, count of Dreux, presented themselves before the nobility, clergy, and commons as the accusers of the pope. "They accused him of denying the immortality of the soul, and holding that it perished like the body, and that there was consequently no other life; they affirmed, that he denied the presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, and called the host a piece of bad bread to which he paid no respect. They maintained that he preached publicly that the pope, being infallible, could commit incest, robberies, and murders without being criminal, and that it was heresy even to accuse him of having sinned; also, that he openly proclaimed fornication to be one of the most beautiful laws of nature, and that it alone revealed to him the existence of God. This execrable pope, they added, observes neither fasts nor abstinences; he eats flesh at all times and without lawful cause

and orders his domestics to do the same; he orders priests to reveal to him the secrets of the confessional, under the pretence that they should unveil to him the crimes of his enemies; he persecutes the Minor and Preaching Brothers, and deprives them of their goods, under the pretext that these monks are hypocritical knaves, who levy extortions on the people,—and thus deserves to be called the robber of robbers. Finally, they produced witnesses, who affirmed, that the pope lived in concubinage with his two nieces, and had several children by both of them."

After, having formally produced these different accusations, Du Plessis formally demanded an appeal to a future council; the king declared himself the appellent; the bishops, abbots, the university of Paris, and all orders in the kingdom, followed this example and demanded the convocation of a general synod. Finally, at Rome itself, ten cardinals approved of the proceedings of France, and adhered to the appeal. Philip then sent deputies to all the courts of Europe, to announce that the council was to be held. Nogaret, his ambassador at Rome, received orders to inform the pope of the decision of the states-general, and to publish it in the cities of Italy. He acquitted himself very happily in his mission, and drew over to the party of his master a great number of lords, magistrates, citizens, and ecclesiastics, who were tired of the tyranny of Boniface. The latter then resolved to quit the holy city, where his enemies were all-powerful: he secretly abandoned the Vatican, and went to dwell at Anagni.

A few days after his arrival there he assembled the cardinals who had followed him, and fulminated a terrible bull against Philip, whom he devoted, with his family and his posterity, to Satan and the execration of men; declaring his kingdom under interdict, freeing his subjects from the oath of fidelity, and giving his estates to the emperor Albert of Austria. In this bull he summoned the Germans, English, and Flemings to take up arms against France, and granted to them plenary indulgences for this war. Without losing time, Nogaret, on his side, acted with activity and remarkable address. Seconded by Sciarra Colonna and John Mouschet, two implacable enemies of the pope, he detached most of the cities adjoining the patrimony of St. Peter from the party of Boniface, and secretly assembled a troop of determined men, with whom he suddenly invested Anagni. His soldiers forced the gates of the city at the break of day on the 7th of September, 1303, and spread themselves through the streets, exclaiming, "Life to the king of France, death to Boniface." They then attacked the palace of Peter de Gaëtan, the nephew of the pope, which they carried at the first assault, and then laid siege to the fortress which the holy father and his cardinals inhabited.

In this extremity, Boniface demanded a truce of some hours, under pretext of determining on what he would do, but in reality to excite a rising of the people in his favour.

They, however, restrained by fear, dared not make the least movement. The holy father then finding the delay which he had asked for about to expire, besought Sciarra Colonna to give him, in writing, the conditions which they demanded as the price of peace. Sciarra replied to his envoy, that if Boniface wished to save his life, he must, above all things, immediately reinstate the family of the Colonna in all their wealth and dignities, and renounce the papacy. These conditions having been reported to Boniface, he exclaimed, "No: I would rather die than cease to be pope."

In consequence, at three hours after noon, the truce having expired, a fresh assault was made by the soldiers, who scaled the walls and rushed into the apartments of the palace, which they pillaged. They found in the treasury so great a quantity of silver, gold, precious stones, and valuable articles, that if we may believe Walsingham, it exceeded the united wealth of all the kings of that period.

Boniface, seeing that he had no means of escape from his enemies, clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, placed the crown of Constantine on his head, and holding the apostolic keys in one hand and the cross in the other, placed himself on his throne, awaiting with firmness the arrival of his enemies. Nogaret, without being stopped by the majesty of this spectacle, approached him without any respect, and informed him of the proceedings of the states of France, summoning him to appear before a general council to justify his conduct. The pope not having even replied to this first address, Sciarra Colonna advanced in his turn, and demanded of him, if he were willing to renounce the papacy. "No," replied Boniface, "I would rather lose my life; slay me if you dare.—I will at least die pope." This would probably have happened but for the interference of Nogaret, for the soldiers had already seized the holy father. He stopped them by a gesture: "No, we will not put to death this infamous priest," he said: "we will drive him in disgrace from this apostolic chair, to which he is more attached than to existence; and it will be the most terrible of chastisements for this proud man to spare his days, that he may pass them in opprobrium and humiliation. Then prepare thyself, dog," said he, turning towards Boniface, "for the general council which is to assemble at Lyons to condemn thee."

This new insult exasperated the holy father; he forgot the part of impassability, which he had played until then, and fell into so violent a fit of rage that they thought him mad. He blasphemed the name of God, abjured Christ, cursed the king of France to his fourth generation, and called Sciarra Colonna the son of a prostitute. The latter could not restrain his indignation; he fell on Boniface, struck him on the face with his iron gauntlet until the blood flew, and would have broken his head if Nogaret had not wrested him from the hands of his enemies. Boniface was carried off wounded, and confined to the custody of Renaud de Suppino, a Florentine captain, who

confined him in one of the halls of the palace. His captivity lasted for three days, during which he refused to take any nourishment, fearful lest his enemies should poison him. He only ate four eggs, which were given to him by an old woman.

At length, on the fourth night, the inhabitants of Anagni, excited by the priests, attacked the French so furiously, that they forced them to abandon the pontifical palace, and Nogaret and Colonna barely escaped with some soldiers, leaving the banner of France, which they had planted on the tower of the city, in the hands of their enemies. The pope being freed from the hands of his foes, was carried to the public Place, where, fearful of a return of ill fortune, he declared in the presence of the people, that he pardoned those who had taken up arms against him; that he reinstated the Colonna family in all their possessions and dignities; and that he even pardoned William de Nogaret, the author of all his misfortunes. This hypocritical language gained for him some partizans.

But as soon as he was at Rome, and out of the reach of danger, he dreamed of nothing but vengeance, and passed his days and nights in preparing it. Concealed in the depths of his palace, for the purpose of maturing his machiavelian plans, he passed whole weeks in reflection, without being willing to speak even with the officers of his court. He was heard frequently to exclaim aloud, "Malediction—anathema." This continual irritation at last brought on a violent fever, and the holy father became very ill. In his fits of delirium he accused himself of a prodigious number of crimes, and uttered frightful yells, as if Satan had seized on him. They then remembered this prophecy of Pope Celestin: "Curses on thee, Benedict Gaëtan. Thou hast mounted the throne like a fox, thou wilt reign like a lion, and die like a dog." Boniface, in a paroxysm of madness, gnawed his arms, and died on the 11th of October, 1303. He was buried at St. Peter's, in a chapel which he had built at the entrance of that church.

Dante has placed the soul of this pontiff in the depths of hell, in the hole which Pope Nicholas the Third had occupied before him; and there were, in his time, designs at Rome representing Peter de Mouron, with a dove on his head, figuring the Holy Spirit; behind him came Boniface with a speaking trumpet in his hand, having a fox in his arms, whose claws were fixed in the back of Celestin the Fifth, while he lifted off his tiara with his nose. In the background of the picture, the artist had represented Boniface a second time with the pontifical ornaments, and dragged along by armed men, who struck him in the face with their gauntlets.

The result of all the testimony we can gather is, that this pope was reputed as damned, even by the clergy. John Villani calls him a cruel, ambitious, corrupt, proud, and avaricious priest. He says he possessed great skill in the management of temporal affairs; that he was profoundly versed in the

*Boniface VIII*  
Holy Scriptures, and in the canon and civil law, and reports at length different propositions or axioms of Boniface, which had been transcribed on authentic documents. The following are some of them: "God made me only for good in this world."—"I care no more for another life than for a bean."—"Men have souls like those of beasts; the one are as much immortal as the other."—"The gospel teaches more falsehoods than truths: the delivery of the Virgin is absurd: the incarnation of the Son of God is ridiculous: the dogma of the transubstantiation is a folly."—"The sums of money which the fable of Christ has produced the priests, are incalculable."—"Religions are created by the ambitious to deceive men."—"Ecclesiastics must speak like the people, but they have not the same belief."—"It is no greater sin to abandon one's self to pleasure with a young girl or boy, than to rub one's hands together."—"We must sell in the church all that the simple wish to buy."

As a finishing stroke to this portrait of Boniface, and to show that he put his maxims into practice, we will recount the burlesque adventures of the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, as narrated by the historian Desmarests: "The cardinal, Benedict Gaëtan," he says, "had so skilfully used a speaking trumpet to determine Peter Mouron to abdicate, that when he was chosen pope, he made use of another piece of trickery, to extort money from the faithful. He publicly announced that the angels being at his orders, he would cause them to carry off from Nazareth in Galilee, from the hands of the Mussulmen, the house in which the Virgin Mary had been born, in which she had been married to Joseph, and in which she had conceived through the operation of the Holy Spirit. But eight days had elapsed after this promise, when the holy father ordered the people to go to Dalmatia to see the house which the angels had transported in their arms, and which they had placed on a desert hill called Tersatto—it remained there for three years and seven months.

"As the length of the journey prevented many Christians from carrying their offerings there, the angels, always obedient to Boniface, transported it a second time into the midst of an immense forest, in the territory of Racanati, a dependency on the March of Ancona. After this second prodigy, the priests published the miracles of the holy house; they related that all nature thrilled with joy around the residence of the Virgin; that the winds murmured celestial melodies; that the oak bent their heads in homage to the mother of God, and that a brilliant light illuminated the forest by night. The people soon hastened from all parts of Italy to see these marvels, and to offer presents to the holy Madonna. Unfortunately, the robbers, who are always so numerous in lower Italy, wished to divide with the Virgin the gifts of the pilgrims; and as the pope did not find his account in this, he ordered his angels to transport the house out of the forest. They deposited it in a field belonging to two brothers who had lost their father the

evening before; it became a cause of dispute between them, each of them claiming possession of the lot on which it stood. To produce harmony, the angels carried off this miraculous house a fourth time, and deposited it in the midst of a field, belonging to a holy woman named Loretta. The Virgin Mary was doubtless much pleased with this choice,

for from the thirteenth century down to our own times, it has not changed its place—or, what is more probable, the pope did not cause it to perform a fifth journey, because he had brought it near enough to Rome, not to fear the brigands who had the sacrilegious audacity to share, with the Madonna, the offerings of the faithful."

1294

## THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

### BENEDICT THE ELEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1303.]

*Reflections on the history of the church in the fourteenth century—Election of Benedict the Eleventh—The states-general of France beseech Philip to declare the memory of Boniface infamous—Re-establishment of the Colonna—The pope wishes to reform the morals of the clergy—He is poisoned by the cardinals.*

ROBERT GALLUS, in his apocalyptic style, says, in speaking of the church in the fourteenth century, "I was in prayer, with my looks towards heaven, when I suddenly perceived in the air a monster clothed in the pontifical cape; it had feet in the form of a sword, and immense hands which it plunged into the east and west, to draw them out full of gold and precious stones. Having approached me, I heard an infernal voice, which exclaimed, 'it is the Roman church!'"

The spirit of humility and charity had, indeed, entirely abandoned the chiefs of the Roman clergy. From the time of Saint Gregory to Gregory the Seventh, they had combated against the bishops of the East and West, to usurp the supreme power in the church. They had then commenced the same strife against kings, down to the time of Boniface the Eighth, for the purpose of establishing their temporal sway. At length, when they had elevated the chair of St. Peter above all sees and all thrones, when they had united in their grasp the spiritual and temporal swords, they desired to exercise this power to draw to themselves the riches of the whole world. The Inquisition, established by Innocent the Third, had already done marvels in Europe, where its tribunals condemned to the scaffold the faithful, whose wealth excited the covetousness of the court of Rome. But as this mode of extortion, independently of some danger attending it, was not sufficiently expeditious, the popes fell back on the relics, and, following the maxim of Boniface the Eighth, made money out of every thing they could sell. After having exhausted Italy, they settled down on France, where, thanks to the progress of information, the enfranchisement of the Communes, and the emancipation of the serfs, they were assured of finding resources for a long time. Besides, during the whole age in which they held their court

at Avignon, it appeared as if virtue had been driven from the kingdom by their presence; so many shameful actions were committed.

After the terrible end of Boniface, the cardinals assembled in conclave, and proclaimed as chief of the church, Nicholas of Treviso, cardinal archbishop of Ostia. The new pontiff was consecrated on the 27th of October, 1303, by the name of Benedict the Eleventh. He was the son of a notary named Boccasio Boccasini; he had studied at Venice, where he had afterwards performed the duties of a teacher. He then entered the order of preaching friars, in which, from his zeal, he had merited to be promoted to the post of sub-prior, prior, provincial, and general of the order. Boniface had elevated him to the cardinalate, and bishopric of Ostia, giving to him the singular recommendation to be less virtuous, if he wished to be loved by the clergy of his diocese.

As soon as his elevation was known in France, Philip sent the lord of Mercœur, Peter de Belle-Perche, a canon of Chartres, and William du Pleassis, who united with Nogaret in congratulating the new pope upon his exaltation, and in submitting to him the following request, which the states-general had presented to the king of France:—"To you, most noble prince Philip, our sire, the people of your kingdom beseech you to preserve the franchises and sovereignty of your estates—that is, that you recognise, on earth, no other master of your temporal goods than yourself. They also beseech you to declare in the face of nations, that pope Boniface the Eighth has merited eternal damnation, in proclaiming, by his bulls, that your kingdom belonged to him, and that he could dispose of it at his pleasure."

Benedict, guided by a sentiment of probity and justice, openly blamed the conduct of his predecessor; he freed Philip from all the

ecclesiastical censures pronounced against him, and published several bulls against the pope. The pope, to induce had caused the council to be held at Avignon, and the decrees sanctioned against him, were those of confiscation, and the pope did not consent to any more such measures. His predecessors, however, were an enemy of luxury and ostentation, that his successor having come to see him, after his exaltation, magnificently dressed, he feigned not to recognise her. As she perceived the cause of his discontent, she left the palace, and returned in her ordinary dress; he then received her most affectionately, before all the court, and seated her at his side. The same sentiments of humility induced Benedict to favour the mendicant brothers, who possessed neither residence nor domains, and lived by alms, passing the night on the threshold of the houses which offered them an asylum for it.

This good pope devoted all his attention to

the pacification of Italy and the reform of the ecclesiastics. His policy excited a violent hatred against him. The cardinals, whose irregularities he wished to repress, became his most ardent enemies, and determined to free themselves from an inconvenient censor. On the day of a grand festival, when the holy father was dining with several of them, a young clergyman presented himself in the dress of a nun of the monastery of Saint Peterville, and offered to Benedict, in the name of the abbess, who was one of his penitents, a silver plate, having on it some freshly culled figs. The pope took two of them, and offered the others to the guests, who refused them, not to deprive his holiness of them. On the same night he was attacked with severe pain in his bowels and with vomiting; his physician perceived that he was poisoned. But it was too late to arrest the evil, and the virtuous Benedict expired on the 6th of July, 1304.

## CLEMENT THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDREDTH POPE.

[A. D. 1304:]

*Disorders, debaucheries, and intrigues of the cardinals—Philip chooses Clement the Fifth—Conditions of his agreement with Philip—The new pope is crowned at Lyons—Origin of the Annats—The holy father pillages the churches of France—Persecutions of the templars—Philip exacts the condemnation of the memory of Boniface by the pontiff—The king is deceived by the pope—He is compelled to renounce the pursuit of the memory of Boniface—Absolution of Nogaret—Council of Vienne—The Christian princes engage to undertake a new crusade in the Holy Land—The emperor, Henry the Seventh, invades Italy and seizes Rome—He is poisoned by a Jacobin monk—Bull of the pope against the memory of that prince—Death of Clement.*

THE funeral of Benedict the Eleventh being over, the cardinals shut themselves up in conclave at Perouse, to give him a successor. From the first day they were divided into two equally powerful parties. The one was led by Mathew Rosso des Ursini and Francis Gaëtan; the other by Napoleon des Ursini and the cardinal de Prato. The first sought to place on the pontifical throne an Italian cardinal who was favourable to the friends of Boniface; the others opposed their enemies with a French cardinal, who was favourable to Philip and the Ghibelines. In all their divisions they agreed in one matter, which was, not to choose a virtuous priest. "We do not want another beggar," said they, thus designating the unfortunate Benedict. Both parties having decided to make no concessions, they broke up the conclave, and returned to their palaces to resume their habits of debauchery, with their mistresses and minions, without disturbing themselves about the misfortunes of the church, which remained abandoned to the most deplorable anarchy. At last the cardinal de Prato, who had sold himself to the king of France, undertook to reassemble the conclave, and proclaim a pope

of the party of Philip. To effect this he proposed an accommodation between the two parties, which was to leave to the Guelphs the right of naming three ultramontane candidates, and to the Ghibelines that of choosing which of them they pleased, as the sovereign pontiff. No one saw the snare; the party of the cardinal Mathew consented readily to name the pretenders to the papacy, and nominated three ultramontanes who were the avowed enemies of the king of France.

Among these three candidates, the one most hostile to Philip was Got, archbishop of Bordeaux. He was the one whom the cardinal Prato determined to bring over to his party and make pope. He sent the king a copy of the agreement among the cardinals, informed him of his plan, and advised him to give a secret rendezvous to the ambitious prelate to propose to him the conditions of the compact. Philip wrote to Bertrand de Got, and designated an abbey situated in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely, as a place of interview. The archbishop went to meet him, very curious to know why the prince wished a conference with him. When the king had presented him the letters in which the cardinal de Prato



announced to him that the party of the Ghiblins only awaited his orders to make Got the sovereign pontiff, the latter cast himself at his feet, exclaiming, "Sire, I see now why you wished to render me good for evil, and I submit entirely to you. Command and I am ready to obey. From this moment I forget the past, I renounce my friends, and am ready to sacrifice all my existence for you."

Philip raised him, and having embraced him, said, "Thus, then, it depends on me to make you pope; but I will only do it on the express condition that you reconcile me with the church, that you commune with me and those who have followed my party; that you grant me all the titles of my kingdom for five years, and that you condemn the proceedings and the memory of Boniface; that you entirely reinstate the Colonna in their wealth and dignities; and finally, that you will make cardinals of the ecclesiastics whom I will designate to you. I also reserve an important condition which you must accept without knowing what it is."

The archbishop swore upon the host to comply with all the wishes of the king, and gave him as hostages for the security of his promise, one of his brothers and two of his nephews. A courier was at once sent to the cardinal de Prato, at Perouse, and on the next day, the latter presented himself at the conclave, to proclaim Got sovereign pontiff. The Guelphs immediately thundered forth a *Te Deum*, in celebration of the victory they had gained, believing that they had elevated to the throne of the apostle the most bitter foe of the king of France.

Bertrand de Got was born at Villandran, in the diocese of Bordeaux, of an old family. His father was a knight, and his uncle a bishop of Agen. Destined from his earliest infancy to the church, he had studied the canon law, and acquired a profound knowledge of the texts of the sacred writings. Boniface the Eighth, who preferred knaves and immoral men to virtuous priests, having regarded him as worthy of his protection, he had been elevated first to the see of Cominges, and then to the archbishopric of Bordeaux. As soon as he received the decree of his election to the papacy, he left his diocese, traversed in triumph through the cities of the south of France, and went to Montpellier, to receive the oath of liege homage from James of Arragon, who placed his kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica under the protection of the Holy See. He then went to Lyons to be consecrated, and sent orders to the cardinals to cross the mountains to assist at his coronation. He also wrote to the kings of France and England, and several other princes, inviting their presence to add to the splendour of this imposing ceremonial. Mathew Rosse des Ursini, dean of the sacred college, on receiving the imperious orders of the new pontiff, said to the cardinal de Prato, "Your ruse has delivered us into the hands of a Gascon, and you will be the cause of our abandoning for a long time our magnificent palaces."

In conformity, however, with the instructions of the pope, the cardinals went to Lyons, and proceeded to the consecration; the ceremonies took place in the church of St. Just, on the 14th of November, 1305, in the presence of an immense concourse of bishops, archbishops, kings, princes, and lords. Mathew Rosse then placed the imperial crown on his head, and he took the name of Clement the Fifth.

After mass, he returned to his palace, followed by cardinals, nobles, and monks, and an immense escort of people; the kings of France and Arragon led by the bridle a white horse, on which the pope, clothed in his pontifical ornaments and wearing his tiara, was mounted. The procession having arrived at the foot of the hill on which the church of Saint Just is built, the kings yielded their place, by the side of Clement, to Charles of Valois and Louis d'Evreux, the two brothers of Philip. Scarcely had this change been made, when a horrible crash was heard; an old wall, on which a scaffolding had been erected, fell on the train and drew down in its fall all who were on it. The Count de Valois and the king of France were badly wounded; the pontiff himself was thrown from his horse, and in the tumult a large diamond of considerable value was stolen from his tiara. His brother Gaillard de Got was instantly killed, with the duke of Brittany and a large number of lords and priests.

Several cardinals, already discontented with Clement, took occasion of this accident to proclaim openly their intention of returning to Italy; but the pope promptly informed them, that he knew how to constrain them to obey his will, and to inhabit the city in which he pleased to dwell.

Some days afterwards, Clement celebrated his first pontifical mass, and gave a grand entertainment to all his court. As we might suppose, the most delicious meats and wines of France were lavished at it, so that towards the end of the banquet, their heads being exhilarated, they laid aside reserve. An imprudent word brought on a quarrel between the cardinals and the holy father; from words they came to blows, daggers leaped from their sheaths, and one of the brothers of the pope was slain before his eyes. Clement, who had so unfortunately lost two of his brothers, perceived the necessity of reinforcing his party, and created ten French cardinals. He then took off the bulls lanced by Boniface the Eighth against the Colonna, and restored the cardinalate to James and Peter, with power to reach all the dignities of the church, even that of sovereign pontiff.

During his sojourn at Lyons, the pontiff, though much grieved by the death of his brothers, did not forget the interests of his see. He extorted enormous sums from the bishops and abbots of France who came to his court, and when he perceived that a fear of being mulcted prevented the clergy from visiting him, he determined to make a tour through the dioceses; he passed through a great num-

ber of cities, and every where carried off treasures from the churches and monasteries; it is related that it took five whole days to carry away from the rich abbey of Cluny, the gold and silver that he found in the cellars of the monks. He compelled Giles, the archbishop of Bourges, to pay so large a fine for not having visited him, that the unfortunate prelate was compelled ever after to live on alms. Not content with his own extortions, on his return to Bordeaux, he sent three legates, Gentil de Montésiore, Nicholas de Fréauville, and Thomas de Jorz, to squeeze the lower clergy of the Gallic church. They imposed such onerous contributions on the priests, and exacted the payment so rigorously, that the latter, in their despair, complained to the monarch.

Philip instructed Milon de Noyers, the marshal of France, to complain to the holy father against his extortioners, and to obtain their recall. But this embassy, instead of arresting the evil, increased it. The pope, fearing lest energetic measures would be taken to shackle his financiering expedition, urged the receipt of the money, and ordered his legates to increase their severity and set all ecclesiastic dignities up at auction. He also resolved to use the tribunals of the inquisition, with which Blanche of Castile and St. Louis had endowed France, so as to avail himself of the decrees of the fourth council of the Lateran, which provided that the property of heretics and their accomplices belonged to the Holy See, without the children or relatives of the condemned being able to claim the least part. As Philip alone could offer any serious opposition, he determined to associate him with him in its benefits, and offered to divide with him the immense wealth of the templars and hospitaliers, whom he proposed to attack as heretics.

This infernal project, sprung from the brain of a pope, was worthy of a king. Clement the Fifth and Philip the Fourth soon agreed upon the execution of it. The holy father addressed a letter to the prince on the subject, and gave him a rendezvous at Poitiers, where he remained almost a year, confined to his bed by a grievous malady, produced by his debaucheries with his minions, and the beautiful Countess de Foix, his mistress. This time of inaction was not, however, entirely lost to the pope, for after his interview with the king he was enabled to meditate at his leisure upon the most ready method of exterminating the templars and hospitaliers.

Clement adopted the following ruse:—he first caused a new crusade to be preached in Europe and even in Syria; he then sent the following letter to Palestine, to the grand masters of the templars and hospitaliers:—“We inform you, my brethren, that we have been urgently solicited by the kings of Arragon and Cyprus for aid for the Holy Land. We order you to come to France as secretly as possible, to deliberate with us. You will also be careful to bring with you large sums to equip a numerous army.”

Jaques de Molay, grand master of the

templars, obeyed the injunctions of the holy father; but Foulques de Villaret, the grand master of the hospitaliers, occupied with the siege of Rhodes, could not quit his army, and thus postponed the ruin of his order. The unfortunate Molay sailed for France, and delivered himself up to his enemies. The pope and Philip had agreed that the knights of the temple should be arrested at the same time, in the different Christian kingdoms, and that they should be handed over to the inquisitors as suspected of heresy; that their property should be seized in the name of the church, and that they should be put to death upon the scaffold, after having been put to the torture to make them avow imaginary crimes.

The execution of this frightful plot was not deferred; the pope informed the kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, of his determination to annihilate the templars, and, on the appointed day, they were all arrested and plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition. The iniquity of the judges was such, that they pardoned a murderer named Squin de Florian, who had been confined with a knight, because he deposed that his companion had revealed to him the crimes and impurities which were committed at the reception of templars. Squin de Florian, the robber and assassin, was received at a public audience by the king and pope, laden with presents, and glorified for his religious zeal. After such an encouragement to informers, thousands of them arose on all sides, and the duty of the inquisitors became easier. They were also sufficiently encouraged by Philip and Clement, who presided over an auto de fe. In Italy, Germany, Spain, and especially France, a prodigious number of scaffolds were erected, which consumed the unfortunate victims of the cupidity of a pope and a king.

These bloody executions having terminated, the two execrable tyrants divided between themselves the riches of the templars. Philip kept the land, and Clement took all the ornaments of gold and silver, and the coined money, which enabled him to reward the infamous panders of his nephew and the Countess de Foix.

The king of France, though well satisfied with the holy father, had not forgotten the oath which the cardinal Got had taken to him at St. Jean de Angely, to grant him a decree of infamy against the deceased pope, Boniface the Eighth, and demanded the execution of his promise. This resolution of the prince, which threatened the whole pontifical edifice, filled the court of Avignon with alarm; but the cardinal de Prato, whom we have seen so fertile in expedients, promised the pope, if he would give him a thousand ounces of gold, to free him from his embarrassment; the offer was accepted, and he gave the following counsel. “Write to the king, most holy father, that the majority of the sacred college is opposed to the condemnation of Boniface, and that to obtain it you will be obliged to convene a general council. As the

prince wishes to give great publicity to this act, he will consent, and you shall fix the place of meeting at Vienna in Dauphiny, a neutral country, and one suitable for the prelates of France, Germany, England, Italy, and Languedoc. The king will agree, and you will thus be out of his kingdom, when it will be easy for you to make such a decision, as shall be most favourable to the interests of the Holy See."

Clement followed his advice, and convened a council at Vienna, under pretext of passing the most readily on the demand of Philip. The latter, a dupe of the trick, and believing the pope in his interests, loaded himself with presents, and came in person to visit him at the city of Avignon, his residence, bringing with him his brother, Charles of Valois, the principal lords of his court, and his most skilful counsellors to consult with Clement on the clause, which he had reserved to inform him of at a suitable time; this clause was no other than the elevation of his brother to the throne of Germany, become vacant by the death of Albert the First. The pontiff, surprised at this demand, at once sent a courier with speed to the German electors, to apprise them of the plans of the court of France, urging them to proclaim, immediately, Henry of Luxemburg as emperor of Germany, which was done to the great disappointment of the king. This precipitate election gave Philip some suspicions, but the pope swore on the host that he knew nothing of it until it had happened, and the prince was imposed on by his hypocrisy.

Since the emperors had been constrained to abandon Italy to the Holy See, the provinces of that magnificent country had been plunged into the most frightful disorders; the greater part of the cities, crushed by petty tyrants, were the theatres of bloody divisions, in which the two parties, Guelphs and Ghibelines, disputed by turns for the supreme power; thus, every where were seen the banished and discontented, awaiting the hour of vengeance; a powerful hand was alone capable of affording a remedy for so many evils. This mission should have belonged to the pope, and Clement the Fifth was strong enough, and rich enough, to levy armies and re-establish order in the provinces of Italy; but he preferred to the good of the people the effeminate life which he led among his concubines and minions, in his splendid palace at Avignon. Being thus unwilling to interrupt the course of his festivals and orgies, he contented himself with lancing some powerless bulls against the tyrants and the factions.

Philip, who had not abandoned his plan of reducing beneath his sway the countries beyond the Alps, evinced great irritation with the pontifical court, for the indifference it affected for the fate of Italy, and for the deception put upon him, in regard to the crown of Germany. As he did not, however, suspect the pope of having participated in this last treason, his wrath was turned against those cardinals who had been the intimate friends

of Boniface the Eighth. He sent a formal order to the holy father, to render at once a sentence which should declare Boniface and all his partizans infamous. Clement, urged strongly by the ambassadors of the king, pledged himself to obey, and even commenced the process, by causing to be burned publicly in Avignon the false acts which had been fabricated by some of the friends of the dead pope in his defence. But these preliminaries of condemnation were soon stopped by the cardinals, who introduced soldiers into the city, and threatened Clement to carry him off by force and conduct him to Rome, if he persisted in pursuing the memory of his predecessor. This manifestation of hostility by the clergy, which was a new trick of the holy father's, was represented to the French ambassadors as a very grave event, which might determine the translation of the Holy See to Italy, if the king persisted in his resolution of causing the memory of Boniface to be condemned.

This affair was so skilfully conducted, that Philip desisted from his pursuit, remitting to Clement the charge of finishing the judgment of his predecessor as he found suitable. The holy father then published a bull, in which he revoked the suspensions of the privileges, the censures, excommunications, interdicts, depositions, and, generally, all that had been done, or ordered, by Boniface the Eighth against France, King Philip, the princes, his sons and brothers, against the barons, prelates, and other lords of the kingdom, on account of their denunciations, appeals, demands for a general council, outrages, blasphemies, invasions, robberies, or pillage of the treasures of the church, and, finally, for all that concerned the quarrels of Boniface with the king and his adherents. He abolished all taint of calumny, all note of infamy against the name or reputation of those who had sustained the party of the king in this affair, and he caused the originals of the sentences pronounced by the court of Rome against Philip to be torn from the register of the church and publicly burned.

The bishops, however, were still preparing to come to the general council of Vienna, which the pope feigned to desire most ardently, in order to make some reforms among the clergy, of which the church stood in great need; for bishop William Durandi, in speaking of the court of Avignon, called it the retreat of dragons, the place of resort of satyrs, and the kingdom of demons.

It was soon discovered, that Clement was incapable of forming so good a plan, and that the true and sole end of his holiness in assembling the synod was to extort money from the bishops and other ecclesiastics. When they had assembled, his first employment was to impose an annual rent of a quarter of their revenues; he then proposed to them to examine the conduct of Boniface the Eighth; but when he saw that the fathers of the council, with the exception of the cardinals, were disposed to condemn the memory of that

pope, he immediately suspended their deliberations, and presented a decree which declared Boniface to have been a good Catholic and lawful pastor. This strange decision surprised the prelates; no one, however, dared to express an opinion contrary to that of the pontiff and Benedict Gaëtan. The assassin of the virtuous Celestin came forth victorious from this test, and his memory was glorified by this assembly of cowardly and pusillanimous priests. The decision of the council, though covering the perfidy of Clement, did not, however, entirely assuage him against the wrath of the king of France, and he hastened to send to him four doctors to justify his conduct, and to represent to him that the Roman church could not condemn one of its chiefs without dishonouring itself.

This demonstrated to the prince with so much skill how impolitic it was to force one pope to proclaim the infamy of another, and to publish to the nations, that the priests who governed them were impure, greedy, despotic, and cruel men, who played on the credulity or weakness of the people to live at their expense in luxury, sloth, and debauchery, that Philip suffered himself to be persuaded, and approved of the conduct of the pontiff; he only demanded, that in order to stop the applications of the states-general, some expedient should be hit on, to justify the innocence of Boniface. This was easy: on the next day the holy father sent to the court of the king two Catalan knights, who demanded a combat with any two of the most valiant of the French nobility who declared themselves the enemies of the deceased pope. At this period of barbarity, such a proceeding was sufficient to convince the people of the innocence of the accused; no one appeared to take up the gauntlet of the champions, and the thing was at an end.

Clement was then occupied with the Begards and Beguins, admirers and followers of Pierre Jean de Olive, as well as with the Dulcinists and Fratricelli, who refused to recognise the authority of the Holy See; he confiscated their property to his own profit, and handed over the unfortunate to the terrible justice of the inquisition. Such were the results of the council of Vienna.

The reforms among the clergy which the pope announced he intended to bring about, are contained in this insignificant decree:—"The clergy are prohibited from pursuing the occupations of butchers or tavern keepers; from appearing in public with striped garments or party coloured ones; from wearing short cloaks, and hose, slashed with red or green."

In the final session it was solemnly announced, that Henry the Seventh, the king of the Romans, Philip the Handsome and his oldest son, and also Edward of England, had promised to go to the Holy Land; he consequently asked, and obtained permission from the fathers, to decree a new crusade, "and without loss of time," says Paquier, "pope Clement caused it to be preached in France, by a cardinal, who was profoundly versed in

the art of deceiving men; and under the appearance of charity, knew how to extort their uttermost farthing from the faithful poor.—For a penny, he granted indulgences for a year; for a double or triple sum the indulgences were increased in a like proportion, and those who gave money enough to equip a man at arms, plenary indulgences, and the power of delivering any souls they chose from purgatory!! Other emissaries traversed different kingdoms of Europe, and levied enormous sums upon the people, which were employed in paying for the compliances of the minions and mistresses of the pope."

Shortly after the termination of the council, Henry the Seventh promised the pope to invade Italy, to reduce it beneath the yoke of the Holy See. When his preparations were completed, he renewed on the Bible, and the consecrated host, his oath to defend the Catholic faith, exterminate heretics, and combat for the rights of the Roman church. He confirmed the old privileges and donations which it had received from Constantine, Charlemagne, Henry, Otho, Frederick, and other emperors of Germany. The pope, on his side, promised solemnly to crown him when he should be the master of the holy city.

Although the prince was thus assisted by the protection of the pope, he was none the less compelled to combat the Genoese, Florentines, Milanese, and other people of Italy, and to fight several battles to make a road to Rome. This invasion of the German troops in the name of the holy father, instead of appeasing the troubles, exasperated their minds; and Clement the Fifth fearing the effect of the hatred he had excited, was afraid to enter Italy; he commissioned five cardinals to proceed in his place to the coronation of the emperor, and sent a bull in which all the pontifical audacity was exhibited to the light of day. "Know, prince, he wrote, that Jesus Christ, the King of kings, having given to his church all the kingdoms upon earth; emperors and kings should serve, on their knees, us, who are the representatives and vicars of God!"

Henry the Seventh, master of Rome, had daily engagements with the troops, which Robert, king of Naples had sent to the aid of the city; and notwithstanding his desire to be crowned in the church of St. Peter, he was compelled to abandon the hope of driving the Neapolitans, who had fortified it, out of it.—The consecration took place in St. John's of the Lateran; the cardinals in accordance with their instructions, demanded an oath of obedience and fidelity from the prince, which was refused. Henry then discovering that he, if he wished to strengthen his authority, he must abandon the party of the pope, which was unpopular in Italy, left Rome and went to Tuscany, to fight the Guelphs.

This impudent manifestation was fatal to the emperor. The implacable Clement, disappointed in his hope of reconquering the Peninsula by his aid, resolved to be avenged; and two months afterwards he died at the monastery of Bonconvento, near Florence, poisoned

by a Dominican monk, named Bernard de Moutpucien, one of the familiars of the inquisition, who had mixed poison with the blood of the Lord, when presenting the communion to him. A general cry of indignation arose against the monks of the order of Saint Dominick, and the people every where demanded the expulsion of these hideous bravos of the court of Avignon. The pope, to arrest this explosion of hatred, apologised publicly for the Dominicans, affirmed on the consecrated host that the prince had died a natural death, and handed over to the inquisition the physicians who maintained that they found traces of poison in his bowels. No one dared now to speak, and it was well and duly proved that Henry the Seventh died by the order of God, who punished him for having refused to take an oath of fidelity to the Holy See.

In the beginning of the following year, Clement anathematised the inhabitants of

Modena, Bologna, and Mantua, for having attacked Raymond, marquis of Ancona, and his nephew, and pillaged the treasures of the church, which these two lords were carrying into France. This loss of money annoyed the holy father very much, who, to divert his chagrin, retired to Montil, with the Countess de Foix and all his minions. These passed scenes of debauchery so horribly depraved, that it is impossible to recite them; we will only say, that Clement, already old and worn out, was attacked by a singular malady, which his physicians declared it would be impossible to cure, unless he breathed his native air.—But God had at last marked the term of his criminal existence. Whilst the pontiff was being transported to Bordeaux, the malady increased; they were obliged to stop his litter at Roquemare, on the Rhone, in the diocese of Nismes, where Clement died on the 20th of April, 1314.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1314.]

*Division of the treasures of the church between the mistresses and minions of Clement the Fifth—The cardinals assemble in conclave—The city of Carpentras pillaged and burned by the priests of the court of Clement—The cardinals separate without naming a pope—Interregnum of two years—Origin of the sect of the Lollards—Singular expedient employed by Philip, count of Poitiers, to oblige the cardinals to form a new conclave—After a forced abstinence of forty days they proclaim the bishop of Porto sovereign pontiff.*

As soon as Clement the Fifth had closed his eyes, his treasures were pillaged. The cardinals seized on enormous sums of coined money. Bernard, count de Lomagne, nephew and minion of the dead pope, carried off chalices and ornaments worth more than a hundred thousand florins. The Countess de Foix stole, as her share, all the jewels of the holy father. And there were no minions nor mistresses of the cardinals who were not enriched by the spoils of the sovereign pontiff. Jean Villani says, that in the midst of this disorder, in which every one was so desirous of pillage, they only left an old travelling mantle to cover the dead body of Clement, and that was in part consumed by a candle falling on the bed where it lay.

When there was nothing more left in the treasury of the church, the cardinals, twenty-three in number, went to Carpentras, and shut themselves up in the episcopal palace, to proceed to the election of a new pope. Scarcely had they done so, when a dreadful tumult broke out in the city; the priests of the court of Clement, and the domestics of the cardinals who had not formed a part of the cortège of the pope, and who consequently had not had part of the plunder, arrived at Carpentras, furious at having been deprived of such rich booty. As they knew the impossibility of their masters opposing their designs, they traversed the streets with lighted

torches, and set fire to the houses that they might more easily rob the inhabitants in the general alarm. Fortunately, these soon gained the ascendancy, and laid strong hands on the stranger priests. In consequence of this outbreak, a panic seized the cardinals; they left Carpentras furtively, to escape the popular vengeance, and retired to their magnificent palaces at Avignon, or to their country houses, without caring otherwise for Christianity than to spend with their mistresses the money which the faithful had given to Clement the Fifth, and which they had divided among themselves.

Two whole years passed in this way, and the Christian world was surrendered to the most deplorable anarchy. The priests robbed the people with impunity, and the inquisitors decimated the population or embittered themselves against the poor heretics, called Lollards, whose principal seat was the small city of Crems in Bohemia. The Lollards chiefly professed the opinions of the Fratricelli; they maintained that Lucifer and the rebellious angels had been driven from heaven because they had demanded liberty and equality in the celestial kingdom, but that the time would come in which the archangel Saint Michael and his cohort, who had combatted against them, in support of tyranny, would be eternally condemned, as well as those men who imitated their cowardice in obeying kings.

They turned the ceremonies of the church into derision. If baptism is a sacrament, said they, every time one bathes he receives a new baptism, and the bathers are transformed into priests. The ordination of ecclesiastics appeared to them to be useless, the dedication of temples ridiculous, and the blessing of cemeteries a sacrilegious mummery. Finally, from paradox to paradox, they came to the conclusion that the consecrated host was a morsel of dry bread, and the sacrifice of the mass a divine farce. They, further, observed neither fasting nor abstinence; ate of the same food on holy Thursday as on other days, and laboured on Easter day. At this time, all these great crimes would scarcely draw a slight punishment on the seminarist who was guilty of them; but they excited in the highest degree the holy wrath of the inquisitors of that period, and more than eight thousand of these unfortunates were pitilessly tortured and burned in the name of a God of mercy.

Whilst the scaffolds were consuming these unfortunate victims of the avarice or fanaticism of the priests, the sacred college still remained divided. Philip the Handsome, as well as his son, Louis the Headstrong, had died during the vacancy of the Holy See; this last king had, however, instructed his brother

Philip to reassemble the conclave, and put an end to the interregnum. For this purpose, that prince went to the city of Lyons, from whence he wrote to the cardinals to come to him secretly, promising the tiara to each of them. On the appointed day they all arrived, mysteriously, in the city, and went to the monastery of Preaching Brothers, where Philip was. As soon as they appeared at the convent, they were arrested and confined in a large hall. Philip then informed them that he should keep them prisoners until they had named a pontiff, declaring that he would execute the constitution of Gregory with the greatest vigour. The cardinals submitted courageously to the frugal diet of bread and water, hoping that the death of the king would effect a favourable change in their position; Philip being obliged to go to Paris as curator of the queen, who was then enceinte. But they were deceived in their hopes; as the severity towards them was increased, by diminishing daily their rations of bread and water. At last, after a forced fast of forty days, they determined to commission the cardinal, James d'Ossa, to choose the worthiest among them as sovereign pontiff. The proud prelate placed the tiara on his own head and proclaimed himself pope, by the name of John the Twenty-second.

## JOHN THE TWENTY-SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1316.]

*Singular history of James d'Ossa, the son of a hosier of Cahors—His different offices before reaching the pontificate—Bad faith of the holy father—His entrée into Avignon—He begs money from the Christian princes—His persecutions against those monks who refuse to divide the spoils of the people with him—His disputes with the Fratricelli—Affairs of Germany—The holy father persecutes the learned, and hands them over to the tribunals of the inquisition—Wars in Italy; the Guelphs and Ghibelines—New persecution against the Fratricelli—Louis, of Bavaria, lances an edict against the pope—Divisions at Rome—The citizens summon the holy father to leave Avignon and return to Italy—Louis, of Bavaria, causes the pope to be excommunicated by an assemblage of bishops—John fulminates a bull of anathema against the emperor—Efforts of the Guelphs on Rome—They are driven from the holy city—Louis of Bavaria enters Rome—He accuses the pope, and declares him dispossessed of the pontifical crown.*

JAMES of Ossa was seventy years old when he mounted the Holy See, or rather when he soiled the chair of St. Peter. His father, who is said to have been a poor travelling hosier of Cahors, had disembarassed himself of him, by placing him as a scullion in the household of the metropolitan of Arles, the chancellor of Charles the Lame, king of Naples and count of Provence. His sallies of wit advanced the little James from the kitchen to the anti-chamber, and the archbishop having had the curiosity one day to interrogate him, was astonished at the intelligence of his young valet, and determined to give him skilful masters, under whom he made rapid progress in all the

sciences, and especially in the canon law. His protector made him take orders at the close of his studies, and obtained for him the bishopric of Frejus. After the death of the archbishop of Arles, King Robert conferred on him the appointment of chancellor, and admitted him to his counsels. James discharged his functions about the prince with propriety, who, in return for his zeal, caused him to be elevated to the cardinalate by Clement the Fifth.

His character changed at once on his reaching the pontificate, as if contact with the tiara was enough to transform a holy cardinal into a tiger with a human face. He became prouder, more deceitful, and greedier than his

predecessors; he was not content with the ordinary revenues of the church, and with the enormous sums the inquisitors paid him as his share of the confiscations, but he increased them by speculating in human corruption, and publicly sold absolution for parricide, murder, robbery, incest, adultery, sodomy, and bestiality; he himself reduced to writing this tax of the apostolic chancery, that Pactolus which flowed over all the vices of humanity—changed into livres tournois or handsome golden pen-nies—and which rolled into the pontifical treasury, the true ocean in which the wealth of nations was engulfed. It was he also who first added a third crown to the tiara, as a symbol of the triple power of the popes over heaven, earth, and hell, and which they have made the emblem of their pride, their avarice, and their lubricity.

As soon as the nomination of John the Twenty-second was known at the court of France, the regent sent several lords to him to request him to defer the ceremony of his consecration until his arrival; but the pope, impatient of exercising the sovereign authority, refused to yield to this desire, and was crowned at Lyons on the 21st of September, 1316, without waiting until the sacred college had promulgated the decree of his election. In order to accelerate the preparations for his enthronement, he had even promised the cardinal Napoleon des Ursini to establish the residence of the pontifical court at Rome, and had sworn, upon the sacred host, to mount neither horse nor mule until he had fulfilled his promise.

As the holy father had no intention of leaving France, and particularly Avignon, that city of pleasure in which the popes proudly exhibited the splendours of their sovereign court, and as he was unwilling to break openly the oath which he had taken with so much solemnity, he made the journey from Lyons to Avignon, on a boat covered with magnificent tapestry, and on disembarking used an ass, on which to make his entrance into the palace of the pontiffs. It is true he had not perjured himself, since he had mounted neither horse nor mule, but the subterfuge was not approved of by all the cardinals and the Italians; and among others, Napoleon des Ursini immediately left the pontifical court, and refused to commune with the holy father. John revenged himself for their contempt, by making a promotion of eight French cardinals, and by creating new bishoprics, of which not one was given to ultramontane prelates. The full complement of his court being thus made out, he was engaged in devising the means of maintaining its pomp, and he wrote to the sovereigns of Europe, claiming from them Peter's pence. His first letters were humble and submissive; they produced little effect; he wrote others proud and menacing, which caused the wealth of the people to flow into his coffers.

Whilst John was thus occupied in repairing the losses which the Holy See had sustained by the pillage of the treasures of Clement the

Fifth, the queen of France gave birth to a son, who was called John, and who died eight days after his birth. Was a child ever an obstacle to the ambition of a regent? His death, which happened so fortunately for the uncle of the young king, placed the crown on the head of Philip, count of Poitiers.

The new sovereign having neglected to send presents to the court of Avignon, the pope wrote to him to ask for them; he addressed, at the same time, other reproaches on different matters to him. "We are informed, prince," he said, "that during divine service, you entertain yourself with the lords around you, and that you frequently discourse on affairs of state or pleasures, which divert the attention of the faithful, who ought to listen to the prayers which the priests address to God for your safety and that of your people; we hope that you will correct this impious habit. You should avoid impassioned and rude gestures, which render your long person so ungraceful, and renounce wearing the royal mantle of your ancestors, which is much too short for you. We desire you also to put an end to divers abuses which are practised in your capital, for instance, of cutting the beard and hair on Sunday—a capital sin which the church prohibits, and for which we give absolution only on the payment of a large fine. We also prohibit your university of Paris from occupying itself with philosophical questions, and especially must it avoid dissertations on the errors of the monk Roger Bacon, of Albert the Great, of Raymond Lulle, and of all the alchemists or physicians. We are unwilling, also, that they should discuss the doctrines of John Scot, of Dante Alighieri, of Arnold of Villeneuve, and other teachers who have endeavoured to destroy the sacred edifice of the Roman theocracy."

John was then employed in confiscating, under pretext of heresies, the wealth of citizens, and even of monasteries or prelates, whose riches excited his avidity; unfortunately, these lucrative operations were interrupted by a schism which broke out among the Minor Brothers. One party had taken the denomination of Spiritual, and had chosen a superior for themselves; the other called themselves brothers of Common Observance, and obeyed Michael de Cesene, the seventeenth general of the order. The latter informed the pontiff of the conduct of the Spiritual, and besought him to admonish them to return to their obedience. John, who understood well that it was important for the Holy See to maintain unity among these monks, from which the inquisitors were recruited, ordered the Spirituals to return under the authority of their superiors, and on their refusal to do so, he caused them to be arrested and sent to the scaffold as heretics.

He pursued, with an equal fury, the sect of the Fratricellists, or Poor Brothers, who had spread themselves through Italy, Sicily, Provence, Narbonne, Toulouse, and several other provinces. These monks wore a particular dress, held conventicles, chose themselves as

ministers or custodians, built temples, founded communities, and begged, along with the Minor and Preaching Brothers, but without jaying, like these last, rents to the Holy See. They had thus amassed great wealth, which destroyed them. The greedy pontiff, coveting their wealth, lanced a bull of anathema against them. In vain did the Franciscans protest their orthodoxy, and offer to prove that they followed the rule of Saint Francis, in accordance with a charter granted them by Pope Celestin, who freed them from all obedience towards the general of the provincials of that order. All their protests were useless; the holy father even went further, and under the pretext that Boniface the Eighth had annulled the acts of Celestin the Fifth, he condemned the Fratricellists as heretics, confiscated their property, and handed their persons over to the inquisitors.

Public clamour, however, was raised at this new crime, and the pope was openly accused of sacrificing to his detestable avarice those unfortunate men, who refused to despoil themselves of their wealth for him. John, to justify his criminal conduct, joined calumny to cruelty. He published a new bull against the Fratricellists, accusing them of teaching that there were in the church two parties, the one carnal, plunged in luxury, and soiled with every crime, over which the pope and his prelates presided; the other chaste, frugal, charitable, to which belonged true Christians, the enemies of the Holy See. "Thus," added the pontiff, "is it not just that these abominable sectarians, who combat the holiness of our power, should be surrendered to the tribunals of the inquisition to be burned alive without pity?"

Ever since the assassination of the emperor Henry the Seventh, Germany and Italy continued to be the theatre of frightful disorders. Two competitors, Louis of Bavaria and his cousin Frederick of Austria, disputed the throne of Germany, and inundated the provinces with the blood of the people, who were senseless enough to sustain the quarrels of kings. After two years of cruel wars and terrible battles, Louis took his competitor prisoner, and compelled him to renounce all pretensions to the imperial crown, as the price of his liberty. In the midst of these divisions, the pope, faithful to the crooked policy of the Holy See, had been unwilling to declare for either of the two rivals, in order to profit by their discords, to re-establish his authority in Italy. But when Louis of Bavaria, by his victory, had put an end to the bloody strife which was desolating this unfortunate country, John, forced to abandon his sacrilegious hopes, lanced a bull of excommunication against the prince, set aside the officers and vicars whom he had appointed, declared the throne vacant, and adjudged to himself the government of the empire.

In order to show that he had a right to dispose of the imperial crown, he gave the post of vicar of the kingdom to king Robert, and cited the two competitors, Louis of Bavaria,

and the duke of Austria, to appear before him. He then looked around for a candidate who would agree to give him a suitable price for the crown. Louis did not remain inactive; He put into play with the electors, all the resources of policy to induce them to ratify his usurpation. His commissioners traversed Italy, and strengthened his party by detaching the most important cities from the cause of the pope. To counterbalance the success of his enemy, John attempted to render him odious, by accusing him of having attempted his life, and he was careful to render this calumnious imputation public, by addressing a bull to the bishop of Frejus, whom he commissioned to hunt out this pretended attempt.

The following is this singular piece:—"We have been informed, my lord bishop," wrote the holy father, "that Jean Damant, a physician, Jean de Limoges, Jacques, surnamed the Brabancin, and some others, apply themselves with condemnable perseverance to magical arts; that they frequently make use of mirrors made under certain constellations and enchanted figures; that they place themselves in cabalistic circles, and force the spirit, of darkness to appear in their presence; that they can put men to death by the violence of their enchantments; that they confine demons in long-necked glass bottles, and torment them with fire, to cause them to reveal the past, the present, and the future; that they affirm that, by mere words, they can abridge or prolong the duration of existence; and, finally, that they have conspired against us at the instigation of Louis of Bavaria, to wrest from us our tiara and our life, by all sorts of conjurations and mal-practices. We consequently order you to proceed against them as you would do in a case of heresy, that is, to hand them over to the inquisitors, that the violence of torture may draw from them an avowal of their crime."

It is thus that priests and kings have always acted; they call the discoveries of the learned, whether in physics, chemistry, or astronomy, infernal inventions, and burn for heretics those who would enlighten the people and bring them out of the shades of superstition; they still denominate as discoveries, subvertive of all social order, the political theories of the philosophers of our own times, and plunge reformers into dungeons to stifle the seeds of the liberty and emancipation of the people.

Whilst John the Twenty-second was burning, indiscriminately, monks, heretics, and alchemists, for the greater glory of God, he was pursuing with anathemas, princes and lords who refused to do homage to him for their states or their domains. Mathew de Visconti, who had already been censured, was placed beneath the ban of the empire, excommunicated, declared an obstinate heretic, and as such pointed out to the inquisitors to be tortured by the cord, water, and fire. But these anathemas, though still dreaded by the faithful, produced no effect on enlightened minds, so much had their abuse discredited them; thus the holy father, who well knew



their want of power and ridiculous character, added a clause, that the possessions of the Visconti should be given to the princes who should conquer them, hoping thereby to excite the cupidity of Henry, the brother of the archduke of Austria.

Mathew Visconti, who was a skilful politician, immediately sent an embassy to the archduke to represent to him, that by oppressing the Ghibelines, the avowed partizans of the emperors, he was acting against his own interests, and preparing a triumph for Louis of Bavaria; the justice of these representations struck the archduke, who prevented his brother from taking the part of the pope.

John, foiled in his hope of finding an avenger, tried his last resource, and preached a crusade against his enemies. Bands of adventurers organised at his call, to whom he gave, as pay, indulgences and the power to commit rape, pillage, and murders, on their route. These wretches having united with the troops of Robert, king of Naples, an ambitious and fanatical prince, marched against the Ghibelines, and gained at first some advantages over them. Mathew then took his revenge, repulsed the army of the church from his domains, and forced them to raise the siege of Milan.

Furious at this new check, the pontiff wrote to the ecclesiastics of Italy and Germany, to the governors of the cities, to the communes as well as the inhabitants of the provinces, that, in his capacity of protector of the empire, he ordered them to pursue Louis of Bavaria to extremities, under penalty of excommunication, interdict, and confiscation: threatening, in case of refusal, to hand them over as heretics to the tribunal of the inquisition. He, moreover, cited the emperor a second time to Avignon to be judged by the sacred conclave. Louis paid no attention to the citation: and on the appointed day no one appeared in his name; the pope then lanced a terrible sentence against him, and threatened a second time to hand him over to the inquisitors, which produced no result.

John suspended for a moment his pursuit of the prince, and appeared to avenge himself on the Fratricellists for the insults offered him by his powerful enemies. He renewed his persecutions of these unfortunates, with more bitterness than before. Not only did he denounce them as disturbers of the public peace, but he had even the impudence to call them infamous liars for affirming that Jesus Christ and the apostles had not possessed great temporal wealth. Michael de Cesene, the general of the Minor Brothers, and William Occam, a celebrated English monk, were so scandalised by this proposition, that they at once replied by an energetic protest, calling the words of the holy father impious and false, and tendering him to the tribunals of the inquisition, to be burned alive as a heretic. John, enraged at the boldness of the monks, ordered their bishops to arrest them; but he encountered a formidable opposition, precisely where he had expected to find pas-

sive obedience; the prelates refused to act as instruments of the hatred of the pontiff. Still further, the doctors Marfilus of Padua, and John of Ghent, of the sect of the Fratricellists, the most reputable opponents of the papacy, went to the emperor, and thus addressed him:—

“Prince, for very many years the throne of the church has been occupied by wretches, who arrogate to themselves, in the name of Christ, the right of committing every crime with impunity, of despoiling kings and people of their wealth, and of putting to death its dreadful tortures those bold men who reject their audacious pretensions to infallibility. We come to you, prince, in the name of our brethren, to entreat you to employ all your efforts to destroy this horrible theocratic despotism, and to overthrow from the pontifical chair this disgrace to humanity. Recall to your recollection that the priests are the most contemptible of men, and that the pope is the most infamous, the most abominable of priests. No longer suffer these thieves, these sodomites, these assassins, to enchain the nations and devour the substance of the laborious people in sloth and debauchery. Act, prince, that we may see the termination of this scandal.”

Louis listened favourably to the two doctors, and entrusted them to draw up the virulent manifestos which he lanced against John. In one of these writings the holy father was accused of a great number of crimes, and particularly of that of heresy. As it was very difficult for him to disprove the imputations of avarice and simony, he endeavoured, at least, to prove his orthodoxy, not being willing to imitate in this the conduct of Boniface the Eighth, who openly gloried in being an atheist. From propositions which he put forth on certain points of the controversy, we must conclude that the pontiff was in formal opposition to the deceased Nicholas the Third, who was thus ranged among heretics. This circumstance, however, is not extraordinary; for it is an admitted principle in the church, that popes have full authority to abolish the decrees of their predecessors, to condemn their memories, and even to inflict punishments on their dead bodies, the privilege of infallibility being only for life.

Marfilus of Padua then composed his celebrated treatise known by the title of the Defender of the Peace; and John of Ghent published an equally remarkable work upon the ecclesiastical power. John the Twenty-second dared not to hand over these two works to the tribunals of the inquisition, but contented himself with condemning the five following propositions: “Jesus paid tribute to the emperor, because temporal goods belong to Cæsar.—Christ, when dying, left no visible chief to govern his followers; and the language which is attributed to him, ‘Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church,’ is but a sacerdotal trick; for it is proved that St. Peter, during his life, had less authority than St. Paul, and several other disciples of Jesus; thus he could not have been the vicar

of Christ.—The popes having been created by princes, the latter have the right to appoint, depose and punish them.—All priests have equal authority, and equal jurisdiction.—Ministers of religion, even when assembled in council, cannot inflict any punishment on their colleagues. . . .” Thus the pontiff pursued with his anathemas the doctors of Germany, who sought to overthrow his rule, and at the same time he laboured to excite revolts against the authority of the emperor.

His star was already paling; at Rome Sciarra Colonna had driven away the aristocracy, and established a council of fifty citizens, who governed the city. In order, however, to maintain his new constitution, since he could not yet rely on the aid of the priests, he sent ambassadors to Avignon, to beseech the pope to return to Rome with his court, as the decretals and canons ordered him; informing him, if he persisted in prolonging his sojourn in France, that the citizens would be compelled to choose another pope to govern the church. Before such an overture, which was nothing less than an order from Sciarra Colonna, the pope dissembled his anger. He replied, that he had the greatest desire to go to Italy, but that he could not undertake the journey at once, the roads not being safe; but that he would start as soon as Rome should be freed from the Ghibelines; and that, in the meantime, he appointed king Robert senator, and James Sabelli and Stephen Colonna consuls. He also gave to the deputies a proclamation, addressed to the citizens exhorting them to live in peace, and to assemble their forces to attack the heretic Louis of Bavaria.

This reply was far from satisfying the Romans, who desired the return of the pope less for his own account than for the profit they derived from the residence of the sovereign court, which spread among them the gold wrested from other people. They then addressed the emperor, and besought him to choose Rome as his capital, vaunting the position of that city, from whence he could, they said, pacify the peninsula and put an end to the troubles excited by the clergy. They were supported in their request by the Ghibelines of Tuscany and Lombardy; these measures determined Louis to make a journey to Rome, not to instal himself there, but to be consecrated, and make another pope to replace the unworthy John the Twenty-second.

He first went to Trent, where he assembled the principal chiefs of the Ghibelines, to confer with them on the steps to be taken for the pacification of Italy; he then convened the prelates, doctors, and nobles of his party in an assembly: in their presence he declared the pope attainted, and convicted of heresy on sixteen articles, and caused him to be excommunicated. Immediately after the termination of this diet, he passed the mountains and went to Milan, where he received the iron crown from the hands of the bishop of Arezzo. His interference, however, instead of appeasing the troubles, appeared to aug-

ment them, from the effervescence which the two parties manifested. Both Guelphs and Ghibelines claimed the sovereignty of the cities, and maintained their pretensions by arms. The Romans also, who only desired to have their city declared the capital of the empire, seeing themselves deceived in their hope, gradually detached themselves from the cause of Louis, and sent secretly a new embassy to the pope, to beseech him to come among them. John promised the deputies to yield to their wishes; and, to gain time, lanced a new bull of excommunication and deposition against the emperor; he sent at the same time, by them, to the cardinal John des Ursini, his legate in Tuscany, instructions to go with them to render himself absolute master of the holy city; he also enjoined on him the sentence of anathema, interdict, and deposition against Louis of Bavaria, and to excite the ultramontane lords against that prince, whilst he himself would influence the German electors to choose another king.

John des Ursini obeyed, punctually, the orders of the holy father; he published the censures against the emperor, and presented himself before Rome with the prince of Morea, the brother of Robert of Naples, and a troop of Calabrian bandits, who entered the Leonine city by night and seized on the quarter and church of St. Peter. The legate had already taken possession of it, in the name of the pope, when the Ghibelines arrived; they attacked the church with vigour, and, after a combat of three hours, drove away John des Ursini and the prince of Morea in disgrace. Tranquillity being restored, Louis of Bavaria entered Rome, and was received with great testimonials of joy, by a large majority of the citizens. As the Guelphs had abandoned the city, from fear of becoming the victims of the popular fury, the prince found no opposition, and was crowned in the church of St. Peter, by James Albertino, the nephew of the Cardinal de Prato. After the ceremony he caused three edicts to be read from the pulpit of the church, by which he pledged himself to support the Catholic faith, honour the clergy, and protect the widow and orphan. On the very day on which the emperor made so solemn a declaration of his peaceful intentions, the pope lanced a terrible bull against him, calling the people to arms, and promising plenary indulgences to all who should take the cross against the heretic, Louis of Bavaria.

The prince, at last, determined to punish the audacity of this implacable old man. He convened a grand assembly of the clergy, nobility, and people in the public square of the church of St. Peter; and, on the appointed day, an Augustine monk, named Nicholas, having mounted a platform, addressed the bystanders, exclaiming three times: “who among you wishes to defend the priest Jacques de Cahors, who calls himself John the Twenty-second?” No reply being made, he displayed a long roll, which contained a list of the crimes charged against the pontiff, and which terminated thus: “Being unable longer to

suffer the rule of this priest of Cahors, who has proclaimed himself sovereign pontiff, supreme chief of kings and emperors, spiritual and temporal ruler of the world, we accuse him of having destroyed thousands of innocent persons to seize their spoils, and of having made a tariff, to insure impunity to all kinds of crime and debauchery. Finally, for the causes set forth in our present declaration, we order his goods to be seized, and his person delivered up to our officers, and we prohibit all Christians from communing with him, under penalty of being deprived of the fiefs which they hold of the empire."

None of the partizans of the pope dared to undertake his defence; but on the next day, a young noble, James Colonna, came to the place Saint Marcel, and, in the presence of some curious persons, made a protest in favour of John, and affixed it to the door of the

church. But this bravado produced no result when he saw the number of the people increase, he leaped on his horse, and prudently fled to his father at Palestrina. James was recompensed for it, however, by the pontiff, who gave him a bishopric, though he had not attained the age to receive ecclesiastical honours.

Louis of Bavaria then published a law, providing, "that the pope should make Rome his place of residence, and should not remove from it, without being authorised to do so by the people and clergy; that even in his absence, the court and consistory should continue to sit in the holy city, and that in case the pontiff transgressed these rules, he should be deprived of the sovereign dignity, and be regarded as dead." After this, they proceeded to the election of a pope, to replace John the Twenty-second.

## NICHOLAS THE FIFTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1328.]

*Conspiracy against the emperor—John the Twenty-second is condemned to death—Election of Peter de Corbière—His history before his pontificate—John essays to render him ridiculous, by urging a woman, from whom he had been separated for forty years, to claim her rights as his lawful wife—The two popes excommunicate each other—The party of John rises again in Italy—The general of the Minor Brothers declares for the emperor—Singular agreement between the two popes—Abdication of Peter de Corbière.*

WHILST Louis of Bavaria was proceeding to the deposition of John, the latter was pursuing his negotiations with the princes of Germany, to induce them to choose a new emperor, and even organised a conspiracy in Italy to assassinate Louis. These efforts having been discovered, Louis made a decree, which condemned the pontiff to death, and ordered the Romans to assemble at once in the square of St. Peter to proceed to the election of another chief of the church. Louis, clad in his imperial ornaments, and placed under a dais, presided over the assembly, having by his side the venerable Peter Rainallucci, of the order of the Minor Brothers. James Albertini, bishop of Venice, having three times demanded from the people if they would accept brother Peter as pope, and unanimous acclamations having replied to his appeal, he read the decree which conferred the papacy on this venerable monk. Louis of Bavaria then gave him the name of Nicholas the Fifth, and himself clothed him with the cape, gave him the pastoral ring, and seated him on his right hand. The new pope then distributed largesses among the crowd and gave them his blessing.

According to Ciaconius, Peter Rainallucci was born at Corbière, and belonged to the illustrious family of the Colonna. Wading speaks with admiration of the severity of his morals, the charms of his eloquence, and the purity of his evangelical soul. He had been married in his youth to a woman, whose irregularities

were such that he had been obliged to have his marriage annulled by an ecclesiastical sentence. He had then entered the order of Minor Brothers, where, as Maimbourg says, "he lived in great reputation for holiness, by the beautiful examples which he gave of all monastic virtues."

John the Twenty-second, furious at having so redoubtable a competitor as this holy man, endeavoured to disconcert him by exciting a ridiculous process against him. At his instigation, the old wife of Peter, who was still living, presented herself before the bishop of Rieti, to claim her rights as his lawful spouse. This prelate, who was one of the partizans of John, and who had received a large sum to play this farce, declared that the marriage had not been lawfully dissolved, and ordered the new pope to take back his wife.

As soon as the sentence was rendered, the pope of Avignon addressed a copy of it to all the princes of Christendom, representing his competitor as a debauched, avaricious, and proud monk. These different imputations were so many calumnies; for the venerable Nicholas had really accepted the papacy, only to re-establish the morality and humility of evangelical times in the church. A partizan of the doctrine of the general of his order, he maintained that Jesus possessed nothing of his own, and that priests, after the example of their divine master, should live on alms.

These beautiful sentiments were not, how-

ever, agreeable to a corrupt clergy; thus, from the very commencement of his reign, the virtuous Nicholas, discovering the impossibility of carrying out his doctrines of reform, wished to abandon that chair, dishonoured by so many abominable pontiffs; but overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, he consented to keep the tiara until peace was re-established; and at the urgency of the prince, who showed him the necessity of forming a court at Rome to cause himself to be loved by the priests, he consented to appoint cardinals, and permitted them to have horses, hunting dogs, domestics clothed in brilliant liveries, and gentlemen and pages in their service.

Louis of Bavaria had at first furnished money from his own purse, for all the expenses of the apostolic court. When these resources were exhausted, the cardinals forced the venerable pontiff to sell the benefices, privileges, and ecclesiastical dignities. Every vacant bishopric was set up at auction at Rome, as it was at Avignon, and adjudged to two competitors, who then combated for the possession of it. The two pontifical courts issued bulls of anathema, and pursued to extremity the partizans of each, according to the chances of war. Thus, whilst John the Twenty-second was torturing two monks, guilty of having pronounced the name of Nicholas in their prayers, the prefect of Rome was burning a Tuscan and a Lombard for maintaining that John was the only lawful pope.

In the midst of these scenes of violence, the venerable Peter de Corbiere could only mourn over the misfortunes of the church, and beseech the emperor to free him from the burthen which bore him down. He at last played his part of pope so badly, that his coffers were entirely emptied; and as the prince could no longer supply the exactions of the cardinals, they began to detach themselves from his cause. The agents of the pope of Avignon profited by this disposition of men's minds, to scatter gold about abundantly, and to subsidise the discontented. Bands of armed men soon traversed the environs of Rome, and entered the city, uttering menaces of death against the anti-pope and the emperor. Louis and Nicholas, alarmed at this state of things, prudently left their palaces. But on their departure from Rome they were pursued by a multitude of fanatics exclaiming, "Death to the heretics and the excommunicated! Long life to the sovereign pontiff, John the Twenty-second!"

That same night the cardinals opened the gates of the city to the bands of the cardinal legate, John des Ursini, who entered it amidst the acclamations of the clergy. They burned the next day, on the public place, the decrees of Louis of Bavaria, and of Nicholas the Fifth; they then proceeded to the massacre of the Ghibelins, and disinterred the bodies of Germans, who were dragged through the streets. John wrote from Avignon, approving of all that had been done, and returned solemn thanks to God for having answered his prayers by exterminating his enemies.

The joy of his triumph was, however, soon troubled by a check given him by Michael de Cesene, general of the Minor Brothers, who had been cited before the sacred college, to justify his opinions on the poverty of Jesus Christ—opinions for which several of the brethren of his order had already been delivered up to the inquisitors, and burned alive. The courageous Michael, unalarmed by the fear of punishment, presented himself before the pope, and defended his cause with that noble boldness which carries conviction with it. He retorted victoriously on the diffuse dissertations of the holy father—even convicted him of heresy—showed conclusively that Jesus Christ, having never possessed any thing of his own, prelates should have, neither lands nor domains, nor wealth—and finished his harangue by declaring that he appealed from all the decrees, and all the decisions of John, to a general council, which alone had the right to judge the members of the clergy canonically.

The old audacity of John was roused by so energetic an opposition; but not daring to rid himself of his adversary openly, he prohibited him from leaving Avignon before the decision of the sacred college was given; and he wrote at once to the general chapter at Bologna, to depose Michael de Cesene from the generalship. He was again foiled; the Minor Brothers confirmed their chief in his functions, and declared themselves out of the jurisdiction of an heretical pope. The reply of the monks threw the pope into a frightful fit of anger. He blasphemed the name of God, hurled imprecations on his enemies, and ordered his familiars to assassinate Michael de Cesene. The latter was fortunately warned in time; he escaped from Avignon, and reached the city of Pisa, where he found the anti-pope and the emperor. The holy father, unable to avenge himself by murder, anathematized Michael—declared him a heretic, and ordered the Preaching Brothers to attack the Minor Brothers.

John was so perfectly obeyed, and the quarrels between these two orders became so violent, that all Europe was occupied with their disputes. The Minor Brothers maintained that Christ had glorified poverty, since he had died upon the cross in utter nudity; and that his head, instead of being crowned with a diadem, was crowned with thorns. They proved that, during his sojourn on earth, he had lived on alms, without possessing a stone on which to lay his head. The Preaching Brothers, or rather the pope, affirmed, on the other hand, that Jesus had died on the cross, wearing a magnificent vesture of purple; that he had a crown of gold, glittering with carbuncles and brilliants; and that rich sandals were attached to his feet. They even distributed images through the cities, in which Jesus was represented as crucified in a purple robe, ornamented with rich embroidery in gold.

The holy father at last dared to publish, in the name of his penitentiary, Alvarus Pelagus, a treatise, in which he thus set forth his

pretensions: "As Jesus Christ is recognised as the Pontiff, King and Lord of the universe, so his vicar upon earth can have no equal; and since the whole world belongs to God, it should equally appertain to the pope. Emperors, kings, and princes cannot then be recognised as lawful, unless they have received their states as fiefs from the chief of the church, who possesses this immense power, not by the right of the sword, but by divine right; for Jesus gave to St. Peter the keys, not the key of the kingdom of heaven only, that is one for spiritual and another for temporal things. The faithful should only obey God and the pope, and when kings refuse obedience to the Holy See they place themselves without the bosom of the church; they condemn themselves with their own mouths as heretics, and should consequently be handed over to the inquisitors, to be burned for the edification of the faithful."

At the very time that the holy father was spreading abroad these alarming theories, the venerable Nicholas the Fifth was carrying into execution his plan of abdication, which he had formed long since; and he wrote to John the Twenty-second, "I heard brought against you and your court accusations of heresy, exactions, simony, debaucheries, and murders, which rendered you, in my eyes, the most execrable of pontiffs; I then thought it my duty not to refuse the tiara, in order to deliver the church from a pope who was drawing the faithful into the abyss. I have since learned, from my own experience, how difficult it is to live a holy life in the chair of the apostle, and I avow that no one is more worthy of the papacy than yourself. I thus

renounce this dignity, and I will abdicate solemnly in your presence, in such place as you shall please to designate." Notwithstanding this complete denial of the good old man, his partizans exacted from the pontiff that he should preserve his life in safety with a pension sufficient for his wants. John promised all that was asked of him, swore on the host to execute his engagements faithfully, and even sent a letter of congratulation beseeching him to come and receive the recompense of his humility.

Peter de Corbière embarked at Pisa in a Provençal galley belonging to the holy father; but scarcely was he in the power of the agents of the pontiff than he was submitted to the most unworthy treatment; he was compelled to confess in public imaginary crimes, for the purpose of degrading him in the eyes of fanatics. He was then constrained to enter Avignon in a secular dress, and a few days afterwards was mounted on a scaffold to make his abjuration; the pope then put a cord around his neck, led him around the square, and forcing him to prostrate himself with his forehead in the dust, placed his foot upon his head, and thundered forth a *Te Deum* as a mark of his victory. This humiliating ceremony being finished, Peter de Corbière was cast into a dungeon, where he lived for three years and a half.

One morning the jailer who carried to him his daily ration of bread and water, was much surprised at finding the door of his prison open, and a dead body upon the threshold. It was that of the unfortunate Peter, who had been strangled during the night. Thus perished another victim of John the Twenty-second.

## JOHN THE TWENTY-SECOND, SOLE POPE.

[A. D. 1331.]

*The pope rejects the conditions of peace offered by the emperor—Ruse of the pontiff to gain possession of the city of Bologna—Doctrines of the pope concerning beatific visions—He is declared a heretic—The king of France threatens to burn him alive for heresy—His death—His character—Tariff of the Roman chancellors for the absolution of all crimes.*

As soon as John was disembarrassed of his competitor, he pursued with activity the nomination of a new emperor in Germany. The electors had already assembled, some gained by rich presents, others seduced by promises, and it was feared lest they should decide to choose an emperor favourable to the Holy See, when Louis of Bavaria, advised of the measures of the pope, hastened to return to Germany to overthrow his plans.

During his absence from Pisa, Otho, duke of Austria, John of Luxemburg, the king of Bohemia, and the archbishop of Treves, desiring to put an end to the division between the church and the throne, had sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon to make proposals of peace to the holy father, even engaging;

in the name of Louis of Bavaria, to recognise him as the lawful pope and to subscribe to the deposition of Peter de Corbière.

John received the ambassadors badly, and dismissed them without giving them any reply; some days afterwards, however, he addressed the following letter to the king of Bohemia. "It is neither useful nor honourable to the church to have a heretical emperor who gives an asylum to Marsilus of Padua, John of Ghent, Michael de Cesene, William Occam, and the brother Bonne-Grace de Bergame, all heretics, schismatics, and excommunicated like himself. He offers to depose the anti-pope; but is he ignorant that Peter de Corbière has deposed himself, and is expiating his crime in our dungeons?"

And you who solicit our clemency for him, do you not fear to draw upon yourselves our wrath for this cowardly complaisance? Cease then to supplicate us in the name of the heretic Louis of Bavaria, or dread lest the thunders of the church strike you on your throne."

John of Luxemburg treated the threats of the pontiff with contempt, and seeing that force alone could abate his audacity, went, as the vicar of the emperor, into Italy, at the head of an army, seized, in his name, several important cities, and established himself in Lombardy. This invasion exasperated the pope; he lanced one of his most terrible anathemas against the king of Bohemia, and published that he himself was preparing to invade Italy. He preached, in fact, a crusade, which brought in large sums to him, and declared that he would make choice of the city of Bologna as his residence, that he might the better direct the operations of the campaign.

But it was soon discovered that his only intention was to fill his treasury with the money of the simple, and to render himself master of a city, which, from its central position, was the most important in Italy. In fact, the cardinal, Bertrand Poiet, presented himself at Bologna, to confer with the magistrates for the concession of the necessary land for the construction of a fortified palace for the pope, and several castellated châteaux for the cardinals and their followers; and, after having obtained their authority, he built around the city, fortresses which entirely commanded it. The stupid magistrates of Bologna, who had not perceived the snare set for their vanity, sent an embassy to the pope to entreat him to hasten his arrival. John received the deputies with great marks of affection, loaded them with presents, and promised to go to Bologna as soon as his palace was ready. Fortunately, in the interval, the Bolognese, more clear-sighted than their magistrates, understood the perfidious intentions of the holy father, who was only building the fortifications to render himself the absolute master of the city. A revolt broke out; the legate, Bertrand de Poiet, was assailed in his palace, as well as other Gascon prelates who were attached to the pope. Several Guelphs were massacred, and the legate only escaped by being disguised.

This expedition having failed, John, unable to struggle with arms, threw himself into the religious contests, and set the Christian world in commotion by his heterodox doctrines on the beatific vision; that is, the manner in which the blessed contemplate the face of God in the kingdom of Heaven. He maintained that the saints, before the coming of the Messiah, had been received into Abraham's bosom; that since the passion of Christ they had been placed under the altar of God, that is, under the protection of the humanity of Jesus Christ; and that after the judgment, they mounted upon the altar, that is, above the humanity of Jesus Christ; that they would,

consequently, be gods; or, in other words, that they would contain the divinity, and see God face to face, according to the expression of Saint Paul, and with a perfect equality.

All the doctors in theology exclaimed against a proposition so bold, and accused the pope of heresy. Philip of Valois, himself, alarmed at the scandal, and the consequences which might result from it, immediately convened an assembly of doctors, bishops, and abbots, at his castle of Vincennes, and proposed these two questions to them:—"Do the souls of the saints now behold the face of God?" "Will this vision cease on the day of judgment to be replaced by another?" All replied to the first of these propositions in the affirmative, and added, that with regard to the beatific vision, it would not cease with the final judgment, but would exist through all eternity.

On this decision of the prelates, the king wrote to John the Twenty-second, that he must immediately retract his errors if he did not wish, notwithstanding his infallibility, to incur the penalty of heretics and be burned before his palace in Avignon. This threat compelled him to make the following declaration:—"We confess and believe that souls separated from the body, and purified, inhabit Paradise with the angels, and clearly contemplate God in his divine essence face to face. If we have preached or written any contrary proposition, we expressly revoke it."

The terror which the threats of Philip produced, brought on a grievous attack. From that moment he appeared no more in public, and when he perceived his end approaching, he called around him his cardinals to commend his nephews to them. He died on the 4th of December, 1334, at the age of ninety. x

He had, during his reign, covered Germany and Italy with wars and disasters. He had caused more than ten thousand heretics to be burned by his inquisitors, and extorted at least fifty millions of florins of gold from the people of Europe. "After his death," says John Villani, "they found in his treasury eighteen millions of florins in coined money, besides his vessels, crosses, mitres, and precious stones, which were valued at seven millions of florins. I can render certain testimony to this," adds the historian, "because my brother, a man worthy of belief, who was one of the purveyors of the pontifical court, was at Avignon when the treasurers made their report to the cardinals. This immense wealth, and the still greater which the holy father had expended, were the proceeds of his industry, that is, of the sale of indulgences, benefices, dispensations, reserves, expectatives, and annates. But what contributed the most to increase his treasures, was the tax from the apostolical chancellors, for the absolution of all crimes."

We translate some of the articles of this infamous code, which alone should be sufficient to cause popes and their satellites to be held in detestation, if the list of their crimes

had not already taught us that they were the most implacable enemies of humanity.

"If an ecclesiastic commits the sin of the flesh, whether with nuns, his cousins, nieces, goddaughters, or any other woman, he shall be absolved for the sum of sixty-seven francs, twelve sous.

"If, in addition to the sin of fornication, he asks for absolution from the sin against nature, or bestiality, he shall pay two hundred and nineteen francs, twelve sous. If, however, he has not committed this sin but with young men or beasts, and not with women, the fine shall be reduced to one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous.

"A priest who shall deflower a virgin shall pay two francs, eight sous.

"A nun who shall have abandoned herself to several men, simultaneously or in succession, in her monastery, and without it, and who shall wish to obtain the dignity of abbess, shall pay one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous.

"Priests who shall wish to obtain authority to live in concubinage with their relatives, shall pay seventy-six francs, one sou.

"For every sin of luxury committed by a layman, the absolution shall cost twenty-seven livres, one sou. For incest, four livres shall be added.

"An adulterous woman who desires absolution to place her beyond the reach of all pursuit, and to have a free dispensation to continue her guilty relations, shall pay to the pope eighty-seven francs, three sous. In a like case, a husband shall be submitted to the same tax. If they have committed incest with their children, they shall add six francs.

"Absolution and assurance against all pursuit, for the crimes of rapine, robbery, and incendiarism, shall cost the guilty one hundred and thirty-one francs, seven sous.

"Absolution for the simple murder of a layman is taxed at fifteen francs, four sous, eight deniers. If the assassin has slain several persons on the same day, he shall pay no more.

"A husband who shall have rudely struck his wife, shall pay into the chancellery three francs, four sous; if he kills her, he shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous; if he has committed this crime to marry another woman, he shall pay besides, thirty-two francs, nine sous. They who shall have assisted the husband in the murder, shall be absolved on the payment of two francs a head.

"He who shall have murdered his child, shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous. If the father and mother shall have slain their child by mutual consent, they shall pay twenty-seven francs, one sou, for absolution.

"The woman who shall destroy her child in her womb, and the father who shall aid in the crime, shall each pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous. He who shall procure the abortion of a child, of which he is not the father, shall pay a franc less.

"For the murder of a brother, a sister, a

mother, or a father, they shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous!!!

"He who shall slay a bishop or superior prelate, shall pay one hundred and thirty-one francs, fourteen sous.

"If a murderer has slain several priests, in different encounters, he shall pay one hundred and thirty-seven francs, six sous for the first assassination, and half of that for the rest.

"A bishop or an abbot who shall have committed murder by an ambushade, or through accident, or from necessity, shall pay one hundred and seventy-nine francs, fourteen sous, for absolution.

"He who would buy absolution in advance for every accidental murder which he may in future commit, shall pay one hundred and sixty-eight francs, fifteen sous.

"A converted heretic shall pay two hundred and sixty-nine francs for his absolution. The son of a burned heretic, or one put to death by any other torture, shall not be reinstated until he has paid into the chancellery two hundred and eighteen francs, seventeen sous.

"An ecclesiastic who cannot pay his debts, and who wishes to avoid the pursuits of his creditors, shall give to the pope seventeen francs, nine sous, and his debts shall be remitted.

"Permission to open a store to sell different kinds of commodities beneath the portico of a church, will be granted on the payment of forty-five francs, nineteen sous.

"For smuggling, and defrauding a prince of his dues, they shall pay eighty-seven francs.

"If a city demands permission for its inhabitants, priests, monks, and nuns, to eat food made of milk and meat, at forbidden seasons, it shall pay seven hundred and thirty-one francs, ten sous.

"If a monastery asks permission to change its rules, and to live in greater abstinence than before, it shall pay one hundred and forty-six francs, five sous.

"A virtuous monk, who desires to pass his life in a hermitage, shall pay into the treasury of the Holy See forty-five francs, nineteen sous.

"An apostate vagabond, who wishes to re-enter the pale of the church, shall pay a like sum to be absolved.

"Monks and priests who desire to travel in secular garments shall be subjected to a like tax.

"The bastard of a curate who desires to do parochial duty in the cure of his father, shall pay twenty-seven francs, one sou.

"A bastard who desires to receive sacred orders, and to possess benefices, shall pay fifteen francs, nineteen sous.

"A foundling who shall desire to enter into sacred orders, shall pay into the treasury of the pope twenty-seven francs, one sou.

"Lame or deformed laymen, who shall wish to receive sacred orders, or to hold benefices, shall pay to the apostolic chancellery fifty-eight francs two sous.

"One blind in the right eye shall pay a like sum; if he has lost his left, he shall give the pope one hundred and six francs, seven sous;

those who squire shall pay forty-five francs, three sous.

"Eunuchs shall give the pope, for permission to enter into sacred orders, three hundred francs, fifteen sous.

"If a man wishes to acquire one or more benefices by simony, he shall apply to the treasurers of the pope, who will sell him this right for a moderate price.

"He who shall desire to break his oath, and be guaranteed from all pursuit, and all infamy, shall pay to the pope one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous. He shall pay three francs a head besides, for those who shall have become his guaranties."

We will make no comments on this tax of the apostolic chancellery, a masterpiece of infamy, sprung from the brain of a pope, and containing in a few pages all the secrets of an institution which weighed down people and kings for more than fourteen centuries. The pious Conrad, abbot of Usperg, thus speaks of the book of the taxes of the Roman chancellery:—

"O Vatican, rejoice now, all treasures are open to thee,—thou canst draw in with full hands! Rejoice in the crimes of the children of men, since thy wealth depends on their abandonment and iniquity. Urge on to debauchery, excite to rape, incest, even parricide; for the greater the crime, the more gold will it bring thee. Rejoice thou! Shout forth songs of gladness! Now the human race is subjected to thy laws! Now thou reignest through depravity of morals and the inundation of ignoble thoughts. The children of men can now commit with impunity every crime, since they know that thou wilt absolve them for a little gold. Provided he brings thee gold, let him be soiled with blood and lust; thou wilt open the kingdom of heaven to debauchees, sodomites, assassins, parricides. What do I say? Thou wilt sell God himself for gold."

In fact, the tax exacted by John the Twenty-second, became for the popes, his successors, one of the most vast and fruitful financial operations that the avarice and infernal genius of the pontiffs ever invented

## BENEDICT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1335:]

*Election of the cardinal Jacques Fournier—His history before his pontificate—Portrait of him—He revokes the commendams and reversions—Secret as to the beatific vision—He refuses to go to Italy—His debaucheries at Avignon—His negotiations with the emperor—Proceedings against Frederick of Sicily—The Greek ambassadors at the court of the holy father—Bologna passes under the sway of the popes—Death of Benedict.*

SOME days after the death of the infamous John the Twenty-second, the count de Noailles and the seneschal of Robert, king of Naples and count of Provence, arrested the twenty-four cardinals whom they found in the city, and shut them up in conclave in the pontifical palace of Avignon, after having informed them that they need not count upon being set at liberty until they had chosen a pontiff. The sacred college had been for a long time divided into two parties; the most powerful and numerous was unquestionably that of the French cardinals. They then agreed to choose a pope of their nation, and offered the tiara to Cominges, bishop of Porto, provided he would continue to dwell at Avignon, and would not transfer the pontifical court to Rome. He having refused to make this pledge, they united on the humblest of the members of the sacred college, the cardinal Jacques Fournier, of the order of the Citeaux, surnamed the White, from the colour of his frock. As soon as he knew of his promotion, the poor monk, rendering himself full justice, said to the cardinals: "You have chosen an ass to govern you, my brethren."

He took the name of Benedict the Twelfth.

Jacques Fournier, or Dufour, was, according to some authors, the son of a pastry cook named William, of the city of Saverdun, in the countship of Foix; according to others—and their version is supported by more authentic witnesses than those of the first—he owed his birth to an incest of John the Twenty-second with his sister, and the pastry cook William was his adoptive father. The history of his early years seems to corroborate this opinion. The abbot of Boulbona took him, when very young, from the pastry cook William, without any apparent motive, to rear him in his abbey; he was then sent to Paris with a considerable allowance to study theology and law. Having finished his studies, the rich abbey of Fontfroide was given to him; and some time afterwards John the Twenty-second made him bishop of Pamiers and a cardinal. He was endowed with an excellent judgment; but his studies in theology and the canon law had so absorbed his faculties, that he was unfit for temporal affairs.



Though the son of John the Twenty-second, the new pontiff had no exterior resemblance to his father. John was small, with a pale face, and a feeble voice. Benedict, on the contrary, was large, and high coloured, with a loud toned voice. John was avaricious—Benedict very liberal. He was submitted to the usual tests, and solemnly crowned in the church of the Preaching Brothers at Avignon, on the 8th of January, 1335.

In a consistory which was held soon after, the holy father ordered the stranger prelates and curates, to leave at once the pontifical court and return to their dioceses, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures. He also wrote to the bishops of the kingdom of Castile, to urge them to reform the conduct of their priests. "We have been advised," he said, to them in his bull, "that the ecclesiastics of your provinces live publicly with concubines, commit adulteries, incests, robberies, and murders, pillage the farmers and burn their houses, in hopes of being acquitted by the payment of a few pence to our treasurer. As these disorders bring our religion into contempt in the eyes of the Mohammedans of the neighbouring cities, and prevent them from being baptized, we exhort you to put an end to them, informing you that we are not disposed to pardon crimes for money, as it pleased our predecessor to do."

Benedict published a second bull, condemnatory of the doctrine of John on the beatific vision, and framed his opinion of the state of the soul in heaven, in these terms:—"The souls of saints who left the world before the passion of Christ; those of the apostles, martyrs, and other faithful who died without having been baptized; those of baptized infants who have died before the age of reason, have all been received into paradise as soon as they were separated from their bodies.—From that moment they have lived with the angels, and have seen the Divinity with an intuitive vision, and face to face, without the aid of any creature interposed between them and God. By this vision they enjoy the divine essence which gives to them repose and eternal life, that is, which renders them entirely and uninterruptedly happy throughout eternity. On the other hand, souls which die in a state of mortal sin descend to hell, to be there tormented eternally by bad angels, without the hope of seeing an end of their pains, even at the last judgment. We shall, then, regard as heretics, and treat as such, those who in future shall have the temerity knowingly to advance any propositions contrary to this bull." Thus the doctrine imposed on the faithful by one infallible pope, was condemned by another equally infallible.

Benedict did not stop at this first step in his reforms; he revoked the commendams, or friar's benefices, which his predecessors had sold to the ecclesiastics, as well as the briefs of reversions and annates. This last impost, invented by John the Twenty-second, consisted in levying on the bishoprics or abbeyes which were given to new titularies, one year's

revenue for the benefit of the Holy See. Finally, he employed every method in his power to drive simony from the pontifical court; and if he did not entirely succeed, he should be at least praised for his good intentions.

Some historians, however, maintain that this great disinterestedness had its source in interested policy, and that Benedict had only in view the restoration of some regard for his trade of pope, which had been so much weakened by his predecessors. It is true, that the wealth amassed by John the Twenty-second afforded him the means of abandoning traffic in indulgences and absolutions; and if he had been really virtuous, we would not have to relate a fact which attests the corruption of his morals.

Hieronimo Squarciafico affirms, that Benedict did all in his power to seduce the sister of the poet Petrarch, named Selvaggia, and was remarkably beautiful, and that this young girl informed her brother of it. He adds, that Petrarch having gone to the pontifical palace to complain energetically to the holy father, the dissolute old man proposed to pay him a considerable sum for the virginity of Selvaggia, and to give him, besides, a cardinal's hat. The indignant poet rejected the infamous proposal with a virtuous energy. Benedict then, in revenge for his refusal, denounced him to the inquisitors as a heretic. Petrarch escaped from Avignon, but was compelled to leave his young sister in the care of his brother Gerard. This wretch could not resist his thirst for gold, and in the night, this poor young girl, who was scarcely sixteen years old, was carried off from his house, borne to the pontifical palace, and abandoned to the monstrous carresses of a corrupt old man.

Some time afterwards, Benedict received, in a solemn audience, some Roman deputies who came to entreat him, in the name of their fellow citizens, to re-establish the residence of the popes in the holy city, explaining to him in full consistory, that the pontiffs and cardinals were better located among a people accustomed to their morals, and who were not scandalised at seeing virgins and youths serving their pleasure. These reasons convinced the mind by their justness, and the cardinals, after consultation with the pope, replied to the ambassadors, that his holiness consented to return to Rome, and would at last fix the period of his departure from France.

Several important motives compelled the holy father to defer his entrance into Italy. At first he feared lest he should fall into the power of Petrarch, who had thrown himself into the party of the Ghibelines. Then he wished to be assured of the possession of Bologna, to make it a point of support against his enemies. But the nuncios whom he sent to the Bolognese to treat of peace found them so exasperated against the court of Avignon, that they had to quit the city at once, to avoid being taken by the Ghibelines. Benedict judged that, under such unfavourable circumstances, it was imprudent to dream of re-establishing the Holy See at Rome, and he resolved to fix

definitively the sojourn of the pontiffs at Avignon. He consequently laid the foundations of a magnificent palace, surrounded by castellated walls and towers, which were to place the pope out of the reach of every danger.

He soon, however, discovered that these walls, high as they were, could not, in case of war, protect him against the kings of France, and he bent all his cares to preserve the good graces of Philip. This prince, on his side, knowing the weakness of Benedict's character, did not hesitate to demand new privileges which the pope dared not refuse to grant. He claimed for his eldest son, the post of vicar of the empire in Italy, and for himself the right of levying tithes in his kingdom for ten years, and of dividing with the pope the treasures of the church, under the pretext of paying the expenses of an expedition which he was preparing against the infidels. These exaggerated demands alarmed the pontifical court; and as they dared not resist the prince openly, they excited secret enemies against him, and sent emissaries into England, to induce Edward the Third to invade the kingdom of Philip, with the promise that the pope would ratify his usurpation. Edward embraced the plan with ardour; he took the title of king of England and France, roused Flanders, and went to lay siege to Tournay, in person. It was in this war that the French first employed fire arms, as is authentically proved in a memoir of Bartholomew de Prach, war minister, dated 1338.

The holy father, not content with having drawn a terrible war on France, wished, in case of a reverse, to assure himself of protection against the French monarch, and endeavoured to reconcile himself with Louis of Bavaria. He dared not, however, ostensibly, take the initiative in this step; and he sent some prelates of his party to induce the prince to send to him a solemn embassy to open negotiations between the Holy See and the empire.

Louis of Bavaria received these overtures for peace very favourably, and sent several deputies to Avignon, to place in the hand of the pope a deed by which the prince declared that he revoked the decrees which had been made against John the Twenty-second, and annihilated the edicts published at Rome against the privileges of the church. He promised, moreover, to make all equitable concessions that could be asked of him, in order to arrive at a durable peace. As the French cardinals were present at the audience of reception, Benedict dared not give a definite answer to the envoys of the emperor. He only told them that he and his cardinals would see with great joy, Germany, that noble branch, reunited to the church to augment its strength. He eulogised Louis of Bavaria, and added, that the disorders in Italy, and the loss of Armenia and the Holy Land, were to be attributed to the vacancy in the empire, and not to that prince whom he regarded as the noblest knight in Christendom. He finished

his harangue by promising to grant in a few days the absolution of the anathemas as pronounced by the dead pope. As soon as Philip and Robert of Naples were informed of the determination of the pontiff, they hastened to send deputies to Avignon, who bribed the most influential members of the Sacred College; they then demanded a public audience of the pope, and, in the presence of the cardinals, reproached him for the preference he had given a heretic over their masters, and threatened to denounce him to the inquisition as a favourer of heresy.

Benedict, surprised at so direct an attack, turned towards his cardinals: "Eh, what," he said to them, "do the kings of France and Naples pretend to put an end to the empire of the West?"—"No, most holy father," they replied, "they only blame the choice you have made of Louis of Bavaria, who is the prince—who, of all others, has done the most injury to the church." "You lie," replied Benedict; "it is you who have fulminated unjust anathemas against that king; and his submission is so great, that he would have come here as Henry the Fourth did, in his shirt, and with scales in his hands, to implore the mercy of our predecessor, if he had been permitted."

This energetic reply imposed on the cardinals sold to Philip and Robert; they no longer dared to oppose the opinion of the pope, and feigned to enter into his views, contenting themselves with pointing out to him, that the kings of Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, France, and Naples, and the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, had formed a league against Louis, and were pledged to establish another king of the Romans. Benedict, who had not in reality any strength of will, yielded, little by little, to their reasoning, asked for a delay to deliberate on what he should do, and dismissed the deputies of Louis, without absolving their master. The latter seeing the ill success of his embassy, learned that he must no longer count upon an accommodation with the court of Avignon, and resolved to cast off for ever the insupportable yoke of the church. In order, however, not to submit himself to the lightest reproach, he convened in the city of Spire an assembly of prelates, who decided to send, in the name of the German clergy, a deputation to the holy father to demand the absolution of their sovereign; and to inform him, that if their prayer was not regarded, they would assemble anew, and arrange measures definitely to render the empire independent of the popes.

Benedict received the delegates with great honours, and said to them in private, "I would take off the censures pronounced against your prince, but I cannot do it without the consent of the king of France, Philip of Valois, who, if I were to disobey him, would treat me with more indignity than Philip the Handsome treated Boniface." This last effort of the emperor at the pontifical, did not lead to the result it was hoped it would; it only contributed to strengthen his authority; for the German bishops and princes, indignant at the

of the pope, immediately convened a primary electoral diet at Rens. All the electors, except the king of Bohemia, were present; they declared that they alone had the right to confer the imperial dignity, and that the chief whom they chose had no need of the approval of the pope, in order to be clothed with the imperial dignity. Louis of Bavaria, seeing the disposition of their minds, was not content with this first success. He convened a new diet at Frankfort, and caused them to decree the famous pragmatic sanction, which declared the emperor responsible to God alone, and condemned the censures of the church against him as crimes of *lèse-majesty*. The doctor Albert, of Strasburg, was commissioned by the electors to inform the court of Avignon of the decision of the princes of the empire.

As soon as Benedict was informed of these proceedings, he protested against their tenor, lanced terrible bulls against Louis of Bavaria, and sent a circular to the different kings of Europe, to engage them to take up arms against his enemy. Following the example of his predecessor, he declared the throne vacant, and named himself protector of the empire; Luquin Visconti was appointed his vicar in Italy; Guelphs were appointed by him governors of the cities of Verona, Parma, and Vicenza; the lords of Gonzaga received the two cities of Mantua and Reggio, as an appanage; and the marquis of Ferrara, the territory of Modena, paying therefor an annual rent of five thousand florins of gold, and engaging to maintain, at his expense, two hundred knights, and three hundred well-armed foot soldiers, ready to combat for the church on the first requisition by the pope. Still further to assure himself of a powerful auxiliary in lower Italy, he resolved to take away the kingdom of Sicily from Peter the Second to bestow it on Robert, king of Naples; and, for this purpose, he sent orders to Goa, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, and to Natier, bishop of Vaison, his two nuncios at Naples, to go to Palermo and excommunicate Peter of Arragon, his children, and other heirs; to declare them deprived of the possession of Sicily, and to pronounce the junction of that island to the estates of King Robert, by virtue of the sovereign authority of the Holy See. In spite, however, of the anathemas of the pope, Peter maintained himself on his throne, and struggled courageously with King Robert, who could only seize the small islands of Zerbi and Lipari.

The cardinals at the same period induced Benedict to make some efforts to assure to the Holy See the possession of Rome. The greater part of the senate was bribed, and two lords who were sold to the clergy, Stephen Colonna and the count of Languillara, were

appointed consuls for five years. The holy father was then occupied with the affairs of the Bolognese, who had been excommunicated, deprived of their academy, and all the privileges which had been granted them by emperors and pontiffs. The powerless wrath of Benedict, at first, produced no other result than to excite the raillery of the excommunicated against him; but when they found the pontifical court was gaining some preponderance in Italy, they followed the example of the other cities, and asked to be received into favour, which was granted them, on the payment of an annual tribute of eight thousand florins in gold.

Benedict had not time to profit by the reaction in favour of the popes, which was taking place. In consequence of excesses at the table, and nocturnal debaucheries, he suffered from violent fits of the gout; his limbs were covered with hideous sores, and he died on the 23d of April, 1342, after a reign of seven years, four months, and six days. He was buried in the cathedral at Avignon; the holy father, who exhibited so much disinterestedness in the early part of his reign, became afterwards as greedy and avaricious as his predecessors, and they found after his death, in the treasury of the church, immense sums, which were of great assistance to the cardinals in the subjugation of Italy. After his death, Benedict was declared a saint, by a miracle, and his name was placed in the Gallican Martyrology.

There flourished a singular sect during his pontificate, who were called the Quietists of Mount Athos. These fanatics pretended to have pushed the perfection of prayer so far, as to see God with their corporal eyes, when they had attained the supreme quietude. They prayed as follows: the newly initiated monk shut himself up in his cell, seated himself in a corner, then having rolled up his frock under his armpits, he rested his chin on his breast, turned his eyes with all his thoughts towards the middle of his belly; held his breath, even through the nose, and sought in his entrails, the power of his soul. At first, says the Abbot Simon de Xeroerque, the inventor of this singular mode of prayer, in his instructions to his disciples, you will see but thick darkness; but then by renewing your prayer twenty-one times, you will experience a surprising joy; the spirit will have found the place of the heart, it will perceive the atmosphere of the soul, and will contemplate itself shining with light, and filled with discernment.—According to these sectaries, the navel was the seat of the soul, which caused them to be called Omphalopsques.—Quietism is one of the most curious and singular aberrations to which the idleness of the cloister has given birth.

## CLEMENT THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1342.]

*History of the cardinal of Nerea—His exaltation to the Holy See—Embassy of the Romans to Clement the Sixth—The pope wishes to subjugate Christian kingdoms to his sway—Joan of Naples strangles her husband—Bull of the pope against the assassins of the prince—The holy college assembles to choose an emperor—Clement names Charles the Fourth as king of the Romans—Cruelties of Peter d' Aquila, the grand inquisitor of Florence—Republican revolution at Rome—Nicholas Laurent, the leader of the people, is excommunicated by the pope—Second marriage of Joanna, of Naples, with her cousin—She sells Avignon to the pope, who declares her innocent of the death of her husband—The plague commits its ravages in the west—Germany refuses to obey the prince appointed by the pope, and proclaims Gunther Schwartzenburg sole emperor—Reappearance of the Flagellants—The pope orders a new jubilee, to raise some money—He re-establishes the inquisition in Anjou and Maine—Vision of Saint Bridget—Embassy from John Cantacuzene—Sickness of the holy father—Singular letter of Beelzebub to the pope—Death of Clement—Picture of the abominable morals of the pontifical court.*

THE Holy See remained vacant only eleven days after the death of Benedict. The cardinals, to the number of twenty-two, having assembled in conclave, agreed unanimously to divide the treasures of the church among themselves, and to choose as sovereign pontiff the most corrupt of all, the famous cardinal of Nerea, who took the name of Clement the Sixth. He was the son of Peter Roger, lord of Rosière, who, intending him for the church, caused him to enter the abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, at ten years of age, where his beauty procured for him the honour of being distinguished by the abbot of the Benedictines, who made him his minion. The young monk, on arriving at manhood, quitted his convent, went to Paris to finish his theological studies, and obtained the grade of doctor, and the abbey of Fecamp; he was then made bishop of Arras, and Benedict at last created him cardinal archbishop of Rouen. When he was proclaimed pope, he led so dissolute a life, that he had been obliged to abandon his benefices to his numerous creditors, so that he showed no difficulty in complying with the requisitions of the cardinals.

"You ask me to divide the treasures of the chancellery," said the new pope to the members of the conclave; "I joyfully consent, and you will see the necessity of refilling, for a pope who knows how to exercise his trade." In fact, in less than a year, the sale of apostolical offices, annates, reversions, commendams, with the taxes and confiscations of the property of heretics, by the tribunals of the inquisition, had repaired all his losses, and supplied the enormous expenses of his mistresses and minions. Clement pushed the scandal of immorality so far as to glory in his depravity. Courtezans, great dames, and beautiful pages, entered his sleeping chamber in the presence of all, and were waited upon by the chamberlains, even on the very bed of the holy father. Thus the clergy of Avignon became so dissolute from the example of the pontiff, that the smallest clerk considered himself dishonoured, if he had not attached to

his person some minion or several girls of a dissolute life. Though universally recognised as the most corrupt of the cardinals, Clement was none the less submitted to the proof of the pierced chair. On the day succeeding his consecration, he promoted ten cardinals, among whom were his brother Hugh Roger, and his nephew, William de la Jugie, the faithful companions of his orgies.

The kings of Europe hastened to send their ambassadors to the new pope, to congratulate him; a great number of Italian cities imitated this example, and Rome, that degenerate city, which aspired constantly to the disgrace of being called the pontifical city, sent a solemn deputation of eighteen citizens to him, at the head of whom were the republicans, Nicholas Rienzi and Petrarch. They were commissioned to offer the pope, in the name of their fellow citizens, the posts of first senator and captain of the city, provided he would return to Rome, and reduce the interval of the two jubilees, from one hundred to fifty years, in order to multiply the causes of the prosperity of Italy, and increase the imposts of the holy city.

Clement accepted the dignities and magistracies which were offered to him, and assured the ambassadors, that he had the re-establishing of the Holy See in Italy much at heart, and that he would engage to do it as soon as it was possible. As a proof of the sincerity of his words, he fixed the period of the new jubilee for the year 1350. The following was the bull published on the occasion:—"The Son of God, by expiring on the cross, my brethren, has acquired for us a treasure of indulgences, which is increased by the infinite merits of the Holy Virgin, the martyrs, and the saints; for you know that the dispensation of these riches belongs to the successors of St. Peter. Boniface the Eighth has already ordered the faithful to make a pilgrimage to the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and his bull grants entire absolution of sin to those who make this journey at the commencement of each century. We, however

consider that in the Mosaic law, which Jesus Christ came to accomplish spiritually, the fiftieth year is that of Jubilee or the remission of debts; for this reason, then, on account of the short duration of human life, and that the greatest number of Christians may participate in this indulgence, we grant full and entire absolution to those who shall visit the churches of the two apostles, and that of St. John of the Lateran, in the year 1315, during thirty days, if Romans, and during five months, if strangers." This done, the pontiff dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with marks of honour, especially Petrarch, whose reputation was the glory of Italy, and whom he wished to attach to his cause.

Robert of Naples had died, leaving to his grand-daughter Joanna immense treasures, and a throne which her youth prevented her as yet from occupying. Not to leave her without a protector, he had, however, already married her to Andrew of Hungary, the son of Charibert: and by his will had appointed Philip Cabasole, and the queen Donna Sancha, of Arragon, to administer the kingdom of Naples. They wished to exercise the rights of regents immediately on the death of Robert, but Clement opposed them, under the pretext that that kingdom, emanating from the Holy See, should revert to the pope until the majority of Joanna, which was fixed at twenty-five years. He published a bull which broke the will of the king, as trampling upon the privileges of the church; and annulled the proceedings of Philip Cabasole and Donna Sancha, as irregular and usurped. He sent the cardinal Aimeric de Chastelus, in the capacity of apostolic vicar, to seize the reins of government, to receive the liege homage of Joanna, and to crown her. He then confided the tutelage of the young queen to depraved females, who were certain to make a monster of lubricity of her. What mattered it to Clement that sovereigns should render themselves contemptible in the eyes of the people? His policy was to elevate the chair of St. Peter above the thrones of kings, and all means by which he could reach that end were to him good.

Assured of Sicily, he turned against Germany, and lighted the fire of civil war in the empire. His emissaries distributed gold freely, and induced the cities of Italy, which had remained faithful to Louis of Bavaria, to revolt. He caused the bulls which John the Twenty-second had proclaimed against the emperor, to be fulminated in Germany, France, England, and the whole Roman peninsula, and added this imprecation to them:—"May the divine wrath—may the anger of St. Peter and St. Paul light on Louis of Bavaria, in this world and the next—may the earth engulf him alive! May the elements be adverse to him, and his children perish before his eyes, massacred by the hands of his enemies." He was, however, obliged to suspend the effects of his vengeance, having been warned by the French ambassadors that Philip had need of the emperor, and that he forbade him

from continuing his furious denunciations of that prince. Clement, not daring to disobey the injunctions of his powerful ally, retracted his bulls, and contented himself with citing Louis of Bavaria before the court of Avignon, to be judged by the sacred college. Instead of going before the holy father, or sending deputies to him, Louis wrote simply to the king of France:—"If Clement undertakes any proceeding against us, we will hold you responsible for it:—we salute you." Philip, who leared the arms of the Germans, immediately informed the holy father that he was to proceed no farther.

Forced to abandon his plans against the empire, the pope cast himself on England. He distributed the benefices of that kingdom among the new cardinals, whose revenues were insufficient to maintain the luxury of their establishments; he granted to them the richest abbeys, the best churches, and the wealthiest dioceses, granting them, besides, authority to send agents into Great Britain to take possession of them in their name, that they might spend the revenues at his court. But King Edward did not exhibit the docility he had hoped for: his officers drove off the French priests who went to take possession of the benefices for the cardinals.

Clement endeavoured to implant in Edward sentiments less hostile to his interests, and wrote to him:—"We have learned, my son, that you have published edicts which tend to destroy ecclesiastical liberty, the primacy of the Roman church, and the authority of the Holy See. You cannot be ignorant that Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors, authority to govern the world. You know that, by virtue of this power, the popes have founded patriarchal churches, or metropolitan churches, cathedrals, and secondary churches, and have established the hierarchy of the clergy. For many ages there has been no change. The full and entire disposal of ecclesiastical honours, dignities, and wealth, has always pertained to the popes. You have then rendered yourself guilty of a great sin, by authorising the persecutions against the agents of our cardinals, and by hindering the execution of our favours. We now send you our internuncios Nicholas, the metropolitan of Ravenna, and Peter, bishop of Astorga, with powers to assemble a council which shall abolish every edict, or declaration contrary to our authority, and who will pronounce an anathema against you, if your officers or people refuse us obedience."

This letter was not more successful than the bull. Edward replied to the pope, that he was scandalised by seeing the wealth of his kingdom at the mercy of the court of Avignon; that "Shepherds should cherish their lambs, and not shear nor slay them; that this work appertained to kings, and that for the future he would dispose of the ecclesiastical benefices as William the Conqueror had done."

Clement, repulsed in England, had at least the consolation of seeing, that France did not

contest his right of sovereignty over the kingdoms of the earth. He received a solemn embassy from Philip de Valois, at the head of which was Louis de la Cerda, usually called Louis of Spain, because he was descended from Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alphonso the Wise, king of Castile, and of Blanche, the daughter of St. Louis. This prince came to ask from his holiness the proprietorship of the Fortunate Isles, now called the Canaries, which he said were inhabited by infidels, and which he engaged to conquer, to bring the inhabitants to a knowledge of the Christian religion. The pontiff acceded to his desires, and proclaimed him king of these countries, with absolute power over their temporal affairs, subject to an annual rent of four hundred florins in gold to the church; and he placed on his brow a crown of gold, as a sign of investiture. This ceremony did not, however, prevent Louis de la Cerda from dying before he made the conquest of the Canaries.

In the beginning of the year 1344, the emperor again endeavoured to reconcile himself to the holy father; and sent an embassy to Philip of Valois, to request him to inform him of the causes which prevented the maintenance of peace between the empire and the church. As it was difficult to reply to a demand thus distinctly expressed, the king sent the deputies to the pope, accompanied by officers of his court.

Clement, having heard the messages of the two sovereigns, called to him one of his cardinals, and dictated to him a form of a request for pardon, with conditions so humiliating for Louis of Bavaria, that a conquered prince, beneath the sword of an enemy, should not have accepted them. This letter of the holy father was expedited at once to the emperor, who, contrary to the expectation of the court of Avignon, declared he would accept the conditions offered him; and swore, in the presence of the prothonotary of the pope, that he was ready to execute them. This resolution of the prince surprised Clement greatly; and he could not avoid saying, on reading his letter, "This man is much embarrassed; but he is more embarrassing."

In fact, four German ambassadors presented themselves before the sacred college, and swore, in the name of their master, in accordance with the orders of the pope, to avow the heresies attributed to him, to renounce the empire, and place himself, his children, wealth, and estates, at the disposal of the pontiff. They then besought Clement to remit by them, in writing, the articles of penance which he wished to impose on Louis of Bavaria; and informed him, that they had orders not to quit Avignon until they had obtained them, so anxious was the emperor to reconcile himself with the church. The holy father then gave them only requirements relative to the constitution of the empire, and not to the person of the prince. It was an immense blunder on the part of the pope, of which Louis took advantage. He immediately sent orders to the electors and to the estates to assemble

in a general diet, in the city of Frankfort. He joined to his letter of convocation a copy of the penance which the holy father had imposed on him; and in which, among others, was this article:—"The emperor shall make an edict, to subject to the punishment of fire those of his subjects who shall refuse to recognise that the empire is a benefice of the pope."

These cruel orders and exaggerated pretensions discontented the members of the assembly, who immediately made this reply to Louis of Bavaria:—"Lord, the electors and other vassals of the empire, having examined the conditions which the pope imposes on you, as the terms of your reconciliation with the church, declare, that they all tend to the destruction of the empire; and, that neither you nor they can accept them. They have consequently decided, that a deputation should be sent to Avignon, to request the pope to desist from his intentions; and to inform him, that if he refuses to do justice to our claims, we have determined to resist with all the means in our power, his enterprises against our liberty."

The ambassadors of the princes of the empire, in fact, went to the holy father, and informed him of the objections of the diet of Frankfort to the singular articles of penance which he had imposed on Louis of Bavaria. Clement, at this opening, became very angry, and drove away the deputies, without being willing to give them any reply. He then commenced very secret negotiations with a prince of the House of Luxemburg; with John, king of Bohemia; with Charles, marquis of Moravia, his son; and with Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, to assure himself of vengeance. We shall soon see the deplorable results of this coalition.

If the policy of the holy father was powerless to procure for him a triumph in England and Germany, it had at least succeeded in Italy, and especially in Naples, where queen Joanna left all the power of the kingdom to the cardinal Aimeric, in order to occupy herself at her ease with pleasure and debauchery. The young queen, through the lessons of depravity which she had received, though she had scarcely attained her sixteenth year, deserved to be compared to Messalina. She had already received into the royal couch the lords of the court, simple guards, and even sailors of the port. Her husband Andrew, enervated by her lascivious caresses, and unable longer to respond to her desires, excited her hatred, and he was found one morning cast from the window of his bed-room, after having been strangled with a cord of silk. It was published the next day through Naples, that secret enemies had entered the palace and assassinated the king. No one dared to fathom this terrible mystery. The pope, even, though informed of the true circumstances of the murder, by the cardinal Aimeric, lanced a bull against the guilty, without naming them; he contented himself with declaring them infamous, deprived of all dignities, incapable

of making a will or any lawful act; he confiscated to himself their wealth and domains, freed their vassals and subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and pronounced an interdict on the land into which they should retire, with penalties against those who granted them aid or asylum; and, finally, he took all the measures which his policy suggested to him, to prepare for the moment on which he could, without striking a blow, seize on the throne of Naples.

But the crime of Joanna had excited so great an indignation among the kings of Europe, that it was feared lest an avenger should arise to call her to account. She perceived this, and hastened to write to Louis the Great the king of Hungary, her brother-in-law, to free herself from the suspicion of having murdered her husband. Her letters received only doubtful replies, and she learned that Louis had placed himself at the head of a powerful army, to invade her kingdom, and avenge his brother. In this extremity, she sought a protector in one of her lovers, her cousin Louis of Tarentum, whom she married. Notwithstanding the talents and courage of the young prince, the Hungarians seized on Naples, and compelled the sovereigns to take refuge in the city of Avignon, which belonged to the queen. Clement received Joanna favourably, and even experienced a violent passion for her, of which she feigned to partake, in order to attach him to her cause; the ruse, however, only half succeeded, for the pope would not consent to reinstate his new mistress on the throne of Naples, and absolve her from the murder of Andrew, unless she would surrender the sovereignty of Avignon to him. The bargain was soon concluded, and they stipulated as the price of the purchase, that he should give eighty thousand florins in gold for it, which was never paid. Such were the rights of property of the Holy See over this territory for six centuries,—rights which they have only recently abandoned.

The pontiff at once declared himself openly the protector of Joanna; he lanced terrible bulls against his enemies, praised the innocence, mildness, and purity of the queen in the presence of the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, assembled in consistory, and threatened Louis the Great with ecclesiastical thunders, if he persisted in keeping the kingdom of Naples. The young king was thus compelled to forego his vengeance, and return to his kingdom. Joanna returned in triumph to her capital, and plunged anew into such excesses, that her court was only equalled in depravity by that of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement the Sixth, master of the city and territory of Avignon, showed more audacity than before; he renewed his attacks on Louis of Bavaria, published a bull against that prince, declared him infamous, and a heretic, deposed him from the empire, and enjoined the electors to proceed at once to the election of a king of the Romans.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and

Charles his eldest son, went to Avignon to sign the secret treaty with the pope, which was to assure to them the empire; other pretenders took the same steps, and sought to obtain the protection of the holy father. Clement was extremely embarrassed how to decide among these conflicting interests, and he instructed the cardinals assembled in consistory, to choose the king of the Romans. But, as each of the cardinals had received large sums, to sustain the interests of different pretenders, there resulted a division which had almost proved fatal to the cardinals. At first they abused each other vehemently; then from words, they came to blows; the officers and domestics then took the part of their masters, and the mêlée became general. Several prelates received severe wounds, and the pope himself had a shoulder put out of joint by the blow of a club. At length, by the intervention of wise men, tranquillity was restored; the cardinals reassembled in the chamber of the holy father, and it was decided to give the empire to the son of the king of Bohemia, Charles of Luxemburg, who made more magnificent promises than any of his competitors.

They were as follows: "If I am king of the Romans," said the prince, in the secret treaty which the pope showed to the prelates of his court, "I pledge myself to maintain all the concessions which the emperor Henry the Seventh my grandfather, and his predecessors made to the Holy See. I will not seek to occupy, or acquire by any means, the cities of Rome or Ferrara, or other land and places which belong to the church, whether with or without Italy, as in the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the territory of Avignon. I will not enter Rome before the day of my coronation, and I will leave it with my people immediately after the ceremony, not to return but at the command of the holy father; and finally, I will ratify all my promises at the time of my consecration."

"It was not difficult," says Maimburg, "for Clement to have Charles chosen emperor, for the cardinals knew he was sustained by the king of Bohemia, his father, and by Baldwin of Luxemburg, archbishop of Treves, his great uncle. His only adversary was Henry of Virneburg, archbishop of Mayence, an avowed partizan of Louis of Bavaria; the pope freed himself of him, by deposing him, and appointing in his place the young Count de Geriac, of Naassau, a canon of the same diocese, who had sold him his suffrage. Valderan of Juliers, the metropolitan of Cologne, was bought for eight thousand marks of silver; Rodolph, duke of Saxony, who was greedier, obtained fifteen thousand, and at length, all the electors having been gained, the diet assembled at Rents, near Coblenz, in the diocese of Treves, and proclaimed Charles marquis of Moravia, king of the Romans." This election was confirmed by a bull, in which Clement declared, that God had given to the pope supreme power over the celestial empire and the kingdoms of the earth. Some months

afterwards, Louis of Bavaria, so say the chroniclers, died of poison, but whether administered by the pope, or his competitor, no one could tell. Charles, recognised as king of the Romans and future emperor, a second title as illusory as the first, exercised, however, no influence over Germany; the high Germanic aristocracy possessed the real power, and the new Cæsar had to content himself with the insignia of royalty.

This same year a revolt broke out in Florence against the grand inquisitor, Peter of Aquila, a knavish, sordid, and cruel monk. It was on this occasion: the grand inquisitor had bought, at a low price, from the cardinal Peter Gomez de Banos, a debt of twelve thousand florins of gold, against the firm of the Acciapoli of Florence, who threatened to suspend payment. He desired to avail himself of the terror which his terrible office produced for him, to put himself in possession of the wealth of the firm through the regency of the republic, and obtained, in fact, sufficient security to assure himself of the entire payment of his debt. Not satisfied with these measures, he caused Sylvester Baroncelli, one of the principals of the firm, to be brought from his palace by three officers of the inquisition, and plunged in the dungeons of the holy office, until the debt was entirely paid. Fortunately, Sylvester could call for aid: the people assembled, and rescued him from the hands of the officers, who were themselves handed over to the captain of Florence, and condemned to have their hands cut off for having touched a free citizen. After the execution they were transported beyond the territories of the republic, and banished for ten years. The people then rushed to the house of the inquisitor, who had escaped out of the city to avoid the fate of his myrmidons, and pillaged his palace.

Peter d'Aquila, who had taken refuge at Sienna, immediately excommunicated the captain, and declared Florence under interdict if, within eight days, Sylvester Baroncelli was not sent to him, bound hand and foot. The Florentines appealed to the court of Avignon against this iniquitous measure, and deputed two commissioners to the true creditor of the house of Acciapoli, who paid, on account, five thousand florins; and pledged themselves, in the name of the republic, to pay the seven thousand, which were still due, in the following year. After having set things thus aright, they deposited, in the hands of the holy father, a complaint against Aquila, and proved, by authentic records, that this unworthy legate was in the habit of accusing the young girls of Florence of heresy, in order to confine them in his prisons, that he might glut his horrid passions on them. They also showed that rich citizens of the republic had been tortured by this monster until they paid him large sums. Clement, yielding to their entreaties, consented to punish the inquisitor, provided the republic would pay him ten thousand florins in gold. The Florentines sent the money which was required, and ob-

tained from the pope a decree, which provided that, in future, no inquisitor should inflict pecuniary penalties on heretics, and should only condemn them to the scaffold. They suppressed the prison especially designed for the prisoners of the inquisition; and it was decided that persons accused of heresy should be incarcerated in the public prisons: and, finally, the inquisitor was formally prohibited from having more than six familiars.

Peter d'Aquila, whom such a decree struck in his dearest interests, went at once to Avignon and offered to the holy father twenty thousand florins if he would repeal his first ordinance and confirm the excommunication lanced against Florence. Clement received the money from the inquisitor, and without further formality erased the decree, approved of the sentence of anathema uttered by Aquila, and cited the bishop of Florence, the podesta, the priors, and the captain, to appear before the sacred college, to be judged as guilty of rebellion against the church. They only shunned the condemnation by reinstating the inquisitor in his former privileges, and by paying a new fine to the court of Avignon.

Whilst Florence was thus submitting cowardly to the pontifical despotism, the Romans were assembling in arms at the call of Nicholas de Gabrino, surnamed Rienzi, and were breaking the chains of slavery.

Nicholas, the son of a mere tavern-keeper, sprung from the ranks of the people, had, from his youth, given a promise of what he would one day be. His aptness for study, and the rapid progress which he made at the first schools, determined his parents to husband all their resources to defray the expenses which the culture of letters involved at that period. The young Nicholas responded to the hopes of his family; he addicted himself with ardour to the study of the Roman orators, and drank in, in meditating on their works, a deep veneration for republican institutions.

At the time that he was acquiring a profound knowledge of the manners and laws of antiquity, he was seeking, by his eloquence, to lead the masses to the worship of freedom. Rome, though freed from popes and emperors, was still governed by nobles, who were shut up in their palaces, or in the monuments transformed into citadels, from whence they exercised every kind of brigandage against the citizens, pillaging their property, violating their wives, and massacring them without pity. The poor, even, were not beyond the reach of their cruelty; they murdered them in the streets or public places, to seize on their rags. The generous Nicholas Rienzi was moved at so deplorable a sight, and swore implacable hatred to these tyrants. He at first induced the citizens to send a deputation to Avignon to entreat the pontiff to punish his representatives in the holy city, and to give repose to the ancient city of Brutus and Cassius. But the deputation having been unable to obtain any redress from



that greedy, debauched, and proud priest, who was solely occupied with the care of extending his sway, and increasing his wealth, Nicholas resolved to call the Romans to liberty, and by the power of his eloquence to re-establish the reign of the laws. There existed not a monument, a public place, a stone in Rome that did not present the theme of a discourse which he addressed to his fellow citizens, as a lesson which the past had bequeathed to the future. At length his burning eloquence rallied an immense crowd to his views; and on the 20th of May, 1347, the republic was proclaimed, before the church of St. John of Piscina, without tumult and without fighting. Nicholas de Rienzi was conducted to the capitol, and the title of Tribune and Liberator of Rome decreed to him.

The new tribune perceived that, in order to assure the triumph of the popular cause, he must exercise extreme prudence in his new authority. He at first united himself to the legate of the pope, to avoid having three enemies to contend against at once, the nobles, the Holy See, and the emperor. He then established order in the city, by organising a regular military, and driving the turbulent barons out of it: and, finally, by his wise administration, brought back peace and plenty to his country. He sent ambassadors to the cities of Italy, and the different courts of Europe, to inform them of the re-establishment of the Roman republic. His letters were written with such persuasive eloquence, and love for the public good was expressed with such evident sincerity, that Rienzi's epistles communicated his enthusiasm to all minds. Kings themselves received his deputies respectfully. Louis of Bavaria recognised the republic; Joanna of Naples sought the friendship of the tribune; Louis of Hungary chose him as the arbiter in his quarrel with the Queen in regard to the murder of his brother Andrew; and such is the magical power of that word, *Republic*, that Rienzi, the son of an Italian inn-keeper, the man of the people, became greater than kings and emperors. Clement the Sixth, fearing lest a power so formidable should elevate itself to a rivalry with his own, resolved to destroy it before it had time to take root in the soil. He lanced a terrible anathema against the tribune, declared him to be a heretic, excommunicated him, annulled the acts of his government, and interdicted him the use of fire and water.

The enemies of Rienzi were prodigal of their gold to the people, organised a conspiracy, placed the count of Minerbino at their head, and introduced into the city a troop of banditti, who proclaimed a counter-revolution. The tribune desired to sound the tocsin of alarm to call the citizens to arms; but he found the churches in the power of the insurgents; treason was every where, and he was compelled to flee from Rome in the disguise of a monk, alone and without resources, to escape from death; he took refuge in Bohemia with the emperor Charles, who basely surrendered him to the court of Avignon. Fortunately for the

fallen tribune, a terrible scourge which had fallen upon Europe suspended the preparations for his punishment, and saved his life; the plague broke out in Italy, England, Germany, Spain, and France. The city of Avignon was decimated, and the pope thought no more of Rienzi, being occupied in collecting the spoils of a large number of rich ecclesiastics who had perished of the malady.

Whilst the cities of the empire were under the impression of the terror and affright which this public calamity inspired, Charles of Luxemburg was seeking to improve his situation, and caused his partizans to take the following oath: "I recognise the emperors to be subject to the popes; that they have no power to depose or choose them; and I regard as heretics those who affirm the contrary. I swear a blind and absolute submission to the Roman church, pledging myself upon the consecrated host to recognise no prince as lawful, without the approval of the sovereign pontiff; finally, I promise obedience and fidelity to Charles the Fourth, appointed emperor by the Holy See." This formula was rejected by the magistrates of Basle, who, in the presence of the emperor and his court, protested that they would obey him who had been proclaimed by the electors, and him only, even though his election should be against the will of the pope. In consequence of this declaration, several cities of Germany appointed deputies, who offered the imperial crown to Gunther of Schwartzenburg, a skillful captain, who had rendered great services to his country during the reign of Louis of Bavaria. He at first refused this high dignity; but when the princes, nobility, and principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom united with the deputies of the city, and declared the empire vacant, by an authentic deed, he consented to mount the throne. The first use which he made of his authority was to publish the following edict:

"Our predecessor, Louis of Bavaria, of glorious memory, who died a victim to the perfidy of the pontifical court, made a law which declared him master of the empire who shall have obtained the majority of the votes of the electors. By the advice of our ecclesiastical and secular princes we confirm this law, filled with wisdom; we also declare every act contrary to it, and all decrees made since by the pontiffs, null and void, as departing from the apostolic doctrine, which orders priests to be submissive to Cæsar." Such a protest against the pretensions of the Holy See, must necessarily draw down divine punishment on its author; accordingly, some days afterwards, the unfortunate Gunther died of poison.

Then came the period of the new jubilee, so ardently desired; and as the holy father was anxious to attract a great concourse of the faithful to Rome, he sent his bull through all Europe to excite the simple to come to obtain the plenary indulgences granted to the pilgrims. This time, the number of fanatics who visited the tomb of the apostles, and the church of the Lateran, was still greater than at the first jubilee; and during the year 1350,

more than six hundred thousand strangers visited the holy city. The pope had instructed Annibal Cecano, his legate, to receive the offerings which this crowd of brainless beings deposited upon the tomb of Saint Peter, which was done without opposition on the part of the Romans; but the cardinal legate having wished to profit by the circumstance to enrich himself, and to undertake a negotiation in indulgences on his own account by selling to the pilgrims dispensations which abridged their duties in Rome and permitted them to make a shorter sojourn in the city, the inhabitants who had transformed their houses into hotels, and who lost money as landlords in proportion as the prelate gained by vending early dismissals to their guests, wished to oppose his traffic, attacked his palace several times, and killed some of his people.

The commerce in indulgences did not, however, relax,—so strong was the faith of the pilgrims. Annibal Cecano placed his soldiers around the church of St. John of the Lateran, and at the end of the year he left Rome, followed by fifty wagons loaded with gold and silver, which he conducted to the holy father under the charge of a good escort. Clement himself had not remained inactive; he had sold a goodly number of dispensations to kings, princes, and lords who could not go to Rome; and they counted that the jubilee produced incalculable wealth to the court of Avignon.

During this display of fanaticism reappeared the sect of the Flagellants, who had been so cruelly persecuted in Italy by pope Alexander the Fourth, in the middle of the last century—and in several cities there were seen a prodigious number of men and women publicly castigating themselves to appease the anger of God.

Albertus Argentinensis says that they practised flagellation in the following manner:—“The penitents came in procession, two and two, upon the public squares before the churches; they then formed in a circle, took off their garments, and each of them, after having slowly passed around the circle, placed himself in the centre, extended upon the ground, the arms stretched out in the form of the cross, with the face to the earth; three penitents relieved each other in turn, and struck the patient with leathern thongs, garnished with iron ends. The operation being finished, the beaten one arose, sung hymns in honour of Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, made again the tour of the circle, and put on his clothes.”

These sectarians spread through Saxony, Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria; some crossed the Rhine and came into France as far as Avignon, where they flagellated themselves in the church in the presence of the cardinals and holy father. Two of these female penitents appeared to Clement so beautiful in their nudity, that he caused them to be carried off under the plea of occupying himself with their conversion, and kept them confined in his palace. The brethren, furious at the abduction of their companions, immediately

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assembled before the pontifical residence, and declared they would not separate until they had restored the prisoners to liberty. Clement ordered his guards to charge them, and fulminated a terrible anathema against the sect, enjoining on the bishops to hand them over to the inquisitors, and to punish them with fire if they refused to abjure.

At the time that he showed himself so implacable towards the Flagellants, he was defending the mendicant monks, whose depravity excited general indignation. A holy prelate accused them, in full consistory, of having despoiled the dying during the pestilence; of having entered the houses of the sick to pillage them; of having excited scandal by their shameless debaucheries with prostitutes, in the midst of the general calamity. He finished his address by invoking all the severity of the cardinals against them. Clement rose to reply to the orator.

“No, my brother,” he said to the cardinal, “the monks are not so despicable as you maintain; they have received their call from God by the mouth of the popes, to aid us in the government of the faithful. How could we teach the people if we had not these preaching brothers? Could we talk of humility, whose luxury surpasses that of satraps and Cæsars? Could we, who now hold the wealth of nations, recommend poverty? Could we speak of chastity, who are abandoned to excesses of depravity unknown to Sodom and Gomorrah? Could we blame sensuality, when our feasts equal those of Apicius and Lucullus? Finally, could we condemn frivolity, whose palaces are filled with buffoons, play-actors, and jugglers? Let us not then judge these poor monks too severely, because they have appropriated to themselves some money whilst attending on those who were afflicted with the pestilence; let us not call it ill that they repose in some commodious retreats, and repair, by succulent food, their strength, weakened by the long abstinences they have borne. I, who am infallible, declare them to be absolved from all the sins they have committed; and I even authorise them to retain the nuns who inhabit their convents, that they may multiply and increase the population decimated by the late scourge.”

Towards the close of this year (1352) Clement was attacked by a violent fever, which the physicians pronounced fatal. The holy father then appeared to be no longer assured of his own infallibility, and published a bull which contained this singular avowal:—“If, since we have been elevated to the papacy, we have advanced in our writings or language, propositions contrary to religion or morals, we revoke them, and submit them to the correction of our successor.”

The reply to this bull was not delayed, and on the next day a letter was sent to him, written in characters of fire on black vellum: “Beelzebub, prince of darkness, to pope Clement his vicar:—Your mother, Pride, salutes you; your sisters, Knavery, Avarice, and Shamelessness—and your brothers, Incest,

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Robbery, and Murder, thank you for having caused them to prosper. Given from the centre of Hell, amid the acclamations of a troop of demons, and in the presence of two hundred damned popes, who wait your presence with impatience." This letter was attributed to the metropolitan of Milan, John Visconte, to whom the pope had sold the investiture of Bologna for a hundred thousand florins in gold. Clement died on the 6th of December, 1352. His remains were transported to the abbey of Chaise-Dieu, where he had been a monk.

According to the historians of the times, the court of Avignon, under this last pontificate, was the receptacle of every vice, and of the most horrible depravity. Petrarch has left us the following description of it: "Who would not by turns smile with pity, or feel indignation in seeing these decrepid cardinals and prelates, with their white hair, and their ample togas, beneath which are concealed an impudence and lasciviousness which nothing equals? These libidinous dotards are so forgetful of age and the priesthood as to fear neither dishonour nor opprobrium; they consume their last days in every kind of excess of libertinage. These unworthy priests think to arrest time, which drags them along, and

believe themselves young in their old age, because their shamelessness and intemperance urge them on to saturnalia which are repugnant to youth. Thus Satan himself, with his infernal laugh, presides over their debauches, and places himself between the virgin objects of their nauseous amours and these old cacochymes, who become irritated at constantly finding their strength less than their lubricity.

"I will say nothing of the adulteries, rapes, incests; these are but the preludes, the beginnings, of their debauchery; I will not count the number of women carried off, or of young girls deflowered; I will not speak of the means employed to force outraged husbands and fathers to silence; I will not tell by what threats they have been compelled to take back their prostituted wives or children, bearing in their bosoms the fruit of their amours with the princes of the church; outrages which are renewed as soon as their unfortunate victims are delivered; outrages which cease only when these old men are satiated, tired, disgusted with the women whom they have deflowered. The people know these things as well as I do, and loudly condemn them; for grief now will be heard, and threats no longer awe indignation into silence."

## INNOCENT THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1352.]

*The cardinals make regulations to restrain the authority of the popes—Election of Innocent the Sixth—He annuls the rules made by the cardinals—His plans of reform—He undertakes to reconquer the domains of the church in Italy—Return of Nicholas Rienzi to Rome—His death—Persecution of the Fratricellists—Coronation of Charles the Fourth, emperor of Germany—Treaty of the Greek emperor with the pope—Death of Innocent the Sixth.*

CLEMENT the Sixth, some days before his death, made, at the request of the cardinals, some modification in the ordinance of Gregory the Sixth, regarding the conclave; he authorised the members of the sacred college to have partitions between their beds, and each cardinal to have two pages to serve him, clerks or laymen at his choice; he also permitted them to be served during the whole conclave, for dinner and supper, with a dish of meat or fish, some soup, a salad, cheese, and fruit or confectionary. Such an ordinance was still further agreeable to the prelates, since it gave them the facility of introducing their mistresses in the dress of pages, or their minions in that of priests.

Six days after the death of Clement, they assembled in the pontifical palace, to proceed to the election of a new pope. The venerable John de Birelle, the general of the Chartreux, was first proposed; but the majority rejected him, the cardinals saying, with effrontery, that they did not want an humble, chaste, and

rigid man to govern the church; but, on the contrary, they must place in the Holy See a worthy imitator of Clement; and, to fortify themselves from the consequences which might result from a bad choice, they resolved to make a regulation which might serve as a counterpoise to the power of the pope.

They consequently decreed, "That pontiffs could not create cardinals but with the consent of the members of the sacred college, and that the number should never exceed twenty; that they should not be permitted to anathematise a cardinal without the unanimous consent of his colleagues; that popes should not seize their property during their lives, nor after their death; that they should be prohibited from alienating or infeoffing the territories of the Roman church, without the consent of two thirds of the cardinals; and, finally, that the sacred college, in accordance with the privilege granted by Nicholas the Fourth, should receive half of all the revenues of the pontiff. They also decided that no relative

or ally of the pope should be promoted to the post of marshal of the pontifical court, nor that of governor of the provinces or domains of the church; and finally, that the pontiff should be prohibited from making treaties with princes, or selling to them the right to levy tithes, or reserve them from the apostolic chamber without the approval of the sacred college, whose suffrages should remain free from every influence."

Believing themselves well guaranteed against the encroachments of pontifical authority, the cardinals fixed their choice on Stephen Aubert, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who was enthroned by the name of Innocent the Sixth. This prelate was born near the small city of Pompador, in the parish of Bessae; he had been appointed Professor and Doctor of civil law at Toulouse, and had afterwards been one of the principal magistrates of that city. In 1337, he was raised to the bishopric of Noyon, from whence Clement the Sixth had drawn him to make him cardinal bishop of Ostia, and grand penitentiary. Wernerus says, "that the new pope was humble, of regular morals, and an excellent canonist." As soon as he had been proclaimed supreme chief of the church, he was subjected to the usual proof, and then the ceremony of his consecration was proceeded with.

On the day succeeding his exaltation he repealed the rules published by the cardinals, though he himself had sworn to observe them, maintaining that the pope could break the oath of the cardinal without committing a sin. Innocent in reality perjured himself in this matter, though we should not blame him too severely, as he did it to annul several scandalous privileges which had been granted to the cardinals by his predecessor. He then reduced the number of his domestics, compelled the cardinals to follow his example, and issued the following decree against the commendams, or concessions of vacant benefices to clerks and inferior prelates:—"Experience has shown that, owing to commendams, divine service is neglected in the churches; that hospitality is refused to the unfortunate; that churches are falling into ruins; and that both the spiritual and temporal rights of benefices are lost. We consequently revoke the commendams and sacrilegious concessions of prelaties, dignities, and secular or regular benefices."

The holy father exerted himself to put an end to a great number of abuses, which had for a long time become customs at the court of Rome; especially the rights which the officers of the apostolic chancellery granted, in the name of the church, to tolerate prostitutes; and the payments of the taxes which John the Twenty-second had established for incest, murder, parricide, and generally for all crimes. As he knew that the officers of the Holy See prolonged indefinitely, or terminated promptly, the affairs submitted to their judgment according to the amount of the sum they received, he desired to remedy these scandalous disorders, and decreed severe punish-

ments for them. The pontiff not only showed himself to be as austere in his morals as his predecessor had been corrupt, but he had also the merit of preferring the good of the people to his own interest. His treasures were employed in the organisation of armies, which he sent into Italy to free the provinces from a crowd of lords who had erected themselves into despots, and tyrannised over the people. The first expedition was confided to Giles Alvarez d'Alberno, his legate, who penetrated into the territories, where he found but two cities which recognised the authority of the Holy See, Monte Falco and Monte Fiascone; the other cities were all under the rule of the nobles, who murdered with indifference the partizans of the emperor or the pope.

Rome, especially, was abandoned to the most deplorable anarchy. Bands of robbers, in the pay of the Savelli and the Colonna, traversed the streets and the country, and destroyed the faithful who came as pilgrims to the church of the apostles. The people had tried several forms of government in hopes of putting an end to these disorders; after having had prefects and tribunes, they had tried rectors; they then had chosen two senators, Count Berthold des Ursini and Stephen Colonna. Under this last form the discontent had reached its height, in consequence of a considerable rise in the price of grain; agitators accused the senators of wishing to enrich themselves, by favouring the export of wheat; they attacked the capitol, and count Berthold was stoned.

Innocent, who wished to re-establish his authority over that city and Italy, adopted the policy which the kings of France had followed since the time of Philip Augustus, relying on the people to overthrow the aristocracy. He liberated the republican, Nicholas Rienzi, and promised to reinstate him as tribune in Rome, if he would second the Holy See in its plans of pacification. Rienzi eagerly accepted the proposals of the holy father, and joined the legate Giles d'Albornos, who was already marching on Rome. At the approach of the papal army, the Colonna, the Savelli, and their partizans mounted artillery upon the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance; but as soon as Nicholas Rienzi had displayed his standard, the people rushed on the nobles, drove them from the city, and opened the gates to the tribune, who went at once to the capitol amidst the acclamations of the people.

Nicholas occupied himself in re-establishing justice, and in again putting in force the wise regulations he had made before his captivity; but as he was compelled to divide his authority with the legate of the pope, the people took umbrage at it; his enemies accused him of wishing to subject Rome to a theocratic government, and showed letters which had been intercepted, and in which Innocent the Sixth gave him the title of knight and senator. Rienzi hastened to arrest the sedition, and wished to speak in order to defend himself; but he had scarcely commenced his justifica-

tion, when a monk, rushing from the crowd, cast himself, dagger in hand, upon him, and disappeared after having struck him in the throat. The tribune fell dead near the Porphyry Lion, on the great square of Rome. This tragical end left the legate sole master of the city.

Whilst we render full justice to the popes by glorifying the actions which have illustrated several pontificates, we should also show severity towards them, when they depart from the precepts of the gospel; and we cannot too much call down the reprobation of men upon the sanguinary acts of which they have been guilty. Thus Innocent the Sixth, after having edified Christendom by great virtues during the first years of his reign, turned suddenly into a fanatic, and persecuted heretics with extreme severity. He was very bitter against the Fratricelli, who courageously confessed their doctrines in the midst of frightful punishments. John of Chatillon, one of these unfortunate men, whose punishment afforded a spectacle to the pontifical court, defied the rage of his executioners at the funeral pyre, and from the midst of the flames cried out to the people, "Christians, my brethren, I declare in the presence of God who judges us, that you are the dupes of the knavery of the pope; in the name of my salvation, I affirm, that John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, Clement the Sixth, and Innocent the Sixth, are all enemies of God, simoniacs, forgers, robbers, murderers, and heretics."

Some ecclesiastical historians remark on the impassability of the pope in this matter, as a proof of the goodness of his heart; and are astonished that he did not cause the fire of the stake to be extinguished, to recommence torturing the palpitating members of the heretic. Mathew Vilani, on the other hand, exhibits indignation against this pope, who was cruel enough to listen, without emotion, to the just reproaches of an unfortunate man, given over to the punishment of fire as an expiation of his virtues. "If one wishes," he adds, "to be convinced of the cold cruelty of this priest, let him read this bull which he had before published:—

"We are informed that men, called Fratricelli, seduce the people by their humility, and teach them to fail in respect to the Holy See; we commission you to hand them over to the inquisitors, without any further form of process."

Charles the Fourth having learned that the pope had re-established his authority in Rome after the death of Rienzi, sent to demand permission from him to come and receive the crown of gold in the church of St. Peter, which was granted to him under certain very humiliating conditions. The emperor first entered Milan with naked feet, and received the iron crown from the metropolitan of that city; he then went to Rome, with the princess Anne, his wife, in the dress of pilgrims. On the day of his arrival, he was solemnly crowned emperor by Peter Bertrandi, cardinal bishop of Ostia; and immediately after the cere-

mony he left the holy city, in accordance with the promise he had made to Clement the Sixth.

No prince had shown so much subserviency to the popes as he: thus Petrarch, indignant at this act of cowardice, wrote to him, "Where will you conceal your ignominy, prince? What! you have promised, and promised under oath, to remain but a single day in Rome! What glory for a bishop thus to humiliate a sovereign, who ought to be the protector of liberty! How proud should he be at seeing you cringe beneath his feet! What more ignominious for an emperor than to be trampled under foot by an audacious priest, and to be content with the title of Cæsar, without daring to inhabit his residence? Go to,—you are fit to live in Avignon, that city which is the sink and the receptacle of all the vices!

"I can speak of it, for I know its abominations. In that third Babylon, which has no equal but Rome, there exists no pity, no charity, no faith, no fear of God; there is nothing there holy, sacred, honest, humane; in a word, shame, charity, and candour, are banished from it; as for truth, it never entered it. How could it exist in a place where every thing is false? The air, the earth, the houses, the palaces, the streets, the markets, the temples, the chambers, the beds, the angles of the walls, the hotels, the seats of the judges, the pontifical throne, and the altars consecrated to God, all are peopled by knaves and liars. In this infernal labyrinth of frightful dungeons, or sombre prisons, commands an imperious Minor, who agitates, in a fatal urn, the lot of mortals. At the least signal from his master, a minotaur, under the form of a priest, casts himself upon the victims, and drags them into the temples of the shameless Venus. No! truth could not show itself in that infamous place without being violated. Unhappy, thrice unhappy would be the candid man who should hazard himself in that abyss of vices; he would find neither fidelity, nor sincere friends, nor a second Ariadne who could give him a thread by which he might extricate himself from this inextricable labyrinth. In this city, the Elysian fields, Styx, and Acheron, are regarded as ridiculous fables; a future life, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the end of the world, and the final judgment, are regarded as tales and idle stories; in a word, the salvation of the human family lies in gold: it is gold alone which can appease the monster, enchain him, make him smile. With gold you may deflower your sisters, murder your father; with gold you can open heaven, buy the saints, the angels, the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, and the Eternal Father himself; the pope will sell you every thing for gold except his tiara."

This energetic letter made a strong impression on the emperor; he perceived the mistake he had made, and hastened to return to Germany to prevent the effects of the discontent which his submission to the pope had

excited. He was not long in perceiving the justice of the reproaches of Petrarch. At Pisa the people rose on his arrival, and wished to set fire to the palace in which he had taken refuge. Several persons of his court were hung, and he had great difficulty in escaping, by night, with his wife and the remains of his escort. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait before the walls for six hours, before the magistrates decided to permit him to enter, alone and without his sword, to rest for a day; and, finally, most of the cities refused positively to open their gates to him. Such were the sad consequences of his submission to the Holy See. Charles, however, was only a weak man, and not an incapable prince; for, on his return to his kingdom, he governed with wisdom, re-established peace and prosperity through the provinces, and published the famous bull of gold, which is the true fundamental constitution of the empire.

During this year, John Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, finding himself attacked at once by the Turks and the brother of John Cantacuzene, king of Adrianople, sent to ask for aid from the people of the west; and in accordance with the policy of his predecessors, who knew the ambition of the pontiff, he offered to the court of Avignon to submit the Greek church to it, in exchange for its protection. Innocent sought earnestly for defenders for him, and sent letters on the subject to the different Christian princes; but his missives were unanswered; and, as he could not furnish either the number of vessels or troops which were required, the schism between the east and the west continued.

The only monarch who showed any favour for the plans of the Holy See, was still Charles. Unfortunately for the pontiff, the chancellor Conrad, of Alezia, prevented the levy of subsidies by the counsel which he gave the prince. "Recollect," he said to Charles, in full council, "that the popes have always regarded Germany as an inexhaustible mine of gold; and that they have their hands constantly extended towards us to despoil us. Do we not send enough money to Avignon for the instruction of our children and the purchase of benefices? Do we not furnish every year sufficiently large sums for the confirmation of bishops, the impetration of benefices, the pursuit of processes and appeals; for dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, privileges; and, finally, for all the simoniacal inventions of the Holy See? Lo, the pope demands still a new subsidy. What does he offer us in exchange for our gold? Inefficacious blessings, anathemas, wars, and a disgraceful servitude. Arrest, prince, the course of this evil, and do not per-

mit pontifical despotism to make a second Italy out of Germany." Charles cancelled his decree, and wrote to the court of Avignon, that the subsidies which were demanded would not be paid.

Furious at this check, Innocent immediately sent his nuncio into Germany to take possession of the vacant benefices, with power to excommunicate and denounce to the tribunals of the inquisition, clergy and laity who should oppose the execution of his orders. So much cupidity excited a general discontent. On every side arose preachers who publicly condemned the conduct of the holy father, and called down the judgment of heaven on the pontifical court. Among these brother John of Rochtaillade, of the order of the Minor Brothers, was remarked for his vivid eloquence, and the efficiency of his allegories.

We translate the last sermon which he preached in Avignon: "In times past, my brethren," said the preacher, addressing the crowd, "an extraordinary bird was born into the world; it was large, strong, and had no feathers. The other birds having heard of this phenomenon, went in crowds to the place where it was born, to admire it; but, as soon as they saw this poor being trembling with cold, dying of hunger, and incapable of seeking its food—since it could not fly, they took pity on it, and agreed that each should pluck out some feathers to cover the unfortunate: this was readily done. As soon as this bird found himself covered with a plumage shining with purple and gold, he became proud and arrogant, and treated with contempt the birds who had so generously despoiled themselves for him; he soon even pretended to have sprung from the eagle of Jupiter, and wished to subdue his benefactors; he attacked them, one after another, and pursued them into all countries, to devour them. At last the birds, worn out with his tyranny, assembled in council, and decided to fall all at once on their tyrant, and tear his plumage from him. The peacock, vulture, and owl commenced the attack—the others followed: and the phenomenon bird, despoiled in a moment of the feathers which had been given to him, died of hunger on the very spot in which the birds had first found him. Thus will it happen to you, pope and cardinals," continued the orator, turning towards the tribunal of the pontifical court, "when the people shall have taken back the wealth they gave you." On quitting the stand, brother John was arrested by superior orders, and handed over to the inquisitors, who burned him as a heretic.

Innocent died shortly after, at a very advanced age; he was interred in the cathedral of Avignon, on the 12th of September, 1362

## URBAN THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1362.]

*Election of William Grimoald—He gives the bishopric of Avignon to his brother—Efforts of the pope against the Visconti—Interview between the pope and the king of France in the city of Avignon—Urban makes a journey to Rome—He gives the golden rose to the infamous Joanna of Naples—He crowns Charles the Fourth in the church of St. Peter—He prepares to return to France—Prediction of St. Bridget—Death of Urban.*

TEN days after the funeral of Innocent the Sixth, the cardinals assembled in conclave, to the number of twenty, in the pontifical palace, to elect a new chief. They disputed for a whole month, without being able to agree;—at last the wisest, despairing of ever putting an end to the divisions of their colleagues, proposed to choose a pope from without the sacred college, and to cast their suffrages upon William Grimoald, or Grimand, abbot of the monastery of St. Victor, at Marseilles. This motion was favourably received by the cardinals; they wished, however, beforehand, to make conditions with him, and wrote to him to come to them secretly, to give them his advice in relation to the election of a new pontiff. The abbot hastened to obey; and when he arrived, they proposed to elect him supreme chief of the church, if he would swear to permit the cardinals to accumulate benefices, and to keep their equipages, palaces, concubines, and minions. He consented to every thing, and was proclaimed pope on the 28th of October, 1362, by the title of Urban the Fifth.

He was a son of the lord of Grisac, a domain situated in Gevaudan, in the diocese of Mende. He had been set aside for a monastic life from his youth, and placed in the priory of Chiriac, whose superior was renowned for his depraved morals. This abbot, who had conceived a scandalous affection for the young Grimoald, wished to offer violence to him; but the child resisted, and informed his father of the danger he had incurred. He took him at once from the monastery, and sent him to Montpellier, to finish his studies. His progress in science acquired for him, some years after, the rank of doctor; he was a professor of the civil and canon law, first at Montpellier, and afterwards at Avignon: in this last place, he was preferred to the abbey of Saint Victor, by Innocent the Sixth.

On the day succeeding his installation in the Holy See, Urban gave the bishopric of Avignon to his brother, the canon Anglic Grimoald, and put an end to the scandal the popes had so long given, by leaving that church without a pastor to seize on the revenues of the diocese. It is true, that no particular merit was due to Urban for filling this vacancy, as, in so doing, he had no other intention than to prepare for the return of the pontifical court to Rome, where the legate, Giles d'Albornos, still ruled as absolute master.

Unfortunately, at the very moment in which he was counting to put his plans in execution,

a revolution broke out in Italy; the Ghibelines took up arms, attacked the Guelphs, and massacred a prodigious number of the partizans of the popes. Giles d'Albornos, on his side, assembled an army, fell on the revolted cities, sacked and burned them, and was seen, himself, with his sword in his hand, and his casque on his head, setting an example of pillage, rape, and murder. The brothers Visconti, however, and especially Barnabo, repulsed the troops of the legate, and obliged them to shut themselves up in Rome. The pope, unable to annihilate his enemies, declared them to be excommunicated heretics, and deprived of all their dignities; he prohibited the faithful from communing with them; and after having fulminated a terrible sentence of anathema in the cathedral of Avignon, he mounted the altar, extended his arms toward heaven, and pronounced horrible imprecations, calling Jesus Christ, the apostles, the saints, and all the heavenly hosts to his aid, to exterminate the Visconti.

Barnabo continued none the less to combat the legate, with alternate reverses and successes; finally, after a year's contest he was, in his turn, repulsed by the troops of the pope, and forced to fall back on Bologna. He then agreed to lay aside his arms, engaging to restore the castles and fortresses on which he had seized in the districts of Modena, Bologna and Romagna, on condition that he should be paid the sum of five hundred thousand florins in gold in eight years' time, counting from the day of the restitution of the places taken from the church. In consequence of this treaty, the lord Barnabo became a son of the church; he was declared innocent of all the crimes for which the pope had excommunicated him, and relieved from the censures pronounced by the court of Rome.

During the following year, the king of France went to the holy father to consult him on the proposal which the ambassadors from Naples made him to espouse Queen Joanna, whose second husband had died after a wasting and enfeebling illness; thus uniting upon his head the crowns of France, Naples, Sicily, and Provence. Urban, to whom this alliance was very distasteful, hastened to dissuade John the First from concluding this marriage with Queen Joanna, whose turpitudes he unveiled, and whom he represented as the most depraved of the prostitutes of her kingdom. He informed him of the numerous murders she had committed among her lovers, and showed him even the correspondence between Clement the Sixth and that princess, in which

the causes of the assassination of Andrew were related in obscene terms, and in which Joanna proposed to the holy father to purchase absolution from him by gold and nights of pleasure. John, who was now old, feared the consequences of an union with this Messalina, and promised the pontiff to put off his plan.

This was not enough for Urban, who feared, more than any thing in the world, the realization of a marriage which would have made the popes dependents on the French sovereigns; to cause him to break it finally, he resolved to create serious occupations for John, and to name him as chief of a new crusade in Palestine. Religious enthusiasm was, at this time, generally very cold; the wary pontiff, however, availing himself of the arrival of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had come to Avignon to solicit aid against the Saracens, celebrated a solemn mass in the presence of the two sovereigns, and preached a new crusade with so much unction, that the stupid John exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, that he would avenge Christ. Immediately, and without giving him time for reflection, he was conducted before the altar, and sworn on the consecrated host to conduct one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers into Asia.

On his return to his capital, John experienced a lively opposition on the part of his council to the execution of his extravagant projects. His ministers represented to him that his kingdom was plunged into the most profound misery, that pestilence and famine were desolating his people, that it was impossible to find money to defray the expenses of a crusade, and that his age and infirmities prevented him from directing so dangerous a war; they recalled the example of his predecessors who had ruined and depopulated France, without being able to conquer a rood of the Holy Land. All remonstrances were useless; the obstinate old man would listen to nothing; he ordered a recoinage of money to procure him silver, and convoked all who held tenure under the crown, to organise his army. But none of the other princes of Europe being willing to join the king of France, this holy enterprise did not take place.

Moreover, as in the interval Queen Joanna had espoused the king of Majorca, one of her lovers, and had taken a new oath of obedience to the Holy See, the pope ceased to concern himself about the crusade. All his cares were applied to one end, that of obtaining means to return to Italy. He openly announced that it was his desire to establish the pontifical court at Rome; and, by his orders, the bishop of Orvieto went to the holy city to superintend the repairs of the pontifical palace. At length on the 30th of April, 1367, Urban embarked at Marseilles, with a numerous train, on a fleet of twenty-three richly decorated galleys, which his allies the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, had sent to him. He arrived at Genoa, after a passage of forty days, and from that city he went to Viterba, where he intended to sojourn for some months. Or, his entrance into that city, the holy father

was assailed by a crowd of citizens who demanded justice on his legate Giles d'Albornos, who was by his side. This manifestation so alarmed him, that in order to appease them he ordered him to leave the procession, and to be ready to render an account of his conduct at first call. The cardinal obeyed; but on the next day, at day-break, a great noise of horses and rattling of iron was heard beneath the windows of the pope's apartment, and when Urban stepped on the balcony to inquire the cause, he saw his legate in a chariot with an enormous quantity of keys which he was jingling. "Holy father," he exclaimed, "behold the keys of the cities which I have subjugated for your holiness. I know that one should never expect gratitude from kings and popes. I have served you too well, and to the detriment of the people; I repent it. Adieu!" and leaping upon a horse which his people held, he struck him with the spurs, left Viterba, and abandoned the carriage bearing the keys.

When the people heard of this flight, they accused Urban of having favoured it, to free this great culprit from their vengeance; a revolt broke out, and armed bands traversed the streets, exclaiming, "long live the people! death to the priests." The cardinals, who were lodged in isolated palaces, hurried at once to the pontifical residence which was fortified; and it is related that the panic was so great among them, that the cardinal de Vabres fled in his shirt from a brothel where he had passed the night; and that the cardinal de Carcasonne escaped from a Benedictine convent, in the disguise of a nun.

Urban, fearful of the consequences of this insurrection, sent an express to his legate with a letter in which he besought him to return. As ambition easily deceives itself, Giles thought he had been restored to favour; he assembled some troops and attacked Viterba, which he immediately seized. The populace was disarmed, and the chains, which shut up the streets, were taken away; the pope then caused scaffolds to be erected on the public places, and two hundred of the principal inhabitants were hung. Tranquillity was thus re-established in Viterba. Some days afterwards, Giles d'Albornos was assassinated by the son of a citizen, in revenge for the death of his father. Urban feared a return of the troubles, and precipitately quitted that city, with his suite and an escort of two thousand armed men, to go to Rome. He was received with great demonstrations of joy by the clergy, who conducted him in triumph to the palace of the Vatican. Joanna of Naples also came to pay her homage to the holy father, and was admitted to his intimacy to the great scandal of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who was astonished that a pope would consent to pass whole days shut up with a female so decayed: but the motive of these mysterious conferences was soon known. The day of the blessing of the golden rose having arrived, the pontiff, instead of offering it to Lusignan, as every one expected, presented it to the beautiful



queen of Naples, who had become his mistress.

Such a mark of condescension to a crowned courtizan discontented the cardinals, and they made some observations on it to his holiness. In order to force them to silence and to show them how much he respected them, Urban assembled them in consistory on the following Sunday, and in the presence of the court and the foreign ambassadors, he passed an eulgium on Joanna, exalted her charity, her mildness, her courage, and gave to her a sword of gold. After the session, he retired with her to his delicious villa of Monte Fiascone, leaving to the cardinals the care of conducting the affairs of the church. James the Third, the husband of Joanna, informed of what was going on at the court of the pope, sent an express to his wife to return to Naples, threatening to expose her infamy to all the kings of Europe.

Urban, furious that any one should dispute his mistress with him, annulled, without loss of time, the third marriage of Joanna, under the pretext of relationship, and declared her at liberty to take another husband. Notwithstanding this decision, the Italian lords, indignant at the audacity of the pope, revolted against the Holy See, and the war commenced more terribly than before. Joanna, unwilling to share the perils of her lover, returned to Naples, and left Urban to his enterprises against the insurgents. In this extremity, the latter called the emperor Charles the Fourth, to his aid, who hastened into Italy, at the head of twenty thousand Germans, and presented himself before Verona. After having taken it, he marched on Milan, which he uselessly invested, the troops of Barnabo Visconti raising the blockade of the place. He then went to Viterba, where the pope awaited him to conduct him to Rome; the empress rejoined them in this last city, to receive the crown from the hands of the holy father.

Without disquieting themselves at the presence of the German army, the Visconti continued to carry on war with the adherents of the popes; his holiness then wished the emperor to give more severe orders to his troops to achieve the extermination of that family.

On the refusal of Charles to command bloody executions, which were nothing less than general massacres, in the finest provinces of Italy, Urban detached himself from his cause and resolved to depose him. But before acting openly, he thought it prudent to return to France, where the protection of King John the First would place him beyond the reach of all violence. During his preparations for the journey, John Paleologus came to Rome in person, to ask succours from the pope against the Musselmens, who were menacing his capital. The Greek prince was received by the Roman clergy with great honours; he made a profession of the orthodox faith in the church of the Holy Spirit, and swore to reduce his subjects to submission to the Roman church, if the western princes would consent to furnish him with troops to repulse the armies of the infidels. Unfortunately, his presents and promises could not induce the sovereigns of Europe to aid him, and he was compelled to return to Constantinople without money, without an army, and with the sole consolation of being an orthodox Christian.

Urban, released by the departure of the Greek emperor, was occupied with assuring the execution of his plans against the emperor of Germany; and, in a sermon, he informed the Romans that affairs of the highest importance compelled him to make a journey to Avignon. This resolution excited great discontent among the clergy; the monks even came in procession to address remonstrances to the pope; Saint Bridget, who was on a pilgrimage to the holy city, also came to the Vatican, at the instigation of a cardinal, and informed Urban that she had had a vision, in which the archangel Michael had revealed to her, that he would die on the very day on which he touched the land of France. The pontiff, who understood the value of prophecies, paid no regard to the warnings of the saint: he embarked at Corneto, and nineteen days afterwards entered Avignon. But evil befel him; for, on the day of his arrival, he was taken very sick, and died on the night of the 19th December, 1370. His remains were transported to the abbey of Saint Victor, at Marseilles, where he had erected a tomb.

## GREGORY THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1371.]

*Election of Gregory the Eleventh—He pursues the Visconti—Foundation of the kingdom of Tinacria—Origin and doctrine of the Turlupins—Revolt of the Florentines—Marvellous history of Saint Catherine of Sienna—Return of the holy father to Rome—Wickliff the heretic—New revolt of the Florentines—Death of Gregory.*

THE cardinals assembled in conclave on the 29th of December, 1370, and proclaimed Peter Roger de Maumont, cardinal of Beaufort, so-

vereign pontiff, who was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Eleventh, after the usual ceremonies. The new pope was the nephew

of Clement the Sixth, who had elevated him to the cardinalate at seventeen years of age. Following the example of his predecessor, he declared himself the enemy of the Visconti; and as soon as he was upon the throne, he addressed a terrible bull to the bishops of the empire, in which, after having brought accusations of all kinds against Barnabo, he added: "Finally, this obstinate heretic has dared to arrest the bishop of Milan, because that virtuous prelate refused to elevate to the episcopate a monk, our declared enemy, who called the Holy See the throne of Satan; and when the holy prelate had been brought into his presence, he made him fall on his knees, and addressing him rudely, said to him, 'Wherefore, lewd fellow, hast thou refused to obey me? Dost thou not know that I am emperor and pope in my own domains, and that even God has no authority in them, but what I am willing to grant him? To inform thee of it, the executioner is about to apply fifty blows of the baton.' After this execution he has pushed his audacity so far as to proclaim his monk sovereign pontiff, by the name of Girardotus the First, and has prohibited his subjects from coming to our court to purchase indulgences, benefices, and absolutions; maintaining that his pope had as good a stock of these articles as we, and that he would furnish them at a discount."

Gregory finished his letter by declaring those excommunicated who should give aid, counsel, provisions, or money to the Visconti. He did not confine himself to spiritual arms, which were becoming daily less redoubtable. He levied an army, and entrusted the command of it to Amedeus, count of Savoy. The Visconti, alarmed by these preparations, then wished to enter into an arrangement with the Holy See, and made overtures of peace; but the pope refused even to see the ambassadors. "No, no," he said to the cardinal who asked permission to present them to him, "it is useless for me to see them; I will spare them from perjury, and I will save their souls in despite of themselves, by causing them to be interred alive if they fall into my hands." Hostilities then continued between the two parties, until money failing the pope, with which to pay his troops, he was obliged to conclude a truce with Galeas and Barnabo.

In the midst of these wars the holy father was not forgetful of the pecuniary interests of his see, and he imposed himself as an arbitrator between Joanna of Naples and Frederick the Second, king of Sicily, called the Simple, whose kingdom that princess claimed, by virtue of a treaty concluded in 1302 between Charles the Second and Frederick of Arragon. The intervention of Gregory prevented, it is true, a rupture between the two kingdoms; but they paid very dear for it, for Joanna was stripped of her pretensions, and the king of Sicily was mulcted in an annual tribute to the Holy See of fifteen thousand ducats. On the payment of this sum, Frederick, and his successors, were declared the lawful sovereigns

of Sicily, which took the name of the kingdom of Trinacria.

The resources of the pontiff were already commencing singularly to fail; enthusiasm for crusades and indulgences had gone out of fashion; even the tax on crimes scarcely brought in any thing; whilst, on the other hand, the luxury of the cardinals increased as the revenues decreased. Thus, this rental of fifteen thousand ducats was promptly dissipated, and the holy father had to think seriously how he was to raise money. The simplest mode of procedure, he thought, was to light again the funeral pyres, and confiscate the property of heretics. Gregory then became a persecutor. The first sect whom he pursued was that of the Turlupins.

Haillan thus speaks of these schismatics:—"They were the continuators of the doctrine of the poor of Lyons, the Vaudois of Toulouse, and of the unfortunate Albigenes, who, for almost two centuries, had struggled against the execrable tyranny of the popes. They were called Turlupins, because, like wolves, they assembled by night in the woods; their enemies had also surnamed them Bulgarians, confounding them with the pretended Manicheans, who had spread from Bulgaria into Italy and France. For a long time sacerdotal policy had understood how advantageous it was to calumniate those whose spoils they coveted. Thus the Turlupins were not spared; they accused them, as they had done the Templars, of practising all kind of abominations and sacrileges. They pretended that they taught that man, on reaching a certain degree of perfection, was freed from the divine law, and was no longer subjected to the yoke of Christ, nor of his vicar; they affirmed that they never prayed to God, under the pretext, that prayers having been written by men, had not a divine character. False witnesses even deposed, that they assisted at their ceremonies in absolute nudity, and that they openly committed fornication."

Notwithstanding these atrocious accusations, Gregory could not diminish the veneration which was paid to them in Dauphiny, and informed Charles the Fifth, that his officers refused to persecute the heretics, and wrote to him:—"Prince, we have been informed that there is in Dauphiny, and the neighbouring provinces, a multitude of heretics, called Vaudois, Turlupins, or Bulgarians, who are possessed of great riches. Our holy solicitude is turned towards that poor kingdom, which God has confided to you, to exterminate the schism; but your officers, corrupted by the gold of these reprobates, instead of assisting our dear sons, the inquisitors, in their holy ministry, have themselves fallen into the snare, or rather have found death. And all this is done before the eyes of the most powerful lords of Dauphiny. We order you, then, by virtue of the oath you have taken to the Holy See, to exterminate these heretics; and we enjoin you to march, if necessary, at the head of your armies, to excite the zeal of

your soldiers, and reanimate the courage of the inquisitors."

Charles the Fifth, called the Wise, seconded well the pope in his sanguinary plans. Soon a general massacre of the unfortunate Turlupins took place throughout all France; the dungeons of the inquisition were encumbered with victims, and they had even to build new prisons at Embrun, Vienne, Avignon, and a great number of other cities, to hold the accused. At Paris, they burned, by the hands of the executioner, without the gate Saint Honoré, in the hog market, the works and garments of pretended heretics; the grand inquisitor condemned to be burned the celebrated Joanna of Aubenton, whose intelligence, eloquence, and virtues rendered her one of the most celebrated females of the age; and on her scaffold they bore the dead body of a preacher, who had succumbed before the tortures of water and fire, which had been inflicted upon him simultaneously. At Toulouse and Avignon, the flames devoured several thousands of these unfortunates, who were gangrened and poisoned by heresy, as the holy father expressed it.

These terrible executions brought in magnificent recompenses to the persecutors, as a letter of Charles the Fifth, addressed "to Pierre Jacques de More, grand inquisitor of the Bulgarians, in the province of France," attests. The sect of the Turlupins was finally entirely annihilated, and the coffers of the apostolic chancellery were gorged with riches.

Gregory, thus finding himself in a situation to retake the field and to levy a powerful army against the Visconti, addressed letters to the emperor of Germany, the duke of Austria, the king of Hungary, the king of Sicily, and even the king of France, to inform them of his resolution to return to Italy and re-establish the residence of the Holy See in the ancient city of the Cæsars. His pretext was the temporal and spiritual interest of the church, which commanded him, he said, to retake the direction of the diocese of Rome, so as not to furnish an excuse to prelates, who, after the example of the popes, made no scruple in abandoning their churches, to occupy themselves exclusively with accumulating benefices and collecting enormous revenues. The better to conceal his plan, he even published a constitution which enjoined on bishops, regular abbots, and the heads of orders, to go to their churches in less than two months.

The spring, however, arrived, and the pope had not yet left Avignon, detained either by the pleasures and debauchery of that city, or by the preparations for war against the Visconti, which were not yet finished. On their part, the foreign prelates remained also, captivated by the charms of that third Babylon, without paying any regard to the orders of Gregory; and as he wished one day to compel a bishop to return to his diocese, the latter thus addressed him in the presence of the cardinals and ambassadors:—"Thou who wouldst force the shepherds to remain amid their

flocks, why dost thou dwell away from Rome? Is it because the corrupt population of the city in which thou residest applauds the crowd of thy buffoons, minions and courtzans? Is it, finally, because thou canst commit with impunity adultery, incest, rape, and assassination? Well, we would follow this example; we wish to sacrifice to the gods of sodomy, robbery, and murder, in the temple thou hast erected to them." Desmarests, who reports this, says, that Gregory contented himself with replying to him: "Our dear bishop has passed the night in some tavern, in company with women of pleasure, and has left all his reason in the bottom of the wine cup."

Avignon, the abode of luxury and pleasure, was, in fact, a new Capua for the popes; and it was the more difficult for them to abandon it, since they had discovered the impossibility of transplanting its delights to the banks of the Tiber, among that crowd of mendicant monks, which covered Italy like an immense leprosy, and paralysed its agriculture, industry, and commerce.

From the midst, however, of the excess of misery and abjection, into which the Italian provinces were plunged, sparks of liberty and independence were emitted. At Milan, Rome, and Genoa they rose against their tyrants; at Florence, the people, worn out by the exactions of the legate, revolted and formed a powerful league, into which almost all the places and cities of the ecclesiastical states entered; every where the standard of the pope was cast down, and replaced by a standard formed of a long strip of purple, on which was written the Latin word "Libertas." Perouse, Bologna, Modena, Forli, and Nocera joined the revolt, and drove away the cardinals Noellet and Geraud, as well as the other nuncios of the Holy See; finally, the fortresses and fortified castles, those retreats of tyrants, were demolished throughout Tuscany.

On the news of this revolution, Gregory published a bull, prohibiting the people of Christendom, under penalty of anathema and excommunication, from lending, giving, or selling, to the Florentines, arms, money, corn, wine, wool, cloth, or any merchandise; he declared them deprived of all privileges; he suppressed their university, confiscated all their property, and gave to those who should seize their persons, power to sell them as slaves; finally, he levied a formidable army, which he placed under the command of John, an Englishman, and John of Malestroit, a Breton lord, and sent it against Florence. The papal troops could not seize the city; still, however, they ruined the environs and intercepted all communications from without.—This movement compelled the Florentines to enter into a negotiation with the pontiff; not for the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace, but to gain time, and wait the reinforcements of their allies, as appears from the choice which they made, as ambassador, of a young nun, named Catherine, of Sienna, whose beauty was remarkable, and who passed for inspired. Marvellous histories are related concerning

this saint and her ecstasies, and of Raymond of Capua, her confessor, a knavish and debauched monk, who abused the poor fanatic.

The Florentines sent her as their ambassador to Avignon: the monk Raymond, her confessor, was unwilling to leave her, and accompanied her in her journey. She obtained the favour of a secret interview with the pontiff; and whether she was enabled to convince him of the reality of her marriage to Christ, by revealing to him mysteries which he believed impenetrable, or whether the intercourse between them was like that between Joanna of Naples and Clement the Sixth, it is none the less true that Gregory gave to her full power to treat of peace with the Florentines, and to determine them to pay him a large sum of money as a tribute. Saint Catherine left the city of Avignon, and was replaced by deputies less agreeable to the pope; it was an embassy which had Lucius Savelli as its head, which came in the name of the Romans, to represent to Gregory that it was absolutely necessary he should reside at Rome, since he called the Roman territory his patrimony; they signified to him that the people had determined to choose the abbot of Monte Cassino as sovereign pontiff, if he refused to embark immediately for Italy. Lucius Savelli swore on the crucifix that his fellow citizens recognised Gregory as absolute master of their property and lives, and that they would hand to the cardinal Peter, his legate, the keys of the bridges, gates, and towers situated beyond the Tiber, as soon as the apostolic court had touched the port of Ostia. A step so energetic, left to the holy father no other alternative than a schism or his departure from France. He determined on the latter, and on the 13th of September, 1376, he left the beautiful city of Avignon, escorted by his cardinals, mistresses, and minions, and went towards Marseilles, where he embarked. In his journey he visited Genoa, Pisa, Pevinbino, Port Hercules, and Corneto, and finally arrived at Ostia, passed up the Tiber, and entered Rome on the 17th of January, 1377.

On the next day he gave a sumptuous feast to the principal magistrates, in the palace of the Vatican, and distributed some alms to the poor. This became the cause of his disasters. Parsimonious as were his largesses, they exhausted the treasures of the church, and compelled Gregory to have recourse to loans, and as his creditors, who were already numerous, refused to make him new advances, he wished to tax the English, and published a bull, imposing on the ecclesiastics of that kingdom a tax of a tithe of their revenue; but he encountered a very active opposition.

For many years the clergy of Great Britain, sustained by the kings and the aristocracy, submitted impatiently to the yoke of the Roman church, and endeavoured to enfranchise themselves; several distinguished scholars, and among them the celebrated Wickliff

combated the ultramontane doctrines, and sought to free their country from the pontifical sway. Already had King Edward the Third, at the instigation of the learned doctor, refused to do homage for the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Pope Urban the Fifth, and to pay the annual tribute which John Lackland had engaged to pay to the Holy See, and which was in arrears for thirty-two years. Gregory, to defeat so formidable an enemy as Wickliff, was so imprudent as to declare him to be a heretic, and he even wrote to William of Courtenay, bishop of London: "We order you, my brother, to cause the heretic John Wickliff to be arrested, and to put him to the torture, and send us under wax and seal the avowals which the tortures shall have drawn from him; you will then keep him well guarded until you have been advised of our decision, whether to put him to death or to set him at liberty."

The pope at the same time addressed other letters, and on the same subject, to King Edward, to his son the prince of Wales, to the university of Oxford, and to the clergy; but the illustrious professor, sustained by the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, the university, and the king himself, braved the ecclesiastical thunders with impunity, and continued in his eloquent discourse to sap the basis of the pontifical power, by developing to the people the cruelties of the inquisitors and the scandalous turpitude of the court of Rome.

Having thus failed in his end, which was to procure money, Gregory found himself lowered in the opinion of the Romans, and was even obliged to retire to Anagni, to avoid being insulted by the lords banneret. As he was meditating a flight to France, he received a visit from Saint Catherine of Sienna, who came to render him an account of the ill success of her negotiation with her compatriots, who not only refused to pay the sum which the pope demanded for taking off the censures pronounced against them, but who even had the audacity to drive away the holy woman, loading her with injuries. This last blow broke down the courage of the holy father; the chagrin which he experienced, caused him to fall into a profound melancholy, which aggravated a disease under which he had laboured for many years. As he perceived his strength to be falling daily, he was transported to Rome, where he published the following bull, which may be regarded as the cause of the schism which rent the west for half a century, and caused torrents of Christian blood to flow:—"If my death happens before the first day of the month of September, the cardinals who shall be about me, without sending or waiting for the absent, shall proceed at once to the election of our successor."

He died on the 27th of March, 1378; his body was first deposited in St. Peter's, and then interred in the church of St. Maria de Novo, which had been his title as cardinal.

URBAN THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTH  
POPE, AT ROME.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1378.]

*General ideas upon the great western schism—Stormy election of Urban the Sixth—His conduct draws on him the hatred of the cardinals—Massacre of the French at Rome—Rupture between Urban and Joanna of Naples—Election of Clement the Seventh by the French cardinals—The kings of France and Castile recognise Clement as the sole legitimate pope—War between the two popes—Urban induces Charles de Duras, her adopted son, to assassinate Joanna of Naples—Crusades against France—Quarrel between Urban and Charles de Duras—The holy father excommunicates his enemy—Punishment of the cardinals suspected by Urban of favouring the party of Charles de Duras—Urban is driven from Rome—Clement seats himself at Avignon—Picture of the morals of his court—The hermit soothsayer—Return of Urban to Rome—He dies from poison.*

AFTER the death of Gregory, broke out the great western schism, which for fifty years turned Europe upside down. In Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, they took up arms to defend the rights of the popes of Rome, or make the pontiffs of Avignon triumph. These infallibles excommunicated and denounced each other, revealing the turpitude of each, and reciprocally accused their rivals of incest and sodomy, giving and retaliating the epithets, thieves, assassins, heretics, and anti-popes.

History has not yet decided which of them were the true pontiffs; and as, in the course of their reigns, they were rivals in crimes and outrages, one cannot say which of them were the most execrable, and best deserved the title of pope. In this uncertainty, we will preserve the name for both those chosen at Rome, and those at Avignon, since they all proved themselves equally worthy to bear it. A Jesuit, Father Maimburg himself, says, "We must avow, that in the course of thirteen centuries, no schism was more alarming than that, as well from the atrocities which the two parties committed, as from the impossibility under which the church laboured for fifty years, of recognising which was the lawful pope. An universal council, which had the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit, could not decide this grave question; and the fathers declared that it was better to act by authority, than from a knowledge of facts, in a cause so involved; and, in fact, they deposed the two popes, and proceeded to the election of a third pontiff. Thus was seen, at this deplorable time, a thing which had never before occurred;—they declared that there was a schism, without schismatics."

As soon as the funeral ceremonies of Gregory the Eleventh were over, and whilst the cardinals were yet assembled in the church of Saint Maria, a deputation from the principal magistrates of Rome addressed these sage remonstrances to them: "Illustrious prelates, you must know that the long sojourn of the popes in France has caused the ruin of Italy; and that even at Rome, the churches, the orders of the cardinals, and the palaces have

fallen into ruin. There is but one remedy for so many evils, which is, to fix irrevocably the residence of the popes in the city in which the people believe God established the Holy See, and in which all the pontiffs to Clement the Fifth resided. If, since that period, the chiefs of the church have abandoned Italy, it is because they were Frenchmen; and you know very well, that among men of that nation the love of country exceeds the zeal for religion. Thus their absence from Rome has excited rebellion in cities and places which were the ancient patrimony of the Roman church; and those cities have justly broken the yoke of officers who oppressed them in the name of strange popes. The result is, that the apostolic see draws no more revenue from its old domains, and has even been obliged to levy troops to bring back its subjects to their duty. All these wars have weakened the resources of the Holy See; and you have seen the want of money reduce the papacy to the lowest degree of contempt and abjectness. If, then, you would shun greater evils, we beseech you to assemble immediately in conclave, and choose a pontiff who is a Roman or Italian by birth; if you do not, fear lest the anger of the people light upon you."

The cardinals protested their good intentions, declaring, however, that they could not enter into any formal engagement. The magistrates, discontented with this ambiguous reply, seized the keys of the city, which were in the hands of the officers of the church, and caused the cardinals to be conducted, under a strong escort, to the Vatican, and confined in the chamber of conclave. Scarcely had they assembled, when the people made an irruption into the great square which surrounded the palace, exclaiming, "A Roman pope, or death to the cardinals."

At almost the same moment a storm broke over the city; a thunderbolt fell among the conclave, overturned the table of the secretary, broke the doors of the chambers, and lighted up, with its sinister light, a picture, which filled the cardinals with terror. In an immense gallery surrounding the conclave, the

chiefs of the quarters and the bannerets, at the head of their armed men, were ranged in order of battle; behind them were the soldiery, shaking the walls and floors with blows of pikes and halberds; they also perceived before the Vatican an immense scaffold with fagots of vine branches and dry reeds, to burn them alive. The members of the sacred college judged that their only choice was between martyrdom and the nomination of an Italian pontiff, and they chose the Neapolitan, Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bare, supreme chief of the church. The French, however, reserved to themselves the right of protesting afterwards against the violence done to them, and agreed among themselves that this election should be only provisional. According to the historian, Henry of Sponda, Bartholomew pledged himself to surrender the tiara to him whom the members of the sacred college reserved to themselves the right of choosing in a more regular election. Notwithstanding this formal engagement, he compelled the cardinals, some days afterwards, to assist at the ceremonies of the pierced chair, and to consecrate him by the name of Urban the Sixth.

Such were the events which placed Bartholomew Prignano on the pontifical chair; "a prelate who would have been regarded as most worthy of the papacy, if he had never been pope;" a singular eulogy which we find in a history of the church written by Berauld Bercautel, an adorer of the Roman purple. Is not the avowal, that a worthy archbishop, by mounting the Holy See, immediately became an execrable priest, enough to condemn the institution? Is it not enough to induce men to overthrow the colossus with the head of clay and the feet of brass, to show them that the supreme power perverts those who are invested with it?

Be that as it may, the court of Rome, indignant at the faithlessness of the new pope to his promise, threatened to separate from its chief and produce a schism, if he did not fulfil the engagements entered into in the conclave. This threat exasperated Urban; he vowed an implacable hatred to the French, and the better to rule them he resolved to remove them from his court; then, under the veil of great zeal for ecclesiastical discipline, he sought to discredit them, by publicly calling them sodomites, robbers and heretics; but these gross injuries produced no other result than to alienate all the prelates from him. He next exasperated the officers of the treasury against himself, by causing a collector of the apostolic chamber to be flogged unmercifully, for not having brought back enough money from a tour through the provinces.

The cardinals, tired of the tyranny of Urban, availed themselves of the return of summer to obtain permission to leave Rome and go to Anagni. On the day succeeding their arrival, they were joined by the cardinal Camerlingo, who brought with him the tiara, the keys of Saint Peter, the apostolic ring, and the other pontifical ornaments. They then

published a decree, declaring the election of Urban null, as having been produced by violence; and they wrote to Bernard de la Sale, a French captain who was at Viterba, to come with his troops to guard the sacred college, whilst they proceeded to a new election. That captain started at once, after having overthrown a multitude of armed men, commanded by Urban in person, who had endeavoured to arrest his march. This victory was fatal to the French inhabitants of Rome, for the holy father turned all his anger against them; he ordered his satellites to make a general massacre of them, without sparing sex or age; women, children, and old men were murdered, and several bishops were assassinated in the chamber of Urban, where they had taken refuge to implore his pity. On hearing the news of this butchery, the cardinals addressed the following manifesto to all the powers of Europe:—

"We have already informed you of the fury of the Roman people and their leaders, as well as of the violence done to us by forcing us to choose an Italian pope whom the Holy Spirit had not chosen. A multitude, carried away by fanaticism, wrested from us the temporary appointment of an apostate, a murderer, a heretic soiled with every crime; he himself had recognised that his election was to be only provisional. In contempt of his oath, he, however, compelled us by threats of death to elevate him to the chair of the apostle, and to cover his proud forehead with the triple crown. Now that we are beyond the reach of his anger, we declare him to be an intruder, usurper and antichrist; we pronounce an anathema against him, and those who shall submit to his authority."

Urban, who dreaded the issue of a controversy with the French cardinals, did not reply to this manifesto, but sought to negotiate a peace with them, that he might afterwards destroy them. Otho of Brunswick, and Joanna of Naples, his wife, sent ambassadors to the insurgents to propose to them, in the name of the holy father, to enter into conferences in order to conclude some arrangement. The cardinals listened favourably to these overtures, and sent three of their number to Rome, who came with the envoys of Joanna to beseech the pope to submit to the chances of a new election. At this demand Urban became furious, spoke grossly of the queen, and wrote a violent letter to her in which he not only recalled the murder of Andrew and her debauchery with his predecessors Clement the Sixth and Urban the Fifth, but even threatened to divulge her crimes, and excommunicate her and her fourth husband. This rupture between the courts of Rome and Naples was useful to the French cardinals, and procured for them the protection of Queen Joanna, who even offered them the city of Fondi, in which they could proceed, without fear, to the election of a chief of the church. The latter accepted the residence which was offered them, and were engaged at once in forming a conclave; as, however, they had

no Italian prelates among them, and as they were fearful lest, in consequence of it, the cardinals of that nation would desire to annul the election, under pretext that they had not concurred in it, they determined to renew the expedient employed by Philip, count of Poitiers, after the death of Clement the Fifth; that is, by writing secretly to three of the partizans of Urban, to induce them to come to the conclave, by leading them each to hope that the choice of his colleagues would fall on him. This ruse succeeded perfectly; the three cardinals hastened to Fondi and took part in the ballot; they were not long in discovering they had been tricked, for on counting the votes, Robert of Geneva, a cardinal priest of the order of the twelve apostles, was proclaimed chief of the church, and enthroned by the name of Clement the Seventh.

A bull was addressed to all the courts of Europe to inform them of this great news; and three days after his exaltation, the new pope embarked for France and came to Avignon to be consecrated. Maimburg has left us a very curious notice of Clement: "Robert of Geneva was thirty-six years old when he reached the pontificate," says the learned doctor; "he was of moderate stature, and one leg was rather shorter than the other, an infirmity which he knew how to hide by affecting a measured walk; his inclinations and manners were those of an emperor; and he spared nothing to treat with royal luxury the dukes, lords, and ambassadors who were admitted to his table. He spoke with facility Latin, French, Italian, and German; but he was incapable of a serious application to business. He, however, possessed courage, and more than once confronted the greatest perils to attain the end he desired.

"Among his principal vices, luxuriansness held the first place; he chose, from preference, his mistresses and minions from his own family, and loaded them with riches, honours, and dignities. . . ."

Thus, from the portraits which have been left us of Urban the Sixth and Clement the Seventh, by ecclesiastical historians whose attachment to the Holy See cannot be doubted, we cannot say which of these two priests was the most worthy to occupy the apostolic chair. To follow a numerical order, we indicate the titularies of the Roman diocese in the succession of the pontiffs; and we bestow the title of pope on the titularies of Avignon, without giving them a place in the chronological series of the chiefs of the church.

The election of Clement the Seventh, and the defection of the three Italian cardinals, affected Urban the more, since he feared his courtiers would abandon him to follow to Avignon a young profligate pontiff who promised to renew the reign of Clement the Sixth. This, in fact, happened; bishops and cardinals one after another left Rome, and the Vatican was soon deserted. This solitude was a cause of profound affliction to the holy father; and Theodoric of Neim says, that he surprised him several times shedding tears. To

reorganise his court, he gave the vacant places to new prelates, and even made a promotion of twenty-nine cardinals. Thus, with the exception of money, with which he was badly supplied, Urban had no cause to envy his competitor. He was recognised as the lawful pope in Germany, Hungary, England, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Norway, Holland, Tuscany, Lombardy, and the dutchy of Milan. Spain and France still maintained a neutrality. The king of Arragon, though Urban was desirous of despoiling that prince of Sardinia and Sicily, prohibited the admission of the briefs of Clement into his kingdom, and even sequestered the revenues of the Holy See, until a general council had decided about the schism.

In Castile, the legates of the Roman pontiff and those of the pope at Avignon, simultaneously urged the king to declare in favour of their respective masters; but in the council which assembled at Toledo to examine the rights of the competitors, the ambassadors reciprocally accused each other of such enormities, that the prelates and lords declared that the two pretenders were both infamous priests, and that they would recognise neither of them as chief of the church.

In France, a synod composed of prelates, doctors, and the principal lords, declared, as the result of inquiries into allegations against both Urban and Clement, that both were unworthy of the tiara, and both had been irregularly chosen. Charles the Fifth, however, allowed himself to be influenced by the court of Avignon; and having convened a new synod at his castle of Vincennes, each of the members of the council received a formal injunction to decide in favour of the least scandalous election; all voted for Clement, who was solemnly recognised as the sovereign pontiff. The example of France drew after it Lorraine, Savoy, Scotland, Navarre, and at length Arragon and Castile.

A bitter war then commenced between the two popes. Anathemas, interdicts, depositions, and maledictions were the prelude to the bloody strife which was soon to overwhelm the western nations. Urban lanced a bull against his competitor, and cited him to appear before the court of Rome to be judged and condemned as anti-pope; Clement, on his side, fulminated a terrible decree against his enemy, and cited him before the consistory of Avignon to be judged for his usurpation of the apostolic chair. Finally, both having refused to appear, they anathematised each other by the ringing of bells and the light of torches, declaring each other apostates, schismatics and heretics; they preached crusades against each other, and called to their aid all the banditti and malefactors of Italy and France, and let them loose like wild beasts on the unfortunate inhabitants who recognised Clement or preferred Urban.

In the states of the church the Clementists made horrible havoc, ruined castles, burned villages, and even several cities; they penetrated as far as Rome, under the leading of

Dudes, a Breton captain, seized on the fortress of St. Angelo, and committed atrocities in all parts of the city. In Naples and Romagna the Urbanists, commanded by an Englishman named Hawkwood, a former leader of free companions, took their revenge and committed reprisal. Every where pillage, rape, incendiarism, and murder were committed in the name of Clement, or in honour of Urban. The unhappy cultivators fled with their wives and children to escape the satellites of the Roman pontiff, and were massacred by the soldiery of the pope of Avignon.

Every where hamlets and villages exhibited only ruins blackened by the flames; the dead bodies of thousands of men and women lay unburied in the fields; the flocks wandered without resting places; the crops were trampled under feet for want of reapers to harvest them, and these magnificent provinces were threatened to be converted into immense deserts, had not Captain Hawkwood taken prisoner the leader of the Clementists and thus arrested the devastations for a time.

Urban returned in triumph to Rome and at once fulminated an anathema against the queen of Naples, who had refused to send him aid in money during the late war; he declared her a heretic, and guilty of the crime of lese-majesty; he deposed her from her throne, deprived her of dignities, honours, kingdoms, lands and fiefs which she held from kings or emperors, vassals of the Holy See; he freed her subjects from the oath of obedience they had taken to her, and ordered the inquisitors to confiscate her property and burn her alive. In order to put this sentence into execution, he sent Martin of Tarento his chamberlain, to Louis of Hungary, the brother of Andrew the first husband of Joanna, and induced him to send a powerful army into Italy, under the orders of Charles de Duras his relative, an ambitious young man, whom Joanna had already declared to be her successor.

In his impatience to occupy more promptly the throne of Naples, Charles accepted the offers of the pope, and demanded money from him to conduct his enterprise successfully. Urban sold the furniture of his palace and the domains of the church; he even converted into money the sacred vases, the crosses, the shrines of the saints, the pyxes and the chalices of the churches of Rome, to the great scandal of the bishops and curates who wished to prevent the pillage of their churches. With the money thus obtained, Charles levied an army.

Joanna could count no longer on the seductions she had exercised over the predecessors of Urban to allay this storm; old age and debauchery had broken her charms; she called craft to her aid, annulled the adoption of Charles de Duras, and, in order to obtain powerful support, declared Louis, duke of Anjou, the brother of the king of France, sole and lawful heir to the crown of Naples. This skilful movement had already rallied partisans around her, when the death of Charles the Fifth happened. This event stopped the

armaments of the duke of Anjou, and compelled her new ally to remain in France as the tutor of the young king.

Charles de Duras availed himself of this forced inactivity of his rival, to go to Rome to receive the investiture of the states of Joanna; he then marched on Naples, which was in open revolt, seized it without striking a blow, and laid siege to the castle in which the queen and her husband had taken refuge. Otho defended himself valiantly for a whole month, but having been made prisoner in a sortie, Joanna was reduced to the necessity of surrendering to her enemy.

As soon as the news of the capture of Naples was received in France, the regent placed himself at the head of his troops, descended to Avignon to receive the investiture of the estates of Joanna from Clement, and prepared to pass into Italy. Charles de Duras, informed of these preparations of the duke of Anjou, determined to put an end to the war by crime, and caused the guilty Joanna to be stabbed on the steps of her altar whilst she was at prayers. Some historians give another version of the death of this princess; they maintain that he inflicted frightful cruelties on her, tore out her breasts and her womb, and strangled her with a silken cord, as she had done Andrew her husband.

This victory of Urban gave the preponderance to his party; he published that God had declared himself the avenger of his cause, and in his pride he wished to persecute Henriquez, king of Castile and Leon, and lanced a bull of excommunication against him. "In thy turn now," said the holy father, "in thy turn be accursed, John Henriquez; thou who daredst to declare thyself king of Castile, without our approval; we condemn thee to be burned as a heretic, and we prohibit thy subjects, under penalty of being handed over to our redoubtable inquisition, from affording thee aid and assistance. We order them to track thee as a wild beast, and we will grant infinite recompenses in this world and the next, to him who shall deliver thee up dead or alive; finally, we command all the people of Christendom to take the cross to exterminate thee with the execrable anti-pope Robert of Geneva." He also preached a crusade against France, and as the soldiers of that day fought only for money, he sent nuncios into England to levy tithes upon the churches.

Whilst Urban was making his preparations for war, Louis of Anjou was continuing his march across Provence, penetrating into Italy and advancing on Naples, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men. Charles de Duras, who was threatened to be besieged in his capital, called Urban to his aid, and besought him to come to Naples, to animate the people by his presence. The holy father complied with his request, left Rome, went to Tivoli, traversed Suessa, and met the prince in the city of Aversa, whither he had come to meet him. That evening, Urban and the king dined together, apparently good friends; but at the close of the repast, the pope having



claimed the principality of Capua for his nephew, Butillo Prignano, as had been agreed between them, Charles bent his brow, refused to ratify his promise, and declared he would never raise to the rank of a prince a wretch soiled with every crime. Urban, who was naturally wrathful, and whom the capital wines of the land had drawn forth from his wise reserve, broke out against his host; he accused him of ingratitude, threatened him with his anger, and heaped such outrageous epithets upon him, that the prince in his turn, no longer restraining his indignation, caused him to be arrested by his guards, and conducted under a strong escort to a fortress of Naples, called the Castle Neuf. Necessity soon forced him to relax from his rigour, and the two enemies were reconciled to combine their efforts to resist the French; the king gave the principality of Capua as an appanage to Butillo Prignano, and in return Urban was occupied with the means of delivering his ally from the duke of Anjou.

Secret agents had been already sent to the hostile camp, to corrupt the domestics of the duke of Anjou, and to engage them to assassinate their master, when a new rupture broke out between Urban and Charles de Duras; the cause of this misunderstanding was an act of infamy on the part of the nephew of the pope. Butillo, supposing that his new dignity freed him from all restraint, had dared to break into the monastery of St. Saviour, to carry off a young nun of St. Clare—whom he violated and confined in his palace. As she was a relative of Charles, that prince immediately cited the ravisher before the royal council, to give an account of his conduct, and on his refusal to appear, condemned him to be beheaded for contumacy. The pope erased the judgment, under the pretext that he alone was the sovereign of the kingdom of Naples, and that no one could, without his permission, condemn a lord to death, especially for so light a fault as scaling a convent wall and carrying off a nun. It was a peccadillo which they must pardon the extreme youth of his nephew, added Urban, his dear Butillo being scarcely forty years old. He offered himself as a guarantee for his future good conduct, and demanded for him in marriage the daughter of the chief justice of Naples, a relative of the king, with the city of Nocera as a dowry; this arrangement terminated the dispute. Urban retired with his nephew to his new residence, and Charles awaited at Naples the result of their base attempts against Louis of Anjou. Eight days afterwards, that prince expired in the castle of Biselia, near Bari, poisoned by some monks. His death freed Charles de Duras from the only adversary who could inspire him with serious alarm; thus having no longer cause to fear the pope, he took no pains to preserve his friendship, and sent for him to come to Naples, to talk over certain important matters.

Urban, who was unused to such cavalier treatment, replied, "that it was for a king to come to him, since princes were but vassals

of the pope, and not their lords and masters." He prohibited him, by way of punishment, from establishing imposts, levying armies, and exercising any way as king, until he had given him authority, and threatened, in case he disobeyed these orders, to declare him a heretic, and inflict on him the fate of Joanna. Charles paid no regard to these threats, and proclaimed that the pope was mad, and that he wished to place him under the custody of the cardinals. This step, which flattered the ambition of the princes of the church, found, it is said, several partizans in the sacred college, but Urban did not give them time to put it in execution; at the first suspicion of it, several officers of his court and six cardinals were arrested and cast into foul dungeons, so contracted that they could neither stand upright nor lie down, but remained in a bent or squatting attitude. After an almost absolute fast of eight days, the bishop of Aquila, who was the senior of them, was brought out from one of these holes, and carried to the chamber of torture. He was tortured with so much cruelty, that he fainted seven times during the operation, and seven times the executioners recalled him to life by new tortures; his moral strength then left him, and he made the following declaration:—

"I avow that we were to go to the next consistory, with twelve domestics, having arms concealed beneath their garments; that at a given signal we were to fall upon the pope, carry him off from his palace, and conduct him to the church of St. Francis, where we should have questioned him on certain articles of the faith; no matter what his replies should have been, we should have pronounced them heterodox, and should have condemned him to be burned as a heretic, which would have been done at once."

As soon as the pontiff had this confession in his hands, he assembled his principal officers in privy council, and ordered them to seek out all those connected with the conspiracy. Theodoric de Neim, who was one of the great dignitaries of the court of Urban, wished to say something in favour of the accused: "I dared to speak," says he, in his history of the schism, "and to represent, though with trembling, that an avowal thus obtained should not be taken as an irrefragable proof against the other cardinals, as it had been frequently seen, since the institution of the inquisition, that innocent men, succumbing beneath the dread of torture, accused themselves of crimes they had not committed. Scarcely had I spoken, when the pope turned towards me with swelling figure, sparkling eyes, and his throat so distended, that he appeared to be about to suffocate—'No pardon for them,' said he, in a loud tone, 'and let their defenders dread my wrath!' He then rose and left the council, leaning on his nephew, to whom we heard him say, 'Come, Butillo, let us go see our enemies tortured.'"

Then commenced a series of frightful tortures; the victims, led into a place situated behind the castle, were handed over to the

executioners, despoiled of their garments, and beaten with rods. This punishment not appearing to the holy father to be severe enough, Buttillo, his nephew, undertook to carry on the executions himself. The unfortunate men were at once placed on the rack, and new tortures were applied to them. An archbishop, who had formerly remonstrated with Buttillo on his bad conduct, was, by order of that monster, fastened to the trunk of a tree, with his head down, and flayed alive; the archbishop of Venice was nailed to a cross, and an old Genoese pirate, a worthy minister to the cruelties of Urban, stanchd with salt and vinegar the blood which flowed from his wounds; a deacon was hung to a plane tree, with enormous weights attached to his feet and hands, to dislocate his members; the cardinal Sangro had his flesh torn from him with red-hot pincers; and as, notwithstanding his sufferings, he continued to protest his innocence, they exhausted upon him all the refinements of cruelty, until fatigue constrained them to stop. Another cardinal was fastened to the rack, and burned with a red-hot iron on his breast, arms, and legs; after which, his tormentors tore out his nose, tongue, and eyes, and broke his limbs with iron bars; and, to finish him, Buttillo caused three chafing dishes to be lighted under the sufferer, to burn him at a slow fire.

Whilst these frightful executions were proceeding, the pope was promenading in an adjoining alley, reciting his breviary in a loud voice, and stopping, from time to time, to encourage the executioners to do their duty. On the next day, he convened in one of the courts of his castle, the clergy, the lords of the city, and even of the neighbouring villages, to inform them of the danger he had incurred; and, to justify his severity, he maintained that the conspirators had wished to seize his person: he affirmed that he had been informed of their plot by a miraculous apparition, and that God had ordered him to have no pity on the ingrates whom he had drawn from the dust, as well as Charles, their accomplice. He then raised the cross above his head, waved the pontifical banner, and fulminated his anathemas against King Charles, Queen Margaret, the anti-pope Clement, the abbot of Monte Cassino, and the unfortunate victims of his cruelties. In consequence of the declaration of war by the pope, bands of robbers organised, and took their way across the domains of Charles de Duras, pillaging, robbing, and massacring in the name of God.

The king, to put an end to these depredations, published, by the sound of the trumpet, that whoever should deliver up Urban, dead or alive, should receive ten thousand florins of gold, and that those who aided his flight should be declared traitors to their country, and be beheaded. He published a decree through the cardinal of Rieto, ordering that the excommunications and interdicts of the pope should be regarded but as idle words, and that ecclesiastics should continue to celebrate divine service, under the penalty of con-

fiscation of their property, and deprivation of their liberty. After this, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and went to lay siege to Nocera, expecting to seize it at the first assault; but it did not turn out as he had hoped; and the resistance he encountered was the more ardent, as it had its source in fanaticism. Urban had raised the courage of his soldiers by strange ceremonies; four times a day he mounted the walls, to excommunicate the hostile army, holding a bell in one hand, and brandishing a lighted torch with the other; he also published a bull, granting indulgences for all crimes, past and to come, to those who should slay or wound one of his enemies.

Notwithstanding all the imprecations of the pope on the Neapolitan army, the siege was pursued with none the less vigour;—the city had been forced to capitulate, and the fortress in which he had taken refuge was almost reduced, when, fortunately for him, Raymond des Ursini, one of his partizans, appeared at the head of a troop of Germans and French, whom he had recruited in Rome, fell suddenly upon the besiegers, put them to flight, forced the gates of the city, and carried off from the fortress Urban, his treasures, his suite, and his prisoners.

This sudden blow succeeded perfectly; and when the Neapolitans, recovered from their first panic, wished to pursue the pope, they were too late, for he had already gained the defiles of the mountains which led to the city of Trani, where the Genoese galleys awaited him. They could only seize several mules laden with gold and precious articles, which the holy father had left behind.

Urban arrived at the end of his journey with his prisoners, without any accident, except to the bishop of Aquila, whom the pope caused to be put to death on the road, because the miserable hackney on which he was mounted delayed the march. The other cardinals, fastened upon vigorous horses, uttered lamentable cries, which their intolerable sufferings wrested from them, and showed to the guards their broken limbs, and their bodies frightfully lacerated. Such a sight was well calculated to excite pity; and the French deliberated whether they should not deliver these victims from the hatred of the pope, and make a prisoner of Urban himself. The cardinal Raymond, informed of the subject of their deliberations, hastened to dismiss them at Salerno, by paying them eleven thousand florins of gold, and promising thirty thousand more, which he never paid.

Urban, delivered from his dangerous liberators, continued his route towards Trani, and embarked immediately for the port of Genoa, where he arrived on the 23d of September, 1385. His victims were sent on shore during the night and plunged in the dungeons of the chief inquisitor. In vain did the magistrates of the republic, and even the clergy, sue for their pardon, the holy father was inflexible, and, to put an end to their entreaties, he instructed Buttillo to put them to death. This worthy minister of the pope acquitted himself

admirably of his cruel mission, and surpassed, in the performance of it, all the cruelties that we could imagine. He caused the cardinal Louis Donato to be interred in a bed of quicklime, leaving his head out of this infernal tomb, that he might feel his flesh all corrode and consume before his death. He shut up wolves in the dungeon of Bartholomew, to devour him alive, and Gentil de Sangro and Martin del Guidice were sewed up in bags of leather, with serpents, and then cast into the sea. An English cardinal, Adam Easton, was alone spared, thanks to the remonstrances of the ambassadors of his nation, who threatened the pope with the wrath of King Richard, if he dared to condemn to death one of the subjects of Great Britain. Urban contented himself with breaking both his legs. His cruelties, performed in cold blood, exasperated the minds of men; ecclesiastics who had hitherto shown devotion to his party abandoned him; the metropolitan of Ravenna and Garléot Tartat de Pietra Mala burned, publicly, their cardinal's hats, and started for Avignon. Notwithstanding this general abandonment, Urban did not change his conduct, but pursued his career of crimes. Louis of Hungary had died in the meantime, leaving the throne to his daughter Mary, under the tutelage of her mother, Queen Elizabeth, a princess whose morals could only be compared with those of Joanna of Naples, and whose cruelty was only equalled by that of Urban. The Hungarians, unable to endure the tyranny of this abominable woman, revolted against her, and proclaimed Charles de Duras king, who determined to go immediately into Hungary to receive the heritage of his cousin. The prince, forgetful of his quarrels with the pope, had the imprudence to traverse Italy with a feeble escort. At the moment when he reached the frontiers of his new kingdom, assassins reminded him that a priest never pardons; during the night, banditti attacked the castle in which he lodged and massacred him. The historian, Pogge, affirms, that these wretches were emissaries of the pontiff, and that Blaise Forgach, the leader of the expedition, deposited at the feet of his holiness a sword yet wet with the blood of his enemy.

As soon as the death of Charles de Duras was known in France, the pope at Avignon proclaimed Louis the Second, duke of Anjou, king of Naples, and gave the title of viceroy to Count Severin, with authority to enter immediately on the conquest of his new kingdom. On her side, the beautiful Margaret, the widow of Charles de Duras, had caused the states of the kingdom to recognise her son Lancelot, who was ten years old, as king, and herself as regent. She then assembled imposing forces to resist the French, and the provinces only awaited an order from the holy father to embrace her party, which would have infallibly secured a triumph to her as well as to Urban. But all attempts at reconciliation with the court of Genoa failed, before the obstinacy of this implacable old man. He renewed against Margaret and all her family

the maledictions and anathemas he had so often pronounced, and declared that Naples had no other king than him, Urban the Sixth, supreme chief of the church. He then published a crusade against the two children, in whose names ambitious rivals disputed for the throne of the shameless Joanna.

The French pursued their march and seized on Naples, despite the anathemas of the Roman pope, in which city they caused the authority of Clement the Seventh to be recognised. Encouraged by this first success, the latter wished to unite, with the power of arms, the authority of miracles and prophecies; he chose for this purpose an unfortunate idiot, who was conducted to Genoa, and instructed in the part he was to play. On a day on which the consistory was assembled, he entered the palace of Urban, in the guise of a hermit, and in the presence of the magistrates of the republic, and many of the clergy, repeated the lesson which had been taught him, and said to the pontiff:—"For fifteen years I was praying in the rocks of my solitude, when suddenly Christ appeared to me, and announced that a false pope, named Urban the Sixth, was disputing the throne of St. Peter with the true pontiff. As a proof of my celestial mission, I declare that I am invulnerable, and I demand to undergo the torture of the cord, water, and fire." This harangue made a sensible impression on the bystanders; Urban alone remained impassable. As a pope is a man who does not believe in miracles, he caused the poor idiot to be arrested, and his head cut off in the audience chamber.

The holy father, however, fearful of the consequences of such a revelation on superstitious minds, resolved to combat his enemy with the same kind of arms, and wrote to Saint Catherine of Sienna, to come immediately to put an end to the doubts which some of the faithful had in regard to his election, at the same time he sent a brief to the mother abbess, to permit the holy girl to come to Genoa. The pope received Catherine in full consistory, the cardinals, the doge, and the other magistrates of the republic being assembled; the poor fanatic collected her scattered thoughts for a moment, then fell into an ecstasy, her eyes shining, her hair dishevelled, her mouth foaming, and like an ancient pythonesse at Delphi, she said with an inspired voice, "Know all of you, that the pontiff Urban is really the vicar of Christ." A commentator of the Bollandists, who wrote a history of Catherine of Sienna, says, that they made this nun drink aphrodisiacal preparations, which brought on these extatic trances. What appears to confirm this opinion is, that she died some months afterwards in a paroxysm of hysterical madness.

The revelation of Saint Catherine was but of feeble assistance to Urban, and did not arrest his competitor, who daily increased his conquests both by arms and negotiations. It is difficult to explain the predilection of the people for Clement, for this pope was no less

x *negotiations*

*Re. ...*

greedy, cruel, and infamous than his rival, and if we are to judge him by the chronicle of the anonymous monk of St. Denis, we should say, that he deserved to be accursed of God and men. "Clement," according to the learned monk, "availing himself of the indolence of the king and grandes, in regard to the Gallican church, had borne down the ecclesiastics and communities with imposts, and even surpassed Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-second, in the art of extorting money and causing the wealth of nations to flow into the treasury of the apostolic chancery. Following the example of his competitor, he had created thirty-six cardinals; true vampires, escorted by a legion of procurers, armed with reversionary bulls, and ready to pounce upon the vacant benefices in the cathedral and collegiate churches, in the conventional priories, and in the houses of the hospitaliers. Not only did the pontiff, in contempt of the decrees of his predecessors, authorise these abuses, but kept for himself the best and richest dioceses. On the death of a prelate, he sent into the country collectors or sub-collectors of the apostolic chamber, who seized on the moveables of the

deceased, hunted up old debts and the arrearages on farms; and, after having imprisoned the heirs, they took the direction of the diocese, sold the sacred ornaments of the churches, and even pledged the revenues for two or three years, so that the new bishop was forced to beg for a living, or to place himself at the head of his priests and monks, and devastate the country, ransacking the inhabitants like the free companies."

Urban was not, however, discouraged by the success of his enemy, and prepared to dispute the kingdom of Naples with Clement. He was on his march for Lower Italy, when a fall from his horse compelled him to suspend the execution of his plans. This delay, and still more the want of money, compelled him to place his troops in winter quarters in Rome. A few days after his installation at the Vatican, he yielded up his breath; one of the agents of Clement, having, it is charged, given him a poisoned drink.

Urban was odious, even to those who followed his fortunes, so that his death excited no regret. He was buried on the 16th of October, 1389, in the chapel of St. Andrew, in the church of St. Peter.

## BONIFACE THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTH POPE, AT ROME.

### CLEMENT THE SEVENTH,--BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH PONTIFFS AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1389.]

*Election of Boniface the Ninth—The two popes excommunicate each other—Jubilee at Rome—Exactions of Boniface—Cruelties of Clement—Efforts of the university of Paris, to put an end to the schism—Death of Clement the Seventh—The French cardinals proclaim the cardinal Peter de Luna sovereign pontiff—Knavery of that pope—Negotiations for the peace of the church—Assembly at Rheims—The French refuse obedience to Benedict the Thirteenth—Negotiations of Peter d'Ailly—Benedict is besieged in Avignon—Debaucheries of Boniface at Rome—Conspiracy against the pope—Sect of the Whites—The emperor Manuel Paleologus comes to France—Benedict is driven from Avignon—He is reconciled with his cardinals—Fresh example of his bad faith—Embassy from Boniface to Benedict—Death of Boniface.*

SOME days after the death of Urban, sixteen cardinals, who were in Rome or the neighbouring provinces, assembled in conclave, and chose Peter de Thomacelli, cardinal of Naples, sovereign pontiff, who was, after the usual ceremonies, enthroned by the name of Boniface the Ninth. His mother, named Gratiola Filimarini, hastened immediately to adore him as the universal father of Christians, saying to the assistants, "that she loved better to kiss his feet as pope, than his face as her son."

Boniface was originally from Naples; he had a fine person, a majestic port, and expressed himself with elegance, but he did not know how to write or chant, and his ignorance

on religious subjects was very great; he, however, showed much address and prudence in his government. He commenced by destroying the sovereign authority of the bannerets and senators of Rome, in order to render himself absolute master in the holy city and the domains of the church. He then confirmed the institution of Urban, in regard to the period of the jubilee, which was approaching, under pretext, that Jesus Christ having passed thirty-three years on earth, it was proper to celebrate every period of thirty-three years; and, as the holy father was pressed for money, he immediately published a jubilee.

A concourse of pilgrims from all parts of

the world flowed into Rome, to gain indulgences, and give their money to the pope. To increase the enormous sums he obtained from this operation, the insatiable Boniface sent bands of begging monks into Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and England to sell indulgences, who brought him back more than five hundred thousand florins in gold.

Those of these agents who were suspected of unfaithfulness or of dallying in their business, were, on their return, put to the torture and burned alive. He punished with equal severity mendicants, monks, and secular clerks, who kept up an active rivalry with him in the sale of indulgences, by permitting libertinage to nuns, reconciling heretics to the church, legitimatising bastards, authorising incests, and granting absolutions for robbery and assassination on better terms than the holy father. He fulminated a terrible bull against them, and devoted to eternal punishments those who did not restore the money they had stolen. Some obeyed him, but the most guilty preferred exposing themselves to the wrath of the pope, rather than restore the money wrested from ignorance and superstition.

The avaricious pontiff then determined to shear the shepherds as he had done the flocks; and published through the different countries which were obedient to him, that he would grant graces and benefices to ecclesiastics who would come to his court and offer him presents. This fallacious promise induced a large number of priests to make a journey to the holy city, carrying with them all the gold they could procure, to obtain from the holy father the best benefices in their provinces. There resulted between the prelates of each country, and the mere priests of each diocese, a combat of vanity which was very profitable to Boniface, each of them outbidding his colleague in order to occupy a higher place on the roll of rewards which were to be distributed. The number of seekers became soon so great, that it was computed that if the world had been ten times larger than it is, the holy father would have been unable to grant as many benefices as were solicited; which did not, however, prevent the stupid pilgrims from bringing their offerings to the Vatican. He also sold the domains of the Roman church, in consideration of large sums paid in cash as a gift, or under the promise of annual rents to be furnished in kind, men-at-arms, or munitions of war.

On his side, Clement, in point of exactions, was not behind his competitor; he ruined the clergy of France and Spain by enormous impositions, and extorted incredible sums from the faithful. He also endeavoured to hurt the trade of Boniface by lancing excommunications against his partizans, which the latter freely returned; for, says a satirical author, it is the money of which the popes are most prodigal.

Mamburg, the Jesuit, thus expresses himself on this subject: "Boniface and Clement thought of sustaining themselves on the chair of the apostle, only by corruption and the aid

of the temporal powers; and, although they appeared to desire, ardently, peace and the union of the church, neither of them was sincere, and each only hoped for the annihilation of his rival. In fact, Boniface wished to prevent England from concluding a truce with France, unless Charles the Sixth would consent to abandon the pope at Avignon; and Clement opposed the acceptance of the peace by France, if Great Britain persisted in sustaining Boniface. They sought to destroy each other, now by their bulls, now by the enemies they excited; and, finally, they pushed the scandal of their enmity so far as to compel the ecclesiastics on whom they conferred any benefices, to swear never to recognise their competitor as pontiff, which proves their intention to render the schism eternal."

The members of the university, the magistracy, a small number of virtuous priests, and some heads of the different religious orders were profoundly afflicted by the misfortunes of the people, and were desirous of putting an end to the scandalous disputes of the church, by restoring union to Christendom. Two monks of the order of the Chartreux, charged with the delicate mission of sounding the intentions of the courts of Rome and Avignon, went first to Boniface, who listened to them attentively, and appeared to approve of their advice. On dismissing them, the holy father gave them a letter to the king of France, in which he offered to submit the subject to the decision of that monarch, if he should be permitted first to send some Roman canonists to him to enlighten his conscience. The two monks then went to Avignon to make the same exhortations to Clement which they had done to Boniface; but Clement did not receive them so kindly; he seized them without any formality as soon as they entered the city, and put them to the torture to punish them for having gone to Rome without his permission.

This arrest excited the whole order of the Chartreux; the superior at once addressed a request to the king of France to demand the liberation of his brethren, and to complain of this violation of the law of nations. Charles the Sixth took the part of the monks, and wrote to Clement to set his prisoners at liberty at once, if he did not wish to expose himself to a terrible punishment. The pontiff feigned ignorance of what had occurred, threw the blame on the cardinals, and replied to the envoys of the prince, "Assure your master, our dear son, that we have the preservation of his friendship so much at heart, that we would joyfully surrender both our cape and our tiara, if he asked this sacrifice from us."

All appeared to be in a fair way for an arrangement; and it was hoped that, either peaceably or forcibly, the two popes would be brought to renounce their claims, when an unlooked for event, the insanity of Charles the Sixth, broke off the negotiations, and revived the old religious quarrels. This time, however, wiser than before, the French and English refused to espouse the quarrels of the

pontifical courts; they excluded the two popes from their counsels, and signed a treaty of peace for twenty-six years. King Richard prohibited his subjects from crossing the sea to go to Italy to obtain benefices, under penalty of being punished as an enemy to the state. Boniface immediately annulled the ordinance of Richard, and solemnly excommunicated him. To revenge himself, the king caused a proclamation to be made in London, ordering English ecclesiastics who were in Italy to return to England within eight months, under penalty of forfeiture. The result was, that Great Britain entirely separated itself from obedience to the court of Rome.

If Boniface lost ground in the north, as a compensation for it he increased his authority in Italy, and soon found himself strong enough to exercise his rule, as in the best days of the papacy. Money was his idol, and he set to work all means of procuring it; he made an ordinance authorising usury, and lent money himself at heavy rates of interest. He established new charges, placed at auction the adjudication of benefices, declared the annates invented by John the Twenty-second, perpetual, and sold the reception of them in advance.

Whilst Italy was thus squeezed by an avaricious pontiff, France was groaning beneath the weight of imposts, which had accumulated in that country, to support the prodigalities of the pope at Avignon, his thirty-six cardinals, mistresses, and minions. At last the prelates of the kingdom, tired of paying to Clement, now a tenth, now a twentieth of their revenues, assembled at the university and appointed fifty-four doctors to decide upon the steps to be taken to re-establish union in the church, and in order, as they said, "to have but one pope to fatten." The result of their deliberations was, that the two rivals should be summoned to abdicate and submit to the decision of a general council.

For this purpose, the university composed an argumentative letter, to beseech the king, who had recovered, for a time, his reason, to lend the aid of his authority to a measure, which alone could put an end to the schism that had so long devastated Europe. "The church," said the doctors, "has fallen into contempt, servitude, and poverty; two popes elevate to prelacies only unworthy and corrupt ministers, who have no sentiment of equity or shame, and who think only of satiating their passions. They rob the property of the widow and the orphan, at the same time that they are despoiling churches and monasteries; sacred or profane, nothing comes amiss to them, provided they can extract money from it; religion is for them a mine of gold, which they work to the last vein; they sell every thing from baptism to burial; they traffic in pyxes, crosses, chalices, sacred vases, and the shrines of the saints. One can obtain no grace, no favour without paying for it; it is not the worthiest but the richest who obtain ecclesiastical dignities. He who gives money to the pope can sleep in safety, though

he may have murdered his own father, for he is assured of the protection of the church. Simony is publicly exercised, and they sell with effrontery to the highest and last bidder dioceses, prebends, or benefices.—Thus do the princes of the church.—What shall we say of the lower clergy, who no longer administer the sacraments but for gold? What shall we say of the monks, whose morals are more corrupt than those of the inhabitants of ancient Sodom? It is time, illustrious prince, that you should put an end to this deplorable schism, proclaim the freedom of the Gallican church, and limit the power of the pontiffs."

This energetic demand was carried to the court of Avignon by ambassadors who read it in full consistory. Clement preserved an extraordinary impassability, whilst listening to the recital of the calamities, of which he was accused of being the principal author; but when he was summoned to renounce the pontificate, he sprang from his seat, cast himself on the deputy who bore the request, wrested it from his hands, tore it with his teeth, and trampled it under foot, whilst pronouncing the most horrid blasphemies. After this burst of passion, he addressed the cardinals, demanding from them what horrible punishment should be inflicted on those who were bold enough to use such language. They, to his great astonishment, replied, that the counsel given by the university demanded a serious examination, that money was failing, that all the resources of superstition were exhausted, that several of them could no longer support the expenses of their establishments, and that, unless he wished to reduce his court to a shameful mendicity, he must, himself, think of putting an end to the schism. This reply redoubled his fury; he endeavoured to speak, but his voice failed him; he then cast his tiara into the midst of the consistory, and left the room with precipitation. He died a few hours afterwards from an attack of apoplexy, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon on the 17th of September, 1394.

Doctor Clemangis has pronounced the following judgment on this pope:—"There never existed a more miserable priest than Clement the Seventh. A cowardly and servile flatterer, he called himself the servant of servants of the kings of France, and the vilest slave would scarcely have borne with the indignities in which the courtiers steeped him. He gave bishoprics and abbey to the minions of princes, and sold to them the right of exercising all kinds of imaginable vexations on the clergy; and it finally happened, that the mere buffoons of the duke of Berry were as much pope as Clement."

As soon as the news of his death reached Paris, the university sent a deputation to the king, to ask him to prohibit the cardinals at Avignon from proceeding to a new election, until a general assembly of the prelates of the kingdom had given an opinion about the schism. Charles the Sixth wrote to this purpose to the members of the sacred college; the king of Arragon addressed a letter to them

for the same object; the university, the metropolitans of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne sent deputies to make the same request; Boniface the Ninth also addressed a bull to them, exhorting them to put an end to the schism. All these letters and steps were useless; the cardinals, having gone into conclave, refused obstinately to receive either ambassadors or letters until the election was over. In order to avoid, however, the accusation of having continued the schism, in opposition to the wishes of the sovereigns, they entered into this obligation:—"We all, cardinals of the holy Roman church, assembled in conclave for the election of a pope, being before the altar, swear upon the gospel and the sacred body of Christ, that without artifice, intrigue, and perfidy, we will labour faithfully and actively for the extinction of the unfortunate schism which destroys the church; to attain this end, he among us who shall be chosen pope, shall renounce the pontificate, if the sacred college regards it as necessary to produce the reunion."

They then proceeded to an election, and after some balloting, Peter de Luna received a majority of the votes, and was declared pope by the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. The new pontiff was of the illustrious family of the lords of Luna; in the kingdom of Aragon, and had already been engaged in very important affairs, on account of his acknowledged skill in business. He was, unfortunately, devoured by a boundless ambition, which had induced Gregory the Ninth to say, when he elevated him to the cardinalate, "Be careful, my son, lest your moon does not suffer an eclipse some day, for vanity has destroyed many men." The predictions of Gregory were realised, says Maimburg, for, as soon as he became pope, he showed himself to be proud, implacable, tricky, insatiable of rule, and of an obstinacy that nothing could overcome. What induced the cardinals to choose him, was that he had acquired in his different legations immense wealth, which he promised to surrender to them. The members of the sacred college exacted, however, before they would consecrate him, that he should renew the oath taken in conclave, and reiterate the same promise in his letters addressed to the prelates and different kings of Europe. The new pope complied the more readily with the demand of the cardinals, since he had already discerned the advantage he could derive from allowing it to be thought he was extremely indifferent about the papacy.

The king of France and the university, deceived by this trick, recognised him without difficulty, being persuaded that a pope so submissive would abdicate the papacy at their first command. They, however, sent ambassadors to represent to him that it would have been easier to put an end to the schism, if he had not consented to his election. To this observation he lifted off his cape, and replied that he was ready to resign at once his title to the papacy, if the king and university desired it. Benedict played his part

so well, that he imposed on the partisans of Boniface, who detached themselves from the cause of that prelate, because he affected great hauteur, and loudly declared he would preserve his tiara, in despite of people and kings. At last, all minds appearing disposed for peace, a national council was convened at Paris; in this assembly the lords, prelates, and doctors in theology of the kingdom, decided that the only mode of putting an end to the schism was by the joint abdication of the pontiffs at Rome and Avignon. Charles the Sixth immediately sent ambassadors to notify Benedict of the result of the deliberations of the council of Paris, and instructed his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and also the duke of Orleans, his brother, and the chiefs of the embassy, to hand the following letter to the pope:—

"Most holy father, the desire you have always expressed, both in conversation and by writing, to put an end to the schism which troubles Christendom, has induced us to send to you as ambassadors, our uncles, our brother, and several notables of our kingdom, who will inform you of the decision of the great assembly which we have held in our good city, and who will consult with you on the measures which shall be deemed necessary to insure its entire execution."

Benedict, finding himself caught in his own trap, protracted the negotiations, seeking daily new pretexts for not giving a definite reply. At last, when he had exhausted all the resources of his obsequious and tricky policy, when he saw himself pushed to the wall, and compelled to decide, he published in the presence of the cardinals, his officers, and the ambassadors of France, a bull, providing "That Boniface the Ninth and himself, should meet with their cardinals in a safe place, under the protection of the king of France, in order to confer together on the reunion of the church; but he could not explain himself as to the clauses of their agreement, lest the enemies of the church should throw obstacles in the way of this interview; he would, however, declare that he was not permitted to employ the mode of cession, as this step was not canonical, and had not been followed by the fathers; that he would rather break a promise given inconsiderately, than be guilty of heresy, by introducing this criminal novelty; if, however, the schism could be extinguished, neither by means of an interview, nor that of arbitration, he would, in order to put an end to the scandal, propose, or accept any other means, provided they should be reasonable, fair, juridical, and reconcilable with the traditions of the church and the sacred canons."

After the reading of this bull, which exposed the bad faith of the pope, the ambassadors indignantly left the hall without saying a word, and retired to the other side of the Rhone, to a part of the town called the new city of Avignon, where they lodged; during the night they deliberated on what was to be done, and held communications with the cardinals. Benedict, being informed that these

latter were communicating with the princes, feared a conspiracy, and caused the bridge to be burned, to intercept the communications. This step did not, however, prevent the ambassadors from crossing the river in the morning in boats, and assembling with the members of the sacred college in the convent of the Minor Brothers.

In this consistory, the bull of the holy father was unanimously condemned, and they decided that Benedict should at once lay down the tiara. Instead of obeying this injunction, the pontiff fulminated a second bull, confirmatory of the preceding one. The ambassadors and cardinals, then despairing of overcoming his obstinacy by menaces, determined to try a step of conciliation, and went to the pontifical palace, "and there," says the chronicle of the monk of St. Denis, "besought him on their knees to abdicate the papacy." But the knavish Benedict, finally raising the mask, said to them in a tone of arrogance:—"Know all of you, princes of the state and church, that you are my subjects, since God has submitted all men to my authority! Know that the cardinals have no other power than that of choosing as pope the most worthy of their number, and as soon as they have declared him supreme chief of the church, the Holy Spirit suddenly illuminates him; he becomes infallible, and his power equals that of God: he can be no longer subjected to any sway; he is placed above the powers of the earth, and he cannot be deposed from the apostolic throne, even by his own desire; the dignity of the pontiff is, finally, so redoubtable, that the world should listen to our decrees, bend in the dust, and tremble at our word!"

The ambassadors, discovering the uselessness of their efforts, left the assembly without taking leave of Benedict, and went immediately to Paris to render an account of their mission to King Charles, and to consult as to the measures to be adopted at this juncture. In accordance with the advice of the principal doctors of the university, it was decided to send deputies to all the courts of Europe to call a universal council, in order to depose the two popes.

Benedict, furious at the university which had led the way in these steps, endeavoured to weaken its authority by fulminating the most terrible anathemas against it; he declared its doctors, professors, students, and supporters enemies of God and men, and accursed for ever. The university, unterrified at these powerless bulls, protested against this violence, and appealed to the first pontiff who should be canonically chosen. The holy father then declared this appeal to be contrary to the fullness of power which had been transmitted to him by the apostle and his successors, and renewed his excommunication. At the same time he sent agents into all the courts who scattered, with a prodigal hand, gold and promises to prevent the convocation of a general council.

Benedict, not content with these intrigues, even sought to organise a conspiracy against

his competitor; at his instigation, the bishop of Segovia and the count of Fondi, his creatures, corrupted the bannerets, excited the people, and made an attack on the palace of the Vatican, at the head of a troop of cavaliers, either to carry Boniface off or to kill him. But the attempt failed in consequence of the great promptness of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who was then at Rome, in sending assistance to the pontiff. The insurgents were put to flight, and the bishop of Segovia, the count of Fondi, and the bannerets were compelled to leave Italy, to escape the chastisement they deserved. Boniface, having escaped from this danger, as if by a miracle, determined to place himself beyond the reach of a new sedition; he took a large number of foreign soldiers into his pay, constructed fortified towers on the walls of the castle of St. Angelo, and made that fortress his residence.

As nothing seemed to indicate a termination to the disputes which troubled Christendom, Benedict not appearing anxious to make the slightest concession, the emperor Wenceslaus, Charles the Sixth, and several princes of Germany, with a large number of prelates, assembled in the city of Rheims, and determined to proceed to a new election, without troubling themselves about the acceptance or refusal of Peter de Luna, and only to send an ambassador to Boniface to exhort him to give in his abdication. Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai, charged with this mission, came to Rome and found Boniface excellently disposed, at least apparently; for often having advised with his cardinals, he declared he would lay aside his tiara, if his adversary would bind himself to follow his example. Peter d'Ailly immediately returned to France, passing through Coblenz, where Wenceslaus was, to whom he rendered an account of the success of his embassy, expressing, however, his fears that the holy father would reconsider his resolve. "Since that is the case," said the emperor to him, "be tranquil; I pledge myself that Boniface is serious; tell the king of France to reduce his pope to obedience, I charge myself with mine."

As soon as the bishop of Cambrai arrived at Paris, King Charles assembled a national council, to which the ambassadors of Hungary, Bohemia, England, Arragon, Castile, Navarre and Sicily were admitted; they decreed that, on account of the obstinacy of Benedict, they would refuse him all subsidies. "In consequence of which," says John Juvenal des Ursini, "the church of France recovered her ancient liberties and franchises; that is, the clergy were authorised to elect to dignities and benefices." The assembly also decreed that the king, without further preliminaries, should send the venerable Peter d'Ailly and the marshal de Boucicaut to Avignon with an army, to compel Benedict to leave the chair of the apostle, which decree was carried at once into effect.

The pope was much alarmed on learning of the arrival of the French envoys, and the approach of the troops; he, however, knew



how to hide his emotion, and when the bishop of Cambrai came to inform him of the decree of the council, he replied in a calm voice, "No, I will not abdicate. Let your master learn that I have been chosen sovereign pontiff by the will of God, and that I will never obey the will of men; my resistance to their perversity may gain for me the crown of martyrdom." After this reply, the cardinals, who foresaw the consequences of such a refusal, and were unwilling to expose themselves to the horrors of a siege, rose one after another from their seats, and left the hall of audience to make preparations for their departure. Peter d'Ailly and the marshal de Boucicaut retired in their turn, and caused Avignon to be invested by their troops. Then, in accordance with the customs of the time in declarations of war, the French general sent a herald-at-arms to defy the pope in his palace.

The inhabitants, alarmed by this demonstration, presented themselves in a mass at the pontifical palace, declaring that they did not wish a war with France. In vain did Benedict inform them that the city was strong and well provisioned, that his allies in Italy were levying troops to assist him, and that the king of Arragon, as his relative and spiritual son, would not fail to hasten to him at the first call; the magistrates were immovable, and declared that the citizens would never fight against the French. "Well, then, go hence, villains," he exclaimed, in a transport of rage; "guard your houses if you can; I will well defend my palace." The gates of the city were opened at once, and Marshal Boucicaut entered Avignon.

The pope caused the drawbridge of his castle to be broken, and swore never to surrender, and to precipitate himself from the top of the tower, rather than to become a prisoner. He then wrote to Martin, king of Arragon, employing in turn entreaties and threats, to induce him to send troops to free him from the hands of the French. Here he was again deceived, for the prince, after reading the letter of the pontiff, said to his ambassador, "What! does this priest think that I am stupid enough to go to war with France, to sustain his sacerdotal knavery? He is a prisoner in his palace; well, let him remain one."

Obstinate, like all priests, Benedict none the less continued to defend himself; in person he animated his soldiers, says Juvenal des Ursini, and contributed to save the castle by his vigilance. One night whilst he was making his round of the walls, he heard a low noise of the footsteps of men, and the clash of swords; these were the besiegers, who, having removed the grating from the sewers of the kitchen, were gliding, under cover of the darkness of the night, into the court yard of the palace; he called some of the guards in a low voice, and as soon as his enemies reached the court, one by one he cast a covering over their heads to stifle their cries, and had them carried off to the prisons. They made about sixty prisoners before the rest learned their danger.

For the eight entire months during which the holy father had to sustain the rigours of a siege, his firmness did not desert him for a moment. Charles the Sixth, on his side, was inexorable, and only consented to change the siege into a blockade, until union should be restored to the church.

Very different from his competitor, who maintained his rights to the papacy by force of arms, Boniface preferred corruption to resistance, and applied himself to increase his treasures, to buy up consciences, and maintain himself upon the throne. All the resources of simony being exhausted, he published a new jubilee for the secular year, although ten years had scarcely gone by since the last. Here was also a scandalous traffic in indulgences and absolutions; but the offerings were not so abundant as at the preceding jubilee, either because the zeal of the faithful had relaxed, or the confidence of pilgrims in indulgences had diminished. Boniface then turned his attention to the clergy; he revoked the graces and benefices which were sold ten years before; annulled the unions of parishes made by him or his immediate predecessors, and set up all graces, benefices, and indulgences for sale. This measure still failed, and the levy on the clergy not answering his expectations, he had recourse to the inquisitory, and caused a prodigious crowd of heretics to be burned, so as to seize on their spoils. He also persecuted, and for the same motives, the sect of the Whites, a species of mendicant monks, who traversed Italy bearing crucifixes skilfully made, which permitted drops of blood to fall or tears to be shed, to soften the faithful and extort money from the ignorant and superstitious people. Boniface, who saw in these Whites redoubtable rivals, seized on the treasury of the sect as on goods which had been stolen from him, and caused the chief leaders of them to be arrested and burned alive.

Whilst the western church was rent by a deplorable schism, the eastern had to struggle against the new religion of Mahomet, whose dreadful caliphs had already reduced beneath the sway of the Koran the north of Africa and a part of Asia. Thus far, Constantinople had resisted the efforts of the infidels; the conquests of Bajazet induced the suspicion that the Musselmen thought of reducing the Greek empire beneath its sway, and Manuel Paleologus, who was then on the throne, foreseeing that he could not resist his terrible adversaries, abandoned his capital, which comprised, if we may so speak, all his empire, and came to France to ask aid from Charles the Sixth. He passed two whole years in the chateau of the Louvre, amidst feasts and pleasure; his negotiations with France, England, and Germany amounted to nothing, and he was suffered to return almost alone to the east, so much had the schism exhausted Europe of men and money. This journey of Manuel, was, however, very advantageous to Italy and France, for the learned men whom he brought with him introduced a knowledge of those immor-

tal master-pieces of antiquity which the policy of the Latin priests had proscribed from Gaul, Germany, and the Roman peninsula, and prepared for that era of revival of art which is called the Renaissance.

A remarkable revolution took place during the last year of the fourteenth century. The Germans hurled from the throne Wenceslaus, the eldest son of Charles the Fourth, a monster of shamelessness, drunkenness, and cruelty, who inflicted the most execrable tyranny on the people. It is related that he never left his palace without an escort of executioners, whom he called his compeers, and who murdered the unfortunate men who chanced to pass by when he was drunk. His crimes at last maddened the people; generous citizens attacked themselves at the head of a conspiracy, attacked the palace of Wenceslaus, made him a prisoner, and confined him in the dungeon of a fortress. Unfortunately, the young daughter of one of the jailers took pity on the dethroned king, and suffered him to escape from his prison by a secret passage.

As soon as the electors were apprised of his escape, they hastened to pronounce him deprived of the empire, and proclaimed Robert the Third, duke of Bavaria, king of Italy and Germany. The pope of Rome having approved of this election, Benedict the Thirteenth naturally took the side of Wenceslaus, who still had powerful friends in Bohemia, Germany, and even in Italy. Thus the two popes, by sustaining each of them one of the emperors, rekindled the civil war and put off indefinitely the meeting of the council which was to depose them.

France was also much agitated in regard to the question of obedience. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the greater party of the clergy, and the university of Paris maintained that they should exact the renunciation of the apostolic throne by the pope at Avignon. But the house of Orleans, making common cause with the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, the university of Toulouse, and several influential ecclesiastics who had been bribed by Benedict, set every engine to work to deliver the pope and render him obedience. Violent discussions took place on this subject; and the people, as usual, taking the part of one or the other, fought for the pope, the king, and the princes. At last, the party of Orleans triumphed: a Norman gentleman named Robert de Braquemond, governor of one of the cities adjacent to Avignon, permitted himself to be bribed, and consented to assist the escape of the pope. As his rank permitted him to enter into conferences with Benedict without exciting suspicion, he availed himself of it to concert with him a plan of escape. It was executed in the following manner:—

After a conference which had lasted into the night, the holy father enveloped himself in the mantle of one of the domestics of Braquemond, left the fortress, and traversed the hostile lines in the train of the captain. Once past the blockade of the city, he found an escort of five hundred men, who accompanied

him to castle Raynard, which was reputed to be impregnable. From this retreat he wrote to the king:—"Our dear and well-loved son,—We have been besieged for three years in the palace of our city of Avignon, and our sacred person has been exposed to the greatest dangers in defence of the liberties of the church. We have however learned, in our captivity, that our constancy in supporting the iniquities of men has not touched your gross mind, and that our courageous resignation has been regarded as a proof of weakness. We have accordingly determined to act otherwise; and after having humbly recommended our person to the divine mercy, we left, without fear, the palace and the city, traversed the lines of your soldiers, and have arrived, safe and sound, at castle Raynard, where we hope, with God's assistance, to be able to defy princes and lords, and make our holy cause triumph."

Benedict occupied himself in providing a numerous garrison for this place; and when he found himself beyond the reach of all danger he fulminated a bull of degradation against the cardinals, so as to render them incapable of choosing another pope: he then sent ambassadors to the kings of Arragon and Spain to inform them of the change in his position.

These sovereigns, seeing that the party of the holy father was gaining the upper hand, feared to expose themselves to his vengeance, and took the oaths of obedience and submission to him. The envoys of Hungary imitated this example, as well as a large number of ecclesiastics and several French lords. The cardinals themselves followed the impulse which was given, and addressed a supplication to him to be received to his communion. As a kind master, the pontiff retracted the bull lanced against them, and invited them to a great festival as a token of reconciliation. "But," says the monk of St. Denis, "they might have excused such an honour, for they paid a dear reckoning in the great fright to which they were subjected. As soon as they were at the table, on a given signal armed men entered the banqueting hall with their drawn swords in their hands, appearing to await only the order to massacre them. The holy father amused himself for some minutes with the expression of fear on their countenances; he then sent away his guards, and contented himself with causing them to sign a treaty in which they pledged themselves to an entire and blind obedience to him, and promised to labour with all their might to reduce France beneath his sway."

In consequence of this amnesty, things were re-established as before: Benedict, however, was unwilling to pardon the city of Avignon except on condition that the citizens would repair, at their own expense, the fortifications of the pontifical palace, and pay a large sum as an indemnity for the war. These preliminaries adjusted, he gave full powers to the cardinals of Poitiers and Saluca to negotiate a peace with Charles the Sixth, and obtain the re-establishment of his authority in the kingdom. A large number of cities did

not wait for the decree of the king to recognise the authority of the pope, so tired were they of the quarrel. At Paris, in several churches, the ecclesiastics immediately attached to an onyx shell the name of the pontiff and the date of his advent to the apostolic throne.

Charles the Sixth received the legates with distinction, and engaged by oath to recognise Benedict as before, as lawful chief of the church. He published the following edict on the subject: "Five years have passed since the clergy and lords of our kingdom, having met in assembly, declared, that to put an end to the schism, the two popes must be constrained to descend from the chair of St. Peter. In consequence of this decision, our kingdom was relieved from its obedience to Benedict the Thirteenth: unfortunately, the success we hoped for from this determination has not been realised; we thought that the intruder, Boniface, would be abandoned by his followers; but, on the contrary, he is more and more strengthened in his obstinacy. This anti-pope has constantly refused to descend from the Holy See, though Benedict has authentically offered to submit to the event of a new election. Besides, the cardinals, absolute judges of the remedies which should be employed to extinguish the schism, after having seceded from the holy father, having again placed themselves under his authority, we could not remain longer disobedient to him."

"In consequence of these considerations, and with the advice of our uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy; of our brother, duke of Orleans; of our principal lords and prelates, and of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Angiers, and Montpellier, we declare that from this time the withdrawal has ceased; we restore to Benedict entire rule over us and our kingdom, expressly commanding our judges to publish this decree, and to punish, with all the rigour of the laws, those who contravene our present will."

As soon as Benedict was apprised of the favourable result of the negotiations of his legates, he left castle Baynard in triumph, and returned to his palace at Avignon. As long as he was a prisoner, the holy father made the most magnificent promises, and pledged himself to maintain in their offices, the ecclesiastics who had been promoted during the withdrawal; but as soon as he found himself free and powerful, he refused to confirm the different promotions which had been made, and exacted from the bishops an enormous sum for investitures. He anathematised the lords who had declared against him, placed the cities and convents within their jurisdiction under interdict, and laid on them a heavy fine to purchase their absolution. At last, when he had by his manœuvres refilled his purse, he recommenced hostilities against his competitor, with greater bitterness and fury than ever. Unfortunately for him, the authority of Boniface rested on a solid basis in Italy and Germany, and he found that he had

profited by time and circumstances. In fact, on the death of Galeas, the tyrant of Milan, the pope had seized on the cities of Bologna, Perouse, and Modena—had laid a strong hand on his treasures, and had with these resources created a powerful party in Rome, where he reigned as absolute master. At that moment he was engaged in placing Ladislaus upon the throne of Hungary, in order to reduce that kingdom to his authority, by overthrowing Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, his personal enemy. The Hungarians had revolted at his instigation, had made the king a prisoner, plunged him in the dungeon of a castle, and had proclaimed Ladislaus, the next heir to Queen Mary, whose memory they venerated, king.

This prince came at once to Warasin, and was crowned by the cardinal legate Angus Acciajoli. His reign was of short duration. Having wished to levy new imposts upon the people, to pay to the holy father the arrears of tax which had been due for three years, the provinces broke out into full revolt; Sigismund was taken out of prison, an army of peasants assembled round him, and marched against Ladislaus. The latter fled on the approach of his enemy, embarked on the shores of Dalmatia, and returned to Naples. A second time master of Hungary, the cruel Sigismund avenged himself on those who had declared for his competitor. He burned whole cities, levelled churches and monasteries to their foundations, and put to the sword the ecclesiastics and lords who supported Boniface. Such were the sad results to Hungary of its alliances with the pope.

Benedict wished to profit by this check to make a last effort with his rival; and, as he knew his unbounded love for money, he hoped, that by offering him a large sum, he might induce him to sell his share of the papacy. If the proposal was not agreed to, this step was not without danger with a skilful enemy, and could not especially be confided to secret agents, whom his competitor might cause to be arrested and tortured, in order to obtain revelations. He sent to Rome a solemn embassy, with apparent instructions to labour for a reunion of the church, and to offer to Boniface to make a mutual cession, and both to submit to a new election. The true object of his embassy was to make a bargain with his rival; and he selected for this negotiation safe, wary, and prudent men.

As soon as the ambassadors arrived at Rome, the holy father sent to them rich presents, and caused them to be invited, by his cardinals, to splendid festivals; refusing, however, to see them, and grant them an audience, until they should render him in public the honours which were due to his dignity. They, having deliberated about it, passed over this incident, which was unimportant, and appeared to yield with a good grace the point of ceremonial. Charmed with this mark of condescension, the pope conceived the hope of bringing them over to his interests, and consented to give them a secret audience; but

when he saw that, far from taking his side, they wished, on the contrary, to induce him to sell his tiara to his competitor, he changed his tactics, skilfully dissimulated the wrath and contempt he felt for such an overture, and dismissed them, saying it was necessary to reflect on their proposal. Two days afterwards he secretly convoked in council the ambassadors of England and Naples, the magistrates of Rome, the bishops, cardinals, and all the officers of his court; he then sent to inform the envoys of Benedict that he waited to close with them. The French prelates hastened to the Vatican, and before they had time to concert measures, they were introduced into the consistory.

Boniface then turned towards them:—"I accuse," said he, in a thundering tone of voice, "Peter de Luna, the Arragonese, the anti-pope, who calls himself Benedict the Thirteenth, of having proposed an infamous bargain to me; of having offered me ten millions of florins in gold for the papacy! I summon his agents to confirm, by their testimony, the truth of my accusations!" Placing himself on the throne, with all the majesty of a conqueror, he awaited their reply. All this had been foreseen by the wary Benedict; the em-

bassadors advanced into the midst of the assembly, and after having played the part of surprise and indignation, they declared under oath, that it was not their master, but Boniface himself, who had proposed this criminal bargain. Such audacity transported the holy father with fury; he ordered them to be put at once to the torture in full consistory, to draw from them an avowal of their felony.

Without appearing alarmed at the wrath they had excited, they replied that they were ready to suffer all kinds of torture, and even death, to defend the reputation of their master, but that in this circumstance, however, the truth was too palpable to render it necessary for them to submit to such proof; they, accordingly, invoked the inviolability attached to their character as ambassadors, and guaranteed by a safe conduct signed by Boniface. "This reply," says Theodoric of Niem, "so increased the anger of the pope, that he fell into a fit and was obliged to be carried to his apartment: three days afterwards his reign terminated. He was interred without pomp in the church of St. Peter, on the 2d of October, 1404, in the presence of the ambassadors of Benedict."

## THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

### INNOCENT THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINTH POPE, AT ROME.

### BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1404.]

*Reflections on the corruptions of the clergy in the fifteenth century—The legates of Benedict the Thirteenth are retained prisoners at Rome—Election of Innocent the Seventh—Character of the new pope—Sedition at Rome—Innocent takes refuge at Viterbo—Benedict the Thirteenth goes to Italy—Innocent returns to Rome—Benedict causes his competitor to be poisoned—Council of France.*

DURING the fifth century of the church, humility became a disgrace, and poverty an opprobrium for the ministers of religion. Already had bishops, charged with dispensing the blessings of heaven to the faithful, renounced their holy ministry, in order to occupy themselves about the means of enlarging their revenues and increasing their enjoyments. Thus pride, ambition, gormandising, and luxury formed the train of the bishops of Rome; the successors of the apostle became the king of kings and lord of lords, and the apostolic chamber, like a gaping gulf, swallowed up for their advantage the riches of nations.

The fifteenth century, however, surpassed all the preceding ages in corruption; the churches became the resorts of robbers, sodomites and assassins, popes, cardinals, bishops, and mere

clerks exercised brigandage forcibly in the provinces, and employed, as was most convenient, poison, the sword, and fire to free themselves from their enemies, and despoil their victims. The inquisition lent its horrible ministry to popes and kings. In France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and England, it embraced in its thousand arms the victims to the cupidity of tyrants, and put them to the most frightful tortures. The country was covered with legions of priests and monks, who devoured the substance of the people, and carried off to their impure retreats, young girls and handsome youths, whom they again cast out disgraced and dishonoured; the cities became the theatres of orgies and saturnalia, and the palaces of bishops were filled with equipages for the chase, packs of dogs, troops of courtizans, minions, jugglers and buffoons

To all these causes of demoralization was joined the great schism which divided Europe into two hostile camps, and caused torrents of blood to flow.

At length, some courageous men undertook the defence of the oppressed people; the descendants of the unfortunate Vaudois or Albigenses, so cruelly persecuted by the pontiffs, raised their heads and taught their doctrines in England, Germany, and France. Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague continued the movement, and prepared the way for the religious reform which was to strike so terrible a blow on the temporal power of the popes.

By the unforeseen death of the pontiff, Boniface the Ninth, the question of the schism seemed simplified, and the French ambassadors hoped to obtain from the cardinals the recognition of Benedict the Thirteenth, as lawful chief of the church. In consequence of this, on the day succeeding the funeral of the deceased pope, they went to the members of the sacred college, who were preparing to go into conclave, and besought them to defer the election, until they had received from their master a procuration of cession. Unfortunately, they had not money enough to buy all the cardinals; so that, instead of paying any attention to their request, they accused them of endeavouring to excite trouble, to hinder the election. A Neapolitan knight, who was a relative of Boniface, and governor of the castle of St. Angelo, caused them to be arrested, notwithstanding their right to safe conduct as ambassadors, and would not consent to restore them to freedom, until he had received a large ransom.

Immediately after their departure, the members of the college went into conclave, and proclaimed Cosmato Meliorato sovereign pontiff, by the name of Innocent the Seventh. The new chief of the church came from Sulmona, a town of the kingdom of Naples, celebrated as the birth-place of Ovid. Sprung from the lowest ranks of society, Cosmato, by merit alone, had been elevated through all the ecclesiastical grades successively; and the only thing for which he could be reproached was an excessive ambition.

Innocent was received by the Italian ecclesiastics without opposition, but it was not so with the citizens, who laid claim to the government of affairs on which Boniface the Ninth had seized to their prejudice. The Ghibelins placed themselves at the head of the malcontents; and, with the assistance of John and Nicholas Colonna, attacked the Guelphs, and crowded them into the part of the city situated beyond the Tiber. Forced to give satisfaction to the rebels, Innocent concluded a treaty with them, by which he declared that he yielded to them the sovereignty in Rome, and consented that the citizens should appoint regents to conduct the business of the state.

Notwithstanding this solemn recognition of the rights of the people, he soon thought to re-establish his sway; he wished, under pretext of placing himself beyond the reach of

a sudden attack, to surround Rome with troops, and introduce several free companies into the Leonine city. As this manifestation compromised the public liberty, the regents went to the pontifical palace, to address remonstrances to the holy father, and to beseech him to remove his soldiers; but time was not given to them to discharge their mission. Scarcely had they entered the hall of audience, when, by the command of Louis Meliorato, nephew of the pope, ferocious satellites fell on them, seized them by their arms and feet, and hurled them from the windows of the Vatican upon the pavement, where they were killed by the violence of the fall.

Such an atrocity, committed in defiance of laws both human and divine, exasperated men's minds; the great bell of the capitol was rung—the people flew to arms, attacked the palaces of the cardinals, and hung all of them whom they could seize. Innocent had scarcely time to avoid, with his court, the fate of his partizans; his armorial bearings were dragged through the mud, his portraits broken, and his effigy, clothed in pontifical habits, publicly burned.

Benedict, informed of what was passing at Rome, wished to profit by the circumstances, and published that he was preparing to go to Italy, to confer with his competitor as to the means of bringing about a reunion of the church; he accordingly ordered a levy of tenths in France, and the different countries which were subservient to him, to defray the expenses of his journey. This new impost was paid by the provinces, notwithstanding the active opposition of parliament; and the holy father was enabled to embark at Nice, to put his plans in execution. He first went to Genoa, where the marshal de Boucicaut, his old adversary, who, since the cessation of hostilities, had become his friend, commanded. Through his influence, that city declared in favour of the pope of Avignon, and determined Pisa and the neighbouring villages to throw off their obedience to the Roman pontiff.

The Genoese soon repented of having permitted Benedict the Thirteenth, and the vagabonds who formed his body guard, to enter their city. His soldiery, accustomed to pillage, excited so much discontent, that Marshal Boucicaut determined to deliver the inhabitants from them. One Sunday, he informed the pope that he desired to review his troops, and asked authority from him to muster them without the walls of the city. When the soldiers had all gone out, he caused the gates to be closed, and announced to them that they were expressly prohibited from re-entering Genoa. The pontiff vainly strove to change the determination of the governor, and was obliged to disband his army.

Whilst the pope of Avignon was seeking to maintain himself in Italy, a civil war was kindled in Rome; the usurper of the kingdom of Naples, Ladislaus, had leagued with John Colonna, to reduce the new republic, and prepared for the execution of his plans, by sending troops towards the holy city. For-

fortunately, the inhabitants were informed of the plans of their enemies, and endeavoured to drive the Colonna from Rome. They, however, maintained themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, from which they made daily murderous sorties. After several assaults, the citizens, discovering the impossibility of taking this fortress without foreign succour, decided to recall Innocent the Ninth, and informed him they would reinstall him in the Holy See, if he would engage to deliver them from the Colonna. The pope joyfully accepted the conditions offered him; he started immediately to take possession of the Vatican; and, on the very day of his arrival, lanced a terrible excommunication against the Colonna, the king of Naples, and all their partisans. Ladislaus, whose right to the crown of Naples was already contested by the duke of Anjou, feared lest an anathema should excite new enemies against him, and consented to make peace with the Holy See. He engaged to restore all the territory he had taken from St. Peter, and promised to furnish troops to Innocent, with which to combat his enemies.

Benedict the Thirteenth, who had essayed to frustrate these negotiations, having failed in his efforts, took other measures more efficacious than those he had employed, and simply decided to poison his competitor. He sent a solemn embassy to Rome, with the apparent purpose of proposing some mode of putting an end to the schism, and secretly instructed to bribe, at any price, a servant of the pope. Innocent, who had no more intention of abdicating than his rival, nor the desire of making any concession, refused to give an audience to the ambassadors. Benedict availed himself of this, and spread letters through all Europe in which his rival was called perjured, schismatic and heretic. The Roman pontiff on his side lanced terrible bulls against his adversary, and accused him of having sent his agents for the sole purpose of assassinating him. Benedict, judging from this that his plan was discovered, despaired of reigning in Italy, and returned to France, where, during his absence, matters had changed much. A formidable party was formed against him

at the court of Charles the Sixth, and wished to pronounce him deprived of the Holy See. The wary pope applied himself at once to bringing back their minds, and sent the cardinal Chalant as his legate to explain his conduct. An assembly of the lords, bishops, and doctors of the university was convened at Paris; the ambassador of the pope, in a long harangue, dwelt upon the vices of the court of Innocent, and pronounced a pompous eulogium on Benedict. His conclusion was, that his master, as the most worthy, should govern the church; and that it was the duty of all the faithful to submit to him.

Notwithstanding the brilliant addresses of the legate, the members of the council condemned the holy father, and declared that France should a second time withdraw its obedience from him. They accordingly published the following decree: "We inform all persons that the officers of Benedict shall no more receive annates, nor the revenues of vacant prelacies and dignities; that they must cease for the present from levying tithes upon the churches, and from claiming subsidies under any pretext whatsoever. Cardinals and chamberlains are prohibited from receiving, taking, or exacting the smallest sum until the holding of the national council, which is to be convened to put an end to the schism." This ordinance was scarcely made, when the death of Innocent the Seventh was known in France. The legates of Benedict had fulfilled their mission.

The national council, however, assembled at Paris, and confirmed the decision which had been made in regard to the relinquishment of the Holy See. Before separating, the fathers addressed, in the name of the king, a synodical letter to the Roman cardinals, to beseech them to put off the election of another pope; but the sacred college had already assembled in conclave and proclaimed the cardinal Angelo Corario sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Twelfth. This fatal haste of the Italian prelates disconcerted the French bishops, and prolonged the schism, by rallying around Benedict partisans who had detached themselves from his cause.

## GREGORY THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH POPE, AT ROME.

### BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1406.]

*History of the cardinal Angelo Corario before his pontificate—Oath of the cardinals—Gregory sends an embassy to Benedict—Benedict excommunicates the national council—Knaveries of the two popes—Violent character of Gregory—The Roman cardinals abandon his party—He lanches ecclesiastical thunders against them—King Charles the Sixth summons the pope at Avignon to lay down the papacy—Benedict places France under interdict—The bearers of his bulls are arrested by the order of the king, and subjected to an ignominious punishment—He flies from Avignon—Council of Pisa—Condemnation of the two popes—Election of a third pope.*

GREGORY THE TWELFTH was descended from a noble Venetian family; he was eighty years old, and had passed through all grades in the church before he reached the sovereign

pontificate. Before his election he was quoted as a model of mildness, prudence, humility, and holiness. On the eve of the conclave he had even proposed to the cardinals to take separately the following oath: "I swear on the gospels and the consecrated host, that in case I shall be chosen pontiff, I will renounce the dignity if the pope at Avignon will consent to abdicate: or if death strikes him, or even if the cardinals of both sides coalesce."

His first steps answered the hopes which had been placed in him from the day of his exaltation; he renewed the solemn oath he had before taken, and in the presence of the cardinals of his court, thus expressed himself: "Anathema on schismatics, whatever may be their power and dignity! Anathema on them! Anathema on myself, if I do not employ all my efforts to put an end to the unfortunate division which brings misfortune and disgrace on Christianity! Yes, my brethren, I swear from the chair of truth, that I will go to the council which shall be convened to settle the differences, notwithstanding my age and infirmities, and wherever it assembles; if I have no galley, I will dare the sea in a boat; and if I have no horses, I will go on foot, with my staff in my hand." In order to give more force to his words, he read publicly a letter which he addressed to Benedict to urge him to renounce with him the sovereign pontificate, and both to submit to a new election.

Benedict, who was at Marseilles, received the deputies with great honours; he appeared disposed to follow the example of Gregory, and even consented to an interview with his rival in the city of Savona. Gregory then cast aside the mask of hypocrisy which he had worn for eighty years; this humble and simple man changed in an instant his character and language, and showed himself proud and haughty, covered himself with robes of purple and gold, surrounded himself with all the pomp of courts, and caused himself to be adored as a god. When the French ambassadors came to offer him all kinds of guarantees and sureties on the part of the king, that he might go to Savona, as he had solemnly engaged to do, he replied to them with hauteur that he had no promise to fulfil, or condition to comply with. He dismissed the ambassadors, and ordered the cardinals never again to speak to him of abdicating, if they did not wish to incur his displeasure.

As soon as Benedict was informed of what had taken place at Rome, his hopes and audacity increased; he hastened to publish a bull of excommunication against the national council, which had decreed the withdrawal of the French from his obedience; he anathematised in general all who had taken part in this salutary measure, mere laymen, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, kings, or emperors; he declared that if, at the expiration of twenty days after the publication of the sentence, the excommunicated persisted in their resolution, the ecclesiastics should be deprived of their benefices, and the territories

or domains of secular princes placed under interdict. He freed vassals from their oaths of fidelity, he confiscated all the fiefs, goods, moveables, or immoveables of the excommunicated, enveloping, in the same sentence of excommunication and interdiction, kingdoms, republics, cities, castles, universities, colleges, churches, and communities, which were favourable to those who had already withdrawn from obedience to him. Then, to show how ardently he desired the reunion of the church, he went immediately to Savona and informed his competitor that he was waiting at the appointed place, to confer upon the best mode of putting an end to the schism.

Several cotemporary historians affirm that the two popes had agreed neither of them to withdraw, whilst still appearing to desire it, and thus to make all Europe the dupe of their knavery. Gregory, in fact, went as far as Lucca, received the nuncios of his competitor with distinction, and replied to them in a public audience, that he had the same intention as their master, and that he only waited for his abdication to renounce the tiara himself, and put an end to the schism. This reply gave great joy to the cardinals of both parties, but it was of short duration.

"These two popes," says Theodoric of Niem, "were like two champions who present themselves in a listed field to combat to the death, after having secretly agreed not to inflict a wound; they impudently amuse themselves with the spectators, and the combat having finished, they divide the prize of the tourney, congratulating themselves in the success of their trick." The same historian adds, "If one was desirous of recounting all the knaveries, iniquities, and crimes of Gregory the Twelfth and Benedict the Thirteenth, it would be necessary for him to add three lives to the duration of his own; he would then run the risk of failing in paper and ink. These two wretches have cauterised consciences; they fill Christendom with vice, pillage, and murder; through their deplorable influence the Christian world is abandoned to frightful calamities; fear of God, modesty, pity, equity, and all the virtues have been banished from among men, great and small, from the king to the serf; impiety, avarice, and licentiousness reign with them over the faithful. There is nothing sound or whole in the universal church; all its body is covered with an impure leprosy, from the sole of the feet to the crown of the head." The farce played, the two popes retired, each to the country of their jurisdiction, and committed new brigandages.

Gregory confiscated the property of the Italian ecclesiastics, who were suspected of a desire to put an end to the schism; he sold castles and ecclesiastical domains, created new magistrates, removed the old, and imposed extraordinary imposts on the clergy for the maintenance of his numerous soldiery. Notwithstanding the incessant marks of submission by his priests, he had no regard for them, and constantly threatened them with his anathemas, whenever they ventured to

address any remonstrances to him in regard to his withdrawal. Two of his cardinals having reminded him of the oath he had taken at the time of his exaltation, he made this reply to them: "Are you ignorant that popes have the power to take oaths and then perjure themselves if they wish to, since they are above every thing in this world?" A preacher of the order of the Carmelites having dared to maintain a contrary doctrine, was arrested by order of the pontiff, and put to the torture as a heretic.

To prevent a recurrence of such attacks upon his authority, Gregory published a bull prohibiting any ecclesiastic from delivering any sermon or public discourse, until it had been submitted to a censor. This arbitrary act excited opposition in all quarters, and the cardinals came in a body to entreat the holy father to retract this bull of iniquity. His reply was, that he would immediately frame a new college, as he was tired of their murmurs, and, in fact, he elevated to the cardinalate four priests, his creatures, who were steeped in debauchery.

All the cardinals then abandoned his court, and went to their estates. Leonard Aretin, who was at Lucca, relates this circumstance at length, in a letter addressed to his friend Petrillo; it is as follows: "We have well divined that the clouds, which were gathering on the horizon, would break in a terrible storm. The cardinals, who have been, for a long time, irritated at the insolence, perfidy, and pride of the pope, have at last lost their patience, and abandoned that vicious and obstinate old man. I praise your prudence in having foreseen the tempest and retired to Naples, and I blame myself for having dared it, by remaining here.

"You know the mystification to which these two popes have subjected their partizans in regard to the place which should be fixed on for their interview. Gregory affirmed that all cities were equally agreeable to him, provided they were not situated on the sea shore. Benedict found them all to his taste, provided they were not in the interior. It might have been supposed that one was an aquatic animal which had a horror of dry land, and the other a terrestrial animal which dreaded the water. Every body murmured at this conduct, and no one could see without indignation two men, more than septuagenarians, sacrificing religion and the church to reign for a few days longer over the consciences of the simple. The cardinals of Gregory having dared to address remonstrances to him on this subject, he determined to frame a new court for himself, and convened the sacred college in consistory to ratify the promotions of his creatures. Several members resisted, and wished to leave the assembly. The pontiff then descended from his throne, and placing himself before the door of the saloon, threatened them with his wrath if they should dare to leave the consistory without his orders. After this he gave a signal to armed men to surround the council hall. The prelates, filled

with indignation, regarded each other in astonishment without speaking; at last the cardinal Raynald, of Saint Vit, broke the silence, and demanded from Gregory what he wished them to do. 'I intend,' he replied, 'to provide for the safety of the church by making an entire reformation of the sacred college.'—'No,' replied the former, 'it is its ruin you desire.' Then advancing resolutely into the midst of the assembly, 'No,' he added, in a firm and strong voice: 'it is much better to suffer all kinds of torture than the indignities of this execrable pope!' This sally, as you might suppose, my dear Petrillo, excited great agitation in the council. Some, dreading the vengeance of Gregory, exclaimed, that they ought to obey him: others, transported with rage, heaped curses and reproaches on him; others contented themselves with groans and tears.

"I myself saw the venerable cardinal Colonna cast himself on his knees before the pontiff and beseech him, with joined hands, to desist from such a measure; but instead of allowing himself to be softened by tears and prayers, Gregory became still more insolent. He prohibited the cardinals from leaving the city of Lucca under penalty of being declared heretics, and as such to be burned: he then drove them from the consistory with blows of halberds. One of our cardinals, the bishop of Liege, a German, escaped in the disguise of a porter, and retired to a small town in the territory of Florence. As soon as Gregory was informed of this flight, he sent a troop of horse in pursuit of the prelate, with orders to bring him back, dead or alive. Fortunately for the bishop, the garrison of the town in which he had taken refuge defended him, and repulsed the soldiers of the pope: several were slain, and the rest forced to fall back on Lucca. From this resulted a quarrel between the governor and the holy father, and, favoured by the confusion, the cardinals escaped to Pisa, where they are now in safety."

As soon as the members of the sacred college were established in this last residence, they published the following manifesto against Gregory: "We have left the court of that accursed pope because he desired to murder several of us, and because we knew that he was making, in his palace, irons to chain us, and instruments of torture to be applied to us, as Urban the Sixth did to some of our predecessors. For our own safety, and that of the church, we have removed our persons beyond the reach of the cruelty of this schismatic pope, and we protest before all Christendom against his acts of violence. We also protest against his prohibition of our assembling in any place without his authority; because such an order overthrows the institution of our college, which has a right to assemble to judge of the principles of the faith, heresies, and schisms. We also protest against the prohibition of communion with the cardinals or deputies of Benedict the Thirteenth, or with the ambassadors of the court of France; because we are compelled by our oath to take all measures which



shall be necessary to restore union to the church. Finally, we appeal from his decretals and anathemas, to a general council, which, according to the custom of the church, shall judge his actions and ours."

This declaration was made known to Gregory in a public consistory, whilst he was giving to the cardinals of the last promotion the rings and other marks of their dignity. During the sitting, the holy father fulminated a terrible anathema against the signers of the protest, declaring them to be stripped of their dignities, deprived of their benefices, and interdicted from all sacerdotal functions. The faithful, who were obedient to him, were prohibited from communing with them, or giving them an asylum, under penalty of incurring a like excommunication; and on the next day he sent to the different princes of his communion, a bull, in which he exposed the treason of his cardinals, who, according to his story, wished to depose him in order to recognise Peter de Luna.

They replied to the libellous calumniator by causing to be affixed to the pontifical palace and the cathedral of Lucca, the following act, which has been transmitted to us by Theodoric de Niem: "Anathema on Gregory the coward, the drunkard, and the knave; the man of blood, the illustrious robber, the schismatic, the heretic, the precursor of antichrist! Anathema upon him! He has mounted the chair of the apostle like a thief, to set fire to the four corners of the house of God, and to pull down its columns! Anathema upon him, for he is associated in an infernal conspiracy with the infamous Benedict, a worthy co-partner in his work of violence and iniquity. Not content with what they have already done, these two wretches still wish to bend beneath their tyranny, prelates, princes, kings, and people, and to take from them the very garments which cover them. But we are about to arrest the evil, and undeceive the nations, by opening their eyes, and teaching them that the popes are insatiable and cruel impostors, who, in the name of God, impudently make sport of men, and seek to render their reign eternal by stifling the light of knowledge.

"You, Gregory! We will unveil all your turpitudes and your incestuous amour with your own sister. We will cite you before our tribunal at Pisa to depose you from the Holy See, which you have usurped and profaned, and to degrade you from every dignity. If you shall refuse to appear before us, we shall none the less proceed with your condemnation.

"We have already deposed your chamberlains, those purveyors of your hideous lubricity; we have excommunicated Gabriel, your eldest son, who is also your minion; the archbishop of Ragusa, your prothonotary, who has filled your bald head with the fumes of pride; and, finally, your legate, that young monk, your partner in bestiality!"

Whilst they were thus proceeding in Italy against Gregory, the king of France caused Benedict the Thirteenth, who was still at

Genoa, to be notified by his ambassadors, that if the union was not concluded before the festival of the Ascension, he should prohibit his re-entering his kingdom or even Provence. The pontiff sent at once to Charles, several of his confidential friends, with a bull, containing these propositions: "The sovereign father of the faithful, declares ecclesiastics, lords, princes, kings, and people, whose opinions are contrary to his, excommunicated; he anathematizes those who retract from the obedience due to him, and who refuse him the levies of pence or the collation of benefices; finally, if in twenty days France is not entirely subjected to him, he will pronounce a general interdict upon all its territories, will suspend all the beneficiaries, and will free the faithful from their oaths of allegiance to the king and princes; he will, moreover, give the crown to a monarch who will be devoted and submissive to him."

As soon as the envoys of the pontiff had fulfilled their mission, they left Paris, without waiting for the decision of the council, which they supposed would be unfavourable to them, as was the case. The French ecclesiastics and the members of the university, declared by their organ, John of Courteuse, that Benedict was an obstinate schismatic and heretic, a disturber of the peace of church and state, and as such, could no longer be regarded as pope or cardinal; that they ought to refuse obedience to him, place him under the ban of the kingdom, and punish those who gave him council, aid, succour, protection, or asylum. His bulls were torn by the hands of the executioner, and the priests, who had the audacity to carry it, were condemned to an ignominious punishment, of which the monk of St. Denis has left us a description.

"The horsemen of the pope's stable were caught on their route," says the chronicle, "and, that their punishment should render the partizans of Peter de Luna more circumspect in future, they placed paper mitres on Sancho Lopez and his colleagues, clothed them in a dalmatic of black cloth, on which were the arms of Benedict the Thirteenth, covered with insulting placards; and in this condition they were led about in a tumbril filled with filth and excrements, as far as the court of the palace; they caused them to mount a scaffold, and in the presence of an immense crowd the executioner buffeted them, and spit in their faces, as a mark of contempt."

At the request of the university, King Charles addressed a letter to the two colleges of cardinals, to exhort them to meet and labour efficaciously for the extinction of the schism. Benedict, finding himself rejected by the French, and hunted by King Ladislaus, was compelled to quit Genoa, remount his galleys and keep the sea for two months without daring to land. Finally, he disembarked in Catalonia, and went to Perpignan, a frontier city of France and Arragon, to abide in safety the end of the storm.

After having regularly cited the two popes before their tribunal, the cardinals of both

parties assembled in the cathedral of Pisa; a crier, standing on the threshold of the church, summoned Benedict and Gregory in a loud voice, and as they did not appear, nor any one for them, the two rivals were, after the third call, declared to be contumacious; the patriarch of Alexandria then mounted the pulpit of the church, and pronounced the following sentence:—"In the name of Jesus Christ, the sacred universal council, assembled under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, after having examined the accusations against Peter de Luna and Angelo Corario, declare that these two infamous men are guilty of enormous iniquities and excesses; that they should be cut off for ever from the church, and rejected from the bosom of God. Consequently, they are, as such, deposed from every sacerdotal function, and prohibited from styling themselves sovereign pontiffs. The council declares the Holy See vacant, and that the lawful ecclesiastics shall proceed to the regular election of a pope, and those who shall refuse to submit to this sentence shall be handed over to secular justice, as the divine precepts and sacred canons command.

"The council, moreover, erases and annuls the procedures, decretals, excommunications, and interdicts fulminated against clergy and

laity, by the two popes; they absolve from all their oaths, Christians who have ranged themselves under their rule, prohibiting them expressly from obeying the two rivals, and from giving them counsel and an asylum, under the penalty of anathema, and other censures, pronounced by the holy fathers.—Finally, the council erases the promotions to the cardinalate, or rather the profanations committed by Angelo Corario, since the 3d of May, 1408, and by Peter de Luna, since the 15th of June, in the same year."

Immediately afterwards the cardinals went into conclave, to choose a pope, and signed the following engagement:—"We, the members of the sacred college, bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled at Pisa, for the extinction of the schism, engage, by oath on the sacred body of Christ, to continue the council, even after the election of a sovereign pontiff, and not to permit it to be dissolved before having made a lawful, reasonable, and sufficient reform in the church, as well for its chief as its other members." On the same evening, twenty-four cardinals assembled in the episcopal palace of Pisa, and ten days afterwards they proclaimed as chief of the universal church, Peter Philargi or Philaret, of Candia.

## ALEXANDER THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH POPE, AT ROME.

### BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

### GREGORY THE TWELFTH, BECOME ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1409.]

*History of Peter Philargi before his election—Louis of Anjou recognised by him as king of Sicily—Weakness of Alexander's government—His bulls—He re-establishes the authority of the Holy See in Rome—His journey to Bologna—France refuses him the tenths—Cardinal Balthazar Cossa administers poison to him—His obsequies.*

SEVERAL cotemporary historians, among others the monk of St. Denis, Theodoric of Niem, Monstrelet, Philip of Bergamo, and Platina, affirm that Peter Philargi, surnamed the cardinal of Milan, was born in the isle of Candia or Crete; other chroniclers maintain that he was of Novarro or Bologna, and several relate that at his death the holy father declared he was of Milanese, and originally from a city called Candia, situated in the territory of Pavia. Although there are these different versions, his election is none the less one of the most extraordinary examples of the pranks of fortune; and it appears as if Divine Providence was pleased to draw this pope from the most profound abyss of baseness, to elevate him slowly and by degrees to the culminating point of greatness and glory.

In his earliest infancy, Peter Philargi had been abandoned on the high road, so that he

afterwards avowed that he would be much embarrassed in enriching and favouring his relatives as his predecessors had done, since he had known neither father nor mother, nor any one in the world attached to him by ties of blood. He wandered through the streets of Candia, imploring alms from door to door, when an Italian Cordelier accidentally met him. Touched by the state of the child, whose intelligent and suffering physiognomy announced intelligence beyond his years, the monk took him to his monastery to serve in the church. His protector taught him Latin and the holy scriptures, and induced him to make such rapid progress in his studies, that they gave him the habit as soon as he attained his fifteenth year; he was then sent to the universities of Oxford and Paris, where he received the cap of a doctor.

On his return to Italy, the young Cordelier

was invited to the court of John Galeas, the tyrant of Milan, to occupy the post of councillor. This prince, charged him some years afterwards, with an important mission, of which he acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his master and that of the emperor Wenceslaus, who elevated him to the dignity of a prince of the empire. Through the influence of Galeas, he then obtained the bishopric of Placenza, and in succession those of Vicenza, Novarro and Milan.

Alexander was affable and liberal to every one; but, according to Theodoric of Niem, he was unfortunate in allowing his scandalous bestialities to be too publicly known. He also loved good cheer and rich wines, and was intoxicated regularly every night; so that his familiar friends allowed no one to approach him in his moments of revelling. They had the better cause to do so, since the holy father placed no bounds to his largesses, and gave away to his last crown, saying, "I have been a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and I wish to be a mendicant pope."

Notwithstanding these faults, Alexander attracted to himself the love of the Romans. Of a frank and loyal character, he constantly refused to imitate the example of his predecessors; and, as he was incapable of wearing a mask of hypocrisy in the different acts of his government which required deceit, he was almost always represented by the officers of his court, who had been initiated into the art of deceiving men by Gregory the Twelfth, or Innocent the Seventh.

The election of Alexander was received with acclamations of joy in the different Christian states, and especially in France; deputies from Florence, Sienna, and several other Italian cities, came to him at Pisa, to take the oath of obedience to him, and Charles of Anjou presented himself at the council to render his homage to the holy father. As a recompense for this mark of condescension, Alexander declared him king of Naples and Sicily, and standard bearer of the Roman church, to the great discontent of Ladislaus, his competitor.

After the exaltation of the pope, and the ceremonies of the pierced chair, the council recommenced its sessions, and published various decrees, approving and ratifying the collations, provisions, promotions, translations of prelates as well as the dignities, consecrations, or ordinations, granted or made by the rivals or their predecessors. They also confirmed the dispensations and absolutions of reserved cases which had been made during the schism. Alexander remitted to all churches the arrears of large and small services which they owed the apostolic churches up to the day of his promotion; he declared that he should not reserve to himself the spoils of deceased prelates, nor the revenues of vacant benefices, and that in no case should the property of the church be hereafter alienated or hypothecated by popes or cardinals.

These regulations were reduced to the shape of bulls, and sent to Christian kings and

princes, that they should be executed at once in their states. The pontiff would, doubtless, have gone further in his plans of reform, if the ecclesiastics themselves, who wished to maintain the abuses which enriched them, had not stopped him by demanding the closing of the council. Nicholas Clemangis wrote on this subject—"The council of Pisa deceived the people! The cardinal and greedy men who composed it, led on by their passions and contemptible interests, prevented the reform of the clergy, which all good men wanted. This assembly of knaves at first proceeded to the election of a chief. When the pope was elected, they exacted that he should ratify the promotion and benefices which they coveted; and, as soon as they had obtained what they wanted, that is, their own advancement, they declared the peace of the church assured."

A few months after his election, Alexander undertook to overthrow the power of Robert of Bavaria, and re-establish Wenceslaus on the imperial throne. It was against his own interest, but he followed in it the inspirations of his heart, and manifested his gratitude to his former protector. Robert, on his side, in order to revenge himself on the pope, wished to prevent Germany from yielding him obedience; this attempt failed, because Alexander had been careful to appoint the elector of Nassau his hereditary legate for the city of Mayence. Thus, in defiance of the ill-will of the prince, the party of the holy father triumphed in Germany, and was reinforced by all those to whom he granted dispensations, dignities, and benefices, and even authority to contract unlawful or incestuous marriages.

Notwithstanding these apparent successes, the government of Alexander was feeble, and the holy father, kept as it were, in private confinement, dared not command, except during the sleep of those who imposed their will on him. Among his ministers the cardinal Balthasar Cossa had the first place; nothing was done without the orders of the favourite, and every one was subjected to his slightest caprices. It was at the instigation of this prelate that he issued several bulls in favour of the Minor and Mendicant Brothers, which were condemned by the university of Paris, which then erected itself into a sovereign court on all religious questions; it was also by Balthasar's counsels, that he fulminated against Ladislaus a sentence of anathema, remarkable for the history of the allegations against that prince.

"The infamous Ladislaus," said the pope in his decree of excommunication, "was nourished with the milk and substance of the Roman church, by the hands of Boniface the Ninth, who crowned him king of Naples and Sicily; since that period he has turned against the Holy See the arms which the church has placed in his hands, and compelled Innocent the Seventh to strike him with ecclesiastical thunders. He then returned, like a dog, crawling on the earth, to implore pity and pardon. His oaths of devotion and fidelity

touching the compassion of our predecessor, who granted him absolution, and he has anew fallen into his former sin. When Boniface granted to him, in fief, the kingdom of Naples and its appendages, which belonged to the Roman church, he engaged, for himself and his heirs, never to enter into any league with kings, princes, or lords who were enemies to the Holy See; he also swore not to seize on the Milanese, Tuscany, the city of Beneventum, the Campagna of Rome, the Isle of Maritimo, the duchy of Spoleto, the patrimony of St. Peter, the march of Ancona, Perouse, Bologna, Rome, or on other places belonging to the church; he promised to pay yearly to the apostolic treasury eight thousand marks of gold; he pledged himself on the sacred body of Christ to defend the rights, privileges, and independence of the Holy See against all its enemies, under penalty of excommunication and deposition should he fail to do so. Not only has this renegade refused to fulfil his promises, but has even become the greatest enemy to Christian peace, the most dangerous maintainer of the schism. Under pretext of sustaining the excommunicated Angelo Corario, he has seized upon the holy city, a large number of towns, several provinces, castles, and territories which belong to us, and he exercises unheard of cruelties against those who wish to recognise us as their lawful pontiff. We accordingly cite him to appear before our supreme tribunal, to be deprived of the kingdom of Sicily, and of his other goods and rights, as guilty of having violated his oath, of having invaded the territory of our see, and of having conspired against our council."

About the same time Alexander received envoys from Sbinco, the metropolitan of Prague, who informed him of the dangers with which the Catholic faith was menaced in Bohemia, and solicited a sentence of excommunication against the heretics who infected his province. His holiness received the delegates of the archbishop with distinction, and invited them several times to dine with him, which was one of his greatest favours, "for, in his eyes, the pleasures of the table surpassed all others," says Bernardin Corio, the Milanese historian; "and he pushed gormandising to such a point, that he prohibited his cook from preparing the ragouts, which were to appear on his table, until he had commenced his repast, in order to have the pleasure of waiting for every course and prolonging his festivities." At the conclusion of one of these dinners, the holy father, who had drunk extravagantly, granted to the deputies of Sbinco the bull which they asked for, and designated four masters in theology, and two in the canon law, to second the archbishop in his pursuit after those who taught the doctrines of Wickliff, whether in public or private; he gave them full power and authority to hand them over to the secular arm if it were necessary to repress their disturbances.

The plague had been depopulating Italy for some months, and threatened to alight on the

city of Pisa; the holy father immediately left his residence and retired to Prato, and thence to Pistoia, near Florence. It was there that he learned of the victory of Louis of Anjou over the troops of Ladislaus, and, in consequence of it, the evacuation of Rome by the hostile forces. Bzovius maintains that the French owed their success less to their courage than to the intrigues they had entered into with the states of Sienna, Florence, and Bologna, and several Italian princes. This crusade against Ladislaus had for leaders the cardinal Balthasar Cossa, Tanneguy du Chatel, Paul des Ursini, Malatesta, and Magnus Sforza.

"The confederates," says the historian, "first established secret communications in the place, and connected themselves with some influential citizens who were to excite a rising at a given signal. Balthasar Cossa then led straight to Rome a body of troops commanded by Paul des Ursini and Malatesta, and feigned a wish to attack two gates at once. The count of Troyes, who commanded in the holy city for Ladislaus, repulsed the assailants, who gave way before him and fled in disorder. This manœuvre determined him to make a sally, which was what the allies were waiting for. Scarcely had the Neapolitan troops passed the walls, when the tocsin of the capitol sounded to summon the people to revolt; at the same time Malatesta retraced his steps, charged the soldiers of Ladislaus vigorously, and drove them back into the city, where they were massacred by the insurgents. The count of Troyes had scarcely time to take refuge in the palace of the Colonna, from whence he escaped during the night, disguised as a monk."

Having become master of Rome, the cardinal Balthasar Cossa thought of preparing for himself the means of arriving at the pontificate; and as, for the execution of these plans, it was necessary that Alexander should not go to the pontifical city, he went to the holy father at Pisa, and induced him to pass the winter at Bologna, to wait until the agitation in Rome had entirely ceased. According to custom, the pontiff obeyed the cardinal; and, notwithstanding the snow and ice, parted with all his court for Bologna. A few days after his arrival, he received a deputation composed of the reginary prefects, ten bishops, and several Roman lords, who presented him with the keys of the holy city, beseeching him in the name of the people to come and take possession of the Vatican. The pontiff, desirous of complying with the urgent request of the ambassadors, determined, contrary to the advice of his minister, to change his former intentions, and go at once to Rome. He, at the same time, made a decree to advance the holding of the jubilee, which was a source of fortune to the inhabitants. But the cardinal Balthasar had determined that the pope should not return again to the holy city; and that he himself should receive the honours of the triumph which the Romans were preparing for Alexander. In consequence of this on the eve of his departure, which was fixed

for the 3d of May, 1410, a poisoned clyster was administered to him by Daniel of Saint Sophia, his physician in ordinary, of which he died during the night.

On the next day, Daniel destroyed the evidences of the crime, by disembowelling his victim, under the pretext of embalming the body. "Then," says Andrew du Chene, "that venerable pontiff was borne into the hall, in which the consistory assembled, and remained exposed with his face uncovered, his feet naked, and the rest of the body clothed in the sacerdotal garments. His arms were placed on the four corners of his coffin; and during nine days the service for the dead was

celebrated nine times for him in the presence of the cardinals, patriarchs, bishops, abbots, doctors, and numerous clergy, who formed his court. On the tenth day, the cardinals of Thury, Viviers, and Malta, with Coesa (his assassin) bore him upon their shoulders to the cloister of the Cordeliers, where he was buried in the sanctuary of the church."

No important event occurred during this reign, which lasted less than a year; and, although the cardinals had appointed a third pope, the schism none the less continued, and the two popes, Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, exhibited no less obstinacy in their pretensions.

JOHN THE TWENTY-THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND  
TWELFTH POPE, AT ROME.  
BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.  
GREGORY THE TWELFTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1410.]

*The cardinal Balthasar Cossa seizes the tiara—His history before his pontificate—He makes his entry into Rome—Gives the imperial crown to Sigismund—Demands subsidies from France—Opposition of the university to the levy of tenths—Victory of Louis of Anjou over Ladislaus—Treaty between the holy father and the king of Naples—Council of Rome—Singular adventure of an owl—Bull against the followers of Wickliff—Exactions of John the Twenty-third—Conduct of Benedict the Thirteenth in Spain—History of the inquisition of Spain—The holy office and its familiars—Agreement between Benedict the Thirteenth and the Jews—Ladislaus seizes Rome—Flight of the pope and cardinals—Negotiations between John the Twenty-third and Sigismund—Ladislaus is poisoned by one of his mistresses at the instigation of the pope—Council of Constance—Intrigues of the pope—Atrocious accusations against John the Twenty-third—Arrest and deposition of the pope—Gregory the Twelfth solemnly withdraws his claims on the papacy—Decree against Benedict the Thirteenth—Punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague—Election of a fourth pontiff.*

DURING the nine days which preceded the assembling of the conclave, the cardinals were engaged in their usual intrigues of buying and selling votes. More skillful than his colleagues, Balthasar Cossa formed a powerful party for himself among the people of Bologna, by distributing grain and money. He also attached to his interests Louis the Third, duke of Anjou, by promising him his aid in the conquest of Naples; he then encompassed Bologna with free companies, whose presence he knew was a cause of terror to his colleagues.

This done, he convened the conclave for the 14th of May, 1410; he presented himself in the costume of a corsair, clad in a coat of mail, with a sword by his side, and took his place among the cardinals, threatening them with his displeasure, if they dared appoint a pope who was not agreeable to him. All the prelates, chilled by fear, listened in silence to the blasphemies of this abominable assassin; at last one of them proposed to elevate the cardinal of Malta to the sovereign pontificate.—"No, I reject him," exclaimed Balthasar;

other cardinals nominated, successively, the bishop of Palestrina, the metropolitan of Ravenna, and the archbishop of Bordeaux. He rejected them all. At last the members of the conclave, alarmed and trembling, and thinking only of their personal safety, besought him to designate the cardinal whom he would wish to appoint pope.—"Well, then I give myself the pontifical mantle," he replied to them, "and I will cover with it the only cardinal who is worthy to wear it." He put it on at once, and stretching out his arm toward the tiara, exclaimed, "I am pope." He then went to the cathedral for the ceremony of the pierced chair, and was crowned by the name of John the Twenty-third.

Theodoric of Niem says, positively, "that the holy father was an intruder, that he broke the pontifical gate with a golden axe, and had closed the jaws of the Cerberuses, who guarded the threshold, by casting to them the remains of his festivals, to prevent their barking at him."

Balthasar of Cossa, or Cuiase, was born of a noble Neapolitan family; his parents, not

withstanding the martial disposition he had evinced from his infancy, had caused him to enter a monastery; he did not stay there long. After his escape from the convent, he joined a band of pirates, who ravaged the shores of lower Italy during the wars between Louis of Anjou and Ladislaus. He soon became the leader of these corsairs, and was distinguished for frightful atrocities; destitute of faith, shame, and remorse; despising all laws human and divine; he possessed in the highest degree those qualities, which in a time of war make great captains, and in time of peace great villains.

When the victories of Ladislaus had restored quiet to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, he was forced to renounce his trade of a corsair. He then thought of becoming a priest, and went to the university of Bologna, where he bought a doctor's cap. Boniface the Ninth sold him the archdeaconate of that city. He tired of Bologna, and went to the court of Rome, where he was soon raised to the cardinalate and the post of secret chamberlain, as a reward for his infamous compliance with the desires of Boniface. His new functions gave him immense influence, by which he profited to gather back the large sums he had spent in the brothels of Bologna. He caused himself to be appointed collector general of the Holy See, sent collectors through all Europe, and levied contributions on the ecclesiastics of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Under the threat of removing them into provinces remote from their churches, he constrained them to buy from him indulgences, absolutions, relics, benefices, annates; and, in a word, the chamberlain knew so well how to use all resorts of sacerdotal knavery, that in less than two years he found himself richer than the pope, and able to purchase impunity for his crimes. These he did not hesitate to commit, for they recounted at Rome a great number of young nuns whom he had deflowered, by introducing himself by night into their cells; they also relate that he carried on an incestuous commerce with the wife of his brother.

The noise of his debaucheries became so loud, that Boniface himself, that shameless wretch, was obliged to send him away from his court; he gave him a foreign mission, and instructed him to bring back the people of Bologna, who had revolted against the Holy See, to their duty. The cardinal legate placed himself at the head of the pontifical troops, defeated the Visconti, who came to the aid of the insurgents, and seized the city; he then found himself absolute master, able to give free course to his unbridled passions. There was soon not a youth or young girl, no matter what their rank, or the nobility of their family, who could believe themselves beyond the reach of this infamous priest. Fathers and mothers, who dared dispute for their children with the purveyors of the cardinal, were plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition; and we are even assured that this monster, by a refinement of lubricity, abused the chil-

dren in the presence of their parents, and whilst his victims were writhing beneath the hot pinchers of the executioners.

After the death of Boniface, the protector of Balthasar Cossa, the Bolognese conceived hopes of being delivered from their tyrant, and sent ambassadors to Innocent the Seventh, to offer him enormous sums to procure the recall of the legate. Unfortunately, Balthasar was informed of the negotiation; he immediately sent to Rome double the sum proposed to the holy father, and overthrew their negotiations. The principal citizens, whom he suspected of having prepared this plot, were handed over to the tribunal of the inquisition, their property confiscated, and themselves beheaded by his order. The reign of Innocent the Seventh passed, and brought no relief to the unhappy Bolognese. At last, during the pontificate of Gregory the Twelfth, some courageous citizens dared again to demand his expulsion. Gregory fulminated a sentence of anathema against the guilty legate, and revoked his functions; but the latter, instead of submitting to the orders of the holy father, entered into intrigues, distributed money to the other cardinals, detached them from his party, and determined them to meet in council to choose a new pope. The Florentines, gained by his promises, authorised a synod to be held in the city of Pisa, and the result of this meeting was, the deposition of Gregory and the election of Peter Philargi. We have seen how the cardinal Balthasar exercised sovereign authority under this new pope, and how he made way with Alexander the Fifth, in order to seize the tiara.

On the day succeeding his election, the holy father, out of gratitude for the service which the physician Daniel had done him, poisoned him with wine of Cyprus. His emissaries then went to Rome, and introduced a troop of banditti into the city, who broke the statues of Gregory, tore down his portraits in the churches, and replaced his arms with those of John the Twenty-third. The senators, intimidated by these demonstrations, sent a deputation to Pisa to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to Balthasar, and to beseech him to come and take possession of the Vatican. The wary pontiff at first appeared to turn a deaf ear to their offers; he then feigned compliance with their solicitations, and announced that he consented to return to Rome.

Eight days afterwards John the Twenty-third made his entrance into the holy city, accompanied by his cardinals, and followed by a formidable army. On the day of his arrival, he celebrated divine service in the church of St. Peter, and solemnly blessed the banner of the church, which he confided to the custody of Louis of Anjou; he also blessed the standard of the senate and the people, and gave it to Paul des Ursini, naming him grand standard bearer and generalissimo of the troops of the Holy See. On the same night he gave a magnificent feast, at which was displayed all the luxuriousness of the Neros and Caligulas, and the next day, or:

awakening, in order doubtless to resemble those tyrants more nearly, he ordered several lords and magistrates, whom he suspected of favouring his competitor Gregory, to be beheaded. These bloody executions did not, however, suspend the public rejoicings, and the holy father continued for an entire month to give his hosts the spectacle of his disgusting orgies. He had, however, to repulse an effort of Ladislaus, who, informed of the general discontent, had conceived the hope of retaking Rome by a bold stroke, and under favour of the night, had disembarked at Ostia with five thousand horse, and three thousand footmen. Already did the prince perceive the walls of the holy city, when Paul des Ursini suddenly debouched from a defile at the head of fifteen hundred horsemen, took his troops on the flank, and cut them to pieces. The king had been sold by his confessor, and his plan given up to his enemies.

This victory assured to John the Twenty-third a great preponderance in Italy and the other kingdoms; he was recognised as the lawful pope in France, England, and, shortly, in Germany, where the emperor Robert died, leaving the field open to ambition. John sent his nuncios to the electors, to urge them to name, as king of the Romans, the brother of Wenceslaus, Sigismund of Luxemburg, already sovereign of Hungary, whom he affirmed to be the only one capable of raising the power of the church and the empire. The real motive which induced the holy father to favour this election, was the desire of strengthening himself by the assistance of a powerful sovereign, who was a personal enemy to Ladislaus. His policy succeeded admirably; Hungarian ambassadors came immediately to Italy to renew the oath of obedience before the confessional of St. Peter, and to solicit, at the same time, the succour of the temporal and spiritual arms of the church against the enemies of Sigismund and, especially, the Venetians. Balthasar undertook to fulminate the most terrible anathemas against Venice; on condition, however, that the king of Hungary would restore the domains captured by his predecessors, and pay him the rent which had fallen into disuse during the late troubles. He then published a bull, conferring the legation of the kingdom on Branda of Castiglione, bishop of Placenza, with full powers to execute the conditions of the treaty. He then sent into France the metropolitan of Pisa and the bishop of Senlis, in the capacity of nuncios, and authorised them to levy tenths on ecclesiastical benefices, and seize the inheritance of bishops and archbishops who had died since his exaltation.

Before, however, putting this last plan in execution, he sought to render the doctors of the university favourable to him, and granted them great privileges. But his measures had not the expected result; the university rejected the pretensions of the holy father, and, in a solemn assembly, came to the following conclusions: "There shall not be granted in France, any subsidy to a pope, and if he de-

sires to constrain the citizens, by temporal force or by spiritual censures, to pay him any tribute, his collectors, legates, and self, shall be declared enemies of the king, and punished as such in their property and persons."

This decision would have discouraged any other person than John the Twenty-third, but a priest does not so readily renounce his designs; he only changed his batteries. Not being able to rob the people; under a pretence of tithes, he addressed to King Charles and the university, letters, beseeching them to grant him aid, in men and money, so that he could resist the enemies of the church, who had united, he said, with the impious Ladislaus, to replace the anti-pope, Gregory the Twelfth, on the Holy See. He also addressed bulls to the bishops of the kingdom and the parliament of Paris, affirming, in the name of Christ, that if they did not send him money, it would be impossible to save religion from the abyss into which the schism had precipitated it.—John lied with so persuasive an unction that the lords, prelates, parliament, and the university itself, consented to grant him some aid.

His holiness was more successful in Portugal, Provence, Savoy, Achaia, Macedonia, and the islands of the Egean sea, which were still in the power of the Christians; the princes who governed those countries authorised him to levy tenths on the clergy, and to pillage the faithful, which put him in a condition to prosecute his plans against Ladislaus. He was also well seconded by Louis of Anjou, who was anxious to place on his head the double crown of Naples and Sicily. The two allies assembled their forces, and marched against the king of Naples, whom they met on the shores of the Gariglian.

During the night, the army of the confederates crossed the river, some by swimming, and some on bridges of boats, and fell on the troops of Ladislaus at day-break. "The attack commenced on both sides," says the chronicle of the monk of Saint Denis, "with terrible cries; at the moment the sky was darkened by a shower of darts, which carried death every where. The combatants then closed and attacked each other with swords, &c., resembling wild beasts, rather than men; it was a frightful struggle, in which were seen but swords, lances, and axes, which rose and fell with the rapidity of light. The skill of war was forgotten; soldiers and leaders only thought of murdering each other—at last numbers triumphed; the bands of Ladislaus were cut to pieces, and he himself only escaped from falling into the hands of the conqueror, by taking refuge in the neighbouring castle, called Roche Sèche, where he had three thousand men in reserve. When the carnage had ceased, the pillage commenced, and the unskilful Louis of Anjou, instead of pursuing the wreck of the Sicilian army, and profiting by the victory he had gained, slept, in the intoxication of success, and returned in triumph to Rome, carrying in his train, the prisoners and standards taken from Ladislaus. He was received, on his entrance to the holy

city, by the pontiff, surrounded by his cardinals; the porch of the church of St. Peter was decorated as for a conqueror, and flags, still soiled with blood, were entwined about the high altar."

Balthasar then renewed the anathemas pronounced against the conquered prince, excommunicated his descendants to the third generation, declared them deprived of the thrones of Naples and Jerusalem, and solemnly crowned the conqueror. But whilst they were celebrating, with feasts, the success of the French prince, his competitor was rallying the remains of his army and levying new troops, so that he was soon ready to take the field and recommence hostilities, whilst Louis of Anjou, who had permitted his army to disorganize itself, found it impossible to struggle against Ladislaus, and was obliged to return to France. The pope, who found himself exposed, by this precipitate departure, to cruel reprisals, thought of his personal safety, and hastened to send secret agents to Ladislaus to negotiate peace. The prince, who still thought himself defeated, listened joyfully to the proposals of the pope, and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were equally disgraceful to both parties. Balthasar recognised Ladislaus as the lawful king of Naples, engaged to place him in possession of Sicily, and to furnish him with troops; he appointed him grand standard bearer of the Roman church, and attached to this title a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, hypothecated on the cities of Ascoli, Viterba, Perouse, and Beneventum; and, finally, he entirely remitted to him the rental of forty thousand ducats which Naples had owed, for ten years, to the Holy See. On his side, Ladislaus engaged to recognise John the Twenty-third as the sole lawful sovereign of the church, he swore to constrain Gregory the Twelfth to renounce the pontificate, by giving him, in exchange, a pension of fifty thousand ducats, the government of the March of Ancona, and three cardinals' hats for his relatives.

In consequence of this singular treaty the prince signed the following declaration: "After having doubted for some time the regularity of the promotion of Balthasar Cossa to the apostolic chair, we have sought the light of truth, and it has pleased God to inform us, that John the Twenty-third has been canonically chosen. On this account we take an oath of obedience and fidelity to him in our own name and that of our subjects."

During the conclusion of this bargain between the altar and the throne, Gregory was at Gaeta, under the protection of the prince who was selling him to his enemy. Though a prisoner, the holy father did not wish to yield; and as soon as he was informed of this great treason, he assembled his court to determine on the best mode of escaping from the peril. It was immediately decided that he should, with his cardinals, embark for the March of Ancona, and claim the assistance of Charles Malatesta, duke of that province. Gregory took up his residence at Rimini, from

whence, in accordance with the custom of the popes, he thundered forth anathemas on all his competitors and their adherents.

After his treaty with the king of Naples, John the Twenty-third governed Rome as an absolute despot, bearing down the citizens by his exactions, and sparing neither his cardinals nor the officers of his court; for Theodorick of Niem relates, that he invited the ecclesiastics of his party to festivals, in order to make an appeal to their purse under the name of the Collection for the Communion. "Behold," adds this author, "how the holy father accomplished it. He spread before his guests generous wines, and when intoxication came on, he called in his chamberlain, who presented empty urns in which each placed his offering. Those who declined assisting at the orgies of Balthasar Cossa, none the less escaped his cupidity. The officers of the apostolic chamber came on the next day to present to them quittances for sums borrowed from the holy father; those who said they owed nothing were immediately arrested, conducted to the dungeons of the Vatican, and tortured by the inquisitors, who forced them, according to the quaint expression of John, 'to untie their purse.'"

He also levied imposts on wine, grain, and salt, and even the work of artisans: finally, following the example of the king of France, he altered the money, and entirely ruined the commerce of Lower Italy. All the wealth which he wrested from the people was divided among his concubines and minions, or swallowed up in useless or ridiculous works. It was thus that he spent prodigious sums in building the inner wall of the burgh of St. Peter, and in piercing a hidden way between the passages of the walls, by which to introduce, secretly, into his palace the victims of his debauchery or his tyranny.

Notwithstanding the apparent peace between the pontiff and the king of Naples, these two ambitious men carried on, none the less, a concealed war, as was easy to be seen on the occasion of the council which had been convened at the Vatican to confirm the proceedings of the synod of Pisa. The prince prohibited John from retarding the period of that assembly; and on his refusal to yield to his wishes, he occupied the environs of Rome with his troops, and prevented stranger prelates from entering the holy city. The result was, that this meeting was very small, though the holy father proudly gave it the name of an œcumenical council.

Clemangis relates a strange incident which happened very mal à propos during the deliberations of this council. "At the opening of the first session, after the celebration of the mass of the Holy Spirit, an owl flew suddenly from a corner of the church and lighted upon the drapery of the pontifical throne, from whence it steadily regarded John the Twenty-third. All the prelates manifested their astonishment that this bird, an enemy to light, should leave its retreat in full day. Some drew from it baneful presages; others could



not avoid laughing, and said that the Holy Spirit had taken a strange form in which to descend among them. The pope alone, swayed by a superstitious fear, could not sustain the fixed, immoveable stare of the owl: he descended from his throne, and left the church; the assistants followed his example, and left the field free to the bird of Minerva. On the next day the same scene was renewed. Scarcely had the prothonotary commenced reading the programme of the council, than the owl took its flight, and after having made several turns around the nave, came as before, to seat itself upon the pontifical dais. John, more master of himself than before, remained calm, and ordered the fathers to kill the animal which interrupted their holy deliberations. Immediately cardinals, bishops, abbots commenced a pursuit of the owl, casting their crosses and bonnets at it, chased it every where, and caused it to fall palpitating on the high altar, where it was killed by a cardinal."

Order being restored to the assembly, the business of the session was recommenced; they were first engaged in regulating the precepts which commanded reformers, whose doctrines were contrary to the belief of the Roman church, and tended to overthrow the pontifical authority, to be handed over to the executioners.

The following was the bull for this purpose: "Since then there have risen up audacious spirits, infamous teachers, who dare to condemn the sovereign power which the vicar of Christ has received from God himself, we denounce them to the faithful as corrupters of the faith, who wish to crush religion beneath the ruins of the church, and we rank among these the commentators on the writings of the abominable John Wickliff, that infamous heretic, who calls the popes mere bishops, who accuses them of having destroyed Christian doctrines and worship, and evangelical morality, and having subjected the faithful to the practices and pomps of paganism. This philosophical rhetorician, having breathed his spirit of corruption into all the schools of Christendom, and into the universities, we have determined to follow the advice of the apostle, and exterminate the heretics to the last one, since a morsel of leaven suffices to corrupt the whole lump. Before, however, pronouncing a terrible sentence upon the guilty, we wished to illumine our mind by the lights of our cardinals, bishops, and orthodox doctors, and it is after a solemn deliberation, that we have condemned the works of the English Wickliff, his Dialogue, Trialogue, and other small works as favouring herey; in consequence of our decision, they will be publicly burned in all the kingdoms of Christendom, and the pupils of the excommunicated shall be delivered over to the holy tribunal of the inquisition to be tortured; for Christ has said, 'If any one remains not in me, he shall be cut off as a vine branch, he shall be dried, cast into the fire and burned.'"

It was the first bull issued by the popes against the reformed doctrines, which had

already sprung up under the name of Hussism, from that of John Huss, the successor of Wickliff, and which were soon to separate the Christians of the west into two powerful sects, the Protestants and Catholics.

Although John the Twenty-third appeared to triumph in Rome, his competitors none the less exercised sovereign authority at their residences; Gregory the Twelfth fulminated his anathemas in the March of Ancona, and Benedict the Twelfth strengthened himself in the kingdom of Arragon, by confirming the usurpation of Frederick, count of Urgel, and transmitting to him the rights of the legitimate sovereigns of that kingdom over Sicily, Sardinia, and the island of Corsica. Gregory, however, imposed, as a condition, on that prince, that he should furnish to him every year three armed galleys, an hundred thousand ducats, and troops enough for his defence.

Peter de Luna, tired of inaction, wished, as employment, to convert the Jews of Arragon, and proposed public conferences at Tortosa, to confound, as he said, all the Hebrew doctors. The learned Rabbi Solomon, the celebrated Ben Virga, and Vidal, as well as several Israelites of profound knowledge went to this assembly. Benedict received them with great kindness and spoke thus to them:—"Honourable Hebrews, remains of a nation once cherished by Jehovah, and now rejected from the bosom of God, children of David, welcome to the temple of Christ, and profess courageously before us the faith of Moses." He then read them a long discourse, commencing with these words of Isaiah:—"Come, let us argue our rights boldly, but if you are rebellious you shall be consumed by the sword."

When he had finished his discourse, the Rabbi Vidal, undismayed by the threatening text of the prophet, spoke and replied to all the arguments of the pontiff with a power of logic and elegance of dialectics which were the admiration of the assistants. According to the account of the Jewish historian, Aburistioc, his coreligionists had the advantage in this theological quarrel. On the other hand, if we are to believe the assertions of Surita, author of the annals of Arragon, and the chronicler Nicholas Antoninus, the pope obtained prodigious success, and converted Jews by thousands. This last opinion is not very admissible, since it was at the same period that Benedict published his constitutions against the Israelites, closed their synagogues, prohibited them from exercising any business, or lending money, and handed them over to the tribunals of the inquisition, that terrible institution, which covered the soil of Spain, Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon, from the commencement of the fourteenth century, and which yearly renewed human sacrifices in honour of the divinity.

The schism had much influence over the Dominicans and familiars of the holy office; since some recognised Benedict, others Gregory the Twelfth, or John the Twenty-third; but the people of Spain gained nothing from

the disputes. Instead of one chief inquisitor, they had three; and as fortune favoured this or that party, he who triumphed, wishing to signalise himself over his predecessor by the magnificence of the auto-da-fé, augmented the number of victims who were handed over to the flames.

Before the arrival of Benedict, extraordinary tribunals had been established by his competitors in the provinces of Algarves and Valencia, to multiply and facilitate the researches of the inquisitors; the pope suspended them from their functions, not from a motive of humanity, but only because they were devoted to his enemies, and instituted new tribunals. His bull pointed out the general rules the inquisitors were to follow in the exercise of their dreadful ministry, and what were the crimes they were to punish.

"By our sovereign authority, and in the name of him who has conferred on us absolute power on earth and in heaven, we declare," said the holy father, "tainted with heresy, and we hand over to the tribunals of the inquisition:

"Those who in their blasphemies shall have enunciated heterodox principles on the omnipotence or attributes of the divine Trinity, even when made in a burst of passion or the delirium of drunkenness.

"Those who are addicted to black magic, divinations, enchantments, or witchcrafts, or who in their operations use words derogatory to religion.

"Those who make agreements with the spirits of darkness to obtain favours from them, or who swear obedience, faith, and adoration, on a book called the Clavicle of Solomon.

"Those who, after having been excommunicated, remain an entire year without purchasing absolution, or satisfying the penance which had been imposed on them.

"Those who admit the orthodox faith, but who refuse blind obedience to the pope, and who do not recognise him as vicar of Christ, and supreme chief of the faithful.

"The receivers, favourers, and adherents of heretics and schismatics.

"Those who condemn the sacred institution of the tribunal of the inquisition, or who place obstacles in the way of its justice.

"All sovereigns, princes, or governors of kingdoms, provinces, and cities, who will not undertake the defence of the church when required to do so by the inquisitors.

"Lawyers who favour heresies, by aiding schismatics with their advice, and who seek to deliver them from the justice of the inquisitors.

"All persons who give ecclesiastical burial to excommunicated persons; since the dead, denounced as heretics, cannot be submitted to the punishment they have deserved, their memory should be branded, their bones exhumed, and burned, and their property confiscated to the Holy See.

"Finally, all writers, whose works contain propositions contrary to the faith or obedience due to the pope, or who set forth principles whose consequences can lead to heresy."

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Although this decree subjected to the jurisdiction of the inquisitors all persons guilty of the crimes comprised in these categories, it nevertheless excepted popes, legates, nuncios, and officers of the Holy See; even though they were recognised heretics, the inquisitors could not pursue them without a special order from the pontifical court. The same prerogative extended to the chiefs of some dioceses, but not to princes, who were all within the jurisdiction of the holy inquisition, and could be burned like the meanest of their subjects.

Whilst Benedict was desolating Spain with his legions of inquisitors, John the Twenty-third was pursuing his infamous career in Italy. He finally became so execrated by the Romans, that Ladislaus determined to profit by the hatred of which he was the object, to overthrow his authority, and seize on the holy city. For this purpose he organised a conspiracy, and bribed several companies of soldiers, a kind of people who are ever ready to sell themselves. When every thing was ready, the prince appeared before Rome with some chosen troops, penetrated the enclosure of the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, through an opening which had been pierced in the ramparts, and threw himself, with his troops, into the streets. A frightful massacre then commenced; all the bishops, priests, and monks, who fell into the hands of the soldiers were mercilessly massacred, nuns were violated, churches pillaged, convents burned, and the rage of the stormers only ceased when they had nothing more to destroy.

Ladislaus then went to the Vatican to arrest the pope, who, fortunately for himself, had escaped with his cardinals at the commencement of the action. The conqueror was obliged to keep within bounds in the pillage of the pontifical palace; but he laid violent hands on the sacred ornaments of the chapel, the jewels, the relics of saints which were enclosed in boxes of massive gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones.

The profanations did not stop there; by the orders of the king of Naples, the soldiers transformed the church of St. Peter into a barrack, fed their horses on the altar of the apostle, and of each of the chapels of this magnificent church made places of debauchery. The arms and statues of John the Twenty-third were broken, his banners torn down, and after fifteen days of obstinate strife, Ladislaus drove out all the partizans of the pope, and remained the absolute master of Rome. The citizens were oppressed by the new tyrant, as they had been by John the Twenty-third. "So much," says an ancient author, "that it really appeared that popes and kings took pleasure in showing to the people that their institution is nothing less than divine, and that it would be better to slay them all."

Whilst surveying the levy of forced impositions which he had inflicted on the holy city, Ladislaus did not lose sight of the advantages he could draw from his position. Like a skilful politician, he resolved to give

no relaxation for repose to the enemy whom he had overthrown, and he sent in pursuit of John a troop of horse, who drove him successively from Sutri, Viterba, Monte Fiascone, and Siena. Pressed by the danger, the holy father wished to place himself under the protection of a powerful city which could resist his enemy, and addressed the Florentines for permission to take refuge among them; his demand having been rejected, he fell back on Bologna, where he had still a great preponderance.

Finding himself, however, tracked like a wild beast, and fearful of being besieged in his last asylum, John determined to treat with the emperor Sigismund, in order, by his aid, to re-seize his authority over all Italy. The ambassadors charged with this important mission, were the cardinals Chalan and Zabarellus, and the celebrated Greek monk Manuel Chrysoloras, the regenerator of polite literature in the west. They were instructed to discuss with Sigismund the period for holding a general council, and to oppose, with all their might, the choice of a city which was a dependency on the empire for this meeting. The emperor fixed upon Constance, a city of the dutchy of Suabia; and his will on the subject was so formally expressed to the deputies that they were obliged to submit to it.

John, on being informed of the result of the negotiation, cursed the fatality which constrained him to convene a council in a foreign country, and deliver himself bound hand and foot to a prince who had been hitherto his enemy. Still, as he could do nothing but submit, he dissimulated his discontent, and solicited a private interview with the emperor. Sigismund consented to his request, and came to receive him at Lodi; but all the eloquence of John could not change the determination of the prince, and he was obliged to accede to Constance as the place for holding the synod.

These preliminaries being arranged, the pope left the emperor, and returned to Bologna with Francis Gonzaga, one of his partizans. He was scarcely installed when he learned that Ladislaus was hastening, at the head of a considerable army, to besiege him in his residence. The cardinals were at once seized with a panic, and deserted the pontifical court to the last man. John alone waited for his enemy unalarmed; the reason was simple—he had taken measures to have him poisoned by one of his mistresses.

Monstrelet, a cotemporary chronicler, thus relates the death of the king of Naples:—"This prince could not live many years, because he was too much abandoned to debauchery, and because he had created too much hatred by his cruelties; thus he died, poisoned in an infamous manner. One of his mistresses, the daughter of a physician, bribed by John the Twenty-third, became the instrument of the vengeance of the pope.

Ladislaus being dead, the holy father quitted Bologna, and went to the council of Constance; he had first, however, strengthened himself with assistance in case of reverse,

and made a treaty of alliance with the duke of Austria, whom he appointed captain-general of the troops of the Roman church, adding to his title a pension of six thousand florins, on the apostolic treasury: he had also purchased the protection of Bouchard, marquis of Baden, and of John, count of Nassau, elector of Mayence, paying him therefor, sixteen thousand florins of gold. Although he had taken all the precautions which prudence commanded, John still dreaded the consequences of a council which might depose him, and resolved to dissolve it, under some pretext, as soon as the fathers had assembled.

Several writers, who accompanied the holy father in his journey, relate divers incidents which show how much his mind was tormented, and what was his disquietude as to the result of the conferences. "Whilst we were on the mountain of Arlberg, in the Tyrol, says Theodoric of Niern, the pope fell from his horse, and we hastened to raise him up, asking him if he were wounded.—'Not by all the devils,' he exclaimed, 'but this fall is a sinister prestige, and indicates to me that I had better have remained at Bologna,' and looking at the city of Constance in the valley, he added, 'I really believe that is the ditch in which they trap foxes.'"

At length, on the 18th of October, 1414, he entered the city, and found assembled there the ambassadors of all the kings of Europe, lords, princes, a crowd of bishops, the legates of Gregory the Twelfth and Benedict the Thirteenth, and deputations from all the trades. According to the details which have been preserved to us in the manuscript of Breslau, the assembly numbered four patriarchs, twenty-eight cardinals, thirty metropolitans, two hundred and six bishops, three hundred titular bishops, two hundred and three abbots, eighteen auditors of the sacred palace, four hundred and forty doctors in theology and law, twenty-seven prothonotaries, two hundred and forty writers of bulls, one hundred and twenty-three procurators of the pope, a crowd of attendants of various kinds, twenty-seven ambassadors of kings, dukes of counts, and, finally, a great number of deputies from bishops, cities, and universities.

In his opening discourse, Sigismund informed the fathers, that he had convened them to take, with their assistance, proper measures to restore peace to the church, by putting an end to the schism, and that he consequently thought it advantageous to the cause, to hold a meeting, at which John the Twenty-third himself should be refused admission, in order that the debates should not be constrained. The wary pope, who knew the venality of those who were to judge him, made no objection, and feigned even to wish to remain a stranger to their deliberations; but his agents manoeuvred with so much skill, and knew so well how to use presents, threats, and promises, that the influential members of the assembly embraced his side and made him master of the council.

All was going as he wished, when, unfor-

fortunately the opponents got wind of what was occurring; the emperor, to defeat his skillful combinations, decided that the votes should be received by nations, and not individually; then, without leaving to the pontiff longer time to form new intrigues, he put the vote on the proposition, declaring the Holy See vacant; this was carried. During the same sitting they presented to his holiness a formula of cession thus drawn:—"I, John the Twentieth, declare, pledge myself, and swear to God and this sacred council, to give freely, and of my own free will, peace to the church, by my pure and simple withdrawal from the pontificate, which I promise to execute as soon as Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth shall have renounced their pretended rights, or shall have died." After many difficulties the holy father consented to read it aloud in the assembly; when he arrived at the words, "I swear," he went down on his knees, and laying his hand on a crucifix, swore to observe the conditions indicated in the formula of cession.

The emperor immediately raised him, and urged the fathers to proceed to the election of a new pope; but at this proposal, John, wounded from his seat, declared that there was an end to concessions, and threatened to quit Constance if the prince persisted in his criminal plans. In reply, Sigismund ordered his officers to place guards at all the gates of the city, and signified to the pontiff, that he must subscribe his abdication at once and without any restriction. John formally refused to obey him, called him a fool, drunkard, barbarian, scoundrel, beggar, and threatened him with ecclesiastical thunders. Sigismund, not daring to use him roughly, contented himself with causing him to be conducted to his palace, and gave orders not to lose sight of him. John, however, found the means of deceiving the vigilance of his enemy, and one night on the eve of a grand fête, having made the soldiers who guarded him drunk, he disguised himself as a groom, and sallying forth on a sorry horse, covered with a stout linen cassock, and having a cross bow suspended to his saddle, he reached, without difficulty, the city of Schaffhausen, where the duke of Austria, who had aided his flight, came to meet him.

From this residence, John wrote to his officers to come to him under penalty of excommunication. He also addressed a letter to King Charles, the duke of Orleans, and the university of Paris, to explain his conduct, and render the emperor and the council suspected by the court of France. He even pushed his impudence so far as to write to Sigismund that he had not retired from the council from fear, but only on account of his health, that he might breathe a purer air than that of Constance. As he did not consider himself sufficiently safe at Schaffhausen, he went to Lauffenburg, on the Rhine, taking care, before his departure, to draw up, through a notary and in the presence of witnesses, a protest, by which all the acts which he had signed in council were declared

null and void, as having been wrested from him by violence.

Eight days had scarcely passed when the holy father abandoned this last residence. On receiving the news that the emperor was making preparations to attack the duke of Austria, his ally, he retired to Friburg in the Brigau, a place reputed impregnable. From thence John could, in his turn, impose conditions on his foes; he sent to the fathers of the council a declaration, purporting that he was ready to return to Constance, if the ambassadors of all the powers and the princes pledged themselves to give him a safe conduct, and make no attempt on his liberty, whatever might be convenient for him to do; and that, in case they should deprive him of the Holy See, they should preserve to him the title of perpetual legate of Italy; with the enjoyment, during his life, of the province of Bologna, the county of Avignon, and a pension of thirty thousand florins of gold hypothecated on the cities of Venice, Florence, and Genoa; and, besides, that he should not be dependent on any power in the world, and be responsible to no one for his actions.

These overtures gave the fathers some hopes of being able to make arrangements with him, and they hastened to send deputies to him at Friburg. This shameless pope gave them an audience in his bed chamber, being still in bed and in a position most indecent. The pious prelates remained, however, near him, and appeared even to take pleasure in listening to his obscene recitals, so anxious were they to succeed in their negotiations. They then gave him an account of all that had occurred in the council during his absence, and the hope the fathers expressed to see him among them. Their harangue being terminated, John made this reply: "No, I will not place myself within the jaws of the wolf; return to that accursed council, an impure mixture of kings, cobblers, and courtizans; to them who sent you, that I excommunicate them, and will never grant them truce or repose."

The deputies, confused and abashed, returned to Constance, and announced to their colleagues the bad success of their efforts. They then continued the sittings and the informations against John, in order to proceed at once to his deposition.

John Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, having been appointed a prosecutor in this matter, read, in full audience, charges of an atrocious character, all sustained by material and irrefutable proof. He declared that it was formally demonstrated that John the Twentieth had reached the pontificate by causing his predecessor to be poisoned by his physician, Daniel of Saint Sophia; and, that he had then poisoned this latter with wine of cyprus, to avoid having cause to dread the indiscretions of an accomplice; that he had violated three hundred young nuns of different convents; that he had carried on incestuous relations with the wife of his brother; that he was addicted to the unnatural crime; that he

had abused a whole family, consisting of the mother, son, and three young sisters, of whom the oldest was scarcely twelve years old; that he had trafficked in bishoprics, holy orders, indulgences, taxes, graces, and even in ex-communications! Finally, that he had put thousands of innocent persons in Bologna and Rome to the torture.

In consequence of these facts, the fathers rendered the following sentence: "The general council of Constance, after having invoked the name of Christ and examined the accusations brought against John the Twenty-third, and established on irrefragable proof, pronounces, decrees, and declares, that Balthasar Cossa is the oppressor of the poor, the persecutor of the just, the support of knaves, the idol of simoniacs, the slave of the flesh, a sink of vices, a man destitute of every virtue, a mirror of infamy, a devil incarnate; as such, it deposes him from the pontificate, prohibiting all Christians from obeying him and calling him pope. The council further reserves to itself the punishment of his crimes in accordance with the laws of secular justice; and his pursuit as an obstinate and hardened, noxious and incorrigible sinner, whose conduct is abominable, and morals infamous; as a simoniac, ravisher, incendiary, disturber of the peace and union of the church; as a traitor, murderer, sodomite, poisoner, committer of incest, and corrupter of young nuns and monks! . . ." The decree of the fathers contained fifty-four articles, which the bishop of Posnania read in public, and twenty other secret ones, so frightful were the crimes which they announced! And yet the monster who had committed them was entitled sovereign pontiff, chief of the church, father of the faithful, successor of the apostle, vicar of God on earth! He was declared to be infallible, and his decrees were received as if they had emanated from the Divinity itself!! Such are the doctrines of these depraved, ambitious, and cruel men, who endeavour to bring the art of duping the people to perfection, and who coin money on the steps of the altar and the throne.

All the turpitude of John the Twenty-third having been discovered, the duke of Austria dared no longer support him, and to make his peace with Sigismund, he betrayed the pope and caused him to be arrested in the town of Ratoffzell.

Having no longer any hope of escaping from his enemies, or of reconquering the Holy See, John determined to submit. After having listened to the decree which announced his withdrawal, he affixed his signature to it and approved of all its contents. He was then transferred to the fortress of Gattleben; he was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, his domestics and pages were taken from him; a cook only being left him.

The assembly was then engaged in the condemnation of the celebrated John Huss, and his disciple Jerome of Prague; those bold innovators, who, sustained solely by the ascendancy which genius exercises over the masses, had dared to attack the sovereign

pontiffs, and preach religious reforms. John Huss was accused of a want of respect and submission to the Holy See, in a discourse which was produced on his examination, and which was as follows: "People, listen to my words, which are the words of God! Learn to know those popes who arrogate to themselves supreme authority over all the earth. Know that they are all knaves, despoilers, heretics, simoniacs, and assassins! Know that their true place is not in the church of Christ, but in hell with the devils! Extirpate with fire and sword all those ulcers which eat your flesh, and corrupt your blood. Renounce your superstitions which, like the leprosy of Job, attach you to a dunghill. Why do you adore a virgin who was the mother of seven children? Why do you invoke in your prayers idle monks, dead in the odour of sanctity? Will your eyes then remain for ever closed to the light, and refuse to see the infamies of those shameless priests, of those popes who deflower your daughters, blast your children, steal your gold, and send you to the scaffold when you dare to complain? . . ."

This intrepid reformer, far from recoiling from an examination of his doctrines, had himself, solicited a safe conduct from Sigismund, to defend his opinions before the fathers, and had gone to Constance; but by an act of meanness, worthy of a king, he had been arrested in contempt of conventions; and when the unfortunate man appeared before the council, it was as a criminal.

John Huss, sprung from the ranks of the people, owed to his eloquence and his immense erudition, the influence which he had over the minds of men, and which had led to the conversion of a great number of proselytes in his own country, Bohemia. He was large, well made, of a majestic carriage, with a grave and melancholy air, and a sonorous voice; to these external qualities which charmed the eye, he added an energy and force of character which ruled the mind. He was led before the assembly, ironed hand and foot, and was then mounted on an elevated platform, that he might be seen from all parts of the hall. When he appeared, murmurs of approbation were heard from several benches, and troubled the joy of the triumph of his enemies: these manifestations were of short duration, for a bull was almost immediately read, which prohibited every person from giving tokens of approval or disapprobation during the debate, under the penalty of anathema, fine and banishment.

Henry of Pisa, the attorney of the council, then rose and read a long requisition, in which John Huss was called heretical, seditious and captious. It concluded with the recommendation, that the fathers should condemn his works and their author to the flames.

The following are some of the articles pointed out by the public prosecutor: "The popes," said the reformer, "have forged falsehoods on falsehoods to build up the scaffolding of their religious ceremonies; let them then point out a single passage in the gospels,

which proves that Jesus Christ invented mass."

"A priest in a state of mortal sin has not grace to administer the sacraments; since then they are the most perverse of men, it follows that few Christians have really received baptism and the eucharist.

"All auricular confession is useless when a sinner has admitted his fault, and sincerely asked pardon from God; those who maintain the contrary are knaves who wish to pervert young girls, or discover the secrets of families and the state.

"The pope has no power over Christians, because he is condemned; he is condemned because he possesses rich domains, and sumptuous palaces, which are contrary to the morality of Christ.

"All who give alms to monks will be damned, because they encourage sloth.

"We should not fear the excommunication of the pope, because antichrist has no power over the church. . . ."

John Huss was then submitted to interrogatories on different points of religious controversy; he replied to all those questions with enchanting eloquence, and remarkable logic; he retorted all the arguments of his enemies, convicted them of falsehood and imposture, demonstrated clearly the absurdity of the dogmas of Catholicism, and concluded by declaring that he would rather surrender his head to the executioner, than become the accomplice of popes and their supporters.

In vain did several fathers of the council, who shared his opinions, conjure him to abjure, to escape the punishment of fire. John remained unshakeable in his faith; he rejected even the solicitations of the emperor, who offered him honours, dignities, and wealth. Prayers and promises being unable to produce his conversion, they had recourse to threats. Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, addressed him in the name of the council, and said to him, "that he must bend or break."

"I would rather," replied Huss, "that they should put a millstone around my neck and cast me from heaven into the sea, than deny the truth! Prepare your instruments of torture and your racks; tear out one by one all the fibres of my body; I prefer the most terrible punishments to the disgrace of being called the defender of popes and kings. Let your infernal proceedings take their course; give John Huss to the flames; but ere a century passes, there will spring from those ashes an avenger who will proclaim anew the truths which I have taught, and for which you would condemn Christ himself, should he return to earth." After this speech, his friends abandoned all hope of saving him, and left the assembly. The prosecutor then read the following sentence: "The council condemns John Huss to be degraded from the priesthood and all the orders which he has received, and it abandons him and his works to the punishment of fire."

On the next day, the martyr was led to execution, in the midst of an immense con-

course of people from all countries. He was clothed in a long linen robe, on which was written the word "heretic;" his head was surmounted with a long paper cap, on which were represented devils, deaths' heads, and flames. On the scaffold, John showed all the intrepidity of an apostle of the truth. He sung sacred songs in honour of the Eternal; and with his powerful voice he bade a last adieu to his disciples. After the execution of the master, they proceeded to judgment on Jerome of Prague, his disciple, who underwent, in the following year, the punishment of fire.

That could not, however, arrest the mission of these defenders of the people: what was material of them was burned, but their doctrines remained. The scaffold had devoured two victims, but the executioners lighted a violent fire which broke out five years afterwards, and which the blood of two hundred thousand Catholics could not extinguish. All Bohemia flew to arms; formidable bands were organised under John Ziska, one of the most ardent supporters of the heresy, which fell upon Germany, pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, monks, and nuns, annihilated the greater part of the armies which were sent against them, and did not return to their country until they had taken a terrible vengeance on the assassins of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

Thus the council accomplished two things; a great iniquity and an act of justice, the deposition of John the Twenty-third. The representatives of Gregory the Twelfth made in his name a solemn abdication, which was afterwards ratified by Angelo Corario himself. There remained still, to extinguish the schism, to obtain from Benedict the Thirteenth a renunciation of the pontificate, and they foresaw that his obstinacy might be a rock, on which all the efforts of the synod of Constance might break. The emperor decided to go himself to Peniscola, to confer with him on the subject; the king of Arragon joined his entreaties to those of Sigismund; but their prayers and their threats were alike useless. Benedict replied to them, that the schism was at an end, since his two rivals had voluntarily and freely renounced the pontificate; that he was consequently the sole legitimate chief of the universal church, and that he would never consent to cover himself with eternal disgrace by abdicating. The conferences were broken off and the two monarchs left the fortress of Peniscola.

Notwithstanding the refusal of Benedict to submit to the council of Constance, the fathers went on and rendered a sentence of deposition against him. It was then decided that they should proceed at once to the election of a new pope, and the cardinals entered the chamber of conclave by the light of torches, all the windows having been walled up, the doors were locked, two German princes and the grand master of Rhodes, were charged to keep watch day and night, around the conclave, and the inspection of the food destined

for the cardinals, was submitted to several bishops or doctors, in order to prevent any letter being concealed in the plates or cups. Three times a day the emperor came at the head of his clergy and sang the *Veni Creator*.

At length, on the third day, the cardinals proclaimed Otho Colonna, cardinal deacon of St. George, of the Veil of Gold, sovereign pontiff, and he was enthroned by the name of Martin the Fifth.

## MARTIN THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH POPE, AT ROME.

### BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH AND CLEMENT THE EIGHTH, ANTI-POPES.

[A. D. 1416.]

*History of Otho Colonna before his pontificate—Death of Gregory the Twelfth—Disputes between Martin and the king of Arragon—Satire of the Spaniards on the pope—The holy father declares that it is not permitted to appeal from the judgment of the pope—Martin dissolves the council of Constance—His departure from that city—His sojourn at Florence—Death of John the Twenty-third—The pope comes to Rome—The king of Arragon endeavours to seize on the kingdom of Naples and fails in his enterprise—Death of Benedict the Thirteenth—Election of the anti-pope Clement the Eighth—Excommunication of King Alphonso of Arragon—Legation of Bohemia—Letter of the pope—Quarrels between the pontiff and the sovereigns of Great Britain, Poland, Portugal, and Arragon—Abdication of the anti-pope Clement the Eighth—Termination of the schism—Congress of Lucko—Letter of the pope against the Hussites—The Hussites cut to pieces an army which was sent to combat them—Death of Martin the Fifth.*

MARTIN the Fifth was a Roman, and born of the most noble and ancient family of the Colonna, which had already given so many bad pontiffs to the people. He was the son of Agapet Colonna, called the Roman prince, and had been created a cardinal by Urban the Sixth. Platinus accords to him great qualities, an extreme amenity of character, and a remarkable skill in the conduct and management of state affairs. Leonard Aretin, who was secretary of the apostolic chamber, maintains, on the contrary, that the holy father was notoriously incompetent, and that he had a violent, despotic, and vindictive character. Windeck, the counsellor of Sigismund, reconciles these two contradictory statements, by saying, "Cardinal Otho Colonna was poor and good, but Pope Martin the Fifth became avaricious and cruel."

The news of the election of Martin the Fifth was received in all parts of the Christian world with extraordinary joy. Nations which had been divided in belief for fifty years, all submitted to the pope: the cardinals of Benedict the Thirteenth, themselves abandoned that obstinate old man, to go to Constance; and, to increase their happiness, the fathers of the council learned that Gregory the Twelfth had died from a burst of passion. Martin resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, and not allow the general enthusiasm to cool before he had made a party for his temporal interests. He sent to Spain the cardinal of Pisa, Alcan Adamar, to induce the king of Arragon to constrain Benedict, by secular penalties, to submit to the decisions

of the assembly of Constance. The legate was also charged to fulminate bulls of anathema against the anti-pope and the two Spanish cardinals who remained faithful to him.

Like a skilful prince Alphonso sought to sell his pope for a good price, and pledged himself to deliver him up to the agents of Martin, on condition that the holy father would cede to him, in perpetuity, the tithe on ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, and the right of disposing of the benefices of Sardinia and Sicily, without being compelled to render any account to the Holy See; and would also grant him some of the domains of the knights of Rhodes, among others Moriscar and Peniscola, as well as power to appoint the grand masters of the order. Martin refused to agree to these proposals, which tended to diminish considerably his revenues, and considering also, that Benedict, enfeebled by age and infirmities, could not live long, replied to the king of Arragon, that he would not purchase his protection, and that he would leave it to the judgment of God, whether Benedict or he should remain pope.

This determination drew upon him the hatred of the Spaniards, who were still at the council. A formidable party was formed against him; several cardinals wished even to depose him, and published violent satires against his election. Among all these productions, the "Mass of Simony" was unquestionably the most lively and cutting critique which had yet been written against the papacy. The following are some extracts from it:—

"A young priest went on a pilgrimage to visit St. Peter's, at Rome; when he arrived in the holy city, he perceived a splendid palace, which was more elevated than the highest churches, and which workmen were constantly endeavouring to raise higher. Having inquired the name of the master of this magnificent edifice, he was told, it is Simon the Robber, the only god now adored in the church; come, officiate at his altar. He was then conducted into a cavern, in which he saw heaps of gold and silver, and on an altar three young naked females crowned with myrtle, and holding in their hands cups and garlands of flowers.—Then the divine sacrifice commenced, and he pronounced the following words:—

**INTROIT.**—In the name of licentiousness, pride, and avarice, I will not love, serve, or adore any, save the god of gold, which alone procures for us all enjoyment on this earth.

**COLLECT.**—I will employ every moment of my life in seeking new modes of oppressing the people, since it is just that stupid men, who believe our lies, should be despoiled.

**LECTURE.**—It is written in the Apocalypse, the angel who had the seven horns appeared in the west, mounted upon a pale courser; he went before a kind of monster, half man, half woman, which had no clothing on, and was covered about the head with only a tiara with a triple crown. This apparition was seated on a beast which had the form of an immense dragon, and whose folds were covered with a scarlet nap; in each hand it held an urn, filled with the oil of fornication, which it poured out on its way.

**CONFITEOR.**—I confess that I love only gold, and that I am capable of committing every crime, in thought and deed, to rob men. Amen!"

This satire was handed to Martin by the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, in full audience; he then saw that it was necessary for him to break up at once, the assembly of Constance, if he did not wish to expose himself to the fate of John the Twenty-third. Before taking this extreme measure, he wished, however, to alarm the weaker minds by some terrible execution, and continued, against several disciples of John Huss, the proceedings which had been interrupted by the judgment of John the Twenty-third, and made a magnificent auto-da-fe.

A few days afterwards, the holy father announced, officially, his intention of leaving Constance: in vain did the emperor beseech him to prolong his sojourn until he had settled the differences which existed between the altar and the throne, as he had engaged to do; in vain did he offer him the cities of Strasburg, Basle, or Mayence for his residence; all his entreaties were useless, the pope remained immovable in his resolution, and, to put an end to the solicitations, he fulminated a bull, which prohibited all Christians from appealing from his decisions, or even discussing its motives; maintaining that a pope was the absolute judge of his own actions, in all circumstances, and that he could

annul the promises which he had previously made. He consequently fixed, irrevocably, his departure from Constance, and used as a pretext, that the patrimony of the church was exposed to pillage in the absence of the pastor; that the capital of Christendom was exposed to the scourges of war, famine, and pestilence; and that besides, his title as successor of Saint Peter made it his duty to take possession of the throne of the apostles. On the next day he declared the council dissolved, and gave orders to the cardinals and officers of the Holy See to take the road to Geneva, where he had resolved to hold his court until the moment of his final departure for Rome.

Martin left the city of Constance on the 16th of May, 1418; his train, say Reichaubal, surpassed in magnificence, all that had been before seen. The procession was opened by twelve counts of the empire, mounted on white horses, richly caparisoned and covered with scarlet housings; they were followed by twelve pages, carrying, on the ends of long pikes, cardinals' hats; after them came four priests, sustaining a dais, beneath which was a bishop, who carried the holy sacrament; then came twelve cardinals in their rich scarlet costume, mounted on mules entirely covered with gold brocade; behind them a metropolitan, clothed in his episcopal attire, presented a second sacrament; he was also beneath a dais, which was supported by eight abbots on horseback. Fuzatius, the celebrated theologian of Westphalia, immediately preceded the holy father, and carried a cross glittering with precious stones; he was surrounded by the canons and senators of the city, who carried lighted candles in their hands. Then appeared Martin the Fifth, with his tiara on his head, mounted upon a horse, of which the housings were of purple and gold; four princes and four dukes carried above him a dais adorned with fringe of gold; the emperor walked on foot, holding the right side of the reins, and having at his side, Louis, duke of Bavaria, who held one of the tassels of the housing of the horse; the elector of Brandenburg held the reins on the left side, and Frederick of Austria carried the tassel of the housing; four princes walked on foot on each side and sustained, with golden cords, the middle and extremities of the housing; behind the pope, came his parcel bearer, then marched in squadrons, on foot and on horseback, nobles, soldiers, priests, monks, all the trades, and the seven hundred and eighteen courtizans of the council, dressed in white, and marching two and two.

As soon as the cortège, which contained more than forty thousand persons, had passed the suburbs of the city, Martin put on a travelling garment, mounted a saddle-horse, and continued his route to Gotleben, still accompanied by the emperor and the princes. At this last city, Sigismund took leave of him, and returned to Constance; the pope and his cardinals embarked on the Rhine, and descended to Scaffhausen, from thence they went to Basle, and, finally, to Geneva. After



having repaid in the abbey of the Cordeliers, for two months, Martin crossed the Alps and entered Milan, where he was received with great honours; he then went towards Florence, avoiding Bologna, which had thrown off the sacerdotal yoke and declared itself independent.

Pogge and Leonard Aretin affirm, that the pontiff had no cause to congratulate himself on his reception by the most serene republic, and that the children who went to meet him, sung a satire, which terminated in these words, "Pope Martin is not worth a quatrino," (a small piece of money.) The inhabitants, however, permitted the holy father to remain in their city without prejudice to their prerogatives, and until he had found another residence.

During his sojourn at Florence, the holy father entered into negotiations with the lords who had augmented their domains at the expense of the church, and obtained from several of them restitution of the cities which they had usurped. He had also the satisfaction of receiving a solemn embassy from the emperor of the east, which came to implore his protection, and even offered to reduce all his subjects to obedience to the see of Rome, by causing them to abjure the schism, if he would grant him some aid in men or money. The pope appeared at first to take much interest in the Greek deputies, and even named a cardinal legate to treat of the reunion of the two churches; but that was all; for the good intentions of Martin were not followed by any result, and the ambassadors had to return to Constantinople as they came.

A few days afterwards the holy father learned, that John the Twenty-third, who had been detained for three years in the fortress of Heidelberg, had escaped from prison by paying the elector Palatine thirty thousand crowns in gold, and had gone to Genoa to the doge, Thomas Fregosus, to rally around him his old partizans. His alarm was the greater as he knew Balthasar to be a man of action and capable of kindling a civil war to recover his power. But as the anti-pope had no money, no one was willing to enrol under his banner, and his efforts completely failed. John the Twenty-third then changed his tactics and made a singular movement; he came to cast himself at the feet of his competitor, and recognised him as the lawful pope, to the great astonishment of the cardinals, who could not explain so imprudent a step. Martin received him with every appearance of joy, made him magnificent presents, created him at once cardinal bishop of Frascati, and assigned to him considerable pensions on the treasury of Saint Peter. Two months afterwards Balthasar Cozza died poisoned.

Martin, freed from his fearful adversary, had no longer any inducement to keep up with those who refused him obedience, and commenced fulminating anathemas against the malcontents. Still further, joining cowardice to meanness, he wished to excommunicate Florence as soon as he saw his affairs settled

at Rome, and would doubtless have executed this project, if Leonard Aretin had not remonstrated with him energetically against it. "Whence arises, most holy father," he said to Martin, "your great resentment against Florence? Is it because you were received there at a time when all the cities of the Holy See were in the power of your enemies? Have you forgotten that it is to the protection you received within its walls, that you owe the submission of Bologna, Anagni, and even Rome? Is it not to the solicitation of the most serene republic, that Braccio, your most implacable foe, has consented to restore to you the domains usurped from the church? Do you not owe it to the generosity of Florence that you have received the ambassadors of princes in this very palace? Is it not here that the most important acts of your pontificate have taken place, the reunion of the three obediences, and the submission of John the Twenty-third? Finally, have not those very Florentines, whom you wish to excommunicate, defended your august person against your enemies, and is it not to them you owe your tiara? If you excommunicate them, holy father, I predict your speedy ruin, for God will know how to punish a monster of ingratitude."

Martin, intimidated by the language of his secretary, dared not proceed farther, and instead of lancing an interdict against the republic, he even thanked, in his audience of leave, the magistrates of Florence for the good offices he had received from them. "And to recompense you," said he, "for the expenses which our sojourn has occasioned you, we will erect your church into a metropolis." This strange compensation, which was not to the taste of the inhabitants, freed him from restoring the enormous sums he had borrowed from them, which was an important thing for his holiness.

At last the pope freed them from his presence and took the route to Rome; he was received in the apostolic city as a father long expected by his children. In fact the priests greatly needed his presence to raise them from the abject state into which they had fallen; the churches were devastated, the monasteries in ruins, and the faithful brought no more offerings to the madonna and the saints for miracles. Martin applied himself to repair the disasters caused by the last wars; he restored the churches, constructed new monasteries, and did so well, that in less than a year Rome appeared more resplendent than it had ever done before. The holy father was then engaged in re-establishing the rule of his see over the cities which had freed themselves from the tyranny of the popes; but before attacking the republics of Genoa, Venice and Florence, he judged it prudent to commence with Lower Italy.

His plans were favoured by the disorders in Naples, consequent on the expulsion of the cruel duke of Bourbon, husband of Joanna the Second, the sister of Ladislaus. The holy father called Louis the Third, duke of Anjou,

into Italy, invested him, by virtue of his omnipotence, with the crown of Naples, on condition that he would restore to his see its ancient rights and privileges for benefices, collations, tithes, prebends, and other perquisites. This agreement made, Louis of Anjou raised a formidable army, and prepared to conquer the kingdom ceded to him by the church.

In this extremity Queen Joanna called to her aid Alphonso, king of Arragon, and adopted him as her son and heir, in order to attach him to her cause. The prince sent numerous troops at once to Naples, which he placed under the command of a brave general, Braccio of Perouse, a personal enemy of the pope. In a short time affairs took so favourable a turn for the queen, that Braccio wrote to her, that in less than a month he should reduce the holy father to such a state of distress that he would be obliged to say masses at six deniers each for a living. Martin himself, foreseeing that he could not long resist this formidable adversary, then had recourse to perfidy; he entered into secret negotiations with Alphonso of Arragon, and induced him to dethrone the queen of Naples, as Charles de Duras had done before him to Joanna the First, promising him to sanction his usurpation and obtain from Louis of Anjou a renunciation on advantageous terms.

In consequence of these arrangements Alphonso went in person to Queen Joanna, and under the pretext of relieving her from the burthen of affairs, he seized on the sovereign authority, disposed of the employments of the state, changed the governors of the fortified towns, replaced them by his creatures, took an oath of fidelity from the troops, reformed the laws, made new ones, and even wished to abolish the ancient customs of the Neapolitans; finally, when he supposed the moment favourable, he secretly equipped a fleet in Arragon, which was to carry off Joanna and conduct her as a prisoner to Spain.

But this plot failed; the queen, who notwithstanding her debauchery, had known how to keep the love of her subjects, was warned by some of her partizans of the mysterious conspiracy organised against her liberty; in her turn she opposed craft to knavery; she retook the reins of government, re-installed a portion of the governors who had been changed by the king, shut herself up in a strong castle situated near one of the gates of the city, so that gradually her authority was anew substituted for that of Alphonso of Arragon. The prince, perceiving that his plans had been discovered, threw off the mask, attacked the seneschal John Carracciolo, one of the lovers of the queen, when he was entering the port of Capua, and even endeavoured to seize the fortress; this effort failed, because a crowd, hastening to the aid of Joanna, fell on the Arragonese troops and made great carnage among them.

To revenge themselves for this check, the Arragonese set fire to the four corners of the city, and favoured by the fire, they rushed upon the Neapolitans and massacred them by

thousands; Alphonso then again assaulted the fortress in which the queen was. His soldiers could not, however, prevail over the courage of the citizens who fought under the command of the captain Sforza, and Joanna was saved. The queen, however, a few days afterwards, determined to leave the port of Capua, on hearing that Bernardo de Cabrera was coming from Catalonia with a fleet and reinforcements. Her departure took place during the night under the protection of Sforza and five thousand citizens. Alphonso thus became absolute master of Naples; he wrote at once to Martin to inform him of the success of their plans, and to claim from him the confirmation of his title as king of Naples, and the deposition of Joanna.

His holiness did not delay his reply; he declared sharply that he had never intended to fulfil the promises he had made him; that Louis of Anjou, as the heir of his father, was the lawful sovereign of the kingdom; that he had bought the investiture of it from Popes Alexander the Fifth and John the Twenty-third; that he had confirmed this act by approving the council of Constance; and, moreover, that Louis never having undertaken any thing against the Holy See, he could not take away his kingdom to give it to a prince who granted his protection to the anti-pope Peter de Luna.

Such a breach of faith, outraged the sovereignty of Arragon, and he resolved, in revenge, to cause Benedict to be recognised as the lawful pontiff through all Italy. But whilst he was taking his measures to overthrow Martin, the latter, by a new act of treachery, was making proposals to Joanna of Naples, to furnish her with the means of returning to her capital, if she would consent to annul the adoption of Alphonso, and substitute Louis of Anjou in his place. Before taking her determination, the queen made an exchange of prisoners with Alphonso, and got back her favourite Carracciolo; as she had then nothing more to gain, she solemnly adopted Louis of Anjou, and united her troops with those of that prince to combat their common enemy.

From that time the fortune of the Arragonese went on declining: constantly defeated in their encounters with the French, they found themselves pushed to the sea; Alphonso was soon reduced to the last extremity, and obliged to return to Spain to recruit a new army. His first act, on setting foot in his dominions, was to publish a solemn recognition of Benedict, as the successor of the apostle, and the lawful pontiff, in order to draw the rest of the peninsula into the party of Peter de Luna. This step, which placed in question the dearest interests of Martin, induced him to write to the cardinal of Pisa, his legate in Arragon, either to seize the person of the anti-pope, or to take such measures as would leave him nothing more to dread from that competitor. His orders were admirably obeyed. Benedict the Thirteenth died in the course of the same month, poisoned by a monk. This wretch was arrested, put to the torture, and condemned

to be quartered; before undergoing the punishment, he vowed that he had been urged to this crime by the cardinal of Pisa, and at the instigation of the pontiff.

Maimburg himself, represents Benedict as one of the most remarkable popes who reigned during the schism; and indeed he had an admirable force of will; alone, abandoned by all the princes of his party, having only for his residence a fortress, situated on a tongue of land, beaten on three sides by the sea, he lanced his spiritual bolts from the bosom of the elementary tumult, and amidst the roar of thunder. In the midst of the convulsions of his dying agony, he preserved his presence of mind and his energy; he showed no weakness, no repentance, and caused the two cardinals who remained faithful to him, to swear to give him a successor.

In accordance with his orders, two days after his death, an Arragonese gentleman named Giles Munoz, was enthroned pope, by the name of Clement the Eighth, and consecrated by the two cardinals for the sum of three thousand florins in gold, as John Corario affirms. The new pontiff took the sacerdotal ornaments, exercised in public his trade of pope, formed a court and created cardinals, among whom he placed his nephew, in accordance with the usages of his predecessors. Alphonso caused him to be recognised in his dominions of Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, and Sicily, and even entered into negotiations with other sovereigns, to induce them to place their kingdoms under his rule.

Alarmed at the consequences of this hostility, which might give new strength to the schism, Martin despatched to the king of Arragon, his legate Peter, Cardinal de Foix, to offer him peace, on condition that he would abandon his anti-pope. This step had no result, for Alphonso, who had already experienced the bad faith of Otho Colonna, refused to receive his ambassador; he even published edicts against Martin, and prohibited all the prelates of his kingdom, under penalty of confiscation of their goods, from receiving any bull from Rome, and from communing with the cardinal.

Unable to deceive his enemy, Martin wished to try more violent means; and, on the 15th of July, 1425, he fulminated a bull against the king of Arragon, declared him to be an enemy of religion, a supporter of the schism, and as such, deprived of all his properties and dignities. His policy succeeded the better, as Louis of Anjou and Joanna of Naples had driven the troops of Alphonso from the kingdom of Naples, which re-established his sway over Lower Italy.

This success obtained, he kindled the fire of discord in Upper Italy, and used the ambitious Philip Marie Visconti, duke of Milan, to subjugate it. At the instigation of the holy father, the latter declared war on all the Italian republics, and carried fire and blood into Florence, against which state Martin had preserved an implacable hatred, the hatred of a priest. The Florentines, who were ignorant of the

hostile sentiments of his holiness towards them, sent an embassy to Rome to implore the protection of the holy father, and to remind him of the services they had formerly rendered him. Not only did he refuse to interfere as a mediator in their quarrel with the duke of Milan, but even joined insolence to ingratitude, and said to them when dismissing them, "You will see if Pope Martin is not worth a quatrino." This pleasantry of the children of Florence, was the only motive for the hatred of the holy father! It was to avenge his vanity that the representative of a God of pity covered entire provinces with disasters, and caused thousands of innocent persons to be massacred.

From Italy the conflagration extended into Germany; already, at the council of Constance, Martin had shown himself to be one of the most ardent enemies of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; afterwards, in the synod of Pavia, he stood forth the persecutor of their disciples, and had even published a terrible decree against them, in which he enjoined on the emperor, the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany, and the king of Poland to unite their armies to exterminate all the people of Bohemia who had embraced the doctrines of John Huss, their fellow countryman. But as his fanatical bulls and preachings were unable to influence these princes to declare war on the Hussites, he fell back on the bishop of Winchester, one of his creatures, and conferred on him the cardinalate, on condition that he would recruit an army at his own expense and invade Bohemia. The ambitious Englishman accepted the bargain which was offered him, preached a crusade, assembled, under the banner of the pope, a crowd of wretches and banditti, placed himself at their head, and entered Bohemia.

Without being alarmed by the number of their enemies, the courageous Hussites, who had to defend their altars and their hearths, assembled in arms and marched against the hordes of the cardinal. On their approach the Italians, who formed a large part of the papal army, were seized with a panic terror and fled, casting away their arms; the English endeavoured to resist, but feebly, and were soon compelled to yield the field of battle, leaving more than ten thousand dead, and all their baggage in the power of the enemy. After his defeat, the cardinal endeavoured to entrench himself in the town of Tausch to wait for re-inforcements; he was again defeated; the Bohemians attacked the place, carried it by storm, and put to death all the Italian, French, German, and English soldiers; the cardinal himself, with difficulty, escaping in disguise.

Although conquered, the pope had attained his end, which was, to kindle the fire of civil war in Germany. He wrote thus to his legate, to restore his courage: "We have heard the news of your defeat with great grief, and we are the more dismayed at it, since it will contribute not a little to increase the strength and insolence of the heretics. We cannot too much praise your zeal, my dear son. We

hope that this blow of fortune will not abate your energy; that you will persevere in the holy enterprise you have commenced; and that you will immediately recruit new troops to recommence hostilities, and to wash out, in the blood of the Hussites, the opprobrium with which your name is covered. Let no consideration arrest you; spare neither money nor men. Believe that we are acting for religion, and that God has no more agreeable holocaust than the blood of his enemies! Strike with the sword, and when your arm cannot reach the guilty, employ poison; burn all the towns of Bohemia, that fire may purify this accursed land; transform the country into arid steppes, and let the dead bodies of the heretics hang from the trees in greater numbers than the leaves of the forests!"

While the cardinal legate was seeking to execute these sanguinary orders of the pope, and was re-organising a new army, the duke of Milan, on his side, was arrested in his conquests by General Carminiola, and forced to enter into negotiations with the Venetians and Florentines.

His holiness came opportunely to his aid, and sent the cardinal Nicholas Albergati to Venice, under the pretext of consulting with the belligerent parties on the means of pacifying Upper Italy, but, in reality, to give his ally time to assemble new troops, and resume the offensive. A kind of treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed the duke should restore the cities of Brescia, Bergami, Cremona, and several other places on which he had seized, and that the republics should be recompensed for their commercial losses. The duke appeared to accede to all the proposals up to the moment of their execution; he then made new difficulties, which brought about a rupture, and the war recommenced with more fury than before.

From the height of the apostolic chair Martin animated all the combatants, and favoured by the disorders, he strengthened his sway. He was soon not content with combatting the heretics; he attacked orthodox bishops, and framed accusations against Henry Chicheley, metropolitan of Canterbury, because he had opposed the abolition of a decree of the English parliament, hostile to the pretensions of the court of Rome, and had treated the holy father as an avaricious and ambitious man.

This prelate, dreading the consequences which might result to him from the censures of the church, hastened to write to Rome, protesting the purity of his intentions and the regularity of his conduct, and solemnly engaging to show himself, in future, one of the most zealous defenders of the privileges of the Holy See. Martin, who knew exactly the value of a priest's promise, replied to him: "It is by the efficacy of your actions, and not by your letters of excuse, that you must repair the scandal of your conduct. We have learned, that so far from repenting of what you have done, you privately solicit members of parliament to support the bill which attains our privileges, under pretext that we only demand its revoca-

tion from avarice, and to despoil the kingdom of England. We are too skilful in the arts of policy not to have unmasked the motives which have actuated you: we order you then to proclaim loudly, that we would be guilty towards Jesus Christ if we did not claim the rights which he gave with his own mouth to our see, and which the fathers have recognised in all times. Be careful lest we discover new perfidy on your part, for our vengeance would be terrible."

Martin also reproached Wladislaus, king of Poland, with having given the bishopric of Posenania to the vice chancellor of his kingdom, in defiance of his orders. He did more; he declared the protege of the king incapable of possessing any ecclesiastical charge or benefice, and appointed the prevost of Guesna, one of his own creatures, in his place. This affair might have induced terrible consequences, if one of the rivals had not died very apropos; the holy father then consented to give his approval to the promotion of the vice chancellor, on his paying a considerable sum.

His holiness was then occupied with the difficulties which had broken out between John, king of Portugal, and some prelates of his kingdom, on the subject of imposts. This prince made the singular pretension that the state expenses should be equally borne by all his subjects, clergy or laity, and that priests no more than other men should be freed from respect to the laws of the land. His officers therefore taxed the rich domains of the clergy, and his judges took cognizance of the crimes of peculation, incest, and murder committed by priests; finally, he wished to rule alone in his kingdom, and had consequently prohibited his prelates, under penalty of death, from publishing the orders of the court of Rome without his authority. Martin could not tolerate such abuses in a Christian kingdom; so that when he learned that his letters and missives produced no effect on John the First, he sent ambassadors to him, bearing an order for him to go to Italy, or to be deposed if he refused to abase his forehead before the majesty of the tiara. At the same time he instructed the archbishop of Braga to convene a provincial synod to advise with him on the course to be taken to repress the audacity of the prince.

These measures not having succeeded better than his letters, he cast the interdict on Portugal, and called down all the curses of God on that kingdom. This done, he turned his attention towards a very important plan, which he desired to bring to a successful issue; it was to attain the expulsion of the anti-pope, Clement the Eighth. His legate, Alphonso Borgia, Cardinal de Foix, still maintained himself in Arragon, where he had been overwhelmed with outrages; but, in his turn, he took his revenge. He sowed gold, was prodigal of promises, framed intrigues, and excited a large part of the towns against Alphonso of Arragon; even the bishops and nobles soon separated from the king, and threatened to proclaim him a schismatic if he persisted in his revolt against the Holy See.

Alarmed at the developments of the sacerdotal conspiracy, he invited the cardinal to his court, and agreed with him on the articles of a secret convention, which provided that the king should labour to bring back, within the pale of the church, the anti-pope of Peniscola; and that, if Clement persisted in the schism, he would deliver him up to the pontiff to do with him as he pleased. He still further engaged, to permit the Roman collectors freely to receive the revenues, goods, and rights of the Holy See; he also bound himself to re-establish the ecclesiastics of Arragon in their former liberty, and to restore prelatures and prebends to bishops and priests who had been deprived of them; and finally, he formally engaged to put an end to the war which he had undertaken against the kingdom of Naples.

On the other side, it was agreed that the pope should give the king the body of St. Louis of Gonzaga; that the arrearages due to the apostolic chamber should be entirely remitted, and that the annual tribute should be replaced by a cloak of gold, to be sent every five years. It was agreed that the grants of vacant prelatures, cathedrals, and abbeys should belong to the king; that he should name the cardinals of his choice, and that succours of troops, by land and sea, should be afforded him to defend Sicily against the infidels; that one hundred and fifty thousand florins should be allowed him, as an indemnity for the expenses he incurred in putting an end to the schism, and that a general absolution should be granted him for all that he had done against the Holy See during the war.

Alphonso Borgia went at once to Rome to submit these articles to the pope, and to obtain a ratification of the treaty. He found his holiness in the most pacific disposition, as his affairs were taking a bad turn in Italy. Cardinal Albercati left the apostolic city to open fresh negotiations between the republics and Philip Visconti, who, for the second time, had been reduced to the greatest distress, having lost his best generals, and spent all his money. Not only was Martin unable to bend Venice or Florence, but his authority was compromised, even in some cities of his own domains, in consequence of the revolutions of which they had been the theatre. Therefore, the pope's legate was empowered with full authority to conclude a solid peace for his own territories, which permitted the pontiff to turn all his strength against Romagna and the city of Bologna, where the people had replaced the papal banner by the standard of liberty.

A treaty of alliance was signed at Ferrara, and on the next day Martin lanced anathemas against the Bolognese; still, none of his officers dared to carry the bull to the insurgents, and he was obliged to have recourse to a poor Dominican of weak mind, who was induced to undertake this dangerous mission in the hopes of achieving martyrdom. The monk, in fact, entered the place, attached the bull to the end of a pike, and elevated it above his head, crying out "Anathema on Bologna! Accursed be its inhabitants." He had not

gone ten steps when a crowd fell upon him, and tore up the bull of the pope; the poor fanatic himself was only put out of the city though he ceased not to cry that he wished to undergo the punishment of the Maccabees. Martin, unable to conquer the obstinacy of the Bolognese, assembled an army, the command of which he confided to Antonio Bentivoglio, one of his generals; and after several months of strife and combats, he retook all the places which had joined the rebellious city, and Bologna itself.

All these causes induced the holy father to give his approval to the articles proposed by Alphonso, and he sent back the cardinal of Foix to Barcelona, to sign the treaty definitely. As soon as the latter had obtained the ratification of the prince, he went beneath the walls of Peniscola to inform Clement the Eighth that he must abdicate his vain title of pope. "And the good man, Giles Mugnoz," says Maimburg, "whom they had travestied into a pontiff, showed that he had never been attached to that dignity, by the joy with which he laid it down."

Thus terminated, on the 26th of July, 1429, the great western schism, which had commenced on the 21st of September, 1378, and had torn to pieces all Christian kingdoms for more than fifty years. This period in the history of the church is one of those which presents the most curious episodes—when we are permitted to go behind the scenes of the pontifical theatre, and observe the machinery which moves the theocratic decorations. All the consecrated actors put off their spiritual masks, and exhibited themselves in their terrestrial figures as ambitious, avaricious, vindictive, debauched, and cruel; solely occupied with duping men, and changing the holy water into a stream of gold.

Martin having become, by this withdrawal, the tranquil possessor of the chair of St. Peter, was occupied in regaining the preponderance he had lost, and availed himself of the assembling of a congress at Luckow in Poland, to induce Wladislaus to take a vigorous resolve against the Hussites, his most redoubtable adversaries. He addressed the following letter to the prince on this subject:—"The grand actions which you have accomplished since your baptism, my lord, and the zeal which you have shown for our holy religion, in imposing your belief on idolatrous nations, give us hopes that you will persist in the same way, and will bring back to the fold of the church the Christians of Bohemia, whom the abominable John Huss has drawn into schism. Know that the interest of the Holy See, and those of your crown, make it a duty to exterminate the Hussites. Remember that these impious persons dare proclaim principles of equality; they maintain that all Christians are brethren, and that God has not given to privileged men the right of ruling the nations; they hold that Christ came on earth to abolish slavery; they call the people to liberty, that is, to the annihilation of kings and priests! Whilst there is still time, then, turn your

forces against Bohemia; burn, massacre, make deserts every where, for nothing could be more agreeable to God, or more useful to the cause of kings, than the extermination of the Hussites."

In consequence of the orders of the court of Rome, a new crusade was preached against the Bohemians, with promises of indulgences to those who should take up arms; but this expedition, which was the sixth enterprise for the extinction of Hussism, was not more

fortunate than its predecessors; the Catholic army was cut to pieces, and liberty triumphed.

This bad news reached the holy father whilst he was engaged in the nomination of a legate, whom he wished to send to Basle to preside over a general council, and proceed against the heretics; the mortification and anger which he experienced were so violent, that he was struck with a fit of apoplexy. His death took place on the 20th of February, 1431, after a reign of four years.

## EUGENIUS THE FOURTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1431.]

*Election of Eugenius the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—His efforts to re-establish his sway in Italy—Rome rises against him—Frightful punishment inflicted by his order on the monk Masius—Council of Basle—Policy of the court of Rome—The duke of Milan declares war on the pope—Eugenius is driven from Rome—He is protected by the queen of Naples—He wishes to transfer the council of Basle to Ferrara—The assembly is divided, and forms two councils, which anathematise reciprocally—Eugenius is deposed by the council of Basle—Amadeus, duke of Savoy, chosen pope by the name of Felix the Fifth.*

BEFORE proceeding to the election of a new pontiff, the members of the sacred college, having assembled in conclave, took a solemn oath, that he among them who should be chosen to the papacy, should in future subscribe the apostolic bulls with this formula, "By consent of the cardinals." They also agreed that the pope should not give the purple to any ecclesiastic without their authority, and that he should share with them all the revenues of the church. After this the notary received their suffrages, and Gabriel Condemière, cardinal of Saint Clement, was canonically proclaimed the successor of the apostle.

This prelate was a bastard of Pope Gregory the Twelfth and a Benedictine nun; his father had elevated him successively to the deaconate, priesthood, episcopate, and finally, had given him the red hat at an age when other clergymen were only taking their lowest orders.

As soon as Eugenius the Fourth had been consecrated, he assembled the ambassadors of the principal cities of Upper Italy in a hall of the Vatican, and declared to them that he was resolved to put an end to the civil wars, and to excommunicate the princes who should oppose this wish. Philip Visconti, who found his ambition checked by this determination, alone disapproved of the pacific views of the church. To put himself in a situation to resist it, he formed a league with the inhabitants of Sienna and Lucca, speedily raised free companies, and threatened to march on Rome, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, if the pope dared to furnish aid to the republics of Venice and Florence.

The war then recommenced with new fury on both sides, and complicated the political

situation; for the Romans, feeling a sort of repugnance for Eugenius, because he was not of their city, waited but an opportunity to give vent to their hatred, and cast on him the cause of their disasters. It was related that an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of the death of Martin the Fifth; and that, at the first public consistory held by Eugenius, the galleries of the church broke down, and crushed, in their fall, a great number of persons: "An evident sign," they said, "that God disapproved of the elevation of a bastard to the chair of the apostle." They became still more embittered in consequence of visits which the holy father caused to be made to the palaces of Antonio, prince of Salernum, Edward, count of Calani, and Cardinal Prospero, all three of the family of the Colonna, and relatives of Martin the Fifth. These measures were counselled by the Ursini, their enemies, who accused them of having stolen a large part of the treasures of the deceased pope.

The Colonna, furious at finding themselves the objects of odious and unjust suspicions, organised a conspiracy against Eugenius, and resolved to seize the castle of San Angelo. They had brought into their plot the monk Masius, who was to surrender to them the keys of one of the gates of which he had the custody, when, unfortunately, on the eve of the execution, the pope, informed of what was going on against him, caused the conspirators to be invested in their fortresses. The Colonna, taken by surprise, had scarcely time to escape from Rome; their magnificent palaces were pillaged, and razed to the ground; their property was all confiscated, and themselves condemned to the loss of their honours and

dignities. The holy father then proceeded to the punishment of the monk Masius, and exhausted on this unfortunate man all kinds of cruelties.

This punishment produced a very different effect from that which his holiness expected. He hoped that sight of the sufferings of his victim would fill all minds with dread, and prevent a new effort at rebellion; but it so happened, that indignation exceeded fear. The people followed Eugenius to his palace, overwhelming him with hisses and curses; his guards even offered terrible threats to him, and that evening one of his domestics put poison in his food. Remedies were, however, applied in time, and the holy father escaped from this attempt at assassination.

Although they had failed once, his enemies did not abandon their project of taking revenge upon him, and a revolution was on the very point of breaking out, when the emperor Sigismund came to the holy city, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Eugenius. His presence appeased the troubles for the moment, and the holy father was enabled to employ himself in strengthening his authority over Italy. After the ceremony of the consecration, the pontiff appointed the cardinal Julianio Cesarini as his legate to Basle, to assist at the opening of the council, which was fixed for the 23d of July, 1431.

From the very opening, the fathers who composed the assembly, discussed a proposition, tending to establish the superiority of councils over popes, and consequently to take from the successors of the apostle, their privilege of infallibility. Eugenius, alarmed at this disposition, immediately sent orders to his legate to dissolve the synod, and transfer it to Bologna, that he might preside over it in person, and at the same time wrote to the emperor to notify him of this translation. But the cardinal Julianio Cesarini refused to obey the decrees of the pontiff, and told him that he would renounce his legation, rather than render himself an accomplice in arbitrary measures towards the prelates at Basle; he was strengthened in this resistance by Sigismund, who declared that the fathers should continue to hold their assembly.

Eugenius lanced a preventive bull against the council, and declared all the decrees, procedures, or citations, framed in his absence, null. As he, however, feared to push matters to extremities, he sent two cardinals, who were devoted to him, to regulate the deliberations at Basle. This step did not succeed; the fathers, exasperated at the pope, refused to receive them, and published a protest, in which Eugenius was accused of prevaricating towards the councils, who alone possessed the legislative power of the church; they even threatened the legates to use their rights to the full extent, and depose the pontiff, if the decretals and bulls of the court of Rome were not revoked within sixty days.

Thus the holy father found himself at once exposed to the hatred of the Roman people, the anger of all the prelates of Europe, and

that of Philip Visconti. Too weak to resist so many enemies, he determined to temporize, and made concessions to the council. He declared in a bull, that at the request of the emperor, and by the advice of his cardinals, he consented to approve of the decisions of the fathers, in order that they might labour without trouble in extirpating heresies and reforming the morals of the ecclesiastics.

Reassured on this side, Eugenius wished to take energetic measures to resist the duke of Milan, who had assembled numerous troops under the orders of his son-in-law, Francis Sforza, and an adventurer called Nicholas Strongarm, and who was marching on Rome, ravaging the domains of the church, pillaging the castles, burning the farms, and massacring the cultivators. This time the Roman people remained deaf to his exhortations, and refused to take up arms to repulse the enemy. In his fury, the holy father lanced a bull of excommunication against the city, ordered the churches to be closed, and the priests every where to cease to perform divine service. This violent remedy, instead of appeasing the troubles, augmented the confusion; the citizens rose, rushed to the Vatican, besieged and stormed it, after having murdered all the soldiers. Eugenius had scarcely time to fly to the Tiber and save himself in a boat with a monk; he then went to Florence and installed himself in the patriarchal palace.

From that city the holy father wrote to the fathers of the council of Basle and the emperor Sigismund, to claim their interference in his quarrel with the duke of Milan, and to beseech them to constrain Visconti to restore peace to the Holy See, and the Romans to receive him in the apostolic city. The prelates, who supposed that the sentiments of Eugenius were in conformity with the one he had expressed in the last bull, interceded themselves in his favour with Sigismund and the other princes of Europe. Philip Visconti, menaced by all the powers, was obliged to reconcile himself with the pope and recall his troops to his dutchy. Thanks still to the solicitations of the fathers of the council, Eugenius obtained from the queen of Naples, Joanna the Second, succours in men and money, which aided his party to triumph in Rome.

It appeared as if God wished to punish this queen for having restored the dominion of the pope over the people, for on the very day on which Eugenius took possession of the palace of the Lateran, she lost her adopted son, Louis of Anjou, and her favourite, Carracciolo; she herself died shortly after, leaving her kingdom, to René duke of Anjou.

As soon as the news of Joanna's death reached Rome, Eugenius sent word to the lords of the kingdom, that they must abstain from proceeding provisionally to the election of a sovereign, and almost immediately despatched John Viteleschi, bishop of Recanati and patriarch of Alexandria, who was regarded as a man of sense and courage, to take possession of Naples in his name. But the inhabitants, who dreaded the government of the

pope more than any thing else in the world, refused to receive his legate, and determined to send a deputation to René of Anjou, to offer him the crown, beseeching him to come to Naples, to take possession of the throne. The prince listened joyfully to the ambassadors, and as he could not leave his duchy, being a prisoner on parole to Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, he gave them his two children and Isabella his wife, to govern the kingdom in his absence.

As soon as Isabella arrived in Naples, she took the reins of government into her own hands, and endeavoured to repress the factious, who excited disorders in the capital, and sought to induce the people to revolt. Among the fanners of the sedition, the agents of the king of Arragon, who were the most ardent and the most redoubtable, were enabled even to seize the city of Capua. This success destroyed them, for in the intoxication of their triumph, they sent to inform Alphonso, who kept the sea close to the shores of Sicily, that he could disembark in entire safety, and that the population would rise in mass on his approach to proclaim him king of Naples. On the receipt of this news, the prince advanced with his fleet to make a descent on the land of Labour, in sight of the port of Gaëta; unfortunately for him his agents had taken their measures badly; he met on his way the vessels of the Genoese, the allies of the duke of Milan, who also laid claims to the sovereignty of Naples; a terrible contest took place between the two fleets; almost all the vessels of Alphonso were sunk, that in which he was with his family, and which had cowardly kept out of the fight, was taken and conducted in triumph to Genoa, and Alphonso, with the king of Navarre and the infants of Arragon was surrendered to the duke of Milan. This reverse became in the end the cause of the fortune of the duke of Arragon; he knew so well how to captivate his conqueror, that Philip Visconti consented to set him at liberty and cede to him his claim on the kingdom of Naples, on the payment of a ransom and a tribute; he even engaged to aid him with his armies against the duke of Anjou and the pope, if this last persisted in his ridiculous pretensions over Lower Italy.

Eugenius no longer thought of disputing possession of the kingdom of Naples for his see; he had already ranged himself entirely in the party of René of Anjou, in order to procure from that prince authority to levy tithes on the faithful of his provinces, and also, which he did not yet avow, to create a protector, who might aid him in annulling the decrees of the council of Basle.

This assembly had become in fact a subject of serious alarm to the holy father. The prelates who composed it had declared themselves in permanent session, and continued to frame decrees for the reform of the church, in its supreme chief and its ministers. Among other decisions they had framed this against the abuses of simony:—"The general council, lawfully assembled and representing the uni-

versal church, orders, in the name of the Holy Spirit, in regard to that in the Roman court which concerns elections, admissions, presentations, grants, collations, gifts, postulations, institutions, installations, investitures, dignities, benefices, ecclesiastical offices, sacred orders, blessings, and grants of the pallium, that in future no recompense shall be demanded for the seal of the bulls, for annates, small services of first fruits, or under any other title or pretext whatsoever. If any one infringes this canon by exacting, giving, or promising any present or salary, he shall incur the penalty inflicted on simoniacs, be he the pope himself!"

The fathers then declared the constitution of Gregory the Tenth, in regard to pontifical elections, to be obligatory: they were also engaged with the Greek question, and received ambassadors from John Paleologus the Sixth, who came to offer, in his name, to reunite with the Latin church, if the king of the West would consent to furnish him with troops to drive back the Musselmens to the deserts of Arabia. The council decreed indulgences to all Christians who should labour for the reunion of the two churches, and ordered that they should proceed immediately to equip an armament to succour Constantinople. John Paleologus, on his side, hastened to name plenipotentiaries, to send to the council, to abjure the schism.

Eugenius, informed of the turn negotiations were taking, wished to oppose their proceeding with the armaments destined for the Greeks; he maintained that the executive power belonged to him alone; that the council of Basle was trespassing on his attributes, and that not content with taking the initiative in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline; it was even arrogating to itself the right of absolute jurisdiction over the faithful, a right which had always belonged to the popes. He dared not, however, order the fathers to break off the conferences, and contented himself with thwarting them in the matter of the reunion with the Greeks. At his instigation, John Paleologus demanded that the council which, with his envoys, was to arrange the clauses of the reunion, should meet at a place nearer Rome than Basle, in order that the pontiff might assist at the deliberations.

In order to satisfy the desires of the prince, the bishops sent two ambassadors to his holiness, beseeching him to come in person to the assembly, or to transfer it to Avignon or a city of Savoy. Eugenius rejected this proposal, and instructed the legates to inform the fathers that he exacted that their decisions, made in the last sessions, and which touched the privileges of the papacy, should be revoked, or otherwise he would not appear among them. The prelates refused unanimously to submit to these disgraceful conditions, and decreed that the assembly should continue its deliberations in the absence of the pope, and that they would send an embassy to inform the Greek emperor, that he must accept the city of Basle as the place of the conferences, or renounce the succour they



had promised him. When the deputies arrived at Constantinople, they found that Eugenius had been before hand with them, and that his agents so completely swayed the mind of Paleologus, that it was impossible to induce the weak monarch to choose any other city than Ferrara.

Eugenius availed himself of the foolish credulity of the Greek emperor, to order the fathers of the council of Basle to go to Ferrara. He hoped it would be easier for him to annul the decrees made in contempt of his authority, when he himself presided over its deliberations, as he was at peace with Philip Visconti, the Genoese, Venetians, and Florentines. Unfortunately, Alphonso of Arragon deranged all his plans; this prince, by a succession of victories, had re-conquered all the strong places of the kingdom of Naples, and even driven Queen Isabella and the legates of the Holy See from the capital, which permitted him, in his turn, to take vengeance on the treason of the pope to him. Thus he did not hesitate to increase the number of the enemies of Eugenius. He published a decree, enjoining on all the bishops of his kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Arragon, to go immediately to the council of Basle, to have Gabriel Condemère, the bastard of the anti-pope Gregory the Twelfth, placed on trial.

The Spanish prelates had no difficulty in inducing the council, which was already badly disposed towards the pope, to order him to come to Basle, to render an account of his conduct, and to answer for the unworthy use which he had made of the supreme authority with which he had been invested. In the letter which was sent to Rome on this occasion, the council enumerated the struggles which they had maintained against the Holy See to bring about a reform of the clergy, and to put an end to the shameful disorders which existed in the church, and which were the scandal of Christendom. The fathers cast all the evils upon Eugenius; they accused him of having encouraged simony, of having protected licentiousness, and of having shown himself to be the most corrupt of his court, instead of setting an example of the Christian virtues. They closed by ordering the cardinals to come to the city of Basle, to take with the council the measures necessary for the good of religion. Finally, after having waited the period of delay fixed in the citation, they pronounced a sentence which condemned Eugenius the Fourth as contumacious, and suspended him from sacerdotal functions.

The pontiff, on his side, was not inactive; he convoked a council at Ferrara for the 8th of January, 1438; on the appointed day, the cardinal of Saint Croix, solemnly opened it in his name, though the Greek ambassadors were absent, and scarcely twenty prelates were assembled. The cardinal emphatically declared that all the proceedings of the cabal at Basle were tinged with heresy, and erased them as destructive of the liberty of the Roman church; this decision was notified to all the powers of Europe.

Exasperated at this new insult, the prelates assembled at Basle, deposed the pope, and lanced the thunders of excommunication against the synod of Ferrara. Eugenius, in his turn, fulminated anathemas against those who had had the audacity to depose him; he declared them to be deprived of their dignities and their benefices, and excommunicated the kings, lords, and people who did not arm to exterminate the fathers of the council of Basle.

Such was the situation of affairs when the plague interrupted the labours of the assembly of Ferrara, and obliged Eugenius to transfer the council to Florence. The Greek ambassadors also went to this city, and all having assembled, decreed the following constitution:

"Eugenius, supreme ruler of the universal church, to bequeath to posterity a perpetual testimony of the faith of his dear son in Jesus Christ, John Paleologus, the illustrious emperor of the Greeks, affirms, that by his influence, the faithful of the east will, in future, profess the dogmas and worship framed in this diploma.

"Let the heavens and the earth rejoice, since the walls which divided the churches of the east and west, have crumbled into the abyss; since concord is rebuilt upon the corner-stone of religion; since all the faithful of the earth are reunited in Jesus Christ, after ages of darkness and sorrow! Let the church, that divine mother, rejoice at calrying in its bosom all its reunited sons, and even those who have so long torn her by bloody divisions. Let the East and West leap with joy; let them confound their love in a spiritual embrace, and let their souls unite in infinite pleasures."

After this strange exordium it thus continues:—

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, we define that the truth of the orthodox faith consists in recognising the Holy Spirit to be identical with the Father and the Son, and that it proceeds eternally from them as from one beginning and action. We declare that the fathers and doctors who affirm that the Holy Spirit does not proceed immediately from the father, establish, notwithstanding the apparent contradiction of their words, that this procession is simultaneous, and recognise the Son to be as the Father, the cause and principle of the Holy Spirit. We, consequently, decide, that the words "Filioque," have been lawfully added to the Nicene Creed, to define that article of faith.

"We declare that the body of Jesus Christ is truly present in the consecrated host, be the bread unleavened or leavened. We recognise that the souls of true penitents, dead in the charity of God, without having confessed their faults, are admitted to contemplate the face of Christ eternally, but only after having been purified in the flames of purgatory. We confess that the duration of their punishment can be abridged by the good works of the living. We confess that the souls of the faithful who have not sinned since their baptism, or those who have been purified in their bodies by the

remunerating sacraments, after having laid off their terrestrial prison, come at once to the kingdom of Christ, and see the Holy Trinity face to face, although in different degrees, according to their merits. We confess that those who are dead in a state of mortal sin, or without having been baptized, immediately descend to hell, to be burned for ever."

Such is the famous definition of the faith, of which the Greek deputies approved. A cotemporary historian, maintains, however, that the pontiff bought their consent to the admission of purgatory for the sum of five thousand ducats; that he gave ten thousand to obtain the procession of the Holy Spirit, and that he went as high as twenty thousand to have the communion under one kind admitted. Both parties signed it, and the ambassadors returned to Constantinople with the money of his holiness.

Three days after their arrival, the act for the reunion of the two churches was annulled by the oriental prelates, and the name of the pope was more execrated than ever by the Greeks.

Whilst Eugenius was lulling himself to sleep with illusions, the assembly at Basle was acting; it first declared the pontiff to be simoniacal, perjured, a dissipator of the property of the church, a dangerous administrator, and an incorrigible schismatic; it then named three members, Thomas, abbot of Donduces, John of Legovia, and Thomas of Corcellis, to form a college of twenty-nine prelates, and to proceed to the election of a pope, in accordance with former customs.—The bishops who were designated, entered into conclave on the 30th of October, 1439, and chose, as sovereign pontiff, Amadeus, duke of Savoy and abbot of the convent of Ripaille.

## FELIX THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH POPE.

### EUGENIUS, BECOME ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1439.]

*History of Amadeus, duke of Savoy—Difficulties in the council on the subject of his promotion to the pontificate—Amadeus accepts the tiara—He is excommunicated by Eugenius—Tragic death of Vitteleschi—Difficult position of the two popes—The king of Arragon declares for Felix—Termination of the councils of Basle and Florence—Return of Eugenius to Rome—Conduct of the emperor Frederick the Third towards the two popes—Eugenius deposes the electors of Cologne—Bull in relation to the diet of Frankford—Death of Eugenius.*

AMADEUS, duke of Savoy, had governed his dominions with great prudence for forty years, when he took the singular fancy of becoming a hermit. He abandoned his duty to his two sons, and retired to the agreeable sojourn of Ripaille, on the borders of Lake Geneva, with several pages, twenty domestics, and some lords of his court. The new congregation embraced the rules of the order of Saint Maurice.

The kind of life which these brothers followed is differently spoken of; some authors affirm that the rules were extremely rigid; others establish by authentic documents, that these pious anchorites drank exquisite wines instead of water, and replaced roots, with the most delicious dishes; they even say, that by way of mortification, the brothers doubled the number of their repasts on fast days, and committed fornication or sodomy at the hours of prayer, morning, mid-day, and night.—Daniel Desmarests assures us, that the hermitage of Ripaille had become a cave of abominations, the receptacle of every vice; and that it was a thing so well known in his time, that "to perform Ripaille," signified joyous orgies with good companions and light women.

As soon as this election was known, violent parties arose on all sides; many ecclesiastics

alleged the disorders of the life of Amadeus as a cause for exclusion, others argued from his state as a layman and father, as a cause of his rejection; others still protested against the nomination, because he was not a doctor in theology, and would consequently find himself a stranger to all matters which concerned the government of the church. Notwithstanding this formidable opposition, the electors, who made him pope, stood firm and silenced all scruples. If your pope is not a doctor, they said, you will not deny that he is well versed in profane knowledge, which is not less necessary for the government of the church. He has been married, beyond doubt, they added, but the fathers and councils have not excluded from the priesthood those who have espoused one wife, and his state of layman will cease as soon as he shall have received sacred orders. As for the disorders with which you reproach him, who among you can say that he is exempt from the same sins.

From that moment all opposition ceased, and ambassadors were sent to Ripaille, to offer the tiara to the duke of Savoy. The joyous abbot was at table with his monks, when they came to announce to him that he had been chosen pope. He at first refused to

believe what they said. When by the protestations of the deputies, he was made to comprehend that his nomination was serious, he fell into such a fit of gaiety that it burst out into noisy laughter; his hilarity communicated itself to his fellow feasters, reached even the grave ambassadors, and the refectory soon presented one of the drollest scenes that could be imagined.

"Although he was completely drunk," says the chronicle, "they clothed him in the pontifical ornaments; one of the cardinals blessed him, placed the ring of the fisherman on his right hand, and two monks sustained his tottering steps to the church of the monastery, where he was submitted to the proof of the pierced chair, and enthroned with the usual ceremonies, by the name of Felix the Fifth."

As soon as Eugenius was informed of the election of the duke of Savoy, he fulminated the most terrible anathemas against him; confirmed the preceding excommunications lanced against the fathers of the council of Basle, cursed individually each of the electors of Felix the Fifth, and especially the cardinal of Arles; declared that prelate deprived of all his offices, dignities, and benefices, and named to replace him in the archiepiscopal see, Roger, bishop of Aix, in Provence. He then addressed the following circular to all the princes in Europe:—"The sots, fools, madmen, and barbarians who have assembled riotously in the city of Basle, to adore that drunkard, that sodomite, that Cerberus, that golden calf, that Mahomet, that antichrist, called the duke of Savoy, are all anathematised by us; and we command you to exterminate them like wild beasts, who in their insatiable fury tear the entrails of their mother, and renew the schism in the church. Pursue, unceasingly, the infamous debauchee of Ripaille, who has caused himself to be made pope, that he may pursue his saturnalia in full security—curses upon the monster who has excited the dregs of the priests against the lawful chief of the church!—curses on the shameless hog who cherishes his priests with gold and silver!—curses upon that satan who causes himself to be adored in the temple of Christ!—curses, death, and damnation, upon the infamous Amadeus, duke of Savoy."

The hatred of the pontiff to his successor was so violent, that it led him to massacre his legate, Vitteleschi, one of the most venerable prelates of Italy, because he had been bold enough to propose to his holiness to enter into an arrangement with Felix the Fifth. This venerable prelate, who had rendered him such great services in his legation at Naples, was arrested by the guards of the pope, thrown into a dungeon, pitilessly tortured and beheaded.

It was not enough for the council of Basle to have conferred the dignity on Felix: they must give him the means of maintaining his dignity; and as those who dispose of the fortunes of the people usually exhibit great prodigality, if some parcels of it are to return to them, the cardinals authorised the new pontiff

to levy tithes for five years on the revenues of land, and ecclesiastical, secular, and regular benefices. This decree encountered an active opposition in the states of Arragon, Hungary, Austria, and Bavaria; in Savoy, in several cities of Germany, and in the universities of Paris, Vienne, Erfurt, Cologne, and Cracow; it was, however, put in execution, thanks to the support of the sovereigns of those countries who had recognised Felix as the lawful head of the church.

Eugenius, in imitation of his competitor, did not neglect to increase his treasures; he levied contributions on Upper Italy, and the courts of France, England, and Spain; he made promotions of cardinals, and sold to his creatures, the sees of the excommunicated bishops. Thus he soon found himself in a condition to struggle against his adversary, who thought of nothing less than treating with the king of Arragon and the duke of Milan, to purchase the city of Rome, and the other places of the Holy See. As soon as he was informed of the proceedings of his rival, the Roman pontiff at once sought the friendship of those monarchs; he sent them rich presents, and even abandoned the party of René of Anjou, to please Alphonso of Arragon. He at the same time sent ambassadors to visit the emperor Frederick, to divert him from the plan he had formed of convening a general council to decide the quarrel of the two popes; Eugenius caused captious observations to be presented to him on this grave subject, objected to him that this measure was inopportune, since he had convened an œcumenical and apostolical synod at Florence, which had made decisions that he could not annul, without being guilty of heresy and rebellion towards God. All these reasonings being unable to change the determination of the emperor, Eugenius determined not to create a new and powerful enemy; he pledged himself to convene a general council in the palace of the Lateran, and to place it under the protection of Frederick; he even published a bull on this occasion, which declared the council of Florence dissolved, and transferred it to Rome. On their side, the fathers who were sitting at Basle, terminated their session, and convened a general meeting for the following year in the city of Lyons.

Such was the conclusion of those two councils, which separated from sheer weariness, and found means to terminate their debates, without making peace or accommodation, and without either of the parties being able to flatter itself seriously that it had gained the victory. Eugenius desired to return to Rome, from which he had been absent for eight years; and to cause the people to forget the evils he had drawn on the holy city, he abolished the barrier duties, reformed some abuses, and disbanded his army.

Two years passed away in profound peace, his holiness having no other care than that of regulating the march of religious solemnities, or with occupying himself with varying his orgies, and of inventing new festivals, in which he was marvellously seconded by a

Spanish family called Borgia, and of which all the members, male and female, made their infamy a mark of honour. One of them, whom he had made a cardinal, and who afterwards became pope, was publicly called his minion.

During this period of peace and tranquillity, took place a very important act, the sentence of deposition against Theodoric of Meurs, and James Sotic, metropolitans of Cologne and Treves, and both electors of the empire. This new mark of audacity excited the indignation of the other electors, who held a diet at Frankford, to oppose the encroachments of the court of Rome, and decided that if Eugenius refused to revoke at once his decrees of deposition, they would abolish the taxes under which the German nation was ground down, and would recognise the superiority of councils over the Holy See, as the council of Constance had declared; that they would withdraw from his obedience, and range themselves in the party of Felix the Fifth.

This decree was announced to the pope by Æneas Sylvius, the secretary of the assembly, in person. The pope submitted to the injunctions of the diet, and revoked the sentences of deposition; but in regard to the other propositions of the electors, he asked permission to submit them to the œcumenical council, before making a definite conclusion. As the archbishops of Cologne and Treves were re-installed in their sees, the Germans were content with his promises on the subjects in litigation, and recognised him provisionally as the sole legitimate pontiff.

Eugenius had not the satisfaction of long enjoying his triumph; a few days afterwards he fell very sick and took to his bed, not to rise again. His malady increased daily, and the aid of art having been decided to be useless, his chamberlains wished to administer the last sacraments to him.

When the metropolitan of Florence presented himself with the holy oil to give him extreme unction, the dying man, who endeavoured to deceive himself with regard to his state, and to re-attach himself to life, rose on his couch, upset the chalice, and uttered horrible blasphemies, ordering them to drive the archbishop from his presence.

This burst of passion aided to weaken his strength, and on the next day he perceived the fatal term approaching; he then called his cardinals around him and made this singular address to them:—"May God pardon the faults which I have committed upon the apostolic throne, in what I have done in yielding to the guilty sentiments of pride and avarice. I admit that I have committed great crimes during my pontificate, and at this last hour they appear to me like the sombre lights which announce the abysses of hell. Let this example instruct you, and, after me, elevate to the seat of the apostle a holy priest who possesses charity and humility, who will cause probity to reign instead of robbery and murder, which for so many years have established their court in the Vatican." He could say no more; strength failed him, and he yielded up his last breath. His death took place on the 23d of February, 1447.

## NICHOLAS THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1447.]

*Election of Nicholas the Fifth—His history before his advent to the pontifical throne—Negotiations of the holy father to obtain the renunciation of the papacy by Felix—Nicholas is recognised in France, Germany, England and Spain—End of the schism—Death of Felix—Jubilee at Rome—The Greeks offer to reunite with the Latin church—Coronation of Frederick the Third, emperor of Germany—League against that prince—The taking of Constantinople by Mohammed the Second—Conspiracy against the pope—New project of a crusade against the Turks—Death of Nicholas—Judgment of historians on the pontiff.*

DURING the eight days which were consumed in the funeral solemnities of Eugenius, the eighteen cardinals who were at Rome assisted regularly at the religious ceremonies; after the inhumation, the three chiefs of the order of the sacred college posted guards at the avenues leading to the castle of San Angelo, and invited their colleagues to assemble in the saloon in which its sittings were usually held; but the governor of Rome having refused to wall up the gate, the cardinals determined to form the conclave in the dormitory

of the chapter of Minerva; the keys of the door were confided to the metropolitans of Ravenna, Aquileia, Sermonetta, and the bishop of Ancona. These first arrangements made, they swore in the officers of the Holy See, and the members of the sacred college took possession of the cells which were destined for them; some were hung with green serge, others with violet, and only one with white, that of the cardinal of Bologna, who wished to indicate thereby how pure his conscience was.

Several days passed in intrigues and cabals, at length Prosper Colonna having obtained ten votes on the eighth sitting, the cardinal Firmano exclaimed, "Why, my brethren, do we lose precious time in useless strife? Do you forget that Rome is divided into two factions; that the king of Arragon holds the sea with a powerful fleet, and that Pope Felix might dissolve our college at any moment? Let us then bring the conclave to a close, and give a chief to the church! The cardinal Prosper Colonna has already ten voices; let one of you rise, another will soon follow him, and we shall soon have a pontiff, whose mildness, merit, and firmness, can alone restore peace to Italy."

Notwithstanding the apostrophe of Firmano, the cardinals remained immovable. Then the cardinal of Bologna, impatient at the length of their debates, which threatened to be interminable, rose to vote, but the cardinal of Trent, holding him by his robe, forced him down again, observing to him, "That he ought not to choose a pope in a moment of ill humour, and that he ought to bring to this choice all the prudence of his mind, since he was about to confer on a man the highest dignity in the universe, that of the vicar of Christ on earth." "All that you do and say," replied the cardinal of Bologna, "is but to prevent the election of Prosper; give your voice to whom you will, and let me vote for Colonna." "Well," exclaimed the cardinal of St. Sixtus, "I swear he shall not be pope, I vote for Thomas of Sarzanus."

This sudden exclamation turned the chances; the majority gave their voices for Thomas, who was enthroned by the name of Nicholas the Fifth. Prosper Colonna, who was the first deacon, immediately opened the window of the hall of conference to announce to the people the election which had been made; but as the window was very high, the crowd did not hear exactly the name of the new pontiff, and several persons having recognised Prosper Colonna, cried out that he was pope. This error caused the people to pillage his palace, which did not save that of Thomas Sarzanus when the truth was known.

Platinus affirms, that the merit of the new pontiff was very moderate, and that he owed his elevation to the cardinalship to favour, rather than real services rendered the church. The commencement of his pontificate was signalised by an happy event for Italy, the death of the most ambitious and treacherous of the princes of that period, Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, who had endeavoured, for thirty-five years, to subjugate the republics of Florence and Venice.

Profiting by this circumstance, which deprived the king of Arragon of his most powerful ally, the holy father concluded a treaty of peace with Alphonso, and obtained from him a recognition of himself as the lawful chief of the church in all his dominions. Nicholas also caused Frederick the Third to be notified of his election, by his legate the cardinal Carafal, who conducted this negotiation so well,

that he induced the emperor to confirm the nomination of the holy father, without obliging him beforehand to give his approval to the proceedings of the council of Basle.

Frederick surpassed even the hopes of the legate, for he made a decree, ordering all the subjects of the empire to be obedient to Nicholas, without any restriction, formally condemning the decisions of the council of Basle, and rejecting Pope Felix as an intruder and schismatic. This compliance of the sovereign was in truth, but the result of concessions made by the Holy See, which had relieved Germany from the subjection of the investitures. The example, however, of the prince, influenced other monarchs, and drew into the party of Nicholas almost all the Christian kingdoms, always excepting Switzerland and Savoy; these two states continued to recognise Felix, who still dwelt in the city of Lausanne, where he followed his trade like a thief, according to the expression of Pogge, the secretary of Nicholas, who wrote thus in the name of his master:

"You give red hats to your creatures, and you travestie them in ridiculous masks, you send ambassadors to the princes of Europe, to cause them to adore your statue and burn incense to Moloch, by proposing to them to follow your infected heresy. Happily, your delegates have been hissed, rejected from all courts with horror, and the evil has not been accomplished." This missive terminated with furious menaces against Amadeus, if he continued the strife with Nicholas, and with magnificent promises if he consented to submit.

Felix, tired of this agitating life, determined to abdicate, as a bull, dated at Rome on the 18th of January, 1448, attests, decreeing a general amnesty and an entire abolition of all censures, excommunications, penalties, privations, damages, or anathemas, pronounced against Felix the Fifth, the council of Basle, or their adherents.

As soon as they had cognizance of this bull at the court of France, the king, Charles the Seventh, held a general assembly of his prelates in the city of Lyons, at which it was determined to send deputies to Duke Amadeus, who was still at Geneva, to treat definitely concerning his withdrawal. The holy father was very docile, and stipulated no other condition for himself, than that of being replaced in possession of his convent of Ripaille, and of being enabled to resume his usual course of life. It was not so, however, with his cardinals and the officers of his court; they exacted that their honours, dignities, and emoluments should be retained for them; that the grants made by Felix and the general council of Basle, should be approved by Nicholas, and that the latter should also engage to provide for his competitor in an honourable manner.

Such was the Roman pontiff's desire to possess the sole exercise of sovereign power, that he agreed to all that was required. He assigned a considerable pension on the revenues of the apostolic chamber to his con-

petitor; he conferred on him the titles of cardinal, bishop, perpetual legate, and vicar of the Holy See, in all the territories of the dutchy of Savoy, and assigned to him the first rank in the church after that of the sovereign pontiff; he specified even, that should it please Felix to visit the court of Rome, he would rise from his seat to receive him, and would give him the kiss of peace upon the mouth, without exacting from him any particular mark of submission or respect; he also consented to permit him to wear the pontifical ornaments, except the ring of the fisherman and the cross on his hose; finally, he declared by a brief, that Felix should preserve the title and rights of a legate, even if he quitted the dominions of Savoy, and in no case should be responsible to the court of Rome nor councils.

Felix, on his side, went to work, to fulfil the obligations of the treaty, and convened the bishops of his party at Lausanne, to lay down his functions; before, however, pronouncing the formula of his abdication, he performed a last act of authority, and published three bulls, which annulled the decree made by Eugenius the Fourth and Nicholas, against the council of Basle.

The schism was terminated by the withdrawal of Felix, and Nicholas the Fifth was recognised as sole chief of the church. But Amadeus of Savoy did not long enjoy his delightful retreat of Ripaille; he died from indigestion, on the 28th of February, 1452, less than a year after these events.

This was the same year which the constitution of Clement the Sixth indicated for the celebration of the jubilee, the handsomest financeering operation that the popes had invented. His holiness had neglected nothing calculated to increase the solemnity of the festival, and attract the faithful to Rome; and for this purpose, he had sent circulars into all Christian kingdoms, promising indulgences to pilgrims who should come to offer presents to St. Peter, and to recite prayers in the three principal churches of the apostolic city.

Among the lords whom the superstition of the times attracted to Rome, was remarked an old man of eighty years, named the count of Cilley. "He had great need of indulgences," says *Aeneas Sylvius*, "for his long career was filled with crimes and infamies; he had strangled his wife with his own hands, because she had refused to abandon herself to horrible plays with one of his mistresses; he had carried off a prodigious number of women, young girls, and boys, whom he kept confined in his seraglio; and he was, besides, the leader of a band of robbers and forgers. Although it appears that he made this journey to be converted," says the historian, "he returned no better, and one day, when his bishop asked him, what motive he had in undertaking a pilgrimage, since he had no intention of changing his conduct, he replied to him, 'I do like my shoemaker, he went to Rome, and on his return commenced making boots again.'"

This jubilee, commenced under prosperous

auspices, terminated very sadly. One night when the faithful, who had been present to receive the blessing of the pope in the church of St. Peter, were leaving it, several arches of the bridge San Angelo suddenly broke, and a large number of victims were swallowed up or crushed.

In the beginning of the following year, Constantine Paleologus sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the proposition which the Greeks had so often made, to reunite with the Latin church, provided his holiness would arm against the Turks, and would raise the siege of Constantinople, which was blockaded by the infidel.

Nicholas, according to Father Maimburg, received the envoys of the emperor with great haughtiness, and made this reply to them:—"Go tell your prince, that the Greeks have sported long enough with the patience of God and men, in seeking by false promises to abuse the equity of the pontiff: We know full well you would deceive us now, still we will not be more severe than Christ, and according to the language of the gospel, we will wait three years to see if the fig tree which the popes have cultivated, will at last produce any fruit; after this delay the tree shall be cut up from the roots, or rather the Greek nation shall be entirely dispersed by the executors of the decree of divine justice."

The Greeks protested their good intentions, but uselessly, and they were obliged to return to their country without other aid than sterile vows.

His holiness evinced the best dispositions towards the young duke of Savoy, the son Amadeus, and from gratitude that the father had yielded to him the tiara, he published the following bull: "We grant to the duke of Savoy, as long as his dominions shall persevere in their obedience to the Holy See, the right of designating the subjects whom he would elevate to the function of abbot, metropolitan, or bishop, or even the inferior dignities, so that no promotion made in the government of the church, or of monasteries, may trouble the peace of his kingdom." This bull has been ever since a subject of continual discord between Savoy and the Roman church.

Towards the close of the year 1451, Frederick informed the holy father, that in accordance with their secret arrangements, he was preparing to come into Italy to receive the crown in the church of the apostle. He, in fact, caused Albert, duke of Austria, to precede him immediately with a considerable body of cavalry, and he himself crossed the mountains with all his nobility of Germany and Bohemia. His train was so numerous that the Italians said loudly, that the emperor was advancing into their provinces rather as an enemy who came to subdue them, than as a prince who came humbly to seek a crown. Nicholas foresaw that he must dread the consequences of an entrance into Italy of a powerful, bold, and ambitious sovereign; they even read in full consistency the prophecies which

announced, that in the year 1452 a tyrant of the German race would seize on Rome, and behead the pontiff on the porch of St. Peter, which so alarmed him that he sent orders to his legates in Germany, to prevent the journey of the emperor by every possible means; he wrote with his own hand to the emperor, to induce him to put off the journey until the winter was over, on account, as he said, of the bad state of the roads, and that he might have time to collect provisions for his escort, and to prepare the festivals at his coronation. The pope, at the same time, commanded Æneas Sylvius, who was then at Sienna, to come immediately to Rome to confer with him about the coronation of the emperor; but the latter, who had always shown hostility to the Roman See, refused to obey him: he replied to Nicholas, that he had received orders to wait for the empress at the port of Talamona, in Tuscany, to accompany her to Rome, and that he had better not retard the coronation of Frederick, if he did not wish to expose himself to the danger of losing his tiara.

Frederick, without paying any regard to the letters of the holy father, continued his march, and went towards Florence; five bishops and two archbishops came to receive him at the gates of the city, and accompanied him as far as Sienna, where he found the empress Eleonora with her court. Twelve cardinals awaited him in this last city, to receive his oath that he would undertake nothing hostile to the Holy See, and to conduct him to Rome.

Nicholas received the emperor with the ceremonial usual on these occasions; he himself installed him in a magnificent palace, and, to do him more honour, put off his coronation until the anniversary of his exaltation, that he might make of their two consecrations a solemn festival. Frederick, in the interim, solicited a bull of anathema against the Austrians. Æneas Sylvius relates at length, the reasons which prevailed on his holiness to issue a sentence of excommunication against his enemies. "It was," says the historian, "an ancient custom of the house of Austria, from which Frederick and Prince Ladislaus were sprung, on the death of an emperor to confide the guardianship of his children to the seniors of the family until their majority. In accordance with this usage Frederick had taken the reins of government, on the death of his uncle Albert, who left his wife enciente.

"In every way the prince hoped he would not be compelled to lay down again the sovereign power; if the empress was delivered of a girl, the sceptre passed into his hands; if she brought a male child into the world, he was of right his guardian; and it was well known how little it costs a regent to put out of the way a pupil, who is an obstacle to his ambition. The princess at last gave birth to a son, named Ladislaus, whom she was obliged to confide to Frederick, surrendering to him the government of Austria.

"Frederick at once pretended to have a fatherly care for his pupil; he affirmed that he had given fiefs to the nobles, not to attach

them to his cause, but because they had deserved well of their country; that he had placed honest and vigilant magistrates in the cities; that he had built impregnable forts on the frontiers; that he had driven off the enemies who were ravaging the dominions of the young Ladislaus, and had even paid out of his own treasures seventy thousand crowns of gold, which were due to the soldiers.

"'Now,' added the emperor, 'the ungrateful people revolt against my authority, under pretext that they no longer owe me obedience, since my pupil has attained his majority; they accuse me of having brought Ladislaus into Italy to put him to death the more surely; and it is those very Hungarians who are accustomed to kill their kings; men and children; who judge of my sentiments, by their own. During the twelve whole years that Ladislaus has been under my guardianship, could I not have found a favourable occasion to rid myself of him, if his death were necessary to my ambitious views? On the contrary, I have always desired a long life for him, and never have dreamed of ravishing his inheritance from him.

"'If I have brought my pupil into Italy, it is to show him Rome, and to instruct him in the manners of a foreign people; it is that he may become informed by listening to your holiness, and the wise men of your sacred senate; I wish him to learn from you how to govern his people, and to receive your blessing. You see, holy father, that my veneration for your person is the principal cause of the revolt of the Austrians; let us then unite our arms against the rebels, and strike at once with the spiritual and temporal sword.'

Nicholas, flattered that so great a prince professed so much respect for the Holy See, promised him to send legates at once into Austria, to threaten the people with the most terrible anathemas, and to place the provinces under interdict, if the people and lords did not within forty days return under the rule of Frederick. This step did not, however, fulfil the wishes of the tyrant, for he added: "Do you think, holy father, that these people, who do not believe in God, will dread your censures? The Austrians are baptized when young, and as soon as they become men they make a mock of baptism. Besides, it is useless to dissimulate longer; I ask from you a bull of excommunication, to have a pretext for exterminating them, and I pledge myself to divide the spoils of these heretics with you."

His holiness had no more objections to make, and hastened to fulminate a bull of anathema against the Austrians, Moravians, and Hungarians. They did not remain inactive, but formed a powerful league against the emperor, and prepared for war. The decrees of the court of Rome were publicly burned in the cities of Saltzburg, Vienna, Passaw, and Olmutz; the priests even preached a crusade against the pope and the emperor, and pointed them out to the vengeance of the people.

Things were in this state when an event

took place which, from its importance, arrested all minds, and stopped, in a moment, the embittered strife of the different parties: the bulwark of Christendom, the rival of Rome, Constantinople, fell into the power of the Musselmen, and Mohammed the Second put an end to the great empire.

This caliph was the son of Amurath the Second, whom the Musselmen count as the eighth from the prophet, and governed the powerful empire of the Ottoman since the year 1451. On the death of his father, Mohammed the Second lived on the best understanding with the Greek emperor Constantine Paleologus; he had even confided the custody of his uncle Greca to him, but his want of promptness in paying the pension which he had promised for the support of his uncle, excited demands too animated from Paleologus, who had the impudence to threaten the young sultan to send him back his prisoner.

Mohammed the Second, instead of giving satisfaction to the emperor, declared himself grievously offended at his proceedings. He marched on Constantinople with a numerous army, which he installed in a small borough, two leagues from the city; his camp extended along the whole northern shore of the Bosphorus, and was, besides, defended by a powerful artillery, among which was the famous piece which threw bullets of six hundred pounds weight, more than two thousand yards. In this way the entrance to the Black sea was entirely closed, and all intercourse with Constantinople, from without, intercepted. To take away from the Greeks their last resource, the sultan invested the places they possessed on the borders of the Black sea, on the banks of the Propontus, or in Thrace. He, at the same time, attacked the cities which remained to them in the Peloponnesus, and carried them without striking a blow; Sparta alone, which was defended by good walls, resisted the Turks, and only surrendered after a siege of ten months. At length, in the third year of the reign of Mohammed the Second, Constantinople, besieged by a land force of three hundred thousand men, composed of Turks, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, and Latins, and blockaded, by sea, by a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, was carried by storm, after a bombardment of fifty-five days. This event took place on the 29th of May, 1453.

Thus terminated the empire founded by Constantine, after an existence of eleven centuries and a half. The implacable policy of the popes triumphed; the rival of Rome existed no longer; what mattered it to Nicholas to have sacrificed to the interests of his see, even the blood of Christ!

Still, the Greek religion was not annihilated. Mohammed permitted the free exercise of their religion to the conquered; he gave them one half of the churches, and a solemn investiture to the patriarch Germodus, according

to the custom of the Greek emperors, which consisted in presenting to the titular a cap with a veil, a cloak with bands, a magnificent Arab courser, and a pastoral baton. The caliph gave up to him the church of the apostles as a cathedral, and permitted him to transform the rich monastery of the Virgin of Summacrista into a patriarchal palace.

The capture of Constantinople was a still more terrible blow to Frederick, as it gave him the redoubtable Mohammed the Second for a neighbour; he therefore hastened to suspend his war against the Hungarians, and to bring about negotiations with the court of Rome, to induce the pope and sacred college to preach a crusade against the Turks.

But his holiness was too much occupied in his own states, to think of succouring his allies effectively. A Roman knight, named Stephen Porcario, was traversing the principal cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, calling the people to arms, and exciting them to break the yoke of the pope. At the instigation of this courageous tribune, a vast conspiracy was organised, the day was fixed, the party distributed, and the conspirators were to seize the persons of the pontiff and the cardinals, on the day of the Epiphany, at the moment when Nicholas was celebrating divine service in the church of St. Peter, when, unfortunately, on the eve of the execution a traitor revealed the plot. Soldiers were sent against the conspirators, and invested the house in which they were assembled. A bloody combat followed. Porcario was arrested, after having received seven wounds; his companions fell into the power of the Holy See, and Baptiste Sciéera alone escaped. Eleven of the conspirators were decapitated in the capitol; twenty others were hung to the gates of the city; fifteen more were burned alive, and Porcario was nailed to a cross on the walls of the castle of San Angelo.

These bloody executions over, tranquillity was restored to Rome, and the pope was enabled to employ himself in organizing a general crusade against the Turks. As he thought the king of Arragon alone capable of conducting this expedition, he sent to him the cardinal Dominic Capranico, one of the most distinguished prelates of the court of Rome, to offer him the title of generalissimo of the confederated forces. At the same time he convened a congress at Frankford, that the northern princes might arrange the contingency of troops which each was to furnish.

This assembly was actively engaged in the preparations for the war against the Turks, when Pope Nicholas died suddenly, in the night of the 24th of March, 1455, from an attack of gout. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

Some ecclesiastical historians exalt the qualities and virtues of Nicholas; but conscientious historians only say he was one of the best of the bad popes.



## CALIXTUS THE THIRD THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1455.]

*Election of Alphonso Borgia—He wishes to follow up Nicholas' plans of a crusade—Orders public prayers against the Turks—Remarkable decree of the parliament of Paris, which refuses subsidies for this enterprise—Crusade against the Moors of Spain—Dissensions between the holy father and the king of Arragon—Calixtus pretends to arm galleys to combat the Turks, and levies tithes on all the Christian kingdoms—Opposition of Germany and France to this fiscal measure—Abuse of the employment of the tithes—Calixtus wishes to give the kingdom of Naples to his nephew, Peter Borgia—Death of the pontiff.*

DURING the obsequies of Nicholas the Fifth, which, according to custom, lasted nine days, the old cardinal Alphonso Borgia spread about every where a prediction of Saint Vincent Ferrer, which promised him the papacy; and his confidence in this prophecy was so great that he had already chosen the name he would take after his exaltation, and had contracted diocese engagements, among others that of persecuting the Turks with spiritual and temporal arms.

As this prelate was more than a septuagenarian, and the irregularities of his life had altered his moral faculties, the cardinals thought he had relapsed into childhood, and would scarcely admit him among them when the sacred college assembled. Things, however, went so in the conclave, that the election which had been thought impossible was realised. None of the cardinals who were intriguing for the supreme authority, having been able to obtain a majority, all gave their voices for the old Borgia, whom they thought would not cause them to wait long for a new conclave. He was enthroned by the name of Calixtus the Third, which he had chosen in advance, and received the adoration of the faithful, after having undergone the proofs of the pierced chair.

Alphonso Borgia was born in Spain, and if we are to judge of his family by what Alphonso of Arragon said of it in one of his letters, we must conclude it to have been one of the lowest; the young Spaniard had been created a canon by Benedict the Thirteenth; Martin the Fifth had afterwards given him the see of Valencia, and the hat of a cardinal. Become pope, he followed the path marked out by his predecessors, and endeavoured to extract the utmost possible from his authority, to advance his own ambition and that of his family. He at first appointed his two nephews, Peter and Roderigo, cardinals, though the one was but twenty-one, and the other twenty-five years old; then, as these young men were not satisfied with that eminent dignity, he gave to Peter the post of treasurer, and to Roderigo the legation of the March of Ancona, with the title of vice-chancellor of the Holy See.

After having elevated his favourites to the highest dignities of the church, it remained to provide for their expenses, and as the treasury was empty, he thought of filling it, and preach-

ed a crusade against the Turks. At his command legions of monks spread themselves through the different kingdoms of Europe, and under pretext of seeking for soldiers, they explored all the provinces, cities, and boroughs, laid the inhabitants under exactions, sold to them indulgences and absolutions, and drew from them such enormous sums, that the cellars of the Vatican were none too large to contain them.

There appeared a comet at this time which alarmed all minds. His holiness took advantage of the superstitious panic to sell new indulgences. Finally, when he thought that the mine was exhausted, he recalled his monks, and in return for all the gold he had taken from the faithful, he gave them the institution of the Angelus, which consisted in reciting the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation, morning, midday, and night, when the bells rang. Platinus gravely affirms that the Christians owed several victories to the efficacy of these prayers, and among others that which the celebrated John Corvin Huniades, Vayvode of Transylvania, gained over the Musselmen before Belgrade.

In addition to the voluntary impost of indulgences, Calixtus still wished to levy a forced impost of dimes; but his bull encountered an active opposition in Germany and France, where the parliament of Paris interfered to protect the immunities of the kingdom. This assembly had already, in a previous matter, evinced hostility to the court of Rome, and had seized the property of William of Malatroit, bishop of Nancy, because he had appealed to the Holy See from an ordinance of Charles the Seventh's. On this occasion the learned chamber had made the following decree:—

"We declare the prelate guilty of violating the fundamental laws of the state, which prohibit appeals to the court of Rome; considering that the king holds his crown from God alone, and that he is not answerable in temporal matters to any power on the earth; although the Holy See has the canonical right to excommunicate the prince, we declare that it has no power to deprive him of his kingdom, or to give it to the first ambitious man who would seize it, nor to free his subjects from their oath of fidelity; we finally decide that the rights of the sovereign can only be pleaded before his own court; that prelates

cannot erase his ordinances through the popes, and that they cannot even quit the kingdom without his authority."

The university also protested with energy against the bull of tithes; and notwithstanding the flatteries which the holy father lavished on the French for their military courage, it was decreed that no lord should arm against the Turks until after the revocation of the impost.

In Germany, the complaints excited by the avidity of Calixtus, were still more lively. All the electors of the empire went in a body to Frederick, to cause him to execute in all its force, the concordat, which protected the nation against the violence of the officers of the apostolic treasury.

In Spain even his exactions also irritated Alphonso of Arragon, and as his sway was strengthened in Italy by the double marriage of his grandchildren, the prince of Capua and the princess Eleonora, with the son and daughter of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, he threatened to retire from the obedience of Rome.

Instead of seeking to return into the good graces of the king of Arragon, the ambitious Calixtus, who wanted the crown of Naples for his nephew, Peter Borgia, endeavoured to thwart the plans of Alphonso, and refused him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, which the king demanded for Ferdinand, his natural son, and the vicariates of Terracinum and Beneventum, which he demanded for two of his other bastards.

Matters went so far that the prince wrote to his holiness a letter, which has descended to us, and in which he lashed, in energetic terms, the infamous morals of Calixtus, and his insatiable cupidity. He reproached him with the baseness of his birth, and the disgraceful means to which he had recourse to elevate himself; he unveils the horrid mysteries of lubricity which took place in his family; he accuses him of entertaining relations, reproved by men, with his nephews, whom he maintains were the fruits of an incest with his own sister, and finishes by swearing implacable hatred against him. In fact, Alphonso commenced intriguing against the pope, and sent to solicit Henry the Feeble, king of Castile, and the other princes of Spain, to abandon the communion of the infamous Borgia.

To prevent the fatal consequences of these measures, Calixtus sent to Madrid a legate and three monks, commissioned to compliment Henry on the victory he had gained over the Moors, and to offer him a casque adorned with gold chasings, and a sword whose sheath was ornamented with precious stones. This embassy arrived at the court of Castile on Easter eve, and immediately presented to the prince letters, filled with servile adulations and magnificent predictions. Henry, like all kings, vain and superstitious, listened to the flatteries of the Roman priests with great joy, and commanded a solemn service in his cathedral on the next day, in order to thank God for the victories which he announced to him through his vicar; but his happiness was of short du-

ration, and events soon occurred which gave the pope the lie. During the celebration of the mass a courier brought despatches to the prince, which informed him of the complete route of the Castilian army, and the captivity of his general, the Count de Castaneda.

In France, the indignation against Calixtus was at its height, and even the clergy were ranged in hostility to the court of Rome, since the publication of a bull which gave to the mendicant monks the right of confessing the faithful at a discount, and permitted them to enter into a formidable rivalry with the curates in the sale of indulgences. The university of Paris mixed itself in the dispute, took the side of the priests, and prohibited the monks from using the bulls of the pope, and from confessing. The latter, having refused to obey this injunction, were excluded from the boom of the university; they then referred it to Calixtus, who erased the decrees and proceedings of the doctors. The university, notwithstanding the decision of the pope, persisted in its conduct, and obtained an ordinance from the king, which prohibited the mendicant monks from confessing the faithful, if they did not wish to be driven like beggars from the kingdom.

It was in vain that Germany uttered its complaints against the Holy See; Frederick permitted the pillage of his subjects, to divide the spoils with Calixtus. Still, these complaints taught his holiness that it was impolitic to take too much money, under a pretext of an armament against the Turks, and not make some preparations for war in reality; he consequently armed eleven galleys, which he placed under the command of the patriarch of Aquileia. The instructions to the admiral expressly prohibited him from compromising the safety of the flotilla; thus the prudent mariner contented himself with making a voyage to the island of Rhodes, which was one of the dependencies of the Holy See.

This ridiculous expedition made a great noise in Europe; the legates pretended that it had exhausted the resources of the apostolic treasury, and demanded from the kings a second levy of dimes, offering to divide with them the profits of this new impost. Such a proposition could not be but agreeable to the oppressors of the people; thus Henry of Castile, Christian of Denmark, the king of France, the emperor of Germany, and the other monarchs who then reigned, hastened to admit the collectors of Calixtus within their kingdoms. The king of Arragon alone refused to authorise the exactions of the Roman court.

This prince still pursued his plans of vengeance against Calixtus, and before marching on Rome, he made a cruel war on the small republics, whom he wished to detach from the cause of his enemy. But the Borgias did not give him time to execute his evil designs, and he died of poison before the walls of Genoa, which he was besieging.

As soon as his death was known at Rome, the pope issued a bull, which declared the Holy See to be the absolute disposer of the

crown of Naples, so that the will of Alphonso, which gave this kingdom to his natural son Ferdinand, should be declared null, as trespassing on divine and human laws. He terminated this singular decree by giving the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom to Peter Borgia, his nephew, whom he had already created duke of Spoleto, prohibiting Ferdinand to take the title of king, under penalty of excommunication. Instead of obeying his holiness, the new king of Naples prepared to levy an army, and march on Rome to depose his enemy, and was preceded by a violent manifesto, in which he thus expressed him-

self:—"I respect the dignity of pope, but I despise the person of Calixtus; I fear neither his anathemas, poisons, nor arms; I hold the kingdom of Naples by the kindness of my father, the consent of the lords, that of the cities and people, and I will keep it." . . . .

A furious war appeared to be imminent, when the death of the pontiff fortunately changed the course of events. On the 6th of August, 1458, Calixtus yielded to an attack of the gout, and left his immense wealth to his infamous nephews, Peter Borgia and Rodrigo his brother, who afterwards used them to purchase the tiara.

## PIUS THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1458.]

*Election of Pius the Second—History of Æneas Sylvius before his pontificate—He orders a levy of dimes, under pretence of a war against the Turks—Gives the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand—Council of Mantua—Quarrel of the holy father with the French—He calls the celebrated Scanderberg to his assistance against the French—Decree of the pope against appeals to councils—Differences with the kings of Europe concerning the collation of benefices—Embassies to the sovereigns—Abolition of the pragmatic sanction in France—Letter of the pope to Mohammed the Second—Letter of Louis the Eleventh to the holy father—Knaveries of Louis the Eleventh and Pius the Second—Cowardly retraction of the holy father—Death of Pius.*

As soon as the funeral of the pope was over, twenty-one cardinals entered into conclave in the palace of St. Peter; but, before commencing the ballot, they swore, that he among them who should obtain the papacy, should not grant, without the consent of a majority of the sacred college, the right to elevate to cathedral or collegiate churches, or to confer monasteries, or other benefices, on any prince or prelate, of whatsoever condition or quality they were, imperial, royal, ducal, archiepiscopal or abbatial; that he should revoke the bulls before made on this subject; amongst others, that of Nicholas the Fifth, in favour of the duke of Savoy. This done, the intrigues commenced, and after a struggle of twelve days, Æneas Sylvius finished by carrying it over his rivals, and was proclaimed pope on the 27th of August, 1458.

Bessarion, who was one of those most hostile to Æneas Sylvius, and who feared the consequences of a sacerdotal vengeance, endeavoured to allay the storm by addressing to him a congratulatory discourse. "Holy father," he said, "we all feel sincere joy at your exaltation; if we at first opposed your election, it was for the sake of your health, and a desire to allow you to avoid the fatigue which accompanies the supreme dignity. It appeared to us that, in the midst of the perils in which the church was, there was needed on the throne of the apostle an active, young, and vigorous priest, more capable of sustaining the fatigues of camps, than of presiding in councils. Your infirmities alone prevented us

from giving you our votes; since it has pleased the Holy Spirit to grant you the tiara, we hope it will give you at the same time the strength necessary to support its weight, and we beseech you to lay, on our interest for your personal welfare, the fault which we have committed in sustaining any other candidate than you." Æneas replied to this speech:—"You judge me too favourably, my brothers, since you only reproach me with corporeal infirmities; I consider myself unworthy of the honour which has been conferred upon me, and were I not fearful of offending the Holy Spirit, which has manifested its will by uniting upon me the voices of two-thirds of the sacred college, I would refuse the sovereign power of the church; but since God has given me the tiara, I accept it; be not disquieted; I know the purity of your intentions, and be assured I will treat you according to your merits." These words, which might have a double meaning, did not entirely reassure the cardinals of the opposite party; they were, however, obliged to be contented.

According to the historian of the conclaves, the joy which the election of Æneas Sylvius caused, was so great at Rome, that the people, who were divided into two camps, and were fighting in the streets on the very evening of the election, laid aside their arms as if by enchantment. "The apostolic city," he adds, "resembled, some hours before, a place abandoned to pillage; it suddenly took the aspect of a festival. Instead of blood, it was wine which was flowing through the streets; tables

were spread in the public squares; the clashing of swords, and cries of war, were replaced by the sound of musical instruments; the whole population went to dancing. This enthusiasm was not confined to Rome; the other Italian cities, and Sienna in particular, of which Æneas was bishop, manifested a joy approaching to madness."

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was a Tuscan by birth, and the son of an unfortunate outlaw, who gained his living by the sweat of his brow. It is related, that Victoria Forteguerra, his mother, being large of him, had a dream, in which her child appeared with his head covered with a mitre. As it was then the fashion to place a paper bonnet on the head of the clergy when they conducted them to execution, she argued from it that her son would be the disgrace and dishonour of his family. The disorders of his early youth did but confirm the opinions of his mother; for Æneas abandoned himself, when still a child, to the vilest practices, and became a minion of all the priests of the neighbourhood.

That which should have ruined him, was the cause of his elevation; among his corrupters was an abbot who conceived a great affection for him, and took him into his convent. He there devoted himself to study, and elevated himself by his genius, into the rank of the most learned men of the age. The cardinal Dominic Capranico afterwards attached him to his service, and took him with him to the council of Basle, at which he filled the post of secretary for ten entire years, with remarkable skill and courage. All the energetic measures undertaken against the popes were brought forward by him, who did not then foresee that he would one day occupy the chair of St. Peter, and would have to defend that execrable theocracy which he now attacked so vigorously. After the dissolution of the council of Basle, Pope Felix the Fifth took him for his secretary, and when he abdicated, Frederick the Third offered him the same post about his person; the emperor afterwards made him his intimate counsellor, honoured him with the poetic crown, and confided several embassies to him. Finally, Nicholas the Fifth promoted him to the see of Sienna, and Calixtus gave him a cardinal's hat.

His advent to the pontifical throne was received in different ways by the courts of Europe. France, Scotland, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, with the cities of Venice and Florence, disapproved of his election. On the other hand, the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Milan and Modena, and Ferdinand of Sicily, testified their satisfaction, and sent ambassadors to Rome to congratulate the new pontiff.

Pius the Second commenced the exercise of his authority, by selling the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to the bastard of King Alphonso, to the prejudice of René of Anjou, and his son John, duke of Calabria, receiving therefor six hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the grant of the duchy of Amalfi to Antonio Piccolomini, his nephew, to whom

Ferdinand gave one of his sisters in marriage, and the intendency-general of justice in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. After having established the fortune of his nephew on a solid basis, he commenced walking in the footsteps of his predecessors, to fill the apostolical treasury, which had been already emptied by the Borgias on the death of their uncle. The pretext which he employed for ransacking the people, was again the announcement of a crusade against the Turks. He convened a general council at Mantua, for the 1st of June, 1469, and invited all the kings to be present at it, and especially Charles the Seventh, whom he called the defender of the Christian religion. His bulls of convocation went to the Christian princes by skilful legates, who knew how to obtain from them authority to levy tenths on the people submitted to their sway.

All these preliminaries being finished, his holiness left Rome on the 1st of February, leaving the spiritual government of the city to the cardinal of Cusa, and the temporal command to the prince Colonna, with a council of cardinals, auditors of rote, and advocates to form the apostolic court, as if he had been present, and that matters should not suffer from his absence. He even made a decree prohibiting the sacred college from assembling any where but at Rome, if God should take his life during his journey; he then started for Mantua, where he found assembled already, ambassadors, prelates, princes, and kings.

His holiness opened the council in a long speech, in which he exposed pathetically the fall of the Christian religion in the east; then made a long enumeration of the provinces which the infidels had taken from the Christians, and finished by this address:—"If the public calamities do not touch your souls, princes and kings, dread, at least, the evils which threaten you personally; think of guarding by a holy league from the opprobrium, servitude, and death with which each of you is menaced in his isolation. Do not forget that you have to combat a formidable enemy, whose audacity is exalted by numerous victories. Each of you is too feeble to contend singly against him; but if you will unite your strength you will overthrow him, for God will bless the swords of the Christians. Recall the glorious exploits of the faithful in Syria; let the courage of the ancient knights animate you; abandon your wives, your children; fear not to give your treasures, and to shed your blood to assure the triumph of the faith! Shame to the cowards and the indolents who refuse to fight. Princes, who among you presents himself as the chief of this holy war, to raise up the cross and cast down the crescent, to re-establish in the east Christ dethroned by the prophet? Let him advance . . ." and as all remained silent he continued: "You are then all cowards! I myself will lead the crusaders; I will take the sacred standard in one hand, Christ in the other, and I will place myself at the head of the legions. If heaven does not grant me

victory, my blood shall appease the wrath of the God of armies."

Loud applause resounded through the council and drowned the voice of the warlike pontiff. "We accept you as our leader," they exclaimed on all sides, "let us march against the infidel." For a moment Pius feared lest he had passed the end he proposed to attain, and would find himself obliged to go on the crusade. Fortunately for him, those who had applauded his words with so much enthusiasm, were not disposed to follow him in such an enterprise, and restricted themselves on all sides to treat of the levy of new tenths. Some eastern sovereigns, who were strangers to the trickery of the court of Rome, alone regarded the thing as serious. David, emperor of Trebizond, Uzun Hassan, king of Armenia, and George, who called himself king of Persia, engaged to furnish cavalry and infantry, and a well equipped fleet for the crusade.

After the public session, the ambassadors of Charles the Seventh demanded a private audience, which was granted to them at once. The bailiff of Rouen reminded his holiness of the services which the kings of France had rendered to his predecessors; he complained bitterly that he had forgotten that the brother of St. Louis had formerly received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples from the court of Rome, and that consequently he was not permitted to sell it to the bastard of Alphonso; he finished his remonstrances by threatening Pius with the vengeance of the king, if he did not revoke his former decision. The pope replied to this, that he had acted with the advice of his cardinals, and that he could not, without consulting them, annul a deliberation of the sacred college; then, to conceal the embarrassment in which he was, for good excuses for his conduct, he feigned to be taken with a fit of coughing, and dismissed the ambassadors. The bailiff of Rouen was not the dupe of this trick; as soon as the holy father had left the hall of audience, he spread injurious reports concerning him in the presence of his officers, and swore vengeance on the traitor who had sold his conscience to the enemies of France.

These threats were immediately transmitted to Pius, who, on his side, determined to create embarrassments for Charles the Seventh, to prevent his hurting him. He abolished the pragmatic sanction, which was observed in the kingdom, and required the French to furnish an army of a hundred thousand men to combat the infidels. Thanks to the energetic opposition of the bailiff of Rouen, who showed that it was impossible for the king of France to raise so large a number of troops, when he was at war with Great Britain, the holy father was compelled to relax from his pretensions, and be content with a tax of six hundred thousand florins of gold for the expenses of the crusade. The bailiff of Rouen could not reduce this sum; in vain did he observe to the cardinals that France was ruined, and that for six years the Holy See had not ceased to levy tithes on its provinces;

all his protests were useless, and as his harangue was taking the tone of a menace, Pius interrupted him shortly, and declared to him that he knew how to reduce a rebellious kingdom to obedience, which found resources to carry on war with Christians, and which was incapable of making the least sacrifice to avenge religion. "Dread my wrath," added he, "for if I wish it, in a month Genoa, Modena, Florence, and even Naples, will rise against the French and drive them out of Italy."

To realise this prophecy, the pontiff called into Italy the celebrated king of Albania, George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, under pretext of bringing back the Neapolitans, who were in full revolt against King Ferdinand, to their duty, who had driven him from his capital, ranged themselves with the party of the duke of Anjou, at the head of which was found all the Neapolitan nobility, and even his brother-in-law, Marcian, duke of Sanguessa, and Antonio Caldora, prince of Tarentum. Scanderberg, obedient to the orders of his holiness, disembarked at Ragusa, and went by forced marches to Barletta, to the aid of King Ferdinand, who was closely blockaded in that place. On the approach of this redoubtable foe, the French raised the siege and encamped under the walls of Nocera; the king of Albania pursued the fugitives, overtook them in a vast plain, and brought them to action at the foot of Mount Segian. There took place a terrible battle between the Albanians and the troops of René of Anjou; the latter was cut to pieces, and the hopes of the Angevin party for ever annihilated. All the cities of the kingdom of Naples, which still held for the French, immediately submitted, and Ferdinand returned in triumph to his capital.

Pius the Second, wishing to profit by the preponderance which this victory gave him in Italy, to affirm his sway over the people, decreed that popes were above all the princes of the earth, and that their omnipotence extended even over councils, which could in no case judge or depose the supreme chief of the church.

"There has crept in among us," said the holy father in his bull, "an execrable abuse, that of appealing from the judgments and actions of the Roman pontiff to general councils. Those who approve of such measures, forget, or wish to be ignorant, that the vicar of Christ alone, has power to bind and loose in heaven and earth, and that during his life, he can, at his pleasure, dispose of thrones, riches, the liberty and lives of men.

"Desirous then of removing from the church the dangerous poison of those rebellious opinions, with the advice and consent of our venerable brethren the cardinals, in the name of our infallible authority, we condemn appeals to councils, we reprove them as useless, erroneous, and dangerous, and we order that in future, all shall be prohibited from appealing from our see or from citing a pope before an assembly of prelates. If any one, after the

publication of this bull, shall contravene our decrees, be he king, prince, bishop, or mere layman, we declare him excommunicated until death. The same censures shall be equally incurred by universities and colleges."

When they were informed in France of this edict, they thought that the holy father had no other intention than to use it as a pretext to lay an interdict upon the kingdom.—The council of the king immediately instructed John Dauvet, advocate-general of the parliament, to draw up a protest against the encroachments of the court of Rome, and to summon Pius to revoke his bull concerning appeals, as subversive of the ancient canons and the pragmatic sanction, and in case he persisted in his detestable doctrines, to threaten him with the convocation of a general council.

Some days after the promulgation of this ordinance, Pius determined to dissolve the synod of Mantua, but before doing so, he resumed in a long discourse the negotiations for the crusade, with the different people of Christendom, and demanded new subsidies to bring the war against the infidel to a successful issue.

"Know, my brethren," he said, in the close of his discourse, "that the emperor of Germany promises an army of forty-two thousand men; the duke of Burgundy six thousand veteran soldiers; the clergy of Italy, always excepting that of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, engages to give us the tenth of its possessions; the laymen have imposed a thirtieth on their revenues; the Jews a twentieth; the city of Ragusa alone gives two galleys; the Isle of Rhodes furnishes four, and we hope even to see rallying to our holy enterprise France, Castile, Portugal, Arragon, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Bohemia, who have refused us until now succours in men and money. Thus then, my brethren, go in peace to your homes, recount the great things which have been done in this sacred council, and above all do not forget to expedite to our apostolic chamber the tithes for the crusade."

From Mantua his holiness went to Sienna, where he received a solemn embassy from the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and one from several cities of the Peloponnesus, which offered to submit to him if he would furnish them with garrisons against the Turks.

Elevated by all his successes, the pope supposed that nothing could resist him, and gave free scope to his ambition. At first he appointed to the bishoprics of Castile and Portugal, Italian prelates, his creatures, without even consulting the sovereigns of those countries; and as they wished to remonstrate, he excommunicated them and went on. He then started for Rome, escorted by an army of banditti recruited in Upper Italy, and whom he wished to use to restore to their reason the inhabitants of the holy city, who had proclaimed the republic, and dragged his standard in the mud.

He had no difficulty in overcoming a popu-

lation destitute of any provisions. After eight days of open siege, he forced one of the gates of Rome, and installed himself in the Vatican, he then proceeded to a massacre of the insurgents. By his orders the pupils of the schools and a prodigious number of citizens were bound hand and foot in his presence, and pitilessly murdered; all their possessions were confiscated to the Holy See, and their families exiled. Among these martyrs to liberty was Tiburcus, a son of the generous Massian, one of those whom Nicholas the Fifth had hung at the gate of the capital, with the tribune Porcario.

These executions over Rome became calm, and reposed in the silence of death from its passed agitations. The holy father continued his course of infamies; he excommunicated the duke of Austria and Sigismund Malatesta; the first, because he had imprisoned the cardinal of Cusa, who wished to levy dimes without his authority; and the latter, because he had formerly refused to pay a tax to the Roman church. He employed the same rigorous means against Dichter, the metropolitan of Mayence, who was unwilling to pay the annates of his archbishopric. But the bulls produced no effect; the three excommunicated princes did not open the strings of their purse, and appealed from the anathemas of the pope to a future council.

Pius having failed on this side, renewed his efforts on France, and solicited, through the cardinal D'Alby, from Louis the Eleventh, who had succeeded Charles the Seventh, the abolition of the pragmatic sanction. The bishop of Balue, who was then all-powerful with the monarch, opposed the adoption of this measure, and represented to the nuncio, in energetic terms, that it was disgraceful to his holiness to seek to overthrow the work of his own hands, since the pragmatic sanction was but an expression of the sentiments which animated the council of Basle, and which Pius the Second had brought forward, sustained and defended against Eugenius the Fourth. His indignation led him even to say, that if the pope dared to renew this subject, he would cause him to be declared a schismatic, and would unveil to the gaze of Christendom, "that the papacy transforms the most holy prelates into knavish, avaricious, cruel, and implacable tyrants."

Despairing of conquering by arguments the opposition of Balue, the wary cardinal determined to bribe him, and offered him a large sum with a cardinal's hat. The bishop, who loved money and honours, immediately changed his tone; from being the defender of the pragmatic sanction he became one of its bitterest detractors. He represented to Louis the Eleventh, that after having profoundly studied the question, he had discovered that he could not give the name of law to the regulations decreed by an irregular assembly; he threatened the bigot king with excommunication by the Holy See, and extracted from him a promise of revocation. But when he presented it to the parliament

of Paris to be registered, the attorney general, Saint Romain, opposed it there, and declared he would lose his life before he would suffer a treason which was to destroy the kingdom to be consummated. The university of Paris also addressed remonstrances to Louis, and besought him not to authorise the abolition of decrees which were in conformity with the pure constitutions of the church. Unfortunately, all was useless; the cardinal D'Alby affirmed to the king that the revocation of the pragmatic sanction would not at all prejudice the liberties of the Gallic church, that the pontiff would constantly maintain a legate at Paris, to confer the grants and benefices, without the French being compelled to send money to Rome.

Louis the Eleventh, at last convinced by these reasons, and enticed by the promise of being sustained by the Holy See, in reconquering the throne of Naples for the duke of Anjou, signed the ordinance, which placed the clergy of France, body and soul, under the jurisdiction of the court of Rome. It is true, that in recompense, the bishop of Balue received a cardinal's hat, and the king a sword blessed on Easter eve. This was all the mean monarch received from the pope, for the latter had never intended to ratify the engagement made by his legate concerning the crown of Naples. On his side, Louis took no pains to cause the orders against the pragmatic sanction to be executed, which was in reality observed during the whole course of his reign.

Thus it was evident that these two despots played the knave with each other, and mutually sought to deceive the people. What chiefly contributed to unmask the court of Rome, and to enlighten Christians concerning the Machiavelian policy of the pontiff, was the publication of a letter which he had addressed to Mohammed the Second. In relating this fact, the historian Duplessis exclaims, "Never was the execrable ambition of priests more clearly revealed than in this epistle, in which a pope, who maintains that he is the vicar of God on earth, offers to a Mussulman to recognise him as emperor of the east and west, if he would send an army to annihilate his enemies." Behold the very text of the holy father: "Mahomet, if thou wert baptized, we would invoke the aid of thy terrible sword against those who dispute our patrimony. And as our predecessors Stephen, Adrian, and Leo called to their aid Pepin and Charlemagne, and crowned them emperors to recompense them for having exterminated the enemies of the church, so we would make thee the greatest king in the world to pay thy services." How can we avoid being indignant in seeing a pope propose to a Mussulman to sell him baptism, and offer him the imperial crown as the price of his apostasy.

Whilst the holy father was undertaking the conversion of Mohammed the Second, he was pressing the levy of dimes for the crusade, and wished to oblige France to furnish him ten thousand men, or an equivalent in silver.

But he encountered an active opposition at the court of Louis the Eleventh, who did not pardon him for maintaining Ferdinand on the throne of Naples; the king wrote to him a very disrespectful letter: "I have abolished the pragmatic sanction," he said, "I have sworn entire obedience to you; I have sustained you against those who wished to convene a council to depose you; all this in the hopes of obtaining your protection for my family. I have now discovered my fault, and learned how to judge you; I have, moreover, resolved to break openly with your see, and recall my ambassadors from Rome. As for the money you ask, it is safe in our treasury; go your way and seek it elsewhere."

This missive of Louis the Eleventh reached Rome at the very time when the envoy of Scanderberg brought a copy of a treaty which their master had concluded with the Turks. His holiness caused the treaty to be ratified by the sacred college, and to avoid having this step interpreted by the faithful into a renunciation of the crusade, which would have badly hurt the levy of the dime, he assembled, in public consistory, the cardinals, principal citizens of Rome, and ambassadors of all Europe, and in the presence of an immense crowd, collected to the solemnity, he declared that an ardent zeal animated him for the defence of religion: "In order to arrest the Turks," he exclaimed, "I have determined, notwithstanding my great age, and my infirmities, to embark with my cardinals; I will go myself to besiege Constantinople, but I want money to equip a fleet; to organise an army; I must buy provisions, arms, clothing; I must have something to maintain my own poor household, my monks, my cardinals. Bring in then your money, my dear sons; let an holy emulation seize all of you; approach our throne and let each one deposit his offering." He closed his address by fulminating a decree against those who refused to pay tithes for the war.

This ceremony produced a fatal result for his holiness. The excitement brought on a violent fever, and so increased his fits of gout, that the physicians advised that he should be taken to Sienna for the benefit of the waters, though it was in winter. Before leaving Rome he wished to behave like a true chief of the church, and published the following recantation:—"We were wrong in combating pontifical infallibility at the council of Basle; we were then but a man, and we erred as all men do; we sinned through seduction, like St. Paul; and we persecuted the church of God from ignorance. We will now imitate the blessed Augustin, who, in his old age, retracted the opinions of his youth. We confess that our writings are heretical, because they opposed the supreme power of the Holy See; now that we are pope, we recognise the chair of St. Peter to be the first throne in the world, and that it is only required to place the tiara on the forehead of a man, to render him infallible, even though he had been before a perjurer, robber, sodomite, murderer, and

marked with the seal of the beast. By the mere fact of the exaltation of a pope, a great miracle is accomplished; the Holy Spirit illuminates him, he becomes pure and great like God; he is God himself! Despise then my dialogues, my letters, my tracts; reject them as the works of a man, and believe on the contrary this bull, which emanates from the vicar of Christ; reject Æneas Sylvius, and glorify Pius the Second."

The sufferings of the holy father, instead, however, of diminishing, increased in intensity, and they were compelled to renounce the hopes of saving him. He himself soon perceived the approach of death, and called his cardinals around his bed, to exhort them to give him a successor who was truly animated with the pontifical spirit; he then demanded extreme unction. Laurent Roverella, bishop of Ferrara, represented to him that the church authorised this sacrament to be administered only once, and that, having already received it at Basle, when he was attacked by the plague, he was exposing himself to eternal damnation; but the dying man replied, "I wish it." "Well then be damned, holy father," replied Laurent, and administered it to him. He died some hours afterwards, on the 14th of August, 1464.

Platinus affirms that the pontiff was an implacable foe, and that he united insatiable cupidity and avarice to his immoderate love of

power. Mezerai says of him:—"Never did man labour more to reduce the power of the pontiffs than Æneas Sylvius, and never did pope endeavour to stretch them further beyond law and reason than Pius the Second."

Dupin gives a detailed notice of the numerous writings of this pope. We will be contented with repeating the titles of his principal works; among which are the History of the Bohemians, from their origin to the year 1458; Memoirs of the Sessions of the famous council of Basle, from the suspension of Eugenius to the election of Felix the Fifth; a poem on the Passion of Christ; treatises on Cosmography, Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Topography of Germany; some very scandalous productions on women, minions, and the different kinds of love. In his last works the holy father tells some very animated adventures, of which he is the hero. There are besides four hundred and thirty-two letters, of which the most remarkable are treatises on matters of theology; the one hundred and thirtieth is a dialogue between heretics on the Catholic communion; the one hundred and eighty-eighth treats at length on the pope and the officers of his court; several are discourses on the comparative excellence of Christianity and Islamism; two panegyrics on Alphonso of Arragon; a treatise on the Roman empire, and several volumes of erotic poetry are attributed to him.

## PAUL THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1464.]

*Election of Paul the Second—His history before his pontificate—He refuses to keep his oath to the members of the sacred college—He seizes the dimes destined for the crusade against the Turks—Becomes odious to the Romans—Rupture between him and King Ferdinand—Affairs of Hungary, Bohemia, and Castile—Public games at Rome—War of the Florentines—The emperor comes to Rome—The historian Platinus condemned to the torture of the heated chamber—Quarrel between the pope and Louis the Eleventh—Quarrel between him and the king of Poland—His death.*

AFTER the death of Pius the Second, the cardinals went to Rome, and assembled in the Vatican, to the number of twenty. Peter Barbo, a Venetian, cardinal of St. Mark, having received two-thirds of the suffrages, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff. Before, however, clothing him with the cape, and submitting him to the proof of the pierced chair, the cardinals exacted an oath from him that he should continue the collection of dimes, and divide the profits with them; they made him promise not to elevate to the cardinalate young men under thirty years of age; not to give the hat to any of his relatives, and never to surpass the number of twenty-four cardinals. They made him swear to submit the promotions and depositions of prelates to the sanction of the sacred college; not to alienate

any part of the patrimonies of the church, or the revenues of the Holy See; to permit the ecclesiastics of the pontifical court liberty to make their wills; not to make war or peace with princes or republics, without the approval of the cardinals; to cause the governors of places and castles, to swear to place them in the power of the sacred college, when the Holy See should be vacated; that important places should not be governed by his relatives; that the army of the church should never be commanded by his family, and that in his bulls, made without the approval of the college, he should not place these words:—"By the advice of my brothers." They also imposed on him the condition of reading this same constitution every month in full consistency, to preserve a recollection of it; and



they demanded that his holiness should grant them in advance, authority to assemble twice a year, in order to see if all the articles of the engagement had been strictly observed.

All these conventions having been accepted and signed by the new pontiff, the first deacon opened the window of the conclave, and showing the cross to the people, announced the election of Peter Barbo, cardinal of St. Mark. As was usual, they asked the holy father what name he would take; at first he chose that of Formosus, but on its being pointed out to him, that the Romans might accuse him of puerile vanity, in taking a name which, in the vulgar tongue, signified "the handsome," he decided on that of Paul the Second.

Peter Barbo was the son of Polyxene Conzelme, the sister of Pope Eugenius the Fourth. He had entered upon a commercial career; when he was apprised of the exaltation of his uncle, he changed his vocation at once, and applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures, under the direction of skillful professors. Eugenius the Fourth elevated him successively to the archdeaconate of Bologna, the bishopric of Servia, the post of apostolic protonotary, and finally to the cardinalate. Under Nicholas the Fifth he had enjoyed great credit. It is related that he was gifted with the singular faculty of shedding tears, when he wished to persuade his audience to adopt some political measure, which is the sublime of hypocrisy. Pius the Second named him, in derision, "our Lady of Pity." He had a mania of thinking himself a physician, and his principal occupation was to prepare salves and pills, which he sent to his friends when they were sick.

As soon as he was consecrated sovereign pontiff, he wished, in contempt of his oath, to govern despotically, without even counselling with his cardinals; he conferred the principal dignities and benefices of the church on his creatures, and framed several laws, which he presented in form to the sacred college to be ratified; but he forewarned them that he would immediately depose those who refused to obey him. Almost all subscribed to the wishes of the holy father without making any observation; but John de Cavajal, a Spanish cardinal, resisted him boldly, called him a traitor, perjurer, and simoniac, and stood so firm, that a kind of outbreak took place in the consistory. Paul, comprehending the necessity of dissimulating until his authority was more confirmed, feigned to yield to the representations of the cardinals, and endeavoured to bring back the malcontents by loading them with favours. He granted to them the privileges of wearing mitres of silk, like those of the popes; he permitted them to cover their horses with scarlet housings, instead of the violet trappings they had before used, and immediately appointed a commission of three of them to lay taxes on the kingdoms, still under the pretext of a war against the Turks. In vain did the ambassadors of the powers wish to oppose this arbitrary measure; their complaints were not listened to, and all that

was permitted them was, to levy on each of the provinces of the different kingdoms, the amount of the respective sums they were to pay to the Holy See. These forced contributions served to increase the luxury of the Roman court, and to bring about concord between the pope and his cardinals.

Paul then received an embassy from the king of Naples, who besought his holiness to bless, through a legate, the marriage of his son with Hippolyte, the daughter of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. As the pope dreaded the consequences of this alliance, which threatened to render Ferdinand the absolute master of Italy, he used pretexts of relationship between the betrothed, and pronounced against the marriage. The ambassadors then adroitly added, that they were instructed to inform the Holy See, that Mohammed the Second had offered their master one of his daughters, with a dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns of gold, as a bride for his son; that he only required, as a condition for this union, the promise of aiding him in conquering Venice, but that Ferdinand had not been dazzled by this brilliant offer, and had been unwilling to give a definite reply until he knew the opinion of the court of Rome.

Placed in the alternative of seeing Ferdinand contract an alliance with the enemy of the Christian name, or with an Italian prince, he decided on that which appeared to him to be the least formidable; he quieted his scruples in regard to the propinquity, and consented to the marriage of the son of the king of Naples with the princess Hippolyte. He, however, refused to bless their union, or to have it consecrated by a legate, and contented himself with giving the golden rose to the young spouses when they passed through Rome.

At about the same period, the arms of Ferdinand experienced several reverses in Apulia, where the Angevin party still maintained itself under the leading of the duke of Lorraine; but the king took his revenge, and, assisted by the troops of the duke of Milan, gained a great victory over them near the city of Troy. This rout forced the lords of the Angevin party, and the duke of Lorraine himself, to retire to the island of Ischia, from whence they passed over into France. Paul, who had contributed his part to the expulsion of the enemies of the king of Naples, claimed, in his turn, from his ally, the assistance of an army to exterminate the sons of the count Evreux, who were laying waste the ecclesiastical states. Ferdinand granted him at once the succour which he asked for, and, thanks to the activity of the Neapolitan generals, his holiness found himself freed, in less than fifteen days, from a family who had struggled against the three popes, Eugenius, Nicholas, and Calixtus, and had never been conquered.

Ferdinand, who justly attributed to himself so unhopd for a success, demanded, as a recompense for this important service, that the court of Rome should free him from arrears

of unpaid tribute, and which would diminish his ordinary revenues. Paul the Second, who had an immoderate love of money, had not counted on this, and made a pretext of great need, to insist on the immediate payment of the arrears. A quarrel naturally followed between the king of Naples and the chief of the church.

His holiness had also a quarrel at the same time with Pogebrac, prince of Bohemia. It was on this account: A rich lord, named Zdencon, having failed in a revolt against that prince, had taken refuge in the city of Arastus, from whence he continued to menace his sovereign. Pogebrac determined at last to punish the rebel, and came to besiege him in his retreat. Zdencon, after a courageous defence, was reduced to the last extremities, and was about to be compelled to surrender, when he hoped to escape the danger by placing himself under the protection of the Holy See. Paul, who had received a large sum to under take his defence, immediately declared him inviolable, and threatened those who dared to continue the siege of Arastus, with the anathemas of the church. Without troubling himself about the ecclesiastical censures, the prince pressed the siege, took the place, and put to the sword all whom he found in it.

The holy father, wounded in his vanity, immediately addressed letters to all the princes of Germany, and besought them, through his legates, not to oppose the execution of the sentence he was about to pronounce on the sovereignty of Bohemia; he then freed his people from their oaths of fidelity, and even preached a crusade against Pogebrac. He declared him to be a perjurer, sacrilegious, and a heretic; deposed him from his throne, and denounced him to the judgment of the holy inquisition. He then offered his crown to Casimir, king of Poland, who had the generosity to refuse it, then to Mathias of Hungary, who was less scrupulous, and who made a terrible war on the unfortunate excommunicated. Afterwards, doubtless, from gratitude that he had aided him in his vengeance, the pope exhibited great indulgence towards this latter king, and did not punish him for a sacrilege he committed in striking in the face the bishop Nicholas, the nuncio of the Holy See, for having calumniated his queen.

Besides, it was easy, as Gallatus Martius even relates, to purchase with money the protection of the holy father, which was the means employed by Henry of Castile, to obtain anathemas against his subjects. Paul undertook the defence of this debauched prince, who had prostituted his queen to one of his minions; he declared him absolved from all the crimes he had committed, ordered his subjects to obey him, and fulminated against his brother Alphonso, who had been named king in his stead, the most terrible anathemas. Anthony Vermer, bishop of Leon, was appointed to carry the bull of the pontiff to the court of Madrid; but he could not acquit himself of his commission: Alphonso refused even to see him, and ordered

him to quit the kingdom at once, unless he wished to incur the risk of his life; that his holiness had nothing to do with the political affairs of his dominions, and that he appealed to a future council against his attempts at usurpation.

Puillanious and cowardly as all priests are when resisted, the bishop of Leon dared not publish his bull, and hastened to return to Rome. A new affront awaited him in the holy city; Paul also refused to see him, accused him of treason, and transmitted to him an order to return to Castile to menace the rebels with all the calamities of divine justice, and to set aside a king whom they had crowned. This time the pope was obeyed. The legate returned to Madrid; a month afterwards the young Alphonso died of poison, and Henry remounted the throne.

As a sign of rejoicing, and to celebrate in a worthy manner the triumph of his protege, the holy father gave public games to the Romans, as in the times of the pagan emperors. There were chariot races, horse races, and foot races; "and one could for a moment believe," said the cardinal of Pavia, "that he was in the fine days of paganism."

Whilst Rome was resounding with songs of gladness, Florence was plunged into consternation; the Medici and the Pitti disputed for the sovereignty of that city, and were aided by the dukes of Milan and Modena, who ravaged the country, now crying, "long live Peter de Medici!" and now, "life to Luke Pitti." As the misfortunes of Florence did not touch the direct interests of the apostolic court, Paul did not trouble himself about them: it is just to say, that he had not a moment to himself, and that he was seriously engaged with reforms among the officers of the Holy See, and with breaking the abbreviators for selling their duties to other titularies.

Platinus relates that, having wished to make some observations to the pope on the promise which he had made at his election, not to take any important determination without consulting the sacred college, he replied to him: "So you call us before judges! Do you not know that all laws are confined within the coffer of my bosom? The decision which I have taken is unchangeable and sacred. What matters it to me that the abbreviators have been reduced by it to beg, and to live on the charity of the faithful! Such is my will! I am pope—I am permitted to abolish or approve the acts of my predecessors, according to my good pleasure."

These unfortunate men protested with energy against the arbitrary act of Paul, and announced that they were about to solicit the sovereigns of Europe to hold a general council, to decide the question between them and the Holy See. Platinus, who was faithfully attached to the pope, and who feared the consequences of these proceedings, took the liberty to address a letter to him, to enlighten him on the uproar he was creating for himself.

The pontiff, instead of being moved by this act of devotion, declared the letter to be an

act of felony; he caused Platinus to be arrested, and to be cast into a tower, in which the unfortunate man passed four entire months, exposed to all the rigours of winter, almost without clothing and food. At last, thanks to the entreaties of the sacred college, and the energetic representations of the magistrates and trades, he was set at liberty; but it was only for a little time. Paul, who was determined to destroy him, subsidised false witnesses, who accused him of having conspired against his authority, with the celebrated Callimachus, and several learned men, whom the pope wished to envelope in the same proscription.

The house of Platinus was one night surrounded by his soldiers, his furniture pillaged, his papers carried off, and he himself dragged from his bed and led in chains before his persecutor; his holiness proceeded at once to interrogate him, and caused him to be put to the torture; by his orders the sufferer was despoiled of his garments, and conducted into a vaulted hall, separated into two parts by a partition of glass. In one of those chambers were the pope and his counsellors, mixed up with the executioners; in the other were placed heated braziers, which kept up a boiling in immense vessels full of water, which rendered any stay in it insupportable. In the midst was a post three feet high, terminating in a diamond point; to the ceiling were fastened five cords. The punishment, over which the holy father presided, was that of the heated chamber.

Platinus was bound by his four members and reins, and raised above the stake, the point of which was introduced into his anus; they then drew the cords so that he was bent double, and all the weight of his body rested on the axis of the stake; the heated braziers were then fixed close to him, and a glass, which reflected all this horrid scene, was placed before him, so as to double in some sort his punishment. Paul, surrounded by his minions and favourites, continued the examination of Platinus through the partition, and only stopped to make cynical allusions to the pale which tore the entrails of his victims so cruelly. Notwithstanding the atrocious sufferings he underwent, the sufferer having nothing which he was willing to avow, they were obliged to take him down, and the pope caused his place to be occupied by others. All underwent frightful tortures; and no one

having accused Platinus, they were then compelled to abandon the charge of a crime against the state, and seek some other pretext to destroy the imprudent censor of the pope. His holiness accused him of heresy, and ordered the executioners to renew their punishments, to force the accused to admit this new crime.

Almost all these unfortunate men expired on the rack, after having been torn with iron pincers or broken with blows from a bar of iron; the historian Platinus alone, thanks to his moral energy and the strong constitution with which he was endowed, defied the rage of his executioners, and survived these horrid tortures. He even afterwards recovered his liberty, on the express demand of the emperor Frederick the Third, who came to Rome to receive from the Holy See his portion of the levy of the dimes.

The last years of the life of Paul possess no interest for history; his holiness continued to foment troubles in France, Bohemia, Poland, Spain, and Italy, and always for the purpose of obtaining a levy of tenths, for his avarice only yielded to his cruelty, his pride, and his lubricity. He was so vain of the beauty of his face, that he passed whole hours in covering himself with carmine and paint! and his taste for female ornaments was pushed so far, that he exhausted the treasures of the church, in buying lace and jewelry.—Platinus says, that he caused a tiara to be adorned with so great a number of diamonds, that this tower of Cybele, the first time he wore it, caused him an apopleptic fit, of which he died.

Paul was at once the Narcissus and the Lucullus of the popes; like Narcissus he was amorous of his own person, and like Lucullus he wished his table to be always covered with the most delicious dishes; thus he died a victim to his intemperance. To conceal his ignorance, he affected to be an enemy to the learned, and declared those heretical who abandoned themselves to study. During his pontificate, the Romans were prohibited from sending their children to school, since, he said, priests alone should know how to read and write. One of his favourite maxims was, "religion ought to annihilate science, because science is the enemy of religion."

He died on the night of the 29th of July, 1471, in consequence of indigestion, from having eaten two melons after dinner. ?

## SIXTUS THE FOURTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1471.]

*Election of Sixtus the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He decrees that the bastards of popes shall be princes by right of birth—He continues the levy of tenths in Europe, under the pretext of a crusade—Legation of the cardinal Roderick Borgia, in Spain—Reorganization of the tribunals of the inquisition of Castile—The people refuse to pay the tithes—His holiness falls back on the publication of a jubilee to raise money—Embassies of France and Spain—The holy father authorises the consecration of a child of six years of age to an episcopal see—He directs the persecutions against the Florentines—Extortions of the pope—His death—He establishes a most noble Lupanar at Rome.*

FOURTEEN days after the death of Paul the Second, the cardinals chose Francesco D'Albexola, who took the name of Sixtus the Fourth, as his successor. The new pope was originally from Cella, a small town on the coast of Genoa, five miles from Savona. His father was a poor fisherman, with a large family, and he himself in his early youth followed this profession. His genteel appearance attracted the attention of the lord della Rovera, who first made him his minion, and then confided him to skilful teachers. Francesco acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of his protector that he determined to give him his name and adopt him.

As soon as he attained the age of manhood, Francesco went to Sienna, where he obtained the grade of doctor, and permission to make a profession at Bologna and Florence; then, after having passed successively through all the grades of the Cordeliers, the son of the poor fisherman found himself a cardinal. His pretensions to the throne of the apostle were actively supported by the cardinals Romain des Ursini, Gonzagua of Mantua, and Roderick Borgia, who had already, through all Italy, the reputation of being the most infamous of all the Roman cardinals, then recognised as the most abandoned men under heaven. Thanks to their intrigues and their threats, Francesco D'Albexola was proclaimed sovereign pontiff and supreme chief of the church.

This act of justice is due to Sixtus, that he never evinced ingratitude towards those who had protected him; his holiness, during his whole reign, loaded these three cardinals with honours and benefices, and generously gave up to them a part of the spoils of the faithful.

Onuphre, Machiavel, and Peter Volatteran, affirm, that the holy father had conducted himself very outrageously when cardinal; that he had deflowered each of his sisters in turn, and that he even pushed his lubricity so far as to use his monstrous debauches to young children, the fruits of an incestuous commerce between him and his eldest sister. "Never," said the historians, "had the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah been the theatre of such abominations! and as if the scandal was not yet great enough, Sixtus the Fourth had the impudence to publish a bull, which declared that

the nephews and bastards of the popes should be of right, Roman princes."

In consequence of this decree, Peter and Jerome de Riario, his two bastards, took rank among the Italian princes. Peter also obtained a cardinal's hat, and an annual pension of a million five hundred thousand crowns of gold, an enormous sum for the times, and which, however, was barely sufficient to maintain the luxuriousness of the courtesan Theresa Fulgora, his mistress. Happily for the people, this depraved woman, who had already abandoned herself to the caresses of all the debauchees of Rome, was taken with a terrible disease, with which she infected her lover, and after two years of horrid sufferings, Peter died, a victim to his debauchery. Jerome, who had been created, by the holy father, prince of Forli and Imola, was more fortunate than his brother in his loves, and after a year of debauchery, he married the natural daughter of the duke of Milan. Jerome, not content with all the honours and riches which his father had heaped on him, thought of raising himself still higher, and cast his eyes on Florence and the small states adjoining it, to make of them an independent principality.—His holiness approved of the plans of his bastard, and turned his thoughts towards the means of defeating the Medici, who governed Florence, and were the only obstacles to the success of their efforts. A vast conspiracy was organised in the palace of the Vatican, and extended as far as Florence; the archbishop Salviati was promised a cardinal's hat, and entered into the plot; a priest named Stephano, and the family of the Spazzi, received money, and engaged to poignard the Medici; finally, when all was ready, the cardinal of St. George, Raphael Riari, the nephew of Jerome, left the holy city, and came to arrange with the conspirators the place and day of the execution.

Eternal shame on the pontiff who directed this execrable enterprise; the place fixed for the assassination was the church of St. Reparado, the day Sunday, the time that of the celebration of the mass, the signal the elevation of the host, in order that the murderers might stab the two brothers, Lawrence and Julian de Medicis, without giving them time

to defend themselves, and whilst they were bending their heads before the majesty of God.

On that day, the archbishop Salviati, who was very desirous of gaining his cardinal's hat, wished to officiate himself, and at the moment when he elevated the chalice above his head, the priests, who carried arms concealed beneath their surplices, rushed upon the Medici; Julian fell beneath eleven wounds; Lawrence, his brother, though losing blood by three wounds, was strong enough to fly into the sacristy, barricade the door, and wait for assistance. The people, who had been warned of what was passing by the uproar, invaded the church, and seized all the conspirators; Salviati was hung in his episcopal robes; the priests and deacons, Poggio, Pietro, Stephen, and John, underwent the same punishment. The cardinal of St. George, who was discovered in the cellar of his palace, would, beyond doubt, have received the just chastisement of his felony, notwithstanding his rank, if Lawrence de Medici had not demanded the pardon of the guilty man from the citizens; he only obliged him to confess, in a loud and intelligible voice, that he had done nothing in all this matter, which he had not been ordered to do by the sovereign pontiff; they then drove him from the city.

As soon as his holiness was informed of the ill success of his conspiracy, he fell into a great rage, and made horrid threats against the Florentines; he even summoned the most serene republic to deliver up to him Lawrence de Medicis, bound hand and foot, under penalty of anathema and interdict, and on its refusal to obey, he excommunicated the city of Florence, declared all its inhabitants infamous, heretical, and devoted them to Satan as children of perdition, the rejected of iniquity. His powerless thunders excited only derision, and he was compelled to put off to another time the vengeance which he counted to draw down on Florence.

Though the holy father had an excessive tenderness for Jerome, he was not on that account forgetful of his other relatives, and laboured for their fortune. One of his nephews, named Julian, was created cardinal; another was elevated to the dignity of prince of Sovra and Senagaille, and married the daughter of Frederick of Monte Falco, duke of Urbain; a third nephew, Leonard Riario, was invested with the government of Rome, and married the natural daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples. At last the abuse of his prodigalities to his family became such, that to put an end to them, the cardinals came to him in a body to address remonstrances to him, and to beseech him to be more reserved in his actions.

In translating this passage of the life of Sixtus the Fourth, the historian Duplessis Mornay adds, ironically:—"The cardinals were wrong in saying that he pushed nepotism farther than any of his predecessors; for they were not his nephews whom he protected, but his minions and bastards." What contributes to confirm the certainty of this assertion is,

that Sixtus the Fourth did nothing for the children of his brothers, whilst he loaded the sons of his sisters with honour and wealth.

In consequence, however, of his taking so much from the apostolic treasury, to enrich his numerous family, he finished by exhausting it, and found himself without money. He then determined to work on the credulity of mankind, that mine of gold so fruitful for the priests, and published a bull convening a council to meet at St. John Lateran's, under pretext of consulting on the means of carrying on war with the Turks. He gave the legation of France to Cardinal Bessarion, that of Spain to Cardinal Roderick Borgia, that of Germany to Cardinal Mark Barbo, commissioned to obtain from the kings, authority to preach the crusade, and offer to divide the tenths with them. His holiness sent legions of monks in advance, who spread themselves in every direction, and ransacked the kingdoms unmercifully. Jews were taxed to a twentieth of their property, the faithful to a thirtieth, and when this first contribution was collected in, the pope ordered a second levy of tenths for the sale of indulgences, absolutions, dispensations, permissions. . . . After this the legates went for their respective destinations.

Roderick Borgia was received in Spain with acclamations bordering on frenzy; when he arrived near Madrid; the clergy and nobility went more than three leagues from the city to meet him; the king received him in person at one of the gates of the capital, and conducted him to the palace which was destined for him, walking on his left hand, which was the greatest mark of respect he could bestow on a man. Scarcely was he installed in Castile, when he assembled the bishops and abbots of the kingdom, under the pretext of taking with them more favourable measures for the re-establishment of peace among the different states of the peninsula, but in reality to reduce them to subjection to the Holy See. In fact, the only questions in the council were regarding ecclesiastical contributions, and the collections of imposts, which were minutely regulated, notwithstanding the opposition of some prelates, who observed, with good reason, that the people, already ruined by war, and the last missions, could pay nothing more without being reduced to the last stage of misery. Henry the Weak, who was to share the profit of the tenths, paid no regard to the representations of the bishops, and fortified with all his authority the demands of the court of Rome. In consequence of the orders and will of the king, the Spaniards were decreed to be taxable, and the clergy submitted to pontifical despotism. It is true that the priests of the peninsula deserved no consideration on account of their immoralities; they were all ignorant, and debauchees; the greater part of them did not even understand the prayers which they recited in Latin; some passed their whole time in taverns and brothels; other sold publicly, without scruple, and without shame, benefices and immunities; others again, practised usury with more rapacity

even than the Jews; finally, they were so demoralised, that there was no serious opposition on their part, to hinder Roderick Borgia from accomplishing the work of destruction of the privileges and liberties of the Spanish church.

After having used King Henry to strengthen the rule of the Holy See in Castile, the legate turned against him, and declared in favour of his sister-Isabella and Ferdinand of Arragon, who sought to dethrone him; he also entered into secret treaties with the duke of Burgundy, and Edward of England, and sold to those two princes the protection of the Holy See, to the detriment of Castile and France. All his tricks and knaveries having been discovered, Henry drove him in disgrace from Madrid. But what did Roderick Borgia care for the disgrace of an insult? He left with the honours of war, and arranged with Ferdinand the Catholic, the basis of a constitution which subjugated the Spaniards to the execrable tyranny of the court of Rome.

Some years afterwards, the Cardinal Medina Celi continued the work of the court of Rome, and increased the already so powerful authority of the inquisition. At his instigation the greedy Ferdinand, become king of Arragon and Seville by the death of the weak Henry, granted permanency to the odious tribunal, and accomplished the most revolting iniquity of that age, the extermination of the Jews of his kingdom. These laborious men were then in possession of every branch of industry, simply from their religion, which gives glory to labour; whilst the Spaniards, slothful and idle, addicted to a contemplative life, or the profession of arms, had become, almost all of them, debtors to the Israelites. Bad faith on one part, and fanaticism on the other, determined Ferdinand the Catholic to pluck the Jews without the protection of the laws, and in less than eight days, more than ten thousand of these unfortunates were pitilessly massacred by the soldiers of the king. This butchery only increased the rage of the implacable tyrant; and, as he dared not pursue, single handed, the execution of his sanguinary plans, from the fear of exciting the people against him, he established a supreme tribunal at Seville, which took the name of the Holy Office, and appointed Thomas of Torquemada, the prior of the Dominicans, to preside over it as Grand Inquisitor General.

It was computed that there were in the kingdom of this gracious monarch, more than one hundred and fifty thousand Jewish families, or almost a million and a half of individuals of that nation. Torquemada undertook to convert them all, or to purge the soil of Spain of them, and he kept his word. The familiars of the holy office seconded him so well, and understood so perfectly how to apply racks, boots, wheels, fangs, and all the instruments of torture, that the Jews left Arragon in bands, and came to seek protection in the territories of the duke of Medina, Sidonia, the marquis of Cadiz, the count of Arcos, and some other lords. Their flight could not, however, save them from the pursuit of the

dreaded inquisition, for Torquemada had ordered the governors of all the cities to lay strong hands on the emigrants, and send them back to Seville, under penalty of excommunication, which was punctually done, so that these unfortunates were sent back by force into Arragon and Castile, thrown by thousands into the dungeons of the inquisition, and submitted to frightful tortures.

The prisons of the holy office were filled and emptied at least eleven times in nine months; but the smell of wasting flesh, and the sight of palpitating limbs, instead of softening these tigers with a human face, rendered them more ferocious. As soon as they found that the number of their victims was diminishing, they anxiously sought out new guilty, and for this purpose, Ferdinand the Catholic, published a decree, by which his majesty enjoined on heretics who had fled the kingdom: to give themselves up voluntarily as prisoners to the holy office, solemnly promising them, on the body of Christ, to set them at liberty on this condition, and to restore their property to them. A great number of these unfortunates, full of confidence in these promises, came to deliver themselves up to their executioners, and they learned, when too late, that men should never believe the oaths of kings. They were all burned alive.

This method of re-peopling the dungeons of the inquisition was, however, soon exhausted; and as no more victims presented themselves, Torquemada had recourse to informers. In the space of six months more than nineteen thousand heretics were denounced to the inquisitors, and judged by that terrible tribunal. At last, the number of those condemned to be burned became so great, that Torquemada, to get through his work more quickly, caused four immense hollow statues to be erected in the place where the executions took place, in which the sufferers were shut up. On the day of the executions a pyre was constructed around these statues, and the victims died, consumed in frightful agony. These acts the priests called *auto-da-fe*, or acts of faith!!!

These first exploits of the inquisitors increased enormously the treasures of Ferdinand the Catholic, and determined him to give a regular action to the tribunals of the inquisition. He consequently created a royal council of the inquisition, which was called the supreme council. Over this Torquemada presided, and he added four ecclesiastics as counsellors to him; these last had no deliberative voice but in civil questions; religious matters were entirely submitted to the will of the grand inquisitor.

Sixtus the Fourth granted bulls authorising the establishment of this institution, and permitted Torquemada to convene a council of all the inquisitors of Spain, who decreed the horrible inquisitorial code. This monument of sacerdotal ferocity was divided into twenty-eight principal articles. The three first concerned the rules to be followed in the installation of tribunals, and the different modes of proceeding to obtain denunciations. The

fourth article formally interdicted the judges from granting definite absolutions, even when the accused were converted, so that they might be compelled to purchase indulgences from the court of Rome. By the sixth article it was specified, that the new Christian, though reconciled to God, was deprived of every honourable employment, and was prohibited from wearing gold, silver, or pearls on his garments, silk and fine linen; the court of Rome alone could sell freedom from those penalties. The seventh and eighth articles imposed pecuniary punishment on the accused who made a voluntary confession, and declared their property confiscated for the benefit of the king. The following articles, were concerning penalties against the accused who were convicted of heresies, and the lightest was perpetual detention in their frightful dungeons. The twelfth and thirteenth authorised the inquisitors to condemn, as false penitents, the new converts, whose repentance they considered feigned. The fourteenth provided that the recused who persisted in maintaining his innocence, should be condemned as an obstinate heretic, and should be put to different tortures, whose violence was to be increased until he avowed his heresy, and then as soon as he had admitted his guilt, he was to be mounted on the *quuedaro*, which was the scaffold on which were the four statutes destined for the condemned. Thus, in any way, innocent or guilty, he could not escape these terrible inquisitors.

Two articles were devoted to the forms of proceeding; the judges were prohibited from communicating to the accused the testimony brought against them, and also from confronting them with their accusers; they were only to interrogate them and receive their confessions, whilst they were put to the torture. The nineteenth and twentieth articles condemned as heretics, all accused who did not present themselves before the sacred office, after having been warned; and they provided, that if it were proved by writing or testimony, that any one already dead had been attached of heresy, his dead body should be exhumed, judged, condemned, and burned, and his property be confiscated, half for the advantage of the prince, half for that of the inquisitors. The four last articles were in relation to the proceedings which the inquisitors should observe between themselves and towards their subordinates.

In all past ages, among the most barbarous people, never had the fanaticism nor cruelty of priests immolated so many victims, and no atrocities, whose record has been left us by the historians of antiquity, could approach the horrid punishments invented by the holy inquisition or the pontiffs of Rome.

Whilst these things were taking place in Spain, the cardinal Bessarion was still deliberating at Rome, whether or not he should go to the court of Louis the Eleventh, whose knavery inspired him with just fears. At last he decided to go, on account of a letter which he received from the king, who invited him to hasten his arrival to his court, and pro-

mised to receive him as if he were the pontiff himself.

"But it did not turn out that things should happen so," says Brantome, "that long and magisterial personage who bore the title of metropolitan of Nice and the name of Bessarion, committed the error of going to the duke of Burgundy, before going to the court of Louis the Eleventh; so that when he appeared before our gracious monarch, the latter took him by his long beard, saying to him:—'Reverend sir, I am astonished that Charles the Bold did not shave you, for he knows that I do not admire the beards of the Capuchins,' and without saying any more, he turned his back on him and refused to grant him an audience, and even receive the despatches of the holy father. Bessarion was so mortified, that he fell sick of a violent fever, of which he died on his return to Rome."

The legation to Germany was no more successful. The people, tired of paying tithes for a pretended crusade against the Turks, which was in reality but an apostolical crusade against their money, refused, in most of the cities, to receive the delegates of the Holy See. In England they also opposed the levy of Peter's pence, and the bishops were the most opposed to the exactions of the court of Rome. Stillington, bishop of Bath, even confined in a prison the prothonotary Prosper, who wished to proceed and levy tithes on the churches of his diocese. His holiness was more successful in Scotland than Great Britain, thanks to the protection which his collectors received from Graan, the new bishop of St. Andrew's. Thus, in gratitude for his services, he was appointed primate of the kingdom, with the title of perpetual legate. This new mark of favour increased the zeal of that prelate for the court of Rome, and he placed himself at the head of the exactors, to regulate the collection of the impost for the crusade. A general cry of indignation rose from all parts of the kingdom, and James the Third found himself compelled to suspend him from his functions. Graan, careless of the orders of his sovereign, immediately went to Edinburg, and produced before the assembly bulls, by virtue of which Sixtus the Fourth authorised him to levy dimes on Scotland, and to anathematise all those who should oppose the exercise of the discretionary authority of the legate.

James, fearful of exciting troubles, feigned to submit to the orders of the pontiff, and permitted the metropolitan of Saint Andrew's to pillage his subjects. But it was not for a long time. The king, furious at having no share in these dilapidations, resolved to supplant the prelate with the holy father, and sent ambassadors to Rome to obtain, by paying a large sum, apostolic bulls and authority to permit him to seize the body of the legate, to despoil him of his archbishopric, to confiscate his property, and even to behead him. As the sums offered by James the Third were large, and much surpassed those which the primate promised him, his holiness gave the required authority, and the unfortunate metropolitan was

plunged into a dungeon, where he died miserably.

Henry of Sponda remarks, that this was a fortunate matter for the crown of Scotland; for after that time, thanks to the power which had been conceded by the pope, James the Third could appoint to the bishoprics and abbey of his kingdom, and give them to his favourites. Notwithstanding the extreme skill he displayed in extorting money from the faithful, the holy father was always poor, in consequence of the prodigalities of his bastards and sisters, who swallowed up the dimes, the receipts from indulgences, the sales of benefices, and even the taxes for absolutions. Sixtus, finding his resources at an end, determined to exhume a decree of Paul the Second, which reduced the period which separated the jubilees to twenty-five years, and which that abominable pope had promulgated in the hopes of deriving enormous advantages from it for his own account. As death had overtaken him in the interval, he had laboured for his successor. The latter made it an object of a new decree, and fixed the periods of the jubilee, definitely, for each quarter of a century.

Circulars were consequently addressed to all the sovereigns of Europe, to announce to them that this remunerative solemnity would be celebrated at Rome in the year 1475, on which they were entering; and superstition was still so great at that period, that notwithstanding the wars which desolated France, England, Hungary, Spain, and Poland, a large number of pilgrims from these different countries came to the holy city to make their devotions at the tomb of the apostles, and to gain the indulgences promised by the pope. Those whose engagements kept them at home were ransacked by legions of monks, who bore the title of collectors of the Holy See.

All the Christian kings and princes sent rich presents and solemn embassies to Rome to merit absolution for their sins. Ferdinand, king of Naples, the king of Bosnia and his wife, as well as Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, came to the court of the pontiff, wearing the robes of pilgrims, the first to demand pardon for their crimes, the others to do penance for their amours. Louis the Fourteenth himself, notwithstanding his hatred for the Holy See, sent to purchase indulgences and relics at Rome; but as soon as the year of jubilee was expired he recommenced the war against his holiness, and published a decree in which it was said, that by virtue of the canons of the council of Constance, which recognised in kings the right of convening national councils, he enjoined on the French prelates who were without the kingdom, to return at once to their respective sees, and prepare to come to the synod which he convened six months hence, to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of his dominions. He moreover ordered the priests who came from Rome to submit to the inspection of his officers on the frontiers, bulls and other papers of which they were the bearers, to avoid the introduction of any apostolic bulls which might be prejudicial to the liberties of

the Gallican church; finally, he prohibited, under threats of the most grievous penalties, the regular and secular clergy from assisting at any assembly without the kingdom, unless by a formal authority, and one written by his own hand.

Italy was then travelling with ideas of emancipation which were propagated by bold men, who, not despairing of the safety of the people, wished to overthrow tyranny. Among this number were three young Milanese, Olgiati, Lampugnani, and Visconti, who bravely killed with their daggers Galeas Sforza, the oppressor of their country, in open day and in the midst of a solemn festival. "He was a cruel tyrant, that Galeas Sforza," says an Italian chronicle, "if we are to judge him by one of his favourite diversions, which was to inter his victims alive, with their heads above the earth, and to prolong their agony by feeding them with human excrements. Fortunately, there were three young men who devoted themselves for the safety of all, and freed the earth from this monster."

They thus executed their sublime plan:— On the day after Easter, in the year 1478, Galeas left his palace to go to the church of St. Ambrose, to perform his devotions; he assisted at the mass between the ambassador of Ferrara and him of Mantua. In the midst of the ceremony, John Andrew Lampugnani approached, with his two friends, pushed through the crowd of courtiers who surrounded the prince, stating that he had an urgent despatch to present to him. When he had approached him, he put his left hand to his cap, placed his knee on the ground as if he had a request to present to him, and at the same time with his right hand struck him in the belly upward with a dagger he had concealed in his sleeve; Olgiati, struck him in the throat and breast; Visconti in the middle of his shoulder and the middle of his back; and all this was done so quickly, that Sforza fell into the arms of the two ambassadors who were at his side, before they noticed what was passing. But the courtiers, who had time to recover from their first surprize, soon perceived that the duke had been assassinated. Some fled; others drew their swords, and pursued the conspirators. Lampugnani, in endeavouring to escape from the church, was unfortunately entangled in a group of women who were on their knees. Their dresses caught in his spurs; he fell, and was overtaken by one of the squires of Galeas, who killed him on the spot. Visconti was arrested a little farther off, and slain at once by the guards. Olgiati alone escaped; but his flight only retarded the horrible punishment which the satellites of Louis Sforza, the brother of the tyrant, were preparing for him.

This courageous youth has left us a touching relation of that frightful drama, of which he is at once the historian and the hero. "I dared not go to my father's," said he, "to avoid compromising him, but I went to the house of a friend. Unfortunately, on the morning of the day on which I had fixed to endeavour to gain my liberty, I heard the



cries of the soldiers who were dragging the body of Lampugnani in the mud, and who were approaching my retreat. I then discovered that I had been sold; I had not, however, strength to fly; the horror with which I was seized chilled my blood in my veins, and deprived me of the faculty of seeing and hearing." Here stops the recital of Olgiati. "The soldiers," adds the chronicle, "those natural enemies of the people, seized the daring apostle of liberty and dragged him by his hair to the palace of the inquisitors, loading him with blows and insults."

Olgiati was condemned to be tortured with hot pincers and cut to pieces while still alive. In the midst of these atrocious torments the priests, who performed the duties of executioners, exhorted him to repent and ask pardon from God for his crime.

"Never," he replied, "ye props of tyranny; I do not repent; if God had given me ten lives instead of one, I would have disposed of them in the same manner, though I should have perished ten times in the same torments." When they were tearing off the skin of his neck and person, he uttered a cry of pain. "Dost thou then implore mercy," asked one of the priests. "No," replied the martyr, "I only ask that thou shouldst leave this miserable body strength enough that I may exclaim on the scaffold 'Death to kings—long live liberty!'"

Thus perished Olgiati, aged twenty-two years, a victim to his love for his country! May his noble action find imitators, and may the fate of Galeas cause despots to tremble on their thrones.

As Louis the Eleventh found it was to his interest to foment the disorders in Italy, he did not hesitate to encourage the rebellions; thus he sent Philip de Comines with a body of troops to aid the Florentines, who were in open revolt against the Holy See; he even informed his holiness through Guy d'Arpagon, viscount de Lautre, his ambassador, that he must raise the excommunication against the Florentines, and convene a general council, unless he wished to go to war with France. On the refusal of Sixtus to comply with these demands, the ambassador declared, in the presence of the whole Roman court, that Louis the Eleventh was about to assemble to re-establish officially the pragmatic sanction, and he enjoined on the French cardinals, as well as the metropolitans, to return at once to their country.

Ferdinand endeavoured to interfere between Sixtus the Fourth and the most serene republic, but the intractable pontiff was unwilling to grant any but humiliating conditions to Florence, and his efforts to stop the war were useless. Whilst Italy was on fire, and the people were murdering each other to sustain the quarrels of the pope and subjugate a flourishing republic for his infamous nephew, Sixtus the Fourth was continuing the course of his spoliations. Thus he sold the bishopric of Arragon to Ferdinand, and gave the government of that church to a bastard of six

years of age, the son of the king of Naples and a Spanish prostitute; he also sold a dispensation of marriage to the old king of Portugal, Alphonso the Fifth, to enable him to espouse his near relative, the princess Joanna, and almost immediately after expediting this sacrilegious bull, which authorised an incest, he revoked it, because Ferdinand of Naples gave him double the sum to prevent the alliance. Finally, in accordance with the testimony of a contemporaneous historian, it was proved that he wished to treat with the Turks to sell them Italy, but that Mohammed the Second, having rejected his offer, he was compelled to make peace with the Florentines, who had already gained several advantages over the troops of the Holy See.

The Mussulmen had not, however, announced their plan of seizing on Lower Italy; and though forced to raise the siege of Rhodes, they had attacked Otranto, which had fallen into their power after an energetic resistance. From that city the pacha Achmet could make incursions with impunity on the coast of the Adriatic, and even pushed them as far as the church of Our Lady of Loretto, whose immense wealth was an object of desire to this miscreant. Naples, Venice, Florence, and Rome, at last united their troops to repulse this dreaded foe, and to drive him from Italy; they had not much difficulty in effecting their object, for at the very moment when the confederates were about to march, they learned that Mohammed the Second was dead, and that the Mussulmen had abandoned Otranto to take part in the bloody dissensions between the sons of that caliph.

His holiness took advantage of this respite to renew the intestine wars of Italy; he fulminated terrible anathemas against the Venetians and Florentines, and ordered the Italian princes to take the cross against these two republics, under the pretext that they were becoming too powerful, and threatened to destroy the equilibrium, which was the guarantee of the existence of each principality: "During these wars of extermination," says Varillas, "the nephews of the pontiff seized on numerous domains, and it only remained for Jerome de Riario, in order to achieve the conquest of Florence, to set foot in Umbria, from whence it was easy to extend himself into Romagna and Tuscany, when fortunately money began to fail the holy father. To procure it he put up at auction the offices of the chancery, and of the apostolic court, augmented the number of employments, and created five colleges to expedite the affairs of the datary's office. As he found no buyers of these offices, he doubled the old imposts, imposed new, and decreed an extraordinary levy of dimes, under pretence of a crusade against the Turks."

All these means, which had heretofore succeeded so well, produced but little money, and after three years of burnings, pillages, and massacres, he was compelled to sue for peace from Florence, and renounce the hope of placing a crown on the head of his bastard.

It affected him so violently that he sickened, and died on the 13th of August, 1484.

A very singular act, which preceded the death of Sixtus, by only a few days, is related by an historian. "The pope was apprised one morning, that two soldiers were engaged in mortal combat without the gates of Rome. He caused them to be arrested and led to the square of St. Peter, there to fight out their quarrel in his sight. When he appeared on the balcony, they drew their swords, knelt to receive his blessing, and commenced an embittered struggle. Sixtus regarded them and applauded whenever a good blow was struck; it terminated in their both falling, one killed dead on the spot, the other mortally wounded."

Some Catholic authors have affirmed that Sixtus the Fourth showed himself a generous protector of letters, because he enriched the library of the Vatican with the precious and rare manuscripts which the Greek fugitives sold him at a low price. "The better to appreciate," says Bayle, "the protection he afforded to writers, it is enough to relate, that the poor Theodore de Gaza, who had passed all his life in translating the Zoology of Aristotle, presented to him a copy enriched with golden ornaments, and adorned with precious stones. Sixtus received it, and asked him what price he named for it; the author having done so, he sent it to him without adding a penny or a maille, (a very small coin.) Theodore de Gaza

cast the money of the holy father into the Tiber, and perished of hunger."

If the pontiff did not exhibit himself as the most generous towards men of letters by way of compensation, he showed himself the ardent protector of the courtezans of Rome, and Cornelius Agrippa relates very gravely, that his holiness founded several noble lupanars, which were under his protection, and in which each girl was taxed a golden Julius a week. "This impost brought in more than twenty thousand ducats a year," adds the historian; "prostitutes were placed in these resorts of depravity by the prelates of the apostolic court, who levied a certain tax upon their products, and it was a custom so universally practised at that period, that I have heard bishops in counting up their revenues say, I have two benefices which are worth to me three thousand ducats a year, a cure which brings me in five hundred, a priory which is worth to me three hundred, and five prostitutes in the pope's lupanars which bring me in two hundred and fifty."

But that which surpasses all belief, is a fact related in every history of the times; the infamous pontiff permitted Peter, a cardinal and patriarch of Constantinople, Jerome his brother, and the cardinal of St. Lucia, to exercise horrible iniquities during the months of June, July, and August, and with his own hand wrote at the bottom of the request presented to him; "Be it, as is desired."

## INNOCENT THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1484.]

*Troubles at Rome after the death of the pope—Election of Innocent the Eighth—His origin—Beginning of his pontificate—He renews the robbery for the crusade against the Turks—War between the Holy See and the king of Naples—He launches a bull of excommunication against Ferdinand—Affairs of England—The pope concludes peace with Venice—He causes Bucolini to be assassinated—Persecutions of the Vaudois—The pope excommunicates Ferdinand of Sicily a second time—Opposition of the parliament of Paris to the levy of the dimes—Treaty between the pope and Sultan Bajazet—The prince Zizim, the brother of Bajazet, takes refuge at the pontifical court—Innocent enters into negotiations with the sultan, and engages to poison Zizim—Peace between the courts of Rome and Naples—Death of Innocent.*

THE historian of the conclave relates very remarkable particulars concerning the death of Sixtus the Fourth. He maintains, that his dead body became so black that it could not be regarded without horror, and that it spread an insupportable odour through the church of St. Peter, in which it was exposed, so that no one, priest or monk, was willing to remain to pray near the body.

As soon as the news of his death was known, the people rushed in a mass to the palace of Jerome de Riario, to wreak on his bastard the hatred they entertained for him; but Jerome had already fled from the holy city, with his jewels and all the wealth that

he could carry off. His magnificent residence was pillaged; the porphyry columns and marble statues, which were so many masterpieces of statuary, were broken up with hammers; they even rooted up the fine trees which shaded his splendid gardens. They then went to his chateau of the Jubilee, so named, because it had been bought with the offerings of the pilgrims at the last jubilee; all his farmhouses were ravaged and given to the flames, and the granaries which belonged to him were entirely emptied, and the grain they contained distributed to the poor. These acts of justice terminated, tranquillity was restored to the city and the cardinals could form a conclave

The cardinals of St. Mark obtained sixteen of the twenty-six votes on the very evening they assembled. The cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds offered to procure for him three voices more, if he would give him a palace he possessed near the castle of San Angelo; not having been able to conclude the bargain, the latter conceived a violent dislike towards him, and caballed during the night with the vice-chancellor in favour of Cibo, cardinal of Melfe. They awoke in succession the prelates who had retired to their cells; they proposed to Savelli to buy his vote, giving him for it the castle of Monticelli, and the promise of the legation of Bologna; they offered to Colonna the chateau of Ceperani, with the legation of the patrimony of St. Peter, a rental of twenty-five thousand ducats, and a benefice worth seven thousand ducats more; they signed an engagement in full form with the cardinal of Ursini, for the chateau of Servertre, and a treaty which assured to him the legation of the March of Ancona, as well as the titles of intendant general of the palace and treasurer of the Holy See; they promised to Martinusius, the seat of Capanica and the bishopric of Avignon; they surrendered to the son of the king of Arragon, in full fee, the city of Pontecorvo; they granted to the cardinal of Parma the enjoyment of the palace of St. Lawrence in Lucina, with the revenues attached to it; they promised the cardinal of Milan, to appoint him archpriest of St. John's of the Lateran, and to give him the legation of Avignon; and finally, the cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds, reserved for himself the domains of Farno, with five adjoining territories, and the rank of generalissimo of the armies of the Holy See. In this way the cardinal of Melfe received a majority of the suffrages, and was proclaimed pope, by the name of Innocent the Eighth.

John Baptist Cibo was born at Genoa, of Grecian parents, who had placed him, when very young, in the service of the king of Sicily. As the young Cibo was very handsome, the people of Alphonso had initiated him early into debauchery. He afterwards passed into the service of the cardinal, Philip Calendrin, who made him his minion, and thanks to the aid of this new protector, he had elevated himself, little by little, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities.

Innocent the Eighth had sixteen bastards when he reached the sovereign pontificate. After the example of his predecessor, his first care, as soon as he was installed in the Vatican, was to provide his lineage with benefices, bishoprics, and principalities; to some he gave dutchies and counties; to others whole provinces; he even wished to seize on a part of Abruzza, a dependency of the kingdom of Naples, for his bastard, Francis. This inconceivable arrogance of the Holy See, irritated Ferdinand, who at first protested in respectful terms against it; but when the pope replied insolently to him through his ambassadors, that a sovereign had always a right to dispose of his dominions, notwithstanding the wishes

of his feudatory, the king of Naples levied troops, and declared that he would forcibly repulse the encroachments of the Holy See. In fact, he attacked all the lords suspected of being in correspondence with the court of Rome, and prohibited his subjects from paying the tribute to which he had assented on his investiture of the kingdom.

As the pontiff needed large sums to carry on this war, he thought to procure them by following the route marked out by his predecessor. He multiplied the ecclesiastical employments, and adjudged them to the highest bidder. He added twenty-six secretaries to those whom Sixtus had already created, and fifty-two sealers of bulls. He also collected tithes for a crusade against the Turks; and his numerous legates once more laid contributions on Jews and Christians; on the one for a thirtieth part of their possessions, and on the other for a twentieth.

They protested in France against the exactions of the legates of the Holy See, and the states-general having assembled at Tours, John of Retz, a canon of Notre Dame, in Paris, besought King Charles the Eighth, the successor of Louis the Eleventh, in the name of the clergy, to have mercy on the Gallican church, and to protect it against the attacks of the Roman vultures. The third estate also protested against the enormous transportation of silver, which the legates of the Holy See were sending out of the kingdom, and addressed energetic representations to him concerning it. But the prayers of the people, and the representations of the prelates, were alike useless. Charles, who had already planned the conquest of Italy, and who wished to use the holy father as an ally, listened in preference to the representations of the pontifical court, in regard to the refusal of the magistrates of Provence, to pay tithes for the crusade. This good understanding was, however, of short duration; and the treaty of peace which the pope concluded with the king of Naples, cooled the diplomatic intimacy between Charles and Innocent, although his holiness had specified in the treaty, that he reserved the right to furnish provisions to the French, and to give them a free passage whenever they desired to recover the kingdom of Naples.

This disgraceful peace, agreed to by Ferdinand only to gain time, and to recover from the defeats he had experienced, increased even the implacable hatred he bore the pope, and he sought every method of hurling him from the pontifical throne. For this purpose his agents sowed divisions in Rome, employed by turns gold, promises, and threats, to induce the cardinals to join his party, and, spreading through Italy writings which unveiled all the turpitude of the holy father, had even allied himself secretly with the Florentines, the duke of Milan, and several princes, who were hostile to Innocent. At length, when he judged himself to be in a position to retake the offensive, he declared sharply to the pope, that he had never intended to fulfil the terms

of the treaty concluded with the apostolic court, and chased off the Roman collectors whom he found in his kingdom. Innocent immediately lanced a bull of excommunication against him, deposed him from the throne as a bastard and usurper, and gave the crown of Naples to the king of France, as the sole legitimate sovereign. Ferdinand, to sustain himself in his quarrel with the pope, had become reconciled to the grandees of his kingdom, and had even set the count and countess of Montford at liberty. Still more, he had sowed the seeds of rebellion in the states of the pope, so that his enemy, having full occupation at Rome, could not direct all his forces against Campania. Moreover, at his instigation, his son-in-law, Mathias, king of Hungary, sent to summon his holiness to revoke the unjust censures which he had pronounced against Ferdinand; and on his refusal to obey, Mathias immediately arrested, as guilty of the crime of lese-majesty, such of the prelates of his kingdom as were suspected of favouring the policy of the court of Rome.

Whilst the holy father was labouring to overthrow the king of Naples as an usurper, through a contradiction not surprising to those who know the tortuous policy of the court of Rome, he was confirming the earl of Richmond in possession of that throne, which that prince, the conqueror of Richard the Third, had assumed to himself by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward the Fourth. Presents and gold decided the pope to legitimatise this usurpation, and to authorise a marriage regarded as incestuous by the church, on account of the connection of the parties. His holiness declared, that by the plenitude of his apostolic power, he made regular every thing which could be attained of irregularity in the new dynasty, and that he legitimatised all the children born or to be born of this union. He enjoined on all the citizens of Great Britain to obey their new sovereign, under penalty of anathema, and blessed those who aided it against its enemies.

After having despatched the bulls solicited by the ambassadors of Henry the Seventh, the holy father recommenced the war against Ferdinand, in order to secure a part of the estates of that prince for his bastard Francis. To attain his end more readily, he first sought to restore peace to Upper Italy, by making himself an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetians for twenty-five years, and he also brought about an arrangement between Venice and the duke of Austria. He was less successful in his negotiations with a leader of adventurers, named Bucolini. This lord, after having ravaged a part of Romagna, at the head of some banditti, had established himself in the city of Osimo, an important place in the March of Ancona, from whence he made frequent incursions on the Roman states. The holy father knew that Bucolini was allied with Bajazet, and had promised that sultan, to subjugate for him the shore of the Adriatic, and even to conquer Italy, if he would disembark ten thousand Turks on the shores of

Romagna, a plan which seriously disquieted the court of Rome. In order to prevent its being realised, Innocent determined to invest the retreat of this bandit, and sent the general, James Trivulcus, and the cardinal Julian, to attack Osimo with twelve thousand horse, with whom Louis Sforza and the cardinal of Balue, had united eight thousand foot. But the skill and courage of the garrison triumphed over the assailants, and after a siege of seven months, the generals of the pope were obliged to raise it in disgrace. Innocent, who was never in any difficulty as to the means, wrote to his lieutenants, that if they were unable to conquer his enemy, they must buy him, for he knew how to get back the money they should give as soon as the banditti were out of the place.

Conferences then took place between the beeigers and Bucolini; the bishop of Arezzo offered him seven thousand crowns of gold to surrender Osimo, and break off his treaty with Bajazet. He imprudently agreed to the terms, left the city, disbanded his soldiers, and went to Milan with the money of the holy father. Two days after his arrival, he was found hung to the casement of his window; it was rumoured that he had himself finished his days, but the truth was, that during the night, a prostitute, aided by some sbirri, had strangled him, to recover for his holiness the seven thousand crowns of gold he had given him.

Innocent united to his other vices a naturally sanguinary disposition, and a ferocity which appeared in the briefs he addressed to the bishop of Brescia and the inquisitor of Lombardy, in order to engage them to persecute the heretics, and to publish a crusade against the Vaudois of the valley of the Loire. Perrin thus relates this persecution:—

“Albert, archdeacon of Cremona, having been sent into France by Innocent the Eighth, to exterminate the Vaudois, obtained authority from the king, to proceed against them without any judicial forms, and solely with the assistance of James de Lapalu, lieutenant of the king, and the counsellor Maitre Jean Rabot. These three wretches, the legate, the lieutenant of the king, and the counsellor, went to the valley of the Loire, at the head of a band of fierce soldiers, to exterminate the inhabitants, but they found no one; on their approach, the unhappy heretics had fled with their children into the mountains which crown this fertile valley, and had concealed themselves in the depths of the numerous natural caverns which are found on their tops. The archdeacon and his two acolytes then pursued them as if they had been chasing a fox, and every time they discovered a subterranean cavern in which the unfortunate Vaudois were concealed, they closed the entrance with heaps of straw or dry wood and set it on fire. In this manner these unfortunates were suffocated by the smoke; or if they endeavoured to escape from the caverns which were to become their tombs, they were received with blows from the pikes of the soldiers, and driven back into the flames.

"The terror which this punishment inspired became so great, that most of the Vaudois, who had so far escaped the researches of the envoys of the pope, murdered themselves, or cast themselves into the abysses of the mountains, to avoid being wasted alive. When the executioners had no wood with which to stifle their victims in this horrible hunt, they contented themselves with closing up the entrances to the caverns with rocks, or with walling up the cisterns; so that afterwards, after the departure of the legate, when they made excavations in the mountains, they found more than eight hundred dead bodies of young children, stifled in their cradles or in the arms of their mothers, dead like them from fire or famine. The executioners did their work so well, that of the six thousand Vaudois who peopled this fertile valley, there remained but six hundred to weep over the death of their brethren. All the property of these unfortunates was divided between Jacques de Lapalu, the archdeacon of Cremona, and Maitre Jean Rabot; each of them also received tokens of the munificence of the sovereign, and the legate obtained the dignity of bishop, as a reward for having fulfilled his duties with vigour and energy."

Though occupied with persecuting the heretics, his holiness none the less continued his war against the king of Naples, and, the more easy to accomplish his end, had organised a vast conspiracy in the dominions of Ferdinand. Unfortunately for the pope, a traitor revealed the plot, and all the Neapolitan prelates, who had entered into the conspiracy, were massacred at a festival to which the prince had invited them. Ferdinand ordered the dead bodies to be cast into the sea, to conceal their death, and in order to prevent a revolt of the people, his agents gave out that they were only prisoners in a fortress. At first, on the news of this arrest, the pope demanded loudly from the prince, that the ecclesiastics should be set at liberty, and on his refusal to obey his injunctions, he excommunicated him a second time; then when he discovered the whole truth, and was assured of the massacre of the bishops of his party, he no longer restrained his violence; he called down all the curses of heaven on the head of the usurper, published a crusade against him, and invited Charles the Eighth to hasten his coming into Italy, to avenge him on his implacable foe.

As the king of France was still at war with the emperor Maximilian, and found it impossible to dispose of his troops to second the plans of the Holy See, Innocent, who under other circumstances would have encouraged the division between these two princes, interposed between them and caused them to come to a suspension of hostilities. The holy father also solicited the aid of the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, but unsuccessfully. These two sovereigns said that their wars with the Moors would not permit them to weaken their armies. Innocent was no more successful in the extraordinary levy of dimes which he had ordered in France; the parlia-

ment of Paris courageously opposed the collection of this impost, and represented firmly to the king, that it was odious and impolitic to permit the Roman clergy to seize on all the wealth of France to carry it into Italy. The sovereign was compelled to listen to these remonstrances; the money went no more to Rome, but the people gained nothing by it; Charles continued to levy the tithes, and appropriated them to his own use, in order, as he said, ironically, to show his deference for the parliament, which was unwilling that the money should leave the kingdom.

The affairs of the holy father were taking a very bad turn, and he was already devising means to reconcile himself with the king of Naples, when an event occurred which made the balance preponderate in his favour, and increased considerably his influence in Europe. As we have seen, after the death of Mohammed the Second, his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim, disputed for the throne of the caliphs, and caused rivers of blood to flow; Zizim had been at last defeated, and forced to take refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rhodes, and then to France. Afterwards, the grand master of Rhodes, who was sold to the court of Rome, persuaded him he would be in greater safety in Italy than in the dominions of Charles the Eighth, and he determined to place himself under the protection of Innocent. He came to the apostolic city accompanied by the grand prior of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He was presented to holiness at a public consistory, where, according to custom, the grand master of the ceremonies informed him through an interpreter, that he must salute the pontiff by kissing his feet. This the Mussulman prince refused to do, swearing by the beard of Mahomet that he would not touch such a dirty baboon. The dragoman did not judge it prudent to translate the oath of Zizim; he merely announced that the young prince demanded to be excused from the humiliating ceremonial of kissing the feet. Innocent waived this form, and his joy at having the Mussulman prince in his power was so great, that he promised him all he asked, and even engaged, by a solemn oath, to re-instate him on the throne of Constantinople.

Innocent well understood all the advantage he could draw from his prisoner; he at first used him to extort from Bajazet an annual tribute, by threatening him to raise the west in behalf of his brother, and compelled him to conclude a treaty, by which the Sublime Porte was obliged to furnish him with troops whenever he required them. He still, however, made use of the crusade against the Turks to extort new subsidies from the people, and whilst his emissaries were negotiating with the sultan to sell him peace, he was sending legates to all the courts of Europe, commissioned to announce to kings and republics the convocation of a general council at Rome, for the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin, in the year 1439.

Embassadors came together from all parts,

and every kingdom, every province, every city of any importance, was represented by its deputies or bishops. It was decreed in this synod, that all Christians should, in accordance with their resources, contribute money, arms or provisions for the expenses of the war against the infidels, and that the holy father should receive full authority to levy annates or tithes, to make collections, to sell indulgences, dispensations and privileges, so far as he judged it necessary for the interests of the crusade. Innocent did not fail to make full use of the authority of the council, and he reaped so rich a harvest in France, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and England, that he was obliged to add several rooms to the buildings of the apostolic treasury to hold the tons of gold and silver sent in by his collectors. Never had the preaching of a crusade been so productive, and that was owing to the presence of the prince Zizim at Rome, which gave an appearance of truth to the plans of the holy father. To increase his happiness, his negotiations in the east were as successful as his preachings in the west, and the sultan Bajazet, who feared lest he might execute his threats, determined to pay him the tribute which he demanded, and as a proof of his friendship, sent him rich presents in gold, silver, and precious stones; his ambassadors were also accompanied by thirty beautiful Circassian slaves, whom he generously presented to the pope and his cardinals. The ambassadors of the sultan were received with distinction by the officers of the Holy See, who went to meet them a mile without the walls of the city.

Besides this tribute, and these magnificent presents, Bajazet gave to the holy father a hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold to defray the table expenses of Zizim. Some days afterwards his holiness received an embassy from the sultan of Egypt, who sent to offer to ransom Zizim for four hundred thousand ducats, and to surrender the city of Jerusalem in full to the Christians; he took moreover a solemn pledge to surrender to the pope all the conquests he might make from Bajazet, even Constantinople itself. The intention of the sultan was to place Zizim at the head of his troops, and dethrone the sultan, who was his most formidable foe. Innocent accepted the money of the Egyptians, promised to send the young prince to Cairo as soon as he could do so conveniently, and dismissed them.

Although these negotiations had been kept secret, something of them still transpired. The chief of the Turkish embassy discovered that his holiness had promised to set Zizim at liberty on the payment of an enormous ransom. He then determined to outbid the Egyptians, and offered the pope six hundred thou-

sand crowns of gold to permit him to poison the brother of the sultan. Authors say that Innocent was capable of committing any crime for money; he did not, then, reject this odious proposal. He took the six hundred thousand crowns, and gave the required permission, exacting, however, that he should furnish the means to be used in the execution of the plot. It was told his holiness that an officer of the palace, named Christopher Macrin, already gained over to the cause of Bajazet, had promised to mix poison in the water used by the prince at table. "Innocent," says Raynaldi, "approved of every thing. The ambassador caused him to send poison to the assassin on the appointed day. But the holy father, who derived large sums from the existence of his prisoner, had no intention of depriving him self of them. In the evening Christopher Macrin was arrested by the guards of the pope and at once put to the torture. The unfortunate man avowed his crime, and was condemned to be torn by hot pincers, and to be quartered on the public square. After the punishment his members were nailed to the gates of the city. This great rascality," adds the historian, "broke off the negotiations, and the next day the ambassadors embarked for Constantinople, publishing every where that the pope was an unblushing robber."

On his side Innocent published every where, that their anger arose from his having refused the alliance of Bajazet. His legates propagated this story every where, and it served to stimulate the levy of the tenths. The cares and pains which the holy father took to increase his treasures did not, however, absorb all his attention, and did not prevent him from pursuing his plans against the kingdom of Naples. His new returns permitted him to assemble a formidable army, and resume the offensive. In this extremity Ferdinand discovered that his best plan was to submit to the pope, and surrender to him the domains which he wished to erect into a principality for his bastard. The king of Arragon consented to be the mediator between him and the Holy See, and peace was concluded at Rome in the month of February, 1491.

Thus did the infamous Innocent triumph over his foe, and the oldest of his bastards was recognised as a prince. But divine justice had marked out the termination of his crimes, and he died on the 25th of July, 1491, from an attack of apoplexy. Stephen Infesera maintains, that the holy father in his last sickness attempted to reanimate the sources of life by means of a frightful beverage, composed by a Jewish physician with the blood of three young boys of ten years old, who were murdered for the purpose. Onuphre and Ciconius relate the same fact, which they place at an earlier period.

## ALEXANDER THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND POPE. R. C. Emay - 216 P.

[A. D. 1491.]

*Picture of the Saturnalia of the Roman court.—History of the cardinal Borgia—His life as a student, advocate, and soldier—His debaucheries with a Spanish lady and her two daughters—He continues his relations with Rosa Vanozza, the youngest of the daughters of his mistress—He is called to Rome by his uncle Calixtus the Third—He places Rosa Vanozza and her five children at Venice—Hypocrisy of the cardinal Roderick Borgia—Letters to his mistress—She comes to Rome—Immorality of the cardinals—Borgia buys the papacy—Magnificent feasts at his coronation—He casts aside the mask, and exhibits his enormities in open day—He accumulates riches and dignities on the heads of his bastards—His quarrels with the petty princes of Italy—He compels the king of Naples to give his daughter in marriage to his son Godfrey—He continues the levy of the tenths under the pretence of a crusade against the Turks—Division of the East and West Indies between the Spaniards and Portuguese—Horrible incest of the holy father, his daughter Lucretia, and her two brothers, Francis and Cesar Borgia—Madame Lucretia marries John Sforza, lord of Pesaro—History of the beautiful Wilhelmina, one of the concubines of the holy father—Orgies and debauchery of the pontifical family—Lucretia, in the costume of a bacchante, presides over a council of cardinals, and seats herself in the chair of St. Peter—Singular deliberations in this assembly—Diversion of Madame Lucretia—Boyzet offers his holiness an enormous sum to poison his brother—Charles the Eighth offers him a large ransom for Zizim—His holiness finds means to get the money from both: he surrenders Zizim to the king of France, receives the promised ransom, and eight days afterwards the Musulman prince dies from poison—Cesar Borgia a cardinal—His odious character—Treason of the pope toward Charles the Eighth.—Simonies, robbery, murder, and poisoning committed by the pontiff and his son—Francis Borgia made prince of Beneventum—His brother Cesar assassinates him from jealousy—Alexander heaps his execrable love on Cesar, and gives him authority to quit the ecclesiastical state—A hunt at Ostia—Cesar governs the church—His cruelty—He employs himself in killing men for pastime—Assassination of the archbishop of Cosenza—Alexander wishes to cast ambassadors who come to remonstrate with him, out of the windows of the Vatican—History of Jerome Savanarole—Cesar Borgia at the court of France—A thunderbolt falls on the chamber of the pope—Perfidies, treasons, and crimes of Cesar Borgia—Scandalous journey of the pontifical family—Third marriage of Lucretia—The orgies which took place on this occasion—His holiness authorises, by a bull, Peter Mendoza to take his own son for a Ganymede—Alexander and Cesar Borgia form a plan to murder two rich cardinals, in order to inherit their wealth—They are caught in their own snare, and are themselves poisoned—death of the infamous Alexander the Sixth.*

We have reached a period in the history of the Roman pontiffs, which may be regarded as that in which intelligence commenced replacing ignorance in the See of St. Peter; and we must also say, that it is the one in which the corruption of the clergy reached a height which it had not before attained. Before the reign of Alexander the Sixth, the chiefs of the clergy were already neglectful of the care of their flock; but after the time of that pope we shall see them abandoning entirely religious discussions to cast themselves into political struggles, and turn their attention to strategy, finance, the organization of armies, fortifications, and other worldly sciences, which alone could maintain them on the dishonoured chair of St. Peter. For themselves, there exists but one God; it is gold; its worship, debauchery and murder. They have no longer belief or religion; it matters little to them whether a people believe in the Bible, the Evangelists, or the Koran. They despoil all, be they Jews, Christians, or Turks; they no longer condemn heretics to the scaffold from fanaticism, but from avarice. They massacre, indifferently, the rich whose fortunes they covet, and the poor whose energy

they fear. We are, finally, entering upon a period in which the theocracy reached the apogee of its power, and in which, far from concealing its perfidies, corruption, and cruelties in the dark, it exposes them to the light of day, and even glories in them.

The pope, who best comprehended this new phase of the pontificate, is beyond all contradiction the successor of Innocent the Eighth, the execrable Roderick Borgia. He was descended, on his mother's side, from the Spanish family of Borgia, which had already occupied the pontifical throne in the person of Calixtus the Third. Some authors maintain that he was the offspring of an incestuous commerce between the pontiff and his sister Joanna, who was married to a certain Godfrey Lenzuolo of Valencia; and that his holiness, wishing to bequeath to him his name, obliged his brother-in-law to abandon his own name, and take that of Borgia.

From his infancy Roderick was the subject of assiduous care, and was confided to skilful masters, who developed his intellect, and made a remarkable advocate of him. Unfortunately, on becoming a man, he took a turn entirely opposed to every thing good, and

employed his admirable talents in defending immoral and scandalous causes. Soon his profession even became insupportable to him, because it compelled him to place a certain restriction on his morals; and he threw himself into the career of arms, being made an officer of a free company, that he might the more readily abandon himself to his taste for debauchery.

It is supposed that it was at this time he entered into a liaison with a remarkable beautiful Spanish lady, who was a widow, with two daughters. After having seduced the mother, he corrupted her children, and initiated them into his horrid pleasures; then, when his mistress died, he freed himself from the eldest of the daughters by placing her in a convent, and kept near him the handsomest and the youngest, named Rosa Vanozza. He had five children by her, Francis, Cæsar, Lucretia, Godfrey, and another who died when young.

Roderick scandalised Spain with his debaucheries for almost seven years, when he heard of the elevation of his uncle Calixtus to the throne of Saint Peter. Seeing at once the immense fortune which this event promised him, he hastened to send a letter of congratulation, in which he besought his holiness to preserve his affection for him. Calixtus replied to his nephew, that he must come at once to Rome, where an important post in the government of the church awaited him, and with his message he sent him a brief, which gave him a benefice that brought him an annual revenue of twelve thousand crowns. This sum, joined to an annual revenue of thirty thousand ducats, which he derived from the property of the family, permitted him to maintain the establishment of a prince. He did not hesitate to obey his uncle's orders; but, as he was unwilling to be separated entirely from his dear Vanozza and his children, and as he understood the necessity there was for his concealing his intrigues in the new part he was about to play, he determined to send them to Venice, where he hoped to be enabled to visit them sometimes without exciting suspicions.

He went alone to Rome, installed himself in a magnificent palace, and became one of the most assiduous courtiers of the holy father, which gave rise to strange rumours in regard to the nature of their relations. The rigidity of morals, however, which he affected, and the mask of hypocrisy which he wore, imposed on the mass, and he even acquired the reputation of an holy person, in despite of his enemies, or rather of those who had penetrated his real character. He was endowed with an eloquence so charming, and urged his doctrines with such skill, that he captivated the minds of those most hostile to him, and had no great difficulty in becoming master of the will of Calixtus. Whilst concealing his ambitious plans beneath the appearance of humility, he was appointed archbishop of Valencia, vice chancellor of the church, and finally, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas, "in

carcere Tulliano," with a pension of twenty-eight thousand crowns of gold; this, with the profits of his metropolitan see, and his place as vice chancellor, rendered his fortune one of the largest in Rome.

From this moment Roderick, the debauchee student of Valencia, the advocate of robbers and assassins, the pillaging and incendiary soldier, the incestuous lover of Rosa Vanozza, thought seriously of making his way to the apostolic throne. From this time he affected the life of a veritable anchorite; he never appeared in public, but with his hands crossed on his breast and his eyes bent to the ground; his language became unctuous and serious; he visited churches, hospitals, and the dwellings of the poor, scattering every where abundant alms, and giving out that at his death the unfortunate should be his heirs; and, finally, he exhibited such profound contempt for wealth, and so great a love for religion and morality, that the Roman people, accustomed for so many ages to be deceived by the priests, allowed themselves to be deceived by his hypocrisy, and proclaimed him a Solomon for wisdom, a Job for patience, and a Moses for the publication of the law of God.

He showed great indefatigability in the duties of his office; he was never absent from consistories or audiences, he conformed always with the sentiments of others, and sought every means to call out their good qualities. By turns grave, light, serious, and playful, he was the charm of the meetings at the Vatican, and created for himself partisans among the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the Italian lords who frequented the court of the holy father. Never did a man know better than he how to conceal his passions beneath an impenetrable mask, nor show more constancy and tenacity in his plans than he.

Whilst he was playing adroitly with the credulity of men, he was carrying on a correspondence with his mistress, which has come down to us, and in which he gave his reasons for the farce he was playing at Rome. "Rosa, my well beloved, imitate my example; remain chaste until it shall become in my power to reseek thee, and mingle our love in infinite pleasures. Let no other mouth profane thy charms, no other hand raise those veils which conceal my sovereign good; a little more patience, and he who is called my uncle will bequeath me the chair of St. Peter as a heritage. In the mean time take great pains with the education of our children, for they are destined to govern people and kings."

Notwithstanding the profound judgment of Roderick, his provisions were not realised on the death of Calixtus; his youth, and perhaps even the rigidity which he affected in his morals, prevented the suffrages from being given to him, and Pius the Second obtained the tiara. During this pontificate he exercised no influence over the government of the church, and applied himself solely to increasing the immense wealth which his uncle had left him, and on which he seized. Pius the



Second died; Paul the Second succeeded him, then came Sixtus the Fourth. During this last reign he bought the rich abbey of Subiaco, and the legation of Arragon and Castile. But he was at the end of his efforts, and being unable longer to endure the constraint he had imposed upon himself, he returned to his course of life, as a captain of adventurers, and committed so many murders and rapes, that Henry the Feeble, king of Castile, drove him out of Spain.

On his return to Rome, having nothing more to conceal, he brought Rosa Vanozza and his five children to him; only, to keep up appearances, he gave them a palace in a retired quarter, and his mistress took the title of the countess Ferdinand, of Castile, from the name of his intendant, who passed for her husband. Every night, under the pretext of visiting this gentleman, his countryman, the cardinal went to the residence of his mistress, where he passed, they said, whole nights in his orgies with Vanozza, and, eternal shame, with his daughter Lucretia.

Sixtus the Fourth died, Innocent the Eighth succeeded him, without any change in the infamous conduct of Roderick Borgia; it is true that his debaucheries were unnoticed in the midst of the Saturnalia of the pontifical court. Rome had become an immense brothel, in which were fifty thousand prostitutes; the streets and lanes were peopled with cut-throats and assassins, the roads were infested by banditti, so that on the death of Innocent, when the cardinals wished to assemble in conclave, they were obliged first to place soldiers in their palaces, and to plant cannon in the avenues to them, to preserve their sumptuous residences from pillage. As soon as the conclave was formed, they guarded with horse and foot soldiers the suburbs adjoining the Vatican, and closed all the approaches to it with enormous beams.

These precautions being taken, they proceeded to the election of a pope; the bishop of Pampeluna was at first proposed as a candidate, but Roderick, who had already bought the suffrages of several cardinals, protracted matters and arranged them so as to assure himself of a majority of the votes. To some he gave palaces, to others castles, land, and money; the cardinal Orsino sold his vote for the castles of Monticelli and Saria; Scarnius Sforza exacted the vice chancellorship of the church; the cardinal of Colonna demanded, for his vote, the rich abbey of St. Benedict, as well as the domains and right of patronage for himself and family for ever; the cardinal of St. Angelo claimed the bishopric of Porto, and the tower which was a dependency on it, with a cellar full of wine. The cardinal of Parma received the city of Nepi; Savelli received the government of Citta Castellana, and of the church of St. Mary the Greater; a monk of Venice who had obtained the cardinalate, sold his vote for five thousand ducats of gold and the promise of passing a night with Lucretia, the daughter of Borgia, to which he assented. Having thus bought up the sacred

college he was proclaimed pope by the name of Alexander the Sixth.

"At last," exclaimed he, "I am pope, the vicar of Christ on earth."

"Yes, holy father," replied Sforza, "you are so most canonically, and we hope by your election to have given repose to the church, and joy to Christendom, as you have been chosen by the Holy Spirit as the worthiest of all your brethren."

Roderick replied, "Though the burden which we are loaded is heavy, we hope that God will grant to us, as to St. Peter, the strength to bear it gloriously. We have no doubt of the aid we shall derive from the concurrence of your abilities, and especially from your obedience, which we trust will be such, that we shall never be compelled to remind you, that the flock of Christ should be blindly submissive to the prince of the apostles."

He then clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, and seized the tiara with so much eagerness, that the cardinal de Medicis could not avoid saying to Lorenzo:—

"I fear, my brother, that we are surrendered to the most voracious wolf in the world, and he will doubtless devour us, if we do not hinder it by prompt flight."

As soon as the ceremonies of the enthronement and of the pierced chair were over, the new pontiff gave his blessing to the clergy, and entered his palace in triumph. All the streets on the route were hung with rich tapestry and strewed with flowers, the public places were dressed with banners, and the stupid crowd rent the air with acclamations. The delight of the Romans was shared by the different courts of Europe, and all the Christian princes sent solemn embassies to the pope, to congratulate him on his exaltation.

Ferdinand of Naples was the only one who foresaw the infamies of this reign, and who abstained from any act of deference towards Alexander the Sixth. He unfortunately predicted what came to pass, for Roderick Borgia, having become pope, no longer placed any restraint upon his passions. He trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, he unveiled the mysteries of his monstrous amours, he audaciously installed in the Vatican his mistress, his daughter Lucretia, and his other children, and showed himself to be avaricious, knavish, implacable, debauched, cruel, or rather fierce, for Paul Langius affirms, that he turned Rome into a slaughter-house. What had he to fear? Had he not been proclaimed supreme father of the faithful, king of kings, vicar of God on earth, the infallible pontiff?

The ruling passion in the mind of Alexander the Sixth, was an unmeasured ambition for the elevation of his bastards. He was scarcely seated on the pontifical throne, when he loaded them with riches and honours. Francis, the eldest, was created duke of Candia and prince of Beneventum; Cesar, his second son, who was, next to Lucretia, the object of his most tender care, was made a cardinal and archbishop of Valencia, in Spain. But this distri-

possession of titles and benefices was only the beginning of an immense plan which he had formed. His ambition coveted for his bastards the sovereignty of Naples, Venice, Florence, all Italy; thus he dreamed of but victories and conquests, and these thoughts had determined him to take the name of Alexander, which recalled the greatest conqueror of antiquity.

Italy, that magnificent country, so bounteously provided for by Heaven, though degenerate and shorn of its ancient splendour, was still the constant subject of desire to the sovereigns of Europe, who multiplied unceasingly its troubles and intestine divisions. It is true, that the situation of the country assisted in marvellously prolonging these incessant struggles and civil wars, which arose on all sides, at the least encroachment on the self-love of the small princes or the Italian republics. The necessity of maintaining the respective independence of each state, was the result of a refined policy, which entwined Italy and bent its people beneath an insupportable yoke. Venice was distinguished among all the cities for its oligarchical government, a mixture of nobles and merchants; its Council of Ten had carried the art of deceiving the people, and of using men for the advantage and well-being of a privileged caste, so that neither before nor since, has any one surpassed them in the art of duping mankind; and to characterise this period, it is enough to say, that Machiavel, that abominable preceptor of tyrants, flourished in it.

This most serene republic had, like the holy father, ambitious views and plans to realise; its attention was turned unceasingly towards Romagna, of which it already possessed a large part, and towards the duchy of Milan, a fief of the empire, then ruled by the weak John Galeas, under the tutelage of his uncle, the ambitious Louis Sforza; it dreamed of wresting from him the states of Parma, Piacenza, and Genoa, then dependencies of the Milanese; and even without avowing it, it foresaw the moment in which the republic of Florence, tired of obeying the Medici, would wish to reunite with Venice. On the other hand, the kingdom of Naples, which alone, was sufficiently important to exercise a salutary influence over the other states, was placed in a most critical position in consequence of the national hatred towards the king. Thus was Italy threatened with ruin on all sides, and Venice, the sovereign of the Adriatic, hoped soon to ornament its diadem with the flowers of other crowns; Rome even did not give it umbrage, and it regarded with calmness the successors of the apostles in the apostolic city, and their processions of missions, bastards, and courtisans.

The papacy, however, was to teach the Venetians, so proud of their greatness, that God sports with the combinations of men, and that which appeared to lead infallibly to the ruin of the popes, that double character of king and priest which they have united in their persons, became, in the hands of Alexander the Sixth, a powerful lever, which he

used to break down the formidable world of that republic.

Roderick Borgia, gradually, and without chief even having need of recourse to temporal arms or spiritual thunders, but simply by his prudent and Machiavelian course, triumphed over Venice, and re-established the preponderance of the Holy See in Italy. We must admit, also, that this was difficult to accomplish, for the long sojourn of the popes at Avignon, the multiplied attempts at revolt by the Roman people, the grants obtained from emperors and pontiffs by the vicar barons of the Holy See, had considerably diminished the domains of the church and the revenues of the apostolic treasury. Alexander at once applied all his care to restore the integrity of the pontifical states. He then determined to overthrow the authority of the neighbouring petty princes, among whom were the Bentivogli of Bologna, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Manfredi of Faenza, the Colonna of Ostia, the Montefeltri of Urbino, and, finally, the Vitelli, Savelli, and several others who owned rich provinces.

Before, however, engaging in contest against all these families, the pope was desirous of obtaining strong assistance by contracting alliances with powerful princes. He first addressed himself to Ferdinand, king of Naples, and taking advantage of the alarm, which the armaments of the king of France, who was preparing to invade his kingdom, caused him, he offered him the aid of an army, on condition that his son Alphonso, duke of Calabria, should give his daughter in marriage to the youngest of the bastards of the holy father, with a dowry in the kingdom of Naples.—His proposition having been rejected in insulting terms, Alexander turned his views in another direction, and formed a defensive league with the tutor of John Galeas, duke of Milan, and the most serene republic. It was a difficult matter to conclude an alliance between Rome and Venice; thanks, however, to Alexander's skill in diplomacy, the difficulties were overcome, and the treaty was signed between the republic, the court of Rome, and the duchy of Milan.

Alphonso of Calabria and Peter de Medicis, alarmed at the consequences of a league, which threatened the political existence of the other states, sought to break it; for this purpose they received joyfully proposals from Fabricio Colonna, Prosper his brother, and the cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds, avowed enemies to the pontiff, who engaged to deliver Rome with the assistance of the party of the Guelphs and the Ursini, if the army of Alphonso could in three days present itself before the walls of the holy city.

The old king, Ferdinand, with his prudent foresight, had opposed this plan, and desired to make peace with Alexander on any terms; unfortunately death overtook him at the moment when he was renewing negotiations with the pope. His holiness would, doubtless, have easily arranged a new treaty, since the opposing interests of the contracting parties had

Second, induced grave discussions between the court of Rome and the Venetians. Afterwards, when the new king of Naples had been informed that France had entered into the league, he was desirous of repairing the fault he had committed, and re-opened the negotiations commenced by his father with the court of Rome. The conditions were, however, no longer the same, and his pride, which had before revolted at the idea of giving the hand of his young daughter, Donna Dancha, to Godfrey Borgia, was obliged to bend before the exigencies of his position, and he sent to give his consent to the proposed marriage, to bestow the principality of Squillace and the countship of Cariati on the young couple, to make a rich gift in benefices to Cæsar, and a pension of five thousand ducats to Francis, duke of Candia, with the promise of one of the first posts in the kingdom and the command of his armies. These offers of the king were accepted by his holiness, who demanded in advance ten thousand ducats, of which he had pressing need.

Public feasts and rejoicings took place at Rome, on account of the marriage of Godfrey Borgia, and the holy father displayed such magnificence in the matter that he entirely emptied the treasury of the church. He then had recourse to the expedients which popes and kings usually employ to refill their coffers; he increased the imposts and oppressed the unfortunate people; he then tried a new publication of a crusade, and however improbable it may appear, after having been robbed by the popes for forty years, under the pretence of wars against the Turks which never took place, the stupid people still brought enormous sums to the Vatican, and nourished the licentious displays of the bastards of Alexander and his cherished Lucretia.

It was at this time, in the year 1492, that an extraordinary event occurred; the discovery of a new continent by the celebrated Christopher Columbus, and at about the same period the Portugese, Vasco de Gama, prosecuted the discoveries of Henry the Navigator, of Cavellas, and of Bartholomew Diaz, doubled the cape of Good Hope, passed to India through the Mozambique channel, and changed entirely the route and form of the commerce of the world.

The Portugese had followed the Spaniards to the continent discovered by Columbus, and were disputing with them by arms for this rich prey. As their interest, however, induced them not to make too much noise about their quarrel, the king of Portugal, John the Second, and Ferdinand the Catholic, agreed to refer the settlement of the boundaries of their new empires to the pope.

Alexander the Sixth consented to act as the mediator of peace between the two countries; he traced a line which passed from pole to pole through the Azores, or Western islands, and decreed, by virtue of his universal omnipotence, that all the countries which were beyond this line, that is, the West Indies, or America, should belong to the king of

Spain, and those on this side, that is, the East Indies and the shores of Africa, to the king of Portugal. His holiness imposed no other condition on this magnificent gift than the immediate payment of a large sum of money, and an engagement by the Spaniards and Portugese to convert, willingly, or by force, the inhabitants to Christianity. Sixty years after the publication of this bull, the execrable Spanish missionaries had murdered fifteen millions of victims in the new world, in obedience to the orders of the pope.

As soon as Alexander had repaired his treasury with the profits of the crusade, he was engaged in concluding a marriage between his daughter and John Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and as she had been affianced from her infancy to an Arragonese gentleman, by virtue of his apostolic power he freed her from her oath.

"At this marriage took place," says Stephen Infessura, "fetes and orgies worthy of Madame Lucretia. In the evening his holiness, the cardinal Borgia, the duke of Candia, some courtiers, and several noble ladies supped together, at which play actors and female dancers appeared, who represented obscene plays, to the great joy of the guests." (The recital of the after transactions are not proper to be translated.)

Alexander had consented to the marriage of his daughter because he was then ruled by a new passion for a young girl called the beautiful Wilhelmina, the sister of Alexander Farnese, whom this wretch had prostituted to him to purchase his pardon for a crime he had committed. The Farnese afterwards obtained a cardinal's hat, and we shall see him, in his turn, filling the apostolic chair, by the name of Paul the Third. Such is the origin of the great Farnese family, with which the first sovereign families of Europe have allied themselves.

Madame Lucretia, after her marriage, refused to go with the lord of Pesaro to his principality, and lived as before in the palace of the Vatican. "She no longer quitted the apartments of the holy father, by day or by night," adds Burchard, the master of ceremonies to Alexander, who registered carefully, hour by hour, all that occurred at the pontifical court.

Alexander granted to his cherished daughter, not only all that she asked, but even gave her the superintendence of the government of the church. She was present when the letters were opened and business despatched; she convoked the sacred college, and frequently, at the close of orgies, she presided over the council of the cardinals in the costume of a bacchante, with naked bosom, and her body scarcely covered by a maulin robe. In this condition she deliberated on subjects of licentiousness, and was not ashamed to give and receive, before them, caresses so immodest, that Burchard himself, habituated as he was to so many of such things, exclaims, in recording it, "Horror! ignominy! disgrace!"

Mussulman ambassadors soon after arrived

at Rome, commissioned by the sultan Bajazet to make overtures to the holy father to have the prince Zizim poisoned. The following was the letter of the Ottoman emperor:

"The sultan Bajazet, by the grace of God, the greatest king and caliph of the two continents of Asia and Europe, to the excellent lord Alexander, father of all Christians, by the gifts of Providence, and most worthy pontiff of the Roman church, reverence, kindness, and sincerity.

"I have, my lord, until now, payed with exactness to your holiness forty thousand ducats a year, for the support of my brother Zizim; but, as Innocent the Eighth, your predecessor, as I have been informed, whilst he was receiving large sums from me to guard that ambitious prince, was also listening to the proposals of the sultan of Egypt, and accepting his money to set Zizim at liberty, I am led to fear, lest one day your successor may furnish troops to my brother, to enable him to dispute my throne.

"Your envoys are well apprised of my apprehensions, and have advised me to address myself directly to you, to procure for my mind the tranquillity I so much need, and to put an end to the cause of my alarm. They have even induced me to hope that you would listen favourably to my propositions.

"I then pledge myself to give you three hundred thousand ducats, several cities, and the shirt of Jesus Christ, if your holiness will remove Zizim from the world in any way you may judge best. A signal service will thus be rendered to the prisoner himself, for according to the prophet, he should prefer death to servitude, and you, most illustrious lord, will not commit a crime, since, by your religion, Christians are ordered to exterminate heretics and infidels."

No authentic document containing the pontiff's reply remains, only Comines affirms that he accepted the offer of the caliph, and what appears to confirm this opinion is the knowledge afterwards acquired of a secret treaty between the courts of Rome and Constantinople, by which Bajazet engaged to furnish to the Holy See six thousand veteran cavalry, and as many infantry, to combat the French, who were preparing to invade the kingdom of Naples.

Charles the Eighth did not delay to enter Italy at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, assisted by an artillery force of a hundred and forty field pieces, and his progress was so rapid, that he had already conquered Lombardy before Alexander could obtain the means to resist him. In this extremity the holy father endeavoured to bring into play the arts of diplomacy, and sent ambassadors to the king of France, to enjoin on him to stop his march. Charles, however, undisturbed by the prohibition of the pope, continued his route towards Rome, whether his deputies had already preceded him, commissioned to demand from his holiness the investiture of the kingdom of Naples for their master.

Not only did Alexander reply that he would

never accede to their proposal, and would oppose with all his power the passage of the French through his states, but when the chief of the embassy represented to him, that Charles, being the ally of Maximilian, could deprive him of his tiara, either by force, or by having him judged by a council as a simoniacal, adulterous, incestuous, robbing, and murdering pope, he was still unwilling to yield, and even spoke in reviling terms of Charles, in the presence of the minister of the king of Naples, of Lopez, his datary, and of the prince of Anhalt, the delegate of the empire. He had the boldness to accuse the king of France of having formed the ambitious project of placing the imperial crown on his own brow, and of overthrowing Maximilian from his throne. "As for myself," added he, "even were Charles to place a drawn sword at my throat, I would still oppose his execrable ambition. And you, prince of Anhalt," said he, addressing the ambassador of Germany, "it is your duty to inform your master of the designs of France, that in his capacity of protector of the church, he may join other Christian princes in defending our see, and preserving the rights of the empire, and the liberty of all Italy."

As was to be anticipated, his courage failed before the danger, and when the king of France presented himself on the borders of the ecclesiastical states, the pope dared not dispute his entrance. Finally, when he was beneath the walls of Rome, his holiness sent to him his master of ceremonies, his apostolical secretary, and the dean of the rota, to receive his orders. Charles caused the gates to be opened immediately, and entered the city armed at all points, with lances in rest, ensigns displayed, and trumpets sounding, escorted by his troops, who marched in close columns, followed by his formidable artillery.

His quarter masters billeted the troops, his provosts placed sentinels in all the quarters, fixed the rounds and the patroles, erected scaffolds and racks, and published the ordinances of the prince to the sound of the trumpet, as if he had been in Paris. Though absolute master in Rome, the king had not yet seen Alexander, who had shut himself up, with his family, in the castle of San Angelo. A great number of prelates, among whom were Ascanius Sforza, vice chancellor of the church, the cardinals Julian de la Rovere, Guroh, St. Severin, Savelli, and Colonna, proposed to the king to judge and depose the pope, if he refused to submit. Twice even had the artillery been turned against the castle of San Angelo, to alarm him and conquer his obstinacy; but, says Comines, the prince refused to come to extremities. At length the pope yielded to the urgency of his son, Cæsar Borgia, who represented to him how imminent was the danger of the ruin of their family, and consented to grant an audience to Charles the Eighth. The first interview commenced in this singular manner:—Alexander, to avoid embracing the king, as ceremony required, feigned to faint, and fell back on the

sofa; Charles, on his side, took a seat near a window, until they had brought the holy father to by the use of salts. The conference then commenced, and they came to the following arrangements:—Alexander agreed to live in peace with his cardinals, to pay them the rights due them, to place in possession of the king the cities of Viterba, Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto; not to confer any legation without his permission, to give cardinal's hats to two of Charles' captains, and to surrender the prince Zizim to him. His holiness, moreover, granted to him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and even granted to him the cardinal Borgia, his son, as a hostage for the execution of his promises. Charles then took the oath of obedience to the pope, and paid the ransom of Zizim; that done, he left Rome with all his troops, and went towards Naples. Eight days afterwards, when he was scarcely out of the territories of the church, the unfortunate Zizim yielded up his last breath. The pope had kept his promises religiously; he had engaged to give up his prisoner to Charles the Eighth, which he had done, having only poisoned him beforehand. In this way he obtained the ransom which was already paid by France, and the three hundred thousand ducats which had been offered him by the sultan of Constantinople.

On the next day, Cæsar Borgia, in defiance of his oath to remain with Charles, escaped from the French camp in disguise and returned to Rome, where the pope received him with the most extravagant demonstrations of love. Cæsar was the object of Alexander's preference, and he truly deserved it from the similitude of his character to that of the holy father. Like him, destitute of shame or modesty, he abandoned himself to all the licenses of his passions; like him, obstinate in his plans, implacable in his revenge, he erected crime into a political system, and recoiled before no atrocity; like him, ambitious and egotistical, he bent every thing to his selfishness, sacrificed every thing to his interest; morality and religion were in his hands but instruments, which he used for the success of his plans, and which he trampled under foot when they became useless to him. These two men, so well made for each other, had not, however, agreed upon one point; Alexander was desirous of bequeathing the papacy to his son, and Cæsar coveted an imperial crown, and all Italy for a kingdom. Cæsar was a prince of the church, and he would have given all his ecclesiastical honours for one of the secular titles with which his elder brother, the duke of Candia, was so abundantly provided. It was on this account that the cardinal had conceived a secret hatred against his brother, whose results we are to see.

This flight of Cæsar Borgia, and the poisoning of Zizim, greatly enraged Charles the Eighth, and he swore vengeance against the pontifical family. As his interests did not permit him to return at once to Rome, he put off the punishment of the pope to another

time, and marched rapidly on Naples. The cowardly Alphonsus fled into Sicily on his approach, abdicating in favour of his son Ferdinand, to whom he left the defence of the capital. Naples, notwithstanding the efforts of the young prince, was carried by assault, and the rest of the kingdom was conquered with such marvellous facility, that Alexander said, that the French had made war with wooden spurs, and had chalked out their quarters, meaning thereby, that they would not long remain masters of Naples. He could, moreover, the better prophesy about it, since he had taken measures to make it true, by forming a formidable league among all the Christian powers against the king of France. The republic of Venice and the duke of Milan, had entered into the confederacy; Ferdinand the Catholic, Henry the Seventh, king of England, the archduke Philip and his son Maximilian, had also rallied to the support of the holy father.

Charles soon discovered the danger which menaced him, and to allay the storm, he wished to alarm his enemies by a daring blow. Leaving then a part of his troops in his new kingdom, under the command of the duke of Montpensier, whom he had created viceroy of Naples, he marched on Rome with nine thousand picked soldiers, to chastise the pope. The latter had been advised of his movement, and had fled with his family to Orvieto. The king remained but three days in the holy city, and went rapidly into Tuscany, and from thence to the dutchy of Parma, where forty thousand of the confederates had assembled to dispute the passage.

Alexander, on his side, had returned to Rome as soon as he was informed of the departure of Charles, and as he considered himself strong enough, thanks to his allies, to dictate laws to him, he sent ambassadors instructed to inform him, that the conventions before agreed upon by them, were erased and annulled, on account of their having been imposed by force; he also ordered him to leave Italy immediately with all his troops, and to recall the garrisons which he had left in Apulia and Calabria, under penalty of being cited to appear before the pontifical justice, to hear himself excommunicated, interdicted, and deposed. The commissioners of the pontiff met Charles at Turin, on the very day of the victory of Fornova, in which ten thousand French had crushed an army of forty thousand men. The prince was still all covered with blood and dust when the legates came to summon him to go to Rome to render an account of his conduct to the sovereign pontiff. This was adding sarcasm to a hateful perfidy. "I will accept the invitation of the holy father," replied Charles to the deputies, "and I hope that he will await me, that I may have the honour of kissing his feet, of which I was deprived when I last passed through Rome."

This reply of the monarch showed the ambassadors that they could not return too quickly, if they did not wish to be treated as enemies. Notwithstanding his victory, Charles

was obliged to return to France, and the kingdom of Naples had passed under the sway of Ferdinand the Second, in less time than it had taken the French to conquer it. Alexander, freed from his dreaded foe, turned all his thoughts to the accomplishments of his plans for the elevation of his family, and employed by turns treason, simony, force, and assassination, which form the usual train of popes and kings. At first, under the pretext that the Roman barons had betrayed their oaths of fidelity, by submitting to the French, he declared them deprived of all authority, and instructed the duke of Candia, whom he had appointed general of the church, to attack them, one after another in their fortresses, and to seize on their domains. The greater part, seeing the uselessness of resistance, surrendered, and were cowardly murdered; the Orsini alone disputed Romagna foot by foot.

His holiness was, at the same time, occupied in repairing the wretched state of his finances, and proceeded in it, with his second son, the cardinal Cæsar, in such a way as to exhibit how great was the genius of the Borgia, since they surpassed all the predecessors of Alexander in inventing a new mode of refilling the treasury of the Vatican. They published a law, declaring the Holy See the heir of the members of the sacred college; they then sold the cardinalship to the richest Romans, and then poisoned them to become their heirs. Alexander also carried on a large trade in crucifixes, relics, and indulgences, which brought him in considerable sums; he also sold, through his datary, Jean Baptiste Ferrara, the cardinal of Modena, ecclesiastical dignities, employments, and benefices, without troubling himself whether they were vacant or not; only in the latter case, poison or the dagger were employed on the prelate who refused to yield his place to him who had bought it. In his turn, Jean Baptiste Ferrara, the minister of iniquity, the instrument of pontifical despotism, received the chastisement of his crimes, and was poisoned by Cæsar Borgia, who coveted the immense wealth he had amassed in the exercise of his office.

Whilst his holiness and his son were making or breaking cardinals as their policy or their interest required, the duke of Candia was carrying on the war against the Orsini in Romagna, razing castles, destroying fortresses, pillaging towns, and forcing the people to submit to the Holy See. His atrocities, however, ended in exasperating the people; the citizens armed every where, and he was forced to retreat.

Alexander then called to his aid Gonzalvo de Cordova, who was in Italy with a formidable army, destined for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; but instead of fighting the Orsini, the Spanish general treated with them, and constrained the holy father to ratify his engagements. To avenge himself for what he called treason, the pope was desirous of ridding himself of Gonzalvo de Cordova, and instructed him to drive the French from Ostia, in the hopes that he would there

find his death. In fact, the enemy was so strongly entrenched in this position, that it appeared to be impossible to dislodge him; in less, however, than a month, after incredible efforts and prodigies of valour, the Spaniards rendered themselves masters of Ostia, and Gonzalvo returned to Rome to beseech the holy father to permit him to put an end to the war in Naples, and fulfil the wishes of King Ferdinand the Catholic. Alexander, who could not pardon the new glory he had acquired, refused his demand, and broke out into gross abuse of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he said, were indebted to him for large sums, which he had lent them to bring their conspiracy against the foolish king of Castile to a successful issue. "Thus then, pope of Satan," replied Gonzalvo, "thou refusest to obey the sovereigns whose subject thou wert, before thou occupiedest the pontifical throne, through their protection? Tremble, senseless old man, lest they take a shining vengeance on this insolent tone." This done, the Spanish general retired quickly from the audience chamber, rejoined his army and marched on Naples.

Shortly after, news of the entire expulsion of the French from Italy, and of the death of King Ferdinand, was received at Rome.—By this event, the crown of Naples of right, reverted to an uncle of that prince, named Frèderick, who hastened to send ambassadors to the court of Rome, to solicit the investiture of that kingdom. Before deciding the question regarding this crown, the pontiff, who had constantly in view the elevation of his family, exacted, that the consistory should make a decree investing the duke of Candia with the principality of Beneventum, and placing him in possession of a tribute of an hundred thousand crowns of gold, which the kings of Castile and Portugal paid yearly to the Holy See. Garcia Las, the Spanish ambassador, opposed this measure energetically, and protested, in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, against the encroachments of the pontiff, and what surprised the cardinals most was, to see the protest of Spain supported by Cardinal Valentine. Notwithstanding their united efforts, however, the decree was made, and Francia, the eldest son of the pope, obtained the principality of Beneventum, with the countships of Terracina and Ponte Corvo.

On this occasion, the duke of Candia came to Rome, to receive the investiture of his new estates, and entered the holy city mounted on a magnificent horse, glittering with gold and precious stones, and surrounded by an escort of rich lords, barons, and princes, as if he had himself been emperor or pope. All these honours awakened the jealous fury of Cæsar Borgia, and Lucretia having been imprudent enough to extend her incestuous caresses to Francis, without appearing to pay any attention to her other brother, the death of the new prince of Beneventum was resolved upon; one night, after leaving the house of Rosa Vanzoza, where he had supped, he was attacked by four men in masks, pierced with

sine blows of a dagger, and his dead body thrown into the Tiber.

On the next day, the cardinal Cæsar Borgia started for Naples, where he was commissioned to crown Frederick of Arragon. This precipitous departure, and the disappearance of Francis, caused him to be accused of fratricide. "But the pope sought to dispel it," says Burchard, "and sent us to seek his son in all the brothels of the city."

Some days afterwards, the dead body of Francis was found in the Tiber, by some fishermen. Alexander at first thought that the enemies of his family had assassinated him, and not knowing on whom to lay it, he put to the torture several notables of Rome, chosen by hazard, and did not stop until he became certain that the crime had been committed by his cherished son. "Then, says Burchard, he burst into tears, and consoled himself in the arms of Madame Lucretia, one of the causes of the murder."

When Cæsar Borgia supposed that no more was thought at Rome of the murder of the duke of Candia, he returned from Naples, and presented himself before his holiness, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred in his absence. Alexander received him with the same demonstrations of tenderness as before, and at his request consented to free him from his ecclesiastical vows, that he might enter upon a career more conformable to his tastes and habits. Thus Cæsar Borgia, by authority of the pope, found himself the heir of the titles and principalities which he so long envied his brother, and from a cardinal became a soldier.

To celebrate his reconciliation with his father, Cæsar was desirous of giving him the diversion of a hunting party, and both started for Ostia, accompanied by courtiers, prostitutes, minions, and jugglers, and escorted by five hundred horse and six hundred foot soldiers, which placed them beyond the reach of an attempt at abduction. "They passed four whole days," says Tomasso Thomasi, "in the woods of Ostia, taking pleasure in surpassing in debauchery and licentiousness, all that the most depraved imagination could invent, after which they returned to that Rome which they had rendered a cavern of brigands, a sanctuary of iniquity. It would be impossible," adds the historian, "to relate all the murders, rapes, and incests which were daily committed at the court of the pope, and scarcely would the life of a man be long enough to allow him to transcribe the names of the victims who were stabbed, poisoned, or cast alive into the Tiber."

In the midst of all these abominations, the cardinals prostrated themselves before Alexander the Sixth, and applauded the incests of the father and his children; but what finished the degradation of this court, is the concert of praise and flattery with which they hailed the arrival of Cæsar when he appeared in the consistory. It is true, that the terror which this monster inspired, added much to the marks of submission which were

lavished on him, for each one knew that Cæsar Borgia, either from avarice or cruelty, was constantly thinking of lowering their heads. "It was so great a pleasure for him to see blood flow," says Burchard, "that following the example of the emperor Commodus, he exercised himself with killing, in order to keep up his tiger rage. One day he enclosed the square of St. Peter with palisades, and ordered his guards to bring into the enclosure prisoners of war, men, women, and children; he then commenced a horrid contest with these unfortunate persons, they bound with cords, he armed at all points, mounted on a fierce courser; he shot some, hacked others with blows of his sabre, trampled some under his horse's feet, and in less than half an hour he caracoled alone in a sea of blood, and in the midst of dead bodies, whilst his holiness and Madame Lucretia were taking their pastime in a balcony, by assisting at this horrid scene." These details are not the most frightful which the master of ceremonies has transmitted to us; there are others which we are forced to suppress, on account of their monstrous character.

Some time after, Ferdinand and Isabella addressed energetic protests to the court of Rome, on account of a permission which the pope had granted to the heiress of the crown of Portugal, to leave the convent in which she was, and marry a son of the foolish king, John the Second; this authority compromised seriously the interests of the king of Castile, who had pretensions on this kingdom.

As Cæsar Borgia was desirous of contracting an alliance with Charlotte, the daughter of Frederick, king of Naples, the near relative of Ferdinand, he was fearful lest that prince would oppose some obstacle to his plan, in order to avenge himself on his father for having raised up a dangerous competitor for the throne of Portugal; he determined to escape this inconvenience by casting the blame on another. This determination taken, his holiness assembled the consistory, and in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, accused the secretary of the briefs, Florida, archbishop of Cosenza, with having traitorously forged a dispensation for the heiress of Portugal, and with having sent it to her at her entreaty. He ordered his guards to arrest him, and proceeded at once to his examination.

The unfortunate prelate appeared at first annihilated, and could scarcely articulate some words in his defence; he gradually recovered from the blow that he had been struck, protested his innocence, and related, in accents of truth, the minute orders which had been given him in this matter. Alexander did not give him a long time to pursue his justification; at a sign from the pope, four sbirri cast themselves upon Florida, bound him, and hurried him to the castle of San Angelo. This unfortunate man was plunged into a dungeon, despoiled of his garments, his feet naked and immured to his knees. They left him only a wooden crucifix, a breviary, a Bible, two pounds of bread, a small cask of

water, a vial of oil, and a lamp, and informed him they would renew his provisions once a week.

After two months, when Cæsar judged that the energy of the archbishop had been sufficiently broken by this prolonged fast, he sent John Merades to propose to him to take upon himself the fault of which the pope was culpable. In case he refused to obey, he was to menace him with perpetual imprisonment; and on the other hand, if he yielded to the desires of the pope, and consented to sign a declaration that he alone had given to the princess of Portugal the dispensation of marriage, he was to promise him, not only his freedom and re-installment in his offices and benefices, but the still greater favour of his holiness, and the friendship of his son, to whom his yielding would render an important service. The poor archbishop, who saw no other mode of safety, confessed his guilt in the presence of several witnesses, and signed the declaration which the pope and his son caused to be presented to him.

Once master of the written proof, the holy father proceeded against Florida in a consistory held for this purpose, and in the presence of the governor of Rome, the auditor of the apostolic chamber, the attorney general, and the fiscal procurer, pronounced a sentence which deprived the archbishop Cosenza of all his wealth and dignities, degraded him from his orders, and handed over his person to the civil magistrates to undergo the punishment inflicted on forgers. All the articles of the sentence were punctually executed, except the last. Cæsar Borgia had promised the archbishop his protection, and he kept his word, causing him to be poisoned in his dungeon, that he might escape the rack. It was rumoured about that he died from despair, and Alexander was enabled, without inconvenience, to sell at auction the property and benefices of the guilty man.

At last the crimes and abominations of the Borgia excited such indignation, that the princes of Europe instructed their ambassadors to address the pontiff in full consistory, and to summon him to put an end to his incests and infamies, if he did not wish to be condemned by a general council, and deposed from the Holy See. In consequence of these orders, the ambassadors of the emperor of Germany, the kings of France, England, Castile, and Portugal took advantage of a day of solemn audience to notify the wishes of their sovereigns to the pope; but Alexander took it in very bad part, he caused his guards to enter the hall, and threatened to throw them out of the window if they dared address their admonitions to him. He declaimed violently against the kings, and added with derision: "It is a pretty thing for these despots to reproach me with my elevation to the chair of St. Peter, and impute to me, as a crime, some robberies and assassinations, they who leave kingdoms to their children as farms are bequeathed, and who murder millions of men in their quarrels! Go, ye footmen, return to them

who sent you, and say to them that I have yet much to do before I can equal them in wickedness."

"What should people think of their tyrants," said brother Jerome Savonarola, in one of his addresses, "if an Alexander the Sixth judges kings to be more infamous than himself." These bold words lost the life of him who uttered them.

Jerome Savonarola was the prior of the convent of St. Mark in Florence, during the pontificate of Alexander the Sixth. Led away by an ardent love for humanity, say the historians of the times, this bold monk declared himself to be the defender of the people, and urged the Italians, unceasingly, to the conquest of liberty and the annihilation of despotism; the purity of his morals, the elevation of his soul, and the eloquence of his language were such, adds the chronicler, that Jerome Savonarola, the monk of St. Mark's, even imposed on Lawrence de Medicis the tyrant of Florence.

Savonarola announced publicly to men, that a new era of liberty and faith would succeed the reign of slime and mud which weighed down Italy, and that an universal republic would sweep all kings and tyrants from the earth. Notwithstanding this profound hatred for the oppressors of the people, his reputation for holiness was so well established, that Lawrence de Medicis, on his death-bed, sent for him, to receive the sacraments at his hands, as the only just man, he said, who lived in Italy; but Savonarola was unwilling to absolve the tyrant, who even, when about to appear before God, refused to renounce the power he had usurped.

On the day succeeding the death of the prince, the prior of St. Mark's preached before the lords and citizens of Florence, and explained, in a magnificent discourse, sublime theories, which showed what a perfect knowledge he possessed of men, religion, and government. His discourse was divided in four parts; he treated of the fear of God, the love of the republic, the forgetfulness of past injuries, and the equality of men in the sight of the law. By his masculine eloquence, he obtained all the suffrages, electrified all minds, and when he descended from the tribune, the citizens, with one voice, invested him with power to re-constitute the republic of Florence. Savonarola then labored at his work of regeneration, and commenced by attacking the papacy, that fatal institution, which gave to one man the privilege of subjugating his kind, of corrupting, despoiling, massacring them.

Such a direction given to men's minds was not in accordance with the views of Alexander the Sixth, the vice-God on earth, the infallible vicar of Jesus Christ. His holiness then took steps to destroy Savonarola. His agents at first excited the lords and priests of Florence against the monk; he then fulminated a terrible anathema against him, and took into his pay fanatic monks, who insulted the reformer even in the sanctuary, whilst he was preaching a purified religion. A Fran-



oiscan monk, named Francis of Apulia, even publicly announced that he was ready to enter a fire to convince Savonarola of imposture, and prove that Alexander the Sixth was the holiest and most religious of pontiffs. This singular challenge was accepted by Dominic of Pesica, a partizan of Savonarola, who offered, in his turn, to submit to the same proof to justify the prior of St. Mark's; the combat being agreed upon, the time of execution was fixed for the following Sunday. They came to Florence from all the neighbouring towns, to be present at this spectacle; unfortunately, at the moment in which the two champions were prepared to enter the fire, which had been kindled in the great square, a violent rain came on, which extinguished the flames, and forced the two monks to defer it to another day.

In the meantime, the agents of the pontiff, who were not anxious to see the result of the challenge, accused Savonarola of having employed the aid of a demon to cause torrents of water to fall, and thus shun the terrible proof; and they succeeded so well in exciting the fanatical populace, that a mob assembled before the convent of St. Mark's, seized its prior, and led him bound before the grand inquisitor. Savonarola was put to the ordinary and extraordinary torture, to compel him to plead guilty to the crime of sorcery. As his great soul was enclosed in a feeble and sickly body, he could not resist the frightful pains of the torture, and signed all the executors presented to him; but scarcely was he taken down from the rack, than he retracted the avowals which torture had wrrenched from him. Seven times did the executors renew his tortures, without obtaining any thing but avowals during the punishment and retractions when he had returned to his prison. To put an end to it, Alexander sent two inquisitors from Rome, who superintended the trial of the reformer, and condemned him to be burned alive, with two of his disciples; the sentence was executed on the 23d of May, 1498, and his ashes were cast into the Arno. Such was the fate of this glorious apostle of liberty, who died a victim of his love for man, preaching the end of the slavery of the people, and the reign of an universal republic.

Whilst Florence was assisting at the terrible auto-da-fe of its defender, Alexander the Sixth was celebrating, by orgies at Rome, the baptism of a new bastard which the beautiful Wilhelmina had borne him. On this occasion the pope caused to be placed on the right side of the high altar of the church St. Marie del Popolo, which he had chosen for the ceremony of the baptism, a magnificent portrait of Rosa Vanozza, which he exposed for the veneration of the faithful, instead of that of the virgin. He then annulled the marriage of Lucretia and John Sforza, under the pretext of impotence, though he had seen the marriage consummated in his presence, and caused his well loved daughter to espouse the young Alphonso, duke of Bisaglia, a natural son of Alphonso the Second, duke of Arragon, an

alliance which increased considerably his influence in Italy.

His holiness also was desirous of profiting by the death of Charles the Eighth, to obtain the hand of the daughter of Frederick, who was at the court of France, for his son Cæsar Borgia, and in this plan he found himself the more aided by the new king, Louis the Twelfth, since he sought to break off his marriage with Joan, the daughter of Louis the Eleventh, in order to espouse Anne of Brittany. The pope sold the bull of dispensation to the prince, and Cæsar Borgia was charged to carry it to the court of France, so as not to leave to others the care of his fortune. Nothing ever equalled in magnificence the train of the bastard, say the memoirs of the times; all his pages were clothed in tunics of gold and silk, their shoes were covered with fine pearls, their housings glittered with precious stones, and from their necks hung collars of emeralds and sapphires, marvels of workmanship. On his entrance into Paris, Cæsar caused shoes of gold to be placed on his mules, so carelessly shod, that at every step they fell from them. Louis the Twelfth received him with great marks of deference, and in acknowledgment of the good offices of the pope, he gave him the duchy of Valentinois, the command of a company of a hundred lancers, and a pension of twenty thousand livres.

Cæsar Borgia was not so successful with the daughter of Frederick; that haughty princess rejected his offers of marriage, and declared that she would never espouse the bastard of a priest. To moderate the anger to which such an insult must give rise, Louis the Twelfth married him to the daughter of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, and placed at his disposal two thousand horse and six thousand foot soldiers, to assist him in his plans of conquest. Cæsar accepted all that was given him, but did not abandon his hope of vengeance. As soon as he returned to Italy, he commenced a war of extermination against the petty princes of Romagna; he took from the family of Riario the cities of Imola, Forlì, and Césena; he seized on Pesaro and the other domains of John Sforza, the first husband of Lucretia; he drove Pandolphus Malatesta from the city of Rimini, and besieged the city of Faenza, which was defended by Asore Manfredi, a youth of sixteen, and of remarkable beauty. After several assaults the place yielded, on condition that Cæsar Borgia should preserve the life and property of the young prince. What matter the solemnity of an oath to the pope's bastard! Could not his father, at his will, bind or loose on earth? Thus, as soon as Cæsar was master of Faenza, he hastened to change the garrisons of the fortresses, and to take possession of the principality. As for the young Manfredi, whose beauty excited his lubricity, he made him his minion, and when he was tired of him, sent him to the holy father with his natural brother, and another child, who were all three used for the debauchery of the pontiff, and then thrown into the Tiber. Romagna

conquered, the duke of Valentinois came to Rome, to receive its investiture at the hands of the sovereign pontiff, and to accomplish a new crime, which he was meditating with his father. Since his alliance with the house of France, Cæsar thought of urging on Louis the Twelfth to a war against the kingdom of Naples, so that he might, under cover of the general disturbance, conquer one by one the small republics of Italy; but the marriage of Lucretia was an obstacle to their plans, which it was necessary to remove. As the Borgia were never embarrassed about ridding themselves of an enemy or a friend, they agreed that his holiness should write to the prince to come to Rome, to assist at the festival of the jubilee, and that he should be murdered in the Vatican. The thing took place thus: on the evening of his arrival, at the moment when he was entering the palace of the holy father alone, assassins fell upon him, struck him with five blows of their daggers, and escaped, thinking they had slain him. He, being of a vigorous frame, had still strength enough left to drag himself into the interior of the apartments, and call for aid. His holiness, warned by the noise, of what was occurring, hastened to the wounded man, and caused to be administered to him all the care which his state demanded. "The physicians," adds Burchard, "who received all the lamentations of the pope as serious, took so much pains with the wounded man, that they saved his life; and Alphonso was now convalescing, when one night masked men entered his palace and strangled him."

Alexander was then occupied with granting an audience to the ambassadors of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, who had orders to ask, for their prince, authority for a divorce from Beatrice of Arragon, daughter of the old Ferdinand of Naples; also to the deputies of the king of Portugal, who came to beseech his holiness to grant a dispensation to the king to allow him to marry the sister of his first wife. As both supported their requests by rich presents and sums of money, the pope granted to the king of Hungary authority to repudiate his lawful wife; and to the king of Portugal, permission to contract an incestuous marriage. When the sitting was over, Alexander returned to his palace, and went, as was his custom, towards the apartment of the duke of Valentinois, who was absent; he found there three prelates, who were waiting for his son. Whilst the pontiff was discussing with them as to the means of increasing the product of the jubilee, a storm suddenly arose, a thunderbolt entered the room, knocked down the ceiling, and killed the three bishops; the pope alone survived the catastrophe, the beam and rafter having formed a kind of dais above his head; he, however, received violent contusions, and was drawn out expiring from the midst of the ruins.

Notwithstanding the severity of his wounds, Alexander was soon in a state to retake the government of affairs and to celebrate his convalescence, he published a new crusade

against the Turks, and imposed a tax of a tenth of their revenues on all Christendom. To appreciate the incredible sums which he wrested from the fanatical devotees, it is only necessary to state, that in the territory of Venice alone, these taxes yielded him seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds weight of gold. This wealth, added to that which the jubilee had produced, placed Cæsar Borgia in a position to equip new troops and continue the war. In order, however, to reach his end sooner, he called the imbecile Louis the Twelfth into Italy, who, at his instigation, became subservient to the policy of the pontiff, and formed an offensive and defensive league with Ferdinand the Catholic, for the division of the kingdom of Naples.

In less than four years, the confederated armies conquered the states of Frederick, and in the same time, Cæsar Borgia reduced, beneath his sway, the principality of Piombino, which belonged to James of Appiano, as well as the duchy of Urbin, and the city of Camerino; the lords of these two last cities were strangled, as were their children; it was the fate which the duke of Valentinois reserved for those whose spoils he coveted; neither age nor beauty found favour in his eyes; the favour he granted to young women, was to use them in his debauches for a few days, and then to throw them into the Tiber. Alexander and his son marched steadily to their end, which was the subjugation of Italy. Implacable in their policy, casting down all obstacles, ridding themselves of all their enemies, employing, by turns, the sword and poison, as circumstances demanded, forming alliances with the powerful to annihilate the weak, and then crushing the powerful, it appeared as if nothing could resist them, and as if the whole universe must, in the end, become submissive to their sway.

Moreover, all princes obeyed a species of fascination which Cæsar Borgia exercised, and came themselves to hand to him their fortunes and lives; thus, under the pretext of a league against Florence, he enjoined on the sovereign lords of Italy, to join their troops to those of the pope, which were already increased by a body of six thousand horse, which Louis the Twelfth had furnished him; and with the assistance of this army, he commenced by summoning John Bentivoglio, who had been one of his allies, to surrender Bologna to him. This mode of proceeding showed the other princes what they had to expect from the pontiff and his bastard; they therefore wished to break the league at once, and unite against the common enemy. Guidibaldo retired to the city of Urbino; John of Varano threw himself into Camerino; the Orsini, the Vitelli, the lords of Perouse, Fermo, Sinigaglia, Siena, who all followed the trade of condottieri, formed a single army of all their bands, and engaged, by oath, to defend themselves against the Borgia. But it was too late for such a plan to succeed; the pope and his son, who had preserved agents and spies among them, sowed dissension in the hostile camp.

They frightened some, bought off others, and in less than two months afterwards the league broke up, and the condottieri remained in the service of the Holy See. With their assistance, Cæsar constrained Guidibaldo and John of Varano again to fly from their estates; he carried Sinigaglia, which belonged to Francis Marie de la Rovera, by assault, and on the day of the victory, he caused the condottieri, of whom he had no longer need, to be arrested in his camp. By his orders Vitellozzo Vitelli, the lord of Citadi Castello, Oliverotto, the lord of Fermo, Paul Orsini, the duke of Gravina, and Francis of Todi, were murdered or hung.

The pope, on his side, proceeded with like executions at Rome against the children or relatives of these families, in order that none among them might undertake to avenge the death of their brethren or fathers, and no one lay claim to their domains. Only two condottieri remained alive, John Paul Baglioni and Pandolphus Petrucci, who, more prudent than their colleagues, had refused to unite with the party of Cæsar; they abandoned the cities of Perouse and Sienna, in which they had taken refuge, and all Romagna submitted to the bastard of the pope. His holiness at once left Rome with his courtiers, minions, and mistresses, to visit the new conquests of Cæsar, whom he seriously thought of declaring king. Every where on his way, he spread largesses, gave feasts, and sought to excite enthusiasm by all the means in his power. In the island of Elba, he even wished to take part in the diversions of the people, and brought the handsomest girls into his palace to execute the dances of the country. "These reunions," says the historian Gordon, "could not fail, with a Borgia, to degenerate into orgies, so that licentiousness was soon carried to its utmost limits, and at supper they did not hesitate to eat flesh, though it was in Lent, only his holiness baptised the poultry and game by the names of turbot and sturgeon."

Alexander then returned to Rome with the duke of Valentinois, in order to concert with him upon the final steps to be taken before proclaiming him king of Romagna, of the March, and of Ombria. A measure of policy of this kind required powerful allies, and as their financial resources were exhausted, they resolved first to fill their treasury, and to levy new troops, to be ready for any event. His holiness also desired to establish his other children, before striking the great blow, in order that he might not be occupied with any thing but his dear son. He gave the government of Spoleto to Lucretia, and the duchy of Sermona to a bastard, called Robert of Arragon, whom he had by his incests with his daughter; he gave the duchy of Nepi to another of his bastards, named John Borgia; and, finally, he proceeded to the third marriage of Lucretia with Alphonso of Este, the son of Hercules of Ferrara.

"This union was celebrated," says Burchard, "by Saturnalia which had never yet been equalled. His holiness supped with his cardinals and the great dignitaries of his court,

each having by his side two courtezans, who had no other dress than muslin robes and garlands of flowers. When the repast was over, the courtezans, to the number of fifty, performed lascivious dances, at first alone, then with the cardinals, finally, at a signal from Madame Lucretia, their robes fell off, and the dances continued amid great applause from the holy father." (The remaining proceedings will not bear translation. The original, from Burchard, is to be found in Gordon.)

It is impossible to deny the authenticity of these facts, which are all related at length by the master of ceremonies of Alexander the Sixth, the historian Burchard, who placed them hour after hour in the journal which he has left us of the actions of the holy father. It is to this author we are indebted for our knowledge of a very singular dispensation, granted by the pope to Peter Mendozza, the cardinal of Valencia, who asked for permission from his holiness to take one of his bastards, named Zanet, as his minion. "He must be a good prince," said Alexander the Sixth, on this occasion, "and we cannot in conscience refuse to our subjects an authority which we have so often taken to ourselves."

After the marriage of Lucretia, the pontiff was occupied in raising the money for the coronation of Cæsar; it was not an easy thing, for all his resources were beginning to dry up; the sale of benefices, privileges, and employments no longer produced any thing. Crusades against the Turks were of no avail; the people no longer wished to buy absolutions nor indulgences; there was but one thing to do, poison the rich ecclesiastics of the pontifical court, in order to inherit their wealth. This plan was also difficult, for the prelates for a long time past had been suspicious of the dinners of the Vatican. The pope discovered that most of the cardinals found pretexts for not accepting his invitation, if he proposed to them to dine at his palace. He then made a change, and besought the cardinal Corneto to lend him his villa for a grand festival, which he wished to give his friends, requesting him to prepare the repast, merely reserving the expense for him. The thing succeeded marvellously, and the invitations were all accepted.

On the morning of the day selected for the feast, Alexander sent his steward to the villa of the cardinal Corneto to arrange the service; he sent by him, at the same time, two bottles of a perfumed wine, called in Italy the wine of the Borgia; he recommended to him most expressly to lay them aside, that he might take them more readily when he gave him a signal to pour them out for the guests to drink. No one failed the pope's call, and when his holiness arrived at the villa with his son, he could already calculate what the dinner, he had generously offered, was to bring him in. It was in the month of August and very warm; Alexander and Cæsar, who had come on foot, complained of fatigue, and asked for some refreshment. A domestic went to the pantry, and as the steward was absent, he

took up a bottle of wine and offered some to his holiness to drink. Alexander, as was his custom, emptied his glass at one draught; Cæsar poured some water into the wine and also drank a whole glass. Scarcely had they set down their glasses, when both felt pains in their bowels; they were poisoned! The domestic had served to them the wine which the steward had set aside. The holy father was soon seized with frightful convulsions, and they were obliged to carry him to the palace, where he died during the night, the physicians being unable to find any remedy to relieve his sufferings. This event took place on the 18th of August, 1503. Alexander was seventy-two years old, and had reigned eleven.

As for Cæsar Borgia, whether the poison mixed with the water had lost part of its force, or whether the vigour of his constitution was greater than the strength of the malady, he escaped death, and entirely recovered in ten months. In the midst, however, of the horrid suffering caused by the violent remedies which were administered to him to make him reject the poison, he preserved his wonderful presence of mind. By his orders messengers passed constantly from his chamber to that of the holy father, to bring him information of the condition of the sick man, and as soon as he learned that Alexander was dead, he immediately gave orders to Micholetto, the captain of his guards, to close the gates of the Vatican; he then caused the keys of the apostolic treasury to be taken by force from the cardinal treasurer, and appropriated to himself the gold, silver, and precious stones which were in it.

On the next day, when the death of the pontiff was known, cries of gladness and transports of joy resounded through Rome. Every one wished to contemplate the dead body of him, who, for eleven years, had caused the most powerful lords to tremble; the church of St. Peter, in which his dead body was placed, was soon invaded by an innumerable crowd. "The sight of that dead body," says Raphael Volatenan, "black, deformed, prodigiously swol-

len, and exhaling an infectious odour, was a disgusting spectacle; black froth covered his lips and nostrils; his mouth was unnaturally open, and his tongue, swollen by the poison, hung down upon his chin. Thus there was not found any devotee or fanatic to kiss his feet or hands, as was the custom."

Towards six o'clock in the evening the infection in the church was such, that the cardinal charged with the care of the funeral, was obliged to give orders to bury the pope. No priest, cardinal, or officer was willing to assist at the burial ceremony, and the dead body was abandoned to the carpenters and porters, who placed it in a coffin which was too short, and into which they forced it by pressing in the feet, and striking it with a hammer. After this horrible scene of profanation they cast it into a tomb which had been prepared for it on the left of the high altar.

Thus terminated the abominable reign of Alexander the Sixth, the last pontiff of the fifteenth century.

Alexander the Sixth is one of those popes whom the adorers of the Roman purple, and of pontifical infallibility, dare not justify, at least as regards their turpitudes; they say, however, that the reign of Roderick Borgia was one of the happiest for the church, since Providence permitted neither schism nor heresies to appear during it. And if God has willed, they add, that there should sometimes appear on the venerated chair of the apostle incestuous, sodomite, and murdering popes, it is to show men that the preservation of Catholicism does not depend on the vices or the virtues of its ministers; a conclusion well worthy of those shameful priests, who seek to cover their irregularities by contemptible sophisms. We, who deduct rigorous consequences from the truth of history, we will say, that an institution like that of the papacy, is a monstrosity in religion, precisely because it gives to wicked men an exorbitant power, which permits them to employ, for their passions, the greatest sublimity in the heart of men, the love of the Divinity. Query - is not the love of a P. 150 terrible - ?

## THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

### PIUS THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

*Disorders in Rome and Italy—The cardinals assemble in conclave—Election of Pius the Third—His holiness takes part against the French—His death.*

THE sixteenth century is unquestionably one of the most remarkable, from the importance of the events, and at the same time the most baneful for the Catholic church, on account of the developments brought out by the religious reformation. All questions in morals,

doctrine, and worship, are boldly treated by Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, and Calvin.—The powerful language of these great men shakes to its foundation the pontifical edifice, so laboriously constructed during fifteen centuries; numerous followers embrace the new

doctrines with enthusiasm, and after sixteen hundred years of slavery, the people awaken, and dare to proclaim the intellectual emancipation of the human race.

Rome, it is true, will not contemplate this strife with indifference; it will strengthen the arms of fanatics, it will cause torrents of blood to flow, it will kindle the stakes of the terrible inquisition, it will prepare its racks and instruments of torture; monks and priests will sharpen their daggers, kings will arm cohorts of assassins, popes will erect gibbets and scaffolds; all the oppressors of the people, will, finally, unite to annihilate the hydra with a thousand heads which is to devour them—Reform.

Thousands of victims will perish in the flames, others will be engulfed in the floods, others will expire under the torture; whole people will be annihilated in Germany, Spain, Flanders, and France, and notwithstanding the massacres and butcheries of the cruel Francis the First, the sanguinary Philip the Second, the ferocious Pius the Fifth, and the execrable Charles the Ninth, who, in emulation of each other, and like tigers thirsting for blood and carnage, will dispute in horrid strife the glory of exterminating an entire race, the reformation will go on triumphantly, and will come out victorious from the calcined bones of its martyrs.

During this period, the people, tired of being laid under contributions by depraved priests, will, finally, break the yoke of the papacy, and separate themselves from the Roman church, with such violence, that popes, drawn on by the progress of events, will be forced to abdicate religious omnipotence, in order to become monarchs; from priests they will become kings, and will defend their political existence by force of arms.

After the death of the execrable Alexander the Sixth, his son Cæsar Borgia was careful to fortify the approaches to the Vatican with soldiers and banditti, who were devoted to him, to secure himself from the vengeance of his enemies, the Colonna and Orsini, who still had numerous partizans in Rome. His foresight was of admirable use to him, for the latter had no sooner heard of the death of the pope and the illness of his son, than they hastened, at the head of numerous troops, to fall on the holy city. All the petty Italian princes who had been despoiled of their estates by the Borgias, followed their example. The

duke of Urbino reconquered his cities; Francis Marie de la Rovera re-entered his immense domains; the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Citadi Castello, and Piombino did the same. Baglioni, Louis of Orsini, the count Petigliano, and Albiano freed Perouse, and drove the troops of Cæsar from the neighbouring country; Malatesta was less successful than his friends, and the states of Rimini remained beneath the rule of Borgia.

In this general conflict the cardinals who were present in Rome, to the number of thirty-seven, perceived the necessity of exhibiting vigour, in order to arrest the disorders; they then levied troops, drove the Colonna and Orsini from the city, and even constrained the duke of Valentinois to leave the Vatican and go to the castle of San Angelo; they then formed a conclave to choose a pope. The members of the sacred college were divided into three parties, equally powerful; the French sustained the cardinal of Amboise, their countryman; Gonzalvo of Cordova, wished to impose on them a Spaniard, the cardinal Bernardin Carvajal; finally, Julian de la Rovera, the richest of the cardinals, intrigued on his account for the papacy. After a struggle of thirty-five days, a fourth party arose which succeeded over the other three, and the cardinal of Sienna, Francis Piccolimini, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, by the name of Pius the Third.

According to the abbot of Bellegarde, the life of this pope was exemplary, and his morals were irreproachable; his new dignity inspired in him no sentiments of pride, and did not alter his habitual conduct; he only did wrong in expressing a desire to labour for the reform of the church, and especially of the Roman ecclesiastics, whose irregularities were a constant subject of scandal for all Europe; he was very wrong to expose his plans of reform in an assembly of cardinals, and to declare that he had resolved to banish licentiousness and debauchery from his court; he was desirous of pursuing at once energetic measures, proportionate to the greatness of the evil.

On the evening of the same day, after dinner, Pius the Third felt in his entrails an unknown disease, and notwithstanding the most active remedies, he expired in the most frightful convulsions. This event took place on Tuesday the 13th of October, 1503, twenty-six days after his elevation to the pontifical throne.

## JULIUS THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1503:]

*Exaltation of Julius the Second—Character of this pontiff—Embassies from sovereigns to the new pope—His holiness permits the prince of Wales to espouse the widow of his brother—League formed by the holy father against the Venetians—He makes great preparations for war—He retakes Perouse and Bologna—Knavery of the holy father—He excommunicates the Venetians—He forces the most serene republic to submit to the Holy See—Louis the Twelfth is deceived by the pope—Agreement between Julius the Second and the Venetians—The pontiff declares war on the duke of Ferrara—He besieges Mirandola, and mounts himself to the assault, with a casque on his head and a sword by his side—He grants the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand the Catholic—Maximilian thinks of uniting, in his own person, the spiritual authority of the popes to the temporal power of the emperors—The Bolognese break the statue of the holy father—Assassination of the cardinal of Pavia—The cardinals convoke a council at Pisa to depose Julius the Second—The pope calls the king of Spain to his aid—Letter from the cardinals at Pisa to those at Rome—Julius lays the kingdom of France under interdict—Intrigues of the pope—Council of the Lateran—His holiness wishes to publish a crusade against the Spaniards—His death.*

As soon as the funeral of the virtuous Pius was over, the cardinals were employed in making a new pope, and the same parties who had intrigued before the election of Piccolomini, rallied to obtain a triumph for their candidate, only instead of three factions, there were five. Cæsar Borgia, who had recovered his strength, took part in the elections, and on their side, the Orsini moved to nominate a pontiff of their choice. But the cardinal Julian de la Rovera intrigued so skilfully, and knew so well how to use money, threats, and promises, that he declared himself pope before the cardinals had assembled in the Vatican, having, as he said with effrontery, bought all the voices of the sacred college; and he was, indeed, proclaimed chief of the church, by the name of Julius the Second, a few hours after the conclave met. On the following day, he was submitted to the proof of the pierced chair, and was immediately after seated on the chair of St. Peter, as the vicar of God, infallible pontiff, and sovereign father of the faithful.

Varillas says that, Julian de la Rovera, in order to bring Cæsar Borgia into his support, had declared to him that he was his true father, and showed him forged letters from Rosa Vanozza, confirming this singular statement; that he pledged himself to treat him as a son, should he reach the papacy, and had finally promised him the post of grand standard bearer of the church, and generalissimo of the troops of the Holy See. Either the duke of Valentinois was convinced of the truth of the assertions of the cardinal de la Rovera, and was desirous of aiding his father, or was seduced by the hope of possessing the highest dignities of the court of Rome, since he ordered the prelates of his faction to vote for the cardinal de la Rovera. The latter had also gained to his side the cardinal Ascanano, by pledging himself to re-establish the Sforza in Milan, and the cardinal Carvajal by promising him to place the kingdom of Naples beneath the

sway of Ferdinand the Catholic; as to the other electors, his holiness, adds the historian, had bought them cheap.

If we are to credit Erasmus and Hadrian, the new pope had been a sailor, like his uncle Sixtus the Fourth; and Bandel affirms that he boasted having traversed the sea in the barque of a fisherman; not, like St. Peter, to catch fish, but as a pirate, to carry off young girls, whom he sold to the Turks, or to pillage merchant vessels.

Of a turbulent, audacious, and vindictive character, Julian de la Rovera was only known at Rome for his implacable hatred, his incredible duplicity, and his thirst for rule, so that his election was regarded as a public calamity. What mattered, however, to this priest, the love, or the hatred of men? He was pope and could employ, for the success of his plans, all the spiritual and temporal arms of the church, that is to say, fanaticism, knavery, treason, the sword, and fire.

As soon as the news of the elevation of Julius the Second to the pontifical chair was known in Europe, the sovereigns of the different kingdoms hastened to send ambassadors to congratulate him. The kings of England and Spain demanded from him, at the same time, a dispensation for the marriage of the prince of Wales, afterwards Henry the Eighth, with Catharine of Arragon, the widow of Prince Arthur. His holiness, who was very desirous of obtaining the support of these two monarchs, declared, in defiance of the canons, that a woman could marry two brothers successively; and without paying any regard to the opinions of the cardinals, which were opposed to his, he published a bull of dispensation, on the 26th of December, 1503. He was then engaged in putting his plans for encroachments in execution, and began by summoning his pretended son, Cæsar Borgia, to surrender to him the places and castles which he possessed in Romagna. As the duke of Valentinois hesitated to obey, he caused him

to be arrested in his palace, and did not set him at liberty until he had surrendered his fortress to the Holy See.

Cæsar, discovering that his reign was over, left Rome and went to demand aid and succour from Gonsalvo of Cordova; but that general, as perfidious as his master, Ferdinand the Catholic, betrayed him, and instead of sending him into France, as he had engaged to do, at the moment when Cæsar was embarking for Marseilles, caused him to be arrested, and sent him to Spain, where he was confined, by the orders of the pope, in the castle of Medina del Campo. He succeeded in escaping, after a captivity of two years, and went to the court of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, who was then carrying on war against the Castilians; he wished to take part in it, and perished miserably, from a shot from an arquebuss, before the small city of Viane. Such was the sad end of him who had been on the point of placing an emperor's diadem upon his brow, and who had held in his hands the fate of the whole world. Of what avail was so much deceit, so many assassinations and crimes? to receive his death-blow upon a foreign soil, as a mercenary soldier!

Julius the Second was unwilling to follow the example of Alexander the Sixth, and proscribe the great families of Rome, but on the other hand sought to attach them to his party, and with this view married his daughter Felicia to Jourdain des Ursini, and gave to Antonia Colonna another of his daughters, named Lucretia. He did not think it necessary to use the same mode with the petty princes of Romagna; he first summoned the Bentivogli to restore Bologna to him, and on their refusal, declared them anathematised, authorised the faithful to pillage their property, to ravage their lands, and even to murder them, promising plenary indulgences, and the remission of the greatest crimes, to any one who should kill a member of that family. He then claimed the possession of the different provinces on which Alexander the Sixth had seized, and commanded the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, Citadi Castello, and the other princes who had been restored to their domains on the death of Roderick Borgia, to hand over to him at once the cities and fortresses which belonged to them. All of them refused to obey him; they proved that their territories had been canonically separated from the ecclesiastical states by the cardinals of Alexander himself, and that they were only bound to pay an annual tribute to the church. Venice especially resisted; the most serene republic informed the pope, that it would not restore a single one of the towns it had conquered, nor pay a single Julius of gold by way of tribute.

The holy father perceived that the spiritual arm was powerless, before so formidable an opposition, and he determined to call the sovereigns of Europe to his aid, and employ their arms to subjugate the Venetians. As several of these princes had treaties with the republic,

he was fearful lest they should hesitate to violate their oaths, he therefore excommunicated the Venetians, and declared all engagements, contracted with them, null; he interdicted fire and water to Loredan, their doge, to the senate, the council of ten, and the people; he loaded them with curses, and denounced them to the wrath of other people as guilty of lese-papacy, as pagans, as gangrened members of the church; he authorised all the faithful to seize their property by land or sea, and to sell their wives and daughters. In his bull he enjoined on the Venetians to restore to him on a fixed day the cities of Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, Cerbio, and their dependencies, under penalty of interdict. Instead of obeying, the senate of Venice took energetic measures to prevent the bearers of bulls from entering the territory of the republic, and at the same time appealed from the violence of the pope to God, and a future general council. Julius immediately lanced an interdict on Venice, urged on the armaments of his allies, and prepared for war, a thing which he loved much, adds William Budé, who, in his works, constantly calls the pontiff, a sanguinary leader of gladiators.

His holiness opened the campaign in person, and marched on Perouse, the residence of Baglioni, the weakest of his enemies; although this city was defended by a numerous garrison and strong walls, it was obliged to capitulate to superior forces; Baglioni surrendered the keys of his cities, promised to comply with all the demands of the court of Rome, and gave his two children as hostages for the execution of his engagements. Julius then marched on Bologna with his casque on his head and his lance in rest; Bentivoglio dared not resist him, and opened the gates of his city at the first summons; the pope ordered him to retire at once into the dutchy of Milan, and on the day after his departure, he entered Bologna in triumph; he then employed his time in changing the form of the established government, and replacing the magistrates by his creatures. "After these easy conquests," says the historiographer of Louis the Twelfth, "the holy father, fierce in his harness, thought himself redoubtable as Tamerlane, and was desirous of carrying on war against all the powers; and this bully of sixty years old, to whom the labours of war were as becoming as the dance to a monk, declared against the French, who were still redoubtable enemies, notwithstanding the reverses they had experienced in Italy."

Julius the Second, in his presumption thought himself superior to the emperor and king of France, from the force of his genius, as well as the greatness of his dignity; thus he did not hesitate to declare, that he wished to lead them to the whipping post, and after having destroyed them one after the other, to drive them for ever from Italy. It is true that these princes deserved this disgraceful treatment, for their submission to the pope, and that they had contributed to exalt his pride by their own cowardice. Though having an

equal hatred to Germany and France, his hostility was most embittered against the latter country, doubtless from gratitude for the generous hospitality which it had for six years granted to him. Not only did he appear to have entirely forgotten the favours which the imbecile Louis the Twelfth had heaped on him, but he even pushed his ingratitude so far as to speak of his benefactor in outrageous terms, and to say that he had vowed an implacable hatred against him, and should never be content until he had hurled him from the throne.

An important opportunity soon occurred to allow the pope to put his threats in execution, and he did not let it escape. Genoa had risen against the despotism of its nobles, and the people were at strife with the aristocracy. Julius at once sent agents, who changed the sedition into a revolt, and Genoa, which had been a French possession since 1499, when Louis the Twelfth had conquered the Milanese, declared itself a free city, drove the French officers from the posts they held in the name of the king, appointed eight tribunes, and conferred the executive power on Paul de Novo, a dyer, a bold and resolute man, who hated kings.

Louis the Twelfth hastened, at the head of an army, to repress the revolt of his new subjects, which was not difficult to do, in consequence of their abandonment by the pope. This invasion, however, could not but give umbrage to Julius, and as he feared lest the king might determine to chastise the real author of the troubles in Genoa, he sent adroit agents to Maximilian, who skilfully excited his distrust, and taught him that Louis was an ambitious man, who wished to subdue Italy, in order to elevate to the throne of St. Peter, the cardinal d'Amboise, who was in return to bestow the imperial crown on him.

Maximilian fell into the snare, and assembled a diet at Constance, to raise formidable armaments against Louis the Twelfth. The latter, who could, with his troops, have easily executed the intentions which Julius attributed to him, feared so much to irritate the pope and emperor, that he at once disbanded his army. Notwithstanding this measure, or precisely on account of it, the emperor, none the less, hastened his preparations for war; and when he had assembled an army of thirty thousand men, he announced his intention of entering Italy, and of coming to Rome to be consecrated by the pope. He consequently demanded a passage for himself and his troops through the territory of Venice, offering, besides, to the most serene republic, to form an offensive league with it against France.

The Venetians, who feared lest this great display of force should be directed against themselves, rejected the proposals of Maximilian, and replied to his delegates, that they would form defensive alliances, but not offensive; and that if the emperor did not really intend to be crowned by Julius the Second, it was useless for him to be accompanied by an army of thirty thousand men.

This reply of the Venetians was dictated in part by the care of their own preservation, and partly by France, which had informed them that its armies would pass the Alps at once, if Maximilian entered the territories of the republic. Venice thus found herself so situated as to be unable to shun the war, and the holy father awaited with confidence the consequences of the difficult position in which his enemies were placed. It came to pass that Maximilian, wishing to force the passage, fell, with ensigns displayed, on the valley of the Trente, where he was met by Bartholomew Alviano, the general of the republic, who cut in pieces his advance guard of six thousand men, and forced him to sign a truce for a year.

Julius the Second, seeing his hopes of conquering these fierce republicans, and of recovering the cities which they had seized, vanishing, determined to strike a great blow. He laid aside for a time his hatred against the kings, and formed a league among the princes and states whom he judged it to be the most easy to deceive, to crush the republic of Venice. Most naturally the proud Maximilian, the unskilful Louis the Twelfth, the kings of Arragon and Hungary, the duke of Ferrara, the marquis of Ferrara, and the marquis of Florence took part in this confederacy, known in history as the league of Cambray, from the city in which it was made. In execution of this treaty the French invaded the territories of the republic on the side of Lombardy, the Germans and Spaniards by the valley of the Trente; the troops of the holy father, commanded by Julius in person, followed up the shores of the Adriatic, took the citadel of Ravenna by assault, and put the garrison to the sword.

Louis the Twelfth, who had under him the marshals Chaumont and Trivulzio, the duke of Bourbon, La Trimouille, and the Count Dunois, gained over the Venetians the celebrated victory of Aguadello, which endangered all the possessions of the republic on terra firma. The doge then determined on the only course which remained for him before so powerful a coalition, that of buying off the pope, by restoring to him the cities which he claimed for his see.

As soon as he had obtained their restoration from Venice, he ceased to take part in the confederacy, and freed the Venetians from the censures pronounced against them; nay, he even espoused their cause against his own allies. He declared the league of Cambray impious and sacrilegious, and fulminated anathemas against Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, who refused to break with the French. He declared him to be a rebellious son, a child of iniquity and perdition, and as such deprived of all his dignities. He freed his subjects from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him, and ordered the sentence to be posted up in all parts of the world; he then sent an armed force to seize on his estates, and threatened the French with his most terrible anathemas, if they dared to aid him.



Louis the Twelfth, always weak and pusillanimous, obeyed the pope, retook the road to France, and had even the distinguished cowardice to conclude a treaty with the court of Rome, by which his majesty recognised himself as bound to defend the Holy See against all its enemies. He moreover conceded to Julius the right to nominate to all the vacant bishoprics in his kingdom.

All these acts of submission could only augment the audacity of the sovereign pontiff, and his bitterness against the king. His holiness named, to govern the dioceses, prelates who were sold to him, and who were ready to betray the prince at his first command. "Then," says Mezeray, "the pope incited the Swiss against Louis the Twelfth, through means of Mathew Schinor, a fiery orator, whose harangues agitated this rustic people as the wind does the waves. He also inflamed the ambition of the young Henry the Eighth of England, by offering to him the investiture of the kingdom of Louis the Twelfth; and, finally, he intrigued with the courts of Castile and Germany, to induce them to enter into a league against France." His efforts with these two princes failed. Ferdinand dared not openly take the part of the pontiff, and the emperor, who had reconquered his former domains by the assistance of the French, refused to break with Louis the Twelfth; he was, besides, sufficiently occupied with his own affairs, in consequence of a defeat he had suffered beneath the walls of Padua, and the necessity he was under of reorganising his army, which had been cut to pieces by the Venetians. Notwithstanding these two checks, his holiness did not entirely abandon the plan he had formed of a league against Louis the Twelfth, such as he had made against the Venetians; he only regarded the execution of it as delayed.

We are really astonished at this enmity of Julius the Second towards France, and can only explain it from the hatred he bore to the cardinal d'Ambrose, his competitor, whom he had threatened to have deposed as simoniacal, a poisoner, adulterer, incestuous person, and a sodomite; but, after the death of that prelate, his resentment appeared to be still more violent, and the pope, having nothing more to fear from this redoubtable rival, set no bounds to his warlike fury. Although it was in winter, he took the command of his armies, which had commenced operations against the duke of Ferrara. He conducted in person the siege of Mirandola, pressed on the works, excited the zeal of the soldiery, by the promise of the sack of the city, doffed his cuirass, and visited the batteries, armed from head to foot, with his sword by his side, without troubling himself about the scandal which his conduct would give rise to. After having made a breach in the walls with his artillery, he gave the signal for a general assault, and himself mounted the ramparts, in order to enjoy the spectacle of violated females, murdered old men and children; in fine, of all the horrors which usually take place in cities carried by storm.

Whilst his holiness was directing in person the operations against the allies of France, he was continuing his intrigues in Germany and Spain, to excite these powers against Louis the Twelfth; and knowing how badly Ferdinand the Catholic desired the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, he proposed to grant it to him on the conditions which had been consented to by the Arragonese, only adding to the treaty, that the king of Castile should keep three hundred armed men at the disposal of the Holy See, to serve the church on the first requisition made for them by the sovereign pontiff. The intention of Julius was to employ these troops at once against the French in the war of Ferrara, and to bring about a rupture between Louis the Twelfth and Ferdinand the Fifth. The wary Castilian appeared to fall into the snare; he signed the treaty and accepted the investiture. The holy father immediately claimed the promised aid of the three hundred men-at-arms, and informed the prince that he would bestow on him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples on his return from the army, which he had no intention of doing. Ferdinand immediately sent Fabricius Colonna with the troops which the pope demanded, as far as the frontiers of the states of the church; but there they halted, and the general informed his holiness that he had orders to go no farther, until he had proclaimed Ferdinand, king of Naples. The pope, thus placed between two enemies equally redoubtable, having on one side the French, who were pursuing their conquests in the north of Italy, and on the other the Spaniards, who threatened to invade the south, found himself caught in his own trap, and was obliged to subscribe to the wishes of the Castilian.

Louis the Twelfth finally discovered that he was the sport of the court of Rome, and threatened to avenge himself forcibly, if the decree investing Ferdinand with the kingdom of Naples was not at once revoked. His threats and his anger only excited derision, and instead of replying to his reclamations, Julius the Second summoned him to restore the cities on which he had seized; he fulminated a terrible anathema against him, placed France under interdict, and gave it to him who could seize it; he also excommunicated all the princes who sustained the party of the king, and gave all their lands and lordships to the first occupant. An envoy of the duke of Savoy, who wished to make some representations to the holy father on this subject, was arrested as a spy, put to the torture, and thrown into the infected dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, notwithstanding the energetic protests of the duke.

The unskilful Louis being no longer able to deceive himself regarding the hostile sentiments of the pope, and not daring yet to take up arms against the Holy See, convened a national synod in the city of Tours, to authorise him to repulse the attacks of Julius the Second. Not only did the French bishops decide that the king would do right in repressing the insolence of the pope, but they even

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besought him to undertake the defence of the petty princes who were oppressed by the court of Rome, and cited Julius the Second to appear before a national council at Pisa, to be deposed from the pontificate. It resulted that nine cardinals, and among them the Spanish cardinal of Sainte Croix, immediately left the court of the sovereign pontiff to join the French bishops, and co-operate with them in the reform of the church. The cardinal of Sainte Croix, with the assent of Ferdinand, even caused letters of convocation to be put up in the cities of Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Bologna, and Rimini. But, whilst the king of Spain was writing to the king of France, that he was ready to sustain the enterprise of the prelates opposed to the infamous Julius the Second, he was secretly protesting at Rome of his good intentions towards his holiness, and was even demanding the deposition of the cardinals who had separated from the apostolic see.

Skilful as was this policy of Spain, it only half succeeded; Louis the Twelfth having discovered what was plotting against him, detached himself from Ferdinand and proposed to the emperor to form an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Maximilian listened with the more willingness to the overtures of France in regard to the deposition of Julius the Second, as a letter addressed to his daughter, Margaret of Austria, who advised him to marry again, shows: "We do not think that at our age, one should contract a new alliance, unless for political reasons," he wrote to this princess; "and in the position of affairs, it would tend to destroy our plans of ambition, which are to unite on our own head the double crown of emperors and popes. Already has our secretary, the bishop of Gurck, started for Rome, to propose to Julius the Second, to choose between our enmity and our admission to a share in the papacy, so that after his death, we should be assured of possessing the chair of St. Peter alone. Be then warned my dear Margaret, that you will be forced to adore us on both knees, which will be very strange; this idea already excites our hilarity. It will be so, however, for the people and nobles of Rome, who have an equal hatred for the French, the Spaniards, and the Venetians, are leagued together to the number of upwards of twenty thousand, and have informed us that they would choose a pope of German origin, as soon as Julius the Second left the Holy See vacant; this cannot be long, his holiness being covered with pustules and ulcers, in consequence of his debaucheries. I have consequently made overtures to the Italian cardinals, and their suffrages will cost me about two or three hundred thousand ducats. Ferdinand the Fifth also affirms to us that his ambassadors have orders to assist our election. Written with his own hand, by your good father Maximilian, the future pontiff."

Whilst the emperor was intriguing to reach the papacy, Julius the second was still neglecting his trade of pope for that of an adventurer; he abandoned his palace of the Vatican,

leaving to Michael Angelo the care of directing the work on the new church of St. Peter, whose foundations were already rising above the soil of the ancient steps, and retaking the casque and sword, went with a small escort to the city of Modena, where the pontifical troops were encamped. His holiness had already reached Bologna, when the marshal Chaumont, whom France had sent to the aid of the duke of Ferrara, and who was himself in the environs of the place, was advised by Bentivoglio, of what was occurring, and came, during the night, to surround Bologna with his cavalry. On the next morning, the consternation among the pontifical household was great, and their alarm was the better founded, since, on the one hand, it was impossible to leave the city without falling into the hands of the French; and on the other, the Bolognese, who had never been devoted to the Holy See, appeared ready to revolt, and were already talking of giving up the pope to the marshal de Chaumont.

In this extremity, the cardinals united with the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, in beseeching Julius to treat with the French. At this overture, the pontiff fell into a violent rage, he rent his garments, blasphemed the name of God, tore the tiara from his head, and trampling it under foot exclaimed, "Perish then, with this powerless emblem, a religion of falsehood and knavery, and with it be crushed the abominable supporters who counsel cowardice to their pope. As for you," said he, turning towards the Venetian ambassador, "where are the re-inforcements you promised me in the name of your republic? I will wait for them until to-morrow, and if they do not come, then I will treat with these execrable Frenchmen; but it will be only for the purpose of burning Venice, and with your city, all the merchants who rule it. As for you," said he, turning towards the ambassador of Spain, "who have sported with me so unworthily, by causing me to grant the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, in exchange for troops, which your infamous sovereign will never send me, I will have you hung to-morrow at day-break." Then seizing his cross with both his hands, he fell on them and drove them from his presence, striking them redoubled blows.

When, however, his rage was appeased, perceiving that his violence did not remove the dangers which threatened him, he called together the magistrates of Bologna, and the chiefs of the trades; he represented to them that he had trusted to their loyalty and fidelity in coming into their city, and besought them to take up arms in his defence, promising them the remission of all imposts. His urgency did not change the dispositions of the inhabitants, and matters remained in the same state during a whole day. Towards night, news was received of the approach of the Spaniards; the threat of the gallows had produced its effect. The ambassador of Ferdinand had sent an express to Fabricius Colonna, who decided on advancing. The marshal

de Chaumont retreated before the Spaniards and yielded the field of battle.

Julius the Second, thus delivered from the French, immediately uttered invectives against Louis the Twelfth; he spoke of nothing but sieges and ranged battles, and though he suffered much from ulcers, which were eating him up, he wished to go to Ferrara to bombard that place. He assisted at the first labours of the siege, but was soon obliged to return to Bologna, the physicians having declared that the disease had reached its last stages, and that his holiness had but a few days to live.

The cardinals immediately commenced their intrigues for the papacy, and caballed with offendiery in the very chamber of the dying man. They were, however, soon brought to repentance; for Julius, who was endowed with a very vigorous constitution, returned to life. His first care was to assemble the cardinals in public consistory; he heaped threats and outrages on them; he called them thieves, sodomites, simoniacs; he accused them of selling their honour, their conscience, and even their bodies; and, finally, closed the session by making a decree concerning the election of popes, in which his holiness declared as of right null, every nomination tainted with simony, whether on the part of the chosen or of the electors, proclaiming as heretical, and punishable by the punishment of fire, pontiffs who should be promoted by such means, as well as all who had concurred in their election.

As soon as the pope had recovered enough strength to sustain the movement of a litter, he determined to recommence hostilities against the duke, and started to rejoin his troops. The chevalier Bayard, who was then carrying on the war in Italy, having been advised of the march of the pope, resolved to seize him, and laid an ambuscade of an hundred men-at-arms in the environs of the small town of St. Felix, through which he knew his holiness must pass, to reach his camp. Unfortunately on that day, about an hour after the departure of the escort, there fell a heavy rain, which obliged the pontiff to turn back to seek for shelter. Bayard, who was unmasked by this movement, discovered himself and fell upon the cardinals; as he was at a considerable distance off, Julius had time to leave his litter and mount a powerful horse, on which he escaped from his enemies. The cardinals imitated his example, and Bayard could only seize some old bishops who were in litters, some domestics who were on foot, and the baggage mules.

Whilst the French were carrying on a rough war with his holiness, they were negotiating with the king of Spain to induce him to unite with Louis the Twelfth and Maximilian, who had convened a council at Pisa to depose the pope. But Ferdinand, who found his interests in these interminable discords, contented himself with playing the part of mediator, and after numerous debates, he proposed to assemble a congress at Man-

tua, to treat of an accommodation among all the powers. Julius the Second went to Ravenna to supervise the deliberations of that assembly, and endeavoured to gain the representatives of the princes to his side. He even wrote on this subject to the venerable bishop of Gurck, a delegate from the emperor, to come to him, in order to deliberate with him on the means of pacifying Italy. The prelate accepted the invitation of his holiness; but when he saw that the pontiff's only object was to buy his conscience with a cardinal's hat, he immediately returned to Mantua. As Ferdinand had foreseen, the meeting of the ministers of the great powers produced no result, and the war recommenced with more fury than before. Trivulzio, who had succeeded the marshal de Chaumont in the command of the army of Italy, opened the campaign by seizing in succession Concordia and Bologna; in this last city was a bronze statue of Julius the Second, one of the master-pieces of Michael Angelo. The proud pontiff was represented as standing in a warlike attitude, with his right hand raised towards heaven, as if invoking Christ in favour of the people, whom he came to punish. A very curious anecdote is related of it: "The cardinals," says the chronicle, "having informed his holiness, that the inhabitants only trembled when they regarded this terrible statue, and asked if it raised its arm to bless or curse them;" Julius replied to them, "It is for either, as the Bolognese shall be submissive or rebellious." As soon as the French entered the city, the people broke up this statue; the metal was bought by Alphonso of Este, who made a piece of artillery out of it, which he called the Julian.

The marshal Trivulzio could, beyond all doubt, have seized on all Romagna, if he had pushed on the war; unfortunately, he was prevented by Louis the Twelfth, who was alarmed at his victories over the pope, and wished to await the decision of the council which had been convened at Pisa.

Julius the Second remained still shut up in Ravenna, and was much disquieted at the turn which affairs were taking. To increase the evil, division broke out in his own family; the duke of Urbino, who was at once his nephew and his bastard, accused the cardinal of Pavia, the minion of his holiness, of having sold Bologna to the French; the latter in his turn accused him, before the other cardinals, of having endeavoured to supplant him in the good graces of the pontiff, whilst, at the same time, he was keeping up an understanding with the duke of Ferrara, whose niece he had espoused, in order to obtain a protector after the death of the pope. The duke of Urbino, furious at seeing his intrigues unmasked, conceived a violent hatred against the cardinal, and on the day succeeding the discussion, stabbed him in the street. Julius the Second was so afflicted by the death of his minion, that being unable to avenge him on his own son, he resolved to leave the city which had witnessed his assassination, and return to

Rome, notwithstanding the dangers he must incur.

Two days after his return to the holy city, he convened a council in the palace of the Lateran, to oppose the synod of Pisa, whither he had been cited to hear his deposition. In his letters of convocation his holiness laid it down as a law, that the privilege of forming general assemblies of ecclesiastics pertained to the pope exclusively; he concluded as follows: "It is on this account, in the plenitude of our infallible wisdom, that we declare the call of the council of Pisa null and vain, as well as all the writings published against us by its callers, in the name of the emperor Maximilian and of King Louis of France, revoking and revoking them, and under penalty of excommunication and eternal malediction, prohibiting every one, whatever may be his dignity, be he ecclesiastic or secular, from favouring their propagation."

The holy father then fulminated his bulls against Louis the Twelfth, and threatened to break his scandalous marriage with Anne of Brittany; he then turned towards Spain, and offered the investiture of Navarre to Ferdinand, if he would arm in his behalf. This proposal was very agreeable to that king, who had long sought to despoil John d'Albret of his kingdom of Navarre. Ferdinand equipped a numerous fleet, with the apparent design of making a descent on Africa, but which was really destined to disembark an army in Italy, to surprise the French.

Louis the Twelfth, being warned of these warlike preparations, hastened to levy troops; the emperor did the same, and all the people of Europe found themselves in arms, and prepared to murder each other, to maintain the quarrel of a pope who was at once a sodomite, robber, and assassin. On their side, the cardinals who had separated from the pontifical court, and who were at Pisa, proceeded none the less with the opening of the council which was to depose the pontiff, and if the assembly did not act in this matter with the energy which it had already exhibited, we must seek for the reasons in the gentle and irresolute character of Maximilian; this prince, solely to oblige the prelates of his kingdom, dared not appear at the synod. On the other hand, the king of France was weak enough to yield to the counsels of his wife, and sent but sixteen bishops, with some proctors from the universities. It resulted, that this meeting, being composed of only a small number of prelates, lost its influence from that circumstance alone, and it was after many difficulties that the Florentines, to whom the city of Pisa belonged, decided to permit it to open its sessions.

At last the first session took place on the 29th of October, 1511, under the presidency of the cardinal of Sainte Croix. Odet de la Foix was the keeper of the council, and Philip Decius, an excellent lawyer, discharged the duties of judge advocate. As soon as the news reached Julius the Second, he excommunicated a second time the cardinals, and

all who took part in this assembly; but so many blows struck him at once, that he himself believed he should not long survive. He was attacked by a violent fever, accompanied by long fainting spells, during which he showed no signs of life.

"The holy father then appeared to return somewhat towards goodness," says the historian of the league of Cambray; "he brought the cardinals about him; he accused himself of having committed great crimes, and of having published unjust excommunications; he caused them to prepare a bull revoking them, prohibiting them, however, from publishing it until after his death, because, should he recover his health, he was unwilling to have performed, he said, an act of justice which might injure his dignity." This excess of prudence was not useless, for the fever having left him, the physicians pronounced him out of danger, and he was soon able to preside in person over the sessions of the consistory.

During his convalescence, he was engaged in cementing an offensive and defensive alliance between the Holy See, the Swiss, Venice, and Ferdinand, who had finally declared himself the enemy of France. By a strange abuse of language, this sacrilegious coalition was called the holy league, and the conduct of its operations was surrendered to the indefatigable Julius the Second. It is true that his holiness alone defrayed the expenses of the enterprise; by way, however, of compensation, his allies permitted him to use their troops to bring the people of Rome to reason, who had had the audacity to chase away the priests from the apostolic city, and to desire to recover their liberty. In less than eight days, thanks to this powerful aid, the authority of the pope was re-established, and after the massacre of from twelve to fifteen thousand citizens, order was restored.

If the inhabitants of the holy city were hostile to the pontifical cause, it was not the same at Pisa, where an army of priests and monks had excited the devout people. Troubles broke out and the population took up arms, not against the pope, but against the council, which was engaged in deposing him. The disorders became so great, that after the third session, the fathers were compelled to retire to Milan to continue their sittings. His holiness was much gratified at it, but was, however, troubled by the news that the French had cut to pieces the army of the confederates, beneath the walls of Ravenna.

This victory inspired terror through the ecclesiastical states; at Rome, especially, their minds were in consternation; the cardinals crowded to the Vatican to entreat the pontiff to take pity on himself and the sacred college, and transfer his court to Spain. They represented that his position was the worse, since the Roman barons were about to join the French, and that even his own bastard, the duke of Urbin, had promised to send to the enemy two hundred lances and four thousand foot, to increase the number of soldiers whom

Pompey Colonna, Robert des Ursini, Antonio Savelli, Pietro Margano, and Laurent Mancini, were engaged to furnish. Notwithstanding his excessive pride, these considerations made an impression on the mind of Julius the Second, and he appeared to yield to the necessity of retreating, when the ambassadors of Spain and Venice arrived. They combatted the reasonings of the cardinals, and informed his holiness that the danger was not as imminent as had been supposed, because the French army, though victorious, was like a body without a soul, its general, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, having been slain in the battle. This information determined Julius to delay his plan of flight for some days, and soon a letter from the cardinal de Medicis caused him to abandon it entirely and restored all his audacity to him. This prelate, who had been made a prisoner on the field of battle, in which he was fighting armed at all points, wrote to his holiness, "that he had been enabled to seize on the minds of the soldiers, and had so alarmed them by his preaching, concerning hell, that they were deserting in bands with their arms and baggage, to save their souls and escape the anathemas which they had incurred; that moreover they need not be disquieted at Rome, since the superstitious Anne of Brittany had a confessor who was entirely devoted to the Holy See; that by means of the influence of this princess, they could prevent Louis the Twelfth from reinforcing his army in Italy, and that besides, Maximilian, who saw the bad condition in which the affairs of France were, appeared to desire to detach himself from its cause to enter the sacred league."

Although fortune indeed appeared to have taken the side of the holy father, the assembly of Milan none the less continued its labours, and, during its seventh sitting, pronounced the suspension of Julius the Second from the pontifical functions. The sentence was conceived in these terms:—"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the sacred general council, representing the universal church, after having taken the evils of the church into consideration, declares, that it is necessary to labour for the reform of abuses; and as it is especially important for religion that the head of the church should set an example of Christian virtues, and should not be an object of reproach an account of his adulteries, robberies, and murders, the fathers have unanimously decided that Julius the Second should be hurled from the throne of the apostle; for Isaiah saith, 'Remove from before my people all that may cause their fall;' and the apostle St. Paul, 'Eradicate every germ of evil from among you, for a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.'

"Since we must draw the people out of the hands of Goliath and the Philistines, who pervert and oppress them, the sacred college exhorts cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, prebends of cathedrals, chapters of colleges, kings, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, barons, universities, commu-

nities, the vicars of the Roman church, vassals, governors, feudatories, regular and secular subjects, finally, all the faithful, whatever may be their dignities and professions, no longer to recognise Julian de la Rovera as pope, who elevated himself to the Holy See, by means of an infamous simony. We prohibit all from obeying this corsair, this gladiator soiled with Christian blood, this incestuous wretch, this sodomite, covered with filthy sores, who has infected the church by his corruption."

This decree was received in France, and its publication permitted by the letters patent of Louis the Twelfth, notwithstanding the active opposition of Anne of Brittany, who, by the advice of her confessor, even refused to share her bed with the king. Julius the Second did not otherwise appear much moved by it; he contented himself with assembling some Italian bishops at St. John of the Lateran, and caused this cabal to issue anathemas against his adversaries. By the orders of his holiness, the prelates who were in session at Milan, were declared to be heretics, delegates of antichrist, and as such, the faithful were permitted to seize their property, benefices, dignities, even to slay them. The council of the Lateran, at the same time, confirmed the censures pronounced against Louis the Twelfth, from whom it took away his title of Most Christian King. The last article of the condemnation had been dictated by Ferdinand the Catholic, who, however, exacted that the king of Navarre should be included in the sentence. Flechier, in one of his funeral orations, himself blames the conduct of the pope. "Julius the Second," says he, "abusing the power which he maintained he held from God, made religion subserve his criminal passions, and carried a sacrilegious hand against the crown of kings. John D'Albret, one of the victims of the execrable policy of this pontiff, was excommunicated by virtue of a bull, which had been solicited by Ferdinand the Fifth, and the principality of Navarre was invaded by Spanish troops, before John D'Albret dreamed of defending himself . . . ."

Whilst the creatures of Julius the Second were fulminating anathemas against France and her allies, the fathers of the council of Milan quitted that residence precipitately, in order to avoid the implacable vengeance of the pope, and took refuge at Lyons, which caused that city to be placed under interdict, and be degraded from its rank as a metropolitan see. On the other hand, the bands of the holy league, re-inforced by Spanish troops, took their revenge on the French, and seized one after another on all the cities which still held out against the pope.

To heighten these disgraces, the king of England, Henry the Eighth, who had remained, until this time, an impassable spectator of the struggle, joined the confederates, and induced the desertion of Maximilian. All Europe was thus leagued against Louis the Twelfth; the war recommenced more terribly than ever; the Germans, Swiss and Spaniards,

penetrated into Italy, by three sides at once; the troops of Julius the Second invaded Romagna, and carried Bologna and Ravenna. Pressed on all sides, and borne down by numbers, the French were constrained to give ground and lay down their arms; almost all of them were cowardly assassinated, in contempt of the laws of war, and although they had obtained honourable capitulations.

Bandel, Forcadelle, and several other historians, relate that Julius the Second then invented a fable, the object of which was to render the memory of Gaston de Foix odious, and to raise to the highest pitch the fanaticism of the people of Italy against the French.—He caused to be affirmed, by numerous witnesses, that having opened the tomb of this prince, they had only found in his coffin a horrible serpent, which had flown up into the air in the midst of a thick and infected smoke. Forcadelle also says, that his holiness distributed large sums to hungry poets to make satires against Louis the Twelfth or Anne of Brittany, and that he granted the remission of a capital punishment to a great criminal, who had made a Latin distich against the French.

Two months had scarcely passed since the expulsion of the French from Italy, when Julius thought of breaking the holy league and freeing himself from his allies, who had the audacity to claim a part of the spoils.—Before putting this plan in execution, he wished to assure himself of the possession of the duchy of Ferrara, and for this purpose he wrote to Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, the husband of the infamous Lucretia Borgia, that he was willing to be reconciled to him, and only exacted that he should come to Rome, to receive absolution, according to the ordinary forms; he sent him a safe conduct signed with his own hand, to give him the greater confidence in his promises.

Notwithstanding the protestations of friendship by the holy father, Alphonso feared a snare, and replied, that he would not hazard coming to Rome, but on the solemn guarantee of the Colonna and of the ambassadors of Spain and Florence. They wrote at once, that they would pledge themselves to oppose every effort against his person; he had then no more objections to make, and started for the holy city.

Julius the Second, says an historian, received him with great demonstrations of joy, and sought to persuade him, as he had before done Cæsar Borgia, that Lucretia was his own daughter, and not that of Alexander the Sixth. This princess was then living in great honour at the court of her husband, surrounded by poets, artists, and painters; later, when age had deprived her of all her lovers, she built convents for women in expiation of her adulteries and incests.

At first Julius promised the duke of Ferrara to treat him as his son-in-law, and retained him at the Vatican; then when he supposed he could speak as a master, he brought him before the consistory, and summoned him to give up the city of Ferrara as a dependency

of the church; he also claimed the payment of a tribute of four thousand florins of gold, which he was to send yearly to Rome, as a feudatory of the Holy See; and, finally, he prohibited him from sending the products of the salt springs of Comachio into Lombardy, that he might not enter into rivalry with the salt springs of the holy father.

Alphonso discovered that Julius was only waiting a pretext to arrest him; he did not, therefore, contest the equity of the demands of the holy father, but simply asked that they should give him to the next day to make his decision. During the night he fled from Rome, and regained his dominions by byways. As soon as Julius was informed of the departure of his prisoner, he burst into a rage, accused the Florentine ambassadors of having favoured his escape, and in revenge, gave orders to the cardinal of Sion to commence hostilities against France at once.

Cardonne, the Spanish general, joined the pontifical troops, seized on Prato, and forced the republic to receive the conditions which the pope chose to impose on it. His holiness re-established the Medici at the head of the government. At Milan a like restoration was accomplished, and Maximilian Sforza retook his ducal crown. Thus all political events concurred in assuring the triumph of the pope; it was only left for him to purge Italy of the Spaniards and Germans. To attain this end, his holiness offered to authorise the emperor to conquer the possessions of Venice, provided he would drive the Spaniards out of Lower Italy. Maximilian acceded to this proposal, and immediately sent the bishop of Gurck to Rome, to arrange the basis of it. The pontiff received the German plenipotentiary with great demonstrations of friendship, and appeared to have entirely forgotten their former struggles; he defrayed the expenses of his embassy with liberality, though he had three hundred persons in his train, and lavished on him honours which were usually rendered to emperors alone. All the conditions of this sacrilegious alliance were arranged on the same day; the bishop of Gurck, in the name of Maximilian, engaged to protect the court of Rome against the enterprises of Spain and France, and to lend it the aid of troops to reduce the duchy of Ferrara. In return for these advantages, Julius sacrificed his allies the Venetians, and promised to excommunicate them if they refused to submit to Germany, and to agree to the conditions which the prince wished to impose on them.

As soon as the treaty had been ratified, Julius the Second gave vent to his joy; he commanded, that on the next day, a solemn service should be performed, to celebrate the happy success of his negotiations, and at the close of the ceremony, he went with all his clergy to the left bank of the Tiber, where, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the powers, and of a numerous crowd, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river, exclaiming, "From henceforth, the popes shall only need the sword of St. Paul."

At length his holiness, on his return to the Vatican, summoned the Spanish ambassadors into his presence, and ordered them, under penalty of the most terrible censures, to cause the bands of the pillagers who combatted with their troops, to retire from the territories of the church. As they were desirous of excusing themselves on the plea of the necessity of terminating the operations which had been commenced, Julius broke out upon them in outrageous language, and drove them from his presence. He immediately entered into negotiations with the Swiss cantons, to obtain thirty thousand troops, who were to aid him in driving out the Spaniards from Lower Italy, and conquering the kingdom of Naples. The agreement was already signed, and the war was about to break out with fresh fury, when God took pity on Italy, and delivered the earth from this abominable pope, on the 23d of February, 1513.

According to some authors, Julius died from the consequences of a fit of passion; according to others, he fell before the baneful dis-

ease which was scouring Europe; all agree in saying, that the cardinal charged to administer the last sacraments to him, having asked him what he had decided upon in regard to the prelates whom he had deposed, the dying man replied to him, "As man, I pardon them; as pope, I curse them." These words are enough to show that the papacy is, in its essence, a vicious and execrable institution, since it commands hatred, and prohibits the forgiveness of injuries.

A bitter satire is attributed to the learned Erasmus, in which Julius the Second is exhibited in the scene with the prince of the apostles; the latter refuses an entrance into the kingdom of heaven to the pope, and reproaches him with all his crimes; he accuses him of incest with his sister and daughter; of vile crimes with his bastards, nephews, and several cardinals; he calls him a perjurer, simoniac, drunkard, robber, murderer, and poisoner; and, finally, declares to him that the gates of heaven are closed against those who are infected by the disease of which he died.

## LEO THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1513:]

*Disorders at Rome—Election of Leo the Tenth—Coronation of the pontiff—Politics of the holy father—Louis the Twelfth submits to the pope—Leo opposes himself to the pacification of Europe—Decree of the council of Lateran on the nature of the soul—Impiety of the pope—He finishes the church of St. Peter—Marries his brother to the princess Philiberte of Savoy—Francis the First, of France, invades Italy—Interview between the king and pope at Bologna—Intrigue of the pope with a lady of the court of France—Concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First—The pontiff despoils the duke of Urbin—Conspiracy against the pope—Meanness of Francis the First to gain the friendship of the pope—Traffic in indulgences—Martin Luther and his doctrines—Bull of Leo the Tenth against Luther—Edict of the emperor Charles the Fifth against the reformer—Treaty between the emperor and pope against France—Death of Leo the Tenth.*

As soon as Julius the Second had terminated his execrable life, a revolution broke out at Rome. The populace, who for a long time had been restrained by the iron hand of the pontiff, flew to arms, pillaged the monasteries and the churches, and massacred a great number of priests and monks. At the close of this outbreak, the populace divided itself into two powerful factions, that of the Colonna and of the Urbins, who both sought to profit by the general confusion, in order to obtain the sovereignty of the city. Frightful disorders followed; blood flowed in torrents, and Rome offered nothing to the sight but dead bodies and houses in flames. At length the citizens discovered that they were but tools in the hands of ambitious lords, who disputed among themselves for power; they laid aside their arms, and a calm succeeded to the frightful storm which had passed over the apostolic city. The cardinals hastened to avail themselves of this apparent tranquillity, by enter-

ing into conclave. As a beginning, they passed a decree which limited the authority of the pope, and which established the precise privileges of the members of the sacred college. All swore upon the Bible to observe these rules, and immediately afterwards the intrigues commenced among the candidates for the papacy.

Among the members of the conclave, John de Medicis showed himself the most desirous for the heritage of Julius the Second. Varrilas thus speaks of this cardinal: "John de Medicis had been scarcely three months reinstalled in his palace at Florence, when the news of the death of Julius the Second arrived. He immediately conceived the design of causing himself to be elected sovereign pontiff, and took the road for Rome, although he was afflicted with a violent disease, and had two enormous abscesses, which prevented him from walking, or even riding on horseback. He made the journey in a litter, the

rules travelling on a walk, in order to avoid the least motion; in this manner he arrived at the holy city; but the obsequies of Julius were terminated, and the conclave had commenced; nevertheless, he caused them to open the gates of the Vatican, and took his place among the other cardinals. Already the members of the sacred college, young and old, had canvassed for their candidates, and seemed so obstinately fixed in their choice, that a long vacancy was threatened, when a very strange event suddenly changed the direction of their wishes and put an end to their intrigues. John de Medicis, though sick and tormented by sharp pains, laboured assiduously to create partizans for himself.

It happened that at the close of a day more laborious than the others, the abscesses broke and gave a passage to vicious humours, which spread through the conclave an infectious smell. The old cardinals, fearing they could not resist the baneful effects of this vitiated atmosphere, consulted physicians as to the mode of preserving themselves from the danger to their health, which must result from a forced residence in the same room with the sick man. They replied, there was no resource but to await the death of De Medicis, which must take place within a month. This opinion of the physicians created a revolution in the conclave; intrigues ceased at once, and the tiara was unanimously conferred on John de Medicis, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, at the age of thirty-six, by the title of Leo the Tenth.

The opening of the abscesses saved him from certain death; the corrupt humours flowed through the wounds, and he was cured of his disease.

The new pope was the son of Clarice des Ursini and of Laurent de Medicis, the same to whom Savonarola had refused absolution. At the age of thirteen he had been elevated to the cardinalship, by Innocent the Eighth. His education was entirely worldly; according to Paul Sarpi, he had no tinge of religious ideas; he even affected a silly impiety, saying openly, that religion was only good, in order to restrain the common people in obedience, and ought not to govern the actions of the powerful and rich.

Leo the Tenth, as proud and ambitious as his predecessor, was capable of committing any crime in order to obtain the desired end, but more courtly than Julius the Second, he was less rude and coarse in his intercourse with sovereigns.

His holiness, wishing to wait for the return of his strength, delayed the ceremony of his exaltation until the 11th of April, the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna, on which he had been made prisoner by the French. On the day appointed for the ceremony, clothed in garments studded with diamonds and rubies, his head covered by a tiara so glittering with precious stones that it was impossible steadily to contemplate it, he came to the church of the Lateran, followed by an escort so numerous and brilliant, that, according to

a historian of the time, no emperor nor king had ever displayed so much magnificence in their triumphal processions. The Roman clergy, the magistracy, the nobility, the different orders of the monks, black, gray, and white, the different trades, the chiefs of the soldiery, clothed in glittering armour, formed an immense cortege; young maids and children, clothed in white, cast palms and flowers before the steps of the pontiff through the route. He himself advanced, mounted on an Arabian courser, having around him the members of the sacred college and his relatives, among whom, the commander of the Medici, armed at all points, was distinguished. The procession had not passed the walls of the city when a courier arrived, announcing the death of Raphael Pucci, archbishop of Florence; Leo, after having read the despatch, turned towards his cousin, and without interrupting the march, said to him with a loud voice, "My cousin, I announce to you that to-morrow you will quit the profession of arms to receive the succession of Raphael Pucci, and become an archbishop." This took place, though the commander was as much a stranger to the duties as a lawless soldier could be, whose whole life had been passed in pillaging, stealing and throat cutting.

After the celebration of the pontifical mass the holy father bestowed his blessing on the people, and retraced the road to the Vatican, where a feast awaited him worthy of Lucullus or Apicius. The expense of this feast was computed at more than a hundred thousand crowns of gold.

As soon as he was installed in the Holy See, the new pope abandoned himself to luxury and debauchery; he invited to Rome all the artists and authors of Italy, and his court soon became the most brilliant in Europe. We should render him the justice of having banished brutal debauchery, which he replaced by gallantry, a species of corruption less ignoble, but more dangerous, inasmuch as it depraves society without drawing on itself general reprobation. The court of Rome became a school of materialism, and of philosophical atheism, from the bosom of which the pontiff king directed the political affairs of the church. He at once studied the aggrandizement of his family; he placed his brother Peter at the head of the government of Tuscany, and reserved for his other brother, Julian the Magnificent, the crown of Naples, which he had decided to take away from Ferdinand the Fifth. He did not suffer this last project to be known, preferring to wait until circumstances should offer to him a certain chance of success. He was next occupied in extending the authority of the Holy See, and preserving its independence. To effect this, he refused to conclude a treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic; and he was likewise unwilling to adhere to any proposition of peace with the French, from fear of seeing them return anew into Italy. His holiness did not ratify, but in part, the engagements made with the Swiss by his predecessor, because he had felt the



inconvenience of carrying on war with mercenary soldiers, who mutinied if they did not receive their pay on the appointed day, or who enrolled themselves under the banner of their enemies, if they obtained thereby an increase of pay. He was unwilling longer to remain in league with Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, whom he regarded as a weight upon the Holy See; nor with the emperor, who was a fickle and dangerous friend, and who had declared, on being compelled to renounce his pretensions on the papacy, that the states of the church appertained to the empire of the west, and that destiny had designed to restore to the title of emperor its ancient splendour; last of all, the holy father refused, with better reasons still, to ally himself with the Venetians, who had made a treaty with Louis the Twelfth.

Nevertheless, he sent an ambassador named Cinthio to the court of France, to assure the king of his true intentions, and to offer the respectful sentiment of the family of the Medici for Louis the Twelfth. The legate was also charged to explain to his majesty, that on reaching the pontifical throne, Leo the Tenth, having found the Holy See engaged in a vow of declared hostility to France, it would be imprudent to change its policy at once; that in consequence of it, he besought the king not to impute to any ill will the disposition he was constrained to adopt, in order to thwart his projects of conquering the Milanese. He besought him also not to be offended if he should exhort him by a brief, not to undertake any thing against Italy, under pain of anathema, interdiction, and deposition; also, that nothing would diminish the constant affection of his holiness for his person. He kindly warned him that, at his solicitation, Henry the Eighth of England, was preparing for a descent on France; also, that in spite of himself, and in obedience to the sacred college, the pope was constrained to engage Maximilian the First to attack his frontiers on the Rhine, whilst the Swiss invaded Burgundy; that, in fine, he was obliged to permit Ferdinand the Catholic to pursue his conquests in Navarre, in consequence of this king having purchased from his predecessor, for forty-two thousand crowns of gold, authority to do so.

Without disquieting themselves with these threats, the French, under the command of Louis de La Tremouille, penetrated into Italy, joined the Venetians, and recommenced hostilities. The Milanese were reconquered for the third time, and Genoa again passed under the rule of France. Unfortunately, Anne of Brittany shackled the progress of affairs, and caused her weak husband to write to Tremouille to advance no farther in the work.

Mezerai explains this subject in these words:—"The greatest enemy of the king was, beyond all contradiction, Madame the queen, on account of her scruples of conscience; she accused him of wishing to seal his everlasting damnation, by resisting the popes and assembling councils to oppose them; and, as she wearied him out with her com-

plaints, the poor king had no other means of purchasing domestic peace, than by suspending the war at the moment he was victorious, and on the point of bringing the pope to reason."

This excessive tenderness of Louis the Twelfth for his wife, was nigh costing him his crown, for his enemies, attributing the inactivity of his general to weakness or inability, recovered their boldness. The Swiss, who were in the pay of Leo the Tenth, marched against the French, cut them to pieces at Novare, so that Tremouille could barely lead back to France some thousands of men. Almost at the same moment, Anjou was invaded by the English, Navarre by the Spaniards, Burgundy by a second army of Swiss, and the provinces bordering on the Rhine by Maximilian.

In this extremity, the king was obliged to have recourse to the clemency of Leo the Tenth; he immediately sent ambassadors to Rome with letters patent, sealed with his own seal, subscribed by himself, and expedited by his own command. On their arrival in the holy city, the envoys of France were subjected to the most humiliating ceremonies; they were introduced into the consistory, at which the pope presided, covered with ornaments glittering with gold and precious stones; they were constrained to prostrate themselves with their foreheads to the earth, in the presence of the ambassadors of the foreign courts, of the cardinals, and of numerous officers of the church, and then they humbly implored pardon for their master, promising, in his name, not to give, in future, any aid to the enemies of the Holy See, and to combat them by arms, without fraud or dissimulation. They declared that the king disapproved of the council of Pisa, that he detested the decisions made in that assembly of schismatics and heretics, that he would engage to pursue the prelates who had taken part in this assembly, to drive them from the city of Lyons, from the kingdom, from all the lands or lordships placed under his rule, and to deliver them over to the holy inquisition, if he should make them prisoners; in addition, they signed an adherence to the council of the Lateran, engaging to recognise it as the only standard, and approving of all the decrees it had made or might hereafter make.

Louis the Twelfth made peace with Ferdinand the Fifth, by promising to him his daughter Renée of France, for one of his younger sons, and by abandoning to him Navarre; he obtained the evacuation of the Rhenish provinces occupied by Maximilian, by surrendering to him the Milanese; in order to put a stop to his quarrels with Henry the Eighth of England, as he was a widower by the death of Anne of Brittany, now dead some months, he demanded in marriage the young Mary of England who was promised to him; as to the Swiss he purchased their neutrality with gold. These arrangements, which put an end to the operations of the holy league, did not obtain the approbation of Leo the Tenth, who had

promised himself to prolong the war between the different princes, until Louis the Twelfth, occupied in defending himself, would not dream of re-appearing in arms beyond the Alps; and his holiness went to work to re-animate discords and launch new anathemas against France, when he received the news of the death of the king.

A moment of calm ensued, of which the pontiff availed himself to continue the labours of the synod of the Lateran. His holiness received in a solemn session the fathers of Pisa, who came to ask pardon for their past conduct; the promoters of this meeting, the cardinals of Sainte Croix and Saint Severin were obliged to appear before the pope, clothed in the garments of simple priests, and to avow that they had been justly degraded by Julius the Second, because an ecclesiastic ought never to raise himself up against the head of the church.

During the same sitting, Leo the Tenth published a decree relative to the immortality of the soul: "We command all philosophers, professors in the universities, to combat the views which opposed the faith established by the church, in maintaining that the soul is mortal like the body, and the world is eternal."

Martin Luther affirms in his works, that Leo the Tenth denied positively the immortality of the soul, and that one day, after having listened to two skilful doctors, who were discussing this fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, he terminated it by this singular conclusion: "The reasons which you give for the affirmative, appear to me profound, but I prefer the negative, because it is determined for us to endeavour to take care of our bodies, and to acquire *embonpoint*."

They passed a considerable number of decrees on various subjects of religious controversy, in the council of the Lateran; they offer, however, too little interest to be reported in detail. In the midst of his political debate, Leo the Tenth continued his projects for embellishing Rome, and continued, under the direction of Julian of San Gallo, the construction of the celebrated church of St. Peter, of which the design had been furnished under the preceding pontificate, by Francis Lazzari. Bramante, a celebrated architect, sprung from the ranks of the people, as almost all great artists are.

We should render this justice to Julius the Second, that he knew how to encourage the arts, and although the labours which he commanded, had for their results, but monuments useless to men, it is no less true, that it was to him that Rome owed the execution of a project formed by Nicholas the Fifth, to elevate, on the site of the ancient church of St. Peter, a church which should not be equalled in any city of the world. Bramante submitted to his holiness different plans, among which was one representing a cathedral with two churches, and two steeples; it was this which the pope adopted. There is still a medal of it, engraved by the famous artist Corodasso. More than eight thousand workmen were em-

ployed in tearing down the old church. Bramante laid the foundations of this new monument, and pushed on the work with such celerity, that it was easy to see that the artist wished to monopolise the glory of completing a gigantic project, which required the lifetime of several men. He threw down, without remorse, the magnificent columns of the old church, and replaced them by four grand arches, which rested on massive bases; he destroyed the ancient tombs of the popes, and the precious mosaics which decorated them. Bold and ingenious in his designs, Bramante made the arches of his building in a single casting, with a composition of lime and marble dust, tempered in water, in such a way, that they appeared to be decorated with mosaics, representing recesses with mouldings and rosaces.

Unfortunately, this great work, executed so hastily, was wanting in solidity, and the arches fell down a few years after the death of the celebrated architect. Those who re-undertook this gigantic work, Julian de San Gallo, Peruzzi, and Michael Angelo, only preserved the arches which supported the tower of the dome, and destroyed the rest.

Leo the Tenth continued to preside at the sittings of the council of the Lateran; at the tenth session two remarkable acts were committed; the publication of a decree in favour of usury, and the promulgation of a bull against the liberty of the press. In the first decrees the holy father decided that pawnbrokers were authorised to levy upon the unfortunate a greater interest than the ordinary one, provided they would pay over half the profits into the treasury of the pope; an odious calculation, and which ought the more to excite our indignation, because, under the mask of philanthropy, it aided to despoil the poor of their last resources. In the second decree, the pontiff, after enumerating at length the inconveniences which resulted to religion from the fever for instruction which had taken possession of men's minds, and which the invention of printing tended to propagate, resolved, in his wisdom, that the works of authors should be submitted to censors, and that no book should be printed for the use of the faithful, who inhabited the states of the church, which had not received the approbation of the vicar of the pope and the master of the sacred palace, and of the diocesan bishops, or inquisitors of districts in other countries, under pain of being excommunicated and judged as heretics; that is, of being burned alive! Despite these threats of Leo, whom servile historians call the restorer of letters, and who sought to thicken the darkness which enveloped the world, the press triumphed, and nothing could subdue that power which was about to break down absolute thrones, and overthrow the altars of superstition. The time had not, however, yet arrived for the people to free themselves entirely from this odious yoke, and the popes were still the pests of nations.

His holiness pursued his objects for the aggrandisement of his family, and married to his

brother Julien, the young princess Philiberte of Savoy, sister to Duke Charles, and to Louisa, the mother of Francis the First, who succeeded Louis the Twelfth. The new monarch profited by this circumstance to make new offers to the Holy See, to aid him in his pretensions on Italy, and sent two ambassadors, William Budé, and Antonio Pallavicini, a Milanese lord, under pretext of complimenting him on the marriage of his brother, but, in reality, to propose to the pope to abandon to him the dutchy of Milan, in exchange for a principality for Julien de Medicis, which should be composed of the states of Parma, Placenza, Modena, and Reggio, and of which the brother of the pontiff should be invested as a feudatory of the Holy See. This proposition, though very conformable to the views of his holiness, was not acceded to, because the emperor Maximilian had already made him better offers.

Francis the First, furious at finding himself pushed aside; and suspecting the existence of a new coalition against him, resolved to surprise his enemies before they had united their forces. He passed the mountains, and penetrated even to the gates of Milan, before the armies of the pope and his allies could form their junction. The Swiss alone had had time to descend from their mountains, and were ready to dispute the way with Francis. They numbered forty thousand men, an equal force with their enemy, and had, besides, the advantage of fighting in a friendly country, and were moreover animated by the remembrance of their victory at Novare.

When the Swiss found themselves before the French, they made a manœuvre to surprise them before they were ranged in order of battle; they charged on the artillery, which was vigorously defended, and by which they suffered a heavy loss; then they attacked the infantry, and had already broken the first rank, when the French cavalry, debouching from a ravine, fell upon their battalions with a horrible carnage. On both sides the combat was maintained all day with equal fury; the next day the battle recommenced, and during four hours the victory remained undecided, when the Swiss, despairing of forcing the front of their enemy, had the imprudence to change their order of battle, in order to attack them in flank, and in doing so, left between their right wing and their centre, a wide space, which the French gendarmes immediately occupied. The fate of the day was decided; the Swiss, after performing prodigies of valour, left the field of battle in possession of their enemies, and beat a retreat, having lost fifteen thousand men; the loss of the French was between five and six thousand. This victory, which was called the day of Marignan, rendered Francis master of the Milanese. Maximilian Sforza was constrained to yield it to the conqueror, and obtained in exchange for it, a residence in France and a considerable pension. A debut so brilliant, struck Italy with fright; Genoa hastened to submit; the pope himself sent an ambassador to compli-

ment the young king upon a success which filled him with rage. Francis, vain and presumptuous, as are all kings, believed himself invincible, and neglecting the councils of wise men, concluded a treaty with the pope, and yielded great advantages to the family of the Medici.

Through a new ruse the pope did not appear eager to ratify the engagements made by his legate; and when he decided to do so, it was on condition that Francis should meet him at Bologna, to discuss the abolition of the pragmatic sanction. The king agreed to the interview, and went to the place appointed by the holy father, accompanied by an escort of six thousand musqueteers, and twelve hundred men-at-arms. The pontiff had arrived before him, and waited for him, so that, on his entry into Bologna, he was received by twenty-four cardinals, all clothed in their red capes; then he was conducted to the sound of music to the pontifical palace. Leo received the young conqueror with that obsequious politeness which characterises the priests of all ages, and overwhelmed him with praise.

"That which most captivated Francis," says an ancient chronicler, "was the graceful manner in which his holiness performed the mass; the monarch could not cease from his admiration during the performance of the sacred office, and wished himself so much to serve as a train bearer, that they could scarcely prevent him from doing so." Thus the pontiff obtained the good graces of his guest, and had the appearance of yielding to his solicitations, in restoring to the duke of Ferrara the cities of Modena and Reggio, of which the Holy See claimed possession. In return, he exacted that Francis should abandon his ally the duke of Urbino, whose estates were convenient to Julien de Medicis, inasmuch as their reunion to those of Florence would constitute a sovereignty, which would extend from the Tuscan sea to the gulf of Venice. Lastly, he drew from the weak monarch the promise of abolishing the pragmatic sanction, under the secret condition that the pope would aid him in conquering the kingdom of Naples, after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic.

Hanelot de la Houssaye relates many scandalous adventures, in connection with certain ladies of the court, who had permission to come to Bologna during the interview between the two sovereigns, and amongst others, one concerning one of the mistresses of the king, named Marie Gaudin, who was remarkably beautiful. It appears that this lady attracted the attention of his holiness, and by an agreement between him and Francis, she yielded to the passion of the pope, who gave her as a memento, a jewel of great value, which was carefully preserved in the family of Sourdis, under the name of the Gaudin diamond.

The pope and the king of France separated, mutually satisfied with each other; the former because he had gained a kingdom for his brother, the latter because he had had the honour of carrying the train of the pontiff's robes. This agreement between the courts

of Rome and France so much annoyed Maximilian that he spread injurious reports against Leo, saying, "that one could look for nothing good from the popes, and that if this one had not deceived him, he would have been the first who kept faith since St. Peter." He did not confine himself to recriminations, and in order to avenge himself on the holy father, he immediately entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, which gained many advantages over the French.

His holiness, finding that fortune was abandoning his new allies, rapidly changed sides, reconciled himself secretly with the emperor, and sent to him two hundred men-at-arms, under the command of Mark Antony Colonna. Not only did the holy father refuse to furnish to the constable of Bourbon, governor of the Milanese for the king, the succour of five hundred lances and three thousand Swiss, which he had engaged to do, but even pushed his presumption so far as to cause his troops to subvert his projects on the duchy of Urbino, which he conquered in twenty-two days. Encouraged by impunity, he formed a conspiracy with those banished from Milan, with the chancellor Moran, and the Colonna, to make a new Sicilian vespers, and to destroy all the French who were found in the duchy. Fortunately the constable Bourbon discovered the plot, and advised the king of it, demanding from him authority to chastise the pope. Francis replied that he must bring back the pope by mild means, and not to come to vexatious extremes with him.

This reply so enraged the constable, that he immediately threw up his command and wrote to his prince, "that he knew well that astrologers had predicted that Leo the Tenth would make his brother Julien, king of Naples, and his nephew Laurent, duke of Milan, but that he had never supposed the king of France would aid in accomplishing the prophecy, and above all, that he would serve as a stepping stone to elevate the Medici to thrones."

From that moment Francis the First made so many mistakes, that it appeared as if he took pleasure in ruining his own affairs, in order to strengthen his enemies. He authorised the chancellor Duprat to arrange with Leo the famous concordat which destroyed all the liberties of the Gallican church; he consented to the abolition of the pragmatic sanction; he re-established the payment of tithes, not after the old taxation, but according to the real value of ecclesiastical benefices, which increased still more the revenues of the pope. In vain did the parliament of Paris, the chapters, the universities, the Sorbonne itself, declaim against the violation of canonical elections; the monarch refused to yield to the representations of his subjects, and compelled the parliament to register the concordat.

On his part, Leo published to the council of Lateran a bull to abolish the pragmatic sanction, a very rare piece, on account of the proud tone which the head of the church affects in his language, and of the pretensions which he openly makes for the universal do-

minion, temporal, as well as spiritual, of the Holy See. He declares that councils are inferior to popes; that all the faithful owe above all things absolute obedience to the Holy See; that the pope has the power to erase and cancel all decrees made by ecclesiastical assemblies, by kings or by parliaments, in favour of the pragmatic sanction, and that all who shall refuse to conform to his decree will be excommunicated, deprived of their honours and dignities, and their lands put under an interdict.

During the last session of the council, Leo took care to procure, through the cardinals, an extraordinary interposition of tents, which was levied under the pretext of a crusade against the Turks. Whilst his holiness was occupied in repairing the disorder of his finances by the spoils of the people, Ferdinand the Fifth languished upon a bed of sickness, attacked by a dropsy. Always a cheat and a hypocrite, even in the arms of death, the old king caused himself to be clothed in the garments of a monk, in order to feign humility, and thus rendered to the infernal regions his execrable soul. This monster had merited the surname of Catholic, on account of his cruelties towards heretics. During his reign the inquisition had condemned almost an hundred thousand persons, who had the misfortune to be too rich or too virtuous, and an historian adds, that "in order to paint this tyrant in a few words, it would be sufficient to say, he had the soul of Louis the Eleventh and the heart of Nero."

After the death of Ferdinand the Fifth, the holy father, instead of fulfilling the promises which he had made to Francis the First relative to the kingdom of Naples, claimed possession of it for his family; and in order to insure the success of his projects, he solemnly invested his nephew, Laurent de Medicis, with the estates of the duke of Urbino; he dispossessed the cardinal Petrucci, and his two brothers, Borghise and Fabius, of the city of Sienna; he despoiled many cardinals of their property; and, at length, by his tyranny, he raised against himself so violent a hatred, that Petrucci and Bandinelli de Sauli organised a conspiracy against his life. They made overtures to many of their colleagues, on their project of ridding themselves of the pope, and even gained over the physician, who was attending his holiness for a fistula, and who engaged to poison him in a glyster; unfortunately Leo conceived some suspicions and changed his physician. This determination made the conspirators fear treason, and many quitted Rome; but as there was none, some re-gathered courage, and Petrucci determined to stab Leo with his own hand, in order to terminate the matter.

He was so unfortunate as to open his design to some cardinals, and to write to the other conspirators, in order to fix a day for the execution. The holy father, forewarned in time, placed spies about many of his enemies, intercepted their correspondence, and soon held in his hand the threads of their plot. As

usual, he dissembled, the better to avenge himself; he overwhelmed with caresses the cardinals whom he doubted most; he recalled Bandinelli to his court, and promised even to re-establish Petrucci and his family in the city of Sienna. To this effect he addressed to his enemy a safe conduct, in order that he should come to discuss the conditions of his re-installation with him, and swore on the evangelists, that he had no cause to doubt any injury to his person.

Petrucci fell into the snare and came to Rome. The moment he entered the Vatican, the *sbirri* strangled him; others of the conspirators who were without the holy city were condemned to exile, and deprived of their property and honours. His holiness then published that he would pardon those who offered to the Holy See a sum of money, in expiation of their crime, which was in accordance with the enormity of their guilt. Many cardinals had the imprudence to trust to the promises of the pope, and came to treat of their ransom; without further procedure, the sovereign pontiff caused them to be arrested. Some were poisoned in their prisons, others were beheaded, others quartered; in fine, the cruel Leo not having spared any of his victims, it resulted that he was obliged to make a promotion of thirty-one cardinals, to fill up the vacancies which he had made in the ranks of the sacred college.

It was not only in Italy that the pope found a formidable opposition. In France all people of property levelled their opposition against the bull which overthrew the pragmatic sanction. Parliament openly resisted the king, and refused to register the concordat. The university of Paris protested with the same vigour, and the rector caused them to affix in all the streets of the capital, a command, forbidding booksellers or printers, to sell or print a single copy of the concordat, under penalty of being driven out of the body of the university; even more, the doctors assembled in a consultative conclave, and drew up an act of appeal to a future council, declaring the synod of the Lateran a cabal of simoniacs. They declared that the pope was neither sinless nor infallible, and that it was the duty of the faithful to resist him, whenever he commanded the performance of unjust acts. Some preachers, animated by the same sentiments, thundered from their pulpits against the pontiff, the chancellor Duprat, and Francis the First, whom they denounced as an execrable tyrant, who, not content with burthening the nation with taxes, wished even to oppress their consciences. His majesty immediately commanded the first president Olivier, to condemn the priests who dared attack his royal person; but the feeling of reprobation against the loose monarch was so strong, that the parliament refused to obey him.

In Germany, Spain, England, and even Switzerland, they protested with more violence still against the abuses of the court of Rome, and publicly accused Leo the Tenth

of being more ambitious, debauched, and despotic, than any of his predecessors ever had been.

His holiness, seeing the disrepute attached to the papacy daily increasing, determined to re-brighten the lustre of the tiara, by making the pontifical court the first in the world for its luxury, splendour, and magnificence. But the prodigious expense soon swallowed up the treasures amassed in the coffers of the Vatican, and ordinary resources becoming insufficient, Leo the Tenth was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means. To effect this, he revived the ancient tax on crimes, levied by John the Twenty-second, and which was shut up in the archives of the chancellor's office. He changed some articles, added others, and caused a large number of copies to be printed and circulated throughout Europe, by which Christians were informed that the pope sold absolution for rape, adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, or assassination, and that for money, one could purchase pardon for any crime, even parricide!!!

His holiness in the next place, published a crusade against the Turks, in order to levy the tenths; this last mode, however, which had been a source of wonderful profit to his predecessors, failed him; the nuncio sent into Spain was driven from it in disgrace, by cardinal Ximenes, the regent of the kingdom.—Other agents, disseminated through the other countries, returned also empty handed.

Leo the Tenth discovered that this mode was exhausted, and that he must hit upon some new expedient, in order to bring in money, which was becoming very necessary, as his creditors threatened to make a grand explosion. Then it was, that he organised on a vast scale the speculation in indulgences; in every province he appointed farmers general, who kept their offices in churches or monasteries, and sold indulgences for the living and the dead; and in order that no village or hamlet should escape his rapacity, he sent legions of Dominican monks, who traversed town and country armed with bulls, and who levied contributions on the inhabitants. The following is the tenor of one of these singular forms of absolution, delivered by Aroembold, one of the farmers general in Saxony:—"As our Lord Jesus Christ absolves you by the merits of his passion, I, by his authority, and that of the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of our most holy father, absolve you from all ecclesiastical censures under which you may have fallen, from all sins, delinquencies, or excesses which you may have committed, or shall commit hereafter, how great soever they may be, and I make you a partaker in all the spiritual merits acquired by the church militant or its members. I restore you to the holy sacraments, to the unity of the faithful, to purity and innocence as of an infant newly born who comes to receive baptism, so that the gate of hell shall be shut against you, and that of paradise opened to you on your death.—Amen!"

John Tetzel, another bullist, who also ope-

ated in Saxony, was so impudent as to spread about obscene circulars, by means of which he outdid his colleagues in obtaining dupes. He entered into the most cynical details of the sins he could absolve, and ended by this singular allocution, "Yes, my brethren, his holiness (the pope) has conferred upon me a power so great, that the gates of heaven would open at my voice, even before a sinner who had committed the worst crime which thought can conceive." This miserable instrument of the pope granted indulgences called personal, by means of which a Christian could remit the crimes of ten persons of his selection, ninety-nine times a year. He sold the power of delivering as many souls from purgatory as one should enter or come forth from a church during the twenty-four hours which elapsed between the first and second days of August every year. For a small sum he diminished, by eighty thousand years, the pains of purgatory, to those who visited a church consecrated to St. Sebastian; and four thousand years to those who went at certain epochs into churches dedicated to the Virgin; he even sold, for a rather larger sum, the power of constraining the mother of the Saviour to come in person to announce to the faithful the day and hour of their death. But that which, beyond all contradiction, brought most money to the Holy See was a bull, by virtue of which Leo decreed that banditti could so settle matters with the pontifical commissaries or their delegates, that by surrendering a part of their spoils, they could enjoy at peace the fruits of their rapine. His holiness granted them full and entire absolution, even though they were assassins, or despoilers of the widow and the orphan, or even carried off the property of hospitals or pious legacies destined for the endowment of poor young girls, or robbed families of their inheritance by means of false titles or forged wills, or though they had pillaged churches and monasteries; the pope excepted nothing but robberies committed on the Holy See.

The Dominicans, the pedlars of the apostolic bulls, acquitted themselves admirably in their mission, and announced to the faithful that it was better for them to die of famine in this world, than lose the chance of purchasing their eternal safety in the next. As for themselves, they led a gay life, passing their days in playing at dice or cards, and their nights in swilling wine in the public taverns. "These braggarts, these porters of absolutions, of relics, and of rogations, these hypocrites, who speculate in pictures of saints and images of the Lamb, these rogues who flatter their dupes in order to pick their pockets, and who rob the simple even to their shirt," says the ardent Catholic, Oliver Maillard, "I have heard them boast of having drawn from a poor village even a thousand crowns for indulgences, without counting the hundred pounds they had paid to the curate for his good will."

Father Thomas, whom Florimond de Raymond quotes in his works, as one of the best

and most orthodox men of this time, thus expresses his opinion of the bullist in his sermons: "Behold these robbers, sent out by the pope, see how they decoy the poor people; they travel over hill and plain, despoiling the simple of their last penny, and in order to rob at their ease, they make a bargain with the priests. 'We carry the indulgences,' they say, 'curate, assemble thy flock, we will pick them together, and have a frolic under the very beards of the imbeciles;' and these infamous priests, these concubine-keeping, drunken, and mercenary curates, in order the better to fill their bellies and keep their mistresses, enter into a compact with these porters of bulls, extort, pillage, and rob the idiots who open their purses to deliver their souls from purgatory. They then take their pastimes together, and say, 'Let us have a good time, let us enjoy our lechery, and make a feast, a bull will pay for it all.' O my God! who can recount the horrid acts these Dominicans commit in this shameful traffic of indulgences."

In the mean time, the measure of the scandal was full; an universal cry of indignation was raised against the Holy See; on all sides they attacked the colossal statue with the feet of clay; bold men cried out to the people, "Draw away from the dominion of the popes, those shameless thieves who have made the temple of Christ a cave of robbers." Among the reformers who then arose, one became remarkable from the boldness of his denunciations, the masculine vigour of his mind, his obstinate perseverance in the strife, and the profundity of his thoughts. He placed himself at the head of the religious movement, and made the schism, which was about to dispute the empire of the world with the papacy, to glitter. This reformer was Martin Luther.

This indefatigable enemy of the pope was born in Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1484, at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeldt, of a family of poor labourers. His father worked in the mines, and he himself aided him in his rude labours.

Soon the young Luther, yielding to a supernatural impulse, quitted the paternal roof, and came to Eisenach, where he attended on the public instruction. Matthew Dresser says, that the poor student, destitute of resources, laboured assiduously all day and begged at night, or endeavoured to excite the compassion of the faithful by singing psalms. At length his energy triumphed over all obstacles; his aptitude for study caused him to make such rapid progress in the sciences, that at the age of eighteen he aspired to the honours of the doctorate.

Martin Luther was about to pass his examination as a lawyer, when a terrible event changed his destiny. Whilst he was walking with one of his brother students, a storm arose and the lightning struck his friend by his side. This accident operated powerfully on his young imagination; he regarded it as a warning from God, who ordered him to re-

nounce the world. The next day but one he entered into a convent of the Augustines at Erfurt, from whence he was afterwards sent to Wittenburg to study theology. In this last city, his talents caused him to be chosen a professor. In 1510 Luther was deputed to look after the affairs of his order at the court of Julius the Second. "I was a witness," says he, in one of his works, "of so many scandalous acts, that on the day of my departure, I resolved to labour during my life for the overthrow of the papacy, and the reform of abuses which had been introduced into religion by avaricious priests or depraved pontiffs."

An ardent imagination, a mind strengthened by profound study, a natural eloquence which religious enthusiasm rendered still more enchanting, a sonorous voice, an unwearied breast, an impetuous character, a robust body, such were the principal traits which characterized the apostle of reform. "It is the trumpet or rather the thunder," said Calvin, "it is the thunderbolt which has awakened the world from its lethargy. It was not Luther who spoke, but God himself who crushed the pope by his mouth."

Behold how Luther sounded the trumpet of alarm against the court of Rome, on his return from the holy city. "People, listen! I come in the name of the Most High, to point out for your execration the abominable pontiff who presses you down; I come in the name of Jesus Christ, to command you not to yield him any mercy, to launch a poignard into his bosom, and to treat all his adherents as brigands, be they kings or emperors. Oh, if I were chief of the empire, I would soon make a package of the pope and his cardinals, and cast them together into the Tiber. This bath might cure them of the baneful maladies which consume them."

This debut announced the approach of a violent struggle, which was sustained on both sides, by the Roman priests as well as by the reformers, with an obstinacy of which we have not even to this time witnessed the like. Luther, starting from this principle, that God alone had the right to impose laws on men, attacked the monstrous power which the popes, in declaring themselves infallible, had claimed; he exposed the wheels of their policy; he dragged from their face the mask of hypocrisy and imposture, which had concealed from the eyes of the faithful the hideous wrinkles which their debaucheries had stamped upon their forehead; he thundered against the sluggishness, and called down reprobation on the legions of monks who covered Italy, France, England, Switzerland, and Germany. Disclaiming all the affected forms of language, Luther made for himself a popular eloquence, employing very frequently expressions which were vulgar, trivial, and even cynical, but which had the advantage of rendering his ideas distinct to the masses, and of exciting them. Besides, we should not forget that this language, harsh, cutting, incisive,

was that best adapted to his audience, and that the reformer only followed the plan of the most celebrated preachers of the time.

We will cite some passages from the sermons of the Cordelier Thomas, and of Oliver Maillard, two holy and orthodox ecclesiastics of the time, in order to give an exact idea of the morals of the clergy, and of the indignation with which these virtuous men resented them. "How long shall we be scandalized by your adulteries and your incests, ye unworthy priests? cried the monk Thomas from the gallery of the cathedral of Bordeaux. When will you cease to fill your gross stomachs with dainty food and sparkling wine? When will you cease to steal money from the poor in order to have a concubine in your bed, a fat mule in your stable, and all by the grace of the crucifix, and taking the trouble to say, 'Dominus Vobiscum?'"

"I know well you will reply, what matters it to you if the poor shall fall famished at your gates; nevertheless, have you no shame in selling the sacraments and devouring the goods of widows and orphans, under pretext of saving souls in purgatory? Curses upon you, ministers of Satan, who seduce young girls and married females, and who learn from them at confession the means of drawing them into sin. Shame on you, priests of Lucifer, who dare to use the ascendant which your character gives you over credulous minds, in order to initiate the young into foul pleasures. Shame on you, who make of your parsonages, houses of infamy, where you rear young girls and young boys for lust and infamy! Shame on you who do not fear to show to your friends the mysteries of these new seraglios, and to gorge yourselves in them with wine, viands, and luxury. Have I not heard, with my own ears, the curate James boast before an assemblage of infamous ecclesiastics, that he played, swore, drank, and fornicated better than any of them?"

Maillard, who had been preacher to Louis the Eleventh, thundered with still more force against the disorders of the priests: "I see," said he, "abbots, priests, monks, and even prelates, heaping up treasures on treasures, accumulating prebendaries and benefices, and decoying Christians, like pickpockets. I see the cape, the frock, and the pallium entering taverns by day and night, for the purposes of debauch. Canons or clerks, elevated to dignities, themselves govern places of prostitution, they sell the wine and hold the pledges as the bullies of the girls. I have seen others who walk about insolently disguised as soldiers, or clothed as dandies, with their beards fashionably trimmed, with women of pleasure lounging on their arms. I know a bishop who is every night served at supper by young girls entirely naked; and I know another who keeps a seraglio of young girls, whom he calls prostitutes in mouthing.

"Shameful as all these things are, there exist others still more infamous. Bishops no longer give away livings but at the request of

females, that is to say, when the mother, sisters, nieces, or cousins of the candidate, have paid the price of them with their honour."

"Speak, ye infamous bishops and priests—ye blessed simoniacs—ye blessed concubine-keepers—ye blessed drunkards and bullies—ye blessed procurers, who gain orders by rendering foul services! Go to the devil ye infamous wretches! At the hour of your death will you dare present yourselves before Christ, full of wine, holding in your hand the gold which you have stolen, and having on your arm the prostitutes whom you have kept, or your mistress servants, or your nieces, who are most frequently your bastards and your concubines, or the girls whose dowry you have gained for them by impurity, or the mother from whom you have purchased the virginity of their daughters? Go to all the devils, cohorts of thieves and pilferers!

"I know well that in exposing your crimes, I run the risk of being assassinated, as has already happened to those who have desired to reform chapters and monasteries; but the fear of your daggers will not chain my tongue, nor arrest the lightning of my indignation; I will tell the whole truth. Come forward then ye women, who abandon your bodies to official persons, to monks, priests, and bishops. Come forward ye who wear chains and robes with trains, and who say, when I blame your luxuriousness, 'Why father, we have seen other women still better dressed than we are, who are neither richer nor nobler than we. Besides, when we have no money, the prelates give us as much as we could earn by the sweat of our body.'

"Come forward ye female drunkards and robbers, ye priestesses of Venus, who dare to say, 'if a priest gets me with child, I will not be the only one.' Come forward nuns and beguines, who people the cisterns and ponds of the convents with the dead bodies of newborn children. What frightful accusations would you not hear, if all those children which are cast into closets or pits could name their executioners or their fathers. Shall not the rain of fire, which formerly destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, fall on these convents? Shall not all these priests and bishops be swallowed up as were Korah, Dathan and Abiram? Yes, my brethren, the time is approaching in which God will do justice on all this brood of idlers, of mute dogs, of ignorant wretches, of lechers, robbers, and murderers."

These texts show us in what the sacred eloquence of the period consisted, and prove that it was necessary for a reformer to employ energetic language, in harmony with the education of his hearers.

During the early period of his professorship Luther produced theses, contrary to the received belief in the church on penance, purgatory, and indulgences. John Tetzel, the grand inquisitor of Saxony, who received his share of the profits arising from the sale of the indulgences, naturally undertook the defence of the pope, published a libel against the re-

former, and burned publicly the theses of Luther. Luther, who found himself sustained by the college of Wittemberg, and by the elector of Saxony, used reprisals in turn, and burned the work of his adversary. The Dominicans immediately sided with the inquisitor, and made several efforts to assassinate their enemy. As he was on his guard, they were compelled to renounce their plan, and contented themselves with writing to Rome, to beseech Leo the Tenth to summon him as a heretic before his tribunal. The pope informed the elector of Saxony that he wished to interrogate Luther concerning his doctrines, and besought him to place him in the hands of the cardinal Gaëtan, his legate in Germany.

The elector replied that he would not consent to the request of the holy father, since the reformer could be interrogated in his own country, as well as at Rome. Leo the Tenth, obliged to designate one of the cities of Germany, as the place for the trial of his redoubtable adversary, fixed on Augsburg, and sent several of the most learned doctors of his court to that city, to assist his legate.

Luther did not recoil before so solemn an opportunity of professing his doctrines; he only took care to fortify himself with a safe-conduct from the emperor, and went to Augsburg. On the day succeeding his arrival the tribunal opened its session under the presidency of the cardinal Gaëtan. They sought at first to reduce him by brilliant offers; they tendered him honours and wealth if he would abandon his belief; then, as he appeared to be inaccessible to seduction, they sought at another sitting to intimidate him by threats, and summoned him to abjure his errors, under penalty of the most frightful torments. Luther protested the orthodoxy of his belief. He proved that his words and sentiments were the simple and natural explanations of texts of scripture, and of the sacred books, and cast back on the abominations of the Holy See the causes of the offences which afflicted Christendom.

Such resistance convinced the legate that there was only one way now of stopping the schism; it was the arrest of Luther. Fortunately the latter remembered the fate of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague, arrested in defiance of the laws of nations, condemned and burned alive; he fled from Augsburg and escaped the scaffold.

The treachery of his enemies, however, far from intimidating him, increased his boldness; he continued the war against the papacy with new energy; he consecrated all his days to preaching, and all his nights to labouring against the Holy See; his prodigious fecundity multiplied his thoughts under every form, and he inundated all Europe with his works.

Ulrich Zwingle, a curate of Zurich, emboldened by the example of Luther, preached in Switzerland, on monastic vows, the saints, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the pontifical despotism, the sacraments, and especially that of penance; he even attacked the real presence



of God in the eucharist, a dogma which afterwards placed him in opposition to the German reformer. It was in the midst of these circumstances that a Milanese Capuchin, named brother Sancho, arrived in Switzerland, charged with the sale of indulgences. Notwithstanding the violent preaching of Zwingle, this monk still found dupes, so deeply was superstition engrafted in their minds, and he carried off with him more than a hundred and twenty thousand ducats.

The Swiss were not, however, long in recovering from their taste for spiritual favours, and regretted the gold which the Roman court had wrenched from their credulity. The indulgences were every where an object of reproach among the faithful; but what cared Leo the Tenth for the blame of virtuous people; gold was necessary for his luxurious tastes; he needed it for his political intrigues; it was necessary for his debauches, and the sale of indulgences was a true Pactolus, which drifted into his treasury all the gold of Christendom. As he feared lest the preaching of the reformers might arrest in some countries the enthusiasm for indulgences, he published a new decree, providing that the sovereign pontiff, in his capacity of successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ, was irresistibly empowered to remit, by virtue of the keys, the guilt and penalty of sins; that he remitted guilt by the sacrament of penance, and temporal punishments by means of indulgences, representing the superabundance of the merits of Jesus Christ and the saints. The pope added, that belief in these articles was indispensable for an orthodox Christian, and that those who believed or taught a contrary doctrine should be cut off from the communion of the Catholic church; he declared them to be anathematised and denounced them, as well as their adherents, or those who granted them asylum or protection, to the inquisitors, as heretics.

This ill-timed decree had a very different effect from that which Leo the Tenth expected; a general reprobation awaited the bulls of the Roman court. Luther published a terrible work against the popes; he attacked the pontifical infallibility, and proved that the successors of the apostles were not exempt from common imperfections, since St. Peter himself had erred, and had been reprimanded by St. Paul, for having abused his authority and oppressed the faithful; he appealed from all the pursuits of Leo the Tenth, to a general council lawfully assembled, and representing the whole church; he also protested against all excommunications, depositions, or interdicts, until judgment had been pronounced by the fathers.

Notwithstanding the violence of Luther's attacks, such was the blindness at the court of Leo, that no one answered the reformer; his holiness changed none of his modes of action, and pursued his plans of family aggrandizement. Julian de Medicis having died at Florence, from the consequence of sickness contracted in camp, left, as the only heir to

his immense fortune, a bastard, named Hippolyte; the pope immediately took him to Rome, and reared him in the pontifical palace like the son of a king. He sent Laurent Medicis, his nephew, to the court of Francis the First, to espouse Madeline de la Tour d'Auvergne, as had been arranged by his holiness and the king of France—in the treaties of Friburg and Noyon.

This marriage, which was to be so fatal for France, since from it sprung Catherine de Medicis, was celebrated at Paris with great rejoicings, for which, as usual, the poor people paid. Nine months afterwards Madeline died in giving birth to a daughter, named Catherine. Laurent de Medicis survived his wife but a few days, and died on the 28th of April, 1519. This death profoundly afflicted the pontiff, who thus found himself the sole legitimate descendent, in a male line, of the elder branch of the Medici, and who saw himself constrained to renounce his hopes of conquest and aggrandizement.

God had sported with the calculations of the ambitious Leo, and had permitted that of this powerful family of Medici, there should only remain some off-casts of the younger branch, whom the pope hated, and some bastards of the elder branch. This frightful accident was the more terrible for his holiness, since he was on the eve of culling the fruits of his policy, and saw an imperial crown, the constant end of all his efforts and of so many years of knaveries, escape from his family, at the very moment in which he had but to stretch out his hand to place it on the forehead of a Medici. Maximilian the First, was at the point of death, near Luitz, in Austria, leaving no male heir, his son Philip having died some years before, and the succession was about to be disputed by different competitors.

The kings of France and Spain were competitors for it, and sought to gain the electors to their side, by promising them considerable advantages. But Leo, who feared equally these two princes, whose power threatened his own, and might destroy his preponderance in Italy, Charles already possessing the kingdom of Naples, and Francis the First the dutchy of Milan, determined by his counsels the electors, who themselves were not disposed for either the king of France or the king of Spain, though the latter was of the German race, and had possessions in Austria, to give their suffrages to Frederick, duke of Saxony, the warmest supporter of Luther. This prince, who had been initiated by the great reformer into the sublime theories of a republican government, refused the throne which was offered him; he made a magnificent speech in the electoral assembly, and sought to demonstrate that the people had no need of masters, and that Germany ought to form a republic. Unfortunately progressive ideas had not yet sufficiently entered their minds, and Frederick was obliged to renounce the hope of sharing his opinions with the electors. He then pronounced between the two candidates, and declared that if Germany were to choose an

emperor, it were preferable to take the archduke Charles, the king of Spain, and grandson of Maximilian, and reject the king of France, whose despotism and licentiousness rendered him a true scourge for the people; he moreover, induced them to decree, not to give the crown to Charles of Spain, until after they had limited its power. Up to this time, the states had only exacted from the supreme chief of the empire, a vague and general promise to maintain the privileges of the Germanic body; this time, before pronouncing for the king of Spain, they caused his ambassadors to sign an agreement, which the prince at once confirmed; he was then proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles the Fifth.

His holiness having been unable to hinder the election, was at least desirous to cause the opposition, which he had made to the king of Spain, to be forgotten; he sent an embassy to the young emperor, and demanded from him his friendship, and assistance in extinguishing the new heresy which had invaded all Germany. The pope also engaged to give his aid to the cruel Christian, king of Denmark, the brother-in-law of Charles the Fifth, in subjugating the Swedes, who had had the audacity to combat the troops of their enemies, and to drive off Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, who had wished to sell them to Christian. This audacity of the Swedes, and especially the gold of the king of Denmark, had determined the holy father to fulminate a bull of excommunication against them. Christian, finding himself sustained by such authority, then assembled new troops and laid siege to Stockholm; but he experienced a still more vigorous resistance than the first; Stenon Sture, the administrator of the states of Sweden, defied his army, and drove him in disgrace from its territory.

The king of Denmark, thanks to the aid in men and money, which Charles the Fifth sent him, found himself, a third time, in a condition to recommence hostilities; instead of exposing himself to the chances of battle, he followed the advice of the apostolic nuncios who accompanied him, and had recourse to perfidy, the ordinary arms of kings. He demanded an interview with Stenon Sture, and promised to present himself almost alone, if they would give him the hostages whom he himself designated, and among whom was Gustavus Vasa. The proposal of Christian was accepted. As soon as the felon monarch had in his hands the hostages, who all belonged to the first families of Sweden, he caused them to be bound, and sent to inform the administrator of the kingdom, that he must surrender Stockholm, if he did not wish to see the hostages hung in sight of the citadel; to strengthen this threat, he advanced his troops and pushed the siege of the capital vigorously. The Swedes at first opposed superior courage to that of their enemies, and inflicted on them terrible losses; but the heroic Stenon Sture having been killed in a sortie, discouragement replaced enthusiasm, and the place capitulated.

Christian entered Stockholm in triumph,  
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and leading in his train the unfortunate persons on whom he had so traitorously seized; on the next day he convened the prelates and senators in an assembly, and caused them to recognise him, by an authentic act, as hereditary king of Sweden, and he was solemnly crowned by the infamous Trolle. After the ceremony of his consecration, he gave the chiefs of his army feasts, which lasted a whole month, and during which, all the officers and soldiers of his army were permitted to violate the daughters and wives of the Swedes.

As such disorders could not fail to raise the people, the nuncios of the pope and the archbishop counselled the king, in order to frighten the citizens, to an act of atrocious barbarity; it was simply to murder the nobility and burghers. The nuncios, the prelate Trolle, the confessor of the king, and his barber proposed different modes of execution; the advice of the barber prevailed, and his majesty prepared his state blow as follows:—By virtue of the bull of excommunication fulminated by Leo the Tenth, all Sweden having been declared heretical, the king prepared a list of proscription of all those whose influence over the masses he feared, and under pretext of obeying the orders of the pope, he caused them to be arrested, and judged at once by a commission of priests and inquisitors. On the day fixed for the punishment, soldiers occupied the streets of Stockholm, and prevented the inhabitants from showing themselves at their doors or windows; the prisoners were led out on the great place, and the heads of ninety-four nobles fell beneath the axe of the executioner. This first butchery was but the prelude to greater atrocities; on the next day gallows were erected, and a double number of burghers and nobles were lanced into eternity; on the third and fourth days, the executions continued, only the mode was changed. On the first day they had been beheaded, on the second hung, on the third day they flayed the sufferers, on the fourth quartered them, on the fifth burned them alive; finally, when the great square was covered with dead bodies and bones, and the population had been reduced one-fifth, Christian quitted Stockholm to visit the other cities of Sweden, in which the same scenes of barbarity were renewed. He left every where bloody marks of his passage, murdering women, children, and old men, even his satellites themselves, when they allowed sentiments of pity to appear for the unfortunates whom they were constrained to torture.

Frightful as were these executions, advised by the court of Rome, they do not approach, neither in the number of victims, nor the refinements of punishments, the cruelties exercised by the Spanish priests in Mexico, who murdered several millions of Indians, in the name of the God of Peace, and by virtue of a bull of his holiness Leo the Tenth: whilst the fanatical and cruel Spaniards were reducing a new world to the Catholic religion, the doctrines of Luther were preparing the emancipation of Germany. It was not the elector of

Saxony alone who protected the illustrious reformer; he was sustained by powerful lords, illustrious generals, renowned captains, nobles who reclaimed the possession of wealth on which convents and churches had seized; by the burghers and the people, who were all tired of seeing their spoils pass into the hands of the agents of the pope. Every one listened with enthusiasm to the preaching of Luther on religious liberty, the despotism of the bishops of Rome, the splendour of the pontifical court, the corruption of the clergy, and the dissoluteness of monks and nuns.

Leo the Tenth finally discovered, by the rapid strides which the reform ideas were making, that the struggle was a serious one, and that he had not an instant to lose in arresting the evil, and striking a great blow. He then wrote to Charles the Fifth, that he must arrest the preacher Martin Luther, to be judged and condemned by the holy inquisition. But the thing was not so easy as the pope had imagined; the emperor replied, that it would be imprudent at that time to make an attempt on the freedom of a citizen of Germany without some motive; that it was not in that country, as in Spain or Italy; and that, moreover, he had not yet received the imperial crown, and could not, consequently, exercise any jurisdiction. He promised, however, that as soon as his coronation was over, he would convene a general diet to judge the reformer, and he pledged himself to have him condemned, and given up to the officers of the inquisition. Charles besought the pope to fulminate, as a preliminary step, a new bull of anathema against the doctrines of Luther, so as to strike dread into the minds of the German nobles, and render his condemnation still more certain. His holiness followed the advice of the emperor, and published the famous bull which commences with these words of the psalmist: "Arise my God and defend your cause. . . ."

After this exordium the pope addressed the apostles Peter and Paul, to demand their aid, and terminates by this appeal to the faithful: "An enraged heretic rends us furiously, and blasphemes the holy pontiffs, our predecessors; like the serpent, he spreads the venom of calumny by his bite, so that the feeble, whose minds have been blinded by his falsehoods, are unwilling longer to believe in the gospel of Christ, and have taken the side of this innovator, or rather, have enrolled under the banners of the devil. It is on this account that we have judged it important for the safety of Christendom, formally to condemn forty-one propositions drawn from the writings of this reprobate, as being heretical, false, scandalous, contrary to Catholic truth, and capable of seducing the simple. We consequently prohibit, under penalty of excommunication and deprivation of the sacraments, belief in these propositions, their maintenance, preaching, and tolerating others to teach them, directly or indirectly, in public or private, tacitly or in express terms. We also order complete and exact search for the books which contain

them, to be made in all the provinces, and that they be solemnly burned in the presence of the clergy, and before the people, under penalty of the most terrible censures of the church." In this bull Leo the Tenth defines the condemned propositions, and relates, in all their details, the efforts which had been made to bring back Luther to the true light, and pluck him from the abyss into which he had plunged.

This bull was a subject of controversy and criticism on the part of men of letters and politicians in Europe, not only for its judicial formulary, but even for its obscure style, for his holiness had not feared to use sentences which contained more than four hundred and fifty words. All powerless and ridiculous, as was the decree of the pope, the reformer penetrated his intentions, and from that time threw away all restraint in his preaching. He claimed against the pontiff and his adherents; he called down the curses of the people on them, and not content with exciting Germany by his powerful language, he inundated Europe with his satirical writings; finally, in a public discourse, he tore the bull of the holy father; he called it an execrable production of antichrist, "and even let Satan excommunicate me," said he, "I anathematise him in my turn, and as they burn my writings at Rome, I give to the flames the bulls and decretals of this prince of darkness, and I adjure all men to come to assist me in casting into the same funeral pile, Leo the Tenth and the pontifical chair." At the same time he caused a brazier to be brought, and burned the bull of the pope. 1513-1522

Thus, this step of the holy father only resulted in showing to the nations what an immense progress the reform had made, since a mere monk could publicly annihilate the bulls of a pope, an act of unheard-of audacity, and which no emperor had even dared to do.

Leo the Tenth did not, however, regard himself as conquered. Charles the Fifth was about to convene a diet at Worms to condemn Luther, and the legate Jerome Alexander, charged with sustaining the accusation, had promised to take such measures, that their enemy, in any case, condemned or absolved, could not escape them.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of his disciples, who all besought him not to go to Worms, the intrepid reformer persisted in demanding a safe-conduct from the emperor, that he might appear before the assembly; and, as his friends objected to him that the dangers he had incurred at Augsburg should make him dread fresh treason, he replied, "Though I were certain of finding at Worms as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, I have determined to face them." He, however, consented that a hundred gentlemen, armed at all points, should escort him. He entered with them into Worms, mounted on a chariot, and followed by a prodigious concourse of people, whom his reputation had attracted. On the day succeeding his arrival, the diet opened its sittings, and the Roman legate pro

ceeded to interrogate Luther. The latter replied to all the questions, avowed himself to be the author of the criminated works, and offered to defend his opinions in a public conference.

At this proposition the cardinal Jerome Aleander expressed surprise; he pretended that the scandal was great enough already; that the debates should be secret, and that the accused should only be allowed to speak before his judges. Luther replied, that he had come without fear into the midst of his enemies, to justify himself in the face of day from the accusations brought against him, and not cowardly to defend his doctrine, in darkness and mystery. In vain did the legate, and Charles the Fifth himself, endeavour to gain him to the cause of the pope, by offering him enormous benefices, a bishopric and a cardinal's hat: it was all useless. They then determined to place him under the ban of the empire, and not daring to arrest him among a population enthusiastic for reform, nor to make an attempt on his life, they gave him twenty-one days in which to leave the German states. Luther, however, did not quit his country; he took refuge in the castle of Wartzburg, near Eisenach, where the elector Frederick concealed him for nine whole months.

The emperor published an edict, in which, after having explained that it was the interest of kings to protect Catholicism, and stifle heresies, he added: "that to satisfy his obligations to God and the pope, with the consent of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, and in execution of the bull of Leo the Tenth, he declared and held Martin Luther as a heretic, and commanded him to be regarded as such by all the subjects placed beneath his rule, ordering them, under the most severe penalties, to seize and imprison him, and to pursue his accomplices, adherents, and favourers; prohibiting, besides, from printing, transcribing, reading, or having any of his books, or the abridgments published in various languages; and proscribing also engravings in which the pope, cardinals, and prelates were represented with ridiculous habits, or in cynical postures; finally, the prince formally prohibited the printing of any book on religious subjects, without having first submitted it to the ordinary, or censor, of the pope."

This edict of Charles the Fifth, had no more influence over the minds of men than the bull of Leo the Tenth, and did not stop for a moment the progress of the reform; nay, more, this new persecution gave rise to thousands of apostles, who associated together for the great work of religious emancipation; and soon the papacy had to combat enemies the more to be dreaded, as they devoted their lives to the cause of the people, and had determined to overthrow the pontifical colossus, though they should be crushed beneath its ruins. The clergy then uttered a cry of alarm from all sides; from the east, west, north, and south, kings, nobles, monks, priests, bishops, cardinals led about the torches of fanaticism,

armed themselves with daggers, and prepared to struggle against an enemy who threatened to destroy for ever their execrable power. All accused the pontiff of weakness, pusillanimity, incapacity; all reproached him for his pompous life of worldly pleasures, the chase, spectacles, concerts, banquets, and Saturnalia; all called down the curses of God on the pope, who had left the door of the sanctuary open to the enemy, and who had not defended the theocratic edifice.

In that, Leo the Tenth was not exempt from blame, and the energy which his holiness had displayed in the beginning of his pontificate, was prodigiously modified since the death of his brother and nephew. Having no longer the aggrandisement of his family to occupy him, the pope had passed his time in pleasures; the chase, says Paul Jovius, was especially his favourite exercise; he knew its laws better than those of scripture. He punished with blows, says the historian, those who, by imprudence or want of skill, allowed the beast to escape, and his humour was so ill when the hunt was unsuccessful, that his minions and mistresses dared not even speak to him. But when his blows had struck down the beast, when he had killed a tall stag or vigorous wild boar, his joy resembled delirium, and at these moments he never refused the favours and benefices which were asked of him.

The nights passed in interminable festivities, in which the luxury of lights and of the table service surpassed every thing in the most opulent courts of Europe and Asia. No emperor, king, or pope ever carried his epicurism so far as Leo the Tenth; thus the highest employments awaited the invention of a new ragout. His holiness had four masters of the art occupied in inventing unheard-of dishes; it is to their care that humanity owes sausages stuffed with slices of peacocks, and in return for this useful invention, the faithful had only to pay seven millions a year for the table of the pope.

In the festivals of the Vatican, numerous buffoons were employed to enliven the guests by their gay sallies, to which Leo the Tenth replied, to show the fancy of his mind, and strove with them in cynicism in language, and frivolity in ideas. Young girls and handsome boys clothed in oriental costumes, and expert in the arts of debauchery, had orders to caress the guests, and these festivities were terminated, almost always, by orgies only excelled by those of the Borgias.

Still, amidst these revels, the pontiff did not entirely forget the interests of the throne of the church, and followed the policy of his predecessors; for at the very time that he was selling to Francis the First authority to conquer Naples, he was demanding six thousand ducats from Charles the Fifth, to grant him the right to style himself king of Naples and emperor of Germany, notwithstanding the bulls of the pontiffs, which prohibited the two crowns from being placed on the same head. He also pursued his conquests in Ro-

magna, carried the cities of Modena and Reggio by assault, and thought of seizing on Ferrara, the capital of the states of Alphonso of Este. This last effort failed; a plot which he formed to assassinate the duke, met with no better success; he then had recourse to spiritual thunders, and fulminated a terrible sentence of anathema against Alphonso, placed his states under interdict, and ordered his generals to recruit new troops, to retake the offensive, and crush his enemy.

The war already embraced Upper Italy; on one side, Charles the Fifth, aided by the English and the pope, was laying claim to the dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire, as well as the county of Burgundy, which he pretended had been fraudulently united to France by Louis the Eleventh; on the other side, Francis the First, aided by the Swiss and Venetians, was demanding the restitution

of Spanish Navarre, and threatening to make good his pretensions on Naples. But the French, inferior in numbers to their enemies, suffered several checks, and were constrained to abandon most of the cities they had recently conquered, and retire into Milan.

This news caused such joy to Leo the Tenth, say several chroniclers of the times, that the blood flowed back on his heart and suffocated him. According to another version, the holy father died of poison; historians do not designate the author of the crime, but merely say that Charles the Fifth knew how to turn this event to his advantage. Still the blow was so sudden that they could not administer the viaticum to the holy father. He died on the 1st of December, 1521, aged forty-four years, after having occupied the Holy See eight years, eight months, and twenty days.

## ADRIAN THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1522:]

*Election of Adrian the Sixth—His history before his pontificate—Entrance of his holiness into Rome—He wishes to introduce reforms among the clergy—His opinion of his predecessors and of pontifical infallibility—Diet of Nuremburg—Charles the Fifth compels the pope to grant him various privileges—Hatred of the Roman clergy to the holy father—He is poisoned by the priests—Singular eulogy on the pontiff by a cardinal.*

AFTER the death of Leo the Tenth, the pontifical troops left the army of Charles the Fifth, which so weakened the Spaniards, that notwithstanding their reverses, the French would have been able, beyond doubt, to have retaken the offensive and re-established their affairs in Italy, if, at the moment in which they were about to open the campaign, a Roman chancellor, named Morono, had not raised the fanatical population by means of the preaching of an Augustine monk. At his call, the Italians rose in mass, ranged themselves under the banner of Morono, and forced the French to repossess the Alps. The cardinals hastened to profit by the circumstances in which they were placed, to form a conclave, without fear of being disturbed, and for their greater security, they gave the command of the troops to Constantine Comming, duke of Macedonia. They conferred the government of Rome on Vincent Caraffa, archbishop of Naples, and the guardianship of the palace on Hannibal Ramigo, bishop of Spofeto. The vacancy in the Holy See appeared, however, to be prolonged, from the intrigues of the different competitors, and the absence of the cardinals de Medicis, Cortona, Ferrier, Cornaro, and Cibo; at last these prelates arrived successively, one after the other, and raised the number of the members of the conclave to thirty-nine. The scrutiny was then opened, and for eight days the balloting was between the cardinals Farnese,

de Medicis, Jaconocci, and Wolsey, the minister of the king of England, who spared neither promises nor money to secure his election. On the ninth scrutiny, there arose a new party in favour of the cardinal Adrian, Florent d'Estutzen, bishop of Tortosa, of whom no one had appeared to think. A member of the conclave, devoted to the emperor, seeing that his colleagues were tired of all this strife, proposed to choose as pope the cardinal Adrian, who dwelt in Spain, and showed skilfully the advantages which would accrue to them from the exaltation of the old preceptor of Charles the Fifth. The cardinal of St. Sixtus supported the proposal, and gave him his voice; thirteen prelates, whose votes had been bought in advance, followed his example and drew others after them, so that the election became so unanimous, that it was regarded as miraculous by the uninitiated, who were ignorant with what skill the matter had been brought about.

The election of Adrian was not, however, approved of by the Romans, who wanted an Italian pope; the people even pursued the cardinals when they left the conclave, heaping hisses and insults on them; all the Italian priests declaimed equally against it; the canon Berni, a burlesque writer, made it an occasion for a satire on the cardinals, whom he called traitors, asses, robbers; he sent them to the devil for having chosen a stranger as pope

and invoked Mahomet to free Italy from the holy father and the sacred college. Nothing justified this hatred against the new pope, unless it was that he was too virtuous to govern a corrupt and simoniacal clergy, addicted to every vice and impurity.

Adrian was born at Utrecht, in 1459; his father's name was Florent Boyens, and was an honest ship carpenter, according to Valere Andres; other historians maintain that he was a weaver, whilst others give him the trade of a brewer or upholsterer. Be his trade, however, what it may, it is certain, that his poverty not permitting him to educate his son, he solicited and obtained for him a fellowship in the college of the Porcians at Louvain, at which a certain number of poor scholars were admitted. The young Adrian made surprising progress in the sciences, and particularly in philosophy and theology; he showed no taste for the study of eloquence or poetry, not caring, he said, to clothe falsehoods with elegance. His assiduity, talents, and good conduct procured for him an important curacy, unsolicited by him; he afterwards obtained the cap of a doctor, and was successively canon of Louvain, professor of theology, dean of St. Peter, in the same city, and vice chancellor of the university. He then conceived the plan of reforming the morals of the clergy, who were dependents on his deanery, and preached to them at length, both by word and example. His zeal was powerless to arrest the evil, and was almost fatal to him; a devotee, who was the mistress of a canon, gave him a poisoned draught, and he only owed his life to the promptness with which remedies were administered to him. In 1507, he was appointed preceptor to Charles the Fifth. After the death of Ferdinand he was elevated to the see of Tortosa, and appointed, in conjunction with the cardinal Ximenes, regent of the kingdom of Castile, which procured for him a cardinal's hat; the subsequent retirement of the cardinal Ximenes, left him alone at the helm of state.

In this high post he obtained the reputation of a skilful governor; he repressed the dangerous factions which threatened to overthrow Spain; repulsed different invasions by Francis the First, and recovered several cities which the French had conquered in Navarre; finally, when he abandoned the government to place the exercise of the sovereign authority in the hands of Charles the Fifth, he merited to receive from the people shining testimonials of regret and admiration.

Such was the venerable prelate whom the intrigues of the emperor had elevated to the Holy See, not out of gratitude for the great services he had received from him, but to use him in order to obtain universal dominion, the constant aim of all his efforts.

Notwithstanding the established usage of the church, the new pope was unwilling to change his name on his advent to the pontifical throne, and was consecrated by the name of Adrian the Sixth; he then embarked from Tanagona and came to Genoa, which

he found ruined by the pillage it had undergone when Charles the Fifth captured it. The senate gave the holy father as magnificent a reception as their circumstances would admit, with which he evinced his satisfaction. When, however, Francis Sforza, the new duke of Milan, Prosper Colonna, and the marquis of Pescara presented themselves to kiss his feet, and beseech his absolution for having ordered the sack of Genoa, he repulsed them with his hand, and replied to them with severity, "I cannot, I ought not, I will not."

His holiness went from Genoa to Livorna, where several Tuscan prelates awaited him, amongst others Medicis, Ridolfi, Salviati, the cardinal of Cortona, Petrucci, and Piccolomini; the venerable pontiff reprimanded them mildly, because they wore beards and moustachios after the Spanish fashion, enjoining on them to abandon their mundane customs, and not to go to balls and spectacles with swords by their sides and daggers in their girdles, which was only proper, he added, for bullies and soldiers. Finally, after having visited Livorna and Civita Vecchia, the holy father passed up the Tiber with eight galleys, and made his entrance into the Vatican.

On the day of his arrival, the works on the decorations destined for the day of his coronation, were suspended by his orders; he prohibited triumphant arches from being erected in his honour, and even caused one, which was far advanced, and on which more than five hundred ducats of gold had been spent, to be levelled. The virtuous Adrian declared to his cardinals, that he wished the money of the people to be spared, and that God having chosen him to govern the church in the capacity of the faithful, he would never be their oppressor. The ceremonies of the consecration took place in the church of the Lateran, without any pomp or solemnity, and immediately after he convened the members of the sacred college in consistory, to remedy the evils of the church. It was a measure of great urgency, since the pontifical chair was attacked on all sides by formidable enemies. The finances of the Holy See were exhausted; the ecclesiastical states were in frightful anarchy; simony, debauchery, robbery, and murder were part of the morals of the clergy; the patrimony of St. Peter was threatened with an invasion by the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the family of the Malatesta. Italy was on the eve of a general combustion, in consequence of the wars which had been kindled between the emperor and Francis the First; and Germany, as well as Switzerland, had almost entirely separated from the communion of Rome.

In the midst of such disastrous circumstances, Adrian perceived that he must root out the evil, and attack the abuses which had drawn on the Catholic church the anger of the people. He associated with himself in this great work of reform, John Peter Caraffa, and Michael Gaëtan, of Thierna, two prelates, whose learning and talents were honoured by all. They commenced by taking from the

Minor Brothers the privilege of preaching the indulgences; they then suppressed the scandalous traffic in the employments and offices of the Roman court; they diminished the taxes of the datary; they abolished coadjutorships and administrations, and installed a commission, appointed to distribute the vacant benefices among ecclesiastics, whose conduct was exemplary, prohibiting them from granting more than one office to the same titular. His holiness set the example of a rigorous observance of this rule, by refusing for his own nephew a considerable post which was offered him, maintaining that men should be given to benefices, and not benefices to men; and that, moreover, his nephew was rich enough with a revenue of seventy crowns of gold.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the pontiff to bring about a useful reform among the clergy, things remained in the same state, the execution of his orders being unceasingly counteracted by the cardinals and principal officers of his court, who sought to persuade him that apostolic times had passed away from the church, that the father of the faithful should exercise his temporal authority over his states in all its plenitude, and renounce spiritual ways; that consequently, he must sustain himself by corruption, the basis of all monarchical government; and, finally, that perseverance in a reform, which must necessarily expose the hideous sores of the ecclesiastical body, would be the annihilation of the church.

Adrian, convinced of the truth of these remonstrances, suspended for a short time the execution of his plans; reflection then exhibiting to him into what an abyss of evils humanity was plunged, in consequence of the disorders of popes and priests; he was seized with a feeling of sublime indignation, and was desirous of abjuring a religion which was so fatal to the nations. He immediately convened the cardinals in consistory, and declared to them, that having discovered his want of power, as chief of the church, to do good to men, he had resolved to go to Germany, to study the doctrines of Luther, and that should he lose the tiara, he would become a convert to the new belief, and labour with the reformer in overthrowing the theocratic edifice, and leading the church back to the worship of the true religion of Christ.

As soon as this determination was noised abroad, a concert of curses rose against Adrian from all sides; the Roman priests, who were almost all of them atheists, simoniacs, usurers, and sodomites, exhibited the most hostility to the holy pontiff, and as they could not prevent him from publishing his bulls, they determined to arrest their effects by assassination. The first effort failed; the murderer, who was a priest of Placenza, named Marius, was arrested at the moment in which he was drawing his dagger from his robe to strike the pope. A second effort, though better arranged than the first, was not more successful; the ceiling of the pontifical chapel, which was to fall on the holy father when he came to celebrate mass, crushed but six or seven Swiss who

preceded him. Several cardinals of his suite, who were behind, dared to express their regret that Providence appeared to have taken Adrian under its protection.

To embitter the people against the venerable pontiff, ignoble satires were scattered around, in which poetaster priests sought to turn him into derision, by accusing him of sordid avarice, by reproaching him with limiting his expenses to twelve crowns a day, with drinking beer instead of wine, with remaining only half an hour at table, with eating haddock on account of the cheapness of this fish, with having no more taste in the choice of his food, than judgment in the administration of the church; and, finally, with being addicted to magic, and with shutting himself up whole days in the laboratory of the Vatican, seeking for the philosopher's stone.

The statues of Pasquin and Marforio were daily checkered with the verses of buffoon poets, who had lost their Mæcenas in the person of Leo the Tenth, and who loaded his successor with their epigrams. Their insults became so violent and outrageous, that the pontiff was desirous to put an end to them, by casting the two statues into the Tiber. But the duke of Sessa, the Spanish ambassador, dissuaded him from it. "Do you believe then, holy father," he said, "that these rhyming priests will not croak any more, when these two statues shall be in the Tiber? Be undeceived; the pasquinades which these two stones shall no more transmit to us, will be repeated by living mouths."

The statues remained on their pedestals; Adrian ceased to pay attention to the calumnies of his clergy, and bestowed all his cares on the realization of his plans of reform. As a first step, he relieved the duke of Urbino from the censures inflicted on him by Leo the Tenth, and gave him the investiture of his duchy; he also admitted Alphonso of Este to his communion, and recognised the lawful possession of the states of Ferrara to be in him, as well as the boroughs of St. Felix and Final, on which that prince had seized during the vacancy of the Holy See.

His holiness then sent Francis Cheregato, bishop of Verano, as his legate, to assist at the diet of Nuremberg, convened by Frederick of Austria, for the last day of November, in the year 1522, and which was to be engaged with the question of reform. Adrian sent by his ambassador the following letter, addressed to the members of the assembly:—

"I deplore with you, my brethren, the difficult situation into which the crimes of the clergy and the corruption of the morals of the Roman pontiffs have led us; for some years we have found nothing but abuses, excesses, and abominations in the administration of spiritual things; the contagion has passed from the head to the members, from pontiffs to prelates, from these last, to mere clerks and monks, so that it would be difficult to find a single priest who was exempt from simony, robbery, adultery, and sodomy. I hope, however, by the aid of God, to reform this de-

plorable condition, and regenerate the Roman court; I solemnly pledge myself to it. But the evil is so great, that I can only walk step by step to the cure."

Unfortunately, the legate did not conform with the wise instructions he had received.— On the very day of his arrival at Nuremberg, he exhibited so much pride, that he was driven from the assembly. Ferdinand of Austria and the other princes who assisted at the diet, troubled themselves no more about the court of Rome; they passed several important decisions on the great question of reform, and decreed, that the only remedy for the abuses, was the convocation of a general council in Germany.

The insolence of a prelate again destroyed the hopes of Adrian, who had counted on his spirit of tolerance bringing back the church of Germany to a good understanding. The Lutherans declaimed against the audacious pretensions of the bishop of Teramo, and their vehement preachings, sustained by facts, which were known to all, drew a large number of the faithful into the new doctrines.— Like an immense fire, the Reformation covered Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland; it penetrated into Flanders, and even into the heart of France; monks were every where seen quitting their convents, casting aside the frock and marrying, to become fathers of families; priests were renouncing their works of iniquity, to embrace professions or situations, which no longer rendered them a charge to society; even bishops were abandoning the impurities of celibacy for family pleasures.

The decisions of the diet of Nuremberg, which contained not less than an hundred complaints against the court of Rome, and which re-produced the entire letter of the holy father, which cast the causes of the schism which troubled Europe, on the disorders of the clergy, exasperated the cardinals against his holiness, and induced them to accuse him of wishing to destroy religion, and of labouring in this work of iniquity, in order

to subject Rome to the empire, and the throne of St. Peter to that of Cæsar.

These reproaches, which nothing in reality justified, had, however, the appearances of truth; for Adrian, very different from Julius the Second and Leo the Tenth, who used kings for their political designs, was himself, without knowing it, the tool of Charles the Fifth. This prince had induced him to issue a bull, which annexed for ever to the crown of Castile, the government of the order of Calatrava, and of the other orders established in Spain, and rendered the post of grand master hereditary. He had also obliged the pope to declare openly against France, and had caused the cardinal Soderini, suspected of intriguing to introduce the French into Sicily, to be judged guilty of lese-majesty. Finally, the holy father, still at the instigation of the emperor, had published different decrees, which invested the king of Spain with exorbitant authority.

The cardinals availed themselves of these acts of weakness, to render the pontiff odious to the Romans, and to prepare the people to receive joyfully the news of his death. One morning, it was rumoured through the holy city, that the pope was sick, and three days afterwards, on the 14th of September, 1523, that he had expired. The priests did not even take the pains to dissimulate the causes of this sudden death, and in the night garlands and crowns were suspended to the door of his physician, and these explanatory words were traced in large characters, "To the liberator of his country."

The cardinal Pallavicini has made this singular eulogium on Pope Adrian: "He was a pious, learned, and disinterested man, who was sincerely anxious for the good of religion; he was, however, an ordinary pope, for he knew nothing of the suppleness of the art of reigning, nor how to accommodate himself to the morals of the Roman court. A pontiff like him, he adds, who had forgotten flesh and blood, could but illy govern the church."



## CLEMENT THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1523]

*Election of the cardinal Julian de Medicis, bastard of Julian, duke of Medicis—His history before his pontificate—He wishes to stifle the heresy of Luther—He exhorts the emperor and king of England to peace, whilst he is at the same time secretly inciting the king of France to war—The tricks of his holiness are discovered—Francis the First conquered by Charles the Fifth under the walls of Pavia—Clement reconciles himself with the emperor—Indignation of Charles the Fifth—State of Lutheranism in Europe—Perfidy of the Colonna, and vengeance of the holy father—New broils between the emperor and pope—Sack of Rome by the Spaniards—Details of the cruelties perpetrated in the holy city—Capitulation of the pope—He is made prisoner—He escapes from the castle of San Angelo—Divorce of Henry the Eighth, king of England—New treaty between Clement and Charles the Fifth—Negotiations at Bologna—Capture of Florence by the confederated armies of the emperor and pope—Origin of the dukes of Tuscany—Consequence of the divorce of the king of England—Proposal for a general council—Marriage of the niece of the pope, the infamous Catherine de Medicis, with Henry, son of the king of France—Interview between Clement and Francis the First—Anecdote concerning the holy father and three beautiful dames of the court of France—The English church separates itself from the Roman communion—Death of the pontiff.*

x P. 200.

As soon as the obsequies of Adrian were over, the cardinals, to the number of thirty-six, entered the conclave. For six weeks the suffrages were divided between Medicis and Colonna; after a thousand intrigues renewed and broken, Julian de Medicis bought off his competitor, by the title of vice chancellor of the church and the gift of his palace, one of the most magnificent in Rome, as a recompense, and was then proclaimed sovereign pontiff. His holiness took the name of Clement the Seventh, though a pope had already borne this name in the city of Avignon, during the great western schism.

Julian de Medicis, was a posthumous bastard of Julian de Medicis, duke of Florence, assassinated by the orders of Sixtus the Fourth, in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and of a young girl named Floretta Grini. His uncle, Laurent de Medicis, having escaped the daggers of the assassins, had taken him to his own house with his mother, whom he made his mistress. Destined at first to the profession of arms, the young Medicis had been made a knight of Rhodes; then when his cousin Leo the Tenth was elevated to the chair of St. Peter, he quitted the casque and sword to follow the ecclesiastical career, and as his birth, tainted by illegitimacy, was an obstacle to his entering the sacred college, he paid false witnesses, who affirmed, under oath, that Floretta had not yielded to her seducer, until she had obtained a promise of marriage from him, which, according to the custom of the Roman church, was enough to legitimatise a bastard.

During the reign of Adrian the Sixth, the cardinal de Medicis had been enabled, by means of intrigues, to seize on the direction of all business, and supplant the cardinal Soderini in the confidence of the pope. As he was absolute master of the Vatican at the time of the death of the pope, we can cast on him, without danger of striking an innocent man,

the greatest share in the accomplishment of a crime which opened to him the road to the pontifical throne.

After the ceremonies of his consecration which were accompanied by a pomp and magnificence truly extraordinary, Clement employed himself with the great question of the Reformation, which was upsetting Germany, and threatening to wrest half Europe from the pontifical yoke. His holiness endeavoured to prevent a new diet from being held at Nuremberg, and at which the electoral princes were to take decisive measures against the court of Rome. He even offered to yield some points to the heretics, provided they would not contest his right of jurisdiction over the churches, and would not trouble his agents in the collection of his revenues. All his efforts were useless, the Germans persisted in their plan of a diet, and as the day for opening its sittings approached, he decided to send an envoy to Nuremberg, to prevent, what he feared the most in the world, the convocation of a general council.

His ambassador, the cardinal Laurent Campeggio, was one of the most skilful diplomats of his court. The holy father recommended to him to affect a great desire to remedy the abuses which had been pointed out in the hundred articles of the petition before sent to the court of Rome, in what concerned the Teutonic clergy, and be careful how he discussed a plan for a general reformation.

In accordance with his instructions, the wary cardinal appeared before the electors, demanding, in the name of his holiness, that they should proceed with the reform of the lower clergy of Germany, and that they should remedy, as promptly as they could, the grievous abuses which existed in the different sees and convents; he did not speak of the churches of France, Italy, or England. As the prince of

Saxony was about to observe, that the interests of religion called for a prompt suppression of the disorders of the Roman clergy, the legate imposed silence on him, and declared that the mere enunciation of such a proposition constituted the crime of heresy. This strange restriction of the cardinal opened the eyes of the least clear sighted; they perceived what were the secret intentions of the pope, and, during the sitting, the assembly resolved on its conclusions, which were published on the 18th of April, 1524, in the following decree:—

“We decide that the emperor and pope shall assign a time for holding a council, with the least possible delay; for the necessity of an œcumenical assembly is perceived daily more and more, in order to arrest the disorders which overwhelm Christendom, and to save social order from the abyss into which infamous Catholics, debauched priests, and dangerous innovators, threaten to plunge it.”

It must be admitted, that the fever of reform was such, that it gave rise to good and bad doctrines. By the side of Luther and Melancthon, who were the first to unfold the flag of the emancipation of the people, extravagant men were engaged in ridiculous disputes about dogmas. The sacramentarians denied the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, and for this had separated from the Lutherans; other enthusiasts, Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, Thomas Muntzer, and Balthazar Hubmayer, preached the old doctrine of the Donatists, Pelagians, and Catharines; they denied the efficacy of infant baptism, and maintained that this sacrament should be administered to adults, which led them to be called anabaptists; they preached absolute equality, real and natural, as well as community of goods and the emancipation of women.

This last sect increased formidably, especially in Suabia. Fifty thousand peasants, converted by Thomas Muntzer, rose in mass to urge on the triumph of their cause, and committed frightful massacres, until they were themselves exterminated by the Lutherans, the sacramentarians, and the Catholics.

Clement the Seventh, far from showing any affliction at the deplorable situation in which Germany was, and of acceding to the just demand of the electors in regard to the convocation of a council, took measures which increased the disorders, and refused to assemble the bishops. He maintained that it was a crime of lese-divinity to give judges to a pope, and to submit his acts to the examination of men. His opinion was sustained by the cardinals, who dreaded, as much as his holiness, a reform in morals; and the members of the sacred college formed themselves into a permanent consistory, to treat of affairs of urgency. They erased the decisions of the diet of Nuremberg, and decreed that letters should be addressed to the emperor, to put in execution his edicts of Worms against Luther and his adherents; that at the same time the kings of France, England, and Portugal should be summoned to break off all commerce with the free cities of the interior of Germany, if

these refused to obey the court of Rome; that the legate of the Holy See, Laurent Campeggio, should induce the Catholic princes to prevent the assembly which was to be held at Spire, or at least, should enjoin on them to protest against its deliberations, in order to maintain the rights of the pope; that in regard to the convocation of a council, his holiness declared, that by virtue of his omnipotence, he regarded this measure pernicious and baneful, and should consequently formally oppose it; finally, that in regard to the redress of grievances presented by the Germans, the decrees of the council of Lateran righted them, and that if they were not sufficient, they should be provided for by a commission specially appointed for this matter.

Whilst Clement was seeking, by a thousand expedients, to avoid holding a synod, the emperor was making a treaty with Henry the Eighth, to crush France beneath the united forces of England, Spain, and Germany; the imminence of the danger compelled the pontiff to suspend his struggles with the Reformation, in order to place reins on the plans of Charles the Fifth, whose ambition was a subject of grave apprehension to him. He sent an ambassador to him charged with a letter, in which he represented to his Catholic majesty, that he should be content with his immense dominions, and leave to Francis the First the duchy of Milan, which of right belonged to him. His exhortations did not produce the effect he expected; all that the legate could obtain was, to be reconducted to the frontiers, with the honours due his rank, without having had the gratification of an audience. His holiness then secretly warned the king of France of what was plotting against him, and urged him to march into Italy at the head of an army, to be beforehand with his enemy, and rout the imperialists before they had effected a junction with the English. Francis followed the advice of the pope, assembled an army in less than six weeks, crossed the Alps, and presented himself before Milan, which yielded without a blow. He then went to besiege Pavia, which was defended by two of the imperialist generals, Lanoy and Pescara. They, finding themselves taken by surprise, and having no hopes of being succoured in time by the emperor, proposed to sign a truce of five years with France, and recognise her by treaty as the lawful possessor of the Milanese. These conditions were, unfortunately, rejected by the king, who yielded in it to the fatal influence of the admiral Bonnavet, one of those courtiers who are the scourges of the people.

Hostilities continued between the French and the imperialists; but as Francis was gaining ground daily, the pope was in hopes of soon securing command as master in Italy, and thought of assuring himself of his protection by a treaty of alliance. He made him promise to succour the Holy See against all its enemies, to protect the house of Medici and the state of Florence. Clement the Seventh reciprocally engaged, as did the two

Medici, Alexander and Hippolyte, both bastards, and the only prope of his family, not to afford any succour to imperialists during the life of the king, and without its being necessary to confirm this transaction, even after the conquest of the dutchy of Milan. His holiness, moreover, promised to give free passage to the armies of Francis to attack the kingdom of Naples.

In execution of this treaty, Francis detached from his army a body of troops, which entered the states of the church, whilst he himself pushed the siege of Pavia with vigour. Unfortunately, the place opposed a longer resistance than he had imagined, which gave time to the constable of Bourbon, a French prince, who commanded the imperialists, to come to the aid of the besieged. Thus the troops of the king were in their turn blocked in between a hostile city and an army superior to them in numbers. In this extremity Francis assembled his council, and asked his captains what they should do, whether to retreat or to give battle. The old generals represented that, in the circumstances in which they were placed, a single defeat might be sufficient to annihilate the power of the French in Italy, and that it was not to be concealed that they had to combat formidable, numerous, well disciplined adversaries, who were led by a captain to whom, notwithstanding his treason to his country, they could not deny great military talents; they consequently advised a retreat.

As soon as the admiral Bonnivet, who was the personal enemy of the constable, heard his rival praised, he rose from his seat, and spoke at length on the disgrace which would attach to the name of Francis, if he fled before his enemy; he recounted the combats in which courage had supplied the place of numbers, and concluded by beseeching the king to give battle. This appeal to the vanity of the king, produced the result the admiral anticipated. His advice prevailed; the two armies joined battle on the 24th of February, 1523, the day of St. Mathias: baneful day! for the French were cut to pieces, and left more than six thousand dead on the field.

The two authors of this disastrous day received the punishment of their fault; Bonnivet was slain, and the king made prisoner. It is said that the constable of Bourbon, on seeing the dead body of the admiral, exclaimed, "Wretch, thou hast caused the ruin of France as well as mine." Francis was immediately conducted to Spain, where he treated for his ransom with Charles the Fifth, by surrendering to him the finest provinces of the kingdom.

This defeat produced the consequences which the old generals had foreseen. As soon as the news was spread through Italy, the cities which still held for the French opened their gates to the conquerors. Clement the Seventh abandoned his ally, and sent the bishop of Capua to congratulate the constable on the day of Pavia, and immediately proposed to the emperor a treaty of peace, in which he imposed, as a condition on Charles the Fifth,

the recognition of Francis Sforza as the lawful duke of Milan, offering him in exchange a sum of an hundred thousand crowns, to be levied on the city of Florence. His holiness besides, reserved to himself the right of selling the products of his salt works in the Milanese territory, to the exclusion of all other salt, and according to the tariff of Leo; he still further exacted the restitution of the cities of Reggio and Rubiera, which belonged to the duke of Ferrara, as well as the free disposal of the benefices of the kingdom of Naples.

Charles the Fifth was too much irritated by the last treason of the pope to listen to his proposals; he received the ambassador very badly, and dismissed him, telling him to inform his master that the hour of justice had come, and that he knew how to punish those who had basely gone over to his enemies in the time of trial.

This threat deprived the pope of all hopes of being reconciled with Charles, and determined him to form a league against him, in order to place himself beyond the reach of his vengeance; for this purpose he entered into secret negotiations with various Italian princes, who hated alike Ferdinand and the Spaniards. He first addressed Ferdinand Francis d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, who was in the service of Spain, and offered him the sovereignty of Naples, if he would consent to turn his arms against Charles the Fifth, which he agreed to do. He then brought into the league Duke Sforza, the republic of Venice, and the regent of France. All was succeeding well, when the marquis of Pescara was seized with panic terror, and revealed the plot to the emperor. Charles the Fifth ordered him still to dissimulate, and to place garrisons in the Milanese cities; when the latter had made all the arrangements necessary for the success of their plans, he invaded the Milanese with an army, pursued Sforza from place to place, and constrained him to shut himself up in the castle of Milan. The treason, however, did not profit the marquis of Pescara; he fell dangerously sick, was obliged to quit his camp, and died at the end of two months.

Although the secret of the league had been discovered, the Venetians persisted none the less in their determination to combat the emperor, and declared that they preferred being buried under the ruins of their city, rather than consent to a cowardly abandonment of their ally, Duke Sforza. If Clement the Seventh had shown the same firmness, it is probable that Charles the Fifth would have been obliged to propose an arrangement which was advantageous to the confederates; but the astute pontiff wished to follow the crooked policy of the Holy See, and was yet the dupp of the Spanish monarch. Whilst appearing to approve of the energetic resolution of the ambassadors of France and Venice, he sent the cardinal Salviati to Madrid to treat with the emperor, and as soon as he heard that the principal articles which he proposed to his Catholic majesty had been accepted, he broke off the conferences with the Venetians and

French, and was unwilling to hear any thing more said about the league. The pope was not long in repenting his precipitation; for when the duke of Sessa, the delegate of Spain at the court of Rome, presented to him the copy of the treaty to obtain his ratification, he discovered that they had drawn it up in such equivocal terms, that it was easy to understand that they wished to reserve the interpretation of it in different modes, as might suit circumstances. Clement refused to sign the treaty, and expressed his surprise that so little pains had been taken in drawing it up; the delegate appeared to experience the same surprise, and protested that it could only be the effect of chance and ignorance in the copyist, but that his holiness could have another drawn up, and he would take his solemn engagement to obtain the signature of the emperor in less than two months, provided that, during that interval, the court of Rome shunned all intimacy with France and Venice. This delay was necessary to Charles the Fifth, to enable him successfully to conclude a treaty which he wished Francis the First to agree to, and by which his prisoner admitted France to be a tributary of the empire.

Things, however, did not turn out precisely as he wished, and from his own fault; instead of sending back his prisoner without ransom, he stipulated for such an enormous price for his liberty, that he gained the reputation of being avaricious, which disaffected all the princes of Germany towards him. Instead of keeping up his affectionate relations with the English minister, the celebrated Wolsey, cardinal of York, whom he was accustomed to call his father or his cousin, in letters written by his own hand, he was imprudent enough, after the victory of Pavia, to cease his correspondence, and send him letters drawn up by his secretaries; this displeased the cardinal, and determined him to unite himself to France. He also displeased the duke of Bourbon, by refusing him the hand of his sister, which he had formally promised him. The latter left the court of the emperor, returned to the Milanese, gained an ascendancy over the troops he commanded, and thought of seizing on the kingdom of Naples for himself. Finally, his duplicity rendered him suspected by all Europe, and his allies, following his example, broke the treaties they had made, as soon as their interests were jeopardised.

Francis the First had scarcely escaped from his captivity, when he forgot his oaths to Charles the Fifth, not to take up arms against him. He went to Cognac, and reinforced the sacred league, of which the republics of Venice and Florence, Switzerland, and England were a part. The war was rekindled in Italy with new vigour, and the confederated armies of the holy father and Venice opened the campaign, whilst waiting the reinforcements which France and England were to send.

Charles the Fifth, dreading the consequences of a general war, then set to work to break up the league, and, as he dared not declare openly against the pope, he used the hatred

which the Colonna bore to Clement the Seventh, to embarrass him seriously. By his orders, the governor of Naples offered to Pompey Colonna, who had been exiled by his holiness, to re-establish him at Rome in his honours and dignities, if he could constrain the pope to quit the sacred league. The cardinal accepted the proposal which was made to him, and marched immediately on Rome, at the head of eight hundred horse, and three thousand foot soldiers. By aid of the intercourse he had kept up with the place, he made himself master of three gates, and all was done so rapidly, that the holy father had scarcely time to retire to the castle of San Angelo. Without stopping, Pompey Colonna caused this fortress to be invested, and urged the siege so vigorously, that Clement, who had with him but few troops, and no provisions, found himself reduced to the last extremity, and demanded to capitulate.

Muncade, in accordance with the instructions he had received from Charles the Fifth, then stepped forward as mediator, and went himself to confer with the holy father. He represented to him, that if he wished to save Rome from pillage, nothing was left for him but to give himself a protector, by abandoning the league, in order to treat with the emperor. Clement consented to sign a truce for four months, and pledged himself to go to Madrid, to confer with Charles on the conditions of a permanent alliance.

The courts of France and England, wished to oppose this last convention. Their ambassadors represented to Clement, that he was exposing his liberty, and even his life, to great dangers, by placing himself in the power of the perfidious Charles the Fifth, and they induced him to renounce his journey, by presenting him with thirty thousand marks of gold, which he wished to employ in levying new troops, to avenge himself on the Colonna. He excommunicated all the members of that family; declared Pompey Colonna deprived of his dignity of cardinal, caused their possessions to be ravaged by his bands, and even ordered the count de Vandemont, the general-in-chief of his army, to push on up to the very frontiers of Naples, so as to excite the partisans of the old Angevine faction in favour of Francis the First.

Notwithstanding the apparent success of his troops, the pontiff was grievously disquieted by the progress of the imperialists in Upper Italy; he feared especially, lest Charles the Fifth should take a fancy to capture Rome, and assemble a council to depose him. His terrors became the more lively, when he was informed of a circular which the emperor addressed to the members of the sacred college, and which was as follows:—

“In placing himself at the head of a league, the pontiff has troubled the peace which was established between our kingdom and France, which he could not have done but after mature deliberation with his cardinals. You have thus committed a grievous fault my fathers; and for holy prelates, we think your

conduct too earthly. How has it happened, that you have had the audacity to prefer threats against us, who are so well disposed towards the Holy See, and who have constantly refused to believe the accusations brought against the ultra montane prelates at the diet of Worms? Did we not also prevent a diet from being held at Spire, because Germany wished to accuse the Roman court, and separate from its communion?

"It is true, his holiness has forgotten all the services we have rendered him; however, as our vengeance will strike you, as well as your pope, we urge you to change his sentiments towards us; otherwise, if he does not yield to your sage remonstrances, we will be constrained to convoke a council to save religion, and to use all the remedies which we shall judge necessary, to arrest the progress of the evil."

This circular did not produce any great sensation in Rome. As the pope, however, was tired of supporting two armies, which he was obliged to pay on the appointed day, and which compelled him to levy onerous taxes, he commenced negotiations with the viceroy of Naples, to obtain a truce of eight months. The latter made it a primary condition, that Clement should pay sixty thousand ducats to the constable of Bourbon, and an equal sum to Frondsberg, the leader of those bands which has committed such horrible cruelties on the Catholics of Lombardy, and who had left every where on their passage marks of their ferocity. This fierce warrior carried at his saddle-bow, a cord of gold and silk, which he should use, he said, to strangle the pope. His soldiers, worthy of marching under his orders, wore as collars, the virile organs which they had cut from the ultra montane priests, and said boldly, that they were going to Rome to eat the pope.

Notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, Clement the Seventh, restrained by his avarice, hesitated to conclude the treaty on conditions so onerous; finally, when overcome by the remonstrances of his cardinals, he decided to publish the truce, it was too late; Frondsberg, it is true, had died of apoplexy, but the duke of Bourbon had taken command of the imperial troops, and as Charles the Fifth left him without money, in order to weaken his army and diminish his influence, he had resolved to lead his troops to Rome, and surrender it to them to be pillaged. Seconded by the Colonna, the constable approached the holy city rapidly, invested it immediately, and mounted to the assault in person. At the moment in which he was stepping on the breach, a shot stretched him cold dead.

This event took place on the 6th of May, 1527. The prince of Orange who was the second in command of the army, concealed the death of the constable, and continued the attack with so much vigour, that in despite of the cannon of the castle of San Angelo, which kept up a terrible fire on the imperialists, the place was carried. Clement, instead of escaping from Rome by the gate of the Vatican,

which was still in the power of his people, shut himself up in the castle of San Angelo, with his cardinals, the ambassadors of France and Venice, and some chosen troops.

The holy city was then abandoned to the mercy of the conquerors, and the sack commenced. It is difficult for the imagination to conceive the scenes of barbarity and ferocity which this unfortunate city witnessed for two whole months. The Spanish Catholics and German Lutherans, of whom the army of Charles the Fifth was composed, appeared to endeavour to excel each other in cruelty.— They first pillaged the palaces of the cardinals and ambassadors; they laid waste the churches and monasteries; they fell upon the houses of rich citizens and mere artisans: they then tore the nuns from their retreats dragged them entirely naked to the public squares, and assuaged their lust upon them. Women and young girls who had sought an asylum in the temples, were violated, even in the sanctuary; young boys even were used for the horrid pleasures of the soldiery of the emperor; men were submitted to the most frightful tortures; they hung them by their feet and lighted braziers beneath their heads, which consumed them slowly; they lacerated them with leaded thongs; they tore from them their eyes, nose, and ears; they fastened them in heated chains, having thousands of sharp points. And all these atrocities committed by Spaniards upon Christians, were intended to force their victims to discover the places in which they had concealed treasures, that only existed in the imagination of the executioners. The terror which these satellites of the Catholic king inspired, was so great, that the inhabitants threw themselves from their windows to avoid falling alive into their hands.

When the imperialists could find nothing more to pillage in the houses, they fell upon the tombs, and like hyenas, tore the dead bodies from their coffins, to seize the jewels which were buried with them, and devastated all the tombs of the churches. It was especially against the tombs of the popes that the German Lutherans were bitter. They pried into them, carried off all the ornaments they contained, and cast the dead bodies on the flag-stones. They also opened the shrines of the saints, even those of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and used their skulls instead of bowls, without respect for these pious relics.— They transformed the pontifical chapel into a stable, littered their horses with the bulls of the popes, and the books of the church; and, finally, as if they had not committed sufficiently great sacrileges, this soldiery, drunken with wine and lust, used the sacred vases for the vilest purposes, and committed rapes upon young virgins and boys, in the sanctuary, in the holy of holies, on the very altar at which the pontiffs solemnly officiated.

Then, tired of murdering, the Lutherans proceeded to other scenes of profanation; they clothed themselves in the sacerdotal ornaments, travestied themselves into priests, bishops, and cardinals, clothed one of their num-

ber with a tiara taken from a dead body, mounted him on an ass and led him through the streets, they also mounted on asses, holding in their hands holy pixes full of wine, and shouting forth bacchanalian songs in honour of their pope. After this they returned to the Vatican, assembled in conclave, and proclaimed Luther sovereign pontiff, amid acclamations so deafening, that they were heard by Clement the Seventh, who from the top of the towers of the castle of San Angelo, was coldly contemplating the disasters he had brought on Rome.

The holy city was not the only theatre on which unfortunate human beings were slaying each other. Pavia was carried by assault by the French under Lautrec, and he, by way of reprisals, and to avenge the Romans, murdered, pillaged, violated, burned, as if the tortures of the one could soothe the sufferings of the others, and as if dishonour to the women of Pavia, could restore their virginity to the young girls violated by the imperialists.

In Germany it was still worse, the reformed, moved by religious fanaticism, pursued the sect of the anabaptists with the utmost rigour, and exercised such frightful cruelties towards them, that the hair rises on the head when we read the recitals that historians have given us. Instead of being intimidated by tortures, these new martyrs surrendered themselves to their executioners; they were seen mounting the funeral piles singing the praises of God; the most delicate females sought the most cruel torments to give proof of their faith; young virgins walked to punishment more gaily than to the nuptial ceremony; the men evinced not the least sign of fear, when contemplating the terrible instruments of torture; they sang psalms whilst the executioners were tearing off their flesh with red hot pincers. Even when their bodies were half consumed by the fire, their members broken, and the skin torn from their skull was hanging about their shoulders, they exhorted the assistants to become converts to their doctrine. Never had any sect shown such extraordinary constancy in persecutions; thus, the admiration which their courage inspired, drew a great number of Catholics and Lutherans into their ranks.

If the excellency of a religion could be proved by the testimony and number of its martyrs, as the Catholic priests maintain, the sect of the anabaptists would doubtless be superior to any other, since it had, in less than a year, more than a hundred and fifty thousand martyrs, which is more than the martyrologists count during the long persecutions of the pagan emperors.

Notwithstanding these bloody executions, the anabaptists still held up; they were, however, persecuted for many years, now by the Catholics, now by the Lutherans, and ended by succumbing. Unfortunately, no work of these sectaries on their principal dogmas remain to us; perchance, because they wrote nothing, being content to preach, combat, and die. Our only notions about them have been transmitted to us by their enemies; amongst

other things, they accused them of wishing to establish a community of women and property, an allegation which is the more doubtful, as it comes from their executioners.

Clement the Seventh, still shut up in the castle of San Angelo, fired upon the enemy who dared approach its walls, and Benevenuto Cellini, the celebrated sculptor, who was charged with the management of the batteries, acquitted himself so well, that, thanks to him, a considerable number of Spaniards remained on the field. It is even believed that he killed the duke of Bourbon, and that it was a cannon pointed by him that wounded the prince of Orange, and cut in two a Spanish colonel, of whom the pontiff was very fond. Benevenuto Cellini, in a relation which he has left us of that siege, says, that the holy father, charmed by his address, called him to compliment him, but that being ignorant of what his holiness could have to say to him, he fell on his knees before Clement, to beseech him to absolve him from the homicides he had been compelled to commit in his service. "At this demand," adds the celebrated sculptor, "the good pope Clement raised his hands, and having traced a great cross on my figure, not only blessed me for the murders I had committed, but even promised me plenary indulgences, if I should continue to do as well and slay the imperialists."

The skill of the sculptor Cellini, as a marksman, sufficed to keep off the assailants from the castle of San Angelo, without, however, arresting the massacres in the city. The plague at last put an end to the butcheries, by killing at least a third of the victors.

Charles the Fifth received the news of the sack of Rome by his army, says Mazerai, on the same day on which the empress gave birth to a son, who was afterwards Philip the Second; he feigned to suffer great grief at the bad position of the pope; he pushed his hypocrisy so far, as to prohibit an illumination in celebration of the happy deliverance of his wife; he put on mourning, and ordered public processions to be made, to ask from God the liberty of the pope, whilst he was sending, at the same time, orders to conduct him as a prisoner into Spain, as soon as he had capitulated. The nuncio, who was not the dupe of these demonstrations, presented himself in mourning, and followed by ten archbishops, to beseech the emperor to withdraw his troops from Rome, and to set Clement the Seventh at liberty. The hypocritical Charles replied, that he desired more than they did to see tranquillity restored to Rome, but could come to no decision without consulting his generals. The duke of Alba, as had been arranged between them, then spoke:—"No, my lord, you must not pardon the pope; it is time for this priest to learn not to meddle with the temporal affairs of Europe, and the longer he shall fast in his castle of San Angelo, the wiser will be become; he should be reduced to such a condition, that he will no longer be desirous of troubling the peace of the world." His holiness was in fact compelled to fast

from want of provisions, and to increase the evil, the pest broke out in the fortress.

Clement the Seventh discovered that he had to choose between dying miserably or capitulating; he preferred to treat with his enemies, and demanded a conference with Lanoy, the viceroy of Naples, who was a Catholic. This satisfaction even was refused him; the army, having no confidence in the viceroy, refused to accept any treaty which was not made by the prince of Orange, and the holy father was constrained to receive the law from a heretic. The capitulation contained, among other articles, "That his holiness should pay the army four hundred thousand ducats, to wit, one hundred thousand down, fifty thousand in two days, and the remainder at the end of two months; that for the payment of this ransom, Clement should levy an extraordinary impost on all the ecclesiastical states; that he should, moreover, place in the hands of the emperor, the castle of San Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Citadi Castellana, Parma, Placenza, and Modena; that he should remain a prisoner in one of the towers of the castle, with thirteen cardinals of his suite, until he had paid the first hundred and fifty thousand ducats; that he should then be conducted to Naples, or the city of Gaëta, and there wait the orders of Charles the Fifth; and that, finally, he should absolve the Colonna from all censures pronounced against them, and should appoint a legate to govern the church in his absence, in connection with the tribunal of the Rota." These articles having been signed and approved of by Clement, a Spanish captain, named Alarçon, the same to whom the custody of Francis the First had been confided, entered the castle of San Angelo with six companies of Spaniards and Germans, to fill the part of jailer to the pope and his cardinals.

He remained more than six months kept out of sight, and submitted to ignominious treatment; at last, as he could see no end to his captivity, he determined to become reconciled with the Colonna, and by their aid he managed to escape from his prison, disguised as a hawk. From the city of Orvieto, to which he had retired, Clement wrote to the marshal Lautrec, that he was unwilling to execute a treaty, whose terms had been imposed on him with a dagger at his throat, and besought him to undertake his defence. But the emperor had already renounced his plan of keeping the pope in prison; master of his strong places and his treasures, the holy father was no longer a formidable adversary to him, and he had even sent an order for his enlargement, when Clement escaped from Rome. This return of Charles the Fifth to pacific sentiments, had an object, for the Spanish monarch was not a man to pardon the knaveries of others, without sufficient reasons.

The following was his: Henry the Eighth of England, tired of Catharine of Arragon, the aunt of Charles the Fifth, had determined to break off a marriage which had become

odious to him, because his wife was barren and especially because this union prevented his possession of a young girl, named Anne Boleyn, who had inspired him with a violent passion. This plan of a divorce had a natural antagonist in the emperor, who counted on governing the kingdom of England in the name of his aunt, if Henry died without children. The Spanish monarch then sought a reconciliation with the pope, to induce him to enter into his views; for this purpose, he removed his troops from Rome, and permitted Clement to instal himself in the Vatican and resume the exercise of his authority.

His holiness had returned to his palace but a few days, when he received two English ambassadors, Casalis and Knight, who came in the name of Henry the Eighth, to beseech him to annul his union with Catharine of Arragon; on the next day, arrived, in their turn, deputies from the emperor, who informed the pope, that if he should dare to authorise the divorce of the king of Great Britain, that the imperial armies would immediately invade the territories of the church.

Clement the Seventh, placed between two rivals whom he dreaded, and not daring to accede to the request of Henry the Eighth, nor obey Charles the Fifth, resolved to temporise, and replied to the English ambassadors, that he would give the prince authority to be divorced, if the clergy of Great Britain should first declare his first marriage null. They replied, that their master had no need of such a declaration, and that if the holy father had no other reply to give, they were instructed to inform him that the king of England would break off all intercourse with the court of Rome. The pope replied, that the matter rested entirely with the English sovereign, since he might proceed by the authority of the legate, his prime minister Wolsey, and have a sentence of divorce granted. "There is no theologian who can resolve better than the king, your master," added he, "whether his marriage is unlawful. As soon as the sentence shall have been pronounced, we will authorise our dear son Henry to re-marry; at the same time, if he will address our see to ratify the proceedings, we will not be wanting in reasons to justify his conduct. Then such one of our cardinals as the king shall designate, shall go to London and ratify all that shall have been done."

As soon as Henry was apprised of the reply of the pontiff, he divined the secret motives which actuated him, and in order to force him to declare between him and Charles the Fifth, he threatened him anew to separate himself from the Roman church, if he still persisted in refusing him the bull of divorce. Clement, pushed to the wall, and seeing besides that the affairs of the league were taking a bad turn, decided on a rupture with the king of England. "Well," said he, to the ambassadors, who urged him to give a categorical reply, "since I am between the anvil and the hammer, I declare that I have done for Henry the Eighth more than I ought to do, in per-

mitting him to have as judges in his cause, two legates who were devoted to him, and that I will never consent openly to sacrifice the emperor, the archduke his father, Catharine of Arragon, and the interests of the Holy See."

This reply enlightened the English deputies, and showed them that they would obtain no new concessions from Clement the Seventh, and that the king must be content with having his divorce pronounced by the legates. They, however, made a last effort, in conjunction with the ambassadors of Venice, France, and Florence; all represented to the pope, that it was both for his interest and dignity to unite frankly with them, and to launch the thunders of the church against Charles the Fifth. His holiness, who had obtained from the Spanish agents the promise that the republic of Florence should be placed beneath the yoke of his family, declined following the advice of the ambassadors of the league; he excused himself on a resolution taken by the sacred college, to renounce all temporal matters, that they might solely engage with the reformation of the church, and the extinction of the numerous heresies which had arisen in Germany and France. Clement gave the Florentines in particular, a formal assurance, that he wished to interfere in no way in their government; that he only desired the republic to recognise him as pope, and not as temporal prince, and that he asked as a favour, that they should leave the armorial bearings of his ancestors on the monuments they had reared.

Notwithstanding these positive assurances of the pope, of his desisting from all authority over Florence, on the very same evening, Antonio de Leva arrived at Rome, with full powers from the emperor, and signed a treaty with him, of which the following are the principal articles:

"His holiness shall go immediately with his court to Bologna, there solemnly to crown Charles the Fifth. After the ceremony of his coronation, his imperial majesty shall send a powerful army before Florence, and shall force the most serene republic to recognise Alexander de Medicis, the bastard of Clement the Seventh, as its sovereign. Alexander de Medicis shall engage to marry Marguerite, a natural daughter of the emperor, as soon as she shall have reached a marriageable age. The cities of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, shall be restored to the Holy See. The duke of Ferrara shall be abandoned to the clemency of the pope, as well as the duke of Milan. On his part, his holiness shall furnish eight thousand men, to besiege Florence in conjunction with the imperialists; he shall grant to the emperor and his descendents for ever, the right of nomination and presentation to eight archbishoprics of the kingdom of Naples, to wit, Verndes, Luciano, Matera, Otranto, Reggio, Salerno, Frani, and Tarentum, as well as to sixteen bishoprics. He shall confer the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, exacting, for his

right of sovereignty each year, the transmission of a white hackney, richly caparisoned, and carrying a purse of six thousand ducats; and, finally, he shall grant to the imperial armies, the right of way over the territories of the church, and shall give absolution to all who participated, directly or indirectly, in the sack of Rome."

After the ratification of this treaty, the pontiff prepared for his departure, and published a decree, which enjoined on the cardinals to assemble at Rome, and no where else, to choose a successor to him, should he die during the journey. He then left the holy city, accompanied by sixteen cardinals, thirty-six bishops, and the officers of his court, and preceded by the holy sacrament, which he caused to be borne at the head of the cortege, by a prelate clad in his sacerdotal garments. The emperor entered Bologna some days afterwards, and immediately went to the church of St. Peter, where the pope awaited him. As soon as he entered the church the hypocritical monarch knelt before his holiness, and from a mixture of baseness and superstition, wished to kiss the feet of him whom he had retained a prisoner against the laws of nations; the two despots then exchanged presents. Charles the Fifth presented the holy father with rich caskets of silver, filled with gold medals, weighing twelve pounds, and in exchange he received an eagle of massive gold, of enormous weight, and covered with precious stones.

In this first interview the prince spoke of the necessity of assembling a general council in Germany to arrest the progress of the heresy, by regulating the connection of the churches of that country with the Holy See, and to reform the morals of the clergy.

"Never," replied the pope, "will we convene a synod in a place where its deliberations can be independent; and we are surprised that a prince, who is so wary and great a politician, solicits an assemblage whose decisions may at once break his throne, and overthrow the papacy. We call you emperor, and ourselves pope, by divine right; we should not then submit the examination of our privileges to men, for they may ask us to verify our titles, and in truth, neither you nor I can do it.

"Be assured that the electors and people of Germany have only embraced the heresy, to seize on the ecclesiastical property placed under your sway, and then to free themselves from your dominion. It is not the excellency of the new religion which attracts them to the party of the reformation, it is an ardent thirst for liberty. Do not then hope to arrest the disorders, by permitting the Lutherans to discuss the new doctrines in a council.

"What matter these dogmas to us after all? What we want is passive obedience; what we ought to desire is, that the people should be for ever submissive to the yoke of priests and kings; and to reach this end, to prevent revolts, to arrest these flashes of liberty which overthrow our thrones, we must use brute



force, make executioners of your soldiers; we must light the funeral pyres; we must kill, burn; we must exterminate the learned; we must annihilate the press. Be assured then, that your subjects will return to orthodoxy, and will adore your imperial majesty on their knees."

The justness of these representations of Clement appeared to strike the emperor, and the question of the council was abandoned. They agreed only to assemble at Augsburg a general diet of the empire, in order to make a last effort to reunite the Catholics and Lutherans. The pontiff then proceeded to the coronation of Charles the Fifth, and immediately afterwards the two allies marched on Florence, to reduce the republic beneath the tyranny of the bastard of Medicis.

The Florentines, not knowing to what power to have recourse, to save their liberty, conceived the singular idea of appointing Jesus Christ gonfalonier of justice, and of placing themselves beneath his protection. They even agitated the question whether they should declare him king, and on the proposal of Nicholas Cappoti, they opened a ballot for his election. The citizens, however, had such a repugnance to the name of king, that of a thousand votes, more than nine hundred were in the negative. Whether Christ wished to punish the Florentines for their irreverence, or whether, rather, it was impossible for a population, suddenly attacked, and destitute of munitions, to defend themselves against two formidable armies, the city was compelled to surrender.

In the capitulation, the holy father pledged himself to treat his fellow citizens with tenderness and affection; he solemnly promised to pardon all offences which the Florentines might have committed against him or his. But as soon as he was master of Florence, and supported by his victorious troops, the infamous pontiff was not content with changing the republican government; in contempt of the treaty he had signed, he caused those who were denounced to him as hostile to his ambitious projects, to be arrested, and put them to death. The venerable Father Benedict, of Foiano, a Dominican, who had constantly exposed himself on the ramparts, to excite the enthusiasm of the besieged, was one of the first victims of his cruelty, and was put to frightful tortures, in expiation of his admirable devotion.

When Clement had exhausted his vengeance, he proceeded to the coronation of Alexander de Medicis, and made grand duke of Florence, a bastard whom he had by his amours with a servant girl at an inn, whose favours he shared with a muleteer, and who thus became the origin of the powerful family of the dukes of Tuscany; a new example, which confirms this already established truth, that there exists scarcely any family of kings, dukes, or nobles, which does not owe its estates, or its titles, to infamy and prostitution. Charles the Fifth, after having aided the pontiff to reduce Florence, left Italy

to go to the diet which was to be held at Augsburg on the 8th of April of the same year, 1530.

This assembly presented to the monarch an extremely remarkable profession of faith, which had been drawn up by Melancthon, under the inspiration of Luther, and which became the creed of protestanism. It contained twenty-one articles on the divinity, original sin, the incarnation, justification, an evangelical ministry, the church, the administration of the sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, confession, penance, the use of sacraments, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, rites, &c.; and seven articles on the abuses of the Roman church in the communion, the marriage of priests, mass, auricular confession, the distinction of food, religious vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the protestants concluded by demanding the convocation of a general council to put an end to the differences which divided Christendom. The cardinal legate Campeggio, who assisted at the diet in the name of the pope, made useless efforts to bring back the Lutherans to orthodoxy, and as it was impossible for him to refuse the wishes of the assembly, he declared that the pope was in favour of the convocation of a general council, on condition, however, that the period should be left for him to fix, and that the emperor should enter into a solemn engagement to defend the pontifical authority against his enemies.

His holiness, whilst appearing to yield, had reserved to himself a mode of putting off, indefinitely, a meeting that he dreaded, and in the interval he proposed to act with so much rigour, that he hoped no one would dare to claim the execution of his promise. He first published a decree ordering the grand inquisitor of the faith at Ferrara and Modena, to pursue to the utmost the partizans of the reformed ideas which the Germans had spread in Italy during the late wars. He then wrote to the emperor, to show him the dangers to which they would not fail to be exposed by public discussions on dogmas, which were the key of the arch of the theocratic edifice, and which prevented men from entering upon an examination of the causes which submitted them to the authority of the popes, as well as that of kings. He produced, on this subject, such powerful reasons, that Charles the Fifth determined to finish the protestants, and published an edict, by virtue of which his imperial majesty ordered all his officers to re-establish the Catholic worship and ritual in all the provinces of Germany, and enjoined on all his subjects to believe in the real presence, and the virtues of the celebration of mass, under penalty of being pursued as heretics. He moreover ordered them to baptize children, to confirm, to administer extreme unction to the dying, to light candles in the churches in honour of saints, to restore to convents and churches the property which had been taken from them, whether it had come from donations or pious legacies, without inquiring into the wrong families might thereby suffer. Finally, his majesty terminated his decree by

a threat of exile and confiscation against all priests who had married, and who did not immediately separate from their wives.

But, instead of intimidating and weakening the reform party, this tyrannical edict exasperated the Lutherans; their danger caused them to perceive the necessity of union, and an assembly was soon after held at Smalkald, in Franconia, of the protestant princes and electors, at which it was decided that they should mutually aid each other in resisting the attacks of the emperor.

This result, which Charles the Fifth did not foresee, caused him to regret having followed the councils of the pope, and became the subject of reproaches, which caused a bad feeling in their intercourse. A new event soon embittered matters, and paved the way for a rupture between the courts of Rome and Madrid. The grand master of the order of the knights of Malta had presented an Italian, named Thomas Bosio, with the episcopal see, become vacant by the death of the titular, and Clement the Seventh approving of it, had written to the emperor, asking for the decree of investiture for the protegee of the grand master. Charles the Fifth replied, through his ambassador, that he was attending to the business, and shortly afterwards he sent his consent to the promotion of Thomas Bosio. But in the interval his holiness, whether he had taken offence at the irreverence of the emperor, or whether he had changed his mind, had nominated the cardinal Ghinucci to the bishopric of Malta. When Bosio came to Rome to receive the ring and the cross, the insignia of his dignity, he learned, with astonishment, of the new choice made by the pope, and immediately informed the grand master of it. As the latter feared to be enveloped in a conflict between Clement and Charles, and had an equal interest in being on good terms with both, he dared not decide the question, and merely informed the emperor of the new choice by the pope. The ambassador of Spain immediately received orders to address a protest to the court of Rome on this subject, and to oppose the nomination of the cardinal Ghinucci to be revoked. His holiness refused to obey, and replied insolently to the ambassador: "Your master should know that the appointment of bishop of Malta belongs to us, since the island has passed under another government than his own. Besides, this lesson should teach him, that in like circumstances, our requests are orders."

Francis the First, being informed of this incident, wrote immediately to his delegates, to use all the tricks of policy to induce a rupture between the two allies, and to raise all obstacles, he demanded the hand of Catherine de Medicis, the niece of Clement, for his son Henry, duke of Orleans. This alliance, to which his holiness would never have dared pretend, and which surpassed all the reveries of his ambition, decided him at once to quit the party of the emperor to embrace the interests of the crown of France.

Charles the Fifth no longer preserved any

restraint in his conduct towards the pope, and as much to expose the treasons of the Holy See, as to repair the fault which his imprudent decree against the Lutherans had committed, he signed a treaty of peace with the confederate German princes, which was called the treaty of Nuremberg, by which his majesty recognised in the protestants the right of professing their doctrines with entire freedom, until the decision of a general council, which placed the pope in the alternative either of renouncing the government of the church in Germany, or of submitting his authority to the examination of a general council. Clement the Seventh wished to use his influence over Charles the Fifth, to break the peace of Nuremberg, and solicited an interview with him. The emperor yielded to his request and went to Bologna, the city designated for the conference. This step of the holy father had no favourable result, and all his eloquence only strengthened Charles in his determination to assemble a general council. "Still," replied the monarch, to each of the pontiff's objections, "I prefer seeing the chair of St. Peter sunk in the abyss, rather than the thrones of my ancestors."

Another event equally baneful for the pope, took place in England. King Henry the Eighth, tired of waiting for his bull of divorce, had determined to drive the Roman legates from his kingdom, and even dismiss his prime minister Wolsey, to break with the court of Rome. The more so, as he had secretly married Anne Boleyn, and had had a law passed by both houses of parliament, to take away from the pontiffs, the rights of annates, pallium, and the investitures of bishoprics which they claimed in the kingdom. Clement fulminated a terrible brief against this prince; he summoned him to retake Catharine of Arragon and separate from his concubine Anne Boleyn, under penalty of anathema, interdict, and deposition. The war thus commenced between the courts of Rome and England, the reply was not long waited for; Henry, whose character was extremely violent, tore up the pontifical bull in full parliament, and made a decree, by which he prohibited all his subjects, under penalty of death, from recognising by speech, in writing, or by actions, the authority of Rome, and declared the English church independent. The parliament approved of this decree, and ordered that the collectors of Peter's pence should be driven from the kingdom, and that in future the metropolitan of Canterbury should confer the bishoprics of England, and that the clergy should pay to the king a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling for the defence of the state.

Whilst these events were transpiring in England, the sovereign pontiff was conducting his niece, Catherine de Medicis into France, who, though scarcely fourteen years old, had been already initiated into the most infamous debauches. Francis the First, accompanied by his son Henry and all his court, came to receive his holiness, and the marriage was

celebrated there immediately. They relate, that after the nuptial ceremonies, Clement the Seventh gave the young couple his benediction, and said to them, "Go and multiply." Alas the womb of Catherine was but too fruitful!

Brantome, the historian of gallant anecdotes, relates a very piquant adventure which took place during the sojourn of the pope at Marseilles, and which we relate as illustrative of the license which prevailed in the courts of that period:—"The ladies of Chateaubriant, Châtillon, and the bailiwick of Caen," says the historian, "presented a request to the duke of Albania, a grand dignitary of the apostolic court, to obtain permission not to be deprived of flesh during Lent. This lord feigned that he did not entirely understand their request, and introduced them to his holiness, saying, 'Most holy father, I present to you three young ladies, who desire to have the privilege of keeping company with men during Lent; they beseech you to grant their request.' Clement immediately raised them, kissed their handsome cheeks, and said to them, laughing, 'What you ask from me is not most edifying; I, however, authorise you

to do so three times a week; it is enough for the sin of luxury.' The ladies blushing, cried out, and represented to his holiness, that what they had solicited was a dispensation to allow them to eat flesh during Lent. At which the pope laughed heartily, kissed them again and dismissed them."

Before quitting France, the holy father exacted from the king the promulgation of ordinances, which reconstituted the tribunals of the inquisition, and which were especially to strike the reformed. The two allies concerted between them different measures, which were intended to destroy the power of Charles the Fifth. Finally, after having received magnificent presents, and a sum sufficient to defray his expenses, Clement the Seventh returned to Italy. On reaching Rome, the pope was attacked with violent pains in his stomach. He languished several months, and died on the 25th of September, 1534, at the age of fifty-six. Some authors accuse the cardinals of having poisoned the pontiff, because they feared the consequences of his cruel character and profound dissimulation; but there is nothing to justify this assertion; except precedent which is not proof.

*Reval in Germany 1526-1535. Diet of Spire - 7/10/1526*

## PAUL THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1534:]

*Election of Paul the Third—History of the pope before his pontificate—Character of Peter Louis Farnese, the pope's bastard—Paul the Third elevates his grandchildren to the cardinalate—Negotiations for holding a council—Excommunication of Henry the Eighth—Mission of the nuncio Vergerius—Paul offers himself as the mediator of a peace between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First—Calvin and his doctrines—Plan of a convocation of a council at Mantua—Conferences between the pope, the king, and the emperor—His holiness marries Octavius Farnese, his grandson, to the illegitimate daughter of the emperor—History of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of the Jesuits—New conferences between the pope and the emperor—Council of Trent—Death of Luther—Perfidy of the pope—He excommunicates the archbishop of Cologne—League against the protestants—Quarrels between the pope and emperor—Bull of the pope about the inquisition—Translation of the council—Extravagances and impieties of the pope—Letter of Paul the Third to the fathers of the council of Trent—His death.*

THE funeral ceremonies of Clement the Seventh were not yet over, when already had Alexander Farnese, cardinal of Tusculum, bought up almost all the voices of the sacred college; but the cardinal Trivulzio, the cardinal of Lorraine, and some of their partizans, who intended to sell themselves to Charles the Fifth for more than they thought Alexander Farnese could pay, caballed and endeavoured to defeat his election. They spread reports against Farnese and his son Peter Louis, they accused them of being more infamous in their morals than the Borgias, of being addicted to the most shameful debauchery, of practising magic, of publicly professing astrology and necromancy, and of boasting in their disbelief in God and the saints.

The adversaries of the Farnese also reproached him with his gluttony, which was so great, that in his orgies, when his stomach was filled with food and wine, he brought on vomitings, and thus supped three times.—They accused him of having made his daughter Constance, his mistress; of having committed another incest with his sister Wilhelmina, her whom he had prostituted to Pope Alexander the Sixth, to save himself from the gibbet. They also added, that allying cruelty to infamy, he had killed five Roman gentlemen, who shared with him the favours of his daughter and sister. Finally, the cardinals concluded in these terms, "Now if being informed of the crimes charged on the cardinal Farnese. those of our colleagues who permit

red themselves to be seduced by this abominable man, persist in giving him their voices, we do not fear to say, that they deserve to be spit upon by all Christendom."

Notwithstanding the violence of these attacks, the agents of the Farnese succeeded; they represented to the malecontents, that their candidate was sixty-six years old, that he was in bad health, and that they could not deny to him a political skill, which would contribute powerfully to re-strengthen the pontifical throne; finally, they offered to Trivulzio and the cardinal of Lorraine, four palaces in Rome, richly furnished, garnished with vessels of gold, and containing fifty thousand ducats.—From that time all opposition ceased, and on the first scrutiny thirty-four cardinals chose, as vicar of Christ, him whom they had pointed out to the hatred of the people as a sodomite, a committer of incest, an assassin, and an atheist!

Alexander Farnese was born in Tuscany, in the city of Carino, of Peter Louis Farnese and Janelle Gætan. In his youth he had been entrusted to the care of Pomponius Loetus, one of the most learned men in Italy, who initiated him into a knowledge of the ancient authors; Albert Piggius taught him mathematics, and gave him even notions of astronomy, judicial astrology, and black magic. Farnese excelled in making Latin verses; his letters to Erasmus and his epistles to Cardinal Sadolet, are remarkable for vigour of style and profoundness of thought. Become pope, he proved himself so perfidious, that Mendoza said, in several letters, addressed to Charles the Fifth, that he would rather confide in a greyhound, than in the word of Paul the Third. "He was always shod backwards," adds the Spaniard, "so that one might imagine he was going on, whilst he was turning back. He covered himself with the mantle of piety, when he had a crime to commit, and employed Corsican bullies to rid himself of those who opposed his plans. He regulated all his movements by the conjunctions of the planets, which he consulted in even the most insignificant actions; and when events did not agree with his predictions, he fell into violent bursts of passion, and uttered horrid blasphemies.—He even pushed his impiety so far as to affirm, that Christ was none other than the sun, adored by the Mithriatic sect, and the same God as Jupiter Ammon, represented in paganism under the form of a ram or a lamb. He explained the allegories of his incarnation and resurrection by the parallel which St. Justin had made between Christ and Mithra; that the Bible, like the sacred books of the magi, was produced in the winter solstice, that is, at the moment in which the sun commences to return towards us and increase the duration of our days. He said, that the adoration of the magi was but an imitation of the ceremonies in which the priests of Zoroaster offered to their god, gold, incense, and myrrh, three things consecrated to the God of Light; he objected that the constellation of the Virgin or rather of Isis, which corresponds with this

solstice, and which presided over the birth of Mithra, had been also chosen as an allegory of the birth of Christ; which, according to the pope, was sufficient to demonstrate that Mithra and Jesus were the same God. He dared to say, that there was no document of irrevocable authenticity, which proved the existence of Christ as a man, and his own conviction was, that he had never existed. Finally, that even the tiara, he maintained was an imitation of the head dress of the Persian sacrificers. Thus, this abominable pope, who was, however, clothed with a character of infallibility, proclaimed himself a priest of the sun, and glorified sabeism."

We will not accompany this passage of the correspondence of Mendoza with any commentary; we will leave the mind free to follow the opinion of the Spanish ambassador, and condemn Paul, or to adopt the belief of the pope, and abjure the Christian religion!

The new pontiff, in his political system, appeared entirely opposed to the course of his predecessor; instead of recoiling before the convocation of a council, he affected to be more anxious for this measure than even the protestants themselves; and the better to deceive Europe, he assembled the sacred college in consistory, in the presence of the ambassadors of the different courts. He represented that, in the state of disorder in which Christendom was, the holding of an œcumenical council could no longer be deferred, and he fixed the 16th of October, in the year 1534, as the time of its opening; he even appointed a committee of cardinals to regulate the preparations for this important meeting, and to arrange in advance the different questions which were to be agitated. Finally, he addressed severe remonstrances to the prelates and officers of his court, to induce them to reform their morals, and abstain from the debaucheries which scandalised the faithful. They were not long in discovering that the holy father wished to trifle with the Lutherans; when the period which had been fixed for the opening of the council approached, he found pretexts to put it off to the following year; he pretended that it was necessary above all other things to reconcile the Christian princes who were at war, or at least obtain from them a suspension during the sitting of the synod. In fact, he sent nuncios to treat with the courts of France, Spain, and England, and to inform them that he had chosen the city of Mantua for the place of the conferences.

In the absence of his legates, Paul gave no more thought to reform, than if the church had been in its days of peace and prosperity. He was occupied in establishing his bastards, and pushed nepotism farther than Sixtus the Fourth, Alexander the Sixth, and Leo the Tenth had done. He gave a cardinal's hat to Guy Ascanius Sforza, of Santa Fiore, a youth of sixteen years, born from the amours of his holiness with his daughter Constance; he granted the same favour to Alexander Farnese, who had scarcely attained his fourteenth year, but who was the child of Peter Louis,

at once the bastard and the minion of the pope; and as several of his officers exclaimed that these new cardinals, from their youth, could not understand the duties of their dignity, the pope replied with a cynical allusion, "that his experience was great, and that he would take care to initiate them into all of which they were ignorant."

A few days afterwards Paul created seven other cardinals; this time his holiness chose persons of real merit. "It is not for them, but for myself, that I appoint them," he said to his daughter Constance, who was complaining on seeing old long beards preferred to her pages and favourites; "I wish to annihilate the reformed religion by force or negotiations, and for that purpose I need the assistance of skilful men." Paul had discovered the danger which threatened the throne of St. Peter, and had determined to employ all his efforts to avert it. It was a difficult undertaking; for since the peace of Nuremberg, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Switzerland had declared for reform, and driven away the legates of the Holy See. Still more, fifteen electoral princes, and the deputies who had been sent by thirty protestant cities to Smalkald, had informed the apostolic nuncios, that they would accept none but a free council, held in their province, composed of all classes of the faithful, and in which their theologians should have deliberative voices, without being submitted to the power of the pope; and, finally, they reserved to themselves the right to judge the Roman pontiff, and to depose him, if he were condemned.

The Lutherans had not only acquired great influence as a religious sect, but even as a political party, and since their resistance to Charles the Fifth, the sovereigns of Europe sought their alliance. Francis the First had made proposals of an alliance with them, through his ambassador William du Bellay de Langey, and told him to say to Melancthon, Pontanus, Sturmius, and other protestant theologians, that he was ready to become a convert to their doctrines, if they would join his. The ambassador affirmed that his majesty did not believe in purgatory; that he recognised no other character in the papacy than that of a human institution; that he had determined to abolish the monastic vows in his kingdom, to cause the priests to marry, and re-establish the communion under the two kinds. The king of England gave them the same assurances, to contribute with all his power to the propagation of the new doctrines, if they would declare openly against Charles the Fifth.

But, as it is the essence of royalty to be always knavish and hypocritical, at the very time at which the two sovereigns of France and England were humbling themselves before the Lutherans of Germany, Francis was publishing decrees of arrest against the reformed of France, and the barbarous Henry, himself a schismatic, was persecuting the Lutherans of his kingdom with such cruelty, that historians maintain that he surpassed the sanguinary Charles the Fifth. His religious

furies could not, however, place him beyond the reach of the anger of Paul the Third, who, to punish him for having withdrawn from his obedience, fulminated a terrible bull against him. He released all the English from their oaths of fidelity, enjoined on the ecclesiastics to leave the kingdom, and ordered the nobles to take up arms against the king. He declared Henry deprived of his throne, gave his kingdom to the first occupant, placed an interdict on England, and prohibited other nations from having any intercourse with the English, under the severest penalties. Finally, he annulled all the treaties which sovereign princes had concluded with Henry, either before or after his marriage with Anne Boleyn; he condemned all their children, born or to be born, as infamous and bastards, and permitted the faithful to fall on him and his.

This bull did not embarrass the king of England in the slightest degree; the people treated the menaces of the pope with contempt, and things went on as before.

In Germany, the brilliant offers and seductions of all kinds which had been used to gain Luther to the party of the Roman court, had met with no better success. The papacy had lost its prestige—its time was passed. In Italy, even in the holy city, Paul had to defend himself against the attacks of the commission appointed to examine the abuses which had been introduced into the church. The cardinals Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Contarini, and Thomas Badia, the master of the sacred palace, had dared to publish the result of their deliberations, and to cast on the unmeasured extension of the pontifical power, all the evils which afflicted Christendom. They also accused the popes of having erected their wills into laws, and of having substituted the caprices of their imaginations for the ancient traditions of the gospel.

Amongst the abuses which these prelates pointed out, and which they had divided into two categories; the one concerned the religious administration, to the number of twenty-four, the others the civil administration, to the number of four. They held up to the indignation of the faithful, the plurality of benefices, the sales of expectatives, dispensations, and indulgences, the contempt into which the ancient canons had fallen, the ignorance and depravity of the priests of Rome, the licentiousness of the fifty thousand courtizans who inhabited the holy city, the prodigious quantity of monasteries for females, which had been transformed into so many seraglios, for the use of the prelates who directed them, and the infamous habits of the cardinals, who publicly maintained handsome youths in their palaces, by the titles of minions or pages.

Instead of taking into consideration the remonstrances which were addressed to him, the pope brutally ordered the members of the commission to stop their sessions at once, and threatened them with all his wrath, if they dared to offer the least blame. But the blow was struck; the protestants, who had already received copies of the report of the cardinals,

and who waited for the decision of Paul, to judge of the sincerity of his first manifestations, were no sooner informed of this new tacking about in his ideas, than they broke out into violent reproaches against him. They proclaimed him the most cowardly and deceitful of men, and drove his legate Vergerius with ignomy from Smalkald. The latter, on his arrival at Rome, was recompensed for the insults he had undergone; he received the investiture of the bishopric of Capo d'Istria, his country, and immediately afterwards he started for Naples, to induce the emperor, who was in that city, to come to Rome, to confer with his holiness on the measures to be taken to bring back Germany beneath his sway.

Charles the Fifth yielded to the solicitations of the ambassador and went to Rome; the interview between the two sovereigns took place in the palace of the Lateran. Paul displayed, but uselessly, all the resources of his eloquence, to induce the prince to use his armies against the heretics. The Spanish monarch, who was on the point of recommencing hostilities with France, refused to place on his arm a religious war, of which it was impossible to foresee the end and the result. His Catholic majesty even profited by his sojourn at Rome, to give more eclat to his declaration of war against Francis the First. It was in the consistory, in the presence of the ambassador Velli and of the cardinal du Bellay, that he defied the king of France to single combat, adding, that he regarded him as a traitor, a perjurer, and a coward, and that from that day he would pursue him to the utmost. Francis declined accepting the duel which was proposed, and which Charles the Fifth did not care to have accepted. Their armies moved on each other, and thousands of men murdered each other for the quarrel of these implacable tyrants.

As soon as the pontiff saw that Italy was about to become the theatre of the war, he no longer hesitated to convene the general council, and issued a bull which fixed the opening of it for the 23d of May in the following year, (1537), and designated the city of Mantua as the place of meeting. His holiness sent a circular to all the prelates of Christendom to come to the assembly; he addressed particular letters to Charles the Fifth, to the king of France, as well as the other sovereign princes, asking them to assist in person at a council, and to contribute to the repose of the church. He even wrote to Henry the Eighth, through Cassalis, his former legate in England, to exhort the monarch to restore union to his kingdom. The pontiff counted the more on the success of this step, since Anne Boleyn, the cause of their dissensions, had been beheaded by Henry the Eighth.

His attempt failed here; the king received the overtures of Cassalis very badly, and published a law, which condemned to the penalty of death those, who should only dare to propose the re-establishment of the authority of the bishops of Rome. His majesty accom-

panied his decree by a long protest against the bull of the pope, maintaining that the right of convening the universal assemblies of the church belonged to the emperors, or in default of them, to the other Christian princes, and not to the pontiffs; that, moreover, the bishops of Rome having no authority in England, they could not lawfully convoke its bishops to a general council; he declared that he would permit none of his subjects to assist at a council which had been convened at a period when it was impossible for foreign prelates to make the journey, on account of the dangers of war; he therefore protested in advance against all the decrees and decisions of the assembly of Mantua, and persisted in his schism, in order to maintain in his kingdom the purity of the Christian religion.

This opposition of the king of England gave a rough shock to the pontifical authority; what was still more fatal, was the appearance of a work entitled "The Christian Institution," which attacked not only the primacy of the See of Rome, but even the authority of general councils and that of bishops and priests. The author rejected the necessity of baptism, and the communion for the safety of men; he declared the sacrifice of the mass an abominable impiety, and called the worship rendered to saints idolatry. This man, who since his appearance in the strife, had placed himself at the head of a new sect, was John Calvin, a bold innovator, whose calm character contrasted singularly with the fiery impetuosity of Luther.

Calvin was born at Noyen, in Picardy, of very poor parents, who could not give him any education; fortunately he found, in the family of Claude d'Haigest, abbot of St. Elvi, protectors, who furnished him with the means of study. At twenty years of age, he had obtained, thanks to the solicitation of his friends, several benefices, whose revenues he received, in accordance with the customs of the age, without being obliged to discharge the duties and even before he was in orders; this enabled him to continue his studies at the university of Paris.

In this city, the young Calvin heard for the first the preaching of the new doctrines, which were then beginning to spread through France; they struck his imagination forcibly, and determined him to abandon the study of theology for that of law. In 1532 he resigned his benefices and attended the course of Michael Cops, the rector of the university. In the following year the latter was brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, to explain a discourse which he had delivered at a public session in favour of the reformed doctrine. Calvin, who was suspected of connivance in this dereliction, on account of his intimacy with the rector, was also brought to the bar of the tribunal to be judged.

As at that period the good king Francis the First was pitilessly burning all reformers, the two friends were unwilling to await the judgment of the inquisitors, and left the kingdom secretly. Calvin then joined the refor-

mers, and published his famous work "Of The Christian Institution;" in which the doctrines of the French protestants were exposed. He attacked, especially, King Francis; exposed his hypocrisy, and unmasked the Machiavelian policy of that tyrant, who was making thousands of victims mount the funeral pyres, at the very time he was offering to the Germans to embrace their doctrines, as the price of their alliance.

Whilst the Reformation was making great strides under the burning inspiration of Luther and Calvin, and was threatening to crush the papacy, a society of fanatical devotees were sharpening their daggers in the dark, and were preparing to exterminate the protestants. This society, which was to envelope the whole world in its thousand cords, which was to clasp thousands in its iron arms, and which was to cause rivers of blood to flow in all parts of the world, before being itself spit upon, chased and driven from the earth, was the company of Jesus.

Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, the descendent of an old Spanish family, was born in 1491, in the castle of Loyola, in the province of Guipuscoa. His early youth was passed at the court of Ferdinand the Fifth, and, according to the custom of the nobility, he learned to drink and fight. As soon as he was old enough to wear armour, he entered the service, and distinguished himself at the siege of Pampeluna by his fierce character. In this campaign he had his right leg broken by the blow of a stone, which compelled him to quit the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, to have the succour administered which his wound required. A young inexperienced surgeon operated so unskillfully, that after his cure, it remained a prominent deformity to him. Ignatius, who was very desirous of preserving all his physical advantages, called in a new doctor, and asked him if there was any way of making the protuberance disappear; the latter replied, that it could only be done by breaking the limb a second time, and by sawing the bone which formed the projection. Ignatius immediately submitted to this painful operation, and after nine months of dreadful suffering, an entire cure was made; the prominence no longer existed, but it was found that one of his legs was shorter than the other. He recommended a new treatment to elongate his bad limb, and remained for more than seven months bound down in an oak box, with his foot bound to iron splinters, in order to draw out the sick leg. All his efforts were powerless, and Ignatius Loyola was satisfied he must remain lame for life.

Then, whether his vanity could not accustom itself to the idea of reappearing at court with such an unpleasant infirmity, whether his mind had been forcibly impressed with what he had read, during his sickness, concerning the punishments of the first martyrs of Christianity, it produced an entire change in the conduct of Ignatius; this man, who had endured horrible operations to preserve his good looks, no longer took any care of his

body, and one morning he left his castle, and retired into the monastery of Montserrat, where he practised all the austerity of the anchorites of the Thebais. His religious exaltation, and especially his fastings and macerations, soon produced restlessness and hallucinations. The poor insensate imagined that he saw visions; he maintained that the devil had appeared to him in person, and that at the moment when he wished to seize on him, Mary, the divine mother of Christ, arrived and put the evil spirit to flight. In gratitude for the service which the Virgin had rendered him, he resolved to consecrate himself entirely to her service, and to take her for his lady and mistress.

According to the custom used at the reception of knights, he watched his arms before the altar of Mary, and prayed until the next day; on the second day, he suspended his sword to a pillar of the chapel, and then passed all the night in prayers; on the third day, he put off his rich garments, clothed himself in rags, and took a vow to serve his lady during his life. Finally, the madness of Ignatius reached its height; he sold his property, and gave the proceeds to his convent, allowed his beard, nails, and hair to grow, soiled his face with hog's dung, and left the abbey of Montserrat to beg. His exterior, which necessarily inspired disgust and alarm, rather than compassion, caused him frequently to be refused alms, and subjected him to long abstinences. Hard as was this life, Ignatius found it too delicate and effeminate, and he retired to a den, in which he passed seven days and seven nights without taking any nourishment. He was drawn from it by some mendicant monks, whom chance had led that way, and who hearing the groanings of a man who appeared about to die, had drawn him from the cavern in which he had shut himself up, and after having given him some drops of wine, had borne him to the hospital of Manzessa.

Ignatius remained eight days without recognising any one, plunged in a profound lethargy; when he returned to life, he affirmed that angels had carried him to heaven, that he had distinctly seen the Trinity, the Virgin, and especially Jesus Christ; that the Saviour had ordered him to found a mysterious society, which should labour in the propagation of his faith. When he was entirely cured, he went to Barcelona to study grammar and to prepare himself to execute his work.

As he sought to make proselytes, the inquisitors conceived suspicions as to the orthodoxy of his principles, and took him prisoner, but they soon discovered his madness, and set him at liberty. Ignatius left Barcelona, and visited in succession Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris. Having arrived in the latter city, he determined to enter the college of St. Barbe to study Latin. The singularity of his life, the exaltation and oddness of his ideas, finally attracted attention to his person; he gained the confidence of some devotees. Peter Favre, his tutor, Francis Xavier, professor of

philosophy in the college of Beauvais, became his disciples, as well as four Spaniards, who were Lanez, the presumed author of the rules of the order of the Jesuits, Alphonso Salmeron, an obscene writer, whose works were afterwards interdicted, Alphonso Bobadilla, and Simon Rodriguez.

This new society held its meeting on the day of the Assumption, 1534, in the subterranean chapel of the abbey of Montmartre. Favre, who was a priest, celebrated mass, and his companions communed; they then pledged themselves by a solemn vow, pronounced upon the host, to offer their services to the pope, and to second him in every work he should undertake for the good of religion; after this, they separated to traverse the world and recruit new disciples. They indicated Venice as the place of a second meeting, and towards the close of the year 1536, they found themselves in that city with three new proselytes. From Venice they went to Rome, where they issued an exposition of the principles of their society. Paul the Third, who knew how important it was for the Holy See to have a fanatical soldiery ready to combat those who should be pointed to them, whatever their rank or power, received Ignatius and his companions with distinction, induced them to draw up statutes, to organise themselves into a society, and authorised them to propagate their doctrines every where.

Whilst the disciples of Loyola were elaborating the foundations of that institution, which was one day to make popes and kings tremble, political events were following their course. The duke of Mantua, at the instigation of Francis the First, refused to allow the council to be held in his capital, under the pretext that his holiness had trespassed on his rights by designating his city without his permission; he said also that his finances would not permit him to keep on foot an army large enough to guarantee the quiet of the assembly. This late opposition appeared the stranger to the pope, since the duke of Mantua permitted the bishop of the city to enjoy an absolute authority over his clergy, and the families and concubines of the priests. He discovered that his enemies had gained the duke to their side, and he determined then to designate the city of Vicenza, a dependency of the republic of Venice, as the place where he would hold the council, whose meeting he put off to the 31st of May, 1538. In the interval, he published a bull, which conferred on his bastard, Peter Louis Farnese, the dignity of grand standard bearer of the Roman church, the lordship of Nepi, and the title of duke of Castro.

This last decree excited a general discontent in all the cities of Italy, and showed the least clear sighted, that his holiness aspired to place a royal crown on the brow of this wretch, whose infamous morals recalled Cæsar Borgia so well. Like the son of Alexander the Sixth, he had in his pay purveyors, who seized beautiful children in the streets of Rome, and like him, as soon as he had used

them in his horrible debaucheries, he had them cast into the Tiber; only when the rank of the family of his victim compelled him to observe some restraint, he contented himself with violating them, and then sent them back.

A few days after the publication of the bull in favour of his son, the pope went to Nice, in Savoy, where the emperor and king of France came to meet him, in order to consult with him as to the mode of stifling the heresies of the protestants in Germany, and the reformed in France.

For fifteen days, Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, though lodged in adjoining palaces, refused to see each other, and the pope was obliged to serve constantly as an intermediate, and to go from one to another, to arrange the negotiations; finally, thanks to his cares, the two monarchs concluded a truce for ten years. Brantome after having given an account of the conferences which took place at Nice, and of the political questions which were debated, relates some very singular adventures, which show how far the licentiousness of morals in sovereign courts was carried at that period; he says, among others, that one day, Madame d'Uzes, jealous that several noble young women of the suite of Francis the First, had been received by the pontiff at a private audience, and that he had not even deigned to look at her, resolved to attract his attention, and obtain his favours. "One night," adds the historian, "she procured admittance to the chamber of the pope by bribing a domestic, and when Paul the Third entered to go to bed, she cast herself at his feet in a charming diaphanous, her chemise permitting her beautiful shoulders and rounded neck to be seen. She humbly demanded pardon of him, that being one of the maids of honour to the queen, on the voyage of the pope to Marseilles, she had covered the pillow of his holiness with a fine napkin she had used in her private toilette, so that contact with this object might inspire him with love. This repentance pleased the pontiff so much, that he at once absolved the beautiful afflicted, and even granted her unlimited indulgences."

The conferences of Nice having terminated, Paul returned at once to Rome, to push on the preparations for the festivals which were to take place on the marriage of Octavius Farnese, the son of his bastard Peter Louis, with the natural daughter of Charles the Fifth, the beautiful Marguerite of Austria, the widow of Alexander de Medicis. His holiness had obtained from the emperor, as the marriage gift to Octavius, the city of Novare and the title of marquis; on his side, he gave the young spouses the duchy of Camerino, which he had bought from Hercules Varano. The pontiff was then engaged in providing for the other members of his family; he married the third son of Peter Louis to Diana, a natural daughter of Henry the Second, king of France, and gave him as an appanage, the duchy of Castro; he made Ranucius, the fourth child of his bastard, a cardinal, though he was then scarcely fifteen years old; and, finally, as he



desired above all things, to assure for himself a powerful party in the sacred college, he also gave the hat to Renand Capo di Ferro, or the head of iron, and to Crispus, two of his natural children, who were light horsemen and passed for his minions. He, moreover, divided among these three cardinals the immense revenues of the vice chancellorship, the offices of camerlingo and grand penitentiary.

Whilst Rome was resounding with the noise of festivals and rejoicings, given in honour of the bastards of Paul the Third, the king of England was publishing a manifesto against the convocation of the council of Vicenza, and was burning the relics of Thomas à Becket, assassinated during the reign of Henry the Second, and who had been canonized by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. As soon as the news of this profanation against the dead reached Rome, the pontiff lanced a new bull of excommunication against Henry the Eighth. But his wrath was powerless to arrest the effects of the royal decree, and he was constrained to adjourn the council to an indeterminate period. Paul, though humbled, did not regard himself as conquered; Ignatius Loyola came to submit to him the plans of his new congregation, and he counted on using the satellites which this fanatic should recruit for him, to pull down kings. He first appointed a commission under the presidency of the master of the palace, to examine each article of the constitution of Ignatius; then when the cardinals, who made a part of this species of consultative chamber, had terminated their labour, he himself revised it, bestowed great eulogiums on its author, and adhered completely to the foundation of this society. It was difficult, in fact, for any thing to be more agreeable to a pope, than the institution of a soldiery which was to combat for the propagation of the faith, and was to employ all its force in the maintenance of Catholicism.— Paul hastened to convene the initiated at Rome, for the ceremony of their installation.

On that day Ignatius Loyola entered the holy city, accompanied by his disciples Francis Xavier, Simon Rodriguez, Claude le Jay, Pasquier Brouët, Nicholas Bobadilla, le Liebre, Laney, and several others whose names have not come down to us. His holiness caused them to be introduced into a mysterious hall of the Vatican, which had no furniture but a seat and a table, on which were a Bible, a crucifix, a tiara, and some daggers. Then took place a strange scene of which no one has known the details; it is only known that the assistants took frightful oaths, and swore on the crucifix to make the tiara triumph, and blindly to obey the popes in all their orders. On his side, Paul the Third pledged himself in his own name, and the name of his successors, to protect with all his power the new religious order, who took the name of the company of Jesus. In this sitting, it was agreed to appoint a perpetual superior, who should take the title of general, and who should reside at Rome, to be at hand to receive constantly the orders of the holy father. Ignatius was the

first who was invested with this important dignity. Thus, was constituted, that redoubtable society of Jesuits, who were one day to rule all mankind, and to cause kings and popes themselves to tremble on their thrones.

In accordance with the regulations of the charter which had been granted to the disciples of Ignatius, it was specified that no one should be admitted into the bosom of the society, without having first taken the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Besides these three vows, the neophytes were to take a solemn oath to the reigning sovereign pontiff, or to those who should succeed him in the capacity of vicar of Jesus Christ, and to pledge themselves to obey him in all things, and to go wherever they should be ordered, whether among Christians or infidels, and to execute, unhesitatingly, all that they were ordered to do.

The members of the society were divided into four classes; the first, and most elevated, was composed of those who had made a profession; it was necessary that they should be educated, and priests; the second class was composed of coadjutors, who had been admitted to second the society, in spiritual and temporal affairs; the scholars formed the third class; in the fourth were admitted those whom the society reserved to carry into the higher classes, for before being received to make profession, or even to pronounce the simple vows of a coadjutor or a scholar, the aspirant was subjected to a novitiate of two whole years; scholars did not reach a superior grade until a year after they had completed their studies, and the novice himself had to submit to a time of proof.

The neophyte was first admitted by way of hospitality, or alms, for twelve or fifteen days, that he might learn the obligations of a novice; if he persisted in his resolution he belonged to the society. The only requisitions for a novice were, that he had not been separated from the Roman church, that he had not renounced the Catholic faith by adhering to any schismatic communion, and that he had not been condemned as a heretic; they also exacted that the postulants should not have worn a religious garb in another order, that they should not have been engaged in the bonds of marriage, nor in those of lawful servitude, nor should not be afflicted with any serious infirmity; moreover, when the aspirant was not in any of these cases of reprobation, he was obliged to reply to a series of questions concerning his birth and connections, as to his private affairs and his inclinations, as to his capacity and his religious conduct, public and private. He was to declare that, in matters of faith, he would conform to the decision of the society; he was to take an oath that he had determined to quit the world to follow Jesus Christ.

When the aspirant had replied to all these questions in an affirmative and satisfactory manner, the examination was continued, and he was taught his obligations towards the society; he was informed that the brethren only

admitted among them men entirely freed from the affections of flesh and blood; that it was then necessary to make a personal denial of all his sentiments; that to commence the sacrifice, he must live subjected to several superiors in one of the colleges of the order; that he must rid himself of the property he possessed, and renounce such as might fall to him; that this distribution should be made to the society rather than his family, to show that he was freed from all earthly affection; to close his heart against his relatives, to isolate him completely, and render it necessary for him to persevere in Jesuitism. He was further informed that he could not carry on any communication, or correspondence, without the express permission of his superiors, who would read to him the letters which should be addressed to him, and who should be permitted to burn them, or give them to him, as they should judge proper, by virtue of these words of Christ: "He who hates not his father, his mother, or even his own soul, cannot be my disciple." They asked him if he consented to die to the world, and live for the pope; if he consented to humble his pride, so that his errors and his faults should be pointed out to his superiors by other brethren; and that he also should unveil the faults, the errors, and the actions of others, as should be required of him. Finally, he was to submit, in advance, to all the corrections which might be inflicted on him, as well as to the usual proofs.

These proofs were six principal ones; the first consisted in passing some months in spiritual exercises, in examining his conscience, and in exercising himself in mental or vocal prayer, in meditation on the mysteries of religion, in detesting his sins, and in making a general confession; the second was in serving for a month in a hospital, in nursing the sick, and tending on those whose sores were the most infectious, and the most hideous; the third consisted in travelling for a month without money, and in begging from door to door, to accustom themselves to refusals and privations; the fourth was in filling the vilest offices in one of the houses of the society; the fifth, in catechising children and uneducated persons, in public and private; the sixth obliged the neophyte to be ready to preach and to confess, according to the exigency of time, place, and persons. The most severe sickness did not free the novice from the duties he was to discharge.

All these proofs gone through, they asked the postulant if he was a graduate in the arts, in theology, or in the canon law; if he possessed memory enough to learn well, and to retain what he learned; if his mind conceived with rapidity; if his taste led him to study, and if his health did not suffer from constant application. Finally, if he thought himself strong enough to support the labours required by the society, in study, preaching, or teaching. When the Jesuit aspirant was clothed with the sacerdotal character, he was to lay aside during his novitiate, and he was to detest himself from the celebrating mass in

public, until he had learned from the superiors of his order how he was to celebrate it, in accordance with the ritual of the society.

Whatever were the rank and knowledge of the postulant, the lowest duties were given to him to discharge, until he was promoted to the grade of temporal coadjutor. The coadjutors were of two kinds; those in orders were called spiritual coadjutors, and the laity temporal coadjutors; all, whether learned or not, could only exercise manual employments in the society. The coadjutors and scholars, after two years of novitiate, were finally admitted into the society, and could no more separate themselves from it; if, however, they deceived one of their superiors, they reserved to themselves the right of sending them away, and from that time they were entirely discharged of their obligations to the company, and freed from their vows. Such were the fundamental points which constituted the code of the Jesuits. Important modifications were afterwards introduced into the rules of the society, and the Jesuits professed doctrines so subversive, that popes and kings were constrained to place a rein on their ambition and immorality.

Whilst his holiness was organising the sacred soldiery, who were to carry the banner of pontifical despotism into all the countries of the world, the inhabitants of Perouse had revolted, and driven away the Roman collectors, as well as the legate. Peter Louis Farnese, in his capacity of gonfalonier of the church, immediately marched against the rebel city, at the head of an army of banditti, who ruined the provinces, burned the farm houses, murdered the cultivators, rooted up the fruit trees, and maimed the beasts. After a siege of two months, the inhabitants, destitute of provisions and munitions, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion to the bastard of the pope. This monster, instead of showing clemency to the conquered, arrested all the notables, whom he ordered to be beheaded, hung, or burned; he caused the women and girls to be violated by the soldiers, and reserved the young boys for his own debaucheries. Then, to prevent a return of another such revolution, he built a fortress, as if walls or towers could guarantee tyrants from the hatred of the people, and as if a determined man did know how to defeat those who reduced his country to servitude. The plans of the castle were executed by Michael Angelo, the last of the pleiades of great artists who had survived the Medici.

Brantome, Raphael, San Gallo, had already been mowed down by death, and Michael Angelo alone remained to replace, and to render the reign of Paul the Third illustrious. His admirable genius sufficed for so difficult a task; and by tripling himself, if we may so speak, he created three master pieces in painting, sculpture, and architecture. He made his sublime picture of the last judgment, the statue of Moses on the tomb of Julius the Second, and the designs of the church of St. Peter, of which he modified the old plans

and reduced it to the form of a Grecian cross. To these titles to the admiration of posterity, Michael Angelo joined the purest disinterestedness, and refused a salary of six hundred Roman crowns, which the pope had assigned to his functions, as architect of the cathedral. He laboured for seventeen years without emolument, in the construction of the cupola of St. Peter's, and had the glory of finishing the most magnificent monument which past ages have bequeathed to us.

As for Paul the Third, for whom Catholic writers claim a part of the admiration of men for these glorious works, he was simply occupied in promulgating bulls which authorised the institution of the Jesuits, notwithstanding the active opposition of some cardinals, who regarded a religious order organised in accordance with such principles, as the most antichristian of all the orders of monks. The holy father was not disturbed by the murmurs of these prelates; he considered that these fanatics could render immense services to the Holy See, and he protected them with all the force of his authority.

The papacy had indeed great need of aid and assistance. England had entirely broken the yoke of Rome; scarcely any vestige of Catholicism existed in Germany; Luther and Melancthon daily added to the number of the protestants; Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the neighbouring countries, were converted to the doctrines of Zwingle and his disciple *Œcolampadius*; Calvin, though retired to Geneva, was inundating France with his writings, and reforming all the southern provinces, and his doctrines were propagated with surprising rapidity, even beyond the Alps, in the heart of Italy itself.

Paul the Third immediately lanced forth his cohorts of Jesuits; he sent them into every region, into both the hemispheres; some he commissioned to introduce themselves into courts, to become confessors of kings, to obtain for him state secrets; he commanded others to preach to the people, to become instructors of youth, so as to corrupt their morals, and to make of them new satellites devoted to the theocracy. The Jesuits sought to increase their ranks every where, and they multiplied in a prodigious manner; but although they had already obtained sufficient influence over Charles the Fifth to induce him to convoke a diet at Ratisbon, and to take energetic steps against the Lutherans, they could not arrest the progress of the Reformation in Germany.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Gaspard Contarini, the legate of the pope, and of the Jesuits who accompanied him, the assembly at Ratisbon refused to come to any determination against the Lutherans. Furious at this disappointment, and not knowing on whom to avenge themselves, the Jesuits accused Contarini with having betrayed the cause of Catholicism, by recoiling before energetic measures, and they wrote secretly to Paul to denounce the legate. When the cardinal returned to Rome, he was submitted to a severe examina-

tion, and gave such explanations, that his holiness was obliged to agree that the Jesuits were infamous calumniators, and that the vigorous measures which they proposed against Germany, were of a character to compromise the existence of the papacy, instead of saving it. He did not, however, address any reproach to them; on the contrary, he wrote to such of the society as remained near Charles the Fifth, to supervise his conduct, that he loved them even more for what they had written concerning Gaspard Contarini; that their accusations against that prelate were so many new proofs of their zeal in the service of religion; that he besought them to use their influence over the emperor, to render him docile to the Holy See, and to inspire him with the idea of soliciting from the pope the favour of an interview at Lucca; to consult upon the means of extirminating the heretics, and to decide upon the fitness of a new crusade against the Turks.

Thanks to the interference of the confessor of Charles the Fifth, events took place as the pope desired; the conferences were held at Lucca, in the apartment of his holiness, and the emperor adopted the resolutions which it pleased Paul to propose to him. The two sovereigns then separated; the pope returned at once to Rome, and two days after his arrival, caused a jubilee to be proclaimed through all the cities in the ecclesiastical states, with the distribution and sale of ordinary and extraordinary indulgences, to call down the protection of Heaven on the person of the emperor, and to obtain success for his arms in the strife in which he was about to engage against the enemies of the Christian faith. He issued, at the same time, a bull for the convocation of a general council, and designated the city of Trent as the place of meeting. His holiness, in his decree, ordered patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, all those who from their rank or dignities had a deliberative voice in oecumenical assemblies, to be there on the first of November, 1542, in order that they might treat successfully for the union and harmony of princes, people, and the church, as well as for the means of opposing the enterprises of heretics and the infidel.

The sovereign knew well, that the period for the convocation of the council, agreed with that which was fixed for the rupture of the peace between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth. The Jesuits, attached to the courts of these princes, had also informed him that the king of France had concluded an alliance with Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden, and that the dauphin would march on Perpignan, whilst the French armies would invade at once Piedmont and Flanders. On the other side, his holiness knew that the emperor was to send troops to the threatened points; he hoped that the German prelates would not dare to leave their dioceses, either from fear of falling into the hands of their enemies, or from the necessity of not leaving their churches in such disastrous circumstances, and that thus he would acquire a majority.

Paul was unwilling to prorogue the opening of the session, though urged to do so. At the appointed period he sent to Trent as his legates, Peter Paul Paris, John Moron, and Reginald Pole, commissioned to sound skilfully the opinions of the ambassadors and prelates who should present themselves at the council, without, however, passing any opinion themselves. They were enjoined to report at once to Rome, and to do nothing without new instructions. But it happened that the Germans, on whom his holiness had not counted, were present in great numbers, and were very urgent in demanding the opening of the council. The pontiff, informed by his legates that there were fears that his adversaries were the strongest, they came to a final determination, and put off the opening of the synod to a remote period. No one was duped by the tactics of the holy father; and this measure, which showed that the court of Rome feared a defeat, was the reason why a great number of the faithful renounced Catholicism to embrace the reformed religion.

Among the papists who deserted the ranks of the Roman church, historians name Bernardin Ochini or Okini, general of the Capuchins, a man of exemplary life, who, tired of preaching uselessly against the disorders of convents, and of beseeching the pope to come to some determination on this grave subject, abjured Catholicism and retired to Geneva, where he married a young girl of Luda. They also cite Herman, metropolitan of Cologne, of the illustrious family of the counts of Werden, who, despairing of the safety of the church, brought the protestant preacher, Martin Bucer, near him, and established him in the city of Bonn a dependency of his diocese. In the following year he brought about him Melancthon, Pretorius, and some other celebrated Lutheran doctors to aid him in the propagation of the new doctrines; but as a great number of Jesuits were already scattered through the province, his plan of reform met with great opposition on the part of the clergy and chapter of Cologne, who appealed to the pope and the emperor from the ordinances of the archbishop.

Paul addressed a letter of congratulation to the ecclesiastics of Cologne, and exhorted them to persevere in the good way, and to prevent him who called himself the archbishop of their city, from infecting the inhabitants with errors: "Do not recognise him," he added, "as your pastor, but as your enemy; and rise up against him, as David did against Goliath."

Charles the Fifth also congratulated the chapter of Cologne on its resistance to the errors of the prelate; he did not, however, attach much importance to this affair, being himself occupied with carrying on hostilities against France, for the possession of the duchy of Milan.

As neither Francis the First, nor Charles the Fifth, were willing to abandon their pretensions on this rich province, the pope hoped to be able to profit by their disagreement, and seize, for his nephew, on the dutchy in dispute.

He first opened his views to Francis the First, who did not seem indisposed to yield his claim on the payment of a good price; he then asked for an interview with Charles the Fifth at Busseto, to treat with him for it. These two sovereigns had several conferences, but the emperor rejected some entreaties that the holy father made to him, to surrender this state to his son-in-law, and his natural daughter. He was also unwilling to hear of either a peace or a truce with Francis the First, whom he called a miserable coward, destitute of courage, faith, and loyalty; and when his holiness desired to represent to him how much good might result to religion from their agreement, he replied, they must expect nothing good from a prince, who was pitilessly exterminating the reformed in his own dominions, while he was treating with the Lutheran princes, and even the Turks, to the great scandal of Christendom.

Paul the Third remarked, mal-adroitly, that the king of France reproached him with the same things, and accused him of deceit and cruelty. Charles broke out at once on the holy father; he heaped invectives upon him, and ordered him from his presence. All negotiations were at once broken off; the emperor returned to his dominions, drove the Jesuits from his court, signed a treaty of alliance with Henry the Eighth, the irreconcilable enemy of the Holy See, and published, at the diet of Spire, an edict in favour of the protestants, prohibiting any person from being troubled in Germany, on account of their religion. He, moreover, made an ordinance, providing that the two parties, Catholics and protestants, should peacefully enjoy the property of which they were in possession, provided they would use it in founding schools for children, and asylums for the poor. It was further specified that the judges of the imperial chamber should be selected equally from Catholics and protestants. Paul the Third caused his legate to enter a protest against the diet of Spire, and wrote, with his own hand, a vehement letter to Charles the Fifth, in which he said, that his edict in favour of the protestants would insure the destruction of his soul, since it belonged to the Roman church, exclusively, to decide on questions of faith; that he had thus become guilty of usurpation against the Holy See, by making a decision in regard to church property, and by reinstating rebellious prelates in their honours and dignities. He finally threatened him with employing severe measures against him, and with excommunicating him, if he persisted in his desire to govern the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany.

This missive produced no satisfactory result; the emperor merely replied to the deputies who brought it to him, that when he was at leisure, he would inform his holiness of his intentions. It became, however, necessary to arrive at some determination with regard to the heretics; the pope wished to press the opening of the council of Trent, which had been already prorogued; and, in order to make a powerful party for himself among the pre-

ates who were to compose it, he entered into an active correspondence with the Jesuits, who were to act in secret on the consciences, and to gain partisans for the pope. Notwithstanding all their efforts, only four Catholic bishops, in addition to the three Roman legates, appeared at Trent during the first month.

This great coldness among the clergy shows, stronger than words can, that they had no longer real faith, nor sincere devotion; questions of religion and morality had ceased to be the principal ones for the priests; they had only become, for ambitious, greedy, and corrupt men, a mere means of levying on superstition and human ignorance; but procureurs to augment their power, their honours, or their revenues, whether as the servile agents of the court of Rome, or as devoted ministers of Catholic kings. Intrigue had reached every rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; prelates, as well as mere priests, changed their convictions and their doctrine, according to circumstances, or the interest of the moment. Fanaticism was dead in their weak and venal souls, which no longer used religion but for measures of diplomacy or ambition. Chiefs of dioceses thought only of establishing their revenues on solid foundations, and of settling their bastards well, as the popes set them the example.

The constant efforts of Paul the Third to elevate his bastards are an irrefragable proof of this. Having failed in his efforts to elevate Peter Louis Farnese to the duchy of Milan, he fell back on the states of Parma and Placenza, out of which he wished to create a duchy for his son. He first sought to procure the consent of the sacred college, which was necessary for the alienation of provinces belonging to the church; he proposed to the cardinals, as a compensation, to increase the apostolic domains by the duchies of Camerino and Nepi, which he had before given to his son, and to levy in Parma and Placenza an annual tribute of nine thousand ducats for the treasury of St. Peter. Several thousand crowns of gold distributed among his creatures, induced them to think the compensation an equitable one, and his bastard was proclaimed duke.

Peter Louis established himself at once at Placenza, and erected a citadel which commanded the city, according to the custom of tyrants, who surrounded their residences with fortresses and walls, to keep their people in continual fear, to weigh them down without danger, and to place themselves beyond the reach of the vengeance of the citizens. He was then employed in disarming the nobility and burghers; he restrained their privileges, and forced them to reside in the capital, that he might the better superintend them. As the fortune and power of some among them were a subject of grievous apprehension to the new duke, he sought to ruin them by giving a retrospective effect to laws; he examined into their former conduct, had them judged and condemned by unjust magistrates to considerable fines, to the entire confiscation of their property, and sometimes even to death.

His holiness, satisfied with the course pursued by his son, no longer gave any attention to this matter, and confined all his cares to the council; four metropolitans, a cardinal, sixteen bishops, and five generals of orders had reinforced the seven prelates, who had already waited a month for the opening of the synod. As they were all devoted to the court of Rome, the pope judged the moment favourable for striking a great blow, and he issued a bull ordering the prelates assembled at Trent to open its session. Accordingly the legates, assisted by twenty-six bishops, some theologians and Jesuits, who were regarded as representing the universal church, opened the council. On the succeeding day, they sent an account of the first session to Rome, and requested instructions from his holiness as to the order which they were to observe in the reception of ambassadors, and the mode of taking the votes, whether by nations, as in the councils of Constance and Basle, or individually, as in the last councils of the Lateran; finally, what matters they were to deliberate upon, and in what order. When they arrived at the Vatican, the legates found the pontiff very much occupied with the reception of a prior named Paul, who came in the name of the king of Ethiopia, to propose to submit to the Roman church, by abjuring the schism of Dioscorus, and who at the same time asked for missionaries to teach the people of that country. The holy father charged the Jesuits with this mission, and dismissed the Ethiopian ambassador, after having loaded him with old bones, which he sold him as relics of saints and martyrs.

Paul the Third immediately assembled the sacred college, to deliberate on the requests of his legates; each gave his opinion, and the secretary of the consistory framed the following reply to the trusty friends of the Holy See: "We decide that the votes be received individually and not by nations, since it is easier to corrupt individuals when isolated, than when in a body; we desire the council to call itself simply œcumenical, without adding these words 'representing the universal church,' which may tend to raise the pride of the fathers, and especially to call in doubt the supremacy of the pontiff. We decide that all questions for examination shall first be treated of in private meetings, then in a general one, and, finally, be presented in the sessions, which alone should be made public, in order to avoid making the faithful witnesses of scandalous debates, of which the enemies of our authority," adds the holy father, "will not fail to avail themselves; we exact that this formula be used at the head of all your decrees: 'The holy œcumenical council, lawfully assembled by order of the pope, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the apostolic legates presiding in it, declares.'" His holiness further enjoined on his legates, not to deliberate on any question touching his authority, and not to make any decision, unless he himself had dictated it in its most circumstantial details. As a compensation, he left

to the fathers full latitude on questions of faith, which interested him very little; in fact, Paul the Third was accustomed to say, that if the reformed, anabaptists, Lutherans, or sacramentarians, would recognise him as sovereign pontiff, he would grant them full freedom to preach any superstitions that they wished to teach men.

In a second letter, addressed to the fathers of the council, the holy father exhorted them to preserve regular conduct during their labours, to follow religious exercises, at least ostensibly, and to separate from their mistresses, who had followed them to the city of Trent; allowing them sufficient latitude in other particulars.

The preparatory meetings took place for the examination of questions, and the Jesuits decided that they should treat of matters of faith and reform simultaneously, so that by confounding the fathers, they could determine on nothing; but the court of Rome, which trembled even at the very word, reformation, immediately sent fresh instructions to the Jesuits, to lay aside entirely the question of reform, and to keep within bounds when treating of the doctrines of the heretics. Paul instructed them to protract the council, in the hopes that time would produce something favourable to the Holy See. It happened the third session was scarcely closed, when they heard of the death of Martin Luther. This great man had terminated his illustrious life at Eisleben, his home, and left six children by his wife, Catharine of Bora, a young nun whom he had married in 1525.

His death gave rise to violent accusations against the Jesuits, and on their side, to strange stories. The protestants said, that the disciples of Loyola had poisoned the reformer; the Jesuits said, that he had hung himself, that the devil had strangled him; others said, that like Arius, his bowels had gushed out in an effort of nature in a secret place. There were even found priests who maintained, that his tomb having been opened on the day following his interment, there had issued from it an infectuous odor of sulphur and bitumen, and that an enormous piece of coal was found instead of his body. All the circumstances of his life, his doctrines and his birth, were the objects of ignoble calumnies on the part of the Catholics; they published libels against him, affirming that he sprang from carnal commerce between the devil and his mother; they blackened his memory, by accusing him of having sold to Satan his eternal share in Paradise for fifty years of a pleasant life on earth; of having denied the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and of having composed bacchanalian hymns.

Notwithstanding this deluge of calumniating pamphlets, Luther remained the apostle of the northern nations, and his belief, which had already penetrated to the shores of the Baltic, was propagated through all the north of Germany; it reached Livonia and Prussia, where the grand master of the Teutonic order

abjured Catholicism; the new doctrines finally invaded Holstein, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, and even France, though funeral pyres and scaffolds were erected from one end of the kingdom to the other, for the extermination of protestantism.

Although in a dogmatical and philosophical point of view, it is true that Lutheranism could not sustain a profound examination, we should still glorify Martin Luther for having snatched the people from the yoke of the court of Rome, and from having led humanity forth from the degradation and darkness, into which greedy, debauched, and ignorant priests had plunged it. It was Luther, who, by his spirit of investigation and analysis, taught men to discuss, judge, and condemn, the despotic acts of those, who to this time maintained that they had only to render an account to God for their good or bad actions; it was he alone, who, by the force of his genius, accomplished that religious revolution which wrested half of Europe from the tyranny of the popes. Thus, then, Luther merits to be glorified, even in the most distant ages, for the great things which he accomplished during his life, and for the principles of liberty and emancipation which he bequeathed to posterity.

His numerous works place him in the first rank among the writers of Germany; and Clay does not hesitate to say, that he was inspired by the Holy Spirit in the correction of the language. His translation of the Bible has become a classical work, which, if we may say so, has fixed the rules of the German language.

Notwithstanding his admirable genius and his inflexible logic, Luther had not, however, extracted all the consequences from the principle which he wished to establish, "That no dogma should be admitted as an article of faith, without having been submitted to the examination of human reason," a principle which overthrows the sacred tradition, and annihilates Christianity under every form, by submitting the words of God himself to the criticism of human intelligence.

As soon as the death of this formidable adversary of the papacy was known at Trent, the fathers of the council went into an immediate consideration of a question which they regarded as the corner stone of the church; it was, to fix the number of the canonical books. They published two decrees on this subject; the first pointed out as the orthodox books, the old and new Testament, and the second affirmed the authenticity of the text of the Vulgate, notwithstanding the gross errors and faults charged to it. After they had made these decisions, Paul the Third raised his head boldly, and armed himself with the thunders of the Vatican. He first excommunicated the archbishop of Cologne, and liberated the subjects of the prelate from their oath of fidelity and obedience; he then gave the see to count Adolphus of Schawemburg, whom the metropolitan had made his coadjutor; but the emperor having refused to permit this bull

to be executed, and continuing to give the title of archbishop to the elector, he was obliged to put off his vengeance against that prelate to another time. His holiness was the more disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to Charles the Fifth, since he had entered into negotiations with him, to obtain from him sufficient aid to annihilate the protestants. The arrangements entered into between these two tyrants for this impious war, provided, that the pope should pay to his imperial majesty two hundred thousand crowns of gold; that he should furnish twelve thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred calvary, at his own expense; that he should surrender to him, for a year, one half of the revenues of the churches of Spain; that he should authorise him to alienate to the amount of five hundred thousand crowns the property of the monasteries of his kingdom; that all the troops of the church should be commanded by Octavius Farnese, but that the latter should not act, but in accordance with the orders of the emperor, or of the duke of Alba, his lieutenant, and that the cardinal Alexander, the brother of Octavius, should remain in Spain as a hostage, under the title of legate, at the expense of the Holy See. These conditions having been acceded to by both parties, Paul the Third published a bull to inform all Christendom of the abominable compact, by which an emperor and a pope pledged themselves to carry fire and blood through whole provinces. Charles the Fifth was not behind the pontiff in his manifesto; he placed John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, beneath the ban of the empire; he called them disturbers of the peace of nations, rebels to the laws, ravishers of church property, infamous despoilers; he accused them of having covered themselves with the cloak of religion, and of having feigned sentiments of patriotism, for the purpose of seducing Germany, and of drawing off his subjects from the obedience which they owed their sovereign; immediately afterwards he sent troops against them. Fortunately the princes of the league of Smalkald, who were on their guard against treason, flew to the aid of the elector, and opposed the entrance of the confederated troops into his states.

Paul the Third wished to take advantage of this conflict, to transfer the council of Trent to a city which was dependent on him; but Charles the Fifth, who desired to reserve to himself the means of treating with the Germans if he were conquered, opposed this plan, and signified to the court of Rome, that it must give all freedom to religious discussions; that he had undertaken the war against the protestants, only to bring them back to their obedience to him, and not to impose his belief on them. The pope replied to the ambassador of Charles, that he did not understand his late recriminations, that their treaty specified, that his majesty pledged himself to second him in a war of extermination against the Lutherans, and that besides, the publication of a jubilee and the levy of tithes for his

advantage throughout all Spain, was a witness of his adhesion to the crusade which they were to execute in concert against the Germans; that he was consequently to determine what measures it was proper to take to accelerate the extinction of the schism, and that he persisted in his resolution to transfer the council to Lucca.

This obstinacy of the sovereign pontiff so exasperated the emperor, that he sent a courier immediately to Trent, bearing orders to his ambassadors to throw the cardinal of Santa-Croix into the Adige, if he obeyed the court of Rome, or dared to dissolve the synod. The threat had the desired effect; the sessions continued, and the fathers remained at Trent. Paul the Third then took another course, and under pretext that the emperor refused to divide with him considerable sums exacted from the cities they had reduced, he recalled his troops from Germany; nay more, he organised a conspiracy against the Doria of Genoa, who supported Charles, and they would have undoubtedly been driven from that city, if John Louis, of Fiesca, who was at the head of the plot, had not been drowned in the port, at the very moment when the struggle was to have commenced. Finally, as the pope dared not break up the council, he hastened its deliberations, and caused its decisions to be published daily, so that the protestants, apprehensive of the close of its labours, should not be tempted to come to it.

Charles understood perfectly the end of the holy father's policy, and as he could not prevent its results, being still detained in Germany, he determined to strike a blow which should go right to the heart of his enemy; it was to cause Peter Louis Farnese, the bastard of his holiness, to be stabbed.

Four young lords of Placenza, the count Pallavicini, Landi, Anguissola, and Confalonieri, entered into the plan of the prince; they formed a conspiracy, of which Ferdinand of Gonzagua, the governor of Milan, directed the operations, and on the appointed day, thirty-seven of the conspirators, with their arms concealed beneath their garments, introduced themselves into the citadel of Placenza, as if to pay their court to the duke; after having seized on the principal passages of the palace, John Anguissola entered the chamber of the duke and stabbed him, before the latter, who was eaten up with horrid sores, and unable to defend himself, could call for aid; the conspirators then fired two cannons to warn Gonzagua, who was at a little distance from the city with an armed force, that he might enter it. The Spaniards immediately disarmed the papal troops, and took possession of the province in the name of the emperor.

As soon as the news of this revolution had reached Rome, the pontiff fell into a kind of vertigo, which drew from him frightful imprecations; he blasphemed the name of God, cursed the mother of the Saviour, the apostles, and all the saints and saintesses of paradise; he muttered frightful threats, and wished to

league himself with infernal spirits to conjure the death of the emperor. He remained shut up in his laboratory for several nights, pronouncing exorcisms, studying the course of the stars, consulting his astrologers and magicians; and as his conjurations did not advance his vengeance, he sent a cartel of defiance to Charles the Fifth, challenging him to a closed field, and offering to fight him to the death.—His imperial majesty having refused this singular offer of the pope, the latter treated with the Sultan Soliman, to induce him to make a descent on the shores of Naples. At the same time, he spread a report, that the plague had broken out at Trent; this determined the fathers, who were about to open the eighth session, to transfer the council to Bologna.

Well framed as were his machinations, two unlooked for events, the deaths of Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, caused them to fail. The victory of Mühlburg, also gained by the imperialists over the princes of the league of Smalkald, rendered Charles the Fifth more powerful than ever. The elector of Saxony had fallen into his power, and his estates had been given to Maurice of Saxony, of the Albertine branch. The emperor, who was well informed of the intrigues of the court of Rome, naturally took his revenge, and excited in Germany a violent opposition to the Holy See. He even determined the electors to write to the pontiff, that they would proceed to serious extremities, if he did not at once re-install the council at Trent, and he caused their complaints to be supported by Mendoza, his ambassador.

Paul fell back on the respect which he said he had for the decisions of the fathers, and in his reply to the German princes, excused himself on the obligation under which he was, not to interfere in the deliberations of the council; he said, that the prelates had themselves determined to continue their sessions at Bologna, and that he could not consequently make them return to Trent, but that the Lutheran bishops could choose to come to Bologna, or send their agents to confer with the fathers. He contented himself with replying to their threats against the Holy See, that the throne of the vicar of Jesus Christ, was founded on an immoveable rock.

This obstinacy of the pope in retaining the synod at Bologna, and refusing to right the demands of the states and the emperor, resulted in exasperating the protestants, and in determining Charles to declare himself a kind of head of the church, and to publish a decree, which was called the Interim. This edict, instead of appeasing the troubles, rendered the religious quarrels more violent than before, the prince having prescribed to all his subjects of both communions, rules of conduct, which were to be observed until the church, as a body, had explained itself on the points of controversy between the reformers and the Catholics. The Interim displeased all parties; they compared it for temerity to the Ecthesis of Heraclius, and for impiety to the Typos of Constantius. The Lutherans com-

plained highly, that it imposed on them, doctrines which they had condemned as sacrilegious, and ceremonies which they had rejected as superstitious, such as the rites observed in the celebration of the mass, in baptism, in the sacraments of marriage and of extreme unction. The Catholics also blamed it and cried out persecution; but the pope, who saw that it would ruin the party of the emperor, by rendering him odious to both Lutherans and orthodox, made no opposition to it, and maintained a neutrality.

The magistrates at first succeeded in having the imperial decree approved by some trivial burghers, and the Lutheran ministers were compelled to abandon their flocks and condemn themselves to a voluntary exile. This critical moment did not last long; the people soon resumed the offensive, all Germany rose and demanded the abolition of the Interim. Charles wished to resist this general outbreak, and sought to have his decree approved of by the court of Rome, and the fathers who had separated from the prelates assembled at Bologna, and had remained in the city of Trent; but they made no concession, and the holy father also refused to sanction the edicts of the prince.

His holiness contented himself with sending Jesuits into Germany, authorised to free the faithful from the observance of the precepts contested by the Lutherans; to allow them the use of food on fast days, the communion under both kinds, every thing in fine, except the marriage of the priests and the lawful possession of property taken from the clergy. Notwithstanding these concessions, the papacy was so execrated in the German provinces, that no protestant would consent to range himself beneath the banner of the Jesuits. The holy father then determined to hasten the labours of the assembly of Bologna, but the emperor again thwarted his plans, and in despite of the efforts of the Jesuits Laynez, Salmeron, and Lejay, the deliberations could not be continued.

Paul wished to try a stroke of policy; he lunched a bull, which declared the council dissolved, and ordered the fathers at Bologna, as well as those who had remained at Trent, to go to Rome, to put an end to the schism, and to decide in council on the matters which divided Christendom. Charles the Fifth prohibited the prelates of Trent from obeying the sovereign pontiff, and things remained as before.

Soon after, the emperor opened negotiations with Paul the Third, and proposed to him to have his last bull executed in his kingdom, provided his holiness would give his approval to the Interim, and not convene the fathers of Trent at Rome, but as mere prelates. This offer was rejected, as Charles had expected, but the negotiations were protracted, and he had obtained his end, which was to gain time. His Catholic majesty knew that the death of the pope was near, from the frightful ulcers which were eating him up, and which had already forced his surgeons to perform a deli-



cate operation upon him. The dying man had not, however, lost any of the prodigious activity of his mind, and although he perceived that his life was gradually wearing away, he did not cease to employ himself with magic, with consulting astrologers, magicians, necromancers, and all the diviners of Italy, on his own destinies, and those of his family. Octavius Farnese, the second son of Peter Louis, was the especial object of his solicitude, and since the death of his bastard he had centered on him all his affections and his hopes. He at first proclaimed him duke of Parma, and entrusted him with the command of the pontifical troops, so as to place him in a condition to defend himself against Ferdinand Gonzagua, who, not content with the possession of Placenza, had invested the fortresses of San Domingo, of Val di Taro and of Castle Guelfo, and was, moreover, preparing to attack Parma.

The pope soon discovered the absolute incapacity of his grandson, and fearing lest he might permit the imperialists to seize on his dutchy, he hastened to re-attach it to the domains of the church, and to send Camillus Orsini, the generalissimo of his armies, to place himself at the head of the troops, and to replace Octavius Farnese, whom his holiness recalled to Rome. Still, whilst transmitting his orders to him, the sovereign pontiff pledged himself to place Octavius in possession of the dutchy of Camerino, as soon as he had concluded a treaty with either Spain or France. But the young Farnese, finding himself deprived at once of the dutchy of Parma, by his grandfather, and of the state of Placenza, by his father-in-law, resolved on vengeance; and two days after having left Parma, when he supposed Camillus Orsini was no longer on his guard, he retraced his steps and fell upon the advanced posts, which he wished to carry, so as to re-instate himself in the city. This effort having failed, he entered into negotiations with Ferdinand Gonzagua, and engaged to abandon his claims of Placenza, and

to recognise himself as a vassal of the emperor, if he would aid him in reconquering Parma from the Holy See. The news of this defection so operated upon his holiness as to produce several fainting fits in a day.

Paul perceived that his last hour had come, and yet, through a sentiment of pride or ambition, he still wished to triumph over Charles the Fifth, and signed a brief to re-instate in the dutchy of Parma, him who was the cause of his death, provided he would abandon the party of the emperor. This bull was not, however, executed; the bishop of Pola, to whom it had been entrusted, kept it until the death of the pontiff, which took place on the 16th of November, 1549.

Ciaconius affirms, that if Paul had lived some months longer, he would have excommunicated the emperor, and have declared in favour of France, in order to be revenged for the assassination of his bastard, Peter Louis Farnese. These dispositions of the pope were well known to Charles the Fifth, for when he received the despatches which announced to him the death of the pope, he exclaimed, "There is at length one Frenchman less at Rome," and handing the letters of his ambassador to Prince Philip, he added, "Learn this news, my son, and be assured, that should the Farnese open the body of the pope, they will find three lilies engraven on his heart."

Several ecclesiastical authors have eulogised this pontiff, and Henry of Sponda, in his Continuation of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, after having exalted the virtues of this head of the church, thus terminates his panegyric: "We must admit that the holy father had a strange affection for his family, which led him to commit many crimes; but he repented in his last hour, repeating the words of the psalmist, 'if mine own had not ruled over me, I should have been without reproach,' and God has pardoned him." A singular mode of explaining facts and interpreting history.

## JULIUS THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1549.]

*Intrigues for the election of a pope—Exaltation of Julius the Third—Commencement of his pontificate—His infamous amours with Bertuccio, the keeper of his monkeys—He makes his minion a cardinal—Edict of the emperor against the protestants—Negotiations with France—Bulls of the holy father in regard to the council of Trent—Progress of the Jesuits—Persecutions of the heretics in Italy—Affair of Parma and Placenza—Council of Trent—Treaties between France and the Holy See—Death of the nephew of the pope—The council is suspended—His holiness negotiates a peace between the emperor and the king of France—Revolution in England in favour of the Roman church—The Jesuits are pursued in France—Julius sends a nuncio into England—His death.*

THE funeral ceremonies of Paul the Third had been over for twenty days, when the cardinals entered into conclave. They first entrusted the care of Rome to Horace Farnese, who commanded four thousand infantry, and that of the Vatican, to the count de Pitigliano,

who had under his command five thousand Italian horse, and a troop of Swiss, ordinarily attached to the service of the pontifical palace. From the commencement, there were three factions in the sacred college; that of the imperialists, that of the French, and that of the Farnese family, of which Alexander was the head.

Each cardinal naturally used all his efforts for the success of his party, and after some ballotings, it was discovered that the Spanish and French parties were equal. Though Alexander Farnese had fewer voices than his competitors, his game was to make the balance incline for him, and he sought to gain them. A skilful man, the cardinal assembled his partizans, and discussed with them whether to ally himself with Charles the Fifth, or treat with the French. Opinions were then divided; some rejected every alliance with the emperor; they recalled his treasons, his deceit, and the recent assassination of Peter Louis Farnese, and concluded that it was preferable to declare for the French; they added, that by the assistance of a pope, who owed his tiara to them, they might obtain aid in men and money, which would place the Farnese family in a condition to recover the cities of Piacenza and Parma, of which Octavius was despoiled. Others objected that it was dangerous to treat openly with the French, and to draw upon themselves the wrath of the emperor, who might easily destroy the Farnese; that they should judge of the future by the past; that if Francis the First, united with Paul the Third, had been unable to resist the forces of the empire, it was not probable that his son would be more successful at a period in which all the princes of Italy were leagued against the French; that besides, by his last treaties, Charles the Fifth was allied with Octavius, and would not fail to sustain him, since he had no longer to dread the ambition of a pope of their family. These last reasons determined the cardinal, Alexander Farnese, to support Pole, a cardinal of the blood royal of England, a man of merit, who was presented by the imperial faction. Unfortunately, Caraffa ruined his election, by accusing him of Lutheranism; this accusation made such an impression on the members of the sacred college, that they all withdrew their votes from him. Salviati, was also rejected on account of the severity of his morals; at last, the Farnese faction presented its candidate, who was one of the minions of the dead pope, the cardinal del Monte. The incapacity and infamous habits of this prelate were sure guarantees that he would not undertake any reforms; a majority of voices was obtained for him, and he was immediately proclaimed sovereign pontiff and father of the faithful, by the name of Julius the Third.

The cardinal del Monte was born at Rome, in the quarter del Perione, of a poor family, originally from Mont Sanavino, in Tuscany, a dependency of the diocese of Arezzo. He was, according to the expression of Bayle, a

true soldier of ecclesiastical fortune, who had gradually raised himself to the presidency of the council of Trent. He had first been metropolitan of Siponto, auditor of the apostolic chamber, twice governor of Rome, and then cardinal. As he was gifted with a very handsome person, adds the historian, it is easy to imagine what had procured him so many benefices, and such high dignities.

His language and manners were in harmony with the dissoluteness of his morals. Even in the conclave, he practised iniquity of the most bestial description, and instead of concealing it, permitted himself to be detected by his colleagues. Bayle has preserved for us a correspondence between his holiness and a courtesan of Rome, whose favours Julius shared with the cardinal Crescentius, and whose children were reared at a common expense. These letters contain recitals so disgusting, that it is impossible to put them in decent language.

As soon as he was consecrated, Julius relinquished himself of his engagement with Alexander Farnese; he restored the city of Parma to Octavius, and gave twenty thousand crowns to Camillus Orsini, to indemnify him for the loss of the command of the province. He was also careful to shield himself from the anger of Charles the Fifth, who might be enraged at him for disposing of that city without his consent, by giving him satisfaction of another kind, and he pledged himself by a solemn oath, pronounced in a public consistory, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the courts of Europe, to continue the council of Trent.

His Catholic majesty, satisfied by this concession, sent Louis d'Avila to the court of Rome, to congratulate the new pontiff on his exaltation, and to ask for a bull for the reopening of the synod. Julius replied to the compliments, by great protestations of devotion and affection for the person of the emperor; but in regard to the convocation of the council of Trent, he made but evasive promises, and objected that he could not call it together without having first obtained the assent of the court of France, and of the principal states of Italy. "Besides," added he, laughing, "we have been but a few days on the throne of the apostle, and you will not complain of us for abandoning ourselves to festivals and pleasure, before surrendering ourselves entirely to business."

On quitting the reception, the ambassadors of his Catholic majesty wrote to the emperor, that the political system to follow with the court of Rome was that of intimidation, since it was presumable that such a pope would make all imaginable concessions, rather than be troubled in the midst of his rejoicings and debauchery. In fact, during his whole reign, Julius thought more of enjoying the pontificate, than of exercising it. "At the court of his holiness," says a grave historian, "the days and nights were passed in feasting and saturnalia. It frequently happened that the pope, after having become intoxicated in com-

pany with his cardinals and loose women, threw off his garments, compelled his guests, male and female, to do the same; then putting on an under vest, which descended scarcely below his breast, he placed himself at the head of this strange dance, and traversed the gardens of the Vatican, singing and dancing. When the holy father was tired, he re-entered the palace to continue the orgies." "Well," said he to his cardinals, "what do you think the people would do, if in the day time, with candles in our hands, we went in this accoutrement to the field of Flora, singing obscene songs instead of hymns?" "Stone us," replied a cardinal. "Then," replied the pope, "we owe it to our dress that we are not stoned, as we deserve to be." Nothing can give an exact idea of the impurities committed at the court of Julius the Third; the writer adds, "his holiness was almost always drunk, and passed his nights in orgies with courtizans and his cardinals."

It was at the close of one of these debauches, which had lasted from six o'clock in the evening until the next morning, that the pope took a fancy to elevate to the cardinalate a child of sixteen, called Innocent, who had filled about his person, when archbishop of Bologna, the double office of minion and keeper of the monkeys. Julius had such an affection for him, that not content with having him adopted by Baldwin del Monte, his brother, he had installed him in his episcopal palace, where he gave him absolute power, being even unwilling that his masters should constrain him to the slightest tasks, from fear of injuring his health. Some historians affirm, that this minion, whom they call Bertuccino, or the little monkey, was a natural child of the pope.

Since the exaltation of Julius the Third, the young Innocent continued to dwell at Bologna, and obstinately refused to come to Rome, unless a cardinal's hat were given to him, which, notwithstanding the strong desire of the pontiff to have his favourite with him, he had not yet dared to propose, from fear of exciting too violent an opposition in the sacred college, before his authority was well affirmed.

At last, one morning, in a debauch, whether his holiness thought himself in a situation to impose his will, or whether it had become impossible for him to remain longer separated from Bertuccino, or whether he had drank more than usual, he determined to make his Ganymede a cardinal, and convened the members of the sacred college in consistory. At the hour of meeting, Julius, with a head still weak, and with tottering steps, entered the assembly, and seated himself on the pontifical chair. He first commenced a strange speech, in which he lauded complacently the lascivious allurements, and extraordinary talents of his minion in debauchery, adding, that the astrologers had announced great wealth and high dignities for this child; and that it was, without doubt, to accomplish the oracle, that destiny had permitted himself to reach the throne of St. Peter; he finished by demand-

ing the hat of a cardinal, and a bishopric for his favourite.

A lively opposition was at once manifested by the members of the consistory. Caraffa represented in energetic terms, that such a proposal dishonoured the purple, and that it would be disgraceful to the cardinals to admit a miserable keeper of monkeys among them, whom his holiness recommended solely for his expertness in corruption and impurity. That the pope could, at his pleasure, load him with riches, give him palaces, domains, abbays, cities, provinces; but that they should abstain from profaning the dignity of a prince of the church, since, in the troubled condition in which Christendom was, the protestants would not fail to avail themselves of such a scandal, when attacking the papacy. Finally, he added, turning towards Julius the Third, "I appeal to the pontiff himself to be a judge in his own cause; is not his minion, from his vices and ignorance, unworthy of the cardinalate?"

At this apostrophe the holy father could not restrain his rage, and exclaimed, "By the womb of the Virgin, I swear my minion shall be cardinal. What have you to reproach him with, to refuse his admittance into your college? His vices! Are you not all devoured by shameful maladies, and plunged into all kinds of abominations? Let him among you, who has not prostituted himself carnally at least once in his life, cast the first stone at him! Ah! you keep silence—do you admit then that we are all of us a disgrace to humanity? Commence with me; what great virtues, what prodigious knowledge did you encounter in me, to make me pope? Am I not an execrable priest? Am I not a thousand times more infamous than my minion, the keeper of monkeys, whom I corrupted? Well then, should he be better than I, who am, thanks to you, sovereign father of the faithful; how dare you refuse to make a cardinal and a bishop of him?"

These reasons appeared so conclusive to the sacred college that all opposition ceased; the promotion of the Ganymede passed unanimously, and on the same day his holiness sent the hat to Bologna, with a draft for twelve thousand crowns on the apostolic treasury. Innocent set out at once for Rome, where his arrival gave rise to public rejoicings, which lasted for several days. From that moment the young cardinal never left the Vatican, now passing his days in the private apartments of his holiness, extended upon soft cushions, and contemplating the antics of a favourite monkey, whilst courtizans burned soft perfumes, and poured out enervating liquors about him; now filling the functions of head of the church, which had been surrendered to him with the title of first minister, and dispenser of grants, benefices, and prebends.

During the first months of his pontificate Julius the Third abstained entirely from business, and thought of nothing but his pleasures. The table was, according to John Crespin, one

of his most important occupations, and the choice of meats a most important affair. "His holiness preferred pork and peacock," says the historian, "on account of their aphrodisiac virtue; but, as he abused the use of them, the physicians forbid his steward from serving them at his table. It happened that one Friday, Julius, not finding his favourite dishes, sent for the bishop of Rimini, his major domo, and ordered him to bring him a roasted peacock at once, accompanying the order with terrible threats, and swearing by the womb of the Virgin, and the rod of Christ, his usual blasphemies, that he would have him hung if he did not obey him at once."

Cardinal Innocent, who was present at this scene, wished to appease him, and represented to him, that so small a matter was not worth so much anger, "Yes, my beautiful minion," said the pope, "since God got angry about an apple, may not I, who am his vicar, swear at my ease about a peacock, which is worth more."

Charles the Fifth soon saw from the turn of affairs, that he had nothing to fear from the policy of Rome, under the reign of a pope abandoned to drunkenness and debauchery. He, therefore, changed the course he had before followed to subdue Germany, and instead of favouring protestantism, as he had before done, he revoked the Interim and published a new edict, which inflicted rigorous penalties on such of his subjects as professed any other religion than the Roman Catholic; he then established tribunals, similar to those of the inquisition, in important cities, and which were commissioned to pursue the followers of Luther to extremities. He then solicited the pope, both by letters and through his ambassador Mendoza, to re-instate the council of Trent, or at least to give a categorical answer, which should dispel all uncertainty on that subject.

This request of the emperor having been made with every appearance of good faith, Julius the Third found himself constrained to reply favourably to it, and to permit the sessions to be re-commenced in the city of Trent. The court of Rome, moreover, was beginning to have less fear of the fathers of the council and even of the emperor, who had in fact, lost much of his influence; on one side the ecclesiastics of both communions were tired of the tyranny of Charles, and appeared to be on the eve of revolting; on the other, his son, brother, as well as his nephew, who all aspired to the empire, threatened to give him so much trouble, that it was not probable that he would have leisure for a long time to interfere in the affairs of his neighbours.

Besides these reasons, it was the custom of the pope to yield to the course of events, and to seek escape from a present embarrassment without troubling himself about the future.—He determined then to issue a bull for the convocation of the council in the city of Trent, granting full absolution to all converted heretics, excepting always, those of Spain and Portugal, his holiness being unwilling, out of

deference to Charles the Fifth, to trespass on the rights and privileges of the inquisitorial tribunals. Peter of Toledo, was deputed to carry the bull of the holy father to the court of Madrid, and the abbot Rosetto was sent to the king of France, for the same purpose.—This last legate was also instructed to thank Henry the Second for the assistance he had given him since his election, and to give him explanations as to the policy he had been compelled to adopt in defiance of his engagements with France.

The decree of his holiness was badly received in Germany; the Lutherans renewed their old pretensions of not submitting, but to a free assembly, over which the pope should not preside, either in person or by his legates, and on condition, that it should be submitted to the judgment of the fathers, as they themselves had offered to submit it. In France it met with no better success; the parliaments declared against the bull of convocation, and the king, at their instigation, recalled those of his cardinals and prelates, who were absent from the kingdom, to form a national council, which should be commissioned to choose a patriarch, to preside over the ecclesiastics of his dominions. As a provincial measure, he sent to Rome the celebrated James Amyot, abbot of Belloczans, with orders to protest loudly, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the courts of Europe, against every thing which should be decided on in the council of Trent. This vigorous determination had been taken by Henry the Second, notwithstanding the exertions of the Jesuits, who were commencing to enjoy great influence with the queen, Catherine de Medicis, and who already sought to open colleges of their order.

Julius the Third, like his predecessor, showed a great solicitude for the Jesuits, and confirmed their institution by the following bull:—"In consideration of the great advantages which Ignatius Loyola and his companions have procured for the Holy See, by their preaching, their great skill in business, and their devotion to the interests of our court, we confirm their institution, and declare that all those who would enter the Society of Jesus, should swear to combat beneath the standard of Christ, and obey unhesitatingly the orders of the sovereign pontiff, his vicar in this world. Though the gospel and the faith, teach that all the faithful owe an absolute obedience to the head of the church, still, to render the devotion of the members of this new society more perfect, we had determined that they should take an individual oath to the pope, and pledge themselves to have no will but his, to execute his orders, whatsoever they may be; and, finally, to be always ready to go to the ends of the world to crush his enemies."

The society testified its gratitude to the sovereign pontiff for the protection which he granted it, by endeavouring to procure the triumph of Catholicism in all the countries in which it was established, and by denouncing to the court of Rome, all whom it suspected

of heresy. His holiness thus produced information that a great number of theologians, curates, vicars, and mendicant monks, in the different provinces of Italy, were favourable to the reformed doctrines.

Julius immediately sent to the bishops of those countries, an order to interdict the administration of the sacraments, and the preaching of the word of God, to all who did not profess orthodox sentiments; conformable to those of the court of Rome. He also sent a writ to Francesco Donato, doge of Venice, and to the senate, commanding them to lend their assistance to the bishops and inquisitors charged to annihilate the partizans of the new ideas. In consequence of this order, the council of Ten, composed entirely of fanatics, resolved to superintend the inquisitors, and united with them lay judges, to examine the accusations and pronounce the condemnations. As the intervention of the secular authority, instead of forwarding the persecutions of the heretics, frequently interfered with the execution of the sentences pronounced against them, the Jesuits solicited a bull from the court of Rome, prohibiting laymen from cramping ecclesiastical liberty, troubling spiritual jurisdiction, and interfering with the processes against heretics. This ill-advised step irritated the Vedetians, and a rupture took place between the most serene republic and the Holy See.

Julius, always occupied with his pleasures, did not interfere in political affairs, but by heedless acts; thus, in regard to Octavius Farnese, who had for a long time solicited from the court of Spain the restitution of Placenza, without being able to obtain it, he was imprudent enough to refuse to undertake his cause against the ambitious Charles the Fifth. It was in vain that the dispossessed prince represented, through his ambassador Antonio Venturi, that not only had the emperor, in defiance of his agreement, retained Placenza, and had fortified it, to place it beyond the reach of an attack, but was even concentrating troops to seize on Parma; in vain was it pointed out to him, that it concerned the honour and dignity of the holy father not to permit the spoliation of one of his feudatories; Julius obstinately refused to take the part of Octavius Farnese; he replied to the envoy of the duke, that his treasury was empty, that his fetes absorbed all his revenues, that he was in complete penury, and consequently unable to go to war; that he would judge what was best for his interests; that his good wishes were with him in his enterprise, but he could do nothing more, though, if circumstances became more favourable, he would not forget the grandson of Paul the Third.

As this reply was far from satisfying the exigencies of his position, and it was becoming urgent upon the duke to defend himself, the cardinal Farnese demanded a private audience of the pope, and besought his holiness to permit Octavius to place himself under the protection of princes sufficiently powerful to resist his father-in-law, to which he acceded.

Fortified by the assent of the holy father, Octavius signed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Henry the Second, which excited the anger of the emperor. His Catholic majesty caused his holiness to be informed, that he must pronounce this treaty null, if he did not wish to break with him. Julius, always cowardly and pusillanimous, hastened to publish a decree prohibiting the duke of Parma from introducing foreign troops into a fief which pertained to the church, under penalty of being declared a rebel, and of seeing his property confiscated. The prince replied to the holy father, that it was not in his power to obey, since he had placed himself under the protection of France, by the authority of the Holy See, and that a foreign garrison was already in the place.

The pope then broke out into violent reproaches against the Farnese; he accused them of wishing his ruin, of wishing to create embarrassments for him; and to punish them, he decreed the confiscation of their fiefs, and drove from Rome the cardinals, brothers, or cousins to Octavius. He sent, at the same time, an order to his legate in France, to leave the court of Henry the Second, if he refused to recall the French garrison which was in Parma, and would not surrender, bound hand and foot, the duke, who was a vassal of the Holy See, to answer before the sacred college for his rebellion and his felony. These demands having been rejected, hostilities commenced between France and Rome. The emperor, who was unwilling to break openly with Henry the Second, at a moment when the lightest conflict might lose him Germany, appeared to remain a stranger to this war; the marquis of Marignan, one of his generals, under pretence, however, of taking the part of the Holy See against the Farnese, seized, in the name of Charles the Fifth, on Montecchio and Castel Nuovo.

The pope, alarmed at seeing the emperor thus seize on the places in Romagna occupied by the Farnese, and fearing lest he might take a fancy to keep them, proposed to Hieronymus Orsini, the mother of the Farnese, to the cardinals Alexander and Ranucus, who had retired to Urbino, as well as to Horace, who commanded the troops of Octavius, and to Carpi, who still held the legation of Viterba, to give up to him all the strong places which they had in Campania, so as to place them beyond the reach of the attacks of the imperialists, pledging himself to restore them to their original proprietors, as soon as the war was over. These measures, assented to on both sides, arrested the march of the marquis de Marignan, who having no longer any pretext to carry on the war in the states of the church, and not daring openly to attack the pope, fell back on Parma, whose siege he protracted, waiting for something favourable to turn up.

His holiness at last discovered that this war against France, was in reality only profitable to the emperor, and that it would ruin the finances of the court of Rome, if it were pro-

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CHARLES IX SENDS THE HEAD OF COLIGNY TO GREGORY XIII.

longed much longer; he accordingly assembled the cardinals in consistory, and informed them of his intentions in regard to the cessation of hostilities. The latter wrote at once to Alexander Farnese, and to the cardinal de Tournon, the French ambassador, who both hastened to Rome to confer with Julius the Third. They represented to the pope that nothing could be more agreeable to them, than to enter into an arrangement with him, and that it was equally for the interests of the Holy See, since his holiness would thus reattach to his party the people of Parma and Bologna, who had separated from him on account of his alliance with the imperialists. "Consider," added they, "the disasters which Clement the Seventh brought on Rome, and see if their cause did not lie in his crooked policy, and his alliances with the emperor. Consider, that that same pertinacity in sustaining Charles the Fifth, against Henry the Eighth, drew on the Holy See the irreparable loss of England. What then would be your despair, if a like motive should withdraw France from your jurisdiction? King Henry the Second has already prohibited his subjects from carrying money to Rome; he has already published an ordinance for the convocation of a national council, which shall appoint a French patriarch; already do the doctrines of Calvin, notwithstanding the address of the Jesuits, threaten to invade the kingdom, and replace Catholicism. Therefore, most holy father, hasten, for moments are precious. . . ."

Julius, as usual, sought to allay the storm, which appeared to him most imminent. He replied to the cardinal of Tournon, that he was ready to accept a peace with France, and he instructed him to negotiate it on such conditions as he judged best, maintaining always the honour of the Holy See. He, moreover, confided the legation of France to the cardinal Verallo, whom he knew to be acceptable to Henry the Second, so as to obtain authority from that prince to persecute the protestants, and permission to form some colleges of Jesuits in Paris.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola did not produce a great sensation in the capital of France, and notwithstanding the efforts of William Duprat, bishop of Clermont, their protector, and notwithstanding their hypocrisy, and their feigned humility, they had not yet been able to overcome the repugnance of the Parisian people, and they vegetated in obscurity, living by extortions, alms, and pious legacies, and having but a dilapidated mansion for their asylum.

Though exercising no apparent influence over the mind, the Jesuits were indeed valuable auxiliaries to the Holy See, from their system of espionage, and the preponderance they had acquired over weak men, who confided to them, under the name of confessors, the direction of their consciences, and that of their wives and children. This hidden power, which they exercised, caused them to be felt, not only in Paris, but in every other country where they were. His holiness, thus counting

on their accustomed skill in procuring triumphs for the court of Rome, re-opened the sessions of the council of Trent, under the presidency of Marcel Cresentio, the cardinal legate, assisted by two adjuncts, Sebastian Pighini, the metropolitan of Siponta, and Louis Lipoman, bishop of Verona, without troubling himself about the appeal made to the Lutheran prelates of Germany by Charles the Fifth, who, having at heart a desire for vengeance on the pope, had exacted, that the protestants should be represented in the assembly.

The Jesuits opposed this demand of the emperor, and when it had been transmitted officially to the legates of the Holy See, they protested with energy against it, and raised a crowd of difficulties which rendered impossible, they said, the admission of Lutheran ministers into the council, especially those of Maurice of Saxony; they would only consent to receive pure Lutherans. This concession alarmed the pope, who dreaded the consequences of a debate between the protestants and his theologians, and he informed his legates that they must not authorise any public conference, nor any debate on religious matters, with the followers of Luther.

Violent disputes then broke out between the Catholics and protestants, and the latter, who were protected by the Spanish ambassadors, whose aim was to excite embarrassment at the court of Rome, to compel it to separate from France, ended by carrying it over the pope, and obtained that the Lutherans should be permitted to present the articles of their belief to the secretary of the council in a public meeting. The expressions which they used in their work, when speaking of the papists, and of the worship of the Roman church, were so irreverent, that they caused the greatest scandal among the Catholic fathers.

Whilst the theologians of the different communions were offering to the world the sight of their ridiculous quarrels, the emperor was still carrying on war with his son-in-law; and as Julius the Third feared it would end by the dutchy of Parma being taken from the Holy See, he determined to close the negotiations with France. He agreed with the ambassador of Henry the Second, that Duke Octavius should surrender his estates to the Holy See, receiving in exchange the principality of Camerino, and other domains; he pledged himself, moreover, to place a garrison in Parma, which should be composed one half of French and Italians, and he entered into a solemn engagement to keep this city against the emperor, and not to favour him in any difficulties he might have with France. But Duke Octavius having shown to Henry the Second, that this arrangement ruined his family, the king ordered the cardinal of Tournon to go to Rome to modify the terms of the treaty, and to demand that Octavius should be maintained in Parma, and the dutchy be placed under the protection of France. The cardinal could scarcely make Julius comprehend, that this last arrangement was the only one which



was advantageous to the Holy See, since it gave him always in Italy a powerful enemy to oppose to the ambition of the emperor.

They consequently agreed upon the following articles: 1. That the pope should preserve, for two years, a neutrality between France and the empire, and should not assist either party with men or money, nor in any other way. 2. The city of Castro should be restored to Horace Farnese, provided the cardinals Alexander and Ranucus, his brothers, should become surety for his conduct towards the Holy See. 3. That the pontiff should recall his nephew, John Baptist del Monte, and the troops which are still in the service of the emperor. 4. His holiness will inform Charles the Fifth, of the conditions of this treaty, and that he must evacuate the territory of Parma and Mirandola.

Notwithstanding the real advantages which resulted to the Holy See from these arrangements, they were on the point of being lost, by the obstinacy of the pope's nephew, who not only refused to treat with France, but even threatened to declare against the church, and in favour of Charles the Fifth, if they persisted in recalling the troops which were at Mirandola, under his orders. Fortunately, he was killed in a sortie, and his death raised the last barrier to the ratification of the treaty between France and Rome. Julius at once sent orders to his generals, Alexander Vitelli and Camillus Orsini, to lead back their troops to Rome. The siege was raised at once, and this courageous city, which had supported for two whole years the rigours of a siege, could at last be provisioned. Hippolyte d'Este, cardinal of Ferrara, took the command of the place, and with the assistance of some French troops, drove back on Placenza a corps of three thousand Germans, who had been sent by the marquis of Marignan, to attempt to retake the positions abandoned by the besiegers. The emperor was much discontented with all that had occurred, and threatened the court of Rome with his anger, if it did not hasten to break with France; but no regard was paid to his remonstrances. His power was already beginning to decline, his knavish actions were used up; his Machiavelian policy no longer made dupes; all, whether kings or people, had a like contempt for his person. He, moreover, found himself up to his arms in a war with the German princes, which he had been imprudent enough to bring on, and whose results could not but be fatal to him.

As soon as hostilities had broken out, the princes, Maurice of Saxony, and Albert of Brandenburg, hastened to inform the fathers of the council of Trent of it, that they might abandon their idle discussions, and return to reinforce their ranks; at the same time, they published a manifesto against the emperor, whom they justly accused of having violated the constitutions of Germany, and with having made attempts upon its independence. The king of France skillfully profited by these circumstances, and declared himself the de-

fender of the Germanic liberties, though at the same time, he was endeavouring to demonstrate to the pope that the Lutherans had been but instruments in the hands of Charles the Fifth, to abase the pontifical power.

A powerful league was spontaneously organised throughout all Germany, for the defence of religion, and an army of protestants marched toward the city of Trent. Then the Spanish, Neapolitan, and Sicilian prelates, who feared to be made prisoners, as the subjects of the emperor, if they fell into the power of his enemies, fled in haste from the council. The Italian bishops soon followed their example, and embarked on the Adige to go to Verona. At last, when only the nuncios and a few Jesuits remained, Julius the Third ordered the suspension of the council. His holiness could the better take this step as Charles the Fifth was no longer in a condition to alarm him, being himself attacked on all sides by the French and Germans. Finally, after several months of bloody strife, the emperor was conquered at Inspruck, and compelled to purchase peace.

By the treaty of Passau his majesty set at liberty John Frederick, the elector of Saxony, as well as the landgrave of Hesse, the father-in-law of the elector Maurice; he granted the free exercise of the worship prescribed by the confession of Augsburg, and the recall of the protestant ministers exiled by virtue of the Interim. He, moreover, consented, on the representation of the electors, to place the government of Germany in the hands of his brother Ferdinand, who was proclaimed king of the Romans. This prince already possessed the kingdom of Hungary, in full sovereignty, which had been augmented by the dominions of Queen Isabella and her young son, the king of Transylvania, in consequence of their forced surrender to him by their lawful masters. This spoliation had been done for the advantage of Ferdinand, and by the bishop George di Martinuzzi, who received, as a recompense, the title of viceroy and the hat of a cardinal.

In the end, through one of those reverses of fortune so frequent at the court of princes, the prelate became suspected by the new monarch, and his death was resolved upon. A certain marquis of Castaldo, a confidant of Ferdinand, was charged with the execution of the crime. One day, when the cardinal was going to a pleasure house he had at Winitz, Castaldo asked permission to accompany him, making no scruples at becoming the guest of his victim. All his measures were arranged by the marquis, that in case his failure, a troop of Spanish soldiers should carry him off. On the following morning, the secretary of Castaldo was introduced into the apartment of Martinuzzi, under pretence of handing him some despatches, and whilst the cardinal was stooping over the table to sign them, he stabbed him in the breast with his dagger. The prelate felt the wound, called for assistance, and threw himself upon the assassin to crush him, but at the noise of the struggle, Castaldo entered with his sword in

his hand, and at a single blow cleft his skull. As he still stood erect, four soldiers discharged their arquebusses at once at him, and he fell dead. The dead body remained for seventy days on the floor of the apartment, the Spaniards steadily refusing to bury him; at last, Count Sforza Pallavicini, who commanded in the province, permitted the Hungarians to inter it.

Independently of his desire to rid himself of a man whom he dreaded, the king of the Romans hoped he should put himself in possession of large treasures; he was greatly deceived; for the assassins found only a very small sum, which they divided among themselves, and Ferdinand received for his share only an ear, which the barbarian Castaldo sent him, as a pledge of his devotion.

As soon as the news of this murder reached Rome, his holiness became greatly enraged, and cited the monarch before his tribunal, to justify himself of an assassination committed on a prince of the church. In vain did the ambassadors of Ferdinand, and those of Charles the Fifth, interfere to have this decree revoked; the pope declared he would have justice on a sovereign, who was rash enough to kill one of his cardinals, and on the refusal of Ferdinand to go to Rome, he fulminated an excommunication against him and his accomplices, and ordered the sentence to be published in all the kingdoms of Europe. This act of rigour is the only one that can be cited during the reign of Julius the Third, and we are induced to believe that he only obeyed the impulse of the sacred college, which had the death of one of its members to avenge; for, in less than a month after the publication of this bull, he yielded to the threats of the Spaniards, and recalled his decree of excommunication. The ambassadors of Charles the Fifth knew so well how to tempt the cupidity of the pope by the promises of large sums, that they determined him to offer himself as a mediator between Spain and France. Prosper, of Santa Croix, one of the great dignitaries of the court of Rome, was sent to Henry the Second, to consult with him as to the mode by which concord could be re-established between the two sovereigns. The king of France was unwilling to enter into any agreement with the emperor; he would only consent to renounce his plan of invading the kingdom of Naples and to draw off the fleet of Soliman, his ally, which was cruising on the shores, on condition that the imperialists would leave the territory of Sienna, whose inhabitants were at war with the emperor, and that the independence of this flourishing city should be recognised by the prince. This concession not having satisfied any of the belligerent parties, hostilities recommenced in Italy; but the emperor soon found himself constrained to leave Tuscany with his army, to fly to the assistance of Naples, which the Turks were blockading closely. On parting, he gave full powers to the Holy See, and authorised Julius the Third to offer peace to the Siennese, on condition that they would recognise the cardinal Fabian, the nephew of

the pope, as their head, and receive a foreign garrison. These proposals were again rejected by the citizens, who did not want to be ruled by the pope or the emperor, and they continued to carry on the war to recover their independence.

Whilst the people of Italy were endeavouring to free themselves from the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, the Calvinistic theologians of Geneva, those implacable enemies of the papacy, those furious censors of the abuses and cruelties of the Catholics, became in their turn persecutors, and were erecting, on the public square of their city, the funeral pile which was to consume Michael Servetus, condemned as impious, heretical, and atheistical.

This celebrated man was originally from Villanova in Arragon. At the age of sixteen, he came to France to study law in the university of Toulouse; after having finished his studies he travelled through Italy, and became connected with the Socinians; he then visited Switzerland and Germany. At Basle, he had had public discussions with Ecolampadius; at Strasburg he had disputed with Capiton Bucer on the doctrines of the Trinity and consubstantiation; he had maintained to them that the reformers had not entirely accomplished their work of emancipation, since they feared to apply the hatchet and the hammer to the old edifice of superstition, and to beat it down to the last stone. His adversaries were alarmed at the boldness of his views, and Bucer, who was regarded as the least violent among the Lutherans, said one day, at the close of a conference which he had with the young Servetus; "this wretch is stronger than all of us, and if we do not cut him to pieces and wrench his bowels from him, he will devour us."

Shortly afterwards Servetus published his dialogues upon the Trinity, whose singularity excited all the protestants against the author. Alarmed by the dangers he ran in Germany, he took refuge in France, renounced the career of the bar, and studied medicine. He was not more successful in this new profession, for having put forth some new ideas on the circulation of the blood, which were in opposition to those of the faculty, they cried out heresy, forced him to leave Paris, and abandon his labours on a discovery which was afterwards regarded as one of the most splendid triumphs of man in the domain of science. He then retired into Dauphiny and entered the establishment of the brothers Frelon in the capacity of a proof reader. Charged with the superintendence of a reprint of the Bible, he added to it a preface and notes which Calvin called impious and impertinent. Michael replied to the attacks of the reformer, and entered into a correspondence with him on the different questions of their belief; their dispute soon became so envenomed, that their letters contained only the grossest invectives; they thus became irreconcilable foes. Servetus wishing to humble his rival, sent him a manuscript, in which he pointed out a great number of errors he had made in his "Christian Insti-

tution," the best of his works, which made Calvin so furious, that he wrote to Favel and Viret, two of his disciples, that if this heretic ever fell into their hands, they must use all their influence to destroy his life.

Michael then produced his famous treatise "De Christianismi Restitutione," of which there are now but two copies extant. Notwithstanding the care of the author to cover himself with an anonymous veil, Calvin divined him from the irony, with which he spoke of himself and his writings. From this moment the death of Michael Servetus was resolved on by the reformer; and to reach his end he did not hesitate to play the part of an informer; he sent to the archbishop of Lyons some leaves from the treatise of Servetus. The cardinal de Tournon, who filled the see of that city, at once set on foot inquiries, to discover the office from which the book had issued; but his researches having been fruitless, the author was on the point of escaping the danger which threatened him, when Calvin sent from Geneva the originals of some letters which had been addressed to him by Michael, and which had been printed in the treatise. Servetus was immediately arrested and confined in the prisons of Vienne, to await the day of his judgment. His friends, fortunately, found means to get him out, and they concealed him in the environs of the city. As he feared lest his retreat should be discovered, he determined to quit France and went to Geneva, to go from thence into Italy.

Calvin gave him no time; as soon as he heard that his enemy had taken refuge in a city in which he was all powerful, he caused him to be arrested, and as he did not wish to be submitted to the laws of the country, which provided, that in such cases, the accused and the accuser should share the same dungeon, he yielded the principal part to one of his domestics named Lafontaine, and reserved himself for the discussions on theological questions.

Servetus did not appear alarmed at the threats of his adversary, and when it was announced to him that the vice bailiff of Vienne had demanded his surrender, he threw himself at the feet of his judges, beseeching them to retain him in Geneva. These infamous magistrates appeared to accede to his demand, and at the same time instructed Calvin to extract from the works of the accused, the propositions which he considered condemnable. They then handed to Servetus the memoir drawn up by the reformer, that he might reply to it.

Instead of doing as he was ordered, the courageous Michael contented himself with adding marginal notes, some of which were injurious epithets, and he declared that he would not dispute with Calvin, except before the council of two hundred. The judges, taking no notice of this, finished the proceedings in the trial, and sent copies to Zurich, Berne, Basle and Schaffhausen, to procure the advice of the protestant ministers of those cities, all of whom were disciples of Calvin. Michael Servetus was declared guilty by each

of them; still no one pronounced penalty of death on him. And yet, disgrace to Calvin, on the 26th of October, 1553, the tribunal, yielding to his urgent solicitations, assembled for the last time, and condemned the accused to be burned alive.

When this sentence was announced to him, Servetus demanded to see the reformer, and had an interview of two hours with him. It is said that he sought to awaken some sentiment of equity in the heart of his implacable foe; that he represented to him, that his death would be an ineffable blot on him, which he could never wash out; that he sought to show him that the interests of his doctrine required of him, to attach to himself all who were striving against the papacy. Nothing could change the determination of Calvin, and on the next day Michael Servetus, the anti-trinitarian, was executed at a place called Champey, a little distance from the southern gate of Geneva.

The reformer afterwards endeavoured to justify his judicial crime, and published a work, in which he established the right of putting heretics to death. This book appeared at the very moment when the protestants were making just complaints against the barbarous treatment to which they were exposed in Roman Catholic countries. The court of Rome seized on the arguments of its dreaded adversary, to justify its bloody proscriptions, and in this point of view, the punishment of Servetus was a happy incident for it.

In England another still more important event was accomplished; the young Edward the Sixth, the son of Henry the Eighth, was dead, and the princess Mary, his sister, the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, had succeeded him. This queen, a devoted Catholic, was no sooner on the throne, than she recalled the Jesuits into Great Britain, abolished protestantism, which had been declared the religion of the state by her brother, Edward the Sixth, and commenced persecutions against the protestants. She then sent, as a deputy to his holiness, John Francis Commandon, a young Italian poet, who stood very high in her good graces, to hand a confidential letter to Julius the Third, and to inform him, that with the aid of God, she hoped soon to replace England in its obedience to the court of Rome. She also informed him of her plan of uniting the crowns of Spain and England, by her marriage with the son of Charles the Fifth.

The pope, perceiving that this marriage would make England a dependency of the house of Austria, was much disturbed by it, and took at once energetic measures to prevent its conclusion. He sent the cardinal Pole, the personal enemy of the emperor, to England, with the title of legate. This prelate started with the more hope of success in his mission, since he had formerly been the confessor of Mary, and knew that the queen placed great confidence in him. But Charles the Fifth foreseeing the opposition which the court of Rome would make to his plan, kept on his guard, and did not hesitate to arrest the

cardinal Pole on his journey through Germany, and to retain him as a prisoner against the laws of nations, without troubling himself about the safe-conduct he had obtained from his ambassador. The only favour he granted the prelate was, from a regard to his diplomatic character, to have him conducted to court, where he never lost sight of him, until the marriage of Philip and Mary had been celebrated. His majesty then set him at liberty, loaded him with honours, and permitted him to continue his journey to England.

Pole was received at London with great distinction. The chancellor of the kingdom, with a brilliant train of lords, came to receive him on his disembarkation, and conducted him to the palace, where the king and queen awaited him on the threshold of the door, in order to do him more honour. Some days after his arrival, the cardinal legate was introduced to parliament by the steward of the queen's household, four knights of the order of the garter, and an equal number of bishops. The two assembled chambers promised to revoke all laws passed against the authority of the Holy See, and he, in his turn, pronounced the absolution of the schism, which the whole assembly received kneeling, Philip and Mary setting the example. A pompous embassy was then sent to the court of Rome, to announce to the pontiff the reconciliation of England with the church, and to ask his approval of the renunciation of the royalty of Naples in favour of his son Philip, which Charles the Fifth had made.

Julius ratified the cession, granting, however, the investiture only on condition that the new king should produce, within a year, the license in favour of his right; that he should do homage to the church, and should acknowledge, in express terms, that the kingdom of Naples, and all the country situated beyond the light house, and up to the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states, except the city of Beneventum and its territory, had been granted to him and his heirs and successors, solely by the liberality and favour of the apostolic see, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the princess Joanna, queen of Spain and the two Sicilies.

The Jesuits, who had laboured so successfully for the conversion of England, were rewarded by dignities as ridiculous as illusory. John Maynez, a Portuguese, was made patriarch of Congo; the father Oviêdo received the title of bishop of Nicca, and Father Garnerio that of Hierapolis. His holiness had some time before recompensed in the same way, those who had been missionaries in Asia and Africa, among others St. Francis Xavier, who had been created patriarch of the Indies.

If the Jesuits made great progress in America, the Indies, and Congo, it was not so in Europe, for, with the exception of England, no nation was willing to receive them. Thus, in France, they were rejected by the people, the clergy, the parliament, and even the Sorbonne, that body which afterwards evinced such docility and complacency for them, when

they became the confessors of kings. The Jesuits had inherited for several years the property of William Duprat, their protector, and they asked in vain for letters patent from Henry the Second to take possession of their legacy. At length, the king, yielding to the solicitations of the cardinal of Lorraine, consented to give them authority to take possession of their inheritance, provided they would employ the funds, in accordance with the wishes of the legatee, in the foundation of a college. But when these letters patent were presented to the parliament to be registered, the members of that assembly protested against the establishment of a new religious order, maintaining that the number of convents in France was already too great. This opposition was strongly aided by the curates, whose rights the Jesuits usurped, and by the bishops, who were jealous at seeing them freed from their jurisdiction.

The Jesuits did not regard themselves defeated; they solicited new letters from the king, and presented a second request to parliament, which they took care to have backed by Catherine de Medicis and Diana of Poitiers, whose consciences they directed. They were again foiled in their effort, and sent before the Sorbonne. That assembly having taken up the matter, discussed it at length, and on the 1st of December, 1554, made the following decree:—"We declare this new society, which proudly styles itself the company of Jesus, to be impious and sacrilegious, because it receives into its bosom, with indifference and silence, all kinds of persons, no matter how infamous they are; because it possesses privileges dangerous to the administration of penance and the liberty of teaching; because it wishes to build up schools to the injury of the bishops; because it sets itself above the hierarchical order of the regular and secular clergy, and even beyond the jurisdiction of temporal princes and the universities. We also declare, that this society cannot but engender troubles and schisms in the states into which it shall be introduced; that it will annihilate the liberty of thought, to subject consciences to the pope; and, finally, that it will be equally redoubtable to kings as to people."

To strengthen this decision of the Sorbonne, the bishop of Paris, Eustache de Bellay, added a request for the exclusion of Jesuits from his diocese. The result was, that the disciples of Loyola were placed under interdict, and driven from the capital, notwithstanding the letters patent of the king. They then retired to the quarter of St. Germain, under the protection of the prior of the abbey, who maintained that he was independent of the bishop, from some private privilege. It was not in France only that the Jesuits were execrated. In Spain even, they had not yet been able to establish themselves on a solid basis, and were rather tolerated than protected at the court of Madrid; Charles the Fifth never admitted them to his private counsels, and was contented with employing them in his American

dominions. In England, notwithstanding the support of the queen, they were not acceptable to the lords, the people, or the clergy.—George Broussel, archbishop of Dublin, thus spoke of them in a sermon:—"A new congregation has arisen among us, which styles itself the company of Jesus, and proclaims itself the militia of the pope. These satellites of the pontifical tyranny live like the scribes and pharisees, and seek to replace truth by falsehood, light by darkness. They will, no doubt, obtain their ends, my brethren, by reason of their astuteness, which clothes them with a multitude of forms to be combatted; with the pagans they adore idols, with the atheists they deny God, with the Israelites they profess Judaism, with the protestants they call themselves reformers; and all this is done to discover the plans, thoughts, inclinations of their enemies, to lead men into the way of perdition, to induce them to say, 'There is no other God, but the pope.' They spread themselves over the whole earth, and obtain admittance to the counsels of princes, the more surely to rule the nations, to subjugate humanity, to bend it beneath the yoke of the bishops of Rome. But we hope that God will, one day, grow weary of such abominations, and will permit these miserable Jesuits to be pursued by those who have lent them assistance, by the popes themselves, for whom they have drank every shame; we hope that these satellites of Satan will become more miserable than the Jews, and that their name will be spit upon and reviled; we hope that they will be regarded as the most degraded and the most

subject of the human race." This very remarkable prediction, which was accomplished in every particular, dates in the middle of the sixteenth century, some years after the foundation of the order.

The opinion of the English prelates had no influence, however, on their queen, and the bigot Mary, resolved to constrain her subjects to restore the tithes claimed by Julius the Third.

The Germans were not so docile; not only did they refuse to give any satisfaction to the holy father, but even declared their determination to assemble in a general council at Augsburg, to decree the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to them by the emperor, by the treaty of Passau, without any reference either to an œcumenical synod or a national council. The diet having been held at Augsburg, the Germans published a decree, which declared perfect equality between the Catholics and Lutherans, guaranteed to the protestant laity, legal proprietorship in the property taken from the Catholic clergy, and permitted those who had, up this time, remained faithful to the Roman court, even priests, to embrace Lutheranism and marry. From that time the protestant religion was regarded as the religion of the empire.

When this news reached Rome, it caused a profound sensation; the pontiff had such a fit of passion that it brought on a violent fever, and as he was already very sick, in consequence of his excesses at table, he could not support this new shock, and died on the 23d of March, 1555.

## MARCEL THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1555:]

*Election of the cardinal of Santa Croix—His history before his pontificate—Commencement of his reign—His zeal for reform—He desires to institute a military order—His plan for the redress of abuses in the government of the church—His death and eulogy.*

As soon as the funeral of Julius the Third was over, the thirty-seven cardinals who were at Rome, entered the conclave, and proclaimed the cardinal of Santa Croix supreme chief of the church, by the name of Marcel the Second. He came originally from Fano or Monte Fano, a small town situated on a high mountain between Osimo and Macerata; his father, whose name was Richard Cervin, of Monte Pulciano, was the apostolic treasurer or receiver for the Holy See, in the March of Ancona.

Marcel studied in the city of Sienna; having reached manhood, he went to Rome, where Clement the Seventh conferred on him some subaltern employments. On the advent of Paul the Third, he had been appointed first

secretary to the apostolic chamber; afterwards the cardinal Farnese attached him to him in the capacity of secretary of legation, when he was ambassador to the court of Henry the Second, and on his departure from France, had left him to continue the negotiations between the Holy See and the king. As he succeeded as the sovereign pontiff desired, Paul the Third gave him, on his return, the hat of a cardinal and the bishoprics of Nicastro, Reggio, and Eugubio.

Some days after his exaltation, Marcel received the pontifical crown from the hands of the cardinal de Bellay, who was then at Rome; but instead of spending, as his predecessors had done, enormous sums in artificial fêtes, illuminations, festivals, and concerts, he dis-

ributed among the poor all the money which is found in the apostolic treasury. He was then occupied with the introduction of useful reforms into the administration of the government of the church, and as he was convinced that the only mode of restoring consideration to the papacy was, to change the system pursued by his predecessors, he announced that he should exact from the officers and great dignitaries of the court of Rome, the practice of the virtues taught by Christ. The pontiff also informed the sacred college, of his intention to form an order of knights, chosen alike from the highest and lowest classes of society, to second him in his labours, and with a well-ordered resolution, to admit none into it who had not merited the great distinction, either by real talent or by their virtues. His holiness counted on using these knights for embassies, legations, negotiations with sovereigns, and all matters which were important to the Holy See, in case the cardinals should evince hostility to his generous plans. He then disbanded the guards of the Vatican, saying, that the vicar of Christ had no need to be surrounded by soldiers; that it was disgraceful for a sovereign, and especially for a pope, to be surrounded by wretches whose business was to murder their fellows; that it was better for a virtuous pontiff to be put to death by the wicked, than to give a proof of pride and cowardice, and to wish to impose on people by terror.

He drove from his court all the courtiers who were called valets; he suppressed the pensions which were allotted to them; finally, every thing, even to his table, underwent important reforms; the number of dishes which were to be served up to him was limited, as well as the duration of the repast. The gold and silver service was suppressed and sold to pay the debts of the Holy See. Marcel had such a disgust for flattery, that he one day informed the auditors of the rota, who came to pay their respects to him whilst he was at table, that he wished they would employ themselves with the care of their churches, and not lose their time in making useless

bows; and as one of them, when retiring, uttered some murmurs, he exclaimed, "What is the Holy See so covered with thorns and sown with briars, that we cannot follow the right path without being pricked at every step? Is it then true that one cannot reconcile the care of his own safety, with a dignity so fatal as that of the head of the church?"

A virtuous pope could not live long; thus Marcel died, after a reign of twenty-one days, on the 30th of April, 1555, from an attack of apoplexy, according to some ecclesiastical authors, or from the consequences of a poisoned beverage, if we are to believe the testimony of contemporary historians.

The death of the venerable Marcel adds new force to the fact we have already pointed out in the course of this history; it is, that among the small number of holy prelates who have occupied the chair of the apostle, none has been able to preserve the tiara long enough to put in execution plans of reform among the clergy or the ecclesiastical orders, and that all, without exception, have perished by a violent death.

Are we then to conclude, that in order to be pope, one must possess every vice, and have committed every crime? Are we to suppose that cardinals and princes of the church only regard those popes worthy of their admiration, who sacrifice duchies and kingdoms to their bastards; or those who compose their courts of but minions and harlots; or those who abandon themselves to the most shameful debaucheries; or those, finally, who, like hyenas, delight in the sight of dead bodies, and bathe in blood? Alas! is it not but too true, that in the eyes of the adorers of the Roman purple and of the satellites of the theocracy, the greatest popes are those who, during their lives, have yearly swallowed up millions in the pleasures of the table or debaucheries; or even still more, those who have burned on the funeral pyres of the inquisition whole people, and who have invented new torments to add to the already so frightful sufferings of their victims.

## PAUL THE FOURTH THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1555.]

*Election of Paul the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He increases the power of the inquisitors—Death and epitaph of Ignatius Loyola—His holiness demands from Queen Mary the restitution of the property taken from the church—League between the pope and France—Pride and insolence of the pontiff—His hypocrisy and dissimulation—He opposes the abdication of Charles the Fifth—Legation of the cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the pope, to the court of France—Persecutions of the Colonna—Paul the Fourth rekindles the war in Italy—Disgrace of Cardinal Pole—Violent accusations against the reformed of France—Proceeding of the pope against his nephews—Insolence of Paul the Fourth to Queen Elizabeth of England—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—His holiness burns protestant books—His death.*

As soon as the death of the holy pope Marcel was known in England, ambassadors immediately started from London, to procure the election of Cardinal Pole as sovereign pontiff,

he being, unquestionably, the ecclesiastic who was most capable of filling the Holy See; but though they used all diligence, they could not reach there in time, and when they arrived in Rome the cardinal Chieti had already obtained a majority of the suffrages in the college, and had been proclaimed pope by the name of Paul the Fourth.

The new pontiff, John Peter Caraffa, was born at Naples, of a family originally from Hungary. He had entered a convent of Dominicans in his earliest youth, where he had imbibed the cruel and inexorable character, which was the distinctive badge of that order of monks. When he had finished his studies he went to Rome, to the cardinal Oliver Caraffa, his cousin, who initiated him into the intrigues of the apostolic court, and recommended him to Julius the Second. The pope gave him the bishopric of Chieti, and sent him to the city of Naples, to congratulate Ferdinand the Catholic on his arrival in the kingdom. Leo the Tenth then gave him the appointment of nuncio to England, with the charge of collecting Peter's pence; for three years he pillaged the kingdom of England; after this he was sent to Spain, to Ferdinand, whose good will he obtained by the ingenious modes which he taught him of increasing the number of the victims of the inquisition, and consequently his treasures. Adrian the Sixth recalled him to Rome, and entrusted him with important offices. During the pontificate of Clement the Seventh, he created the order of the Theatins, to combat the heretics; but this institution of religious was eclipsed by that of the Jesuits, and he himself abandoned them to become the protector of the company of Jesus. At last Paul the Third gave him a cardinal's hat, in testimony of his gratitude, and as a recompense for the assistance he had given him in establishing the tribunals of the inquisition of Italy. He finally became grand inquisitor at Rome, and presided over that odious tribunal, which was called the nerve of the power of the Holy See.

As soon as he was crowned, Paul the Fourth occupied himself in giving new energy to the religious persecutions; he increased the prisons, doubled the number of the judges, and took measures to give the executioners no repose. He first published a bull of excommunication against those who separated themselves, by the slightest word, from the doctrine professed by the Roman Catholic church; he then pronounced the most terrible spiritual and temporal penalties which had ever yet been promulgated against the faithful who were suspected of heresy; he declared that princes, kings, emperors, bishops, archbishops, and even cardinals should be put to the torture and led upon the scaffold, if they were pronounced guilty by the holy office.

Such a beginning spread consternation through Christendom, and excited the indignation of the people and clergy; the Jesuits alone shouted forth the praises of the pontiff, and announced every where that the throne of the apostle was at last occupied by a great

pope, who comprehended this sublime truth, "It is better to annihilate mankind, than permit it to continue in error." His holiness evinced gratitude to his satellites; he loaded them with honours and wealth; built, in the enclosure of the city, two superb colleges for them, called the Roman and the German, and gave them magnificent villas in the environs. It was in the midst of all these triumphs that Ignatius Loyola died, exhausted by fatigue and sickness. Afterwards, one of the successors of Paul called him blest, and another, Gregory the Fifteenth, placed him in the ranks of the saints. His disciples inscribed this proud inscription on his tomb: "Thou who regardest Pompey, the great Cæsar, and Alexander, as extraordinary beings, open thy eyes to the truth, and thou wilt see that Ignatius has been greater than all these conquerors."

After the death of Loyola, the learned Jesuit Laynez, one of his cherished disciples, was chosen to succeed him in the generalship of the order.

Paul was then occupied in giving an audience to the ambassadors of Queen Mary, who were commissioned to take the oath of fidelity between the hands of his holiness. The English deputies were received in a public consistory, and constrained to a humiliating ceremonial; they were compelled to kiss the feet of the pope, to place themselves before him on their knees, and to confess to him in this position, one by one, all the alleged crimes of the English nation against the papacy. They avowed humbly that their fellow subjects had paid with ingratitude the kindness of the sovereign pontiff, and they demanded absolution for their transgressions. Paul, satisfied with their abasement, then permitted them to rise, and received the letters of Mary from them; but he no sooner perceived, on opening the letter, that the princess styled herself queen of England and Ireland, than he fell into a rage, exclaiming, that their mistress was very bold to dare to take the title of queen of Ireland without the authority of the pope; and he at once drove them from the Vatican.

In this same session his holiness created three cardinals out of his own family; among others one of his great nephews, who was scarcely sixteen years old, and whom he had already made archbishop of Naples. As the cardinal of St. James wished to make some observations on this, and to represent to the pope that he had not kept the engagements he had made at the time of his election, Paul, who was vigorous and active, sprang from his seat, caught the prelate by his hood, tore him from his seat, dragged him into the midst of the room, and struck him so hard a blow that the blood gushed forth and inundated his face and garments. After this scene of outrage, the cardinals retired tumultuously, and announced that they would not appear again in the consistory; the fear of punishment, however, caused their resolution to fail, and the usual sessions were recommenced.

Since their expulsion from the Vatican, the

English ambassadors had avoided appearing before the pope; but an order from their cowardly sovereign soon constrained them to make new approaches to his holiness, to obtain a brief for the investiture of Ireland; this act of degradation cost the people of England two hundred thousand crowns. The bull was given by the holy father to the envoys of Queen Mary at a solemn audience, who also gave them his blessing. Paul added, however, before dismissing them: "It is as a testimony of the paternal affection we have for Mary and Philip, that we erect Ireland into a kingdom, in the exercise of the supreme power which we have from God, who has placed us above thrones and nations. We, however, reserve to ourselves the revocation of the decree of investiture, if your queen does not hasten to restore to the clergy all the property which has been taken from them, and if she does not cause Peter's pence to be paid; for we will be forced to place Great Britain under interdict to show the English that the apostle will not open to them the gates of heaven, if they have the sacrilegious audacity to retain his patrimony on earth."

Notwithstanding this threat of interdict, the English lords refused to consent to restore the church property, and the fanatical Mary dared not employ violence to constrain them; she contented herself with restoring to the church the domains which her father, Henry the Eighth, and her brother, the young Edward the Fourth, had seized and united to the crown property. Perhaps we may attribute the coldness which the queen showed, to the influence which Philip, her husband, exercised over her, who was already advised of the threats of the court of Rome, and of the ambitious projects of the new pope on the kingdom of Naples.

In fact, his holiness, under the pretext of wishing to deprive the protestants of the privileges granted them in the last diet of Augsburg, broke with Charles the Fifth, and openly sought the alliance of Henry the Second. At the same time the cardinal, Charles Caraffa, and his brother John, his nephews, whom he had created, the one, duke of Palliano, the other, captain general of the church, as well as his third nephew, Antonio, who was in possession of the marquisate of Montebello, taken from the counts Guidi, secretly united their troops and prepared to invade the kingdom of Naples, which Mendoza then governed. Fortunately, the spies of the emperor informed him of what was preparing against him, and he had time to write to his son Philip, to send the duke of Alba at once into Italy, with the title of viceroy, to replace Mendoza.

The duke started at once for Italy, and went to Rome under the pretence of congratulating the pope on his exaltation in the name of Charles the Fifth, but in reality to sound the intentions of his holiness. He was not long in discovering the true sentiments of Paul, for the pontiff interrupted him as soon as he commenced speaking, broke out upon the emperor, pronounced him a traitor and a felon, and

ordered the viceroy to leave Rome immediately. He did not disobey his holiness, and as he was fearful of being arrested, he vaulted on his horse on quitting the Vatican, and gained the open country. He sent a relation of what had occurred at once to Philip, that he might understand that a rupture between the courts of Rome and Madrid, was imminent.

This hatred of Paul to the emperor was increased by the information conveyed to him by the cardinal Caraffa, of a pretended conspiracy organised by the Spaniards, and whose object was an attempt upon his person. He no longer preserved any bounds in his attacks on Charles the Fifth and his son; not being able to reach them, he seized on their partisans; he cast into the dungeons of the inquisition Camillus Colonna, who was accused of favouring the Spanish party; he proscribed his family, and confiscated the property of this illustrious house; he arrested the couriers of the emperor and King Philip, who had to pass through his states, and opened the despatches addressed to the duke of Alba; he then assembled troops and seized on Palliano and Neptune, which belonged to the Colonna.

These first hostilities were followed up by a declaration of war against Charles the Fifth, and the holy father, who wished, after the example of his predecessors, to trample emperors beneath his feet, wrote to him: "That he would rather set the four corners of the world on fire, than yield any thing to him." The duke of Alba, however, who commanded a veteran army, soon invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Spaniards were before the walls of Rome before Paul had dreamed of opposing any resistance to them.

His holiness turned to France, and promised to Henry the Second, the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, if he would promise to enter Italy to repel his enemies; moreover, as the pope knew that his majesty was very superstitious, and might object that the last treaty concluded with the emperor prevented him from taking up arms, under penalty of being regarded by the world as traitorous and perjured, he sent him a bull freeing him from his oaths.

Octavius Farnese, duke of Milan, who was a party to the same treaty, was unwilling to break it, either because he did not believe his conscience in safety, notwithstanding the authority of the pope, or because it was not to his interest to do so, as it was to that of the king of France; he thus incurred the penalty of excommunication, and he was anathematized by Paul the Fourth, on account of his refusal to unite with the French to fight the Spaniards, as he had formerly been by Paul the Third, for refusing to aid the Spaniards in making war on the French.

The sovereign pontiff also threatened King Philip with the ecclesiastical thunders if he did not abandon his pretensions on Naples in favour of his nephews. The prince, who was not desirous of detaching this magnificent



kingdom from his crown, decided on a vigorous measure, and resolved to assemble at Pisa fourteen cardinals who had sold themselves to his agents, and who had promised to declare the election of the pope contrary to the holy canons, and to depose him as an intruder on the Holy See.

An extraordinary event arrested Philip in the execution of this plan; he received the news that his father, Charles the Fifth, had solemnly abdicated and surrendered to him the government of his immense kingdom. Henry the Second, dreading the consequences of a war with this prince, who was, from the emperor's abdication, the most powerful monarch in Europe, hastened to conclude a truce with Spain. But the obstinate pontiff was unwilling to accede to any proposition for an arrangement, and brought all the resources of his policy into play to prevent the conclusion of peace between France and Spain. The holy father first sent his nephew to present to Henry the Second, a sword and hat which had been blessed by him, and at the same time to renew the promise of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. He then took a solemn engagement to make as many cardinals as his majesty desired, so to assure him a majority in the conclave, and to render certain the election of a French cardinal, if he died before the accomplishment of his vengeance on their common foe.

The cardinal of Caraffa had hardly arrived at Fontainebleau, where the king held his court, when he received information from the Jesuits, the natural spies of the pope, and learned from them, that if he wished to succeed at the court of France, he must obtain the support of the Guises, and flatter their ambition on account of the beautiful Diana of Poitiers, the dutchess of Valentinois, the mistress of the king, who was sold to them, body and soul; and that moreover, he should not neglect to get into the good graces of the marshal Strozzi, the queen's lover.

Caraffa conformed to the recommendations of the Jesuits, and thanks to their advice, he had, in a month after his arrival in France, again brought Henry into the party of the pope, and had induced him to declare war on Spain. He then accompanied the court to Paris, and was so successful in the conferences he had with Diana of Poitiers and Catharine de Medici, that the gallant cardinal became the lover of both of them. Thus when the queen gave birth to twin daughters, it was openly said that the king was a ridiculous husband and lover, and he was much blamed for permitting the cardinal to be the godfather and father of his daughters.

Whilst the nephew of his holiness was advancing his business at the court of France, he was repulsing the Spaniards from his states, and thanks to the intervention of the troops of Henry, he was in a condition to dictate his terms.

As it was his intention to cause division among his enemies, he availed himself of the abdication of Charles leaving the imperial dig-

nity vacant, and declared by terms for Ferdinand and Philip, the two pretenders to the crown of Germany, in order to increase the difficulties. He at first appeared favorably disposed towards Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, and assisted his nomination with the electors to the prejudice of Philip; then when the German princes had proclaimed him the head of the empire, he receded from his first decision and refused to grant an audience to the ambassadors who came to announce it to him, declaring that he did not recognise the now emperor, since the abdication of Charles was not lawful without the authority of the Holy See.

Ferdinand immediately recalled the deputies who had been sent to Rome, and to punish the pope for his insolence, confirmed the diet of Augsburg, which assured the religious liberty of Germany. By way of reprisal, Paul assembled the most skilful theologians among the Jesuits, consulted them upon the measures to be taken concerning Charles the Fifth, and obtained this decision, entirely in conformity with his sentiments, to wit: "That God having given to St. Peter and his successors an absolute authority over the kingdom of heaven and the thrones of the earth, no emperor could lay aside the diadem without the permission of the pontiff,—that Charles had taken the oath of obedience to the Holy See, and could not abdicate without being perjured; that he consequently might be anathematised, interdicted, deposed, and burned as a heretic, if he did not continue to bear the weight of government on his shoulders, as long as the holy father judged it proper for the interests of the Holy See."

Paul then published a bull against Charles the Fifth, explaining at length the motives of God in prohibiting kings from choosing their successors, and concluded with this singular doctrine, that the free disposal of crowns belonged to the popes alone, as the supreme heads of the Christian republic. Such a declaration was equivalent to a manifesto of war, and without longer delay his holiness commenced hostilities against the house of Austria, and arrested, not only the ambassadors of Spain, but also those of England, on the pretext that Philip, having married their queen, they were necessarily in intercourse with the enemies of the Holy See. He levied troops every where and united them with those which the duke of Guise had brought him from France; he even took the protestants of the Grisons into his pay, and when it was represented to him what scandal his admittance of heretical soldiers into his army afforded the faithful, he replied, "What, is it bad? They will fight with the more bitterness to kill our Catholic enemies."

The persecutions against the Colonna were recommenced with extraordinary rigour; the partizans of that family were mercilessly torn from their dwellings, thrown into the prisons of the inquisition, and handed over to the executioners. No day passed in which the great square of Rome was not illuminated by new

funeral pyres raised to consume the victims of pontifical tyranny. Unable to save their friends, Ascagnus Colonna and his son Mark Antony, desired at least to revenge them; they organised bands of Calabrian soldiers, and made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. These bold attacks excited still more the anger of the pope, who was unable to guard against them, his enemies always arriving suddenly and retreating into the territory of Naples when he took the offensive. Not being able to reach the Colonna, he resolved to alarm their protectors, and on the 23d of July, 1556, having assembled the cardinals in consistory, it was decreed, "That his holiness, after having excommunicated and placed under interdict Ascagnus Colonna and Mark Antony, should also prohibit all Christians from giving them assistance and asylum, under penalty of the same censures; that in defiance of this bull the emperor Charles the Fifth and his son Philip, having dared to furnish men and money to these children of perdition, were for that reason excommunicated, interdicted, and deposed, unless they immediately put an end to their relations with these enemies of the Holy See.

This manifesto changed in no wise the progress of affairs; Philip did not appear to be moved, nor Charles the Fifth, who had then retired into a convent. The duke of Alba demanded, with no less energy, the ambassadors whom Paul had thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition, threatening to march on Rome, if they were not immediately surrendered to him. Instead of obeying, the pope prepared to fight; he informed the duke that no fear of danger would prevent him from maintaining the dignity of the tiara; that Christ having confided to him the care of his flock, he knew how to defend it, and that moreover he placed the care of his triumph in the hands of God. Still his confidence in celestial succour was not such as to prevent his making certain useful dispositions in the event of a siege. He distributed arms to the citizens of Rome, divided them into companies, each under the orders of the chief of its quarter; he raised the old walls, furnished several neighbouring fortresses with cannon, and increased their garrisons. Montluc also led three thousand French troops to his aid, and the marshal Strozzi came to take the command of the troops destined for the defence of Rome, until the army he was forming beyond the Alps should enter Italy.

The duke of Alba, informed of all these things, sent to the pope, as a plenipotentiary, Pino Loffredi, marquis of Trevizo, to make a last effort for peace; but the ambassador had scarcely entered Rome, when he was arrested and thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition. This violation of the laws of nations exasperated the duke; he immediately crossed the land of Labour, and marched on the holy city to punish the pontiff. The latter, who was informed of the movement of the hostile army by the Spanish Jesuits, hastened the work on the fortifications, pulled down

churches, razed convents, destroyed cemeteries, and was ready to repel the attacks of the assailants. On the other side, the duke of Guise approached Rome with his division, and came to concert with Paul on the plan of the campaign. As money was wanting, in consequence of the profuse expenditures of the nephews of the pope, and it was necessary to have some to send supplies to the army, his holiness sold at auction ten cardinal's hats, a great number of benefices, and made forced loans from the richest citizens. All these measures occasioned a delay of two months, and when the duke of Guise had obtained means to penetrate into the Abruzzo, to attack the Spaniards, he found that the duke of Alba had turned the flank of the French army, had fallen on the city of Signia, which he had carried by storm, and upon Palliano, which he was pressing vigorously, in order to gain a point on Rome. Whilst the duke of Guise was making war on the Abruzzo, King Henry was defeated at St. Quentin by the English, who had joined the party of the husband of their sovereign.

His majesty was then obliged to recall his army from Italy and leave the Holy See to the mercy of the Spaniards. Paul, irritated against the bigot Mary of England, the cause of the departure of his allies, wrote to her to reproach her for her cowardly complaisance towards her husband; and not being able to avenge himself on her, he let the whole weight of his anger fall on Cardinal Pole, the favourite of the queen. He lanced a decree against all the nuncios in Great Britain, and particularly against the cardinal Pole, whom he called a traitor to the church, because he had been unable to prevent the princess from declaring against France. In vain did the sacred college represent to him that such a step would compromise the authority of the apostolic see in Great Britain; he would not change his determination; he recalled the confessor of Mary, the Jesuit Payton, to the court of Rome, created him a cardinal, and gave him the legation of England. But the queen of England, who had until this time shown a stupid submission to the pope, refused now to obey him, and informed Payton, who was already on the way to his post, that she prohibited him from setting his foot in the kingdom, under penalty of his life. This order so alarmed the Jesuit cardinal, that it brought on a violent fever, of which he died some months afterwards.

The pontiff, however, relented nothing in his persecutions of Pole, and would not consent to listen to proposals for peace, until he found himself pressed by the imminence of the danger and the victories of the duke of Alba; he was even then unwilling to make any concession of his pride. His holiness demanded that the Spanish general should come to ask pardon from him for having pillaged the patrimony of the church, and beseech him, on his knees, to grant him absolution for his faults and those of his master, Philip. The conqueror, who saw that the pontiff was

on the edge of the tomb, consented to this humiliating ceremony, and a peace was signed between Spain and the Holy See. From that day Paul became the enemy of France, of which he had no longer need, and sought to excite troubles in the kingdom, by accusing Henry the Second of favouring the reformed in his capital, and permitting them to hold assemblies.

The following fact gave rise to this extravagant accusation:—"During a night in autumn," says Mezerai, "the Jesuits were informed that about two hundred persons of the reformed religion of Calvin, were praying together in a private hotel in the faubourg St. Germain; they immediately collected a crowd before the house in which the heretics were, exclaiming scandal, abomination. The latter, alarmed by the yells of their enemies, wished to fly, but before they could do so, the doors were broken in, and the Catholics penetrated into their retreat, and arrested more than an hundred of these unfortunate persons, whom they dragged to the dungeons of the officialty."

The disciples of Loyola became their accusers, and produced against them accusations as strange as false; they said that the Calvinists roasted young children, and ate the flesh in their frightful repasts; after which men and women, in the obscurity of the night, were mixed up in horrible embraces; in fine, renewed against the reformed the accusations we have already related, against the ancient sects who separated from the primitive church. These calumnies sent a large number of protestants to the stake; some, however, obtained permission to appear before judges who were not under the influence of the Jesuits, and as; in the interval, the Swiss, the prince Palatine, and several electors, had addressed violent complaints to Henry the Second, threatening to withdraw from him the support of their arms, if he continued to persecute their co-religionists, he had been forced, having need of their assistance, to put an end to the persecutions.

This act of moderation had been loudly blamed by the court of Rome, and the pope, in a public audience which he gave the French ambassadors, did not hesitate to say to them:—"It was natural that affairs went badly in a kingdom, in which rigour was used towards the holy priests, to compel them to reside in their churches, as had been seen in the affair of the Jesuits, and in which the prince carried irreligion so far as to publish ordinances concerning the sacraments, and permitted himself to proscribe clandestine marriages. In fact," added the holy father, "your master inspires so profound a terror in the clergy of the Gallican church, that the ecclesiastics of his kingdom dare not even complain of his tyranny; but we who dread no power on this earth, we will undertake their defence; we will convene them in a general council in Italy, and we will prepare things for the trial of the despot called Henry the Second."

His holiness expressed himself with as lit-

tle restraint concerning Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, who sent ambassadors to him, to inform him of the death of her sister Mary, and to notify him of her advent to the throne.

Paul received the deputies with inconceivable haughtiness; he declared to them, that he did not recognise Elizabeth as queen, since Great Britain was a fief of the Holy See; that the usurpation consummated by this woman was still more impious, as she herself was a bastard and had not the slightest right to the crown. This vapouring of the holy father determined the queen to withdraw from the obedience of the Holy See, and to recall her ambassadors from Rome; but Paul opposed their departure, and prohibited them from quitting his court.

Whilst the sovereign pontiff was so immoderately abusing his spiritual authority, his nephews were equally using, for the interests of their ambition, the temporal power which had been confided to them. Their spoliations became such, that complaints arose from all sides against them. They then wished to prevent the complaints of their victims from reaching the pope, and they surrounded him with creatures who kept him in a kind of private confinement. His holiness, whose impetuous character could not accommodate itself to any restraint, revolted against this excess of boldness, took violent measures against the members of his family, deprived them of all their dignities, and exiled them from Rome.

New ministers were installed in the Vatican, and placed under the presidency of Camillus Orsini and of the cardinals of Trani and Spoleto. Paul the Fourth abandoned to them the government of the church, only reserving to himself the administration of the inquisition, "that impregnable fortress of the papacy," as he called that execrable institution.

Whilst this proud, violent, and cruel old man was becoming embittered against the unfortunate reformed, and was putting them to the torture in the dungeons of the inquisition, the two kings of France and Spain were treating of peace, and were cementing their union by the double marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Second, with Philip the Second, and of his sister Margaret with the duke of Savoy. This peace was signed at Cateau Cambresis.

On learning the cessation of hostilities, Paul fell into a violent fit of anger and exclaimed, "It is all over with the power of the Holy See, Germany and England are for ever lost to us, and that through the fault of the cardinals, those vampires who think only of their own private interests, and nothing of that of the papacy. May the demons of hell, if there be any, carry them all to hell, with the kings of France and Spain, and with all my relatives! May they leave upon earth but people to oppress, Jesuits to defend me, and Dominicans to serve me." His holiness was in a grievous error, for the two kings had only concluded a treaty to enable them to act with



Moreover, like Julius the Third, who had dishonoured the chair of the apostle before him, Pius the Fourth was very fond of good cheer and wine. The table was, say historians, the only thing for which this pontiff departed from his habits of sordid avarice; for with all his taste for licentiousness, adds the chronicle, he found means to possess the handsomest women, and most beautiful youth of Rome, without its costing him any thing. He was obliged to make them large presents, in order to attract them to the Vatican; but when he had enjoyed them, he put them to the torture, and forced them, by frightful punishments, to give up all they had received. As to his table, it was a different thing; no expense was spared; the rarest dishes, the most exquisite wines, were served up in ridiculous profusion, and the pope did the honours of his feasts so well, that he was carried dead drunk to his apartment every night.

His holiness had, moreover, the misfortune to have a very numerous family, which he wished to provide with benefices, abbeys, bishoprics, and cardinals' hats, which caused many remarks. But without troubling himself about them, he raised to the post of general of cavalry, his nephew, the count Frederick Borromeo, of the family of Serbellon, and confided to him the most important functions of the state. He gave the archbishopric of Milan to another of his nephews, named Charles Borromeo; he provided a third nephew with the government of the castle of San Angelo; he appointed Gabriel Serbellon, one of his cousins, captain of his guards; he raised to the bishopric of Spoleto the abbe Borromeo, another of his relatives, and, finally, he married to Count Frederick, Virginia, the eldest daughter of the duke of Urbin, and he married one of the sisters of the latter, to Don Caesar de Gonzagua. "We must," he said to the magistrates of Rome, who besought him to have a little reserve in the distribution of places to his family, "do to-day for my relatives all that is in my power, for to-morrow death may overtake me, and there will be no more time."

In accordance with this principle of not putting off until to-morrow what can be done to-day, his holiness was unwilling to leave with the Caraffa too much authority in Rome, and he determined to rid himself of them, before they rendered themselves too formidable. One day, when the cardinals of this family were assembled with their suite in the consistory, without suspecting that the pope, who owed his election to them, was plotting any thing against them, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by a band of archers, bound, gagged, and carried off to the prisons of the Vatican. At the same time, the palaces of John Caraffa, the count of Montorio, Leonard of Cardino, his brother-in-law, and the count d'Alise, were surrounded by soldiers, and their lords carried off by force, and confined in the castle of San Angelo. Pius the Fourth then commenced proceedings against this family, to compel them

to restore the property and riches they had received from Paul the Fourth; then, as his purpose was to distribute their spoils among his relatives, he condemned them to death, giving, as a pretext for this terrible sentence, that he was determined to leave to the popes his successors, an example which might deter them from nepotism.

Charles Caraffa, after having been degraded from his titles and dignities, was strangled in prison; the count de Montorio, Leonard de Cardino, and the count d'Alise, were beheaded in the court yard of the castle, by the light of torches, and their dead bodies were cast into the Tiber. The young cardinal Alphonsus of Caraffa, was alone spared, and purchased his liberty by paying to the pope the sum of a hundred thousand crowns, which he had, very fortunately, deposited out of the church, and on which Pius could not seize without his authority. Still this sacrifice only retarded for a time the death of Caraffa; for three months afterwards he was poisoned by a Jesuit at Naples. These bloody executions inspired such terror in the sacred college, that the cardinals could not sustain the look of Pius without growing pale, as the Roman senators formerly trembled before Tiberius. On his side, the holy father, who doubted the effects of this concentrated hatred, sought to place himself beyond the reach of the vengeance of the princes of the church, by placing himself under the protection of kings.

He first sent to Ferdinand bulls of investiture, and proclaimed him the lawful emperor of Germany, before he had taken any steps on this subject; which so surprised the prince that he feared a snare, and in this apprehension refused to receive the decree of the pope. But when he was assured, that it was a serious matter, he sent to thank the pope for his good intentions towards him, representing, however, that it would be very ridiculous for a pope to give an emperor authority to govern heretics. Pius was then occupied with a demand the king of France had made of him, in regard to the convocation of a national council, which he wished to hold in his kingdom, in order to arrest the progress of Calvinism, and to declare war on the city of Geneva, that hearth-stone of religious rebellions, where, for twenty-five years, were elaborated the great question of reformation and emancipation.

Calvin, who had adopted this city as his second country, had made it the metropolis of the reformed religion, and the centre of a very active trade in books, which were almost all hostile to the court of Rome; he had besides, made it one of the most remarkable cities of Europe for instruction in literature and science. Notwithstanding the multiplied occupations which the civil and political organization of this new republic necessarily gave to Calvin, he did not the less continue his religious preaching; he even gave three public lessons a week in theology; he assisted at all the meetings of the company of pastors, and carried on a correspondence with

all the protestants in Europe, and particularly with those of the southern provinces of France.

The pope was still more urgent to carry on the war against Geneva, as, independently of the protection of Francis the Second, which his compliance had procured for him, he would annihilate the power of his dreaded foe. But the king of Spain, who feared lest the French should keep the sovereignty of that city after they had seized it, opposed the war, and saved Geneva.

Other events of equal importance soon attracted the attention of the pope and his cardinals, and showed them the necessity of lending each other mutual succour, if they did not wish to be overwhelmed by the torrent. In Scotland, the chiefs of the clans, and the doctors of the universities, after having held a meeting in Edinburg, had thrown off their obedience to the Holy See, and proclaimed the reformed worship the religion of the state. In Bohemia, King Maximilian had declared for Lutheranism; in Germany, the emperor Ferdinand openly protected the new religion; in France, the king and the lords, in an assembly held at Fontainebleau, had granted an edict of tolerance in favour of the reformed; in the Venaisin countship, the Huguenots were triumphant, and this rich province, after two centuries of servitude, cast off the papal yoke; in Flanders, a powerful league, known as the league of the beggars, also pronounced in favour of the new religious opinions, and freed this province from the Holy See; finally, it appeared as if an invisible force were pushing the car of the papacy into the abyss, and that a new era was about to open for the people, notwithstanding the efforts of the numerous cohorts of Jesuits. Humanity was not, however, to be yet delivered from the popes; they had still a faithful ally among the kings, the cruel Philip the Second, the execrable offspring of Charles the Fifth, the executioner of his people, the exterminator of heretics; that tiger with a human face, who would have deserved to occupy the first place among the oppressors of the nations, if the sanguinary Charles the Ninth had never lived.

Philip was then the only sovereign in Europe who was not ranged on the side of the protestants; whether it was because he had an insatiable thirst for human blood, or whether it was because he entertained a secret hatred against the German electors, for having refused to recognise him as emperor, he declared an implacable war on the Lutherans of his kingdom. At Seville, Valladolid, and Madrid, in all the provinces of Spain and Italy submitted to his sway, he burned them by thousands; he then published an edict which condemned them to exile. Historians of the time relate that this tyrant placed himself at the gates of the cities, to see the reformed sally forth, and that at a signal his soldiers rushed upon them, and committed a frightful massacre. Thus at Cosenza, a city of the kingdom of Naples, three thousand Lutherans were murdered whilst crossing a vast

plain to go to the mountains, in execution of the sovereign's decree.

His holiness, finding himself vigorously sustained by the king of Spain, determined to continue the council of Trent, and issued a bull appointing Easter day, in the year 1561, as the day for the opening of the sittings of the last session. Philip approved of the conduct of the pope, and commanded the prelates of his kingdom to obey the orders of the court of Rome. It was not the same in Germany; the emperor Ferdinand, who followed the advice of his son Maximilian and the principal electors, refused to receive the bull of convocation. He declared, in the name of the protestants, that Germany would never recognise the proceedings of an assembly which was a continuation of a synod that the Jesuits had constantly ruled. In France they showed no more haste to gratify the desires of Pius, at least at first, though Catherine de Medicis was mistress of the government, in consequence of the death of Francis the Second. The reason was a very natural one; this abrew, who had seized on the royal authority, as the tutress of Charles the Ninth, then ten years old, without the title of regent, was forced by circumstances to keep on good terms with the protestant lords. She pushed her hypocrisy so far as to address a letter to the pope, as king, for authority from him to introduce into France the use of the communion in two kinds, the abolition of images in the churches, the simplifications of the ceremonies of baptism, and the celebration of divine service in the vulgar tongue.

As Catherine expected, the holy father replied to the ambassador, that he would never give the people of France, a chalice filled with such dangerous poison; and on the observation of the deputy, that the queen would never have consented to take such a step, had she not been constrained and forced to do so by the Huguenots, he replied, that he would soon send her a plan of pacification, which would calm the fury of proselytism among the protestants. He then sent Jesuits to all the courts of Europe, commissioned to engage the Catholic princes to form a league for the extermination of the heretics. His holiness designated Charles the Ninth as the head of this sacrilegious league, and the duke of Guise as his lieutenant general; Spain was to furnish the funds necessary for the war, and the duke of Savoy was to contribute to the success of the enterprise, by furnishing a body of troops. The pontiff sought to assure the neutrality of the king of Navarre, by promising him Sardinia as a recompense; and Philip was to threaten him with an invasion by the allied forces, if he dared to unite his troops with those of the prince of Condé, the leader of the Huguenots.

His holiness also informed his allies, that he was on the eve of kindling a civil war between the Catholic and sacramentarian Swiss, so that the duke of Savoy might seize on Geneva without striking a blow, annihilate Calvinism, and then turn his arms against the

Lutherans to exterminate them. But the execution of these plans required many troops, and as the princes of the league complained of the state of their finances, and the consequent impossibility of levying troops, Pius issued a bull, which authorised them to levy in the Catholic provinces, on one half of the revenues of the property of the clergy, to borrow on the property of the Calvinist nobility; confiscated to the profit of the inquisition; he, moreover, permitted priests and monks to take service in the armies of the league; he liberated them from the observance of their vows during the war, and granted to them plenary indulgences.

Immediately after the publication of this decree, the pontiff emptied the convents of his states, and formed an armed corps, composed in part of banditti and monks. These troops were sent into the Venaisian countship, under the leading of Fabricius Serbellon, in order to bring the subjects of his holiness to reason.

The soldiers of the pope, says Varillas, marked their passage through Provence by all kinds of depredations and cruelties; but what is the most singular, they spared the she goats, and formed immense flocks of them, which accompanied them in their march, and which they used in their debaucheries. The goat of the general had gilded horns; it was covered with garlands of flowers, and was led by silken cords. This band of wretches fell on the small city of Orange, laid siege to it, and carried it by assault. "Then were committed," adds the chronicler, "such frightful atrocities, as make the hair rise on the head at only reading them. The soldiers and monks forced the citizens to mount on the top of the houses, and to throw themselves down on pikes, halberds, and swords; they hung old men and children to the hooks in the chimnies, wasted them by a slow fire, cut off slices of the flesh and ate them before their victims were dead; they mutilated the men, and tore from them their organs of virility; they deflowered women, and young girls of extreme youth, and thrust into their bodies poles of enormous dimensions, which tore their bowels. Those who made any resistance were pitilessly murdered, and then exposed in the public places entirely naked, with ox horns thrust into the body. Finally, these satellites of pontifical tyranny, in their execrable fury, assuaged their lubricity on boys of scarcely ten years old, and when these unfortunates had been tortured by this horrid outrage, they fastened them to racks, and larded them while alive with pages of the bibles of Geneva, as you would do the flesh of pork or of birds."

So many cruelties exasperated the Huguenots; every where they rushed to arms. The civil war extended, and gained gradually all the southern provinces of France. It was precisely what his holiness desired; he thought the time had come to strike a great blow, and as the period fixed for the opening of the final session of the council of Trent was approach-

ing, he hastened to send Laynez with his cohorts of Jesuits, to assist at the deliberations of the fathers; he named also four pontifical legates to preside over the sessions, each in his turn. The assembly was composed of two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, and one hundred and sixty-eight bishops or coadjutors, of seven croziered abbots, thirty-nine canons or vicars, charged to represent absent or sick prelates, and of seven generals of religious orders, all devoted or sold to the court of Rome.

According to the picturesque expression of the abbot of Lausac, the ambassador of France to the council, the fathers of Trent were constantly inspired by the Holy Spirit, which the pope sent daily with despatches in the valise of a courier. Every thing was decided, it is true, by a majority of voices, but we must observe, that most of the prelates were pensioners of the Holy See, and history has preserved us a list of forty of these infamous priests, who received sixty Roman crowns a month, to vote in conformity with the decisions of the holy father. This mob obeyed the least signal of the legate Simonetta, made a noise, stamped with their feet, drowned the voice of the speakers, and constantly interrupted the debates.

As we see, this constitutional system of tactics, which consists in the governors giving a little gold as a reward, to a troop of coward and felon mandarines, was already practised in the sixteenth century. Thus the result of the labours of the council of Trent was, that the bishops lost the little authority they had hitherto preserved; and on the conclusions of the Jesuit Laynez, it was decreed, that their dignity was a human institution, and that of the pope a divine one. All those priests who had sold their votes and their consciences, decided that the pope had an absolute and illimitable authority over ecclesiastics, as well as over the faithful, and that all owed to him absolute obedience and submission.

There was no question even as to the introduction of reforms into the church. The legates of the Holy See only declared, that in all that concerned heretics, the pope should be authorised to employ armed forces, tortures, or scaffolds to annihilate the Calvinists and Lutherans. The whole assembly pronounced anathemas and maledictions against the protestants, and terminated their session by a triple salvo of acclamations in honour of Pius the Fourth and the Catholic princes.

Disagreeable news troubled the joy of the pontiff, and interrupted the festivals which they were keeping at Rome for the successful issue of the council of Trent. It was the death of Ferdinand, and the election of his son Maximilian, as emperor of Germany. This prince sent ambassadors to the apostolic court, as a mere matter of form, to inform it of his election, but with a formal prohibition to take an oath of obedience to the pope, or to ask from him a confirmation of his title as king of the Romans and emperor of Germany.

Some cardinals endeavoured to obtain a

mark of submission, by proposing to the deputies to take an oath of obedience in the name of Maximilian, as king of Hungary, which, according to them, they could not refuse to do, since it was incontestable that Ladislaus the First had received this kingdom as a fief from Gregory the Seventh. This concession having been refused, Pius the Fourth went further, so much had he it at heart to appear to be the dispenser of the imperial crown, and he sent to Germany letters of confirmation, which had not been asked for, and in which his holiness declared Maximilian to be the lawful emperor, by virtue of his all power, which supplied any irregularities which might have occurred in his election.

The policy of the pontiff was no more successful in France; Pius the Fourth, informed by the Jesuits that Catherine de Medicis thought of granting peace to the Huguenots, in order not to leave the Guises in command of the Catholic army, and to weaken that family, which had become yet more powerful since the assassination of the duke of Guise, endeavoured to change her resolution, and wrote a long letter of remonstrance to her on this subject. The queen paid no regard to it, and merely replied to the cardinal of Santa Croix, who brought her the despatches from the court of Rome, "Tell your master I have not made peace with the heretics, and that I am preparing for a terrible war with them, and that the day of vengeance will soon come."

This avowal advised the holy father that Catherine was meditating some great project for the extermination of the Huguenots, and he was the more rejoiced at it, as he supposed that nothing would oppose his excommunication of Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, the avowed enemy of the court of Rome. He consequently issued a bull against that princess, assigned to her to appear at Rome to be judged there, proclaiming her to be deprived of her throne in case of disobedience, and giving her estates to the first occupant, that is, to King Philip, who was only awaiting the time to enter Navarre. As the court of France had nothing more at heart than to prevent the family of Spain from establishing itself in these provinces, Catherine found herself compelled to disapprove of the conduct of the pope, and to send a plenipotentiary to Rome, to represent to the sacred college that Jane d'Albret must be regarded as the sovereign of Bearn, and the lawful possessor of the lordships of Albret, Foix, Armagnac, Comines, and Bigone; that she had been recognised as queen by all the princes of Christendom, and, consequently, that none but God could take them from her, and that she could not be in any way brought within the jurisdiction of the Holy See; moreover, that her kingdom being a fief of the crown of France, Charles the Ninth was too much interested in the matter to suffer his provinces to be given to the first occupant, and that the king must assist with his arms, his ally, his vassal, and his near relative, the widow, and the mother of the two first princes of his blood; finally, if the

holy father was unwilling to revoke the proceedings commenced against the king of Navarre, he must not think illy of it, if France interfered in the matter, and used the extreme measures which had heretofore been successful, when the Holy See wished to usurp too much authority over the monarchy.

Pius the Fourth, who dreaded an invasion of the French into Italy, promised to stop all proceedings against the queen of Navarre, which he did ostensibly, though he pursued her no less actively than before in the shade of his audacious efforts. At his instigation, the Jesuits secretly spread themselves through the dominions of this princess, and led her Catholic subjects into a conspiracy, whose object was to seize Jane and her children, and hand her over to the tribunals of the inquisition of Spain, to be condemned as a heretic. This infernal machination was fortunately foiled by the Huguenots, who were informed of it and who took precautions to avert it.

Though once more unmasked, the pope did not abandon his plan of exterminating the reformed, but before taking other steps with the court of France to bring it into a new league, he wished to close the sessions of the council of Trent, and issued, through his creatures, bulls as ridiculous as impious, which this assembly of simoniacal priests declared to be obligatory on all kingdoms. His holiness did not, however, obtain from this measure the success he desired. In Germany they refused to submit to the decrees of the cabal of Trent, and Maximilian the Second placed himself at the head of the opposition.

In France, notwithstanding the efforts of the Jesuits, the acts of this assembly were rejected; the chancellor de l'Hopital demonstrated that the court could not sacrifice the liberties of the Gallic church to the ambition of the pope, without deserving the blame of men, and the accusation of ignorance and cowardice; unfortunately he did not show the same independence in the proceedings which took place shortly after, between the university and the Jesuits. The following was the occasion; these fathers had purchased secretly, from the rector Julian de St. Germain, scholastic letters, that is, authority to keep school with all the privileges of the university. During the temporary magistracy of Julian, they had taught publicly without being disturbed; but after the retirement of their protector, the members of the university assembled in council, and cited before them the Jesuits who had opened a college in the capital. They presented themselves resolutely on the day fixed in the citation, and replied thus to the questions of the new rector. "Are you regular monks? No, for our society is not a religious one, and we are not perfect enough to possess a vocation so holy. Are you secular priests? No, since we live in congregations under certain laws approved by the pope. What are you then? We are Jesuits."

As no other reply could be drawn from these reverends, the university refused to admit them into its bosom, erased the scholastic



letters which had been purchased from Julian of St. Germain, and the affair was then brought before the parliament. Peter Versoris defended the Jesuits, and the advocate Stephen Pasquier spoke in the name of the university. On the pleadings of this latter, the attorney general concluded on the expulsion of the Jesuits, sustaining his decision chiefly on the fact, that these fathers, having taken an oath of obedience to a foreign general, were unfit to be entrusted with the education of French youth. The pope immediately interfered; he wrote to French cardinals, the bishop of Paris, the king and queen; he besought them all to sustain the Jesuits, who were, according to him, courageous soldiers, destined especially to combat the heretics. His legates seconded him so well, that most of the judges were gained, even the first president Christopher de Thou, the brother of the historian. Still the parliament dared not allow them to gain their cause, and only permitted them to employ the heritage of the bishop of Clermont, William Duprat, in the foundation of a college.

The triumph which the fathers had obtained over the university rejoiced the pope the more, as this first success prepared the way for the future execution of an infernal plan, of which he and Catherine de Medicis were alone in the secret, and in which the execrable Charles the Ninth was afterwards associated.

At the same time died Calvin, worn out by study and labour; this intrepid athlète, this implacable adversary of the papacy, died as he had lived, combatting for the intellectual emancipation of the human race. Calvin would unquestionably have occupied the first place among the apostles of the Reformation, if the punishment of Michael Servetus did not show us, that with him the vanity of the writer triumphed over the convictions of the reformer. For disinterestedness, few men have shown a self-denial equal to his; for during his whole life, his annual income did not exceed an hundred and fifty livres in money, twenty-seven bushels of grain, and two tons of wine, and he would never receive more. At his death, when the magistrates took an inventory of his property in books, furniture, dishes, and plates, and money, they found it amounted to the small sum of only one hundred and twenty-five crowns.

Whilst his holiness was rejoicing over his deliverance from so terrible a foe, and dreaming of the mode of taking some advantage from this fortunate event, a plot was then organised against his life; so true is it, that we are never so near danger, as when we think ourselves farthest from it. Peter Accolti, a rich citizen of Rome, had formed a secret society with some of his friends, who were, like him, indignant at seeing their country submitted to the despotism of Pius the Fourth. The conspiracy being organised, Accolti made several efforts, and under various pretexts, to introduce himself into the pontifical palace, to stab the execrable pontiff. But unfortunately one evening his holiness was apprized that he persisted strongly in obtaining an audience.

This awakened the suspicions of the pope; immediately, and by his order, the house of Accolti was surrounded, the doors forced, and the rooms examined; as it was the time when the conspirators met, all his accomplices were seized, bound, and plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition. After having suffered there dreadful tortures, they were burned alive on the great square of Rome, for the edification of the faithful.

Although the plot of Accolti had been ward ed off, it was the cause of two great sources of grief to the pontiff; one of his nephews, Frederick Borromeo, became seriously ill. In consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in instituting proceedings against the accused, and died; another of his nephews, the cardinal Charles Borromeo, whom the church has since canonized, after having exhibited an incredible bitterness against the unfortunate conspirators, became horror-stricken at himself, abandoned the court, and retired to Milan, of which he was the archbishop.

Deprived of his dearest nephews, Pius bestowed all his affections on the sons of his sister, Hannibal and Mark Alteams; he gave to the first the government of Rome, and destined the widow of Frederick Borromeo, with a large dowry, for him in marriage. He abandoned to the second, who was already a cardinal, by the title of Sitico, the direction of religious matters, and as he foresaw that he would not have the power long in his hands, on account of the advanced age of his uncle, and his habitual debaucheries, he resolved to profit by the time. He first burthened the people with extraordinary imposts, and laid forced contributions on the nobility and clergy; he publicly sold dispensations and canons; he then borrowed large sums, under the pretext of levying troops, and seized on the sums destined for the equipment of the recruits.

Pius the Fourth, freed from all care and inquietude, reposed from the agitations of his past life, regaling his sight by day with the punishments in the halls of torture of the inquisition, and by night plunging into drunken debauches with his favourites, minions, and mistresses. He was at last drawn from his apathy by the ambassadors of Spain, who, to recall him to a sentiment of his political existence, summoned him to renew his efforts against Germany, and to have the proceedings of the synod of Trent adopted in that country. He then sent nuncios to the court of Bavaria, and to that of Maximilian, to engage the sovereigns of those countries to take steps in conformity with the decisions of the fathers. The duke of Bavaria, Albert the Third, called the Magnanimous, who had been for a long time under the influence of the Jesuits, made no difficulty in receiving the decrees of the pretended oecumenical council, and even declared to the apostolic ambassadors that he intended to massacre three-fourths of his subjects, to constrain them to obey the pope, and reconfirm the bosom of Catholicism. He commanded and compelling the professors of In-  
gods cardinal sign the creed, under penalty of

banishment, and then forced the public functionaries to adhere to the Catholic confession under penalty of degradation. With the citizens, he used still less caution; he gave them up to the jurisdiction of the Jesuits. It was not so in the states immediately dependent on Maximilian; not only did he refuse to listen to the remonstrances of the pope, but he informed him, in the name of the electors, that he must authorise in Germany, the communion under two kinds, and the marriage of the priests, unless he wished to perpetuate the schism and expose himself to great dangers.

Pius, notwithstanding his desire to avoid a rupture with Maximilian, dared not accede unreservedly to his demand, and replied to him, that his position as infallible pontiff, permitted him to modify the worship at his pleasure; that he would consequently authorise the communion under two kinds, but that it was impossible for him to decide the question of the marriage of priests.

The prince not appearing satisfied with this concession, his holiness took steps to allay the danger; he sought to attract to his cause the kings of France and Spain, and persuaded these two sovereigns that Maximilian had a well-arranged plan of uniting with the Huguenots of France to annihilate Catholicism and seize on the thrones of Charles the Ninth and Philip the Second. The fear of danger, all power-

ful over the mind of tyrants, determined the kings of France and Spain to league with the pope. Philip sent his wife to Bayonne, and Charles the Ninth accompanied his mother to the conference, to arrange with the duke of Alba and the representatives of his holiness, the basis of a new league against the protestants. It was agreed in this cabal of wild beasts and hyenas, that Catherine de Medicis should lay a strong hand on all the Huguenots of France, whilst the Spanish armies should invade Navarre and the Low Countries, to close with the heretics at a blow.

As it was necessary for the success of such a plan to lull the vigilance of the Calvinists, the holy father suspended the proceedings of the tribunals of the inquisition against those who were accused of heresy; he set a great number of those unfortunate persons at liberty, and to increase still further the security of the protestants he invited, every night, to his table the ambassadors of Germany and Huguenot lords, and got drunk in drinking to their conversion. This ardent desire of Pius to see religion triumph over the heretics, carried him so far in his libations, that at the close of a great repast, during which he swallowed twelve flasks of wine, he was taken with an attack of apoplexy and died in a few hours afterwards, on the night of the 8th or 9th of December, 1565.

## PIUS THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1565\*]

*Election of Pius the Fifth—His history before his promotion to the papacy—His holiness presides over the tribunal of the inquisition—Cruelties of the holy father—His laws against the prostitutes of Rome—Diet of Augsburg—The pontiff induces the king of Spain to massacre his subjects in the Low Countries—He kindles the civil war in France—The victory of the duke of Alba attributed to the prayers of the pope—Quarrel between the pope and the emperor—Conspiracy of the holy father against Elizabeth of England—He anathematizes that queen—League against the Turks—Negotiation of the cardinal Alexandrin—The pope seeks the alliance of the Arabs and Persians—He wishes to exterminate the protestants of Europe—Death of this execrable pope.*

WHEN the funeral ceremonies of the infamous Pius the Fourth were over, the cardinals entered into the conclave, and according to custom, each went to work to intrigue, either to buy or sell his vote. Charles Borromeo, the nephew of the dead pontiff, being one of the richest, was in a situation to decide the election by pronouncing, with his faction, for the candidate who was agreeable to him. The cardinal Morone, a venerable prelate, who possessed a justly acquired reputation for tolerance and morality, was first proposed; it was for his very virtues that Charles caused him to be excluded. He represented to the members of the sacred college that such a pope would not know how to use a salutary rigor in maintaining the rights of the Holy See;

they yielded to his remarks. The cardinal Sireletto was then proposed; this cardinal was rejected on account of the severity of his morals and his habits of sobriety. They then spoke of the grand inquisitor, Michael Ghisleri, a debauched and ferocious Dominican. Charles Borromeo finding nothing to say against this choice, he was immediately proclaimed head of the church by the name of Pius the Fifth.

It has been proved that the origin of this pontiff was most obscure, though his courtiers afterwards sought to forge a genealogy for him, which made him a descendant of the illustrious family of the Consilieri, a name which his ancestors had abandoned, they said, when they established themselves at Rome,

to take that of Ghisleri. Vanity has so much power over the hearts of men that his holiness, whether he was the dupe of this absurd story, or whether he wished to conceal from the eyes of men the low rank of his relatives, issued a brief, ordering the Ghisleri to retake the glorious name of Consilieri.

Michael was born at Bologna, of parents so poor and miserable that he was constrained to enter as a scullion into a convent of the order of St Dominic. His good figure, and certain attractions of manner, had attracted the attention of the prior, one of the most debauched monks of the convent; he made him his minion, and to cover his infamous amours from the eyes of his brethren, he took care of his education. At sixteen years of age Michael had become so skilful a theologian, that he was appointed a professor of his order; afterwards, and still by the assistance of the prior, he was appointed an inquisitor in the city of Como. The young Dominican merited the distinctions with which he was honoured, and commenced displaying that inflexible character and implacable cruelty, which were to make him one of the most sanguinary pontiffs that ever occupied the seat of the apostle. We must not be astonished then that his severities towards the unfortunate heretics, drove him in succession from Como, Bergamo, and the country of the Grisons, whither he had been sent to persecute the heretics, in the capacity of commissioner general of the inquisition. After having discharged the duties of inspector general of the tribunals of the holy office for several years, he was made grand inquisitor during the pontificate of Paul the Fourth. His cruelties, in the exercise of his new office, were pushed so far, that a cry of execration against him went up from all directions.

Scarcely was he installed on the chair of St. Peter, when he erased the proceedings ordained by his predecessor against the family of the Caraffa, and gave a prelude, by judicial executions, to the butcheries which filled his reign. All those who had contributed directly, or indirectly, to the condemnation of the nephews of Paul the Fourth, his protector, were arrested, plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition and burned alive. The judges alone were spared, on account of their servile retraction, for these wretches had the meanness to go in a body to the Vatican, to humble themselves before him, and to beseech him to absolve them from their crime, and to pardon them for having shed innocent blood to please an infallible pontiff. None of the enemies of this family could escape the vengeance of Pius the Fifth; he pursued them even into foreign countries, where they had taken refuge. Julius Zoanetti was arrested at Venice, and Peter Carnesecchi was carried off from Florence; they were both brought to Rome, and brought to judgment for having been guilty of criminal intercourse with the beautiful Victoria Colonna, the widow of Pescara, and of Julia of Gonzagua, who were both suspected of heresy; an absurd accusation,

since one of these women had been dead for nineteen years. Carnesecchi and Zoanetti were, however, put to the torture in the presence of the holy father, and pinched with red hot pincers, with such cruelty that these unfortunate men avowed their guilt, and asked, as a favour, to be condemned to death, which was at once granted them.

His holiness, though freed from the enemies of the Caraffa, gave no relaxation to the executioners of the holy office; he fell upon the heretics, cast them, by thousands, into prison, and even wished to preside over the executions. Among other examples of the ferocity of Pius, the historian Volaterran, cites the case of a young woman, who had been denounced by the spies of the inquisitors, for having aided the flight, from Rome, of one of her sisters, who had embraced Calvinism. This unfortunate female was torn, by night, from her family, and without any regard to her state of pregnancy, was plunged into a dark and infected cell, where she was delivered of her child from fright. In the morning the cruel Pius brought her before his tribunal, and without being moved by the protestations of innocence, and the prayers of this unfortunate woman, he ordered the monks, who filled the office of tormentors, to do their duty. Three Dominicans then seized her, tore off her clothes, and left her entirely naked; they then bent her body on the rack, fastened her feet and arms to cords which were retained to the wall in iron rings, and drew her with so much violence, that her delicate and weak members were cut to the bone. They then inflicted on her the torture of water. But after she had swallowed eight whole measures, she vomited it up with torrents of blood, and fainted. His holiness then ordered the executioners to apply plates of heated brass to the most sensitive parts of her body, and to light a fire under her feet, which recalled her from her swoon. Finally, as she persisted in her innocence, they took her down from the rack, and carried her back to her dungeon to her child, who had died from cold, whilst they were torturing her; she herself died the next day. Pius having discovered that she had been falsely accused, contented himself with restoring her dead body to her family.

Aonius Palearius, one of the most celebrated authors of the sixteenth century, became also the victim of this monster on the following account. A spy of the inquisition having informed the court of Rome, that Aonius had said that the inquisition was a dagger, whose blade was directed at the heart of all men of letters, the pope sent abirri to Milan, seized the guilty man by night, and conducted him to Rome, where he was at once thrown into the prisons of the Vatican. He was then put to the torture, and compelled to sign a writing, in which he admitted that the pope had the power to put heretics to death; that the church could appoint ministers to carry out the sentences inflicted by the inquisitors; that the Roman pontiff himself

might, with his own hand, after the example of Samuel and St. Peter, seize the sword and strike his enemies. When the unfortunate man had placed his name to this, they used his own avowals against him, and Pius caused him to be hung before his eyes.

The acts of barbarity which signalised the commencement of this pontificate, produced such alarm, that in less than six months more than a third of the population had abandoned the holy city; and as the cardinals essayed one day in the consistory, to make some remonstrances with Pius, to induce him, for the interest of the church, to show clemency: "No, no," he replied, "we are inexorable; no pity, no mercy for heretics; better to annihilate the present generation, than bequeath error to those which are to come."

In fact, instead of departing from his severity, he became more terrible, and more implacable than ever; and on the mere suspicion that several Calvinist females had enrolled themselves among the prostitutes, to avoid being handed over to the inquisitors, he published an edict enjoining on the courtezans of Rome to marry in less than a month, or to leave the city, under penalty, in case of disobedience, of being publicly whipped by the executioner. This decree was not, however, executed, and the cardinals induced him to revoke it, by representing to him that the forty-five thousand prostitutes who inhabited Rome were necessary for the ecclesiastics, and that if he suppressed the brothels, his clergy would fall into the shameful disorders of sodomy, and that he would, moreover, deprive the apostolic treasury of the most productive source of its revenues. This last consideration determined Pius to substitute for afflictive penalties a simple mark of infamy; he decided that these women should in future dwell in one quarter, and that they should not appear by day or night in the streets of Rome. He preserved to them, however, the privileges of being buried in a consecrated ground, situated near the Flaminian gate, behind the leaning wall called *muro torto*. The holy father also evinced severity towards torredores; he prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, those who died in bull fights from being buried in holy ground. Finally, he urged his cruelty so far, as to enjoin on physicians to quit attending the sick who refused to receive the sacraments at the third visit, and to denounce them to superior authority.

Pius the Fifth limited himself to no bounds, but he might make Italy groan beneath the yoke of fanaticism and terror. Already master of Spain, in which reigned Philip the Second, his worthy rival in ferocity, he wished to assure the triumph of the inquisition in the Low Countries, and excited the king of Spain to pursue the heretics of those countries to the utmost. Margaret of Parma, the sister of Philip, and regent of the Low Countries, did her best to second the fury of her brother, and caused many of the reformed to be arrested. But whether the judges tacitly favoured the new doctrines, or whether they discovered

the danger of pushing a warlike people to despair, almost all the accused were set at liberty. In the principal cities of the province, at Tournay, Lille, Valenciennes, the followers of Baius, and of John of Lovain, who were moderate Calvinists, were counted by thousands. Assemblies of five or six hundred persons, protected by the prince of Orange, met ostensibly to sing the psalms of the celebrated Clement Marot, the poet of the French court, and if Margaret of Parma desired to restrain the heretics, or to close the halls which they used for their temples, the people ran to arms and drove away the soldiers.

Philip the Second, at the instigation of the holy father, issued new edicts against the heretics, and ordered the princes and lords of the Low Countries, to have the decrees of the council of Trent adopted in the fiefs dependent on their jurisdiction, under penalty of being deprived of their property and dignities. Instead of being intimidated by this threat, the Flemings determined to rid themselves of Spanish tyranny, and swore to perish to the last man in regaining their independence. A vast conspiracy was formed, under the direction of Philip Maruix, of Sainte Aldegonde, and on the appointed day, more than thirty thousand peasants, burghers, or nobles, assembled in a vast plain without the gates of Brussels, and made several important decisions. At the close of this first meeting, five hundred deputies, having at their head Henry de Brederode, the counts of Nassau, Berg and Culemburg, traversed the city in silence, went to the palace of the regent, and demanded, in the name of the people, to present a request to her.

Margaret, alarmed by such an imposing manifestation, received the envoys with every appearance of kindness, and promised them to suppress the tribunals of the inquisition, and grant them freedom of conscience. But, as they were retiring, the count de Barlemont, her intimate confidant and lover, exclaimed with the insolence of a favourite: "Take courage dutchess, you have only to deal with a crowd of beggars, whom it will be easy to bring to reason." On the next day Brederode seized the word, and proposed to the conspirators, to name their association the confederacy of beggars. The rebels then fastened to their girdles a wooden porringer, and around their neck a medal, representing on one side King Philip, and on the other a wallet, with this motto, "Faithful to the king to beggary." On their side, the Catholics adopted a medal, representing the Holy Virgin with her son in her arms.

Pius the Fifth, informed by Margaret of Parma of this badge, had a ship's cargo of medals made at Rome, which he sent at once to her, with a brief, which granted plenary indulgences to those who wore them, for all the crimes they had committed or might in future commit. His holiness wrote at the same time to the governess, to praise her for the zeal she had exhibited, and to exhort her to be pitiless in the exercise of her power. The

conspirators of Flanders, however, tired of waiting uselessly for the execution of the promises of the sister of Philip, resolved to summon that sovereign to decide the matter, and sent a deputation to him in Spain. The pontiff, informed of this step, sent at once a mandate to Peter Carnajan, bishop of Ascoli, his nuncio at Madrid, to watch the deputies of Flanders, and to set every thing to work to induce the king to burn them alive as heretics. The money of the holy father found no difficulty in inducing the sanguinary Philip to adopt a measure in accordance with his morals and his habits; and on the day of the arrival of the deputation of the beggars, the unfortunate Flemings who composed it were arrested, handed over to the tribunals of the holy office, and put to death.

As soon as the news of this atrocious action reached the Low Countries, a general cry of indignation arose against the infamous monarch. Fifty thousand insurgents rose as one man, traversed the boroughs, villages, cities, carrying fire and blood every where, breaking the statues of the saints, pillaging the churches and monasteries, murdering the priests and monks. "In the city of Antwerp," say the Catholic historians, "deplorable scenes occurred; the cathedral was pillaged for three days, and the beggars, not content with destroying the images, used, in derision, the holy oil to smooth their hair and beards. We cannot too much applaud the preaching of the Franciscan, Corneille Adriaensen, and repeat with him 'yes, we must hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle, bury alive, those infamous heretics; we must rip up the stomachs of their women, and crush their infants against the walls, in order to annihilate for ever their execrable race.'" We will add what the Catholic writers have passed by in silence, that the better to kindle the pious ardour of the bigots and fanatics who followed the sermons of Adriaensen, that preacher assembled the youngest and handsomest of both sexes, stripped them of their clothing and whipped them mildly and gently with osier twigs.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the regent, the revolt of the beggars soon became so threatening, that Margaret was compelled to grant liberty of conscience, and suppress the tribunals of the inquisition. From that time, the reformed preached their doctrines freely through all Flanders, and bands of eight or ten thousand religionists left the cities of Tournay, Lille, Valenciennes, and Antwerp, to listen to the preaching of the ministers Hessels and Baius in the open country.

Pius the Fifth, furious at this concession, wrote to Margaret, that she must revoke the edict she had made in favour of the beggars, under penalty of the most terrible censures, and ordered her to march her best troops at once against the rebels. He also wrote to Philip the Second, that he relaxed nothing in his rigour against the heretics of Flanders, and that he would refuse his sanction to the measures of his sister.—"We must make all these wretches swim in a sea of blood,"

added he, in his letter to the prince; "fire and sword must transform those fertile plains and proud cities into deserts, that the faithful may applaud our orthodox zeal, and rejoice in the triumph of the faith." The king of Spain, as usual, obeyed the pope, and sent the duke of Alba into Flanders, at the head of a powerful army, to take the government of that province, and fortified with orders so severe, that the apostolic nuncio wrote to Pius the Fifth, that that sovereign had so much love for religion, that it was necessary to arrest him, rather than to urge him on.

As soon as the duke entered Brussels, the regent placed all her powers in his hands, and left the Low Countries. He, finding himself invested with unlimited authority, wished to exercise it with the rigour which had been commanded him. He immediately created a chamber of justice, which he called the council of troubles, but which the people called the council of blood. He then arrested thousands of citizens, without distinction, and filled the prisons with them; he then proscribed all the nobles, confiscated their property, sold it for the use of the prince, and employed the proceeds in building bastilles, forts, and citadels around the cities, and, finally, when he thought himself beyond the reach of new efforts at insurrection, he proceeded to the execution of the prisoners.

John Vargas, one of the favourites of the new governor, was appointed president of the tribunal of blood, which condemned all the accused without exception, and without regard for sex or religion, since, wrote Philip, all the Belgians deserved death; the heretics for having pillaged the churches, and the Catholics for not having prevented them from doing so. During whole months, gibbets, scaffolds, and funeral pyres covered the public squares of all the principal cities, and each day brought around for the Belgians new executions, or new punishments.

It was computed that in a single day, between the rising and the setting of the sun, the duke of Alba, burned, flayed, and roasted more than six hundred persons. The alarm was every where at its height; the prince of Orange, a great number of lords, and more than thirty thousand Calvinists fled, fortunately, into England, France, and Germany, and escaped death; but those who had not time nor the wish to emigrate, amongst others, the counts of Horn and Egmont, and twenty-three of the most illustrious lords of the nobility of Flanders, were arrested and mercilessly executed.

At last, as the representative of Philip continued his murders and massacres, the emigrant Calvinists determined to free their country from the monster who oppressed it. Seconded by Queen Elizabeth of England, who hated Pius the Fifth, aided by the Huguenots of France, they assembled in arms under the command of the prince of Orange and count Louis of Nassau, his brother, and marched on Brussels. Unfortunately, the duke of Alba at the head of his veteran and numerous

troops, conquered these intrepid chiefs, and forced them to fall back on France. This victory was attributed, by the Catholics, to the prayers of the pope; Te Deums were chanted in all the churches of Italy, to return thanks to God for the defeat of the heretics; at Rome they illuminated; his holiness even caused cannon to be fired, to celebrate the triumph of the Catholics, and in the effusion of his joy, he sent to the executioner of Flanders a sword and a cap of honour, with this address, "To the glorious conqueror of heresy." The duke of Alba was so pleased with this title, that he had it engraved on the pedestal of a statue which was erected to him at Antwerp.

Flanders subjugated and the heretics crushed, the pope turned his attention to Scotland, where the new doctrines had been proclaimed by parliament the religion of the state. He thought it would be easy for him to bring back the people of this country beneath the pontifical yoke, by flattering the irregular passions of their queen, the beautiful Mary Stuart, the widow of Francis the Second, and again married to a Scotch gentleman named Darnley. He accordingly proposed to give her as much money as she wanted, provided she would erase the decree of her parliament, and would put to death her natural brother, the earl of Murray, a lord named Morton, and her own husband, who had all three been imprudent enough to declare openly against the court of Rome. The queen entered into this bargain the more willingly, as her new spouse was disfigured by the smallpox; and as his beauty alone had procured him the throne, it was natural his homeliness should lose it for him. Mary Stuart then organised an infernal plot with Bothwell, her new favourite, who had succeeded the Italian Rizzio, assassinated in her sight by Darnley. She herself conducted her convalescent husband to a house which belonged to the provost of the college of St. Mary, under a pretence of a change of air, and on the same night she left him, to assist at the marriage of one of her maids of honour, leaving no one with him but a valet de chambre. What occurred during that night? No one knows; only that towards two o'clock in the morning, an explosion was heard, the house of the provost fell down from the explosion of a mine, and when the bodies of the king and his domestic were found, both bore marks of strangulation. Some months afterwards the court of Rome sent three hundred thousand crowns of gold to pay for the festivities of the third marriage of the queen of Scotland with her favourite Bothwell; and a nuncio went towards Scotland with a legion of Jesuits and Dominicans, to organise inquisitorial tribunals. But the Scotch did not permit the two assassins to fulfil the conditions of their infamous treaty; they took up arms every where; a formidable insurrection broke out at all points at once, and an army besieged Mary and her accomplice in the castle of Bothwick. At the very moment they were about to be forced in this retreat, they received succour

from without and facilitated their flight. Mary threw herself into the fortress of Dunbar; Bothwell escaped to the Orkneys, and went to Norway, where he died miserably.

When the nuncio was informed of these events he was at Ansero and preparing to embark for Scotland; fear of danger caused him promptly to renounce his mission; he hastened to retrace his steps, with his horde of inquisitors, and returned to Italy. Pius the Fifth, furious at having spent so much money only to murder a king, when he desired the extermination of a people, would no longer hear of Mary Stuart, and abandoned her to her unfortunate fate.

His holiness had however found in France a compensation for this check; the general of the Jesuits, Laynez, had been dead for two years, and his successor Borgia, duke of Candia, one of the descendants of the infamous pope, Alexander the Sixth, had marvellously restored the situation of affairs in that country.

In order to obtain an idea of the folly, fanaticism, and ignorance of this new chief of the Jesuits, it is only required to read the strange discourse he delivered on the day of his election. Among other things he said, "The favour I beseech you to grant me, most reverend fathers, who have made me your chief, is to use me as muleteers use their beasts of burthen: they are not content with placing on their backs the load they are to bear, they still direct them. If they stumble, they solace them; if they go not fast enough they whip them; if they fall down they raise them. I wish to be truly your beast of burthen; use me then as these animals are used, that I may be enabled to say, 'I look upon myself as an ass in your company.' Raise up, then, your beast by your prayers; if it goes too slowly, excite it by your charitable advice; finally, if you see me bend beneath the burthen of my charge, remove the weight of my panniers." Pius the Fifth soon discovered what advantage he might derive from such a general; thus he spurred him on unceasingly to give a more active impulse to the society; and soon, thanks to his efforts, the disciples of Loyola spread themselves through all the provinces of France, organised brotherhoods of penitents, congregations of devotees, into which princes, lords, barons, and burghers entered, all pledged, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to live and die for the defence of the Catholic faith; all sworn on the consecrated host, to sacrifice their property and their lives to protect it, to extend and avenge the Roman religion; finally, all swearing, between the hands of the chief of these partial associations, to obey blindly the orders which were transmitted to them in the name of the pope. Whoever refused to enter one of these fraternities, was declared an enemy of God, and as such the Jesuits designated him for the daggers of fanatics.

As soon as these religious societies had taken a certain development, the holy father resolved to use them to form a vast league which should embrace all France: he

then informed Charles the Ninth, through the cardinal Lorraine, that he was unwilling to endure much longer that the Calvinists should outrage God by praying in their houses; that he consequently recalled the solemn engagements which he had entered into with the glorious duke of Alba at the interview of Bayonne, and the promise his mother had made in his name to exterminate all the protestants of his kingdom. The king replied that he entered fully into the views of the court of Rome, and that he was as anxious as his holiness to put an end to the Reformation, and that he only waited for a favourable moment to strike a great blow. But things transpired otherwise than as he hoped. Instead of waiting for the Catholics to attack them, the Huguenots, whose distrust had been excited by the armaments of the court, became the assailants, assembled under the orders of the prince of Condé and commenced hostilities. In fifteen days they carried fifty places, pushed their success as far as Monceaux, where the court was, and evinced a disposition to carry off the young monarch. A panic seized the courtiers, and they all fled with the cowardly Charles the Ninth, and cast themselves into Meaux, from whence they reached Paris, under the protection of six thousand Swiss and the light horse of the guard. As soon as the bulk of his army arrived, they commenced the blockade of Paris, to starve it; for this purpose he burned the mills, made himself master of the Seine, and placed garrisons in the neighbouring chateaux to intercept the convoys of provisions which were arriving by land. This measure produced the result the reformed expected; the people, brought to bay, murmured and threatened to open the gates of the city to the prince. In this extremity the king determined to make a sortie in person to repulse the Huguenots and free his capital; he still however remained prudently with the rear guard, so as not to expose his person, and gave the command of the troops to the constable, Anne de Montmorency. The action was fought with equal fury on both sides; but the constable having been mortally wounded, the day was decided in favour of the Calvinists, Charles fled at full speed to Paris, and the Catholic soldiers, following his example, abandoned the field of battle.

The prince of Condé, without loss of time, moved his camp nearer, and enclosed the place so that it was no longer possible to afford it any succour. Catherine de Medicis then demanded a conference with the besiegers; she offered to grant them the free exercise of the reformed religion throughout the kingdom; she engaged to pay the arrears due to the German troops, and employed threats and promises so well, that she induced the Huguenot leaders to sign a peace. This treaty, imposed on them by circumstances, did not satisfy either the court, or Catherine de Medicis, or Pius the Fifth, who saw his plans of extermination annihilated; thus the Catholics made no scruple at not observing its clauses, and the Jesuits continued as before, to make

the chairs in the schools and the pulpits in the churches, resound with furious declamations against the heretics. Catherine de Medicis and Charles the Ninth, excited assaults upon the reformed and encouraged assassinations, so that in less than three months, more than ten thousand of the reformed fell victims to these hateful manoeuvres.

Urged on by despair, the latter retook their arms, equipped a fleet, and sent to ask for aid from the queen of England and the princes of Germany. On his side, the pope spared no pains to render the war between the Catholics and protestants most bloody. He sent large sums to Catherine de Medicis, to assist her in levying troops, and also a body of Italian cavalry, to reinforce her army. Some generous citizens, among others the chancellor de l'Hospital, represented to the king, that he was obeying, without knowing it, the suggestions of the court of Rome; that it was impolitic for a sovereign to exterminate his subjects for the interests of the pope, and that the safety of his kingdom demanded toleration. But this beardless monarch, this fanatical devotee, was unwilling to listen to any advice; he drove these virtuous men from his presence, took the seals from the chancellor, and exiled him from the court.

Freed from the inconvenient supervision which the chancellor de l'Hospital exercised over them, the Jesuits gave a new impulse to the religious associations which they had organised in all parts of the kingdom. Catherine de Medicis entered into an arrangement with them, so as to give more unity to her plans and sent, through them, to the heads of the fraternities, the form of an oath, by which each of them bound himself to obey no orders but those of the king, and to abstain from any enterprise which had not his formal sanction. She then issued a decree prohibiting the Huguenots from assembling for worship, under penalty of death.

Charles the Ninth, still at the instigation of his mother, issued a second edict, which enjoined on the reformed to abstain from their employments; and the parliament of Paris, in verifying this decree, had the cowardice to add, that from henceforth no one should be admitted to the magistracy, who did not first swear to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith. These obligations were even imposed on the university, and by order of his majesty, the doctors of the four faculties were held to swear absolute obedience to the wishes of the pope, with their right hand on the gospel and their left on a crucifix.

When the royal army was in a situation to keep the field, the marshal Saulx de Tavannes took the command of it, though the title of generalissimo had been given to the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, a young debauchee of sixteen. The Catholic army first endeavoured to seize the prince of Condé and the admiral Coligny; but these two leaders, warned in time, escaped from the troops which had been sent against them and took refuge in Ro-

chelle, the bulwark of the Calvinists, where they found the succours which had been sent to them from Germany and England.

The Huguenots then took the offensive, and though inferior in number to the Catholics, they thrice offered them battle. Unfortunately, numbers prevailed over courage, and in these two days the reformed met with terrible losses. At Jarnac, Louis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, was slain with ten thousand of his co-religionists. At Moncontour, more than twenty thousand protestants remained upon the field. On this last day, the Catholics showed so much cruelty, say the chronicles, that they massacred entire bodies who had laid down their arms; and if they made some prisoners, it was because they were tired of murdering. Pius the Fifth blamed the marshal de Tavannes very much, however, for sparing a single life, and to repair this fault he wrote at once to the king of France:—"In the name of Christ, we order you to hang or behead the prisoners whom you have made, without regard to learning, rank, sex, or age, without human respect or pity. Since it is well known that peace can never exist between the sons of Satan and the children of light, this race of impious wretches must not in future be permitted to multiply. Exterminate to the last these wicked heretics; the holocaust most agreeable to God, is the blood of the enemies of the Catholic religion; make it flow in floods upon his altars; and if you do not obey, remember the fate of Saul and the vengeance which that prince drew upon himself, because he did not put the king of the Amalekites to death."

In consequence of these recommendations, his majesty sent an order to the generalissimo of his army to put all his prisoners to death; which was done. The duke de Montpensier, one of the Catholic leaders, not having the courage to put to death the unfortunates who were entrusted to his keeping, handed them over to his almoner, the Jesuit Babelot, to do as he pleased. This wretch had the cruelty to trample children at the breast beneath his feet, to have the females violated, and to murder them himself, whilst the soldiers were assuaging their execrable licentiousness upon them; as for the men, he had them merely flayed alive or burned.

Pius the Fifth thought that the protestant party was ruined in France by the battle of Moncontour, and that the king could do the work alone; he then recalled the count de Santa Fiore, who was a burthen on his treasury. The entry of these troops into Rome, was celebrated as in the triumphal days of the generals of the republic. His holiness went, with all his clergy, two miles to meet them; he then had the flags taken from the Calvinists suspended in the church of St. John of the Lateran, and terminated the ceremony by announcing the end of heresy, and the triumph of Catholicism as certain.

Notwithstanding the predictions of the pope, the reformed, whom he had regarded as crushed, raised their heads and re-established their

affairs so successfully, that the court trembled anew for the issue of the war. Then Catherine de Medicis, who dreaded to be besieged in Paris, had recourse to negotiations, and offered peace to the reformed with such advantageous conditions, that they would not have been able to impose others, even had their party triumphed over the Catholic army. Besides a general amnesty, they obtained the free exercise of their religion, the restitution of confiscated property, the privilege of representing six judges in parliament, and the choice of four strong cities, with power to place garrisons in them.

It is just to say, that the fear which the Huguenots inspired, was not the sole motive for peace. The emperor Maximilian the Second, had made it one of the conditions he had imposed on the court of France, in exchange for his consent to the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth of Austria, with Charles the Ninth. The cessation of hostilities again excited great discontent at Rome, and the holy father even dared to express his sentiments on the subject to the French ambassador, and to threaten the queen mother and her son, with excommunication, if they did not keep the oath they had taken to organise a vast conspiracy, to exterminate all the heretics of their kingdom. Catherine de Medicis and the cowardly Charles the Ninth, hastened to write to his holiness, that they had not renounced their plans, and were only taking their measures, so that none of their enemies could escape them.

Pius the Fifth appeared to be satisfied with the assurances they gave him, he blamed, however, the respect shown to Henry of Navarre, the admiral Coligny and the young Condé, and disapproved of the concessions which had been made to the heretics. Then, in order to punish Maximilian, whom he regarded as the principal author of this peace, he interfered in a question of precedence between the dukes of Ferrara and Florence, and which had been submitted for some years to the arbitration of the emperor, and usurping a right which did not belong to him, he decided the affair in the following bull:—"We, Pius the Fifth, the successor of the apostle Peter, the vicar of Christ, seated on the elevated throne of the church militant, and set by the Lord over nations and kings, order that our dear son, Como de Medicis, should wear a royal crown, and be called grand duke of Tuscany, by virtue of the supreme authority with which we are invested, and which gives us the right to distribute titles to princes, in the same manner that our first father Adam received from God the right to give names to animals." Maximilian, who did not share in the belief of the holy father on this subject, protested against this bull, and called his two vassals to his tribunal. Como de Medicis, in whose favour the decree was, declared the matter to be adjudicated, and refused to appear before his sovereign; the result was, a war between the two princes. This success emboldened the holy father, and determined



him to strike a great blow, not in Germany, but in England; the object was no less than to have Queen Elizabeth assassinated, and to place the triple crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the brow of Mary Stuart, then a prisoner in the castle of Fotheringay, and who was pledged by oath, to re-establish the Catholic religion in Great Britain. The Jesuits mutually entered into the views of the holy father, and organised a vast conspiracy. Unfortunately for them, on the eve of its execution a traitor sold them, and all paid with their heads for their participation in the plot. Pius the Fifth, furious at finding his plans discovered, immediately fulminated a bull against Elizabeth; he declared her excommunicated, freed her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave her kingdom to the first occupant.

This bold excommunication was affixed by John Felton, to the doors of the episcopal palace of London, and this intrepid disciple of Loyola, obtained as a recompense, the crown of martyrdom. An order of Elizabeth then declared all Jesuits banished from the kingdom, under penalty of death, if they dared to re-appear. Notwithstanding this edict, these courageous satellites of the Holy See, remained in Great Britain, concealed under different disguises, and ready to execute the orders of their general. Thus, before such devotion, Pius exclaimed, "Yes, with such men, will I triumph over kings, and exterminate people, if God will only grant me some years of life." In fact, the power of this society had so increased, that it threatened to substitute itself for the secular authority every where. In the Low Countries, thanks to the protection of the ferocious duke of Alba, the Jesuits had founded a colony at Anvers, and laboured openly for the ruin of Flanders and Holland. In Portugal, they had taken the regency from Queen Catherine, to give it to Cardinal Henry, who was affiliated with their society, and had even forced King Sebastian to take a member of their order as his preceptor, and another as his confessor, and the grand inquisitor as his minister. When this young prince, arrived at the age of manhood, wished to make an effort to free himself from odious tutelage, they threatened to burn him alive as a heretic, and became stronger than ever. In Germany, they had been enabled to establish colleges, notwithstanding the active opposition of the people, and although they were convicted of practising sodomy on the children confided to their care. In Spain they had become so powerful, that Philip the Second, fearful of displeasing them, authorised them to abandon themselves to strange and frequently obscene practices.

If any other than a Jesuit had left us an account of the means they employed to excite terror in the hearts of the faithful, we would accuse him of calumny; but it is a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, Father Orlandino, who speaks, "at certain festivals during the year, we traversed the streets by night, exclaiming in lugubrious and prophetic tones, 'Hell, hell,

for men and women, who are now committing the sin of licentiousness.' In other solemnities our superiors order us, through a spirit of humility, to despoil us of our garments, and to go from door to door asking alms; we pay our devotions from church to church, without garments, flagellating each other, whilst the young novices thunder forth psalms."

In Sicily, adds another historian, they gave every year the spectacle of an allegorical procession, of which the subject was the power of death over all creatures. "On that day, all the Jesuits formed an immense troop; in front they carried a great image extended on a coffin; around this effigy of the Saviour, marched four ranks of angels, virgins, and saints, represented by lads or young girls, having no clothing but wings or garlands of flowers; behind them came lean and meagre horsemen, entirely naked, and mounted on horses, without bridle or saddle; then came Death, represented by a skeleton of more than a hundred feet high, holding a scythe in his right hand, carrying a bow and arrows on his shoulders, and having shovels, mattocks, and all the implements of a grave digger at his feet. This gigantic skeleton was placed on a car, decorated with black drapery, and drawn by twelve bulls, which the dean of the Jesuits, who represented Time, conducted. Other fathers, disguised as demons, surrounded the car, uttering terrible cries, and brandishing torches of rosin. Behind the car of Death pressed a crowd of spectres, representing all the conditions of life, and monks who sung hymns of death."

In Venice the Jesuits were held in great honour, and had it not been for their ardour in confessing women and young girls in their private apartments, it is probable they would have maintained it; but their great zeal in administering the sacrament of penance to the young dames, drew on them the hatred of the senators; and the doge having learned that his wife had been called to her confessor three times in one day, to obtain absolution from him, it was decided by the supreme council of Ten, that they should be expelled from its territory. They left it, to retire to Milan, to Charles Borromeo, the archbishop of that city, who avowed himself their protector, and gave them the direction of a college at Brajda, and the control of a seminary, until they could return to Venice.

In the dominions of the duke of Savoy they had seized on all employments, and could, with impunity, violate women, or use young boys in their infamous pleasures. Moreover, one of them, Father Possevin, had placed himself at the head of bands, paid by the money of the pope, and was executing severe justice on the heretics of the dutchy. They triumphed in Poland, Sweden, and Norway; ever where, in fine, they knew how to exercise their execrable sway, by becoming the confessors of princes and lords, and by selling their secrets to the court of Rome.

Pius the Fifth, finding himself so well served by his cohorts of Jesuits, conceived the plan

of renewing the massacres of the Sicilian Vespers through all Europe, and of annihilating, at one blow, all the enemies of the Holy See. He accordingly wrote to Charles Borromeo, to employ himself in organising bands of murderers in Piedmont and Switzerland; he sent the cardinal Commandon to Poland to make overtures to Sigismund Augustus for the same end; he hastened his nephew, Cardinal Alexandrin, to the court of France, to arrange with Charles the Ninth on the means of exterminating the Calvinists of his kingdom; another legatè went to Portugal, and another to Madrid, to induce those two sovereigns to enter this sacrilegious league. Venice even, could not resist the fatal influence of the court of Rome; she recalled the Jesuits, and they, from gratitude, organised a plot, and prepared to make rivers of blood to flow. Germany alone resisted the general impulse; Maximilian refused to associate himself in this work of iniquity, not from a sentiment of humanity, but from prudence, and because he felt a lively resentment towards the pope, for having pronounced judgment in the question of precedence between the dukes of Ferrara and Florence. Pius the Fifth was so enraged at being unable to surmount this last obstacle,

which alone prevented him from putting his monstrous plot into execution, that he was attacked with a nervous fever, of which he died on the 1st of May, 1572, at the age of sixty-eight.

His death was a subject of joy for Italy, and especially for Rome. In one day, the holy city, which had been almost deserted, saw thousands of emigrants re-enter it; all the citizens embraced and congratulated each other on having escaped the terrible scourge which had decimated the population.

Still the sanguinary Pius the Fifth, that monster, who, according to the historian de Thou, had improved in refinements of punishments on the fabulous ferocity of Proustes and Gergon; that pope who had the execrable glory of surpassing the atrocities of the Neros, the Caligulas, the Domitians, and the Galbas; that executioner of humanity; that murderer of women, children, and old men; that organizer of the most frightful plot which has alarmed the world, of that Saint Bartholomew, which, four months later, was to cover France with a hundred thousand corpses, has found priests who have made a saint of him, and who, after having canonised him, have held him up as an example for the kings of Europe.

## GREGORY THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1572.]

*Election of Gregory the Thirteenth—His history before his pontificate—The massacre of St. Bartholomew—Discourse of the cardinal Montalto on it—Fetes and rejoicings at Rome in honour of it—Gregory receives the head of the admiral Coligny at a public audience—He continues the work of Pius the Fifth—Organization of the league—Gregory conspires against Elizabeth of England—Revolt in Ireland—The Jesuits endeavour to foment troubles in England—Philip seizes the crown of Portugal—New edict of Elizabeth against the Jesuits—The pope is occupied with the interests of his bastard—He labours to reform the calendar, and causes the Gregorian calendar to be adopted in Europe—He calls the knights of Malta before his tribunal—His admonition to the archbishop of Cologne—Famine and seditions at Rome—Quarrel between the courts of France and Rome—The pontiff wishes to excommunicate the princes of Navarre and Condé—His death.*

As soon as the ferocious Pius the Fifth had breathed forth his last sigh, the Camerlingo took measures to prevent the people from forcing the gates of the palace and carrying off the dead body, to drag it through the streets of Rome, which they would not have failed to do, so great was the hatred this monster inspired. After the obsequies, the conclave formed, and the intrigues began; it was soon seen that the Spanish party had the majority. The candidates proposed by Charles Borromeo, and the cardinal Alexandrin, were all successively defeated, and the suffrages were given to the cardinal Buoncompagno. Monseigneur de Verceil then went to the chamber of this cardinal, took him by the hand, besought him to follow him to the chapel of the conclave, there to receive the adoration, and imme-

diately proclaimed him sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Thirteenth.

The new pope was born at Bologna, about the beginning of the sixteenth century; his father was named Christopher, and his mother Agniola Marescalchi. He at first studied the law, and obtained the grade of doctor at the age of twenty-eight; he then taught as a professor in the university of his native city until 1539. At that period he renounced his professorship, to embrace the ecclesiastical state, which was in fact much more lucrative, and led more quickly to honours and power. He came to Rome, and obtained from Paul the Third the post of abbreviator, then that of keeper of the seals; it was in this capacity that he assisted at the council of Trent. As a recompense for the services he rendered the

Holy See in this assembly, the pope appointed him auditor of the chamber; Julius the Third afterwards raised him to the post of secretary of the apostolic chamber, and gave him a vice legation in the territory of Rome. During the reign of Paul the Fourth he bought the dignity of bishop, and finally, under the pontificate of Pius the Fourth, he became rich enough to pay for a cardinal's hat.

The first use which he made of the supreme power was, to grant to the envoys of France a dispensation, which was solicited by Charles the Ninth, for the marriage of his sister Margaret with Henry of Navarre. "This union," the king had said to Cardinal Alexandrin, the nephew of Pius the Fifth, "assures to us more than ever, the success of our plans for the extermination of the heretics."

Indeed, Catherine de Medicis, and her execrable son, far from having abandoned their criminal designs, waited but for the moment when they could finish with their enemies by a general massacre. To attain this, they stopped at nothing; knavery, deceit, treason, every thing was set to work. At last, to draw the chiefs of the Huguenots into their power, they had proposed to Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, to marry the prince of Bearn, her son, to Margaret of Valois; and they offered to admiral Coligny, to place him at the head of an army of invasion, destined to conquer the Low Countries from Philip the Second. Seduced by all these marks of confidence, the Huguenots abandoned their habitual reserve, and came to Paris; the admiral himself, flattered in his vanity, came to court, without paying regard to the advice of his friends to distrust the Guises. The queen of Navarre followed his example, yielded to the solicitations of the king, and came also to Paris, to assist at the wedding of her son. The welcome she received, the infinite attentions, the marked courtesies of which she was the object from Catherine de Medicis and Charles the Ninth, served to dissipate her apprehensions, and she abandoned herself in full security to the caresses of her assassins. Twenty days afterwards she died from poison.

Henry of Navarre, become king by the death of Jane, scarcely waited until the funeral of his mother was over, when he consummated his marriage with Margaret of Valois.

At last, all having been prepared for the extermination of the Huguenots, on a fixed day, couriers were despatched in all directions, and bore secret orders to the governors of the provinces; then, on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, a night for ever memorable, at a signal given from the Louvre, troops of murderers rushed upon the houses inhabited by the protestants, and in less than forty-eight hours, thirty thousand French, men, women, children, and old men, fell beneath the blows of these wretches.

In the provinces the butcheries were prolonged for two months, and more than seventy thousand Calvinists were assassinated by the Catholics. Thus was accomplished the infernal work which the sainted pope, Pius the Fifth, had prepared with so much solicitude.

This general massacre of the Huguenots, followed so closely on the election of Gregory the Thirteenth, that it was destined to serve as a fête for his coronation. The pontiff received the news with inexpressible joy; he caused the cannon in the castle of San Angelo to be fired, commanded public rejoicings to celebrate the triumph of the holy cause, and then published a jubilee through Europe, "in order," he said, "that the Catholics might rejoice with their head at that magnificent holocaust offered to the papacy by the king of France."

When the envoys of Charles the Ninth reached Rome, his holiness wished that they should hand to him, in a solemn audience, the letters of the court of France, and the strange present which Catherine de Medicis sent him. "It was the head of the admiral Coligny," says Brantome, "whom the mother and son, those crowned murderers, had sundered from his noble body, and which they sent to the pope, as the most agreeable offering they could make to the vicar of Christ."

Gregory received this head with transports of ferocious joy, and in testimony of his gratitude to the king, he sent him a magnificent blessed sword, on which was represented an exterminating angel. The cardinal Flavins Oreini was, on this occasion, appointed legate à latere for the kingdom of France, and was commissioned to prevent the prince from leaving the path on which his mother had induced him to enter. Then every where, in the churches of Italy, at Rome, Naples, Florence, and even Venice, yet always at the instigation of the Jesuits, the preachers thundered forth a concert of extravagant eulogiums on the king of France and the queen mother, in order to excite the fanaticism of other sovereigns. Ecclesiastics were found, who, in their sermons, went into extacies over the infinite mildness and merciful clemency of the murderer of the Huguenots, admired the skill and persevering obstinacy which he had exhibited in carrying out a plot, which was, according to them, the most glorious, most sublime, and most extraordinary exploit which had ever been accomplished by kings. "Oh! admirable resolution," exclaimed one of these furious preachers, in a moment of inspiration, "Oh, truly royal soul! glory, eternal glory to Charles the Ninth, the greatest of kings, who did not recoil before the massacre of his subjects! may his name descend to posterity with the admiration it inspires in me, and may his example be followed by all the princes of the earth."

Gregory, desirous of perpetuating the memory of this bloody triumph, called to him the most skilful painters, and ordered from them several pictures representing different episodes of the St. Bartholomew. Amongst other things, there were represented in the hall called the Hall of the Kings, in the Vatican, three frescos; the first represented the time when the admiral Coligny was assailed on leaving the Louvre; the second represented a scene of carnage by the light of torches, and the third showed Charles the Ninth presiding

over parliament, and glorifying himself for having exterminated a hundred thousand French heretics.

Whilst the holy father and his cohorts of Jesuits were exalting the virtues of Charles the Ninth and his infamous mother, the Spaniards were continuing their ravages in Flanders, and were committing such atrocities, that it appeared as if the duke of Alba had sworn to surpass the king of France himself.

Malines was abandoned to pillage for three days, and the soldiers committed excesses, before unknown, on the unfortunate inhabitants; to the sack of this city succeeded the massacres of Zutphen and Haerden; after the ruin of these unfortunate towns, took place the butchery of Harlem, in which more than ten thousand Belgians were slain on the ramparts, nearly two thousand burned or tortured, and double that number drowned in the river, the executioners having no longer strength to murder. At last blood flowed so abundantly, that the cruel Philip himself wished to suspend the executions, from fear lest his terrible governor should finish by annihilating the entire population, and he recalled the duke of Alba to Spain. It is said, that this monster before quitting the Low Countries, boasted, at a sumptuous banquet which he gave his officers, of having put death more than a hundred thousand Belgians by the swords of his soldiers, with having tortured or beheaded twenty thousand, and with having stolen from the inhabitants more than eight millions of ducats yearly.

Gregory the Thirteenth, faithful to the encroaching policy of the Holy See, was not content with the mere defeat of the heretics; he wanted his share of their spoils, and to have the decrees of the council of Trent adopted in France, which had been until now rejected by the parliament, as prejudicial to the national liberties. But the urgency of his holiness became baneful to the cause of Catholicism; the pretensions of the court of Rome excited a general discontent; the Huguenots profited by it to retake the offensive, and when Catherine de Medicis thought them crushed, they rose every where, fell upon the cities which were ungarrisoned, fortified them, and announced that they were going to the Louvre to demand a terrible reckoning for the massacre of their brethren.

Charles the Ninth, justly alarmed by these threats, became cowardly and suppliant before those whom he had just endeavoured to murder; he threw the horrors of the St. Bartholomew on the Guises and the court of Rome; he employed solicitations and promises with the reformed; he ordered the confiscated property to be restored to them, notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, who claimed a part of it for the Holy See, and even offered to declare himself the protector of the reformed religion.

The Huguenots, who knew from experience the value to be set on the oath of a king, refused to lay aside their arms, and the war commenced terribly. The duke of Anjou,

with a formidable army, came to lay siege to Rochelle, the bulwark of the protestants, but at the first assault was repulsed with the loss of more than twenty thousand men, although his troops were much superior in number to the protestants. In his retreat, the prince, like a worthy brother of Charles the Ninth, revenged himself, for his disgrace, on the unfortunate city of Saucerre, whose inhabitants he put to the sword. He would, doubtless, not have been content with the massacre of a single city, if he had not been recalled to Paris by his mother, Catherine de Medicis, to receive the crown of Poland, which deputies from that kingdom had come to offer him.

The pope, who knew the depraved character of Henry of Anjou, a mixture of baseness, fanaticism, and cruelty, hastened to send him a nuncio, to congratulate him on his election, and on the massacre of the heretics of Saucerre. He offered him, at the same time, a rose of gold, in testimony of his high esteem, and to encourage him to show himself a worthy son of the church, by subjecting his new subjects to the court of Rome. The duke of Anjou then went to his kingdom of Poland. The queen mother then finding herself alone in opposition to the Guises, and fearing lest they should have too much power in the kingdom, took the side of Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and showed herself favourable to the reformed. This conduct naturally discontented the legate, who leagued himself with the cardinal Lorraine. He promised him, in the name of the holy father, to favour the family of the Guises, and aid them in their plans of usurpation, should the throne become vacant by the death of Charles the Ninth, which his constant sickness rendered probable, if, on their side, they would pledge themselves to employ all their efforts to make the papacy triumph over the heretics. These conditions being agreed to, the Jesuits at once received orders from their general, to work under the direction of the cardinal Lorraine, "that debaucher of women," as Brantome calls him, "that grand master of lewdness, who by largesses, flatteries, or promises, secured, ensnared, or debauched all the girls or women who came to court."

He pursued the old plans of the league with more ardour than ever; and to increase the number of the affiliated, they gave a political and religious aim to the association. The Guises accordingly engaged "to restore to the provinces of the beautiful kingdom of France, the old rights, pre-eminences, franchises, and liberties, as they existed in the time of king Clovis." . . . and even yet better and more profitable, if they could invent them.

When all the articles of this new compact were agreed upon, the cardinal of Lorraine sent them to Gregory the Thirteenth, to obtain his sanction, and to cause him to have them adopted by the legions of monks and priests who covered France.

Soon, in all the churches, nothing was preached but the necessity of a league against the protestants. The priests exacted from

Holy See in this assembly, the pope appointed him auditor of the chamber; Julius the Third afterwards raised him to the post of secretary of the apostolic chamber, and gave him a vice legation in the territory of Rome. During the reign of Paul the Fourth he bought the dignity of bishop, and finally, under the pontificate of Pius the Fourth, he became rich enough to pay for a cardinal's hat.

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the Jesuits, replied, that his majesty had no other part to take but to reduce France to an unity in religion, that is, to the exclusive exercise of the papist, and for that purpose he should continue the massacres of the reformed. Henry the Third then joined the league, and was proclaimed its chief. Still, however, he was careful to change its ancient statutes, and to strike out the clauses which were hostile to the royal dignity; he then caused the new regulations to be accepted by the states, and ordered that they should be promulgated as obligatory through the whole extent of his kingdom. After so solemn a declaration, we should suppose that the war with the Huguenots would have recommenced with new fury; it was not so, however; the king had no money to levy troops, and the states refused to grant it. Henry, alarmed by his position, seeing himself the head of a league which hated him, and the but of the duke of Guise, who in every circumstance affected to treat him with contempt, entered into negotiations with the Huguenot princes, and concluded the peace of Poitiers with them. By this treaty the reformed acquired the right of building churches and holding synods; the enjoyment of their wealth and dignities was moreover restored to them; the memory of the admiral Coligny, as well of that of the other victims of the St. Bartholomew, was restored; finally, his majesty authorised the marriage of priests.

This edict, loyally executed, would have doubtless restored prosperity to the kingdom; but no one believed in the sincerity of Henry the Third; and moreover, the pope and the duke of Guise were too much interested in perpetuating the disorders, not to use their efforts to kindle a more active and bloodier civil war than ever. His holiness first sent to France the Jesuit Henry Sammier, a man full of finesse and astuteness, accustomed to take all kinds of disguises, to play all kinds of parts, who was in fine the most skilful diplomatist of that period, and he instructed him to kindle the fire of revolt. Henry of Guise, also recruited a number of ambitious men, of people without occupation, taken from all classes in society, whom he knew how to attach to himself through hopes of pillage, and he formed an army of them. The duke assumed the airs of a king more than ever, and showed his disdain for Henry the Third, so that the latter feared lest he should make an attempt on his life, and to guard against this danger, he instituted an order composed of an hundred persons of the first nobility, which he called the order of the Holy Spirit. He appointed twenty-seven knights and four great officers, who were all bound by oath to expose their property and their lives in defence of the king and religion. He inaugurated this society at Pentecost, the day of his birth, and which through a strange coincidence was also the anniversary of his coronation as king of Poland, and that of the death of Charles the Ninth. He gave the title of commanders to the members of this order,

designing to provide them all with commanderies and rich benefices.

The example of the king of France was followed by the court of Rome, and Gregory the Thirteenth sought to create new defenders of it. He re-established the order of St. Basil, which had once counted five hundred monasteries in the kingdom of Naples alone, and decreed that all the Hieronimites in the west should hereafter form but one congregation, submitted to a single abbot who should receive his instructions from the Holy See; he then founded twenty colleges or seminaries at Rome, governed by the Jesuits, who were under his jurisdiction, and who were destined for the English, Germans, Greeks, Maronites, Jews, atheists and repentants; finally, he extended his foundations into Bohemia, Moravia, Lithuania, Transylvania, and even Japan. The care which Gregory gave to the organization of these establishments, which were to prepare the subjugation of new generations to the Holy See, by rendering it the master of the education of youth, did not, however, hinder him from exciting people against each other, and from preparing bloody revolutions in all the kingdoms of Europe. Thus he used to advantage the sojourn of Don Juan of Austria at Rome, to induce that prince to adopt a plan of conspiracy against Elizabeth, which consisted in nothing less than having her assassinated, so as to deliver Mary Stuart, and to arrange a marriage between him and the new queen of England. The only obstacle which prevented the execution of the designs of the pontiff, being the interference of the Hollanders, he advised Don Juan to take the government of the Low Countries, so as to keep the prince of Orange, who was then sovereign of all Holland, in check, and to prevent him from succouring the heretics of Great Britain. The prince assented to his reasoning, and went in haste to assume the government of his province to recommence the massacres of the ferocious duke of Alba.

From that time the efforts and intrigues of the court of Rome became very active in England, and all the Catholics made ready to second the reactionary movement. But Elizabeth was on her guard, the plot was discovered, and several Jesuits paid with their heads for their devotion to the pope. The queen did not confine herself to some partial executions; she renewed the laws against the Catholics, took their churches from them, drove them from their convents, prohibited them from assembling, and deprived them of the free exercise of their religion.

Gregory was not beaten down by this first reverse; he did not renounce the hope of placing Mary Stuart and Don Juan on the throne of England, and of re-establishing Catholicism in the British isles; he only made a change in his policy, and determined to begin by crushing the protestants of Holland before attacking those of Great Britain. For this purpose he sent to Don Juan a nuncio named Segs, who was the bearer of large

soms, which were to be used in levying troops and subsidising spies and assassins. This ecclesiastic had moreover an ample provision of briefs to grant plenary indulgences to the fanatics who should combat beneath the standard of the Roman church, whatever might have been the enormity of their crimes.

It was time for Don Juan to receive aid, for he was absolutely without money, and almost without soldiers; his precarious position had already even forced him to enter into an arrangement with the Belgians, and to give his approval to an edict which had been decreed by an assembly of the states at the city of Ghent, and which was called the edict of the pacification of Ghent. But he scarcely believed himself in a condition to resist the Belgians, when he broke the treaty consented to by the reformed in Holland and Zealand, and retook all the pride and insolence of a tyrant. It turned out illy for the governor; the people of Brussels took up arms, drove him with his soldiers from their city, called in the prince of Orange and conferred on him the dictatorship of the Low Countries. The Catholic nobles alone refused to recognise the prince of Orange as their chief; as, however, they bore an equal hatred to the Spaniards and the reformed, they ranged themselves under the banners of the archduke Mathias, the brother of the new emperor Rodolph, who had succeeded Maximilian the Second. The burghers, wiser than the nobles, preferred the public safety to the triumph of their cause, and in order to give no pretext to the latter for retiring from the struggle, they gave the exercise of power to Mathias, and contented themselves with placing the prince of Orange in his council as his lieutenant.

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In the mean time Don Juan of Austria died, and was replaced in his government by Prince Alexander of Parma, a bigoted Catholic, who

aspired to the glory of surpassing the duke of Alba in cruelty. He first murdered twelve thousand inhabitants of Maastricht, to punish them for having defended their walls for eight months of a rigorous blockade. He then turned his attention to exciting discord among the Flemings, by flattering the Catholic nobility, and ratifying the perpetual edict; this succeeded marvellously, and induced the desertion of the lords, and consequently that of the Catholic soldiers, who were designated by the nickname of the soldiers of Pater Noster. This desertion determined the United Provinces to take a vigorous resolution to deprive Mathias of the government, to offer it to the duke of Alençon, become duke of Anjou, since the elevation of Henry the Third to the throne of France: the deputies of the states made him swear to a constitution, which was equally favourable to Catholics and protestants, and declared themselves for ever freed from the sway of Philip the Second. Thus, this time, did the efforts of the court of Rome against the reformed of Belgium and Holland, meet with a complete check. Gregory then fell back on Great Britain, with which he had not ceased to carry on communications. By his orders, bands of Jesuits passed over into Ireland to prepare an insurrection against the queen, and when all was ready, Italian troops embarked at Civita Vecchia, under the leading of an English Catholic, to make a descent on the shores of Ireland.

His holiness did not confine himself to this demonstration against Elizabeth; he instituted an order of missionaries to go into England to preach revolt, and formed a cohort of sixty-four English, Scotch, and Irish Jesuits, who took an oath to employ all their efforts, and even to suffer martyrdom, in order to wrest life and crown from the heretic princess who reigned over the British isles. These fanatics left Italy, and went to London, to seek the glorious palm which was to place them among the saints. But only three of them perished; Campian, Skerwin, and Bryant, denounced as instigators of a plot against the life of the sovereign, were strangled, beheaded, and quartered. The pope canonised them at once, and ordered the survivors to organise a new conspiracy, taking their measures better.

In Portugal the children of Ignatius had greatly advanced their affairs, and had become so formidable, that the imbecile Sebastian, the king of that country, not daring to resist their solicitations, made a descent on Africa, and was slain at the battle of Alcacer. The sceptre passed from the hands of this unskilful king, into those of an old priestly debauchee, the cardinal Henry, the uncle of Sebastian, moulded, like his nephew, into a blind obedience to the Jesuits. As soon as he was king, he conceived the singular fancy of having heirs, and solicited a dispensation from Rome to enable him to marry a young mistress, whom the Jesuits had given him. Gregory, who coveted the heritage of the kingdom of Portugal for his family, represented to the cardinal king, that it would be giv-

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Thus Gregory, though pre-occupied with the interests of the Holy See, did not forget his family. We must also do him this justice, that he gave more assistance to the progress of science than any of his predecessors had done. Among the reforms which the learned demanded, there was one most necessary, since it produced great trouble in chronological arrangement—it was the revision of the calendar. From bad calculations, errors so gross had glided into the computation of time, that the festivals of the church were inverted. Several popes, scandalized at seeing Easter come at the period fixed for the festival of the Trinity, had already endeavoured, but in vain, to correct this error of calculation. Gregory had the good sense to call to his aid the learned of all nations, and they published, under the superintendance of the celebrated doctor Louis Lilion, the calendar we now use, and which is called the Gregorian. All the Catholic states immediately adopted this new division of time.

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The duke of Anjou was at first accused of having participated in this plot; but the prince of Orange exonerated him before the states-general, and showed them that the blow had

come from Rome. The consequences, however, showed that the good sense of the citizens had not been at fault, and the conspiracy of the duke of Anjou against the liberties of the United Provinces proved, that the Belgians had been properly inspired, when accusing the brother of the king of France with connection in the attempt at assassination. This worthy son of Catherine de Medicis, this felon and disloyal duke, not satisfied with having received the titles of count of Flanders and duke of Brabant, was still willing to wrest from his new country its dearest liberties, and to reduce it to despotism. Fortunately, his attempts on Antwerp were repulsed by the republicans, and the Belgians would, beyond doubt, have slain his soldiers to the last man, if the prince of Orange had not come to his aid and appeased the anger of the Belgians, by recalling to their recollection the services which the reformed in France had rendered them, and by representing to them that it was very unjust to punish the soldiers for the faults of their leaders. These remarks saved the remains of the French army from a general massacre; but the duke was none the less obliged to return to France, where he went to conceal his shame, and where he died poisoned.

His holiness, exasperated by this check, which retarded the success of his affairs in the Low Countries to an indefinite period, redoubled his efforts to organise new plots against the life of the duke of Orange, and aided by the Jesuits, he found a madman, named Gerard, who, to gain the crown of martyrdom, consented to assassinate the enemy of the pope. The attempt succeeded this time, and William of Nassau fell beneath the dagger of the fanatic Gerard, in the city of Delph. Freed from his most formidable adversary, Gregory went on to other efforts, and armed a wretch, named William Parry, of Venice, to murder Elizabeth of England. Fortunately for this princess, the satellite of the pope, on arriving in London, was indiscreet enough to impart his plan to one of his relatives who dwelt in that city; he was immediately arrested, put to the torture, and punished for high treason.

This new effort determined the queen to publish extremely severe edicts against the Catholics, and especially against the Jesuits, who were banished from the British isles, as abettors of the conspiracy, with a prohibition to re-enter them under penalty of death. Gregory, comprehending the necessity of not leaving this warlike militia to suffer beneath the blow a reverse, and the shame of an expulsion, sought to raise their courage by introducing them as the heroes of a farce which he was about to exhibit, and which had been in rehearsal for some years. He was preparing for the solemn reception of some pretended Japanese ambassadors, in imitation of the famous deputation of Abyssinian kings, which took place during the reign of Clement the Seventh, only that instead of negroes, Gregory had procured four fishermen, who

had been sent to him by the Jesuits, from a small commercial establishment in Japan. They disembarked in Spain, in company with a Jesuit, who passed them off for the sons of the king and persons of the highest distinction, and had great honours rendered them by Philip the Second. He then re-embarked with them, gained the shores of Italy, and sailed up the Tiber to Rome.

As soon as the Japanese landed, a deputation of cardinals came to congratulate them, and conducted them in great pomp to an audience of Gregory. They presented three letters from the kings of Japan to his holiness, of whom they announced themselves as the representatives, and which were translated into Italian by the Jesuits. The first was subscribed, "To the adorable who holds on earth the place of the king of heaven, the greatest, the holiest pope." The second letter began thus, "Let this missive be borne to the great and holy lord, whom I adore, and who holds the place of God on earth." The third was as follows, "I offer this letter with adoration, with hands raised towards heaven, to our most holy father, the vicar of Christ! . . ." In the body of the letters, the three princes who signed them, excused themselves for not coming in person to render their homage to the successor of the apostle Peter, on the plea of their age and business; they bestowed an extravagant eulogium on the Jesuits, and besought the pope to recompense these devoted workmen, who cultivated with so much zeal the vineyard of the Lord. Gregory feigned great joy, and exclaimed, "Glory, glory to the courageous children of Jesus! Glory to the disciples of Ignatius Loyola! I have now lived long enough, since I have seen their triumph! Lord, call your servant to yourself."

No one was, however, the dupe of this gross jugglery, nor of the enthusiasm of the pontiff, and the Jesuits obtained no more consideration than before. After all, what did the holy father care for the opinion of the people? He had succeeded in rekindling the zeal of the Jesuits; he asked for no more. He commissioned them to embitter the leaguers of France against the duke of Navarre, who had become, by the death of the duke of Anjou, the nearest heir to the throne, and thanks to their efforts, the leaguers rose against Henry the Third, and proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon as sovereign.

This prelate, seduced by the glitter of a crown, consented to become the chief of the enemies of his house, and published a manifesto, in which he declared the dukes of Lorraine and Guise, the lieutenant generals of the Catholic league, and invested with the command of the troops by the different members of the Catholic league, the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the princes of the house of Austria, by those of the family of Lorraine in France, by the archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, the dukes of Nemours, Nevers, Savoy, Ferrara, Cleves, and Parma, the cardinal of Vendome, the count de Vaudemont, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, the

duke of Florence, and the prince of Scotland. After which he gave the signal for the civil war and raised the standard of revolt.

Before so formidable a league Henry the Third followed the counsels of fear; and although he knew perfectly well that the leaguers were his personal enemies, he rejoined them and apologised for their conduct. He revoked the edicts made in favour of the Huguenots, compelled their ministers to leave France, and decreed that hereafter no citizen could fill public functions nor private offices unless he was a professor of the papist doctrines. He finally pushed his cowardice so far as to give strong places to the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, as pledges for the sincerity of his protection.

The latter, having nothing more to fear from

the king, commenced war on Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and demanded their excommunication from Rome. Father Matthew, the courier of the league, made several journeys into Italy to obtain this bull, which was impatiently waited for in France, and to solicit a brief authorising the Guises to assassinate Henry the Third. Whilst Gregory was preparing the bill of excommunication he was to hurl against the Huguenots, he was struck with an attack of apoplexy, which carried him off on the 10th of April, 1585. His body was buried in a chapel which he had constructed in the church of St. Peter. Thus died this pope, who had given an example of every vice to the world, and who had so well pursued the work of extermination commenced by his predecessors.

## SIXTUS THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1585.]

*History of the cardinal of Montalto—He is chosen sovereign pontiff by the name of Sixtus the Fifth—Commencement of his reign—He excommunicates Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé—The two princes take vengeance on the pope—Negotiations of Sir Henry Carey at Rome—policy of Sixtus towards England and Spain—The cardinal his nephew sends his portrait to Elizabeth—The pope and the Jesuits—The legation in Switzerland—Affairs of France, Spain, and England—Death of Mary Stuart—His holiness becomes dangerously sick—Intrigues of the Jesuits in Poland—His holiness excommunicates Elizabeth—Anecdotes of the amours of the pope—He betrays Spain in favour of England—Assassination of the duke and the cardinal of Guise—Sixtus excommunicates Henry the Third—Quarrels between the pope and the emperor—The pontiff and the league—Trickery of the holy father—Conduct of the pope to Henry the Fourth—Pretensions of the pope on the kingdom of Naples—He declares against the Jesuits—He is poisoned by them—Reflection concerning them.*

FELIX PERETTI, cardinal of Montalto, was born on a small farm attached to a castle called the Grotto, situated in the province of la Mancha. His father, a vine dresser of a rich proprietor, had espoused a servant of his master, and had three children by her, two sons and a daughter. The young Felix saw his poor cabin suddenly invaded one day by a troop of sbirri, who came to arrest his father for having violated some game law. The repulsive aspect of these men, and their rude oaths, so alarmed him that he ran and concealed himself in an upper story. But he had scarcely concealed himself in a corner of the room, when the floor gave way beneath him, and carried him down in its fall. The sbirri, who were already leading away their prisoner, returned and drew out the poor child half dead, and having his arms and legs broken by the fall. They carried him at once to a surgeon, who took care of him from pity, and in three months restored him to his mother entirely cured.

Felix then entered the service of a farmer and kept his pigs. Michael Angus Selleri, a monk of the order of St. Francis, was accidentally passing near the Grotto on his way to

Ascoli, a town of la Mancha, and met the young swineherd. The latter, perceiving the embarrassment of the good father, offered to show him the way, and even to accompany him as far as Ascoli. During the walk he talked with his young guide, questioned him about his relatives, and learned his whole family history. He was much touched by it, and regarding this fortunate rencontre as a warning from God, he determined to take Felix to his convent and present him to his superior, which he did.

He immediately clothed his protegee in the dress of a lay brother, and placed him under the charge of a very learned monk. Felix exhibited, from the first, an extreme facility in study, and a vivacity of mind beyond his years. His character felt the effects of this last faculty; for it sometimes pushed his vivacity into anger; but his irritation being as quickly calmed as raised, his young comrades called him a Will-of-the-wisp. Apart from this slight defect, Felix was remarkable for his solid qualities, amongst others for a perseverance in his studies which amounted to obstinacy: thus his progress was rapid in every science.

At the age of twenty-six he obtained the bonnet of a doctor and the title of professor. Eight years afterwards, he was distinguished as a preacher. From that time the career of the monk, Peretti de Montalto, which was the new name by which the former swineherd was known, is easily traced. He thundered against the heretics; drew the attention of the Jesuits to himself, and obtained through them the post of inquisitor at Venice. His implacable character, and the cruelty which he exercised in that city at the instigation of Pius the Fifth, who was then inspector general of the tribunals of the holy office, excited all the population. He was constrained to fly during the night in order to avoid being stoned by the people. He is stated on this occasion to have replied to one of his colleagues, who rallied him on his flight, "I have vowed to be pope at Rome; I ought not then to have suffered myself to be hung or stoned at Venice."

On his return to the holy city he attached himself to the cardinal Buoncompagno, whose high fortune he foresaw, and accompanied him to Spain. He then sought to gain the friendship of Pius the Fifth, and obtain in succession the rank of general of the Cordeliers, that of bishop of St. Agatha, and, finally, the hat of a cardinal. The reason why he obtained such high distinctions from the sanguinary Pius the Fifth, was the perfect accordance which appeared to exist between their two natures—the same conformity of opinions, the same ferocity of character, the same thirst for blood, the same ardour in theological disputes. Brother Felix Peretti de Montalto appeared to be a second part of the pope, and to have determined to make his life a counterpart of that of his master. But when he was clothed with the purple of the cardinalate, when he found it was not even in the power of the pope to raise him higher, he changed his behaviour and his habits. From being violent, he became mild and modest; from cruel and sanguinary, compassionate and merciful; finally, he appeared transformed as if by a miracle, and became an entirely different man. It was simply a serpent changing its skin, without losing any of its deceit or venom.

On the death of Pius the Fifth, the cardinal of Montalto left his palace, and retired with a few servants to a small house situated near the church of St. Maria Majora. During the whole reign of Gregory, he appeared to have no other care than that of his salvation. He stooped, played the part of an old man by false wrinkles, and by rendering his voice tremulous, so as to give him all the appearance of one who had but a short time to live. In the sessions of the sacred college he had such an air of candour and simplicity, that they nicknamed him the Ass of la Mancha. On every occasion he recalled the obligations he was under to Pius the Fifth, and his nephew, the cardinal Alexandrin, one of the most influential of the princes of the church, and added, with an air of perfect simplicity, that if he were the lord of several worlds, he would never be rich enough to show his gratitude for

the benefits his protectors had conferred upon him. He did the same towards Philip the Second, and as he knew that the Spaniards dreaded more than any thing else a pope whose mind was too enlightened, he affected an absolute incapacity.

Finally, when Gregory the Thirteenth died, he had got so far as never to go out, except leaning on a stick, and his pretended infirmities had so increased, that he appeared to have reached the most extreme state of decay.—After the funeral, the cardinals, to the number of forty-two, entered the conclave; the swineherd of Montalto, who saw the hope of reaping the fruits of eighteen years of hypocrisy, took his way to the Vatican, leaning on his stick. On his entering the Vatican, it was remarked, that he walked with more difficulty than usual, and he himself asked leave to retire to his chamber, pretending that he had not strength to support himself. On the next day, the intrigues for the election of a pope commenced, and the candidates came to urge him to join their parties; but the poor Montalto contented himself with replying, that he was not in a situation to mix himself up with the things of this world, and upon some cardinals saying to him, ironically, that he must occupy himself with affairs of this world, if he should be proclaimed pope; he replied, that his head bent towards the earth, could never sustain the weight of a tiara, and that should such an honour be offered to so unworthy an individual as himself, he would be obliged to refuse it, or to lay the burthen of public business on the sacred college. They paid no more attention to him, and proceeded to redeem the engagements the cardinals had made before the election; after which faction went to work and full rein was given to ambition.

There were as many as fourteen avowed candidates. In such a conflict, in which every elector wished to be pope, it was difficult to play into each other's hands; this was precisely what Montalto had hoped for; he guarded himself well from showing any mark of ambition, any desire of being chosen by the cardinals; on the contrary, he pledged himself to serve every one, and never left his apartment, but to go to mass to the Pauline chapel, to assist at some countings of the votes. He laboured, however, none the less, by some skilful steps, to increase the division in the conclave, so as to tire out the electors and lead their choice to him. He succeeded perfectly; the cardinals Alexandrin, d'Este, and de Medicis, tired of caballing, abandoned their candidates in favour of Montalto, on condition that he would surrender the government of the church to them, which the wary cardinal agreed to do. They, duped by his jugglery, and fearful lest he should suddenly suffocate in a fit of coughing, or that his death should deprive them of the advantages promised them, hastened to rally their partisans to secure the election of the Ass of la Mancha.—The cardinal of Montalto dragged himself by the aid of his cane into the Pauline chapel.

and voted like the rest; then, when the ballot was over, they proceeded to count the votes. Then took place a strange scene, which no one expected, and which caused alarm in the conclave. As soon as Montalto found two-thirds of the votes were for him, he stood bolt upright, and throwing his cane into the midst of the assembly, he expectorated from a full breast like a young man of thirty. The cardinals, confounded, looked at each other anxiously, and especially Medicis and Alexandrin. As the dean perceived that the cardinals repented having done their work so quickly, he exclaimed, "Do not press on us, my brethren, there is an error in the ballot." No, replied Montalto, in a firm tone, "the thing is done and in due form." And this same man, who an hour before, could scarcely speak without coughing, thundered forth the *Te Deum* in a voice so strong and clear, that the roof of the chapel resounded; he then went to kneel, according to custom, before the altar to say his prayers. But the cardinal de Medicis, who was beside him, remarked, that he made no motion with his lips, but contented himself with looking at the crucifix placed opposite to him in the sanctuary. When he arose, one of the cardinals approached him, and congratulated him on the singular metamorphosis which had been produced in him. "I bent myself," replied Montalto, "to seek on earth the keys of Paradise; now that they are in my hands, I can look God in the face." The master of ceremonies having approached him, to ask, as was usual, if he would accept the sovereign pontificate, "I could not do better than accept that which has been already offered me," he replied, "but I will do so the more willingly, since I feel myself strong enough to govern, not the church, but the whole world," and seizing on the pontifical ornaments, he put them on, without requiring any assistance from his chamberlains, which appeared so extraordinary to the cardinal Rusticucci, that he could not help saying, "most holy father, I see that the pontificate is a sovereign remedy to restore youth and health to old sick cardinals."—"I am as well persuaded of it as you are," replied Montalto, "from my own experience." When he had finished costuming himself, he placed the tiara on his head, and was enthroned by the name of Sixtus the Fifth.

The new pontiff, in token of his joyous advent, raised four scaffolds before his palace, and instead of granting an amnesty to criminals, according to the custom usual at each election, he caused sixty of the most obstinate heretics to be hung on the day of his coronation. He showed some little benevolence for the ambassadors of Japan, not that he was ignorant of all the springs of this pitiful farce, since he would have unfolded it as smartly as the deceased pope, but because he considered it good policy to conceal all the knaveries which might injure the Holy See. He expressed great regard for these pretended princes; he allowed them to kiss his feet before the cardinals; he embraced them with tender affec-

tion, and wished them to discharge honourable functions at his coronation, that they should carry the canopy, that they should present to him water and linen for his ablutions, and should hold his stirrup to mount; he made them knights of the golden spur, gave them, himself, the sword and girdle, and caused them to be created Roman patricians by the senate and people; finally, he celebrated divine service for them only, administered the communion to them with his own hand, and gave them a splendid banquet. After this, he loaded them with presents, gave them letters for their sovereigns at a public audience, and embarked them—what happened to them at sea? It was never known. Some historians say, that his holiness had a secret audience with the Jesuit who was to accompany them on the day of their departure, and that the worthy child of Loyola, on leaving the Vatican, went to the general of his order, to repeat to him his conversation with the pope, and that the latter replied, "The farce is played; execute the will of the head of the church, and let the sea serve for their tomb."

As soon as Sixtus the Fifth was installed on the pontifical throne, he brought his sister Camilla, with her three children, to Rome. Out of the landress which she was before, he made a princess; he loaded her with caresses, gave her a palace, land, and a considerable pension, prohibiting her, however, from asking for any favour or place. On the day succeeding this reception, the statue of Morforio asked the statue of Pasquin, "why do you wear a dirty shirt?" Because, replied Pasquin, "my washerwoman has become a princess." The pope immediately caused him who had made this allusion to the former occupation of his sister, to be sought out, in order to bestow justice upon him, and published that he would give forty thousand Roman crowns to him who denounced him.

The guilty man himself claimed an audience of the pope, thinking to make a good speculation of it, and claimed the promised sum; "Count out to him forty thousand crowns," said Sixtus, addressing his treasurer; then turning towards the executioner, who was always near by, "and thou cut off his tongue and his right hand, for fear of a repetition of the offence," which was done.

A cold and implacable cruelty was the principal trait in the character of the pontiff, of which we shall see him give a thousand proofs in the various actions of his pontificate. Thus he himself announced, in full consistory, "that he had come, like Christ, to bring a sword, not peace, and that he wished his reign to be renowned as among the most vigorous." He began by deposing the judges, who, during the preceding pontificate, had shown indulgence for the fault of heresy; he then reformed the laws and ordinances which regulated the internal police of the states of the church, and issued sanguinary edicts, which placed the lives of the citizens at his mercy. Among other things, he ordered, that

every adultery should be punished with death, and he made so severe an application of this decree, that it was feared lest it should end by making Rome a great desert.

A lord of Salerno, named Charles Tasca, not being a subject of the Holy See, did not think that the laws of Sixtus the Fifth could concern him, and took no pains to conceal his amours with the wife of his steward. The holy father, furious at finding that a stranger dared to brave him in his capital, ordered the governor to execute the law of adultery against the guilty; and to the remark of the latter, that the lord of Tasca and his mistress, being subjects of the king of Naples, could only be judged by the laws of their own country, he replied, "What matters that? But since you have scruples, hang the lover, the wife, and the accommodating husband, with ropes made at Naples."

Sixtus was also desirous of suppressing the disorders of his clergy, and particularly of the cardinals, who had, for a long time, abused their privilege of inviolability, by contracting debts which they never paid; an usage which had descended to their valets. He ordered that in future, no priest, bishop, or cardinal, should refuse a just satisfaction to his creditors, and to set them an example, he paid the debts which had been contracted during the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth. Moreover, under the pretext of putting the business of the apostolic chamber in order, he loaded the inhabitants of Rome with taxes, and displayed unusual rigour in the collection of imposts; which so much discontented the people, that a sedition was dreaded.

According to the custom of tyrants, he sought to guard against the danger which surrounded him, by a new act of arbitrary power; he prohibited the citizens from carrying arms in the city, and punished, unmercifully, those who contravened this ordinance. It is related even, that a child of sixteen years old, having been brought before his tribunal, accused of having drawn a dagger on some sbirri who insulted him, he condemned him to be hung, and as his advocate was invoking the text of the law, which prohibited the application of the penalty of death to so young a person—"Well, by virtue of my own omnipotence, I give him ten of my years," exclaimed the pope, "and let him be led to punishment."

If we regard in Sixtus the Fifth, his inflexible zeal in the maintenance of the principles of the theocratic authority, his disdain for the human species, his cold and inexorable cruelty, his boldness in the employment of violent means, we will find that he had many points of resemblance to Gregory the Seventh. If we study this pontiff in his political measures, in his diplomatic intrigues, we will see in him a man tormented by an insatiable thirst for power, wealth, and reputation; we will see him sacrificing, unceasingly, justice to vain glory, and sometimes doing great things to immortalise his name; protecting the city, and persecuting men of letters; anathematizing kings, and then turning against the peo-

ple; exalting the doctrines of the Jesuits, making common cause with the league, then declaring himself the enemy of the disciples of Loyola, and banishing them from the Roman states; and, finally, setting aside all shame, glorying in having been a swineherd, and then declaring himself to be the first of the princes of the earth! Strange existence, mysterious destiny, which had taken a simple swineherd to make of him, successively, a monk, an inquisitor, a cardinal, a sovereign, and more than a sovereign—a pope!

Sixtus the Fifth, after having assured tranquillity in Rome, prepared for his strife with kings, and soon showed that he spared not even Philip of Spain; thus the ambassadors of that prince having come, on the 29th day of May, to present to him the usual tribute of a purse of seven thousand crowns of gold, carried on a white hackney, as the right of vassalage for the kingdom of Naples, the pope replied to the harangue, "Your discourse is very eloquent my lords, but we do not yet see, but that our predecessors made a foolish bargain, in swapping a kingdom for a horse."

The Spanish ambassadors thought this pleasantry had a hidden meaning, and they advised Philip the Second of it, so that he might take measures to repel the efforts which the new pope was projecting on the kingdom of Naples. But it did not enter into the views of Sixtus to embroil himself so speedily with the king of Spain; France claimed his attention above all else; he took up the business in this country at the point at which Gregory the Thirteenth had left it, he declared the family of Bourbon bastard and detestable, calling the king of Navarre a relapsed heretic; as such, depriving him of all his domains, and decreeing that he was incapable, both he and his descendants for ever, from succeeding to any kingdom and sovereignty whatever, and particularly to the crown of France. His holiness also freed his subjects and vassals from the oath of obedience they had taken to him, and prohibited them, under ecclesiastical penalties, from obeying him. The same censures were applied to his cousin, the young prince of Condé, and to all the Huguenots.

Although excommunications were already in such great discredit at the close of the sixteenth century, that a bishop of Chartres wrote, that the thunders of the pope froze in crossing the Alps; still, such a demonstration, at the moment when the kingdom was on the eve of a general combustion, must necessarily increase the confusion. Thus, from all parts, arose a cry of shame, and the different civil and religious orders hastened to address requests to the court of Rome for a revocation of the bull.

Henry the Third, who was always cowardly and pusillanimous, dared not take any energetic measures against a decree derogatory to the independence of the nation and the dignity of the crown; he contented himself with prohibiting the bull from being published in France in legal form. The parliament, bolder than the king, wished to resist the mere pub-

lication of the decree as contrary to the rights of the hereditary sovereignty; but the Guises pushed it on, and the excommunication was fastened on the doors of the churches through the whole kingdom.

Henry of Navarre, unable to take vengeance on the audacity of the pope by forcible measures, sent a protest to his ambassador, Bourgars, who was at Rome. This courageous Huguenot put it up in open day, in the Campo di Fiori. In this manifesto, Henry called Sixtus a traitorous felon, and heretical pope; he summoned him to appear before a free council, under penalty of being recognised as antichrist; he declared an irreconcilable war on him, to avenge the injuries done to his person and the honours of France, and claimed, for this end, the assistance of truly Christian kings and republics, interested, like himself, in arresting the audacity of a swineherd, who thought of nothing less than of overthrowing all kingdoms. This energetic action caused the greatest surprise to the court of Rome. Sixtus the Fifth, in his first burst of fury, swore to punish the author of the declaration, and the rash man who had dared to placard it even on the very gates of the Vatican; then, reflection coming to calm his irritation, he admired this trait of vigour, which was so much in harmony with his own actions, and could not help saying, that he wished Henry the Third had as much courage as the king of Navarre.

In England, the news of the exaltation of Sixtus had produced a profound sensation, and Queen Elizabeth was the more surprised at the election of the cardinal of Montalto, as she heard, at the same time, that the new pontiff, who had before appeared to be humble, ignorant, simple, and a sufferer, had shown himself to be proud, severe, implacable in his justice, and of an unheard-of rigour in his executions. She immediately assembled her council to deliberate on the course to be pursued under such circumstances, and with a pope who was capable of stirring up all the Catholic princes against the new English church. It was decided to send an ambassador to Rome, to assure themselves of the disposition of Sixtus towards England, and they chose a young lord named Carey, who, in a former journey, had formed a friendship with Alexander Peretti, the nephew of the pope, who had been promoted to the cardinalate. The queen sent, by her deputy, her portrait, enriched with precious stones, to be offered by him to the cardinal nephew, as a mark of esteem; and at the same time she commended to him to spare no efforts, expenses, or presents to gain the good graces of the holy father.

On his arrival in Rome, Carey was received with distinction by Alexander Peretti, and on the next day he obtained a private audience of the pontiff. Whether it was the effect of the presents which had been sent by Elizabeth, or whether it was a calculation of policy, Sixtus received the ambassador with unusual affability. He loaded him with attentions, asked him questions as to the character, incli-

nations, beauty, and habits of the queen. Carey replied to all his questions, and took advantage of the circumstance to show him the portrait of his sovereign. Sixtus regarded it with much attention, and, heaving a profound sigh, said to the ambassador:—

“What a noble face! What an admirable woman is your queen! Why am I not permitted to espouse her! How I curse the religious character in which I am clothed, and which prevents me from taking a wife! for I swear by the beard of Christ, that none other but Elizabeth of England should sit upon my throne; and I feel that a queen like her would bear me children worthy of us.” He then handed back the portrait to Carey, and added graciously, that he trusted his sojourn at the court of Rome would be agreeable, and that he would advise him, for the interest of her Britannic majesty, to cultivate the friendship of his nephew, the cardinal Montalto.

Carey left the audience delighted with the impression which the portrait of the queen had made on the mind of the sovereign pontiff, and judging the moment favourable to expose the intentions of his sovereign in regard to Spain, he went immediately to the palace of the cardinal nephew to confer with him; as his eminence was still at the Vatican he was obliged to await his return. The cardinal at last arrived and listened with great attention to the confidential communications of the knight; then when he had finished he replied, that his uncle approved of the plans of Queen Elizabeth, and that he had charged him to ask in his name for the exchange of the portrait of his sovereign for that of his holiness. Carey, in the excess of his joy, did as the cardinal asked him. On the same day he wrote to the queen to inform her of the success of his mission, and to urge her to hasten the conclusion of a treaty with the United Provinces, and to send a body of troops into Flanders, to dislodge the Spaniards from the strong places which they occupied. But all this was but a farce on the part of Sixtus; the English diplomatist was the dupe of the crafty pontiff; his holiness was not in the interest of England; his only intention was to urge on Elizabeth against Philip, that they might destroy each other.

Sixtus, whilst seeking to annihilate monarchies, followed a diametrically course towards republics. Thus he sharply reprimanded one of his nuncios, who had caused a protestant minister to be arrested in the territory of the Swiss, and wrote to him:—

“Have you forgotten that we sent you to Switzerland to restore peace to the cantons, and not to carry trouble there? Remember that we have instructed you to restore harmony between heretics and Catholics, and not to excite them against each other. Know that it is not our interest to act with free people as with kings. Revolutions among independent nations are always dangerous for orthodoxy and are on the contrary favourable for heretical doctrines. I recommend to you expressly to use caution and to temporise with



the Swiss, who refuse to submit to our obedience. Do not imitate the frequent inapt zeal of the Jesuits, who, whilst wishing to defend our see, have frequently struck it most fatal blows."

In fact this society was beginning to discredit the Holy See very much in the opinion of the world, since it recoiled before no crime in order to assure the triumph of Catholicism. Sixtus the Fifth, who saw the abyss into which the children of Ignatius were pushing the papacy, employed all his efforts to give an entirely different direction to affairs, and to free himself from the influence of the Jesuits. But as this was not a part of the calculations of the good fathers, they sought to bring the cardinal nephew into their interests, and, thanks to their obsessions, they succeeded so well, that the latter had the daring to propose to his uncle to take a Jesuit as his confessor. Sixtus could not restrain his anger at this proposal; he reprimanded his nephew sharply, and prohibited him from ever speaking to him of these miserable knaves, adding: "It were better for the Jesuits that I should confess them, and not that they should receive my confession." Reflection and policy caused him, however, to conceal his true sentiments concerning them, and at the entreaty of his nephew, he consented even to honour their Gregorian college by his presence and to celebrate mass there. The good fathers resolved to take advantage of the occasion for the benefit of their order; and on the day appointed by his holiness for his visit, they took care to place in his way, scholars, who recited verses in honour of Gregory the Thirteenth, which so tired the pope, that he imposed silence on their orators by saying, "You think, without doubt, you are speaking to Gregory; you are mistaken; I am called Sixtus the Fifth."

After mass, the Jesuits conducted the pontiff into the dormitories and refectories, whose propriety they made him admire. When he had examined every thing, he asked to see the cellars which contained the treasures of the community. "Alas," replied the rector, "they are dry, for never was the society so poor as during the reign of your holiness." "And what have you done then with the wealth you extorted from the people of Japan and America?" replied the pope, "it has not certainly been spent in our service, for you take good care to be paid even for the smallest assassination. Go to, I see they do not calumniate you, when they accuse you of concealing the disorders of your life beneath the mask of hypocritical severity. I will soon examine into your conduct and your cheat, and I will advise you not to remain under temptation, and I will make you poorer, that you may become better Christians."

This admonition was made in a severe tone; he then retired with his suite. Notwithstanding his great desire to attack the institution, the holy father dared not put in force, immediately, the reform with which he had threatened the Jesuits; he wished to proceed regularly, and appointed the cardinal Aldobrandin

president of a commission charged to inquire into the abuses which had been introduced into convents every where. The members of this commission were ordered to make a detailed report as to the means to be employed to arrest the disorders of the monks, and to draw up a list of the religious communities which it was urgent to suppress, as well as that of the convents which had preserved the spirit of their constitution in all its purity. The result of this inquiry was singular enough; the commissaries declared that they could not find one monastery in Italy in which the religious were not addicted to drunkenness, idleness, sodomy, and all kinds of abominations. They reported, that in Austria they had visited one hundred and twenty-two convents of men and women, and that they had counted in the monasteries of the monks one hundred and ninety-nine prostitutes and fifty-five young boys or girls of less than twelve years old; and in the houses of the nuns, four hundred and forty-three male domestics, who were at once the servants and the lovers of the sisterhood.

They declared that in France the convents were the theatres of even still greater outrages, and they cited, among others, the monks of Aurillac. In fact, the disorders of these monks had so passed all bounds, that the syndic and consuls had complained to parliament of Charles de Senectarie, abbot of the convent of Aurillac and lord of that city; twenty-four witnesses had deposed, that the abbot Charles, his nephews, John Belvezer, called Jouchières, the protonotary of the abbey, Antony de Senectarie, abbot of St. John, his niece, Maria de Senectarie, abbess of Bois, who governed a convent of women in the same city, as well as the monks and nuns of the two houses, abandoned themselves habitually to every excess of the most horrible depravity. They proved that several monks had as many as five or six mistresses at once, either courtizans, or young girls carried off from their parents, or women suborned or ravished from their husbands; that they had, moreover, a large number of bastards, whom they also used as their minions. They proved, moreover, that the abbot, Charles de Senectarie, made sorties at the head of his monks, beat up the country to find maidens, and drove before him in open day, with blows from his cross, such as suited him, forcing them to enter his den, without the fathers or mothers being able to offer the least resistance, from fear of being assassinated by the monks. It resulted from these depositions, that the monastery of Aurillac was secularised; this was all; the parliament having declared itself incompetent to judge the accused, they being in ecclesiastical orders.

Sixtus the Fifth also made different regulations against excessive luxury in dress and equipages; he even fixed the toilet for brides, and prohibited women from wearing lace, feathers, or flowers, natural or artificial, on their bonnets, from wearing false hair and paint, from riding with bare necks, and from

appearing in the street with bare arms without sleeves to their dresses. This strictness of morals did not, however, prevent him from protecting the arts and literature; thanks to his munificence, the library of the Vatican was prodigiously increased; a hospital, a masterpiece of architecture, was built to receive fifteen hundred sick; new streets were opened; the chariots of Praxiteles and Phidias were restored, the statue of St. Peter was placed on the column of Trajan at Monte Cavallo; an aqueduct of thirteen thousand paces brought water from a limpid source to the celebrated Sixtine fountain. At his command five Egyptian obelisks, which had laid on the ground for ages, and whose restoration had frightened the genius of Julius the Second and Paul the Third, rose on their bases and opposed their hieroglyphics to the mysteries of the Catholic religion; so that now the learned can read upon their pedestals an inscription engraven in the time of the Roman emperors, in honour of Caesar, sovereign pontiff, who had brought these monuments from old Egypt, and another inscription in memory of Sixtus the Fifth, sovereign pontiff, the restorer of the obelisks.

Then, what was no less a work, he undertook to purify the text of the Old and New Testaments, which was full of gross errors. The majority of the cardinals agreed with him, and they proceeded to a first revision, in which five thousand errors were discovered, and on a second, two thousand more in dates, names, and figures were brought to light; after which, the consistory decided that the Bible thus purified was the only canonical one. Sixtus gave it the name of the Vulgate, and prohibited by a bull, any one, under penalty of the greater excommunication, from changing, adding to, or retracting a syllable from the text of the word which God had revealed to Moses; this did not, however, prevent Clement the Eighth, one of his successors, from again correcting the Old Testament some years afterwards.

Whilst the holy father was bestowing his attention on the correction of the Old Testament and the holy gospels, the civil war had broken out in France, more terribly than ever. The Guises, seeing between them and the throne, but a king enervated by debauchery, and an imbecile cardinal, redoubled their efforts to crush Henry of Navarre, the only competitor who was capable of disputing the crown of France with them. They rallied around them all the nobility of Champagne and Burgundy, whom they reinforced by Spanish troops, and declared war. Lyons, Toul, Verdun, and many other cities opened their gates to them at the instigation of the Jesuits; they then seized on Orleans, Bourges, and Angers, and finished by becoming the masters of Paris, which they made henceforth the centre of their operations. The clandestine meetings of the leaguers were transformed into actual deliberative assemblies, in which the conduct of Henry the Third and his ministers was audaciously censured. The

leaders, who, from their number, were at first called the council of Sixteen, organised a new government in the state, levied imposts, established relations with the revolted provinces, and, finally, governed in the name of Catholicism and the cardinal de Bourbon.

But what was most extraordinary in this war, called that of the three Henrys, was the strange part which the holy father played. Whilst seeking to excite the parties against each other, he refused to give his approval to the league, from hatred to the Jesuits; he also blamed the fury of Henry the Third, and anathematised the king of Navarre. This strange policy is explained by his desire to see the three factions annihilate each other, and the sway of Rome be established on their ruins. He also did the same towards England, and the great esteem he affected for Queen Elizabeth, did not prevent him from entering into a conspiracy organised by the Spanish ambassador and the Jesuits, the object of which was to place the crown of England on the head of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who had been Elizabeth's prisoner for eighteen years.

A numerous fleet was already collected in the ports of Spain, and only waited a signal to set sail towards the shores of Great Britain; this signal was to be sent from England on the very day of the assassination of Elizabeth. A Jesuit named Ballard, was charged with the job, and had induced a young gentleman, named Babington, of a turbulent and haughty spirit, to strike down the queen of England. It is even affirmed that Mary Stuart had several secret interviews with Babington, that she had promised him her hand, and that the latter had sallied from her arms intoxicated with love, and burning to merit so magnificent a recompense. But the plot was discovered on the eve of the day fixed for its execution; all the conspirators were seized, put to the torture, and obliged to confess their crime. Elizabeth pardoned none of the guilty, and the head of Mary Stuart rolled beneath the axe of the executioner. Such was the result of the new plot, contrived by Sixtus the Fifth and Philip the Second; neither of them was moved by the death of the queen of Scotland. Leti even maintains, that his holiness, after having listened to a circumstantial account of this mournful tragedy, exclaimed, "I envy thy lot Elizabeth! thou art judged worthy by God to see a crowned head roll at thy feet, whilst I have only been permitted as yet to shed the blood of miserable lords, or poor poets." He did not, however, turn the less towards Spain to excite Philip to take a brilliant vengeance for the death of Mary of Scotland.

Philip, who was interested in making war on the English, promised to conform to the desires of his holiness, as soon as the pope should have given a cardinal's hat to William Alleyn, a traitor, who had sold himself to Spain, and as soon as he should be furnished from the apostolic treasury with the assistance in money of a million of Roman crowns. Six-

thus hastened to send a message to Alleyn to come and receive from his hand the hat of a cardinal, with the title of St. Martin of the Mount. He, moreover, appointed him his legate a latere, and immediately after the ceremonies sent him as his legate to Spain, to hurry the armaments against England. At the same time, he instructed him to hand to the king a secret treaty, in which he entered into an obligation to pay a million of crowns as soon as the Spaniards were in possession of a single city in England, and still more, to levy extraordinary dimes in his states, except the kingdom of Naples, of which his holiness coveted the possession. Philip agreed to the proposals of the pope, doubled the number of ships which he had for a long time collected, increased the number of troops to be embarked in them, by more than fifty thousand men, and openly announced that he destined this fleet, which he surmamed the Invincible, for the conquest of England, and which was in fact, the most formidable one that had yet covered the ocean. He did not, however, wish to attack Elizabeth definitely, until he had placed the court of Rome in such a position, that it was impossible for it to betray him and go over to his enemies, and he exacted that the pope should solemnly excommunicate the queen of England. Sixtus, who was anxious to bring these two great powers to blows, so that by the assistance of their dissensions he might seize on the kingdom of Naples, gave to the prince the satisfaction he required, and fulminated in full consistory, all the cardinals being assembled, the following bull:

"We, Sixtus the Fifth, the universal shepherd of the flock of Christ, the supreme chief, to whom the government of the whole world appertains, considering that the people of England and Ireland, after having been so long celebrated for their virtues, their religion, and their submission to our see, have become putrid members, infected, and capable of corrupting the whole Christian body, and that on account of their subjection to the impious, tyrannical, and sanguinary government of Elizabeth, the bastard queen, and by the influence of her adherents, who equal her in wickedness, and who refuse, like her, to recognise the authority of the Roman church; regarding that Henry the Eighth formerly, for motives of debauchery, commenced all these disorders by revolting against the submission which he owed to the pope, the sole and true sovereign of England; considering that the usurper Elizabeth has followed the path of this infamous king, we declare that there exists but one mode of remedying these evils, of restoring peace, tranquillity, and union to Christendom, of re-establishing religion, and of leading back the people to obedience to us, which is, to depose from the throne that execrable Elizabeth, who falsely arrogates to herself the title of queen of the British isles. Being then inspired by the Holy Spirit for the general good of the church, we renew, by virtue of our apostolic power, the sentence pro-

nounced by our predecessors, Pius the Fifth and Gregory the Thirteenth, against this modern Jezebel; we proclaim her deprived of royal authority, of the rights, titles, or pretensions to which she may lay claim over the kingdoms of Ireland and England, affirming that she possesses them unlawfully and by usurpation. We relieve all her subjects from the oaths they may have taken to her, and we prohibit them from rendering any kind of service to this execrable woman; it is our will, that she be driven from door to door like one possessed of a devil, and that all human aid should be refused her; we declare, moreover, that foreigners or Englishmen are permitted, as a meritorious work, to seize the person of Elizabeth and surrender her, living or dead, to the tribunals of the inquisition. We promise to those who shall accomplish this glorious mission, infinite recompenses, not only in the life eternal, but even in this world. Finally, we grant plenary indulgences to the faithful, who shall willingly unite with the Catholic army, which is going to combat the impious Elizabeth, under the orders of our dear son Philip the Second, to whom we give the British isles in full sovereignty, as a recompense for the zeal he has always shown towards our see, and for the particular affection he has shown for the Catholics of the Low Countries."

This terrible bull was published in the ecclesiastical states, with tolling of bells, and by the light of candles. At Madrid they dressed the chapel of the palace of the Escorial in black, and Philip, dressed in black, and followed by all the grandees of his court, caused the anathema pronounced against the queen of England, to be read by the nuncio.

After such a manifestation in favour of the king of Spain, it would appear as if the pope was most seriously desirous of securing the crown of England for Philip, and Carey, mortified at having been the dupe of the apostolic court, was preparing to leave Rome to return to England, when he was sent for to a private audience at the Vatican. Sixtus delivered a long discourse on the necessity under which sovereigns were, of disguising their thoughts, and acting contrary to their sentiments. He renewed his protestations of friendship for Elizabeth, and told him to write to the queen to place herself in a state of defence against the attacks of Philip, adding that after having excited the Spanish wasp, by putting the Scotch prostitute to death, she ought, from prudence, to guard against being stung, or perhaps killed. He complained that his title of pope compelled him to take part with Philip, whom he mortally hated, and that he was desirous of treating him, as she had treated Mary Stuart; he affirmed to her that the succours he had promised, were in reality illusory, since they were reduced to the gift of a red hat to a stupid lord, and a ridiculous excommunication, which the queen could readily return in her capacity as popess; and as for the million of crowns, he was only bound to furnish them six months after the capture

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of some considerable place in England, which the queen could certainly prevent.

The conference having terminated, he sent to Carey a very circumstantial note as to the plans of Philip, the state of his army, the character of his generals, and the cause of the expedition; he recommended to him to transmit it immediately to his sovereign, and to recommend to her to strike a sudden blow on the Low Countries, in which symptoms of revolt were manifesting, whilst Spain was solely occupied with arming against Great Britain.

By the advice of Carey, the queen assembled her vessels, made them cruise on the coasts, and placed all her ports in good condition; then, following the example of the holy father, she convened the principal lords of her court, the magistrates and notables of her kingdom, as well as the heads of the clergy, in the church of St. Paul, and in the presence of an immense crowd, as the supreme head of the English church, she fulminated a terrible excommunication against Pope Sixtus the Fifth, his cardinals, officers, and generally against all those who had signed the bull of forfeiture. After this, she had eight tables magnificently served, set out in her palace, and presided over a banquet, at which numerous toasts were given in her honour, and to the destruction of the enemies of her crown.

Leti maintains that the esteem which the pope exhibited for Elizabeth, was inspired in him by Anne Austin, a young English woman of remarkable beauty, whom Carey had presented to his holiness, and who enjoyed the singular privilege of entering his private apartments at all hours of the day or night, "a scandal which alarmed the susceptibility of the Spanish ambassadors and cardinals," adds the historian, "and which compelled the pontiff to lodge his mistress in the palace of Donna Camilla, and to make a procuress of his sister." As it was remarked that his holiness then paid frequent visits to his sister in disguise, the statues of Marforio and Pasquin apprised the faithful that the popess Anne Austin was so devoted to England, that no night passed, without her conferring with the pope, or the cardinal Montalto, his nephew, on the mode of restoring this fine country to the bosom of the church.

Events advanced the policy of Sixtus in regard to Spain; the fleet, surnamed the Invincible, was almost totally destroyed by a frightful tempest, which assailed it at the mouth of the Thames. The vessels which escaped the violence of the sea, were routed by Francis Drake, the vice admiral of England, and obliged to return in disgrace to Spain. This news caused such joy to the pope, that he could scarcely restrain an exclamation which betrayed his secret thoughts, and as the cardinal Montalto entered his chamber, whilst Carey was reading to him the despatches which related to this event, he exclaimed, "Rejoice, my nephew, the kingdom of Naples is ours."

In France, strange things were occurring; the religious war raged as furiously as ever between the Catholics and protestants. Henry

the Third, became the head of the league, and the slave of the court of Rome, did not cease murdering his subjects. The duke of Guise, the soul of the league, was unceasingly organising new plots now against Henry of Navarre, now against the king of France, and by means of his baseness had obtained from the holy father the title of the Second Maccabens, and the gift of a blessed sword. The Jesuits, though execrated by Sixtus, were struggling to merit his thanks by increasing the disorders; they first poisoned the young prince Henry of Condé, by means of Charlotte de la Trémouille, his own wife; they then formed a conspiracy against Henry the Third himself, resolved to seize on his person, and force him to place the government of his kingdom in the hands of the duke of Guise. Unfortunately for the latter, the conspiracy was discovered. The Sixteen, who feared a return of energy on the part of the king, hastened to send an express to the duke to join them, and concert measures, in order to escape from the danger in which they were.

The duke of Guise immediately left the city of Nancy, and hastened to Paris, notwithstanding the prohibition of Henry the Third. It is true that he presented himself without any suite, and accompanied by only seven officers of his household; but scarcely had he passed through the gates of the capital, than an immense concourse of more than thirty thousand persons surrounded him, and accompanied him with cries of "Life to Guise." "Never," says d'Aubigné, "was any king received with such testimonials of joy; some heaped blessings upon him, and called him their liberator; others bent the knee before him, kissing the hem of his garments, and touching their rosaries to his doublet, as if contact with it could sanctify them; those who could not reach him, raised their hands in supplication, and called him their divinity; females and children cast flowers from every window, and made the air resound with their acclamations. The duke advanced in the midst of this crowd at the slowest pace of his horse, with his head uncovered, addressing gracious words to the nearest, saluting with a smile the ladies who were at the windows, and replying to every one by a look or a gesture. His escort conducted him to the hotel de Soissons, where the execrable Catherine de Medicis resided."

The queen mother was somewhat alarmed at this popular manifestation, but she did not suffer the least sign of terror to appear; on the contrary, she received the duke with marks of the most lively satisfaction, and offered to conduct him to the king. Guise accepted the offer, and they immediately started for the Louvre, the queen in her chaise, and the duke on foot. It was remarked that he never stopped talking to Catherine during the route, which separated the hotel de Soissons from the residence of the king, until the moment they entered the apartment of Henry. The latter, following the example of his mother, concealed in the bottom of his heart

the resentment he felt; he contented himself with addressing feeble remonstrances to the duke on his disobedience, and dismissed him, which caused Sixtus the Fifth to say: "He did not know which was the greatest fool, the duke of Guise, who had the boldness to place himself in the hands of an irritated prince, or Henry the Third, who, having his revenge in his hands, allowed it to escape."

The king and the duke were, however, both playing their parts; and, as soon as they separated, each sought the means of ridding himself of the other, without danger to himself. Henry called his nobility to Paris, armed the burghers who were devoted to him, brought up from Laguy four thousand Swiss, who were stationed there, doubled the posts of the city, and in a few days found himself in a condition to attack the duke of Guise. But the latter had, in his turn, taken his precautions; on the very morning of the day on which he was to have been seized by the royal troops, he had armed the people; so that, as soon as the soldiers were in motion, the tocsin was sounded, chains stretched, barricades formed with boards, joists, or hogsheds filled with earth or dung; the pavements were torn up, and the windows furnished with paving stones. In less than four hours, communications between the different parts of the capital were interrupted, and the combat commenced between the citizens and the king's troops. The latter, finding themselves taken, as it were, in an immense net, unable to advance or fall back, sought to retreat by getting behind walls, so as to protect themselves from the shots from guns, and the stones which were rained down on them from the windows and house tops. In vain did they show their rosaries, and exclaim, with all their might, that they were good Catholics. The Jesuits, who had mingled among the leaguers to excite them to carnage, replied to their exclamations with cries of death, and certainly none would have escaped the massacre but for the interference of the duke of Guise. The chief of the leaguers approached the troops, made them lay down their arms, and ordered the count de Saint Pol to accompany them beyond the gates of Paris; then, when evening came, he established a regular guard around the Louvre, in order to prevent any escape during the night. But Henry the Third, who feared, with reason, lest the place should be carried by assault, seized on the moment when the rear of the castle had not yet been invested, to escape across the garden of the Tuilleries. He gained the monastery of the Feuillants, and escaped from thence towards Chartres, accompanied by not more than thirty gentlemen; the rest of the court followed the prince in the greatest disorder, and the troops did not rejoin him until the evening of the second day.

Guise having missed the king, was engaged in assuring to himself the possession of Paris; he seized on the bastille, Vincennes, the temple, and the two chatelets, and installed every where his own garrisons, and governors se-

lected from among his most devoted ecclesiastics. Quiet was at once restored, and on the day after this revolt, called the day of the barricades, it could have been affirmed that there had not been any troubles in Paris, so much had matters resumed their usual course. This was not what the Jesuits desired, who, in reality, did not favour one party more than the other. What these good fathers wished was a civil war, which would enable them to subject France to the court of Rome. They then endeavoured to stop the progress of this revolution, and sought to ruin the power of the duke of Guise, by publishing that the holy father disapproved of the revolt of the leaguers against their lawful chief, and by threatening the Parisians with frightful evils, if they remained longer without the king. As the clergy still exercised a great influence over their minds, these threats alarmed the rebels, and determined them to recall Henry the Third among them. A deputation of burghers went to the convent of the young count du Bouchage, one of the favourite minions of the king, who had made him a Capuchin, to beseech him, in the name of the kingdom's safety, to act as mediator between them and the sovereign, in order to solicit their pardon, and obtain his consent to return to his good city of Paris. The young monk lent himself graciously to all they wished, and started for Chartres, accompanied by the Jesuits Pigeat and Commolet, who had imagined a singular scene to touch the heart of the monarch.

At a mile from Chartres the train of the count du Bouchage alighted, made the rest of the journey in the following order: the young Capuchin, naked, headed the procession, dragging a huge cross of painted pasteboard, and wearing a crown of thorns on his head; by his side walked two young boys of remarkable beauty, almost naked, representing the Virgin and St. Madeline; behind them came a crowd of monks in the costume of the personages of the passion. This strange cortege arranged its march so as to arrive at the cathedral whilst Henry was at vespers. On entering the church, all the Capuchins thundered out the Miserere, in a lamentable tone, and two monks, disguised as executioners, detached themselves from the group, rushed upon the former minion of the king, struck him blows of discipline, and obliged him to come and cast himself at the feet of Henry the Third to implore his mercy. The marshal Borin, who was at the side of the king, indignant that they should play such a farce, wished to have all who composed the deputation arrested, but Henry prevented him.

His majesty had already seen the two handsome youths who figured in the procession as the Virgin and St. Madeline; he listened favourably to the pleadings of the monks, and promised to receive the Parisians into favour; he then dismissed all except the count du Bouchage, and his two acolytes, whom he made his minions.

Henry the Third then left Chartres, and went to Rouen, to receive a deputation fro-

the members of parliament; after these came the municipal officers, the trades, the provosts of the merchants, and the professors of the university. During more than a month the road was constantly furrowed by couriers and delegates going from Paris to Rouen, or from Rouen to Paris, to offer, or report proposals for an arrangement. Finally, whether the king meditated treason, or was really tired of the war, he showed himself very accommodating, offered to make peace with his enemy, and even published a new edict of union, which was a repetition of preceding treaties, by which his majesty erected the holy league into an institution. Henry, moreover, pledged himself to declare a war of extermination against the Huguenots, without truce or mercy; not to lay down his crown, until after having exterminated them to the last man; to exclude the king of Navarre from the throne of France; to appoint the duke of Guise generalissimo of his armies, and to give to the leaguers hostages and places which they should judge useful for their safety; moreover, and under pretext of adding solemnity to his engagements, he convened the states-general at Blois.

So many concessions exalted the pride of the duke of Guise, and gave him such an idea of his power, that he neglected the care of his own safety. This was precisely what Henry the Third, the worthy son of Catherine de Medicis, waited for. Guise, believing that he had only to stretch out his arm to seize the crown, preserved no respect towards the king, and even encouraged the imprudent vaunt of the dutchess of Montpensier, his sister, who affected to carry by her side golden scissors, which she intended to use, she said, to make a monkish tonsure for the last of the Valois. The cardinal of Guise, in imitation of his brother, did not fear, at a session of the states, to pass a severe criticism on the government of the king, and to call the attention of the nation to the abuses of royalty. Henry the Third devoured all these affronts in silence, and let no sign of anger, no mark of irritation escape him. In the opinion of the vulgar, such conduct was the height of cowardice; in that of those who were initiated in the policy of courts, it was a proof that the prince was meditating a terrible vengeance. Some one of the partizans of the duke of Guise slipped an anonymous note beneath his plate, to urge him to be careful of his life. He read it, and wrote in lead pencil, "no one will dare attempt it." He then cast it under the table.

Some days afterwards, he went as usual to the council. As soon as he entered the castle, he remarked, that the doors were at once closed behind him, and what surprised him the more was, to see the guard reinforced, and a hundred Swiss ranged in line of battle upon the stairs; he, however, put a good face upon it, and went to take his place among the great dignitaries of the court. He had been there scarcely five minutes, when a page came to ask him to follow him to the king. He immediately rose and crossed the gallery which

separated the council chamber from the cabinet of the king, with rapid steps; but as he was raising the drapery which concealed the entrance, one of the officers of Henry the Third, named Saint Malines, seized him by the throat and struck him a blow of his dagger from the upper part of the breast downwards. Guise uttered but one cry and fell dead, which did not, however, prevent forty-five assassins from rushing upon his dead body, which they ran through with their swords in the presence of the king.

The cardinal of Guise, who had heard the cry of his brother, rose from his seat in the greatest trouble, saying, "Lo, they have killed my brother," and endeavoured to escape.—The marshals d'Aumont and de Retz arrested him at once in the name of the king, and conducted him to a garret, which served as his prison, and where he was stabbed by four soldiers, who had received four hundred crowns from his majesty to commit this murder.—The bodies of the two Guises were buried in quick lime, and their bones burned in one of the saloons of the castle of Blois, from fear lest the people should take a fancy to venerate them as the relics of holy martyrs.

These bloody executions over, Henry resumed the measures of an insolent despot, dissolved the states-general, and publicly announced that he was king, and knew how to make himself feared. He first sought to enter into an arrangement with the Parisians, and sent deputies to them to treat concerning their submission. But the soul of his councils was wanting; the terrible Catherine de Medicis was dead, and carried with her to the tomb, the secret of those Machiavelian plans, which had assured the triumph of her family over their enemies.

The leaguers would not listen to any proposals; they drove away the envoys of the king, and threatened to hang them if they dared to re-appear in the capital. We should say, that this city was then the theatre of deplorable scenes, in consequence of the religious exaltation which the Jesuits had excited. It was from Paris, from the bosom of the colleges of the disciples of Loyola, that went forth by bands, a crowd of satellites, breathing hatred, discord, and civil war, even to the extremities of the kingdom; it was in the capital, in their dwelling, in the street of St. Antoine, that the council of the league held its sessions; it was in this abominable house, and in the college of the street of St. Jacques, that these cabals were held, in which were elaborated all the plans of murder and poisoning, which were to be used in the triumph of the papacy, or rather in that of the Jesuits, who saw, close by, the subjugation of the whole universe to their order.

The Sorbonne assembled, and decreed, under the promptings of these wretches, that the French were freed from the oath of fidelity they had sworn to Henry the Third, and that they ought to draw the sword against him and his, in the defence of the Catholic religion. In all the provinces, priests and monks were

annihilated the last of the Valois, and broke his arms and statues, even in the churches. Finally, the duke of Mayenne, the brother of the unfortunate Guises, was declared lieutenant general of the kingdom, and invested by the council of Sixteen, with the sovereign power.

Whilst the Jesuits were exciting the people against Henry the Third, he was despatching ambassadors into Italy, with rich presents, to obtain from his holiness a disapproval of the conduct of the Jesuits, and an order for the dissolution of the holy league. But diligent as were the deputies of the king in their passage from Blois to Rome, they were outstripped by the Jesuits; and when John de Vivonne, marquis of Pisani, and the lord of Gondy, presented themselves at the Vatican, they found Sixtus informed of all they came to teach him. His holiness received them with an air of inexpressible hauteur, and interrupted them as soon as they commenced speaking, and reprimanded them for daring to justify their master for a crime committed in defiance of divine and human laws, on the person of a prince of the church.

"Your sodomite wren, is very bold," he exclaimed, in a paroxysm of rage, "in daring to lay his sacrilegious hand on our cardinals!—Does he think we are yet a keeper of pigs, and that like a stupid swineherd, we will see our herd murdered, merely shedding powerless tears? No, no, by God, he shall learn that we are the worthy successor of the apostle, the vicar of Christ, the ruler of the world, the supreme pontiff. He shall learn that we know how to avenge the honour of our church, and that the head of a cardinal is more precious than the heads of twenty kings."

The marquis of Pisani could not restrain his indignation, and replied, "What, holy father, has not the king, my master, liberty to rid himself of the cardinal de Guise, his mortal foe, since Pius the Fourth, your predecessor, caused the cardinal Caraffa, who was his friend, to be strangled of his own private authority?" This reply increased the fury of the pope; he threatened to accumulate the most frightful ills on France; he declared that he would crush with his thunderbolts, the assassins of the Guises, and notwithstanding the representations and the reiterated entreaties of Gondy, Pisani, and Claude Daguennes, bishop of Mans, the king was excommunicated.

From that moment, the clamours of the league redoubled in France; a Jesuit named Boucher, preached from the pulpit of St. Genevieve, that Henry the Third was a Turk in his head, a German in his body, a harpy in his hands, an Englishman in his garters, a Pole in his feet, a true Lucifer in his soul, adding, that Christians should knock him in the head like a mad dog. "And the king being thus, by the sentence of a priest, condemned to death," says the Journal of l'Estoile, "wax figures were made of him, which these wretches stretched out on the altar for forty consecutive hours, and which they pierced

with their poniards, during the celebration of divine service, in different parts of the body, especially in the temples, the heart, and the navel, pronouncing, at each blow, magical words, which they supposed to have the virtue of putting the king to death." The leaguers then advanced in arms to seize on Henry the Third, who was still at Tours.

In this extremity, the king found he had nothing left him but to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre, the leader of the Calvinists, and his old companion in debaucheries; by this junction, he was enabled to resume the offensive and drive back the troops of the duke of Mayenne, whom he pursued up to the gates of Paris.

The royal army, more than forty thousand strong, then encamped beneath the walls of the capital, besieged it, and cut off all communication with the country, so that it was impossible for the leaguers, placed between a starving population and veteran troops, to be able to continue the strife; but a resource, which they never hesitated to use, remained to the Jesuits, that of crime. The roofs of the churches resounded with furious declamations against Henry the Third, and a thousand voices called down all the vengeance of heaven and earth upon him. This profusion of curses produced the effect they anticipated. A young Jacobin, named Jacques Clement, exalted by their preaching, formed a plan to free the earth from this heretical king, whom the priests signalled out to the vengeance of men, and went to Father Bourgoyne, his superior, to unbosom himself; the latter immediately informed the Sixteen, the dukes of Mayenne and Anmale, as well as the dukes of Montpensier, the fury of the league, of it; he recommended Jacques Clement to them as a man endowed with a savage energy, an ardent and unquiet mind, an ill-regulated imagination, of infamous morals, and possessing all the necessary qualities to insure the success of this difficult enterprise. He recommended him especially to Madame Montpensier, and begged her to try the power of her charms over the young Dominican. That same night, this Messalina sent for Jacques Clement to her palace, prostituted herself to him, and determined him to kill the king.

The Jesuits did not remain behind the dutchess, and seconded her so marvellously, by promising the Jacobin, in the name of the pope, to create him a cardinal if he succeeded, or to place him among the saints if he perished; the duke of Mayenne was then engaged about the mode of procuring for him an audience of Henry the Third. The chief of the league went to the bastille to find Achilles du Harlay and the count de Brienne, who were his prisoners, under the pretext of obtaining their good offices, and their intercession with the king, in order to enter into arrangements to terminate the war. He thus obtained letters for Henry the Third, and a passport, which he hastened to carry to his sister. The latter brought the monk to her palace, and after a night of debauchery, in which she enervated

him by the most burning carcases, she gave him the despatches intended for Henry the Third, and a poisoned knife.

Clement left Paris on the 31st of July, 1589, and went towards the royal camp; the advanced guard arrested him and led him before Jacques la Guesle, the attorney general, who was then at St. Cloud. He replied, unconcernedly to this magistrate, that he had letters for the king, which he could not deliver but to him. He was led immediately to Henry the Third, to whom he presented the letters of which he was the bearer, announcing that he was charged, besides, with an extremely important verbal message. His majesty immediately commanded his courtiers to retire, and remained alone with the Jacobin.

A few minutes afterwards, the king called for aid, crying out that he was assassinated, and whilst his guards were running in at his cry, he drew out the knife which Clement had plunged into his belly, and struck him with it in the face; the monk was killed on the spot by the guards. Some days afterwards, his body was dragged on a hurdle drawn by four horses, and burned before the church of St. Cloud. The king was mortally wounded, and died on the next day, appointing as his successor, Henry of Navarre, who took the name of Henry the Fourth.

This murder of the last descendent of the Valois, filled the Parisians with a joy which approached delirium. All men and women, traversed the streets, exclaiming, "Huzza for St. Clement the martyr;" and the Dominicans, Capuchins, and Jesuits, demanded from their pulpits, that they should immolate the prisoners of the league to the manes of the regicide. Finally, the leaguers pushed their fanaticism so far as to place his portrait over the high altar, with this inscription written by the Jesuit Commolet:

"A young Jacobin, named Jacques Clement, presents a letter to Henry of Valois, in the burg of St. Cloud, and virtuously plants a well-sharpened knife in his stomach."

The clergy of Notre Dame even decided to raise a marble statue to the assassin, which should be exposed on the principal altar for the adoration of the faithful. Finally, says the abbot of Longuerme, the Sorbonne decreed that his canonization should be solicited at Rome, and the request was at once addressed to the sovereign pontiff.

Sixtus the Fifth, on hearing the news of the death of Henry the Third, allowed transports of indecent joy to escape him, and exclaimed, "Very well, the college of princes is delivered from a rot, and the kingdom of France is on fire." He then convened his cardinals in consistory, announced to them officially, the assassination of the king of France, eulogised Jacques Clement, whom he elevated above Judith and Eleazar, and prohibited them from celebrating for Henry the Third, the prayers which the church employed on the death of a sovereign. He then sent the cardinal Gaëtan to Paris, to increase the disorders in that kingdom, and to pro-

claim the cardinal of Bourbon king, by the name of Charles the Tenth, which took place. From that time the leaguers appeared to have redoubled their fury; Fathers Pigenat and Commolet no longer took any pains to conceal their plans of annihilating royalty; they preached regicide openly and daily; asked, in their sermons, for a man of courage and devotion who would free France from Henry of Navarre, whom they called a bastard, a heretic, an excommunicated, a relapsed person. On her side, the dutchess of Montpensier abandoned herself to the most disgusting debaucheries with vulgar assassins and cut purses, in order to find a new Jacques Clement. Whilst murder, ambition, fanaticism, and licentiousness were covering the soil of France, and paving the way for its subjection to the Holy See, Sixtus was exciting bloody collisions between England and Spain, and was urging the Catholic bishops of Germany to free themselves from the jurisdiction which Rodolph the Second wished to exercise over the clergy of his kingdom.

The latter protested, through his organ, the duke of Savelli, his ambassador at Rome, against the efforts of the agents of the pope; it was replied to him, that he had no right to make any complaint; that he ought to know that if fortune had placed the sword in the hands of the first emperors, their successors had not carried it for many years, except at the good pleasure of the popes, in order to maintain the interests of the Holy See, and not to destroy the immunities of the church; that the vicars of Christ held their authority from God alone, and that they would never suffer sovereigns to take cognizance of the affairs of the church, nor that the ministers of the altar should be lifted up by temporal princes. Savelli, availing himself skillfully of the opportunity, replied to the argument, that it was just that the emperor should not interfere in spiritual things, for the same reason that his holiness should not take part in temporal matters, and that he claimed, in the name of his master, the right of appointing the prefect of Rome, as the kings of the Romans have always done, previous to the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth, one of his predecessors.

The pope, irritated at having been conquered by his own arms, exclaimed in anger, "Your master is king of the Romans in Germany, I admit; but he has no authority in Rome, because I am the sole lawful sovereign of it. Formerly, the popes followed rules and maxims, which it is no longer convenient for them to practise; I am emperor at Rome; the city belongs to me; I have a right to appoint magistrates, and I have determined to defend the justice of my cause against all who may pretend to command as masters in my states. The church orders, to render to God that which belongs to God, and to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar; now as the whole world belongs to God and his vicar, Cæsar has no right to possess but that which pleases the popes to give him."



This discourse being reported to the emperor, convinced him that the ambition of Sixtus was insatiable, and that he dreamed of nothing but erecting the papacy into an universal dictatorship; he, consequently, sought the alliance of Spain, and made a treaty with Philip the Second, to oppose the ulterior plans of the pontiff, and to divide between them the kingdom of France, which appeared exhausted by religious wars, wars which threatened to be interminable, in consequence of the death of the cardinal de Bourbon, surnamed the King of the League, who had died in his prison at Fontenay in Poitou, where Henry the Fourth kept him. Independently of the king of Navarre, four other pretenders disputed the throne. The duke of Mayenne, who was already the depositary of supreme authority, as the lieutenant of the kingdom; the young duke of Guise, under whose name the dutchess of Montpensier, his aunt, hoped to reign as Catherine de Medicis had done under Charles the Ninth; the duke of Lorraine, the head of the family, who maintained that he had more right to the crown than the younger branch, since he had espoused the princess Claude, the sister of the late king. Finally, the king of Spain, who had also married a sister of Henry the Third, and who counted on his doubloons and the promise he had made to the principal leaguers, to triumph over his rivals, the princes of Lorraine.

In the midst of this conflict of interests so diverse, and of ambitions so opposed, the cardinal Gaëtan took the side of the richest, and on receiving considerable sums, he abandoned the cause of the pope, and carried over the Jesuits to the party of the king of Spain. The disciples of Ignatius Loyola changed their banners the more readily, since they had discovered that Sixtus the Fifth, with his imperious character, would never consent to become the instrument of their plans for universal sway. They then sold themselves to Philip, and the fathers Aubray, Pigenat, and Commolet laboured so well for his interests, that the Sixteen put to death three magistrates, named Brisson, Larcher, and Tardif, who wished to oppose the substitution of the tyranny of the king of Spain for that of their ancient kings. The cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, was obliged to escape to avoid a like treatment, and the duke of Mayenne would doubtless have become their victim, had he not determined to hang four of these mad leaguers, in order to intimidate the Jesuits.

The affairs of Henry the Fourth were taking an extremely favourable turn; his authority was already recognised in a large number of cities in the provinces; several victories, gained over the troops of the league, gave more importance to his party daily; his military courage won hearts for him; finally, he had progressed so wonderfully in his affairs, that after the battles of Arques, he was in a position to lay siege to Paris.

Sixtus the Fifth, seeing that the league was in distress, and that, moreover, he could not hope for any thing from it favourable to his in-

terests, since the Jesuits was sold to Spain, declared openly against it. Philip the Second, to revenge this defection, declared that the pope was not a Catholic, since he abandoned the cause of religion; he accused him of having for a long time favoured the party of the queen of England, and of having even thought of protecting Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot. He spread abroad, profusely, violent writings against him, and ordered Duke Olivarez, his ambassador at Rome, to summon him to keep his engagements with him, in regard to the holy league, and in case of refusal, he enjoined on the duke to protest publicly against his holiness, and to declare him a heretic in full consistory. Olivarez went to the Vatican to obey the orders of his sovereign, and addressed energetic representations to the pontiff on the perfidy of his conduct towards Spain. Sixtus appeared to listen to him with great attention, and as he did not hasten to reply, the ambassador added, "Will your holiness speak and tell me of what you are thinking?"—"Yes," replied the pope, "since you are so curious to know my thoughts, I will tell you; I was thinking of having you thrown out of the window, to teach you to speak with more respect to the head of the church." Olivarez, who knew the character of the holy father, was satisfied with this reply, and left the consistory with a haste which excited the mirth of the sacred college.

Philip, on learning the bad success of his remonstrances, determined to strike a great blow, and to assemble a national council to depose Sixtus. He accordingly ordered his ambassador to summon the pope to appear before a synod of Spanish bishops, to hear himself condemned as an intruder, simoniac, adulterer, and heretic.

The duke, who feared the consequences of such a mission for himself, and who saw himself at the mercy of the cruel Sixtus if he obeyed, or a mark for the vengeance of the sanguinary Philip if he did not, determined to defer the citation of the pontiff until Christmas day, during the procession which was to take place then, so as to escape in the midst of the tumult. Unfortunately, the pope was warned, on the very eve of the festival, of what was to happen; he sent at once for the governor, and the two masters of ceremonies, and asked them if every thing had been prepared for the next day. On their reply that nothing was omitted, he added, "I want you to change the order of march. You governor, cause yourself to be preceded by four hundred sbirri and place yourself immediately before me, between two executioners, holding each a rope in his hands. If any one has the boldness to stop me on the way to present a writing, I wish him to be strangled at once, without any other form of process, be he prince, cardinal, or ambassador. Go and inform the representative of his Catholic majesty of my orders." Olivarez, warned of the treatment which the holy father had prepared for him, dared not leave his hotel, and contented himself with sending Philip an

account, written by two Spanish cardinals, of what had taken place.

This last effort served to exasperate Sixtus against the king of Spain, and he wrote at once, through Anne Austin, his mistress, to Elizabeth, that she had only to follow the example of the Romans, who sent Scipio into Africa to subdue Carthage, that is to say, to attack Philip the Second in his own kingdom, if she wished to finish with her enemy. She had an entirely natural pretext for carrying the war into Portugal, namely, to support the pretensions of Don Antonio to the throne of that country. At the same time, he recommended her to send succour in men and money to King Henry the Fourth, to enable that prince to contend advantageously against the league, and produce a useful diversion by forcing the king of Spain to sustain the war in France.

The queen followed the advice of the pope, and made an attempt at invasion on Portugal. But this enterprise, badly conceived and still worse conducted, failed completely, which so worried the pope, that he sent for Carey and ordered him to write at once to Elizabeth, that her conduct in Portugal had been that of a woman, not of a queen; and that all was lost if she acted in the same way in France, and did not make haste to place, at the disposal of Henry the Fourth, all the force she could spare. In fact, notwithstanding his efforts and his skill, the king of Navarre was constrained to abandon Paris, and to fall back on the provinces of the centre, to avoid measuring his strength with the allied army of the duke of Mayenne, and the duke of Parma, the governor of the Low Countries, who, by order of the king of Spain, had come to reinforce the leaguers, and to raise the siege of Paris, at the moment when the inhabitants, under the pressure of famine, were about to open their gates.

De Thou relates, that more than thirty thousand persons died of famine during this terrible blockade, which lasted for several months; that the Parisians made a kind of bread out of the bones of the dead, ground to flour, which was called the Montpensier bread, because it was believed that that princess had suggested the first idea of it. He affirms that he saw bands of famished soldiers traverse the streets chasing children, and disembowelling them to eat them, and that the mother disputed with these cannibals for pieces of the flesh to devour them.

It was only then that the Jesuits Bellarmine and Panigarole, permitted the Parisians to open conferences with the renegade Henry of Navarre, without incurring anathema. But during these conferences, the approach of the troops of the duke of Parma having compelled Henry to raise the siege, the city was freed from the blockade, and could be provisioned. From that moment the boldness of the leaguers re-awoke, fanaticism resumed its superiority, and the Jesuits, profiting by the circumstance to strengthen their sway over the minds, attributed the unhoped for

succour to their prayers, and organised a procession to render thanks to God.

The legate of the pope, and the bishop of Senlis assisted at this ceremony, and opened the march, with a cross in the right hand and a halberd in the left; after them came twelve hundred monks, wearing cuirasses above their frocks, and having casques over their hoods; six hundred Jesuits, and two hundred priests, armed with old muskets, pikes, and sabres, closed the procession. But that which, above all, excited the applause of the devotees, was a lame monk, called Father Bernard, and surnamed the little Feuillant, a kind of charlatan monk, rope dancer, and juggler, who ran unceasingly from the head to the rear of the procession with surprising agility, now on his head and hands, now on stilts, stopping from time to time to brandish a large sword, which he plunged down his throat, and which he drew back very skilfully by means of an ingenious mechanism which caused the sword to re-enter its scabbard.

These religious saturnalia served to exasperate the pope against the Jesuits, the originators of them, and as he dreaded to see the preponderance of this execrable order still further increased, he determined to take a vigorous resolution respecting them. He ordered their general to prohibit all his subordinates from residing in the palaces of princes under the specious pretext of being their confessors; he wished also to recall such of them as were traversing Scotland, the Low Countries, Ireland, and England, under the name of missionaries, but in reality, to excite troubles in those countries; and, finally, he declared, in full consistory, that it was actual blasphemy to call any religious order, Jesuits; that this name implied of itself a false idea that Christ was the founder of it, and he desired that in future the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, would call themselves Ignatians. He added also that his patience was exhausted, that the knavery, crimes, debauchery, and insatiable ambition of the members of this society, compelled him to carry on a reform among them, and cut out the evil by the roots. On the next day they affixed to the statue of Pasquin, "Sixtus the Fifth is tired of life." Some days after, the 27th of August, 1590, his holiness died from being poisoned.

Several historians maintain that the crime was committed at the instigation of Spain, by an apothecary named Magin, who mixed poison in pills of manna, which the holy father took twice a month. Meteren and some other writers affirm, positively, that the Jesuits were the authors of it. For ourselves, in the uncertainty in which we are placed as to pronouncing upon either of these opinions, we admit them both, and that the more reasonably, since his holiness himself so thought, when, on his death-bed, he said to the cardinal Montalto, "God is unwilling that the kingdom of Naples should be united to the church, for King Philip has discovered our design, and the Jesuits have punished me for it."

Sixtus the Fifth, during the whole of his reign, preferred to govern as a prince rather than a pope; which induced Leti, in the justification he undertook to make of this pontiff, to say, "Thus in his capacity of sovereign he was obliged to use bad faith and duplicity, and to employ intrigue and treason, and even commit crimes, to make his designs successful; but that in his sacerdotal functions, he remained always holy among the holy, and orthodox among the orthodox."

Sixtus had not, in fact, recoiled before any means to restore to the papacy its former

splendour; he had armed kings against each other, and during the terrible combats he had excited, he hovered over Europe from the heights of Rome, ready to pounce upon the vanquished, like crows on the dead bodies at the close of a battle. His rapacity and cruelty had excited such a hatred against him, that on the day of his death, a revolution broke out in the holy city; the people ran to arms, broke the statues of the tyrant, drove off his satellites, and went to besiege the Vatican to seize the dead body and cast it into the Tiber.

## URBAN THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1590.]

*Election of the cardinal Castagna—His history before his pontificate—His holiness remits to the indigent the debts they had contracted at the pawnbrokers—Virtues of Pope Urban—His plans of reform—He dies like his predecessor, poisoned by the Jesuits.*

THE Spaniards were delighted at the death of Sixtus the Fifth; the leaguers of France also made festivals commemorative of that happy event, and the Jesuit Aubri, the curate of St. André des Arcs, even pronounced in his pulpit the following discourse:—"God has delivered us in good season of an execrable pope, my brethren, for if he had lived much longer, we would have been obliged to have excommunicated him, since he was an adulterer, an incestuous person, a simoniac, a magician, a sodomite, and a heretic. This wretch was not content with robbing the faithful to enrich his nieces and nephews, who were so many minions and mistresses for him, he even desired to declare himself the protector of the Bearnese, the better to weigh us down; but God has crushed this satan crowned with a tiara."

After the funeral of Sixtus, the cardinals, seventy in number, assembled in conclave and went to caballing as usual. But on the seventh day, some of the candidates having desisted from their pretensions in favour of the cardinal of St. Marcel, his party found itself the strongest, and it was foreseen that the day would not pass by without his being named pope.

In this foresight, the conclavists packed up the goods of the cardinals, and themselves broke down the partitions between the cells, to take away from the soldiers all hopes of pillage, as was practised at elections. All the sacred college assisted at the celebration of divine service, in the Pauline chapel, and then proceeded to count the votes. The cardinal Castagna de St. Marcel, obtained two-thirds of the votes, as was expected, and was proclaimed pope; but it was agreed among the cardinals, that they would keep his promotion secret for some hours, to give time to the do-

mestics to carry off the baggage which had been prepared; and they burned the ballots, as was done in the other sessions, which indicated that the pope was not chosen; only they proclaimed, that they would not be long in terminating the conclave. In fact, as soon as the moving was over, they went to the royal saloon, to clothe themselves in their rockets and camails, when they returned to the Pauline chapel and adored the new pontiff, who took the name of Urban the Seventh.

John Baptist Castagna was born at Rome; his father was named Cosmo, and his mother Riccia; having arrived at the age of manhood, the young Cosmo surrendered himself with ardour to the study of the civil and canon law, which at that period were more necessary in order to reach ecclesiastical dignities, than a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He was distinguished by Pius the Fourth, who appointed him one of his deputies to the council of Trent, and gave him, successively, the nunciatures of Spain and Venice. He also discharged an extraordinary legation at Cologne, under Gregory the Thirteenth, and superintended the negotiations for a treaty which was to have been made between Philip the Second and the Low Countries. The skill which he displayed in this mission, procured for him enormous benefices and a cardinal's hat as a recompense.

Sixtus the Fifth loaded him with favours, attached him to his private councils, and during his whole reign, did not cease to advise with him on all important questions of government. Every time that his holiness was called upon to express an opinion about Castagna, he said, that this cardinal was the member of the sacred college, who best understood the duties of the papacy, that he hoped with his aid to tame the Jesuits, and that he asked

from God but one favour, when he should have recalled him to himself, which was, to have him for a successor.

The election of Urban the Seventh was received with the more joy by the burghers and workmen of Rome, since he had acquired the friendship of the citizens by an unbroken probity in his administrative functions, and by the equity he had always shown in the exercise of justice.

Moreover, his first acts as sovereign pontiff corresponded perfectly with their antecedents; on the very day of his coronation, he paid, from his own purse, all the debts to the pawn-brokers, and ordered his officers to distribute bread and viands among the poor of the city and suburbs. Some days after he had a census taken of the poor who were unable to work, and charged himself with providing for their wants; he even made an ordinance which enjoined on the bakers to increase the weight of bread, improve its quality, and lower the price of it, so that the people should have wholesome food, and should not be deceived in their purchases.

This good pope was so great an enemy to nepotism, that he replied to the cardinals who proposed to him to fill the principal dignities of the court of Rome with his near relatives, "No, I do not wish to give offices to members of

my family, so that I may not be restrained by any considerations, if those to whom I give my confidence become prevaricators, and I am obliged to act against them."

Urban was simple in his language, modest in his manners, of an evangelical mildness, which, however, did not exclude him from a love of the arts, for he announced that it was his intention to continue the edifices and architectural works commenced by Sixtus the Fifth. He even had the courage to blame the policy of his predecessor, and informed the ambassadors of the powers, that he wished, during his reign, the people should see hostilities end, and that the princes should labour with him to restore concord among the faithful, not by terror or the fear of punishment, but by persuasion and mildness. To commence this work of pacification, he appointed a commission, which was to proceed without delay to the reform of the religious orders, and particularly to that of the company of Jesus, the centre of every intrigue, the hearth-stone of all the fires which covered the kingdoms. But the good fathers knew how to prevent this, and in less than twelve days after his exaltation, on the 26th of September, he died, poisoned, says Mezerai, in the same way as Sixtus the Fifth; by the agency of the Jesuits.

## GREGORY THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1590.]

*Election of the cardinal of Cremona—His history before his pontificate—Demands of the Catholics of France—The new pope declares for the league—He excommunicates the king of Navarre—He favours Spain and the Jesuits—His death.*

AFTER the funeral of the virtuous Urban the Seventh, fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave and proclaimed, on motion of Montalto, the cardinal Nicholas of Cremona sovereign pontiff by the name of Gregory the Fourteenth. "He was a man not made to command," say historians; "pusillanimous, slothful, and infatuated with his person, he had none of the knowledge necessary for a mere bishop." Thus his exaltation to the chair of the apostle was a true public calamity.

Five days after his coronation, he announced himself favourable to the Jesuits and joined Spain and the league to avoid the fate of his predecessors. "He did more," says Mezerai, "he employed the treasures which Sixtus the Fifth had left in the cellars of the Vatican, and which Urban the Seventh had not touched, to levy an army of twelve thousand men, which he sent to the aid of the league, the command of which was confided to Count Hercules Spondiato, his nephew, whom he had created duke of Monte Marciano. He then published two monitory let-

ters, which enjoined on ecclesiastics, lords, magistrates, and the faithful to leave the kingdom of Henry of Bourbon in fifteen days' time, under penalty of excommunication; he fulminated new bulls of anathema against the king, declaring him to be a relapsed heretic, deprived of his crown and all his domains and lordships.

Marcellino Laudiano, the keeper of the seals of the court of Rome, was ordered to go to France with some Jesuits to spread those bulls through the kingdom, and to set them up in all the cities which held for the league. But these censures, instead of the good which the pope expected, produced a very bad effect. The parliament, which was at Tours, whither Henry the Third had transferred it and the chamber of Chalons, which was a part of it, condemned the pontifical bulls to be burned, and ordered the body of the nuncio who was the bearer of them to be seized. An assembly of bishops declared that they were contrary to the canons, the councils, the spirit of evangelical doctrine, as well as the constant

usages of the Gallic church; that they were abusive in their groundwork and form. The king, instead of losing his authority through them, found himself stronger than ever, and revoked the ancient edicts against the Huguenots.

Gregory did not permit himself to be de-

feated by this check; he entered into an active correspondence with the Sixteen, and openly urged the leaguers to present the crown of France to the king of Spain. He had not, however, the satisfaction to see the realisation of his plan; he died fifteen days afterwards, on the 15th of October, 1591.

## INNOCENT THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1591.]

*Election of Innocent the Ninth—His history before his pontificate—His virtues and talents—He wishes to pacify Europe and reform the church—He dies after a reign of two months.*

As soon as the mortal remains of Gregory the Fourteenth had been deposited in the vaults of St. Peter, the cardinals entered the conclave. Before closing the doors, the ambassadors of the different powers came, according to custom, to recommend their creatures; the doors and windows were then walled up, and the intrigues commenced. One night was enough to choose a pope; the Spanish cardinals paid for votes in cash, and in the morning Sforza, Mendoza, Gaëtan, Borromeo, Ascanio Colonna, Mathei, Lancelot, and Montalto, went to the chamber of Santi Quattro, where Sfondrato with his partizans already was, and announced to him, that they were about to nominate him as sovereign pontiff at once. The other cardinals who had been gained over applauded this proposal, and led Fachinetti de Santi Quattro to the Pauline chapel, where they chose him by acclamation, and proclaimed him supreme chief of the church by the name of Innocent the Ninth.

The new pope was immediately placed in the chair of the apostle, and received the adoration of the sacred college; he was then seated on the altar and received the second adoration; finally, they mounted him on a lofty throne, which priests bore on their shoulders and carried him to the church of St. Peter. When the prayer of the holy sacrament was finished, he was placed on an elevated plat-

form near the altar of the holy apostles, and received solemnly the third adoration.

As Innocent the Ninth had been raised by his merit alone from the lowest ranks of the clergy to the highest dignities, the Spaniards hoped to derive advantage from a pope who owed his tiara to them; it turned out otherwise. The virtuous Fachinetti was desirous of using the supreme authority for the good of the people; he first diminished the excessive imposts which Sixtus the Fifth had laid upon the holy city; he reduced his troops by one half, dismissed a large number of the courtiers and gilded valets which encumbered the halls of the Vatican, and thus procured the means of succouring the poor of Rome, without injuring the condition of the treasury. He then assembled the sacred college, and declared to his cardinals that he was determined to restore peace to Europe, to put an end to the causes of the disorders, and no longer permit the Jesuits to labour for the conversion of heretics, except by persuasion and the example of good works. This solemn declaration enlightened the Spaniards as to what they were to expect from such a pope, and his death was resolved upon. Two months after his election, on the 30th of December, 1591, the Virtuous died, poisoned by the very persons who had elevated him to the pontifical throne.

## CLEMENT THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1592.]

*Election of the cardinal Aldobrandin—His origin—The commencement of his pontificate—He wishes to have a king chosen in France—The Jesuits arm Jean Chatel against Henry the Fourth—They are driven from France—Negotiations for the absolution of Henry the Fourth—Ignominious ceremony to which the ambassadors of the king of France submit—Clement makes an effort to bring back the Greeks to orthodoxy—Letter of Henry the Fourth to the holy father—Death of Philip the Second, king of Spain—History of the inquisition during his reign—Divorce of Henry the Fourth and Queen Margaret—Affair of the marquisate of Saluses—Negotiations of his holiness with Spain and England—Re-establishment of the Jesuits in France—Death of Elizabeth of England—Singular decision of the protestants—Outbreak at Rome—Death of Clement the Eighth.*

NINE days after the death of Innocent the Ninth, fifty-two cardinals entered into conclave. According to the constitution of the sacred college, two thirds of the votes were necessary to choose a pope by ballot, that is to say, thirty-five votes out of fifty-two, and if there were two more, that is to say, thirty-seven, so that the election could be made spontaneously, it was called by adoration.

The Spanish ambassador negotiated so skillfully in favour of the cardinal St. Severin, his protege, that on the very evening of entering the conclave, he had obtained thirty-seven voices. The latter wished them to proceed at once to his exaltation; but the ambassador objected that the rules demanded that he should not be present at the ceremony, and besought the cardinals of his party to wait until he had retired, and to defer the ceremony until the next day. Unfortunately, during the night, a small party was formed, which laid for its leader Altaemps, and which announced that the election of the cardinal of St. Severin ought to be thwarted. Without loss of time, Montalto, who dreaded lest the malcontents should be reinforced by some defections, wished to use the stratagem which had succeeded at the preceding election, and went with his creatures to the chamber of Severin, to lead him to the Pauline chapel, and make him pope by adoration.

This time it was not so successful; the night had sufficed to procure a defection, and when the party of Severin wished to proceed to his exaltation, they found that they numbered but thirty-six. Still they made a great noise, going through the passages and exclaiming, "Severin is pope." As they were traversing the royal saloon, Altaemps met them and addressed some remarks to them, but instead of listening to him, they cried out louder, and St. Severin approached his adversary as if to embrace him, but in reality, to prevent his speaking. Altaemps, being no longer master of his anger, seized the candidate of the Spaniards by his carnail and struck him in the breast two such vigorous blows with his fist, that he knocked him down. St. Severin was wrested by his partisans from the hands of his furious adversary, and though stunned by

the fall, he retraced his steps in great haste to the Pauline chapel, that they should proceed without delay to his election by ballot. But, when they collected the votes, it was discovered that the thirty-six cardinals who had accompanied him into the royal saloon were reduced to thirty-three.

The cardinal St. Severin cried out treason, and wished to proceed, regarding himself as canonically chosen, since he had counted thirty-seven votes, and maintaining that the ridiculous customs of adoration or counting, did not constitute an election, and only served to collect the votes; that he was consequently pope, and that they ought to enthrone him. He had even commenced putting on the pontifical ornaments, when the cardinal de Joyeuse entered the conclave. The two parties stopped disputing, and sought to gain the new comer to their side; he, finding himself as it were, the arbiter of the destinies of the Holy See, resolved to take advantage of the circumstance for his own interest, and to give to Christendom a chief of his own party; he avoided deciding in favour of either of them, and, under pretext of restoring harmony, proposed to make the cardinal Aldobrandin pope. By one of those strange revolutions which sometimes occur in elective assemblies, the majority abandoned their first candidate, and proclaimed the cardinal Hippolyte Aldobrandin pope, by the name of Clement the Eighth.

He was, according to an Italian historian, bolder than Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-third; prouder and greedier of sway than Gregory the Seventh and Sixtus the Fifth; more perfidious than Alexander the Sixth; he was, in fine, a pope who announced himself worthy to occupy the chair of the apostle. He commenced his reign by a truly extraordinary measure; he sent to inform the cardinal de Gondy, archbishop of Paris, who was preparing to go to Rome to carry proposals for peace, in the name of Henry the Fourth, that he did not wish to listen to any arrangements with a heretical king, and that he must not leave his see under penalty of suspension from his dignities, and privation of his benefices.

The cardinal was not intimidated by the

threats, and urged his departure the more, since he was informed that the holy father was making his arrangements to choose a Catholic king for France. His arrival at Rome did not, however, change the dispositions of Clement, and though he attempted it, he could not prevent the publication of a brief addressed to the cardinal Sega, bishop of Florence, who was performing the functions of legate in France, since the withdrawal of Gaëtan, and in which his holiness enjoined on all the Catholic French to choose a sovereign of their own creed. The parliament of Paris hastened to register the bull, but the chamber of Châlons immediately made a decree by which Philip Sega was summoned to answer for his conduct in person, and all citizens were prohibited from preserving or publishing the bull of Clement the Eighth, from aiding the rebels, and from going to meetings held for the election of a king, under penalty, if nobles, of degradation and infamy, if ecclesiastics, of privation of their benefices, and of being treated as disturbers of the public peace, as guilty of lese-majesty, and as traitors to their country. It moreover ordered, that the cities designated by the factions as the places for the election of a king, should be razed to their foundations and never be rebuilt.

A new sentence of the parliament of Paris condemned the decree of the chamber of Châlons to be burned; the leaguers then convened the states-general, and proposed to repeal the Salic law, in order to seat on the throne of France the infanta Isabella, the daughter of Philip the Second, to marry her to the archduke Ernest, the son of the emperor of Germany, and consequently to place France beneath the yoke of the house of Austria. But the duke of Mayenne, who desired the royal crown for himself, opposed this arrangement and defeated it. The parliament then decreed the marriage of the young queen to the duke of Guise, the son of Balafre. The duke de Mayenne, discontented with this new arrangement, opposed it, and when he saw it was impossible to obtain the suffrages of the assembly for himself, he thought of treating with the king of Navarre for better terms.

From that moment, men's minds appeared to have taken an entirely different direction; the leaguers affected patriotic sentiments, declaring that it was unworthy of Frenchmen to wish to range themselves under a foreign sway. Even the bishop of Senlis, that fierce Jesuit, who had directed the procession of the league, yielded to the influence of the money of the Bearnose. "No one can doubt," said he in a sermon, "that Philip the Second, under the pretext of religion, seeks but to attain the end of his perfidious ambition; and I beseech all honest Catholics, to declare themselves, like me, the enemies of that monster." The parliament of Paris also revoked its preceding decisions, and passed a decree to prevent the elevation of any foreigner to the throne, and to revoke all it had done against the Salic law, and the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

Finally, this assembly, convened by the pope, from which the Spaniards expected such great results, only produced a satire called *Menippeus*, which, by turning them into ridicule, inflicted on them a worse blow than the greatest defeat could have done. To increase their mishap, Henry the Fourth solemnly abjured Calvinism in the church of St. Denis, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, and was absolved by the bishop of Bourges, assisted by the cardinal Vendome, from the anathemas and excommunications lanced against him by the court of Rome.

Philip Sega, the apostolic nuncio, who was in the interests of Spain, protested against what he called a false conversion, and maintained that a relapsed heretic could only be absolved by the pontiff. Henry then deputed the duke of Nevers to obtain from the holy father a recall of the censures pronounced against his person; but the ambassador could not change the dispositions of the Holy See. Gregory refused obstinately to absolve the king, and declared that it was his formal intention to exclude him from the throne of France.

The general of the Jesuits at the same time sent orders to the members of the society in Paris, and enjoined on them to seek out an assassin and to do with Henry the Fourth, as they had done with Henry the Third. The good fathers made inquiries in the capital and the provinces, to find what his holiness wished—a fanatic ready to sacrifice his life in the defence of religion. Their efforts were crowned with success; a poor madman, named Barrière, who had become insane from the loss of his mistress, presented himself to the Jesuits of Orleans, and offered to assassinate the king. They listened to his avowal, strengthened him in his determination, and sent him to Paris, to the reverend Father Aubry, curate of St. Audre des Arcs, who immediately conducted him to Varade, one of the heads of his order. But the effort failed. The murderer, on leaving Paris to go to the king, was arrested at Melun, with a poisoned dagger on him; being immediately put to the torture, he was, on his avowals, convicted of the crime of lese-majesty, condemned to death, and executed at once.

This fruitless effort struck a fatal blow to the league; not from the horror which the crime inspired, but only because all foresaw that the reign of the Jesuits was reaching a catastrophe. In fact, new defections occurred daily among the leaguers. Vitri, the governor of Meaux, came to surrender to Henry the keys of the fortress which he commanded; the lord of Alincourt opened the gates of Pontoise to him; the marshal de la Chartre, restored Orleans and Bourges, and Ornano submitted with the city of Lyons; finally, the duke de Mayenne having retired from Paris, the duke de Feria, the Spanish troops, and the most determined leaguers were obliged to leave the capital, and the king made his solemn entry into it, on the 22d March, 1594. The parliament decreed obedience to Henry to be obli-

gatory on all Frenchmen, under penalty of the crime of lese-majesty, and the Sorbonne also added, under penalty of mortal sin. All the registers containing decisions injurious to the prince, were then torn up, and all the writings published against him were burned. Rouen, Laon—almost all the great cities, whole provinces, to the very extremities of the kingdom, imitated the example of Paris, and the fiercest and most powerful lords, not even excepting the duke of Guise, recognised the authority of the relaxed heretic Henry the Fourth.

But whilst all orders in the state were making a merit of their submission, it was not so with the religious orders, placed under the influence of the court of Rome; the Chartreux, the Dominicans, the Jacobins, the Capuchins, the Franciscans, and especially the Jesuits, refused to admit Henry the Fourth to a participation in the public prayers, and even uttered threats and insults so violent in their sermons, that it was determined to revive an old suit pending between the Society of Jesus and the university in regard to instruction, in order to have the children of Loyola condemned and expelled from France, without the holy father being called upon to take upon himself the responsibility of this measure. Both parties prepared for the struggle by inundating the capital with pamphlets; the friends of the university called the Jesuits poisoners, favourers of troubles, instigators of regicide, and demanded their banishment from the kingdom; the latter replied vigorously, and embittered against the university all the devotees and fanatics they could recruit. Finally, the combat became formal, and the parties appeared before the parliament. Antony Arnaud, an advocate of Paris, employed by the university, made that famous speech which is called the original sin of his family, and in which he represented the Jesuits in the most odious colours, accusing them of being the promoters of the league, the hired assassins of Philip the Second, the accomplices of Jacques Clement, Barrière, and Babington, the corrupters of youth, the enemies of the human race.

"It is time that the world had learned to know the Jesuits," exclaimed the eloquent advocate, in the warmth of his discourse; "it is time that the nations were doing justice on these sanguinary vampyres who hover over our heads, and are making ready to devour us. People, learn that these execrable props of the pope wish to do in France as they have done in America, where twenty millions of men, women, and children have been polluted, burned, or murdered under the pretext of religion. Learn that their love for gold is as insatiable as their thirst for blood, and that they have depopulated whole islands to assuage their cupidity—forcing men to bury themselves alive in the mines, and constraining women to labour on the land red with the blood of their children.

"Learn that they are the inventors of those new tortures which they have made four

thousand men undergo at once, who remained exposed for whole months to all the inclemencies of the seasons, attached to each other by iron chains, entirely naked, and whipped three times a day until they shall point out the place where supposed treasures are concealed; and as these unfortunate men have nothing to discover, they become enraged at them and kill them by blows of clubs; so that these unfortunate Indians, in order to escape the barbarity of the Jesuits, fly to the mountains, where, in despair, they hang themselves to the trees of the forest with their wives and children.

"Know that these execrable disciples of Ignatius Loyola, push their barbarity so far as to hunt the fugitives like stags and wild boars, and allow their dogs to eat them; or if they save their lives, it is to compel these unfortunate beings to collect honey and wax in the forests, where they are soon suffocated by serpents, or devoured by tigers: or else it is to use them as divers, at the risk of having them eaten by sharks; or to form them into bands and send them to fight their brethren in the savannahs.

"Finally, their avarice is such, and their contempt for the human race so great, that, when they transport their slaves from one island to another, they encumber their vessels with the Indians, without taking the trouble to inquire if they are large enough to hold them all, or whether they shall not be compelled to cast some into the sea to lighten their vessel in the slightest blow. Thus, in order to navigate from the island of Lucaye to that of Cuba, there is no need of compass or chart, and it is only necessary to follow the track of the dead bodies of Indians who are floating on the sea. . ." Antony Arnaud argued, from all these facts, that it was necessary to banish these wretches from the kingdom, and urged their condemnation.

The Jesuits, unable to free themselves from all these charges, which had been sustained by incontestable witnesses and irresistible proofs, turned towards Rome and besought Clement the Eighth to interfere in the quarrel. As Henry the Fourth was very anxious to be relieved from the ecclesiastical censures, there was no difficulty in his holiness obtaining from the king, that the trial, already so many times commenced and broken off, should be again deferred for fuller information, that is, to an indefinite period. But the good fathers, foreseeing that the struggle would recommence as soon as the king had been reconciled to the church, wished to prevent the effects of his ill will, and armed an assassin against him for the second time.

A young man of nineteen, a student in one of their colleges, penetrated into the interior of the Louvre, as far as the chamber of Gabrielle d'Estrées on the very day on which Henry had arrived from Picardy and was receiving the lords of his court; and whilst the king was bending to raise two leaguers, Ragni and Monsigni, who had come to do homage to him, he struck him a blow of his knife which



cut his upper lip, and broke one of his teeth. Henry immediately put his hand to his mouth, and drawing it back covered with blood, exclaimed, "I am wounded!" then, looking around him, and perceiving a woman named Mathurina, who had for a long time followed the court in the capacity of fool, he added, "To the devil with the fool! It is she who has struck me." This woman immediately ran to close the door, thus indicating that she was innocent, and that they ought to seek for the guilty. The count de Soissons then perceived by his side a young man who appeared to be very much agitated. He seized him by the arm, and seeing his agitation increase, said to him, "It is you or I who struck the blow:" then, putting his hand into his doublet, he drew out a bloody knife. His majesty wished them to let the assassin go on account of his extreme youth, and said that he pardoned him; but when, in one of his replies, the criminal declared that he came from the college of the Jesuits, the king reviewed his former decision, and ordered them to secure his person.

The grand provost immediately seized the regicide, and conducted him to the For-l'Éveque, and then to the Conciergerie, where he was interrogated by the president de Thou, and led before the parliament for judgment. He said his name was Jean Chatel; that he was the son of a rich merchant tailor, and had studied in the college of Clermont, so called, because the buildings had been given to the Jesuits by one of their protectors, the bishop of Clermont; he also avowed, that having contracted the horrid crime of sodomy, and being unable to overcome his depraved taste, and being unwilling to lose his share of heaven, he had determined to expiate his faults by assassinating the king; which, from what he had heard in the sermons of the fathers of the college, he thought to be the action most agreeable to God. He added, that he had consulted his regent, the Jesuit Gueret, two days before the attempt, in regard to scruples of conscience, and that he had not, however, spoken to him of his plan. He was put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, which he supported very courageously, and without making any other avowal. His sentence of death was pronounced, and executed on the same day; the parricidal knife was placed in his right hand, thus armed, it was burned by the executioner; he was then torn with red hot pincers, dragged by four horses, and appeared insensible to the sharp pangs of the most frightful punishment; finally, his limbs, separated from the trunk, were thrown into the fire, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

The Jesuits, who had made a holy martyr of Jacques Clement, also inscribed Jean Chatel in their martyrology, but they dared not officially celebrate his worship, in consequence of the supervision exercised over their houses. Parliament ordered close examinations to be made in their colleges, which brought to light singular discoveries; amongst other things, there were found, among the papers of Father

Guignard, sermons, in which that virtuous Jesuit designated Henry the Fourth by the name of the fox of Bearn; Elizabeth of England, by that of the she wolf; the king of Sweden, by that of the griffin, and the elector of Saxony, by that of the hog. There were found in a secret press different papers, in which these reverends said, that Henry of Navarre should be too happy, that they should be willing to confine him all his life in the dungeons of a monastery, that he might do penance; that he deserved a thousand deaths for his crimes and his heresies, and that if they could not kill him during the war, they must assassinate him during the peace.

These pamphlets decided the fate of the society in France, and put an end to the trial which had been going on for thirty years: they were driven from the kingdom by the following sentence of the parliament:—"We order that the priests and scholars of the Society of Jesus, disturbers of the public repose, enemies of the state, corrupters of youth, shall leave the kingdom in fifteen days, under penalty of being treated as guilty of lese-majesty; their goods shall be seized and confiscated to the profit of the king. . . ."—Father Gueret, the professor of philosophy, was, moreover, put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, and then exiled, and the Father Guignard was condemned to be hurg on the Place de Grève.

The house of Jean Chatel was razed to the ground, and on it was erected a pyramid with four faces, on which were engraved the decree of parliament, and the inscriptions which devoted the Jesuits and their satellites to the execration of men. This condemnation, which extended to the whole order, made a great sensation in Europe, and especially at the court of Rome. Clement the Eighth, clamoured against its having gone to such an extreme; he declared, in full consistory, that the Jesuits had deserved well of the church, and made an apology for the fathers who had died in the cause of the Holy See.

"A simple decree of parliament," says P'Estoile, produced, however, in one day, what four battles could not have accomplished.—Tranquillity was restored to France, and the policy of the holy father entirely changed."

His holiness began to fear, lest the French, who had recognised the king, regardless of the excommunications of Rome, might undertake to govern the Gallic church, by creating a patriarch, charged with the direction of ecclesiastical affairs; and to avoid a blow so fatal to his authority, he sought to draw the cardinal Gondy to him, and informed that prelate, that if the king would send a solemn embassy to him, it would find him well disposed to second the pious wishes of his majesty.

Henry, who was already thinking of soliciting from Rome his divorce from Queen Margaret, sent at once Arnaud d'Ossat and De Perron, with the title of plenipotentiaries, to arrange with Clement the Eighth, the conditions of his reconciliation with the church.—But in the interval, the Spaniards having

obtained some advantages over the French troops, and having even succeeded in taking Dourlens from the admiral Villars, who was murdered in cold blood by order of Contreras, the commissary general of the troops of Philip, the holy father, who had shown himself so accommodating, became exacting, and would not consent to relieve the king from the censures pronounced against him, but on the following terms:—“1. The ambassadors were to pronounce in the name of the king a solemn abjuration, and were to submit to the humiliating ceremonies used in the church on such occasions.—2. The king of France should re-establish Catholicism in Bearn, and should take under his protection all the orthodox priests, and should give them appointments on his own purse, until he had provided them with good benefices.—3. The ecclesiastics devoted to the court of Rome, should alone hold the employments and dignities of the church.—4. His majesty should publish and observe the decisions of the council of Trent, although his predecessors had declared them to be encroachments on the rights of the nation, and destructive of all freedom.—5. The king shall observe a rigorous fast for nine months, shall recite paternosters night and day, shall hear mass daily, shall confess himself at least four times a year, and shall receive the holy communion; finally, he shall build a great number of monasteries, and recall the Jesuits.”

By the instructions of Henry the Fourth, the ambassadors subscribed to the demands of Clement the Eighth.

Preparations were then made for the absolution of Henry the Fourth, to which the pope wished to give an extraordinary splendour.—A spacious platform was erected in the midst of the porch of St. Peter, and on the 17th of September, in the year 1595, the pontiff sallied from the Vatican, escorted by all his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, great officers, penitentiaries, masters of ceremonies, and went to occupy a magnificent throne, covered with rich hangings of silk and gold, glittering with precious stones, which was raised on the platform facing the church, whose doors were closed. Du Perron and d'Ossat approached the throne, with their heads uncovered, in the attitude of suppliants, prostrated themselves on all the steps of the platform, and humbly kissed the feet of the pope; then, without rising, they abjured, in a loud and mournful voice, Calvinism in the name of their master. Clement then read them the conditions to which Henry must submit, to obtain his absolution; after which they swore upon the gospel, in the presence of all the people and the ambassadors, that their king would conform to all the wishes of the court of Rome; he then made them a sign to lay flat on their stomachs, and arming himself with the rod of a burgher, he gave them three blows in honour of the Holy Trinity; he then placed his foot on their necks, and the clergy thundered forth the *Miserere*.

At the end of each verse, his holiness struck the two representatives of the king of France

with his rod, and that so vigorously, that d'Aubigné, who has left us a description of this ceremony, says, that the poor ambassadors had blue and black marks on their shoulders for several weeks. What he thought of the conduct of Henry the Fourth on this occasion, may be judged from the manner in which he expresses himself:—“Do you not perceive how the state submits to the church; since the king, who has shown himself so brave on the battle field, debases himself before the mules of the pope; how graciously he receives the cuffs of his holiness in the persons of his ambassadors, who are crouched on their bellies to dig the ground like a pair of mackerel on a gridle, from the *Miserere* to the *Vitulos*. Still, as if this excess of baseness was not enough to reconcile the prince with heaven, he must play the same game with Monseigneur the Roman legate, and the most he could obtain was to keep on his stockings to receive the holy cuff.”

This humiliating ceremony over, Du Perron and d'Ossat arose, and the holy father performed the formula of the absolution in a loud voice:—“By the authority of God all powerful, by that of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by my own, which is above all the powers of the earth, I absolve Henry of Bourbon, king of France.” The gates of the church were immediately opened; Clement turned towards the two ambassadors, and extending his arms towards the church adieu, “Now that I have opened the gates of the church to your master, remember, he must avoid compelling me to shut them again.” The cannon of the castle of San Angelo fixed its salvos, the sound of the trumpet joined the noise of the artillery, and taught the world that the king of France had the cowardice to crouch in the dust at the feet of a pope!

Notwithstanding this degrading concession of Henry the Fourth, or perhaps on account of the submission of the king, his holiness delayed for a whole month the promulgation of the bull of absolution, so as to give time to the duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards to gain serious victories over him, and to free him, if necessary, from publishing it at all. The king, says Mezerai, had no sooner received the news of his absolution, than he rendered thanks to God through all his kingdom, and commanded parliament to take off the prohibition of going to Rome. He also declared that he wished the concordat signed with the pope to be religiously observed, and in all his actions sought to testify his gratitude to the sovereign pontiff Clement the Eighth.

Thus was accomplished the most illustrious and most cowardly of conversions; thus became a Catholic a second time, a debauched, egotistical, and perfidious prince, who had already denied Catholicism and Calvinism, and who had relapsed a second time. Flatterers of kings, stipendiary writers for despotism, have endeavoured to excuse the knavery of Henry the Fourth, whom they call Henry the Great, by putting in his mouth this pretended witticism, “Paris is well worth a mass.” No.

cowardly flatterers of power; no, servile adorers of the golden calf, neither France, nor the whole world could draw a man truly great to play the part of a hypocrite, to feign belief in the superstitions of the papacy, to deceive the nations, to lie to his conscience. It is true, these maxims are the rules of kings and priests, but in the eyes of those called the men of the people, they are rejected, and execrable maxims and such conduct is the height of cowardice and infamy.

Forced to renounce, for some time at least, the hope of exciting new troubles in France, Clement turned to Italy and lanced a bull of excommunication against Cæsar of Este, duke of Ferrara, who, on the death of Duke Alphonso, his great uncle, had taken upon himself the government of the dutchy, amid the acclamations of the grandees and the people, and who had committed the grievous crime of not loving the Jesuits, and of desiring to be tolerant. His holiness gave as a reason for this, that the illegitimacy of the birth of the father of Cæsar, should exclude the latter from the throne, a reason which, in every age, and even in our own day, would call into question the heirships of a great number of kings. To the allegations of the court of Rome, the duke opposed the legitimation of Don Alphonso, his father, by a subsequent marriage between Laura, his grandmother, and Duke Alphonso the First; he also produced the bulls of Alexander the Sixth, which called him to the accession of the crown of Ferrara. Notwithstanding the justice of these observations, the apostolic chamber followed up the course of this singular proceeding, and pronounced an anathema, with its accessories of severity, such as privation of honours and dignities; a declaration of the nullity of the oaths of fidelity taken by his subjects; a spiritual interdict over all the dominions of the house of Este; the cession of all its property, and that of its favourers and adherents to the first occupant; exhortations to the emperor, to kings, republics and princes, to aid the church to crush the anathematized; apostolical benedictions; a remission of all sins, and a distribution of plenary indulgences for those who should take up arms, or who should even only pray for the success of the plans of the pope; the annulling of all treaties and contracts made with Cæsar of Este; and, finally, a prohibition, under penalty of excommunication, of affording him aid, and even of permitting the passage of his troops and those of the princes his allies.

This time the thunders of the Vatican produced a marvellous effect; Clement the Eighth was honoured. His army invaded the dominions of Cæsar, and the latter, finding no means of escaping from his formidable foe, determined to yield that which was about to be taken from him by force.

Clement then took possession of Ferrara, and built a fine citadel, in which he deposited more than two millions in gold, taken from the city; and to consecrate this usurpation, he erected, still at the expense of the city, a statue cast in bronze; he then passed on to

other occupations, and published different decrees about the administration of the apostolic purse, so as to increase his revenues. He was also engaged, in imitation of his predecessor, in correcting the holy books, and produced a Bible expunged from two thousand faults, which he declared to be the only canonical one, fulminating anathemas against such of his successors as should dare to add new corrections to it. He then lanced another bull, which prohibited Italians, of every state and condition, from dwelling in countries which were destitute of priests, or even those in which they could not openly profess the Catholic faith. He, moreover, prohibited them from marrying heretic wives, or from being attended in sickness by protestant or Calvinist physicians, and the Catholic physicians from healing the sick of the reformed communion; since, added he, it is better for the faithful to attain eternal life by a voluntary sacrifice, than to preserve temporal life through the aid of a heretic; and that they should trouble themselves no more about a protestant than about a dog.

This singular bull was only obligatory towards protestants and Calvinists, and not to the Greek schismatics; for the sovereign pontiff, finding that the influence of the Holy See was diminishing in the west, began to turn his attention towards the east, and proposed to bring about a reunion of the Greeks and Latins.

He had already received, with great demonstrations of joy, a monk who pretended that he had been sent by the patriarch of Constantinople, to take the oath of obedience to the Holy See; and he had even seated him several times on his right in the consistories at which he received the ambassadors of all the powers of Europe, when he was one day informed that the Greek plenipotentiary was a skilful swindler, and that he had left Rome, carrying off the rich presents designed for the patriarch. In France, matters were not going on any more in accordance with his desires, and notwithstanding the opposition of the legate of the holy father, Henry the Fourth published the famous edicts of Nantz in favour of the Calvinists, which resumed in its tenor all the treaties which had been concluded at different periods with Charles the Ninth, or Henry the Third, and guaranteed to them the free exercise of the reformed religion.

All cause for civil war being removed, tranquillity reappeared, and the king was enabled to employ all his forces against the archduke Albert, the lieutenant of Philip the Second, and the duke of Savoy, the ally of Spain. He marched in person on Amiens, which the enemy's general had surprised, forced him to evacuate it, and fall back on the cities of the north. On the other side, the marshal Lesdiguières went in pursuit of the bands of the duke of Savoy, and defeated them on all points. Philip, having no more money in his coffers, nor soldiers to be murdered, desired peace with France, and charged the pope to make overtures on the subject. His holiness accept-

ed the mission of mediator, on condition, that after the arrangements were concluded, the king of Spain should employ all his influence with the Catholic princes, to form a formidable league against the Turks, who had already invaded Hungary, and threatened to fall on Italy. Clement designated Vervius as the place for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; the cardinal of Florence, and Francis Gonzaga, the bishop of Mantua, were appointed by his holiness to preside over the conference, and to fix the conditions of peace, conjointly with the representatives of Spain, Richardot, Taxis, and Verreikens, as well as with the French ambassadors Bellicore and Sillery, and the delegates of the duke of Savoy.

A treaty extremely favourable for Henry the Fourth was signed by the belligerent parties, and the cruel Philip was compelled to renounce for ever his plans on the crown of France. God, moreover, seemed to take pleasure in humbling this proud prince, by taking from him, towards the end of his career, one after another, all the hopes he had conceived; thus, in the Low Countries, he was compelled, as he had been in France, to put an end to the war, without having been able to assure the triumph of the papacy. All the massacres of the duke of Alba, all the butcheries of the duke of Parma, all the atrocities committed by the governors of the Low Countries, who had so cruelly ravaged that magnificent country in his name, and by his orders, had only produced a terrible revolution. The Belgians had risen against their oppressors, and the love of liberty having increased their strength tenfold, they had been enabled to drive the troops of the tyrant out of their territories, and to form different independent states, by the name of the United Provinces.

Freed from the tyranny of Philip, Belgium, Flanders, and Holland had promptly repaired their disasters, and had elevated themselves to such a degree of prosperity, that they were soon enabled to claim, from the Portuguese and Spaniards, a part of the rich possessions on which these latter had seized in the East and West Indies.

Philip then endeavoured to rally the Belgians to his cause, and to bring them back beneath his sway, by granting freedom of conscience to all their provinces without distinction, and by recognising their independence of the crown of Spain; he even yielded his right of sovereignty to the archduke Albert, who had married his daughter Isabella; but these tardy concessions no longer satisfied the reformed. His offers were rejected, and Maurice of Nassau, the stadtholder of Holland, and leader of the armies of the Low Countries, taught him, by the brilliant victory which he gained over his troops near Terrehaut, that there is a time, in which people, tired of oppression, no longer accept concessions, and dictate themselves their terms to kings.

At last the infamous Philip yielded to an attack of the gout, and Spain was delivered from the monster, who had for so many years covered its provinces with scaffolds and auto-da-fes.

It is related that, in his last sickness, as the physicians were consulting whether it was proper to bleed him, he said to them, "Do you think that a king, who has shed blood enough to form rivers, fears to have a few drops taken from him? No, do it fearlessly, restore me to health, that I may be enabled to achieve what remains for me to do, and annihilate the heretics to the last man." These sacrilegious wishes, formed by Philip on his bed of death, were not realised. Happily for the Spaniards, science was powerless to save his life, and he carried with him to the tomb the execration of the people.

During his reign the fury of the inquisition was carried further than it had ever been before or since; and we may affirm that Philip the Second was a more terrible scourge for Spain and the Low Countries, than the plague. It was he who made those impious ordinances which encouraged informers; it was he who condemned to be burned booksellers, who sold, bought, or lent, books forbidden by the inquisition; it was he who solicited from the court of Rome those bulls which enjoined on priests, to exact from their penitents the denunciations of those of their relatives or friends, who were guilty of possessing the prohibited books; an enormous crime in his eyes, and which was sufficient to condemn the most virtuous persons to the flames; it was still he who organised, with his grand inquisitor Valdez, those auto-da-fes at Seville and Valladolid, in which three hundred victims were exhibited, at so many stakes, and were burned alive amidst the applause of Don Carlos, the princess Joanna, and the lords of the court.

It is computed that, in a period of forty years, that is, during the reign of Philip the Second, the inquisition burned, tortured, or beheaded, more than twenty-five thousand persons, Jews, Moors, or Spaniards, independently of those who were condemned to prison, confiscation, or banishment, and of whom the number was four times greater, and that in the peninsula alone; for, if there be added to these the condemnations in other countries subject to the crown of Spain, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Flanders, America, the Indies, the kingdom of Naples, &c., &c., we should be frightened at the quantity of victims whom the holy office put to death, to make them better Catholics.

The cruel Philip the Second gloried in his religious fanaticism, and was accustomed to say, that he would prefer seeing the last Spaniard tortured by the last executioner, and reign over an immense desert, rather than suffer a single heretic in his dominions. He carried his hatred for those who followed the doctrines of Luther or Calviq so far, that on the day of an auto-da-fe, a protestant gentleman named Sessa, having exclaimed, whilst passing before his throne, "Oh, prince, can you then take pleasure in beholding the torments of your subjects? Save us from this cruel death which we have not merited!" He replied, "No, ye accursed, go to the eternal

fire, and know that I would carry the wood myself to burn my son, if he were accused of heresy." He afterwards realised this threat, and allowed his son to be condemned by the inquisitors; he did more, he refused even to bid him a last farewell. Before this, this monster had not feared to express his sacrilegious intention of exhuming the dead body of Charles the Fifth, his father, to proceed against him as a heretic, and to burn him in an auto-da-fe. God finally performed justice on the tyrant, and freed unhappy Spain from him.

This death also freed Henry the Fourth from a formidable enemy, and permitted him to bestow all his care on the internal government of his kingdom; he commenced by marrying his sister, who had remained a Huguenot, to the duke of Bar, of the family of Lorraine, who was a zealous Catholic; and when the marriage had been consummated, he wrote to Clement the Eighth to ask his approval of it.

His holiness, wounded by what he considered a want of respect, declared that the duke of Bar had incurred excommunication by marrying a heretic, and fulminated a sentence of anathema against him. The court of Rome remained inflexible to every remonstrance made by Henry on the subject, and would not take off its censures until the princess was converted. As this poor woman was unwilling to abandon her religious belief, she was exposed to such bad treatment from her bigot husband, that she died of despair. Henry the Fourth was not disturbed by the grief of his unfortunate sister, and entirely occupied with his new passion for Gabrielle d'Estrées, dutchess of Beaufort, he appeared to be occupied with nothing else than the pursuit of his divorce from Queen Margaret. If we may believe Perfixe, the king wished to marry his mistress, in order to legitimatise his bastards, but he was careful not to express his thoughts; on the contrary, he solemnly demanded in marriage Mary de Medicis, the niece of Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, the protegee of the pontiff, so that the court of Rome should interpose no obstacle to this project of divorce.

Skilful as was this manœuvre, Clement the Eighth was not the dupe of it; he penetrated the secret intentions of the king, and determined to render the execution of them impossible. He, however, allowed none of his suspicions to appear; he received kindly the cardinal d'Ossat, the ambassador of the prince in the affair of the divorce, and asked from him for a delay of some days, so as to confer with the members of the sacred college on the request which was presented to him; then a second delay, in order to discuss the conditions of it; and, finally, he protracted the thing so, that the French plenipotentiary, tired of waiting, and suspecting some infernal machination, declared to him sharply, that if he did not hurry, his majesty, the king of France, would go on, separate himself from the court of Rome, and marry the dutchess of Beaufort.

At this declaration, his holiness expressed the greatest astonishment, and replied to the cardinal, that if such were the intentions of Henry the Fourth, he remitted to God alone the conduct of this affair; he then ordered public prayers and fasts in the holy city, to obtain from heaven the safety of France; he remained for two days shut up in his chapel in the Vatican. On the third day, in the morning, after opening the despatches he received from Paris, he determined to appear in public, and ordered a solemn service in the church of St. Peter. It was remarked that he remained for about an hour with his arms crossed on his breast, and his eyes closed, as if he was ravished in an ecstasy; after this he appeared to waken, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "My brethren, Christ has provided for the safety of the kingdom of France." On that same evening, the cardinal d'Ossat received a courier, who announced to him the death of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées. Now if we seek to know how his holiness had predicted so justly, we will say, that by a singular chance, he found that the interval which separated the arrival of the courier of the pope from that of the courier of the ambassador, coincided precisely with the interval which was to elapse between the time in which the mistress of the king took the poison and that of her death. What is still more strange, is, that from this day, Clement made no more objections to the divorce of the king, and that he showed himself to be as yielding as he had before been scrupulous. His holiness gave, on this occasion, full powers to the cardinal de Joyeuse, Horace de Monte, a Neapolitan, archbishop of Arles, and the nuncio Gaspard de Modena. These ecclesiastics declared the marriage of Henry the Fourth null, and permitted him, as well as Margaret, to remarry. The king went at once to Lyons and espoused Mary de Medicis.

This year, which was the last of the century, and, consequently, that of the universal jubilee, gave an opportunity to his holiness to fill his treasury with the money of the imbecile pilgrims who came to buy indulgences. The number of fanatical devotees and curious persons who flowed into Rome was so great, that in the single hospital of the Trinity, which had been transformed into an immense hotel, kept for the profit of the pope, as many as five hundred thousand travellers were received, independently of all those who were lodged in the other hospitals, from which the sick had been ejected, in the monasteries of men or women, or in private houses; finally, it was computed that there were more than three millions of visitors in the course of the year. All the cellars of the Vatican were filled with tons of gold or silver, and Clement was even compelled to ask the general of the Jesuits, to place the cellars of his college at his disposal, to deposit there the presents of the pilgrims. Aquiniva, who was then the head of the society, placed at the disposal of the pontiff not only the buildings, but even the most distinguished mem-

bers of his order to second him in his traffic in indulgences and absolutions, hoping that his zeal would conciliate the friendship of Clement to him and predispose him in favour of the company of Jesus, when he should be called upon to decide the quarrel which had broken out between the Jesuits of Spain and the Dominicans, in regard to spiritual doctrines concerning grace, which had been going on for several years between them, especially on the part of Father Molina, whom the disciples of St. Dominic maintained was tainted by the heresy of Pelagius.

After the jubilee, his holiness did indeed interfere in the dispute, but without deciding for either of the parties, and contented himself with appointing arbitrators, who were to put an end to these scandalous quarrels. The commissioners formed themselves into bodies, which they called "de auxiliis" and treated the questions in litigation very carefully, both in speech and writing, and however desirous they might have been to show deference to the holy father, they declared that they were forced to condemn the opinions of Molina as false, erroneous, untenable, and improbable.

The Jesuits, finding that even the protection of the pope did not afford them a triumph over their enemies, thought to gain time by asking that the controverted propositions should be again discussed in the conferences; which was granted to them. The generals of the two orders went to these conferences with theologians, and the discussions recommenced under the presidency of the cardinal Mandruce, who was commissioned by Clement to pronounce a final judgment. The Jesuits were again defeated on all points; Mandruce, who had at first appeared to favour the doctrines of Molina, finished by joining his adversaries. Every thing then pre-  
saged the condemnation of the Jesuits, when, on the eve of the day fixed for the pronouncement of the judgment, the cardinal died of poison. The good fathers took occasion of it to ask for a new delay to prepare for other conferences; but Clement, who feared to see the quarrel become daily more envenomed, and urge them both into revelations dangerous for the papacy, determined to take a side, and appointed commissaries to examine the books of Molina in his presence. Their conclusions were similar to those of the first judges, that is, unfavorable for the society. The Jesuits of Spain, who dreaded, more than any thing in the world, to be defeated on so important a question, then undertook to force even the will of the pope, by setting his authority at defiance. They embittered all the colleges of their order against Clement the Eighth, expressed doubts as to the lawfulness of his enthronement, and maintained, in their theses, that we are not bound to conform to the decision of a pope on a matter of faith.

This bold conduct irritated the holy father, and he would doubtless have determined to dissolve the society, had he not been arrested by the powerful interference of Philip the

Third, who desired the maintenance of an order which aided in plunging his people in ignorance and brutality.

Moreover, the services which the English Jesuits were rendering him, and the efforts which those of France were making to bring back that country beneath his sway, pleaded in favour of the order, and it is but just to admit, that they both employed, for the success of their plans, a perseverance and activity worthy of a better cause. The Jesuits of England, banished from that kingdom by different decrees, did not fear to return to it, after the death of Elizabeth, to renew fresh intrigues; the Jesuits of France, driven from the provinces by the decrees of parliament and the declarations and letters patent of the king, addressed to the highest tribunals, had been able to maintain themselves within the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Bordeaux and Toulouse, and to interest, in their favour, a number of influential lords of the court, and particularly the queen, Mary de Medicis.

They had already, on the occasion of the marriage of the king, deputed Fathers Lorenzo, Maggio and Gentil, to claim the execution of the promise he had made, at the time of his absolution, to recall them. But on the refusal of Henry to listen to their request, they declared themselves, scattered pamphlets in Paris against the authority of the king and parliament, and amongst others the apologetic complaints published at Bordeaux by Father Richomme, and for which a bookseller named Chevalier was arrested. From that moment the society declared themselves at open war with the king; their college of Dole, situated on the frontier, became the place of meeting of all the discontented, and the centre of the operations directed against Henry; they soon even organised a conspiracy, in which, as always, they took the most active part, with such precaution, that it was impossible to prove their participation in it when the plot was discovered. They also excited troubles at Lyons, preached regicide openly, and inspired so great alarm in Henry, that he determined to make peace with them.

He first sought to bring into his way of thinking the great dignitaries, whose extreme repugnance for such a measure he well knew, and having assembled his principal officers he thus addressed them: "We must, my lords, through necessity, recall the Jesuits simply and purely into our kingdom, discharge them from the sentences of infamy and opprobrium which they have justly incurred, or else pursue them with inexorable rigour, so that they may never approach us or our kingdom. This last will throw them into the most dangerous irritation, and the efforts against our person will be so multiplied, that we shall be obliged to be unceasingly on our guard; to wear a cuirass even in our own apartments; to take no food without having it examined by our physicians; to tremble even at the approach of our best subjects, for these people carry on correspondence every where, and have a great skill in moulding minds as they please; finally

our life will become so miserable, that it were better for us that we were already dead."

From commiseration with the apprehensions of Henry, the lords to whom he addressed himself, amongst others, his minister Sully, were unwilling to combat his reasoning, and declared that they agreed with his wisdom. Henry the Fourth, without any delay, expedited letters patent for the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in France. But the parliament was less docile than the court, and refused to register them, until the fathers had changed their names from Jesuits, which was held in execration by all bodies in the state, and had modified their statutes. The members of parliament demanded that the company should not remain under the authority of a foreign general, and that it should choose a superior who resided in the kingdom; they, moreover, demanded that it should be submitted to the ordinary jurisdiction; that it should suppress in its vows the engagement of particular obedience to the pope, that it should only authorise the admission into its ranks of born subjects of the king, that it should be constrained to follow the university regulations, and that it should renounce the heirship of the property of its members to the prejudice of their families. The disciples of Loyola refused to adhere to these conditions, and an order from the king enjoined on the magistrates to register purely and simply the letters patent, which authorised the Jesuits to return to France. Some years afterwards, Henry the Fourth received the just reward of this despotic act; and the effort of Ravillac taught the nations how the Jesuits paid a benefactor. It is true they owed no great gratitude to a prince for a concession which they knew they had wrung from him by alarm. They feigned, however, to attribute his new dispositions to entirely different sentiments, and they thanked him for the benevolent support which he gave to their order. Still more, Father Cotton, who became his confessor, and several of his companions, asked to embrace him as a sign of sincere reconciliation, of forgetfulness of the past and of confidence in the future.

As soon as they found themselves all powerful in France, the Jesuits forgot the promises they had made to Clement the Eighth, to labour to subject the kingdom to him, and occupied themselves with their old quarrels with the Dominicans about grace and free will. They signified to his holiness, that he must decide in their favour and canonise Ignatius Loyola their founder, if he wished to retain them in obedience to him. Instead of obeying their injunctions, the pontiff decided definitely for the Dominicans, and granted the honours of the apotheosis to Charles Borromeo, the nephew of Pius, one

of the former heads of their order, and one of the most passionate inquisitors that ever lived.

The Jesuits were unwilling to let this affront go unpunished, and they fixed it on the cardinal Aldobrandin, the counsellor of the pope. One of them resolved to poison him and made several efforts to introduce himself into his kitchens. His urgency in presenting himself day after day to be admitted into the palace, awakened suspicions, and soldiers were posted to arrest him. As usual, the Jesuit came to offer his services to the domestics of the cardinal Aldobrandin, to assist them in their labours, and as he was about to enter, two sbirri arrested him. Being strong and vigorous, he hurled them to the earth, and before they had time to obtain aid, he fled and threw himself into the residence of the cardinal Odoardo Farnese, a zealous protector of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The prefect of Rome went at once with soldiers to the residence of the Farnese to claim the fugitive; but instead of obeying, the cardinal and his people appeared with arms at the windows, fired on the prefect, and compelled him to retreat. The resistance lasted for several days; finally, as his holiness was preparing to introduce troops from without to maintain his authority, Farnese sallied with his people through the rear of his palace, gained the country and retired into the superb castle which his uncle had built, thirty-six miles from Rome.

Clement, exasperated by the audacity of the Jesuits and the Farnese, threatened the first with a dissolution of their order, and despatched the governor of the city to inform the cardinal that he must surrender the government of the patrimony of his ancestors, of which he showed himself unworthy. Farnese refused to obey, and prepared to sustain a siege in his castle against the papal troops. Very fortunately for him his brother interfered in the quarrel, and went in all haste to cast himself at the feet of his holiness to obtain the pardon of the cardinal. The pope appeared to yield to the entreaties of the duke and granted Farnese permission to return to Rome; but scarcely had he crossed its gates, when he was arrested and conducted to the castle of San Angelo. The Jesuits in their turn came to the aid of their protector, and on the 5th of March, 1605, Clement died of poison.

This pontiff terminates worthily the series of popes of the sixteenth century, who disputed the ground of their spiritual and temporal omnipotence, foot by foot, and by force of ruses, deceits, crimes, and outrages, caused the tiara to triumph in the midst of the political and religious revolutions which overwhelmed all nations, and threatened to engulf the ship of St. Peter.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

## LEO THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTIETH POPE.

*Considerations on the history of the papacy in the seventeenth century—Intrigues in the conclave after the death of Clement the Eighth—Henry the Fourth gives large sums to have a pope appointed who was favourable to him—Alexander Octavian de Medicis is chosen sovereign pontiff—His plans of reform—He testifies extreme contempt for the kings of France and Spain—His hatred for the Jesuits—He dies after a reign of twenty-six days.*

It is an incontestable truth, that after the apparition of the great Reformation in the sixteenth century, the papacy would have been overthrown, and the formidable power of the bishops of Rome for ever annihilated, if kings, instead of defending the theocracy against the people, had been content with exercising in their own dominions an authority sanctioned by justice. Unfortunately, they thought their interests compromised by the development of the principles of the Reformation; they persecuted to the utmost the men who endeavoured to make it triumph; and as they were the strongest, they could at their ease murder, cause rivers of blood to flow, and pile up mountains of dead bodies; and the tiara remained exalted.

The sovereigns, however, in lending their aid to the popes, and in saving them from certain ruin, imposed on them as conditions, that they should stop interfering directly in political transactions, that they should no longer dictate their wishes on empires, and that they should assist them in spreading around men the shades of ignorance, so as to render their sway easier. Pressed by circumstances, the bishops of Rome submitted; from that time they lost the immense influence they had acquired, and were hereafter only the servants of kings. The Vatican was mute, and instead of launching its thunders against those who braved it, as it had formerly done, it merely uttered a murmur like that of volcanoes which accumulate lava and have not strength enough to produce an eruption.

During the seventeenth century the popes were only occupied in Machiavelian intrigues, executed but perfidies, only framed schemes; they committed no more great crimes in the face of day, they performed cowardly assassinations in the dark; they were no longer addicted to revels, they became crowned hypocrites.

We should, however, say that the venerable pontiff who opened the series of popes in this century, carried to the chair of the apostle precious virtues, which should hinder us from confounding him with his successors; and that he would doubtless have merited well of mankind, if the priests had not stopped him at the moment he was about to undertake radical and important reforms among the clergy.

After the funeral of Clement the Eighth, the victim of the vengeance of the Jesuits,

his nephew, the cardinal Aldobrandin, who had been accustomed to reign in the name of the pontiff, thought himself still in a state of command, and was desirous of having one of his creatures chosen pope, so as to perpetuate for himself the exercise of ecclesiastical omnipotence. Sustained by the French faction, he boldly attacked the Spanish cardinals, who had a majority in the conclave, and openly proposed, as a candidate, the cardinal Baronius, the celebrated annalist of the church. The gentlemen ushers, who were sold to Philip the Third, having rejected this prelate on the ground that he was an enemy of the king of Spain, the cardinal de Joyeuse, the head of the French faction, who was very anxious to choose a pontiff who was favourable to Henry the Fourth, and who had received from that prince large sums to buy up votes in the conclave, commenced making overtures to the cardinals Montalto and Sforza, purchased their defection, and proposed as a candidate Alexander Octavian, cardinal of Florence. These prelates not only approved of his choice, but even undertook to induce Aldobrandin to make a good bargain with his protegee. In fact, some hours afterwards, the nephew of Clement the Eighth made a treaty with Montalto, and accompanied him to the cell of Alexander Octavian, who was saluted as pope, by the name of Leo the Eleventh, on the 1st of April, 1605.

The news of this election was received with great displeasure by the court of Madrid, but, as a compensation, it excited transports of joy in that of France.

For a moment the people hoped that they were about to taste the sweetness of an evangelical reign, under a good pope. Leo the Eleventh commenced by driving from the Vatican, the flatterers and courtiers who encumbered the ante chambers; he then announced his intention to reform the church, to destroy the two execrable orders of Jesuits and Dominicans, and had even prepared a promotion of venerable ecclesiastics, whom he wished to create cardinals to assist him in his labours; he had already suppressed a part of the imposts with which his predecessors had surcharged the provinces. Every thing presaged an era of prosperity and tolerance for the nations; but the assassins of Sixtus the Fifth and Clement the Eighth, were watching the pontiff, and none of his magnificent plans were to be realised.



Though surrounded by dangerous enemies, the intrepid Leo had the courage to refuse the alliance of the king of France, which the cardinal de Joyeuse offered him, in exchange for some unjust concessions, and replied to him, "Your Henry the Fourth is a hypocrite, without faith or loyalty; I will not do what he asks, for it would be contrary to justice. Write to him that we will never sacrifice our duty to the vile interests of a dynasty, and that he is very much deceived in supposing

we could be deceived by the glitter of gold as some of our predecessors have been."

In an almost similar circumstance, his holiness made the same reply to the ambassadors of Philip the Third, king of Spain, and loudly blamed his cowardly submission to the Jesuits. As was seen, it became necessary for the disciples of Ignatius Loyola to rid themselves of such a pope; thus he died poisoned, on the 27th of April, 1605, after a reign of twenty-six days.

## PAUL THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1605.]

*Electoral intrigues—Paul the Fifth is proclaimed sovereign pontiff—His history before occupying the pontifical throne—He distributes all the offices and dignities of the church to his relatives—His holiness undertakes to reduce all the states of Italy beneath his sway—He excommunicates the Venetians—The most serene republic drives the Jesuits out of its territories—Peace between the republic and the Holy See—The Jesuits in England—The gunpowder plot—Punishment of Fathers Garnet and Oldcorn—The oath of allegiance—Paul the Fifth orders the English Catholics to refuse to obey the king—James the First enters into a polemical controversy with the pope—Doctrines of the Jesuits about regicide—Assassination of Henry the Fourth—Punishment of Ravillac—Parliament condemns the works of the Jesuits to be burned by the executioner—The regent protects the Jesuits—Condemnation of Doctor Edmund Richer—Religious congregations in France—Publication of the decrees of the council of Trent—The Huguenots take up arms—Treaty of Dunodun—Paul the Fifth causes Mark Antony Dominis, the author, to be poisoned—Obscene disputes between the Dominicans and Franciscans on the conception of the Virgin—Nepotism and incests of Paul the Fifth—His death.*

FIFTY-NINE cardinals entered into the conclave on the death of Leo, and formed four parties; Aldobrandin was at the head of the most numerous; Montalto directed the operations of the second coterie, which numbered twenty-one cardinals; the third was that of the Spaniards, and the fourth of the French.

Baronius, as in the last conclave, was nominated, and lent himself so much to the movement, that he brought over several cardinals to his party, and could for a moment, flatter himself with the hope of triumphing over his competitors; but at the moment when they were preparing to enter one of the chapels to collect the votes, fifteen of his partizans went over to the cardinal Tosco, one of the richest prelates of the court of Rome, who by this defection, was enabled to count on forty-four votes.

They were already proceeding to the ceremony of adoration, says Nicholas de Marbais, when Baronius, irritated at seeing the tiara escape him, uttered these words in a loud voice:—"Do you then wish to choose for your head a wretch who cannot utter a sentence without accompanying it with an obscene oath? Do you wish then, by choosing a man of abominable morals as pontiff, to draw the reprobation of the people of Spain, Italy, and France, on the see of Rome, and increase the repulsion, already so great, with which we

inspire the nations?" This rally threw the members of the conclave into great perplexity, and prevented the election of Tosco; it did not, however, bring back to the cardinal Baronius, the suffrages he had lost. During the night Aldobrandin had an interview with Montalto and the cardinal de Joyeuse, and in the morning, having gone to the Sixtine chapel with their partizans, they proclaimed the cardinal Camillus Borghese pope, before the Spaniards knew that he had even been proposed as a candidate.

The new pontiff was a Roman by birth, and of a family originally from Sienna; he had first exercised the profession of a lawyer, he had then entered on an ecclesiastical career, and obtained, successively, the dignity of vice legate of Bologna, auditor of the chamber, vicar of the pope, and grand inquisitor; finally, he had been promoted by Clement the Eighth to the title of cardinal of St. Chrysogonus.

As he had kept himself constantly aloof from political affairs, and appeared to desire to live in tranquillity, the leaders of the different parties thought it would be easy for them to govern the church in the name of the holy father, and all came to offer him their services. But it turned out differently from their expectations; he declared that he alone would reign, and to take from the cardinals all hopes that he would re-consider his deci-

sion, he formed a council from among the members of his own family. He gave a cardinal's hat to the young Scipio Caffarelli, one of his nephews; he confided to his two brothers, Francis and John Baptist Borghese, the most important employments, and gave them, besides, the government of the Vatican and of the castle of San Angelo; he provided all his other relatives with rich benefices, and installed them about his person. He was then occupied in the government of the Holy See, and showed that he had preserved the ancient traditions of the Roman church, and was disposed, if allowed to act, to revive the pretensions of the popes to absolute sway over Italy.

Contrary to every principle of right, he interfered in the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, and excommunicated the regent Ponte, who commanded there in the name of Philip, because he had sent to the galleys an ecclesiastic who was guilty of a capital crime.—He then sent apostolic nuncios to Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, to inform him, not to confer in future any vacant benefices without the approval of the court of Rome; which was an odious act of arbitrary power, since the popes, his predecessors, had sold this right to the dukes of Savoy, and it was impossible to deny the authenticity of the bulls issued on this subject. He then pushed his audacity so far, as to interdict the republics of Lucca, Genoa, and Venice, and all the states of Italy, from making any treaty either among themselves or with foreign powers, without his sanction; and to prevent all hesitation about it, he fulminated a bull in which he enjoined on sovereign princes, and the chiefs of the republics, to prohibit their people from opening any intercourse with foreigners, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures.

The threat produced its effect; none of the Italian governments being willing to break with the Holy See, all conformed to the orders of the pope. Genoa revoked its orders against the Jesuits, and authorised the members of the society to concur in the elections for the different civil and military employments.—Lucca accepted the bulls of his holiness without examination; the duke of Savoy also submitted in the transmission of benefices; the king of Spain himself permitted the regent of Naples to make concessions to the court of Rome, to have his excommunication raised; the Venetians alone refused to obey the holy father, and a struggle took place between them and Paul the Fifth.

The redoubtable council of Ten had condemned to death an Augustine monk, guilty of a rape and an outrage on the chastity of a young girl, ten years old, whom he had then murdered; they had, moreover, proceeded against a canon of Vicenza, called Scipio Saracino, accused of having entered by night, with masked men, into the residence of one of his relatives, and of having committed violence on her; still further, the doge of Venice, of his own authority, had incarcerated the count Brandolino Valdemarino, abbot of Narvesa, who was accused of having poisoned his father

and several of his domestics, of living in incest with his sister, of robbing travellers on the highway, and of having committed several assassinations on youths whom he had polluted by means of stupifying drugs.

His holiness maintained that these great criminals were beyond the reach of the vengeance of the laws, on account of their sacred character; that the republic had violated ecclesiastical immunities, by judging them by a tribunal of laymen, and ordered the doge to place at once in the hands of the apostolic nuncio, the Augustine monk, the canon of Vicenza, and the abbot of Narvesa, under penalty of excommunication. Paul the Fifth even took advantage of this affair to claim the repeal of a law which prohibited priests from acquiring real estate without the authority of the senate, and which compelled them to sell lands or houses acquired as a heritage from their relatives. He also demanded the abolition of the decrees which prohibited the building of new churches, and the founding of hospitals or religious communities, without the concurrence of the civil power.

The senate represented to the court of Rome, that by virtue of the ancient institutions of the republic, and the privileges which had been sold or granted by the sovereign pontiffs, his predecessors, they were permitted to promulgate edicts concerning the civil relations of ecclesiastics with the state, and that the Holy See could not, without a manifest violation of established rights, demand the overthrow of their laws, nor the submission of criminals to its jurisdiction. The pope replied, that canonical ordinances were divine laws, and that the successors of the apostle had no more right than other men to contravene them; and that consequently the permissions granted to the Venetians by his predecessors were annulled. His holiness seeing that his threats of excommunication did not intimidate the most serene republic, thought of reviving pretensions forgotten for many ages, of duties collected from the islands of the Adriatic by the Holy See, in order to control the action of its government. He, moreover, exempted from imposts the rich benefices which the cardinals, the knights of Malta, the convents of men, the mendicant orders, and all ecclesiastics possessed in the territory of the republic, on the ground of their being subjects of the Roman court. Not content with striking this blow at the finances of the Venetians, he endeavoured to injure their commerce and industry, by prohibiting all works which issued from their presses, even missals and breviaries; finally, he lanced an excommunication against the doge and senate, and placed the city of Venice, as well as its islands in the Adriatic, and all its possessions on terra firma, under interdict.

The most serene republic no longer restrained its conduct towards the court of Rome, and replied to the attacks by a decree which prohibited ecclesiastics, under the most severe penalties, from setting up the bull of the holy father, or from ceasing from divine service in

any church. All the Venetian clergy obeyed, the Jesuits alone declared that their conscience did not permit them to act contrary to the orders of the pope, and asked permission to leave the dominions of the republic, which the doge readily granted them. The senator Quirino, and the celebrated Fra Paolo Sarpi then appealed from the judgment of the court of Rome to the tribunal of nations, spreading through all countries works filled with close and powerful reasoning, in which they attacked the temporal authority the popes had arrogated to themselves over the world, as the successors of the apostle Peter. His holiness was alarmed at the consequences which might result to him from this strife, and instructed the cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, the two pillars of the church, to reply to the enemies of the court of Rome and to silence them.

Like skilful men, the two prelates shifted the question; they were careful how they discussed with princes and kings the authority which they exercised over the people, from fear lest their own arguments should be turned against them. They only established the principle that despotism proceeded from God, and that mankind were bound to submit, without examination, to those who possessed the sovereign power; then, introducing metaphysics into their discussion, they proclaimed the predominance of spirit over matter, and deduced from it these singular propositions:—

“The spirit directs and moderates the flesh, but not reciprocally; therefore, the temporal power is not permitted to elevate itself above the spiritual, to wish to direct it, to command or to oppress it; this would be rebellion, a tyranny entirely pagan. It is for the priest to judge the emperor, and not the emperor the priest, for it would be absurd to contend that the flock should guide the shepherd.”

Fra Paolo and the senator Quirino, far from regarding themselves as conquered, entered on the battle on this ground; thus like their adversaries, they proclaimed that all power emanated from God, and taking as their point of departure, the doctrines concerning royalty which were professed in France, they concluded from them, that the authority of the prince having the same source as that of the pope, the latter had no right to interfere in the affairs of government.

“The ecclesiastics of different kingdoms,” added they, “as well as the laity, are submitted to the power of princes, and none of their subjects can dispense with rendering to them the same reverence that is due to the divinity. A king has a right to make laws, render judgments, and establish imposts without any control. The pope also possesses a supreme jurisdiction over the people, but it is purely spiritual, as Christ himself has instituted it. The Son of God having never exercised any temporal jurisdiction during his life, could not transmit to St. Peter and his successors a right he had never claimed. . .” Such were the singular pretensions and extravagant theories, which the satellites of the papacy and me-

narchy endeavoured to make prevalent, so as to acquire a right to oppress the people.

They soon came from this war of words to a real war; Paul the Fifth sought for allies every where, assembled his troops, and announced that he was going to annihilate Venice. But his warlike ardour did not last long; whether he feared to expose his army to the risk of a defeat, which would have greatly compromised his power in Italy, or whether he feared he could not support the expenses of a campaign and the maintenance of his troops, or whether he suspected that Philip the Third and Henry the Fourth, whilst appearing officially to desire the maintenance of peace between Rome and Venice, were secretly employed in prolonging hostilities, he feigned to yield to the remonstrances of the French ambassadors, and accepted their mediation in his quarrel with the republic.

The Venetians, who had need of peace for their commercial prosperity, listened favourably to the terms of arrangement proposed by the Holy See. Paul demanded that the seignory, or council of Ten, should place in the hands of the French ambassadors the three ecclesiastical prisoners detained in the dungeons of the republic, and that the senate should also repeal the decree passed against the introduction of the bulls of the court of Rome, and should send him an embassy, in sign of submission, to solicit the absolution of the ecclesiastical censures. His holiness wished also to exact the recall of the Jesuits, but he was obliged to forego it, the doge Ludovico Donato having declared that he would rather break off the negotiations and continue the war, than suffer one of the disciples of Loyola on the territory of the republic. Peace was concluded between the two powers, and the Jesuits remained exiled.

If the society lost a little of its power in a corner of Italy, it resumed a part of its former influence in Great Britain, and notwithstanding the severe ordinances of Queen Elizabeth, the good fathers were not afraid to reappear in the kingdom, and even to found colleges. Their security arose from the fact, that the new king of England, James the First, the son of Mary Stuart, showed great kindness to them; but their audacity increased so much, that the sovereign was compelled to be severe on some of the greatest mischief-makers among them.

They then swore vengeance, and organised with some Catholic gentlemen whose consciences they directed; amongst others, Robert Catesby and Thomas Piercy, a plot which consisted in nothing less than blowing up the hall of parliament, when the king and royal family were assisting at the opening of the session. It was agreed among the conspirators, that only a small number of faithful and determined men should be admitted into the plot. They first associated with them a young Catholic gentleman, named Thomas Wintour, whom they sent on a mission to Flanders, after one of their friends named Fawkes, who was in the service of Spain, and whose ardent zeal

for the papacy they knew. The latter returned at once to England on their invitation, but when he discovered that it was to annihilate at a single blow, so great a number of victims, he hesitated to enter into the plot, and represented to the reverend fathers who directed the matter, that on the day of the opening of the session of parliament, there would be almost as many Catholics as heretics present, and that they would have to answer to God for the death of their brethren. The Jesuits Garnet, Oldecorn, Tesmond, and Gerard replied, that if the number of the orthodox was only one less than that of the heretics, they could proceed and annihilate them all together, and that God would absolve them on account of the great glory that would accrue to him.

His conscience thus assured, Fawkes associated himself in the work with his companions. Piercy hired a house adjoining the parliament buildings, and all began to make a mine which was to reach beneath the hall, in which the sessions of parliament were held. They had already pierced through several walls, and according to their calculation were at but a small distance from the hall, when one night, while they were at work, they heard, above their heads, a loud talking and an unusual movement. Not knowing to what cause to attribute this hubbub, and fearing lest their plans were suspected, the conspirators stopped their work, and left the mine in order to inform themselves of what was going on. They learned that workmen were emptying a cellar filled with oil, which was situated beneath the chamber of peers, in order to rent it. The opportunity was seized, and the next day the cellar belonged to the conspirators; they carried into it by night thirty-six barrels of powder, which they covered over with faggots and billets of wood.

Things being thus arranged, they waited patiently for the opening of parliament; the time for the royal session had been already fixed, and nothing could make the plot miscarry, when Lord Montague, a Catholic member of the chamber of peers, received an anonymous letter, advising him and his friends not to be present at that session, since a terrible blow would be inevitably struck, and which would occupy less time than it would take him to burn the letter which warned him of it. Lord Montague paid no attention to the last recommendation of his mysterious correspondent, and sent the letter to Lord Salisbury, the secretary of state, who attached no great importance to it; he, however, submitted it to the king, who thought otherwise. His majesty thought that the words "terrible and sudden blow," alluded to the effects of gunpowder, and gave orders to examine all the vaults which were beneath the halls of parliament. The earl of Suffolk, who, in his capacity of lord chamberlain, was charged with this duty, caused all the cellars to be opened, and having remarked in that of Piercy a mass of faggots and billets of wood, asked what was the name of the tenant of the cellar; on the reply of Fawkes, who was disguised

as a valet, he remarked that the supply seemed very large for the wants of a single man who did not reside habitually in London. He then left it, but scarcely had he got out, when he sent back Sir Thomas Knyvet, a magistrate, with some soldiers, to make a close examination. Before entering it, the latter arrested the pretended domestic of Piercy, on whom were found matches and a tinder box; the firewood being thrown aside, the thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered.

Fawkes was at once put to the torture, and forced to name all his accomplices. Catesby, Piercy, and several others of the conspirators, had, however, time to leave London and reach Warwickshire, where Sir Edward Digby, full of confidence in the success of the enterprise, had assembled some partizans, and was making dispositions to seize the young princess Elizabeth, the daughter of the king, whom they wished to place on the throne. But the news of their fatal conspiracy had already been transmitted to the sheriff, with orders to assemble the militia and seize the guilty; then, finding that it was impossible to resist or fly, they assembled to the number of twenty-four, in a fortified castle in Warwickshire, resolved to die with arms in their hands. Unfortunately, at the moment of the attack, their supply of powder took fire, and they were unable to defend themselves against the royal troops. Catesby and Piercy killed themselves; the others were made prisoners and perished on the scaffold.

The Jesuit Henry Garnet, who had celebrated mass for the success of this great enterprise, and the Jesuit Oldecorn, whose duty it was to recruit conspirators, both, the chiefs and organisers of the plot, were judged by a royal court, with several other disciples of Loyola, and condemned to the gibbet.

This affair determined King James to make his subjects take the famous oath of allegiance, by which they recognised that the sovereign of Great Britain was independent of every foreign power; that neither pope, nor archbishop, nor bishop could depose him, nor free his subjects from the oath of fidelity they had sworn to him; that none had a right to seize on his domains, nor dispose of his kingdom, nor make an attempt on his life; that the doctrine professed by the Catholics, which authorised subjects to put to death their princes on the order of the pope, was impious and execrable. This oath was made obligatory on all the inhabitants of England, no matter what were their religious opinions.

Paul the Fifth immediately addressed several briefs to the faithful in Great Britain, to prohibit them from obeying the king; which caused banishment to be inflicted on some, and even decapitation on the most obstinate.

James the First was not content with combatting the satellites of the papacy with the axe of the executioner; he took up the pen and attacked the doctrines of Cardinal Bellarmine in several controversial works. The Jesuit Suarez replied to the monarch, and placing himself as the adversary of royalty, and the champion of the papacy, endeavoured to crush

his adversary beneath a flux of incoherent words and extravagant propositions. "The sovereign power," says he in his book, "is all-powerful to direct kings efficaciously in the exercise of their authority; he can also constrain princes to obey him, in that which he has justly ordained, and to punish those who do not obey him; for he is armed with a two-edged sword. And the proof that this right has devolved on him is, that the chiefs of the church have always used it, in excommunicating emperors and kings, in deposing them, in freeing their subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and in giving their dominions to Catholic princes. The popes are invested with a power so great, that their decrees of death pronounced against a king, are enough to place the condemned beyond the protection of the law; all the faithful, however, are not authorised to fall upon the enemy of the church, and they should leave the care of executing the sentence to those who are charged with it."

Another Jesuit, named Emmanuel Sa, took part in these disputes, and even improved upon the propositions of Suarez; he maintained that the revolt of an ecclesiastic against a king did not constitute a crime of lese-majesty, since priests could not be regarded as subjects of a king. That it was the same with laymen, when the prince was under a canonical condemnation, and that in this case all the faithful should unite to combat the tyrant, and make religion to triumph.

The Jesuit Delrio expressed still more openly his hatred for kings: "Why can I not," he exclaimed in one of his sermons, "make a libation to God of the blood of a king? Never did the altar of Jesus Christ hold a more beautiful liquor; never could a more agreeable holocaust be offered. Let him be blest to the most remote ages who plunges a dagger into the heart of a king. . . ."

These furious discourses and exaggerated doctrines were not directed against James the First alone; the Jesuits wished to strike down all the princes of Christendom, and his holiness seconded them in this new crusade, by authorising the propagation of a work of the celebrated Mariana, in which regicide was imposed as a principle, a duty, an obligation, when the sovereign freed himself from the obedience due to the chief of the church. After the example of the Spanish Jesuit, the good fathers who resided in France, exalted the pontifical authority, and sought to abase royalty. "Obey, children of Christ," exclaimed the furious Clarus Bonarscius in his sermons, "blindly obey that power which has restored Henry the Fourth to the society of the faithful; do not listen to those who maintain that the pope has no power to excommunicate the king of France; he has done it, however, and that prince has recognised that he had the power, since he has humbled himself in the dust, in order to be absolved. What! were the sovereign to become an Arius, a Vallus, a Nestorius, a Manes or Mahomet in speech and with the sword; should

he become a Jew, should he be circumcised, would not the pope have power to act against him? Were he to renew the horrible cruelty of Phalaris against all the zealous Catholics of France, and could the pope do nothing to him? God preserve us from this thought. The pontiff should employ his axe for the safety of France, and cut down the large trunks which threaten to stifle the young trees." Then arose Ravillac; either the declamations of the Jesuits had acted powerfully upon a sick brain, or else the man had been urged on by his own exaltation or by a hidden cause which l'Estoile, Sully, and the marshal d'Estrées do not fear to cast upon the queen, as this fanatic waited to strike the king until Mary of Medicis had been proclaimed regent, and solemnly crowned. Francis Ravillac had arrived from Angouleme at Paris three weeks before, waiting to put his regicidal plan into execution. On the 14th of May, 1610, the eve of the day fixed for the departure of the king, after having heard mass at St. Benedict, he dined very tranquilly at his inn with his host and a merchant named Cottelet; he then went to the Louvre to wait for the king. At four o'clock, Henry left his palace in a carriage to visit the triumphal arches erected in honour of the regent, who was to make her entry into the capital on the next day. He was accompanied by the dukes d'Epemon and Montbazou, the marshals de la Force, de Roqueleure and de Lavardin, the first squire de Liancourt, and the marquis de Mirabeau; a small number of gentlemen and valets on foot alone escorted the king, the duke d'Epemon having given an order to the guard to remain at the Louvre.

When the carriage arrived in the street de la Ferronière, which was at that period very narrow, the cortege was stopped by a crowd of carts; most of the foot valets went into the cemetery of the Innocents so as to get on more at their ease, and there remained but two near the carriage; it was precisely at this moment that the duke d'Epemon opened the window by the king, and asked him to examine a very important piece of writing. Whilst his majesty was engaged in reading it, Ravillac, who had followed the carriage, leaped upon the axle of the wheel and struck the king two blows with his knife in the region of the heart, and so rapidly that none would have suspected what was going on but for a groan from Henry; the death was instantaneous. The assassin could not doubt have easily escaped by gliding among the vehicles; but he remained there, with his knife in his hand, boasting how well he had struck; he was then arrested and conducted to the hotel de Reiz, where the provost proceeded to a first examination.

This magistrate found on him a chaplet, a paper on which the name of Jesus was written three times on different folds, and a paste-board heart which he wore around his neck. We are really surprised in reading the examinations into this matter, at the particular care which the judges who had charge of the pro-

ceedings took to prevent Ravillac from exposing his accomplices. Though it was ascertained through the keeper of the inn that he had had intercourse with masqued persons, amongst others with a squire of the queen, with the almoners of the cardinal du Perron, one of the lovers of Mary of Medicis, with several Jesuits, a Cordelier, a Feuillant, the curate of St. Severin, and a canon, yet he was confronted with no one but Father d'Aubigny, who affirmed by oath that he did not know the assassin, and denied the allegations of Ravillac, who said that he had visited him at a house of the Jesuits.

Father Cotton, the confessor of Henry the Fourth, went himself several times to prohibit the accused from compromising persons of quality. Finally, thirteen days after the assassination, as if they were in a hurry to finish it, the parliament pronounced sentence of death against Francis Ravillac, attainted and convicted of the crime of lese-majesty. He was condemned to be pinched with red hot pincers, and have melted lead, boiling oil, and hot sulphur poured on the sores; to have his right hand burned to the wrist, then to be torn asunder, and then consumed on the scaffold. The judgment further provided that the house in which he was born should be demolished; that his mother and father should be driven from the kingdom, and be prohibited from returning to it, under penalty of being hung and strangled; that his brothers, sisters, uncles, and other relatives should be compelled, under similar penalties, to abandon the name of Ravillac and take some other.

The assassin underwent his horrible punishment courageously; he did not utter a groan whilst the executioner was tearing him with red hot pincers, which at each blow tore off strips of flesh; nor even whilst they were pouring into his gaping wounds a mixture of hot lead, sulphur, oil, and boiling wax. No cry escaped him when his hand was burned, nor when he was fastened to the horses by his four limbs. Finally, after having undergone this frightful punishment for almost an hour without being dismembered, and still breathing, "the soldiers who assisted at the execution, tired of beholding it, fell upon the criminal with swords, knives, and clubs, and commenced striking, cutting, and tearing this unfortunate man, who was thus ardently cut into parts, and the pieces torn from the executioner and dragged in all directions with extreme fury."

When justice had been inflicted on the murderer, cold reason resumed the superiority, and they began to inquire who were the true accomplices of Ravillac; the public voice designated the Jesuits, and pamphlets against the reverend fathers appeared in every direction, and amongst others, one called "l'Anti-Cotton," in which it was demonstrated that the Jesuits and the queen had armed the hand of Ravillac.

The parliament, not daring to act against such great culprits, contented itself with enjoining on the faculty of theology, to censure

the works published by the society on the theory of regicide; and in accordance with the decision of the doctors, condemned several of their books to be burned by the executioner on the Place de Grève. This judgment against the disciples of Loyola, by the first body in the kingdom, and which implied in some sort an accusation of participation in the assassination of Henry the Fourth, did not prevent Mary de Medicis from continuing her favours to them, and installing Father Cotton near the young Louis the Thirteenth, in the capacity of his confessor, and of giving to their college de la Flèche the heart of her husband. The queen even dared to grant them letters patent much more extensive than those hitherto granted them, and to permit them to give public instruction on theology, and all kinds of sciences, since, she declared, that it was most useful that children should learn from them the forms and modes of life which they must observe at court.

The Jesuits immediately afterwards informed the university of their letters patent, and were engaged in following up the grant before the parliament. Thus was revived the proceedings concerning the instruction of children, which had been pending for almost a century between the university and the Society of Jesus. In his pleading, the advocate la Martelière, who spoke for the university, recalled the fact that it was the third time that this celebrated body had claimed the protection of parliament against the satellites of the pope, in order to assure the repose of the kingdom; that since the establishment of the Jesuits all Europe had resounded with the noise of their disputes; that they had never ceased to preach the overthrow of the political powers; he cast upon them a participation in the crimes of Jacques Clement, de Barrière, de Chatel, and de Ravillac, in France; he recalled their participation in the gunpowder plot in England, in the troubles which had arisen in Venice and several other states, and finished his harangue by beseeching parliament not to be surprised by the hypocritical tone, honied words, and promises of the good fathers; he begged them to be on their guard against their knaveries, and not to forget that their own constitution authorised them to perjure themselves, whenever the interest of their order or that of the pope demanded it.

The advocate general, Servin, was also favourable to the university; that magistrate declared that before entering on the debate, he had inquired from the Jesuits if they were willing to agree as the terms of their re-establishment, "to sign without equivocation or subterfuges, the four propositions of the Sorbonne, concerning the inviolability of the persons of kings, the absolute independence of their authority in temporal matters, the subjection of ecclesiastics to princes, and the maintenance of the liberties of the Gallican church;" but that they had refused to give a formal adhesion to these principles. It was consequently concluded to prohibit the Jesuits from giving public lessons; to fill any scholas-

tic function for the instruction of children or adults, in the city of Paris. The parliament admitted his conclusions, and made a decree declaring the university to be well founded in its remarks, and giving judgment for it. It was not in France only that the Jesuits had become objects of general animadversion; they were held in execration every where. They had been driven out of Russia; the university of Louvain had condemned their doctrines, and expelled them from Flanders; in Bohemia, a decree of the sovereign council, made by the consent of all orders in the kingdom, had condemned them to perpetual banishment, as disturbers of the public quiet; Moravia, following the example of Bohemia, had taken an energetic decision to prohibit them from entering its provinces. Then the Jesuits, chased, spit upon, disgraced, appeared to amend, and to obtain their re-installation, they renounced their regicidal doctrines, and adopted the maxim of the inviolability of the persons of sovereigns, which was naturally professed at the courts of those potentates. The fathers Balthazar, Jacquinet, Fronton, Jacques Sirmond, and Faconius, presented themselves at the bar of the parliament and declared that they accepted the four propositions of the Sorbonne, in regard to the preservation of the persons of kings, their absolute independence of the see of Rome, and the privileges of their authority, even over ecclesiastics.

This submission, though tardy, was very profitable to them, for it appeased the murmurs of their enemies, caused them to be tolerated in the kingdom, and placed them in a position to provoke ecclesiastical assemblies, in which they agitated different religious questions, which were all resolved to their entire satisfaction. Thus in the provincial councils of Aix and Sens, they obtained the condemnation of the treatise of Edmund Richer, syndic of the faculty of theology in Paris, concerning ecclesiastical power, and consequently his displacement from the syndicate. But this act of iniquity reawaked all the former hatred against the Jesuits, and the struggle commenced more violently than ever between them and the defenders of the liberties of the Gallic church.

The work of Edmund Richer became the cause of a polemical controversy, which gave it more vogue and renown than had ever been attained by any book; for, independently of the interest which a work laid under excommunication and interdict always inspires, the treatise on ecclesiastical power had the attraction for the masses, of a work in open hostility to the two great powers that crush the people; it demonstrated that neither kings nor pontiffs had the right of infallibility and inviolability which were attributed to them—that both, holding their authority from the nations, could, under no pretext, nor for any cause whatsoever, free themselves from their supreme jurisdiction.

All the great writers of the age adopted the opinion of the syndic, and took up the pen to

sustain his doctrines. One of them, Du Plessis Mornay, even dared to attack the court of Rome, and published his celebrated work called "The Mysteries of Iniquity," in which the author unveiled the long sequence of crimes and infamies committed by the pontiffs, and in which he concluded by saying, that the successors of St. Peter had been the mandatories of antichrist. In the frontispiece of his book there was engraven a tower of Babel, an emblem of the Vatican, and on the first page, his holiness, Paul the Fifth, in the costume of Satan, leading his infernal legions of Jesuits to conquer the world.

When the pope was informed of the appearance of so terrible a work, he very naturally fulminated a bull of excommunication against Du Plessis Mornay, and solicited the interdiction of his book in France, as most heretical, most dangerous, contrary to the divine, natural, and canonical laws, to the writings of the holy fathers, to the observances of the Catholic church, to the ceremonies received and practised from all antiquity. The Jesuits undertook to pursue the work, and to the shame of the magistracy, they found judges who condemned it.

Encouraged by this success, the children of Ignatius Loyola, undertook to bring about a triumph of the pope in Venice, and to rid him of his most formidable adversary, the illustrious Peter Sarpi or Fra Paolo, which was his Dominican name, as they had done in France of Du Plessis Mornay. As, however, they did not expect to find in the council of Ten, judges as docile as those in France, they proceeded in another way, and attempted to assassinate him. Fra Paolo, warned by an anonymous advice of what was prepared against him, took extraordinary precautions to guarantee himself from attacks, and asked permission never to go abroad without a coat of mail under his robe, and accompanied by a lay brother of his monastery armed with a blunderbuss; this was granted him, a thing unheard-of in a city where the carrying of fire arms was punished by death. Nevertheless, one day, as he was leaving his convent, five masked men fell upon him, struck him several blows with their poniards, and escaped before the lay brother had time to use his fire arms. Peter Sarpi was carried back to his cell almost dead, and with his jaw pierced through with a stiletto, on which were engraven a tiara, a cross, and a death's head, with this motto, "In the name of the pope, the Society of Jesus."

Immediately on the report of this hateful attempt at assassination, the senators, who were in session, came in a body to the convent of the Dominicans to inquire into the situation of the wounded man; the council of Ten ordered the most active search to be made for the guilty, who unfortunately could not be arrested. He brought the most famous surgeon of Italy from Padua, at the expense of the state, to attend on Fra Paolo, and when his health was restored, the most serene republic doubled his pension, and offered him

a palace. Peter Sarpi, though very sensible of these proofs of such general interest, refused the pensions and the palaces, he only consented never to leave his convent but with an escort, so as to be beyond the reach of a new attempt at assassination.

The Jesuits, forced to renounce their guilty plans, and despairing of being enabled to subjugate Venice to the Holy See, so long as it had such a defender, fell back on France, and aided by the regent Mary de Medicis and Father Cotton, her confessor, they organised religious congregations in all parts of the kingdom, which enveloped the cities and country in an immense net of superstition. All the old orders of monks reappeared; Dominicans, Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Jacobins, Feuillants, recruited numerous adepts, and covered all France with their legions. Port Royal became a religious community, where they adored the consecrated host day and night; the sisters of Calvary passed the nights at the foot of the cross to expiate the offences committed by the protestants against the Tree of Life and Safety; nuns had extacies, after the example of St. Catherine of Sienna. Francis de Sales founded the order of the Visitation; the Ursulines monopolised the instruction of young girls, as the Jesuits had already done that of young men; Bellule instituted the priests of the oratory; the Benedictines reassembled at the congregation of St. Maur; Vincent de Paul founded the congregation of Missions; the Brothers of Mercy multiplied to infinity, and were endowed with vast domains, or rich communities, and the provinces were at the mercy of this monkish brood, who, in every country, and at all periods, have devoured the wealth of the people, paralyzed the development of industry, and rendered the human race besotted.

At last, the Jesuits thought themselves strong enough to brave public opinion, and by the order of Paul the Fifth, they induced the regent to convene the states-general, and to propose the adopting of the canons of the council of Trent, which were an outrage on the liberty of the church and the dignity of the country. The members of the nobility, who formed a part of the states, as well as several of the clergy, were favourable to the plan, and bargained away the national dignity. A bishop even dared to declare, in order to influence the deliberations of the commons, that there was no safety for the kingdom, unless the three orders decreed the submission of France to the will of the pope.

The commons, nevertheless, who had a reasonable distrust of the two privileged orders, resisted the solicitations. Through the provost of the merchants, as their organ, they remonstrated with the regent, and represented to her "that the question of the council of Trent having been in suspense for sixty years, they did not judge it to be a fitting time to settle it; that, moreover, the decisions of this pretended orthodox assembly had been recognised as derogatory to the royal authority and the public tranquillity; that the parliament

had already decided that they should be subjected, since they subjected the chapters and monasteries to the bishops, and destroyed the independence of the regular clergy; since they confiscated, for the benefit of the pope, the fiefs of lords who were killed in duels; and they erased the indulgences of parliament and the jurisdiction of subaltern judges in matters in which ecclesiastics were interested; and, finally, because they introduced into France the horrible tribunals of the inquisition on the same basis as those of Spain."

The Jesuits, finding it impossible to overcome the repugnance of the commons, applied to the young king, who had obtained his majority, and obtained from him authority to hold provincial synods, to decide the important question of the ordinances made by the council of Trent, and their promulgation in France. A meeting of members of the clergy and nobility was held, who bound themselves, by oath, to make the cause of the pope triumph, and to constrain the nation to bow before the theocratic yoke. Among the fanatics who assisted at this cabal, were the cardinals de Rochefoucauld, de Gondy and du Peron, seven archbishops, and forty-five bishops, and among these last, was the proud prelate of Lucon, afterwards the cardinal de Richelieu. This audacity of the clergy and the Catholic nobility made a great noise, and compelled the chatelet of Paris to prohibit, by a decree, all ecclesiastics under his jurisdiction, to publish any thing which was treated of at the council of Trent, or which made the slightest innovation on the policy of the Gallican church, under penalty of confiscation and seizure.

The Huguenots also issued a manifesto, and declared that they would again take up arms, if the king wished to make France subject to the Holy See. Hostilities had already commenced on several points, when the marshal d'Ancre, the husband of Elionora Galigai, the favourite of the queen mother, interfered and induced Mary de Medicis to renounce the adoption of the council of Trent, and to promise the Huguenots that things should remain as formerly, regardless of the demands of the court of Rome or the clergy. Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, made by the queen mother, and the formal prohibition of the chatelet, the cardinals de Sourdis and de Rochefoucauld went on, assembled their own synods of Bourdeaux and Sens, and declared that the faithful should be bound to observe, conscientiously, the different rules of the holy council of Trent. Other prelates followed their example, and promulgated the decrees of this pretended œcumenical assembly in their dioceses.

This singular triumph, obtained in defiance of the opposition of the parliament and the states-general, exalted the audacity of the Jesuits, and induced the good fathers to proclaim that France had adopted the council of Trent and submitted to the omnipotence of the pontiff. A remarkable work against the primacy of the pope, and called "The Ecclesiasti-



cal Republic," from the pen of the celebrated author Mark Antony Dominis, then appeared. His holiness was much moved by the appearance of this work, and immediately demanded its condemnation in France by the faculty of theology. At the same time, he entered into a conference with the author, and caused a cardinal's hat to be offered him, if he should consent to retract the propositions which should be pointed out to him in his book.

Dominis, seduced by the brilliant promises of the pope, was mean enough to make an apology, and disavow all he had written against the head of the church; he then went to Rome, fortified with a safe conduct, to receive the promised reward. But once in the power of the pope, after he had furnished to the world the shame of a second abjuration, instead of being elevated to the rank of a prince of the church, he was conducted to the castle of San Angelo and poisoned, after a captivity of five days. His holiness was not satisfied with this severe punishment of Dominis. For the edification of the faithful, he treated him as a relapsed heretic, and burned his body as well as his book, in the square of Flora. This proscription extended not only to the books which attacked the pope directly, but also against those which were written against the satellites of the Holy See, and even against historical works. Thus the court of Rome fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the advocate Arnaud for his memoir of the Jesuits, against the illustrious president De Thou for his history of France, and against the members of parliament for the decrees they had made in the affairs of the regicides Jean Chatel and Ravillac.

During this crusade against literary men, the Dominicans and Franciscans were scandalising Spain and Europe by their cynical disputes about the immaculate conception of the Virgin; and things reached such a point, that it was no longer with the pen that these monks attacked each other, but with blows of the stiletto or poniard. In France these events attracted public attention very little, which was fastened upon matters of much graver importance. The marshal d'Ancre had been assassinated by order of the king; his wife, Eleonora Galigai, had been beheaded by a decree of parliament; the queen mother disgraced, and with her Richelieu, the bishop of Lucern, one of her lovers. The blow of state directed against Mary de Medicis in the person of her favourites, had a great influence on the internal policy of the state. Father Cotton, confessor of the king, was driven from the court, which he governed with the Jesuits, and Richelieu himself, who filled the post of secretary of state, was banished for the same cause. The wary prelate retired to the city of Avignon, and connected himself intimately with the vice legate of the pope, to bring about the means of his return to France. The latter induced his holiness to demand the reinstatement of the bishop of Lucern in his post of secretary of state; but the duke de Luynes, who had the exercise of the supreme autho-

riety in his hands, and who feared the ambition of Richelieu, rejected all the overtures made to him on the subject. The prelate then took other means to attain his end. He entered into a correspondence with the queen mother, and induced her to escape from court and throw herself into the southern provinces, so as to excite a civil war, which took place. In this extremity the duke de Luynes, who knew the influence of Richelieu over Mary de Medicis, was forced, in order to arrest hostilities, to enter into an arrangement with that prelate, and proposed to him a reinstatement in his post of secretary of state, with the hat of a cardinal, if he would induce the queen to conclude a treaty of peace with her son; and as proof of the sincerity of his offers, he sent to the marquis de Creuvres, the French ambassador at Rome, an order to solicit publicly the entrance of the bishop of Lucern into the sacred college.

Richelieu, not suspecting that they would dare to strive with him in craft, trusted to the protestations of the court, and decided his royal mistress to become reconciled with Louis the Thirteenth. But when the treaty was signed, the duke de Luynes, who had no intention of bringing so able a man into the council of the king, refused to keep his engagements in regard to the post of secretary of state, and also wrote confidentially to the pope not to pay any regard to the solicitations of the French ambassador for a hat for the bishop of Lucern. His holiness abandoned the cause of his protegee the more readily, as he thought it was impossible for him to render him any service in consequence of his disgrace, and of the agreement of the queen with the court. A promotion of eight cardinals took place at Rome, and Richelieu was not among them. Furious at having been the dupe of Paul the Fifth, the king, and the duke de Luynes, the bishop of Lucern swore to be avenged. He excited Mary de Medicis to recommence the war on the pretence that the treaty of Angouleme was not executed, and at the same time he wrote to the pope, that he would make the court of Rome repent having associated with his enemies, and that he would break for ever with the policy of the Holy See. This threat produced no sensation at the court of the pontiff; never perhaps had the authority of the successors of St. Peter been so powerful as then, and the wrath of a prelatial lover of a decayed queen was of little consequence to Paul the Fifth.

His holiness did not even reply to Richelieu, and was engaged with the new emperor of Germany, Ferdinand the Second, who, in defiance of the oaths he had taken to maintain the freedom of the protestant worship, was putting in force a system of religious persecutions against the reformed, in order to become reconciled to the pope, and to have the censures and interdicts pronounced against him on account of the arrest of cardinal Cleselius, accused of high treason, raised.

Paul the Fifth, in consequence of the repentance of the emperor, the zeal which he mani-

fested for orthodoxy, and the rich presents he sent to St. Peter, granted him absolution, confirmed his election, and authorised the Catholic bishops to consecrate him. We should also say, that the reason which appeared most conclusive to his holiness, and which determined him to become reconciled with Ferdinand the Second, and to absolve him from the enormous crime of having violated the privileges of the church in the person of a cardinal, was the distribution which the latter made of six hundred thousand crowns among the Borghese; for by the avowal of Father Bzovius, who has left us a pompous eulogium on the pope, it was a matter of joy to him to see those prosper whom he neglected no means of enriching.

Nicholas de Marbais, a doctor in theology, a cotemporary of Paul the Fifth, and a witness of all the turpitudes of the court of Rome, is more severe upon the pontiff than the Jesuit Bzovius, and condemns the nepotism of his holiness in terms so energetic, that we can not do better than translate the passage of this learned historian concerning the disorders of this reign—"Paul the Fifth," he says, "so robbed the faithful, that he was enabled to spend four millions of crowns in purchases of lands for his nephew the cardinal Borghese. He bought for him the lordship of Rignano, near Rome, from the family of Savelli, for three hundred and fifty thousand crowns; he gave a hundred thousand for the town of Sulmona, which belonged to the dominions of Naples: he paid six hundred thousand crowns for the domain of the four Casales: he has acquired property among the mountains of Rome for more than five hundred thousand crowns; he has expended eight hundred thousand crowns in the Borghese palace, solely for construction, buildings, and gardens; for his cabinet is so rich in works of art, that it is valued at eighteen hundred thousand crowns.

"And from what source does this immense wealth come? From the datary, that Pactolus which rolls waves of gold; for it is notorious that the patrimony of the Borghese could not support their prodigality, since every one knows that this family was reduced to great poverty before the exaltation of the pope. Times are now different; thanks to the robberies and rapines of his holiness, the Borghese are now the richest lords in Italy. If we open the registry of the bulls we shall be surprised to see in what a great number of pages no other name is found as the titulary of such and such a benefice: yet Paul the Fifth knew well to whom he gave them, and he is no other than that fop of a cardinal Borghese, whose name he conceals in order not to excite the indignation of those who are yet silly enough to believe in the equity of a pope.

"Paul the Fifth only gives his creatures charges and prebends of minor importance, which are vacant without personal charges. The benefices that have a certain value he confers on his nephew without circumlocution, or obscurity, or ambiguity of language. If they are small and puny, he flanks them with five or six

others, so as to make one fat and large domain with which he gratifies these Borghese; finally, if by perchance, he confers a rich bishopric, he is careful to make it lean by loading it with a pension for his nephew, and thus transforms all the cardinals and prelates of his court into factors or curators for his dear Borghese.

"His holiness does not wish the princes of the church to be learned and expert, lest they may too easily perceive his ignorance; thus he does not grant the hat but to clowns without wit; to loggerheads of the vilest race, who have not spirit and courage to resent the cardinal nephew's boxing their ears; to asses who are content to graze on the lands of their benefices, and abandon the revenues of them to the Borghese. It would be really difficult for the cardinals Caphonus, Barberinus, Lantrec, and Spinola to tell in what cities they studied the belles lettres, for in regard to letters, they only know those letters of exchange which they have furnished to the nephew of the pope as a guarantee of the abandonment of their emoluments and the revenues of their property. As for other members of the sacred college, as Tonto, Lanfranc, Philonardo, and some of their colleagues, it would be still worse were we to ask them what profession they followed before they became cardinals. One was the organ player in the oratory, and received fifteen Julius a month as his pay; another was an obscene physician in a small street in Naples; the lord Philonardo was the keeper of a brothel; a fourth was the chief of a band of robbers, and was engaged every night in despoiling the galleys; all, in fine, before having been covered with the Roman purple, were covered with filth, the scum of every thing that was vilest in Rome, the most abominable city in the world; and yet, infamous as they were, they were scarcely worthy to form the court of Paul the Fifth; for in that accursed court, the princes of the church freely abandoned themselves to all sorts of abominations with their Ganymedes. They did not fear in the face of day to ravish children, and carry off young girls for their voluptuous saloons. All knew that there was neither justice nor shame at the Vatican; they therefore took no pains to conceal their turpitudes. Prelates, as well as mere clergymen, went in open day, dressed in their carnales, to the houses of women of pleasure, and caused the husbands or the fathers of the women or girls whom they had carried off to be assassinated publicly.

"Paul the Fifth laughs at all this dissoluteness, and wallows like a hog in the most stinking and disgusting odours of adultery, incest, and sodomy that can be imagined. And should he not applaud the murder of a husband or a father, who himself poisoned the wife of one of his brothers, because she refused his infamous caresses? Should he not glory in incest, who himself had bastards by his own sister, and who is the father of the cardinal nephew? Who, oh my God, will dare to recount the abominations which have procured for the wife of the second brother of his holi-

ness the name of popes, which is publicly given to her at Rome; by what shameful means has she become the dispensess of bishoprics, cardinals' hats, and all the benefices; how is it that this new Joan governs the church, seated on the throne of the apostle, the tiara on her brow, and the keys of heaven in her hands, stained with licentiousness? Who shall dare to say that the pontiff, the supreme head of Christendom, the vicar of God on earth, has in the cardinal Borghese at

once a nephew, a son, and a minion! Has God, in his immutable destiny, decided that the world shall be for ever governed by such monsters? Are the people for ever to bend their heads before tyrants? Is there never to come a day, in which the people, doing justice to popes and kings, shall sweep all despots from the earth? . . ."

At length, on the 28th of January, 1621, after having weighed down Italy for sixteen years, Paul the Fifth died from an attack of apoplexy

## GREGORY THE FIFTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1621.]

*Election of Gregory the Fifteenth—His history before being elevated to the pontifical chair—His efforts to establish the omnipotence of his see—Portrait of Ludovico Ludovisio, his nephew—Decree concerning the election of popes—Canonization of Ignatius Loyola—Massacre in Bohemia, Hungary, and Saxony—The pope congratulates Ferdinand on his religious zeal—Louis the Thirteenth follows the example of the emperor, and persecutes the protestants—Creation by the Jesuits of the fraternity of the Virgin—Catholic reaction in the United Provinces—Policy of Gregory towards England—The Jesuits in the Indies and America—Father Nobili at Pekin—Elevation of the house of Austria—League against the empire and Spain—Affairs of the Valteline—Death of Gregory the Fifteenth.*

The funeral ceremonies of Paul the Fifth being over, the sacred college assembled, and fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave; Borghese and his faction presented the cardinal Campoza as their candidate for the papacy, one of those prelates who, during the preceding reign, were the most distinguished for their vices. The Ursini, and the ambassador of the court of France, who were opposed to the Borghese, presented Alexander Ludovisio as theirs, and intrigued so successfully for him, that he triumphed over his competitor. He was accordingly proclaimed chief of the church, and took the name of Gregory the Fifteenth.

The new pope was sprung from an illustrious family of Bologna, which had been incorporated into the Neapolitan nobility. Having entered the college of the Jesuits at Naples when very young, he had remained there until he was sixteen years old, and had only left it to study law in the university of Bologna; he then went to Rome to Gregory the Fourteenth, his countryman, who appointed him collateral of the senator. He was afterwards successively raised to the posts of refendary, civil judge of the cases of the vicarage, archbishop of Bologna, nuncio, and cardinal priest of the title of St. Mary beyond the bridge. Some ecclesiastical writers speak of the amenity and goodness of this pontiff; but historical facts contradict their allegations, and show that he did not yield to his predecessors in cruelty or perfidy.

Comprehending that the origin of the papal grandeur sprang from the intestine divisions

which rent the Roman empire, Gregory resolved to embroil all Europe to re seize the ancient influence of the Holy See; and as he was already bent by age, and unable to sur-render himself to the labours which were necessary for the realization of his plans, he determined to call to his aid the Society of the Jesuits, that indefatigable soldiery, which for almost a century had shown itself so ardent, so intrepid, so devoted to the interests of the court of Rome. He formed a council, all the members of which belonged to the order, and placed at their head his nephew Ludovico Ludovisio, a young man of twenty-five years of age, and a worthy pupil of the children of Loyola.

Although young, Ludovico had already the morals of the Roman clergy; he was prodigal, a debauchee, greedy of wealth and greatness; thus he threw himself with ardour into the new career opened to his ambition. The first acts of the new government showed the tendencies of Gregory the Fifteenth towards papal omnipotence. To prevent the influences of the ambassadors of foreign courts in the elections, his holiness made a decree, which enjoined on the cardinals in future conclaves, to give their suffrages by secret ballot, and not openly. The council was then occupied as to the means of rekindling the zeal of fanatics in every nation. For this purpose they proceeded to the canonization of several persons dead in the odour of sanctity, among others, Saint Theresa the Visionary, Louis de Gonzagua, Stanislaus Koteka, Philip de Ner, Isidore Agricola. Ambroise Sansedon. Jacques

de Saloniome, Francis Xavier, and Ignatius Loyola.

Money beginning to become scarce in the treasury of St. Peter, the pontiff published an extraordinary jubilee, for the double purpose of recruiting his finances, and of being enabled to judge of the state of religion in the different kingdoms of Europe; he could thus judge from the zeal which the princes showed in favouring his financial efforts, whether things were going on well for the Holy See. In Germany, Julius, bishop of Wirtzburg, the electoral prince Schweikard of Mayence, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the archduke Ferdinand, made no opposition to the sale of indulgences, and even laboured with arduousness in the propagation of the papacy. Ferdinand the Second did more; he endeavoured to annihilate Lutheranism, and persecuted his subjects, to compel them to confess the Roman Catholic religion.

Even in France, the authority of the pope was scarcely any longer contested; the Jesuits commenced traversing Bearn, fire and sword in their hands, burning the protestant temples and murdering the Huguenots, who dared to resist them. In Switzerland, one of the chiefs of the Valtelines, named Jacques Robnstelli, who was under the fatal influence of the Jesuits, assembled bands of wretches to exterminate the unfortunate Grisons who professed Calvinism. In the Tyrol, on the peaks of the Alps, as well as in the valleys, the reformed were tracked by the fanatical followers of the pope; towns, villages, the poorest hamlets become the prey of the flames; the public places, the high roads, the wildest defiles were tinged with the blood of protestants; in the Low Countries, Philip the Third displayed unusual vigour, and at the instigation of the pontifical court, he seized by force on the provinces which had formerly freed themselves from Spain, and prepared to bring them back beneath the double yoke of Madrid and Rome.

The Catholic reaction was making immense progress in every country in Christendom, and under such a pope as Gregory the Fifteenth, there was no fear that the court of Rome would permit an opportunity to escape of re-establishing its preponderance over the countries which had formerly been subject to it.—His holiness was first occupied with founding the society of the propaganda on the plans of a Capuchin, named Girolamo Narni, and was organising missions to all countries of the world; he then formed alliances with the Catholic sovereigns, and particularly with Ferdinand the Second, to whom he offered, through Charles Caraffa, his apostolic nuncio, a present of two hundred thousand crowns and his blessing, as a subsidy for the war, in exchange for his active and persevering assistance, in the extermination of the reformed in his kingdom.

The bargain being made, cohorts of Dominicans, Augustines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits, hastened to range themselves beneath the banner of the cardinal Caraffa, and scattered themselves through Bohemia,

to proceed regularly to the destruction of the Lutheran or Calvinist churches, in order to re-establish the customs of the Roman church, the communion in one kind, the celebration of mass in the Latin tongue, the sprinkling of holy water, the invocation of canonised fanatics, the auricular confession; finally, every thing which philosophers justly call the idolatry of the Catholic worship. The unfortunate who persisted in demanding the communion in both kinds, were thrown into dungeons or sent to the stake, and their property confiscated to the church. In the cities, they besieged the houses of protestants who refused to yield to the exhortations of the monks, "to constrain them to abandon their obstinacy," according to the expressions of the nuncio, that is to say, to put them to the most frightful tortures, until they had renounced their belief. In the country the soldiers and monks made general battles, burned the farmhouses, murdered the farmers, violated girls, polluted young children, sparing those only who called themselves Catholics. By these means, the cardinal Caraffa saw the number of abjurations daily increase, and he could soon announce to Gregory that Bohemia was entirely subject to the Holy See.

The same things occurred in Moravia; the cardinal Dietrich Stein, who was at once governor of the province and bishop of Olmutz, thus uniting the spiritual and temporal power, wished to rival the fanaticism and cruelty of Charles Caraffa; and notwithstanding the active opposition of the citizens, he drove from the province the sect of the Moravian brothers, who numbered more than fifteen thousand individuals, male and female, and who were much cherished for their mild and patriarchal manners.

In Austria, the hereditary state of the emperor Ferdinand, the religious reaction was also very successful; the prince had first published by the sound of the trumpet through the towns, villages, and smallest boroughs, that the inhabitants must become converted or leave the country; he then established an immense cordon of troops, who united the two frontiers at the mouth of the Danube, and who coming up the river, enveloped all the cities, and drove out of the territory the unfortunates who were unwilling to adopt the Catholic ritual. In Hungary, the emperor was compelled to employ craft, and even to grant privileges to the magnates, who were the lords of this country, to bring them back into the bosom of the church.

In Bavaria and Saxony, the Jesuit missionaries did wonders, and converted more than twenty thousand protestants; it is true, they were aided in it by the executioner. In the Palatinate the protestant worship was interdicted under the severest penalties, and the inhabitants were forced to submit to Catholicism. The Lower Palatinate was also subjected to the Roman church. Charles Caraffa, at the head of a legion of monks, fell upon that province, treated it as a conquered country, carried off from Heidelberg, its capital, the

library, and a multitude of very precious manuscripts, which were transported to Rome.

In Upper Baden, the Margrave William carried on the same brigandage; the converting missionaries penetrated to Bamberg, Fulda, Eichsfeld, Paderborn, in the bishopric of Munster, to Halberstadt and Magdeburg.—They went as far as the city of Altona, and were preparing to enter Denmark and Norway.

Thus from the south to the north, from the east to the west of the Roman German empire, the restoration of the papacy was propagated with alarming celerity, and threatened to annihilate Lutheranism for ever.

Moreover, Gregory the Fifteenth, who understood admirably how to stimulate the fanatical zeal of sovereigns, conferred the electorate Palatine on Duke Maximilian, the sovereign of Bavaria, on account of the services he had rendered the church, and to excite a holy emulation among the other princes of Germany.—“Thy conduct, my son, has filled our heart with a torrent of delight, like to celestial manna. The daughter of Sion can at last shake from her head the ashes of grief, and clothe herself with the garments of joy! for soon will all the enemies of the throne of the apostle be reduced to dust.”

His holiness then extended his solicitude to France, and sought to make its king a worthy rival of Ferdinand the Second. Unfortunately, the splenetic Louis the Thirteenth was but too well disposed to follow the promptings of fanaticism, and a bitter war was carried on against the Huguenots; in all the provinces of the kingdom. Gentlemen of the reformed party even seconded the efforts of the monarch, and became converted to Catholicism, some to obtain posts and dignities, and others not to lose the privileges of their caste, which were beginning to be contested by the commons. Thus, the lords de la Force and de Chatillon, abjured Calvinism for the baton of a marshal; the old Leodigières embraced Catholicism for the sword of constable; many others followed their example, and the protestant religion was, in fact, suppressed in a large number of boroughs and cities.

The Huguenots were prohibited from singing their psalms in the streets and in their houses; the rights and benefits guaranteed to them by the edict of Nantz, were contested; a royal commissary was placed in their churches to supervise the meetings; and, finally, the privileges they had won by their blood were taken from them one by one. Unable to unite or defend themselves, the Calvinists were compelled to be converted; the papacy was triumphant. Legions of missionaries, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Capuchins, traversed France every where, recruiting in their course thousands of neophytes, and organizing men and women into an immense society, called the fraternity of Mary. Bishops were in regular correspondence with the Holy See, and gave his holiness useful advice to hasten the extinction of the heresy. Thus the prelate of Vienne having perceived that the efforts of the missionaries were para-

lyzed by the eloquence of a preacher of St. Marcellin, wrote charitably to Rome for Gregory to solicit an order from Louis the Thirteenth to hang him. The bishop of St. Malo having been informed that the reformed assembled in their chateaux to sing psalms, demanded, through the apostolic nuncio, the cardinal Damiète, the demolition of these resorts of the Huguenots, which was immediately ordered. These active and increasing precautions which foreshadowed the approaching ruin of the Calvinists of France, gave so much contentment to the pope, that he wrote to Louis the Thirteenth: “My dear son, the ornament of the universe, the glory of our age, march on steadily in your holy path; cause the power of your arm to be felt by those who know not God; be pitiless towards the heretics, and merit to be seated one day on the right hand of Christ, by offering to him as a holocaust all the children of perdition who infect your kingdom.”

It was not in France only that the cause of the Reformation was abandoned by noble families; in the protestant states, in the cities which were most distinguished for their hatred to the papacy, the rich were converted to the Catholic religion from a hatred to the ideas of independence which the masses were gaining, and who were questioning the existence of signorial privileges and rights.

Cologne, Louvain, Namur, opened their gates to the Jesuits, and fifteen thousand inhabitants received confirmation at their hands; in the archbishopric of Utrecht, one hundred and fifty thousand conversions were counted; in the diocese of Harlem, one hundred thousand; at Lenwarden sixteen thousand; at Groeningen twenty thousand, and at Deventer sixty thousand.

Extraordinary, however, as had been the progress of the missionaries in the Low Countries, his holiness was not satisfied, and wrote to the king of Spain “to have no pity on the heretics; to order his governors to establish the Catholic religion by force in the provinces dependent on his crown, to light up the stake, and to leave the Calvinists no alternative but the mass or death.”

England, that impregnable bulwark of the Reformation, remained yet to be subjugated. The obstinate Gregory the Fifteenth was not discouraged by the checks his predecessors had encountered in their efforts at religious reaction, and he determined to re-establish Catholicism in Great Britain. He only profited by the faults of those who had gone before, and pursued an entirely opposite policy; instead of employing threats and rigour, he entered into friendly relations with James the First on this subject, and knowing that the king desired to obtain authority to marry his son, the romantic prince of Wales, to a Spanish princess, which Paul the Fifth had constantly refused, he sent him bulls of dispensation without imposing on him any condition, contenting himself with writing to the young prince, “that he hoped that the old seed of Christian piety which had formerly produced

so many handsome flowers among the English kings, would germinate anew in his heart, and that he should regard his union with a Catholic wife as a happy presage for the Roman church in future."

The wary pontiff had foreseen that his Britannic majesty could not remain indebted to the Holy See, and would make some concessions to it, which in fact happened. By order of the king, the persecution of the Catholics ceased, and they were permitted the free exercise of their religion.

Rule over Europe was not, however, sufficient for the ambitious Gregory the Fifteenth; he must have it over the whole world; and finding no more enemies around him to combat, he turned his attention to remote countries, and thought of conquering for the Holy See the two Americas, the Indies, China, Japan, all Asia and Africa. Already had the Jesuits paved the way in South America, where they were all powerful, thanks to the massacre of more than twenty millions of Indians, and where they had elevated five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred convents of different orders, a considerable number of parishes, a seminary, and two universities, one at Lima, the other at Mexico, for instruction in theology.

The East Indies had not been as well prepared to receive the yoke of Rome. During the pontificate of Paul the Third, the Jesuit Francis Xavier had converted, it is true, nearly three hundred thousand adepts in the vicinity of Goa—the inhabitants of the mountains of Cochín or of the environs of Cape Comorin. But the new Christians belonging to the lowest caste of the people of India, it had resulted that the Catholic religion, fallen into contempt, was called the religion of the Parias. The Jesuits, however, afterwards becoming more enlightened as to the views of the nations in the immense peninsula of Hindostan, changed their tactics. The father Nobili, sent as a missionary to those countries, determined to address himself to the highest classes, and on his arrival entered into communications with the Brahmans, clothed and lodged as they did, submitted to the same expiations, studied the Sanscrit, penetrated their sentiments and ideas. Profiting skilfully by one article of their belief, that there had been four ways to arrive at the truth, and that one of these was lost, he declared that he had found that fourth way which led at once to immortality, and initiated them into a knowledge of Christianity. He was guarded, however, in injuring their prejudices; he adopted some of the rites of the country, used even the same expressions which were used in the religion of the Brahmans, and took every precaution not to be suspected of teaching the same belief which Francis Xavier had done.

Some Portuguese prelates from the Indian archipelago, who were in intercourse with the people of the continent, were scandalised at this mode of making converts; they addressed vehement complaints to the court of Rome, and demanded that his holiness should

disapprove of the abominable practices which Father Nobili had introduced into Christianity. But the sovereign pontiff received their complaints badly, and replied to them not to interfere in these matters; that the holy missionary was labouring with zeal and intelligence for the greatest glory of God, and that he had an absolute dispensation to do as he pleased, to commit sacrilege, adultery, and even shed the blood of men, if he thought it useful for the success of his glorious enterprise.

In China, the Society of Jesus had also sown the seeds of Catholicism. Father Ricci, one of the dignitaries of the order, had been enabled, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to introduce himself into the celestial empire, by means of a trick, and by passing off for a follower of Confucius. He had afterwards reached Peking, and been admitted to the emperor, by offering him a clock that struck, then a very rare thing. Ricci had finally conducted himself so skilfully, that he had gained the confidence of the monarch, and that of several mandarins, so that before his death, he had obtained authority to introduce missionaries to preach Christianity.

The Jesuits, who replaced the good father, were at first surprised at the singular method of propagating his doctrines which he had adopted, and which consisted in nothing less than passing the day at table with the mandarins and surrendering himself to every excess of intemperance. They wrote to Rome to the pope for advice. Gregory the Fifteenth replied to them, that he absolved them in advance from all the sins which they might commit in view of the interests of religion; that they need not be disturbed about them, since crimes even became pious works, when committed for the purpose of assuring the triumph of the Holy See.

In Japan, the progress of the papacy was still more surprising; thirty colleges of Jesuits and three hundred churches, were already counted in that empire. In Africa, as well as in Asia, the Holy See was conquering new subjects, and the intrepid Jesuit Paëz, at the head of a handful of soldiers, penetrated as far as Abyssinia, forced the sovereign of that country, Settan Segued, to become a convert to Christianity, snatched all Ethiopia from the Socinian monks who were dependents on the metropolitan of Alexandria, and forced the authority of the commissioner of Gregory the Fifteenth, Father Alphonso Mendez, appointed patriarch of Ethiopia by his holiness, to be recognised. Finally, even in the provinces conquered by the Musselmén, even in Constantinople itself, the Jesuits had established colleges, and were labouring to destroy the religion of Mahomet for the benefit of the papacy.

Thus, Gregory the Fifteenth, that weak, sickly old man, constantly tormented by cruel maladies, had found, by the immense activity of his mind, means to extend his sway over the whole world, and what was the most extraordinary in this Catholic propaganda, of which

he was every where the soul in Europe, was that it followed in its developments, the invading march of the great powers, and seconded the armies to enchain, in superstition, the people conquered by the sword.

Important changes in the respective relations of nations, resulted from this agreement between the papacy and monarchies. The most important certainly was, the elevation of the house of Austria, which had heretofore exercised a very secondary influence over the affairs of Europe. The Italian republics, whose independence was threatened by the growth of this power, were at last aroused by the invasion of the Valteline by Austrian troops, who had fallen on this country to exterminate its inhabitants, and asked the interference of the French arms. Louis the Thirteenth, who was fearful of losing his influence over Italy, if Ferdinand the Second remained master of the Valteline, formed a league with Savoy and Venice, to constrain the house of Austria, to give up the defiles and places on which it had seized. Gregory the Fifteenth, being interested in keeping those sovereigns on good terms, interfered in the quarrel, and was among the first to claim, after the extermination of the protestants of the Valteline, that Austria and Spain should abandon the cities they had conquered. His holiness even declared that he was ready to take charge of them himself, and to occupy them with his troops, until the susceptibilities of Italy and France were entirely reassured as to the good intentions of Ferdinand the Second and Philip the Fourth. This arrangement was agreed to, and Gregory, by the consent of the belligerents, placed garrisons in the towns and on the frontiers which were the object of disputes.

The pontiff was already thinking of taking advantage of this circumstance for his family,

and of giving the Valteline in fief to one of his nephews, when death came to arrest the execution of his plans, and to deprive the church of one of the most skilful politicians who ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. This event took place on the 8th of July, 1623.

Several excellent historians, and especially Heydegger, have contested the great political reputation of Gregory the Fifteenth, and maintain that his holiness had only mind enough to comprehend his own incapacity for business, and to surrender the government of the church to the mistress of his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a woman endowed with a prodigious genius.

This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of Cardinal Richelieu, who thus expresses himself in his memoirs. "Gregory the Fifteenth was a better man than a good pope, his only quality being an excessive love for his relatives, who, seeing him worn down by his great age, not only seized on every occasion to use with avidity this facility for enriching themselves, but constantly abused the weakness of his holiness. By the advice of Ludovisio, his nephew, or rather of the mistress who governed that cardinal, he accomplished very strange actions, and we must regard them as proceeding from an authority rather claimed by the popes than admitted by the church, rather founded on the abuses of the Roman court, than the merit of the chair of St. Peter. Once only could he resist the will that governed him, it was on the approach of death; as his nephew was pressing him to make still more cardinals, he replied to him, "that he could not do so, since there did not remain more than enough time to ask pardon from God for having created so many, and so unworthy." These words of Richelieu are entitled to more weight, since that minister owed his promotion to the cardinalate to him.

## URBAN THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1623.] 1624- P. 318-

*Troubles in Rome excited by the cardinal Barberino—He aspires to the papacy—He poisons his competitors in the conclave—Exaltation of the cardinal Maffeo Barberino by the name of Urban the Eighth—His history before being pope—His character—His strange rules—He wishes to follow the policy of his predecessor—Strife between him and Richelieu, the minister of Louis the Thirteenth—Plan of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria of France—General war between the different powers of Europe—The pope joins the protestants to combat Richelieu—The Jesuits attack the minister, by order of the holy father—Civil war in France—Troubles in England—Assassination of Buckingham—Siege of Rochelle—Louis the Thirteenth sacks the cities of the south—Forcible continuation of the Catholic propaganda in the states of Germany—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, declares himself the champion of protestantism—Quarrels between Ferdinand the Second and Urban the Eighth—The pope calls Gustavus Adolphus to the aid of the Holy See—Victory of the king of Sweden over the confederated armies of the house of Austria—Urban turns against Gustavus Adolphus—Death of that prince—The protestant party more formidable than ever in Germany—Urban the Eighth causes the young duke of Urbino to be assassinated—Condemnation of Galileo Galilei—Persecution of sorcerers—Curious details about the Sabbaths of magicians and Bohemians—The princess of Lorraine possessed of a devil—History of the devil of Loudun—Punishment of Urban Grandier—Louis the Thirteenth places his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin—Richelieu wishes to be appointed patriarch in France—Doctrines and morality of the Jesuits—Commencement of Jansenism—St. Cyran and Port Royal—Quarrels between the pope and Cardinal Richelieu—Publication of the Augustinus—The Jansenists and Molinists—Wars in Italy excited by the ambition and avidity of the nephews of the pontiff—Death of Urban the Eighth.*

THE funeral rites of Gregory were not over when the factions commenced in Rome to give the tiara to their chiefs. The cardinal Maffeo Barberino exhibited the most arduous in the struggle, though he was rejected by the Spaniards, the French, the parties of the Borghese, and of Ludovisio, by the old cardinals, in fine, by almost all the sacred college. Far from being discouraged by the repulsion, of which he was the object, Barberino became only the bolder, and understanding that he could not count on the cardinals to scale the throne of St. Peter, he determined not to be chosen, but to impose himself.

By his orders, his brothers and nephews subsidised a troop of banditti, ran through the city, excited the people in the suburbs, and produced a revolt which compelled the cardinals to take refuge in the Vatican, and to form a conclave at once.

Barberino came to take his place among his colleagues, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; he listened at first with much patience to the discourses of the different candidates for the papacy; he then spoke, pointed out to the sacred college the necessity of choosing, to occupy the chair of St. Peter, a man endowed with great energy, and who was capable of arresting the disorders of the Roman populace; he did not even conceal that he exercised a certain influence over the excitors of the troubles, and announced, impudently, that tranquillity would be restored to the holy city as soon as the cardinals had placed on his head the venerated tiara of the pontiffs. This declaration, instead

of giving him votes, only rendered the repulsion he had inspired still more unanimous, and he received not a single vote. He was not disturbed by this general reprobation; he did not abandon the part he had taken, he only judged that things were not sufficiently advanced, and sent secret instructions out of doors, that the banditti should carry fire and sword every where. His orders were punctually executed; Rome became the theatre of frightful atrocities; the bravos of the cardinal pillaged houses, murdered old men and children, violated women and young girls, and exercised the most frightful profanations on their dead bodies. When they were satiated with carnage and licentiousness, they ran through the streets of the city with torches in their hands, and stopped beneath the ramparts of San Angelo, where they uttered this terrible threat, "Death and fire, or Pope Barberino." These clamours reached even to the ears of the cardinals, assembled in the hall of the conclave, and chilled them with terror, the ballot, however, continued, and the name of Barberino did not leave the room. It was then remarked, with alarm, that the sacred college daily lost some of its members, either by death or sickness, and that these cardinals who disappeared so strangely, were those who exhibited the most opposition to the terrible Barberino. It became evident to all that he was ridding himself of his enemies by poison; for those who died were carried off in a few hours, whilst those who were sick could not mitigate their sufferings by the use of well known antidotes. All opposition at once



ceased in the conclave, and the cardinal Maffeo Barberino was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Urban the Eighth.

The new pope was sprung from an old and noble family of Florence; he had first been clerk of the apostolic chamber, then nuncio of the Holy See to the court of France. At the time of his exaltation he was only fifty-five years old, and appeared endowed with strong health, and an energetic constitution.

As soon as he was seated on the throne of St. Peter, he elevated his nephew and brothers to the first dignities in church and state, in recompense for the assistance they had lent him, although they were notoriously unfit to fill such functions, and though he knew their incapacity perfectly, since he said himself, that his nephew, Francis Barberino, whom he had introduced into the sacred college, was only fit to say paternosters; that his brother Anthony, created cardinal of the title of St. Onofre, had no other merit than that of infecting the consistory, and driving away the members by the frightful smell of his frock; that his second nephew, the cardinal Anthony the younger, surnamed, in derision, Demosthenes, on account of a natural defect which made him stutter when he spoke, was only fit to get drunk three times a day; that the last of his nephews, Don Thadeo, whom he had appointed prefect of Rome, prince of Palestrina, and generalissimo of the armies of the Holy See, was better fitted to carry a distaff than a sword. As, however, his holiness had only to draw the purse of the faithful to enrich the members of his family, he did not hesitate to gorge them with gold, or to give them lands or domains, to provide them with benefices, to purchase palaces, and even principalities, for them.

Urban was then occupied about church matters; he prohibited the Franciscan friars from wearing the sandals and pointed hood, like the Capuchins; he prohibited the old Carmelites from calling themselves reformed Carmelites, a designation which belonged to the new order of Capuchins instituted by St. Francis; he exacted that the Premonstrant monks of Spain should resume their old habit and the name of brother, which they had abandoned from pride; he made different rules to modify certain ceremonies in the worship, which caused religion to fall into disrepute; he prohibited the exposure in the churches, for public veneration, of the statues of the faithful, dead in the odour of sanctity; of lighting tapers on their tombs, and particularly of publishing their miracles, without the approval of the court of Rome; which did not prevent him in the same month, and by a singular contradiction, from beatifying two Theatine fanatics, Andrew Avellina and Gaëtan of Thienna; a Carmelite debauchee, Felix Cantalice; a wretched inquisitor, Francis Borgia, duke of Candia, and general of the Jesuits, one of the descendants of the ancient family of the Borgias; a fanatic, the Florentine Carmelite, Coisuri; two extatic women, Mary Madeline de Pazzi, and Elizabeth,

queen of Portugal, and, finally, the blessed St. Roch and his dog.

When his holiness had regulated with the most minute attention all that concerned monks, and the worship of saints, he prepared to pursue the work of religious propagation which his predecessor had so happily commenced; following his example, he resolved to rely on brute force and preaching, that is, to employ by turns soldiers and Jesuits, the one to conquer, the other to subjugate and corrupt.

Of a daring and fierce character, Urban thought of first putting himself beyond the reach of every enemy from within or without; he constructed on that side of the Bolognese territory, which afforded an easy access to Rome, a fortress which he called Fort Urban; he surrounded the castle of San Angelo with a new rampart, which was already defended by double walls, and he provided it so abundantly with munitions of war, that it could sustain a siege of many years; he also raised a wall around his gardens of Monte Cavallo; he then established a manufacture of arms at Tivoli, disposed of the grounds of the library of the Vatican for the construction of an arsenal, and, finally, he transformed into a city of war the apostolic city, which should be the peaceful sanctuary of the morality of Christ.

His holiness regarded it an honour to leave gigantic monuments of his passage over the throne of the apostle, and to cause posterity to say, that if the popes, his predecessors, had raised palaces of granite and marble, he had produced from the soil monuments of bronze and iron.

He rarely took the trouble to assemble the consistory, and when he called together the sacred college, as he was unwilling to listen to counsel or remark, the cardinals had nothing to do but applaud his words and execute his decisions. So with the ambassadors of kings, he argued from his privilege of infallibility, when treating of the most serious matters. No pontiff before him, neither Gregory the Seventh nor Boniface the Eighth, had possessed the sentiment of individual importance in so high a degree; thus in a very grave question, the commissioners of a foreign power having presented an objection to him drawn from the old pontifical constitutions, he replied, imperiously, that his decision had more weight than the regulations of two hundred dead popes.

The athletic power with which he was endowed, contributed not a little to increase the high importance he entertained of himself. He wished to be adored as the spiritual head of the church and the king of the earth; and in his pride he dared to revoke a law, which prohibited the Roman people from ever raising a statue to a living pope, on the ground that it could never have been foreseen that the chair of St. Peter would be occupied by such a pontiff as himself.

Beyond doubt, a priest of this character, obstinate, absolute, recoiling before nothing to

reach his end, would have done more than any of his predecessors for the misfortune of man, and would have bowed all Europe beneath the yoke of the Roman theocracy, if he had not met on the way another priest not less obstinate, not less absolute, not less implacable than himself, and excelling him in skill and address; Richelieu, the minister or rather the sovereign of France, under the imbecile Louis the Thirteenth, and having, consequently, to maintain interests diametrically opposed to those of the court of Rome.

Whilst Urban was labouring to augment the preponderance of the house of Austria over Europe, to annihilate the Reformation, and induce the triumph of Catholicism, Richelieu was seeking to oppose an obstacle to the encroachments of Ferdinand the Second, was contracting offensive and defensive alliances with the protestants of Germany, and skillfully negotiating with James the First and his minister Buckingham, to stop the marriage of the prince of Wales, with the Infanta, now his mistress, and who was waiting but the dispensation from Rome to celebrate his nuptials. Urban committed the fault of not expediting the bulls of dispensation of the young princess, though his predecessor had already sent those of the prince, to compel the son of the king of England to be converted. This delay permitted Richelieu to intrigue at the court of London, and one day his holiness learned with extreme surprise that King James was about to recall his son home, and had sent to France a solemn embassy to demand the hand of the princess Henrietta Maria, third sister of Louis the Thirteenth, for the prince of Wales.

He at once addressed representations to the court of France to prevent this union; he offered as a compensation to marry the princess Henrietta Maria to the infant Don Carlos, and to give them the sovereignty of the Catholic Low Countries as a dowry; he even addressed two briefs on the subject to the cardinal, and finding that nothing could change the determination of the minister, he declared he would go further and refuse the dispensations necessary for the marriage. Richelieu replied laconically, "Go on." His holiness then turned his attention to England, and sought by promises to turn aside King James from his plans; but as the alliance of his son with the sister of Louis the Thirteenth procured serious advantages for the king of Great Britain, the prospect of spreading religious troubles in his kingdom, and the hope of recovering the Palatinate for his son-in-law Duke Frederic, who had been ejected from it by Gregory the Fifteenth, induced him to reject the proposals of the court of Rome, and to cause the marriage of the young prince with Henrietta Maria to be published. Such a determination was equivalent to a declaration of war.

Richelieu had for a long time foreseen the case of a rupture, and had allied himself with powerful auxiliaries, so as to strike a great blow at Austria and Spain, by attacking them

simultaneously on all their frontiers. It was the first example of several states lending each other mutual assistance to crush a formidable foe; the parts were thus distributed; Venice, Savoy, and France were to expel the papal troops from the Valteline, and assume the offensive in Italy; Holland was with her marine to attack South America; England was to disembark an army on the shores of Spain, the Turks were to invade Hungary, and the king of Denmark at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, and those of Lower Germany, was to fall on the Palatinate, and join Prince Mansfeld to attack the emperor of Austria in his hereditary states. Such was the organization of this formidable league.

France having undertaken to give the signal for action, the marquis de Cœuvres entered the Valteline at the head of a body of troops, and in less than eight days conquered the country, and forced the soldiers of the pope to retreat in disgrace into the states of the church. This invasion the more discontented Urban the Eighth, as he already regarded the Valteline as his property, and was preparing to form it into a principality for Don Thadeo, his nephew, the general of the pontifical troops. He was, however, careful not to allow the cause of his strong resentment to appear; he feigned to see in the invasion by the French, a proof that the cardinal Richelieu had abandoned the cause of orthodoxy for Calvinism, and instead of declaring war on France, he only prepared to raise up powerful enemies to the minister of Louis the Thirteenth.

A certain knight, named Bernardin, was sent from Rome to the leaders of the protestant party; who furnished them with money, made them magnificent promises, and induced them to raise the standard of civil war; on the other side the nuncio Spada despatched a legion of Jesuits into the Catholic provinces, to exalt the fanatical devotees against the cardinal, which succeeded admirably. Richelieu then found himself exposed to the hatred of both parties, and at once attacked by the Huguenots and Catholics.

For any other man the position would not have been tenable; but the ambitious cardinal was not the man to surrender his power without striving to the last; besides, if threatened within, had he not allies without who were capable of succouring him? He brought then from Germany the troops which the protestant states had placed at his disposal for the great coalition, and instead of employing them against the Holy See or the house of Austria, he used them to crush the religionists of France; then betraying his allies, he treated with the pope, and engaged to make the projects of the league abortive, if the court of Rome consented to expedite the bulls of dispensation necessary for the marriage of Henrietta Maria with the prince of Wales. Soon after the ratification of these arrangements, James the First died and left the crown of England to his son Charles the First.

In conformity with the secret intentions

agreed upon by the sovereigns of France and England, or rather between their ministers and the Holy See, the armaments directed against the house of Austria were suspended, the money destined for the king of Denmark and Prince Mansfield was stopped, so that the latter, finding themselves in the enemies' provinces, without provisions and subsidies, were obliged to retreat, after having been defeated at the battle of Lutter. This event had been foreseen by Duke Olivarez, the first minister of the king of Spain, and by the cardinal de Richelieu, for they learned in France, at almost the same time, the defeat of the king of Sweden, the dissolution of the league against the house of Austria, the publication of the treaty of Mouzon, between Louis the Thirteenth, Ferdinand the Second, and Philip the Fourth of Spain, and the consummation of the projected marriage between the princess Henrietta Maria and the new king of England, without the ministers of the three powers having deigned to consult the court of Rome. Richelieu triumphed, not only on the subject of the Valteline, whose independence he caused to be recognised in the treaty of Mouzon, but also in humbling the pride of the Holy See, and in permitting it to interfere in conferences only as a power of the second class.

Urban the Eighth then discovered what kind of an adversary he had to combat; and, in his rage at being unable to annihilate, with ecclesiastical thunders, or temporal arms, a cardinal who threatened to substitute the supreme authority of kings for the omnipotence of the pope, he unchained against him, a Jesuit named Santarelli, an enthusiastic madman of the theocracy, one of the fiercest satellites of the papacy, who lanced into the Catholic world a furious pamphlet, which left far behind it all the treatises of Mariana, Bellarmine, Suarez, and Becan. The work having been denounced to the parliament, and brought before the Sorbonne, underwent a double condemnation before these two tribunals, and was publicly burned by the hands of the executioner. A sentence of parliament, moreover, enjoined on the Jesuits who were resident in France, to subscribe to the censure of the Sorbonne against Santarelli, or leave the kingdom.

The last part of this decree was not executed; the cardinal, who feared to push these fanatics to extremes, lest he should perish by poison or the poniard, interfered, and contented himself with exacting a simple declaration, in which the Jesuits recognised the independence of the monarch in all that concerned the temporal affairs of the kingdom.

But the book of Santarelli was differently received at the court of the devotee Ferdinand the Second; instead of exciting the just resentment of the prince, it inspired him with remorse for his rebellion; he asked pardon from the holy father in all humility, for having sought to free himself from the yoke of Rome; and to obtain his pardon, he made, at the instigation of his confessor, an edict,

providing that, after the expiration of six months from the day of St. Ignatius, he would no longer tolerate in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, any of his subjects, be he even a prince, unless he professed the Catholic religion. He published like edicts for Upper Austria, and the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria. In vain did the unfortunate inhabitants of those countries solicit a longer delay to obey the orders of the sovereign; the nuncio Caraffa and the Jesuits represented to his majesty that these requests were only made in the hope of a change of government, and that the citizens should either become converts, or emigrate, or prepare to perish.

In Germany, things took the same course; the imperial armies had advanced as far as the Straits of Cattégut, to the shores of the Baltic, occupied Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and threatened to crush the protestant capitals if they showed the slightest resistance. Urban triumphed in his turn, and by virtue of his universal omnipotence, he regulated the destinies of the countries which the house of Austria had subjugated; he gave the city of Magdeburg, in full sovereignty, to an archbishop; he created a new Catholic archdiocesan government under the direction of the nuncio Caraffa, in order to extirpate heresy from Upper Germany; he invested the count of Nassau Liegen, the young counts of Neubourg, as well as the grand master of the Teutonic order, all bitter Catholics, with the countships and cities of the Upper Palatinate, on the condition that they should convert the people and nobles of the country, willingly, or by force. He parcelled out the dutchies and countships of Lower Germany, gave them as the hound's fee to the priests and Jesuits most devoted to the Holy See. He confirmed the usurpations of the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, and those of the abbots Moenchsreitt and Kaisersheim, who, by the aid of those disorders, had seized on the domains of the ducal house. He also approved of the robberies made to the prejudice of Nuremberg, Strasburg, Hal, Ulm, and Lindau, by Catholic prelates and chapters.

Great as were these advantages for the papacy, they did not yet satisfy Urban the Eighth, for the nature of priests is such that success only increases their ambition, as the possession of great wealth only augments an insatiable thirst for gold. His holiness was jealous of the prosperity of the protestants of the north of Germany, and wished to subjugate Holland. The imbecile Ferdinand then prepared, in obedience to the pope, to invade the north of Germany, notwithstanding the difficulties which such an enterprise presented, and whilst Rome was preparing its batteries against the Hollanders. For Urban, in attacking these people, had a double end, and of preparing the means of carrying the war into England.

But he wished, first, to follow the example of Richelieu, and form a league against these two allied powers. He first intrigued with

the French ambassador; he maintained that Charles the First had not fulfilled the solemn promises made at the time of his marriage with Henrietta Maria; he accused that prince of ill treatment of his wife, and engaged the ambassador to urge Louis the Thirteenth to a terrible war against Charles the First, to take from him his three crowns, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. His holiness then made overtures to the Spanish ambassador on the same subject; he instructed him to inform Philip the Fourth, that it was his duty to come to the aid of the queen of England, his sister-in-law, under penalty of eternal damnation, and to employ his efforts to wrest her from the hands of a heretic and a traitor, who placed religion in danger. Conferences then being entered upon, Urban did his best to prevent the duke of Olivarez, the minister of the king of Spain, and the cardinal Richelieu from penetrating the secret of his policy, and confided the charge of the negotiations to his nuncio Spada, reserving only to himself the organization of the plan of the campaign, to point out the means of capturing the English ships on the coast of France, and of burning their fleets in their ports.

The holy father and his counsel discovered a ruse of war so ingenious, and which appeared so infallibly to assure the success of the confederates, that the ministers of France and Spain, undecided, until this time, on the part they ought to take, no longer hesitated, and concluded a treaty with the Holy See. They even divided their projected conquest in advance, and the nuncio Spada was charged, under the seal of secrecy, to inform Urban the Eighth, that Ireland had fallen to him and that he could govern it by his nephew, Thadeo Barberino, in the capacity of viceroy of the Holy See, and that, in compensation, he should use all his influence over the emperor to bring Germany, as well as Italy, into the confederation, so as to be enabled to strive on the sea against the maritime preponderance of the English and Hollanders.

Careful as they were not to allow the secret of these negotiations to transpire, a rumour of them reached the court of Charles the First, and determined that prince to commence hostilities by striking a great blow. By his orders Buckingham, his favourite minister, appeared with a formidable fleet on the coast of France, disembarked on the Isle of Rhé, seized on it, and spread abroad proclamations, calling the Huguenots to arms, in the name of liberty and of political and religious independence.

Roban and Soubise, who were the leaders of the reformed in France, hastened to assemble troops to retake the offensive in the civil war, and we might soon believe that the moment for the triumph of Calvinism had come. Unfortunately, Richelieu was there, and the papacy was saved. The cardinal minister assembled a fleet and an army, directed them at once against the English vessels and the reformed, and that so successfully, that Buckingham was forced to retreat and set sail for

England, leaving to the Huguenots all the burthen of the war. The latter, unable to maintain the strife in the open country, retired to their fortified cities, and chiefly to Rochelle, which was, if we may so speak, the Rome of their religion. But the terrible cardinal did not allow them to escape so easily; he pursued them under the very walls of the place, well determined to take the city, so as to make an end of the Reformation. The siege then commenced, and was vigorously urged by the cardinal in person. It was indeed no ordinary effort to besiege a city which was fortified towards the sea by six great bastions, containing one hundred pieces of artillery, which marshes and triple walls rendered almost inaccessible by land, and the position of whose port, moreover, rendered them able to receive provisions and succour from without.

Independently of all these difficulties, Richelieu knew that he had to deal with determined men, who had sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of their city, rather than surrender. Thus, on the first news which he received of the preparations of Buckingham, who was making arrangements to come with a numerous fleet to break the blockade of Rochelle, the cardinal thought of retreating; but a letter which he received from a Jesuit in London made him change his determination. One of the fathers of the Society of Jesus informed the minister that he had nothing more to fear from Buckingham; the event justified the prediction; the favourite of James the First was assassinated.

His eminence then determined to take the place by famine; he encircled it with a fosse three leagues in extent, defended by thirteen great redoubts, to batter down all sorties, and intercept the convoys which arrived by land. He then built in the roadstead a dike of two hundred and ninety-four yards long, to cut off all communications between the city and the sea, leaving but a single opening, through which two vessels could scarcely pass abreast, and erecting on each shore of the stream two strong forts to defend this narrow passage. The protestants were thus blocked up without hopes of succour, and having no alternative but that of submission, or of dying by famine. They, however, continued to defend themselves bravely, and when the envoys of the cardinal minister came to propose to the leaders of the reformed to surrender the city at discretion, Guiton, its governor, rose from his seat, placed his dagger on the council table, and declared that he would kill with his own hand the first Huguenot who spoke of capitulating.

For a whole year this heroic constancy did not fail for a moment; the inhabitants ate horses, dogs, rats, cats, and mice, and finally, the atrocities which had desolated Paris during the horrible siege of that capital were renewed in this unfortunate city.

As every thing in this world must have an end, the cardinal minister, informed of the extremities to which the besieged were reduced, and that twelve thousand had died from inanition,

tion, determined on a general assault, that the execrable Louis the Thirteenth, who had joined him, might enjoy the sight of a city abandoned to pillage. But the longing of the monarch was disappointed, and he could not contemplate the massacre of his subjects by an unbridled soldiery, nor the violence exercised upon women and young girls, nor incendiarism carrying its devouring flame over all the edifices, amid the cries of the conquerors, the groans of the wounded, and the sighing of their victims.

The fall of Rochelle was a terrible blow for Calvinism. Some bands of the reformed, however, still appeared in arms in the southern provinces; the small town of Privas, in Vivarais, dared even to maintain a siege against the royal army, commanded by Louis in person. It was carried by assault, and by the command of his majesty, the Catholic soldiers committed these atrocities which equalled those which had been exercised at Merindol on the unfortunate Vaudois. The city of Alaix also endeavoured to defend itself, but was constrained to capitulate. The duke of Rohan then convened a general assembly of the reformed party at Anduze, where it was determined that an embassy should be sent to the king to treat for peace.

Louis the Thirteenth granted an edict of pacification to the Calvinists, with the abolition of their former privileges; that is to say, that he permitted the Huguenots to profess the reformed religion, but without the power to hold political assemblies, and without having the right to appoint chiefs and form a common treasury. This triumph of Catholicism in France was not very satisfactory to Urban the Eighth, who, in exciting a war against the protestants, had no other intention than to prepare the ruin of Great Britain. Thus the nuncio Spada, and the Jesuits, who were the confessors of the kings and ministers of France and Spain, received orders from his holiness to stimulate the duke Olivarez and the cardinal minister, to concert their plan of attack against England.

This war of invasion was still more favourable to the court of Rome, as it was in some way to produce the subjugation of Great Britain to the papacy. Whether Charles the First determined to submit to avoid hostilities, or whether he resolved to enter on a war whose result was not doubtful, his Britannic majesty being exposed to the hatred of the Catholics and protestants of his kingdom, on account of his depotism.

Charles well understood the difficulties of his position, and not daring to expose himself to the chances of a war with France and Spain, he determined first to temporise; and, to bring the pope into his interests, he appeared to incline in favour of the ultra montane doctrines, without, however, adhering to them in a formal manner; he then entered into a secret engagement to labour for the conversion of his people, provided his holiness would dissolve the league.

Urban, satisfied with attaining the end pro-

posed, the submission of the king of England, was unwilling to hurry matters, and was contented with the formal assurances which Charles the First gave him of his conversion. It was, moreover, in accordance with the views of the pontiff to put an end to the war, so as not to furnish the kings of France and Spain, as well as the emperor of Germany, the occasion of increasing their influence over Europe, and of annihilating, to a certain extent, the authority of the Holy See. In fact, the success of the arms of Ferdinand the Second, gave serious disquietude to the court of Rome concerning the future. Urban the Eighth saw with displeasure the preponderance of the house of Austria increasing, and dreaded lest the emperor, master of the north, should fall back on the south, and take a fancy to revive the pretensions of sovereignty over the states of the church.

These fears were the better founded, since, after the fall of Christiern the Fourth, who, driven from city to city by the imperialist generals Wallenstein and Tilly, had thrown himself into his last fortified place, the city of Gluckstadt, nothing could prevent Ferdinand from adding the kingdom of Denmark to his empire, and thus becoming the most powerful monarch in Europe. His holiness, therefore, caused the Jesuit who was the confessor of the prince, to interfere in the matter, and to induce him to grant to Christiern the Fourth a much more advantageous peace than he could have hoped for, for it preserved to him the integrity of his kingdom. The reason of this singular solicitude of the court of Rome for the protestants, arose from the fact that it would have more to fear from them, if reduced to extremities, and because it also thought seriously of diminishing the preponderance of the empire of Germany.

Urban the Eighth had also the same motives for his distrust of Spain, which was beginning to weigh down the states of Italy; and threatened one day, with the assistance of the emperor, to bring them beneath its rule; but not daring to break with Philip the Fourth, he continued to remain his ally, ready to turn against him on the first opportunity. He had not long to wait; an unforeseen event set all the great political interests to work. Don Vincenzo, duke of Mantua, was on his deathbed, and left no direct heir. The duke of Nevers, his nearest relative, who was a Frenchman, having surrendered his rights in favour of his son Charles, duke of R  thel, the latter naturally considered himself as the heir of Mantua and Montferrat. As it was presumable that Spain would not permit a French prince to establish himself in Upper Italy, if it had time to oppose his installation, Urban caused Strizzio, the minister of Vincenzo, to write to the duke of R  thel to come secretly to Mantua, to have his rights recognised by the old duke, which was done without any difficulty on the part of the dying man.

There was still a princess of the ducal family, a great-granddaughter of Philip the Second, who was a nun. His holiness, fore-

saw that Spain would raise pretensions in favour of this young girl, and to remove the least pretext for war from Philip the Fourth, had sent her a dispensation of marriage, so that on the same evening, this young girl was brought out of her convent, and married to Duke Francis. A few hours afterwards the old Vincenzo died, and Charles de Réthel was hailed prince of Mantua.

This news caused a great sensation at Madrid. Duke Olivarez, furious at seeing himself outwitted by a young man, gave vent to his anger, and announced that he would make the new prince repent his rashness. To realise his threats, he excited two powerful enemies against him, the dukes of Guastalea and Savoy, who raised pretensions, the one to the dutchy of Mantua, the other to Montferrat, which was regarded as the key of the Milanese. He then sent orders to Don Gonzalez de Cordova, the governor of Milan, for Philip the Fourth to take up arms at once, and join his troops to those of the dukes of Guastalea and Savoy.

Urban the Eighth, the planner of the whole matter, immediately despatched couriers to the court of Louis the Thirteenth, to inform him of what was passing, and to engage him to come to the succour of the duke of Mantua. His holiness further offered to the king of France to place him at a head of a league against Spain, to take from it the Milanese, Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples. This proposal flattered too agreeably the ambition of Louis, for him not to accept it. He immediately assembled an army, and though it was mid winter, sent to attack the defiles of the Alps, which were guarded by the troops of the duke of Savoy. In less than three weeks the defiles were carried, the city of Suza taken by assault, and Victor Amadeus compelled to sue for peace. The king of France then prepared a treaty, which laid the bases of a perpetual league between him, the pope, the republic of Venice, and the dutchy of Mantua.

These two last powers hastened to ratify it; but the pontiff, who had attained his end in setting at strife the two most formidable monarchies of Christendom, thinking that they would destroy each other, was unwilling to adhere to any treaty. He even pretended that the council of cardinals were opposed to his taking an active part in the struggle, before knowing the determination of the emperor; a detestable excuse, for the holy father not only made good his observation concerning the sacred college, that he did not even permit it to deliberate; but in regard to Ferdinand, he made no hesitation in showing how odious he had become to him, and said openly, that it was only necessary for a claim, even the most lawful, to come from the court of Vienna to be rejected. Thus Ferdinand, having demanded from the pope that St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus, two former kings of Hungary, should be admitted into the Roman calendar, his holiness had ironically replied that they were unworthy of such an honour. On another occasion, the emperor having so-

licitated authority to confer the ecclesiastical employments, rendered free by the edict of restitution, the pope had rejected his request, as trespassing upon the arrangement between the empire and the Holy See; which was false, since the king of France, by virtue of the same concordat of Francis the First, exercised in his dominion precisely the same right which was claimed by Ferdinand. Finally, the latter having asked from Rome permission to transform into colleges of Jesuits, the convents acquired by the edict of restitution, his holiness, instead of acceding to this desire, had ordered him to restore these monasteries immediately to the bishops.

The imbecile monarch remained steadily submissive, contenting himself with saying, that notwithstanding the pope, he would prove himself to be the devoted champion of Catholicism. To add example to precept, he sent three armies to the field; one, which he sent to aid the Poles, who were attacked by the Swedes, and which re-established the affairs of the former; another, which he sent towards the Low Countries, to form a junction with the Spanish troops; and a third, twenty-five thousand strong, which he sent to Italy, to seize on Mantua. At first, all bent before the Germans; Switzerland, which had wished to maintain its neutrality, and refused him a passage, was constrained to yield; the defiles of the Grisons were carried, and the imperial army descended from the summit of the Alps, following the banks of the Adda and the Oglio, and directed itself towards Mantua. The Spaniards, on their side, had penetrated the province of Montferrat, to fight the French, who had seized on Saluces and Pignerol; and these three formidable powers, drawn into Upper Italy by the pontiff, were preparing to cause rivers of blood to flow, to enable the Holy See to triumph.

But what Urban had not foreseen was, that Ferdinand the Second, that prince so devoted to the court of Rome, should at last break the yoke of priests, and carry his boldness so far, as to be willing to reckon with the pope, and claim for himself the sovereignty of Upper Italy. This however happened; the emperor, victorious in Italy, Poland, and the Low Countries, became elated with pride, and informed his holiness that he wished to receive the crown at his hands, and would go to Bologna or Ferrara for the ceremony. Urban dared not refuse him, and only sought to gain time; the court of Vienna penetrated his intentions, demanded explanations, and claimed more-over the sovereignty of the dutchies of Urbino and Monte Falco.

As his holiness still hesitated to give a reply, and to declare his determination concerning the new pretensions which the emperor raised to the domains of the church, the fierce Wallenstein, one of the generals of Ferdinand, deliberated whether or not he should go to attack Urban in Rome, giving him to understand that this city had not been pillaged for a century; that since that time, the popes had enriched it with the spoils of other people.

had piled up enormous sums in the cellars of the Vatican, and that he would not disdain so good an opportunity to seize on the immense treasures, raise up the empire of Charlemagne, and make it hereditary in the house of Austria.

These plans appeared the more easy to realise, since no power was in a situation to oppose the wishes of Ferdinand the Second. The Low Countries were invaded, the protestant cities subdued, the king of Denmark conquered; Italy trembled before the imperial armies; France, which was in discord from the troubles which Gaston of Orleans and the queen mother fomented, in order to overthrow the cardinal minister, remained indifferent to what was passing without. Urban the Eighth was beginning to despair of the safety of the church, when he remembered that there dwelt in the extreme north of Europe, a prince formidable for his valour, Gustavus Adolphus, who could make a diversion favourable to the Holy See, by carrying the war into the provinces of the empire. He immediately sent an ambassador to Richelieu, brought him into his views, and managed to conclude an armistice between Poland and Sweden; then, when the war had ceased on that point, his holiness agreed with France to furnish the king of Sweden with the sums necessary for the support of a formidable army destined for the invasion of Germany, imposing on him no other condition than that of tolerating the Catholic religion wherever he found it established, a clause which was kept secret, lest this tolerance should wake the suspicions of the reformed.

At last a general assembly of protestant princes and electors was held at Leipsic, and they decided by common consent to carry on the war against Ferdinand. This coalition, though formidable, would not perhaps have been sufficient to overthrow the powerful house of Austria, which was in the highest degree prosperous, if the confederates had not been seconded in their enterprise by the people, who were anxious to throw off the insupportable yoke of Wallenstein, the favourite of the prince, and one of his most skilful generals, but at the same time the most cruel, the most despotic, the most infamous of his ministers.

Gustavus Adolphus opened the campaign, and moved towards the Lower Oder, driving the German troops before him, and increasing his army by the accession of malcontents. Arrived beneath the walls of Leipsic, he met Count Tilly, routed his army, and pushed rapidly on Mayence, which he carried by assault. All the oppressed princes came to range themselves beneath the standard of the king of Sweden; and the reformed party, shortly before crushed and conquered, found itself in a condition to dictate terms to its oppressors; the protestant ministers immediately returned to the Palatinate, and traversed all the provinces of the empire, in the train of the army of Gustavus Adolphus, to re-awaken the religious enthusiasm.

His holiness could not conceal the joy which the triumph of the king of Sweden and the abasement of the house of Austria afforded him, which provoked energetic representations from the ambassador of Ferdinand. The emperor, informed of this circumstance, wrote to Urban, to testify his discontent, and to inform him, that as soon as he had driven Gustavus Adolphus and his thirty thousand heretics from Germany, he would have a settlement with the Holy See. The holy father replied, by this single phrase, "Alexander conquered the world with thirty thousand Greeks."

Urban showed less regard still for the Spanish cardinals, who, at the instigation of Duke Olivarez, endeavoured to remonstrate with him on his alliance with a protestant sovereign, and the cardinal Borgia having dared in full consistory to represent to him the scandal of his conduct, and to accuse him of labouring for the ruin of religion, he rose from his seat, and vomited forth a torrent of reproaches and blasphemies against the prelate who was bold enough to trace a rule of conduct for the vicar of God; and as the latter was about to reply, on a sign from the pontiff, the cardinal Barberino, who had great strength, fell on Borgia, threw him on the ground, and dragged him by his hair from the hall of the consistory.

After this scene of violence, all the members of the assembly separated in a tumult, the Spaniards loudly announcing that they would call a meeting of a council, to judge the pope and proceed to his condemnation.—The Jesuits even, who saw their power annihilated in Germany, by the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, showed themselves hostile to Urban; and the confessor of Duke Olivarez, one of the principal dignitaries of the order, published a book on the attributes of the supreme head of the church, and proved by very logical reasoning, that the popes had no canonical power beyond their bishopric of the Lateran, and that they were not more elevated in dignity than other bishops. The court of Madrid found the arguments of the bishops so accordant with their own sentiments, that they deliberated in the council of the Catholic king, whether they should take from the pontiff the collation of the benefices of Spain, and should erect a datary to receive the money levied upon the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, by the Roman church.

Events were on the other hand taking place in Germany, in a very different direction from what the pope had expected. His holiness, in allying himself with the heretics, had counted on concurring in the weakening of the house of Austria, but not in its ruin, which necessarily drew after it that of Catholicism. The king of Sweden appeared to regard as too serious the mission on which he was employed, of humbling the emperor. His army had invaded Bavaria, after having a second time defeated Tilly, who remained on the field of battle; one of his lieutenants, Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, had penetrated into the Tyrol, and threatened Italy with his veteran

**Swedish hands.** It was no longer possible to doubt, that the intentions of Gustavus Adolphus were changed, and that he thought of profiting by his fortune, to cause protestantism to triumph, and transform the bishoprics of Southern Germany into temporal principalities. The prince had already announced that he wished to establish his residence at Augsburg.

Urban then discovered the enormous mistake he had made; he secretly undermined the party of his ally, retarded the payment of his subsidies, entered into correspondence with Ferdinand, gave him the plans of the campaign of the Swedish army, and what was most baneful for Gustavus Adolphus, determined the emperor to give the command of his armies to the terrible Wallenstein, who had been exiled by a court intrigue, and whom he thought the only general capable of coping with the king of Sweden. These two men, both renowned for their military talents, were thus opposed to each other; Gustavus Adolphus was at the head of thirty thousand excellent troops, Wallenstein commanding an army of more than sixty thousand imperialists; the meeting took place in Misnia, in a vast plain which extends between Weissenfels and Lutzen.

At the beginning of the action the Swedish army broke the lines of the imperialists, threw them into disorder, and seized their cannon. Gustavus, wishing to profit by this advantage, commanded his cavalry to charge the main force of Wallenstein, and in order to animate his troops, he charged bareheaded, with a troop of cuirassiers. Whether the command had not been heard by the troops, or whether there was treason on the part of the superior officers, the prince found himself engaged in the midst of his enemies, before he perceived that he was only followed by a small number of horse. He then wished to face about and cut his way through, so as to escape from the *melée*; it was too late.—Already weakened by the blood which escaped from a large wound in his left arm, assailed on all sides at once, he could only perform prodigies of valour; a blow from a musket which was fired from behind, striking him in the back, unseated him, and one of his feet remaining entangled in the stirrup, he was dragged along the ground by his horse; in this state, he received another blow from a musket, which broke his head. Thus perished this great prince, the zealous protector of protestantism, arrested in his victorious march at the moment he was about to cull the fruit of his courageous efforts, and plant the flag of religious independence on the ruins of the papacy.

Puffendorf and several other historians have affirmed, that Gustavus Adolphus was the victim of an odious treason, and their suspicions rest particularly on Francis Albert, duke of Saxe Lunenburg, the emperor, and the pope; certain it is, that the news of the death of the king of Sweden was received with transports of joy at Vienna and Rome. The death of their chief did not, however, abate

the courage of the protestants. The duke of Saxe Weimar, Torstenson, Wrangel, Horn, continued the war successfully, and the chancellor Oxenstiern, by skilful negotiations with France, Germany, and Holland, maintained the ascendancy of Sweden over the Germanic Roman empire.

But Urban knew that the Reformation had lost its most powerful prop, and he did not trouble himself about the struggle between the lieutenants of Gustavus Adolphus and Ferdinand the Second; besides, this war was very useful for his political interests, and permitted him to realise his plans of rule over the principalities of Italy, without fear of being disturbed by the house of Austria.

His holiness availed himself of it to assure to himself possession of the duchy of Urbino, by causing the young duke, the last heir of the house of Rovera, to be assassinated. The old lord Francisco Maria, who had for a long time abdicated in favour of his son, was obliged to resume the reins of government and to free his granddaughter, only a year old, from the ambition of the pontiff, he affianced her to the son of the duke of Tuscany, and sent her to a neighbouring country. Useless precautions! Urban threatened the old duke with a terrible war, and obliged him to recognise, that he held his cities, lands, and domains, as a fief of the Holy See; exacted from him that the officers of his province should take an oath of fidelity to him, and constrained him even to place his fortresses in the hands of his creatures; then, one morning, Francisco Maria was found dead in his bed. The nephew of the pope, Thadeo Barberino, came to take possession of the country, and the duchy of Urbino, with the cities of Pesaro and Sinigaglia, were declared dependencies of the states of the church.

Though his holiness was seriously occupied in increasing the patrimony of St. Peter, he did not neglect the fortune of his own family, and every day he added to their immense wealth by new gifts, so that in less than ten years, the apostolic treasury had been wrung by such enormous loans, that the revenues of the Holy See were no longer sufficient to pay the interest on them; they ciphered up a hundred and five millions of crowns, in money paid into the hands of the nephews of the pope, independently of what had been employed in the purchases of palaces, lands, vineyards, pictures, statues, gold and silver plate, vessels of gold or silver, and precious stones. "The value of all these things," says Fiscarini, "was so great, that it is impossible to believe or tell them."

Never had the excess of nepotism been carried so far by the pontiffs; for Urban, not content with gorging his brothers and nephews with riches, dignities, honours, and benefices, gave bishoprics to their childrer at the breast; and even, a scandal until then without example, even to those who were in the womb of their mothers. This great love of the pope for his relatives extended to their numerous creatures and flatterers; there was



not a lying versifier who was not provided with excellent benefices in recompense for some distich in praise of the Barberini.

If Urban protected the wretches who prostituted their pens in a base and servile adulation, by way of compensation he persecuted men of genius who refused to glorify such great tarpitades; and the celebrated Galileo Galilei, the father of experimental philosophy, was one of those whom he persecuted with most bitterness. This celebrated man had already established the theory of a movement uniformly accelerated, and fixed the rules of isochronism by the oscillations of the pendulum; he had, moreover, made a magnificent discovery, that of optical instruments, which opened a new route for astronomy, and permitted to prove by direct observation, the truths of the system of Copernicus as to the revolution of the earth around the sun.

By means of his telegraph, Galileo plunged into the depths of immensity, and contemplated phenomena which no mortal had yet beheld; the surface of the moon appeared to him to be bristled with mountains and furrowed with deep valleys; Venus, also, as the satellite of the earth, presented to him phases which proved its sphericity; Jupiter also offered itself to his gaze with his four asteroids which constantly accompanied him; the milky way, the nebulous mists, all the heavens, in fine, were exhibited to him, with their thousands of invisible stars. What surprise, what pleasure did the appearance of so many marvels excite in the breast of Galileo. What days were, however, required by this great astronomer, to count all his worlds, and register the result of his admirable discoveries, in a work entitled "The Celestial Courier," which he dedicated to the princess de Medicis.

Galileo then continued the course of his investigations; he observed moveable spots on the sun, and did not hesitate to conclude that this star turned on its axis; he remarked on the dark side of the moon, during the first and last quarters, an aery light, which was only visible through the telescope, and he judged, with reason, that this effect was owing to the light reflected by the terrestrial globe. His subsequent observations on the spots on the moon, and their periodical return at the same periods, led him to discover that this star always presented the same face to the earth; he studied the movements and the eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, used them for the measurement of longitudes, and even undertook a sufficiently large number of observations on these stars to construct tables for the use of navigators.

Finally, by discovery on discovery, Galileo was enabled to draw from nature, the mysterious veil which had hidden it from the looks of men; he could admire the sublime laws which govern the universe; the rotation of the earth; its revolution around the sun, the fixedness of that star; all the wonders of those luminous worlds which are drawn up in echelons through immensity up to the very throne of God. Galileo wished to enlighten other men,

to lay out a new route for science, and he published his admirable theories. But, unfortunately, he excited the jealous hatred of a pope who had pretensions to omniscience as well as to infallibility, and his protector, the grand duke of Tuscany, who had appointed him his mathematician extraordinary, was not powerful enough to defend him against such enmity. Every where Jesuits, priests, monks, declaimed against Galileo; some maintained that his discoveries among the stars were pure visions, like the imaginary journeys of Astolphus; others affirmed that they had the telescope in their possession for whole nights, and had been unable to see what the astrologer Galileo announced; all loaded him with epigrams in their sermons, or sought to throw him into ridicule. It was thus that the compatriots of Copernicus had acted, who had even turned him into ridicule on the stage.

Galileo continued to publish his labours, without troubling himself about the clamour of the priests; but they determined to attack him before the Holy See, to have his new theories condemned as false and heretical. The celebrated astronomer essayed in vain to calm this tempest, and produced a treatise in the form of an epistle, addressed to the grand duchess of Tuscany, in which he endeavoured to prove theologically, and by quotations from the fathers, that the texts of scripture should not be taken literally, and could be reconciled with the new discoveries regarding the constitution of the world. This production only increased the rage of his enemies; he was accused of sustaining erroneous opinions in matters of faith, of wishing to overthrow religion, and outrage the majesty of God. He was accordingly cited to appear in person at Rome, to be condemned by an assembly of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and theologians, assembled under the presidency of his holiness Urban the Eighth. This cabal of ignorant, stupid, and fanatical priests, having no regard for this illustrious old man, refused even to hear the reasons he offered in favour of his theories, and pronounced the following declaration:—In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we, all assembled in this place, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, enlightened by the intelligence of the sovereign pontiff, decide that none of the faithful has a right to believe and maintain, that the sun is placed immoveable in the centre of the world. We decide that this theory is false and absurd in theology, as well as heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the words of scripture, and would imply an accusation of ignorance against God, the source of all science and the revealer of the sacred books. We also prohibit it from being taught that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, that it is not immoveable, and that it has a daily movement of rotation, because, this second proposition is from the same reasons false and absurd, even in philosophy, as well as erroneous as a matter of faith.

Galileo wished to reply, and to produce arguments which the truth suggested to him,

in defence of a doctrine based on irrefutable facts; but the pope imposed silence on him, and declared that by virtue of his infallibility he decided that the earth was immovable, and that the universe was governed by the laws pointed out in Genesis; finally, he prohibited him from professing his new theories in future.

Although condemned, the noble old man, on his return to Florence, did not pursue with less ardour than before, the study of those sublime truths of which he regarded himself as the depositary; and, to prevent this precious treasure from perishing, he collected into one work all the physical proofs of the double movement of the earth upon its own axis, and around the sun, and of its relations with the other planets in the solar system. To render these truths palpable, and to exhibit them to every mind, Galileo did not compose a treatise, but simple dialogues between two of the most distinguished personages of Venice and Florence, and a third interlocutor, who, under the name of Simplicius, reproduced the arguments of the theologians, and the scholastic philosophy. He then went to Rome and boldly presented his work to the master of the sacred palace, begging him to examine it with a scrupulous attention, to lop from it all that appeared to him suspicious, and to censure it with the greatest severity. The prelate, unsuspecting of any after thought in the author, read and re-read the work, even confided it to one of his colleagues, who also saw nothing in it to blame, and gave it an ample approval under his own hand. Galileo, overjoyed at having succeeded in his rise, returned to Florence, and immediately printed his work.

The dialogues, on their appearance, excited an extraordinary uproar among the theologians and Jesuits; they all cried out scandal, and demanded the punishment of the guilty. Urban, who recognised himself in the person of Simplicius, and whose vanity was wounded, listened to the complaints of the clergy, and, notwithstanding the representations of the author, who entrenched himself behind the authority given to his book by the censor, notwithstanding his formal protestations of not having wished to attack religion, but only to lay open the two systems of Ptolemy and Copernicus, without adopting either of the two opinions, notwithstanding the protection of the grand duke of Tuscany, his holiness went on, handed him over to the tribunal of the inquisition, and ordered him to appear in person before the dreadful judges of the holy office. Galileo was constrained to obey; neither the feebleness of his health, nor the rheumatic pains with which he was tormented, nor his great age (he was then seventy) could moderate the sacerdotal hatred.

"I arrived at Rome," says he in one of his letters, "on the 18th of February, 1633, and I was delivered over to the clemency of the inquisition, and the sovereign pontiff, who had no esteem for me, because I did not know how to rhyme an epigram and a small love sonnet. I was at first confined in the palace

of the Trinity of the Mount; on the next day, I was visited by Father Lancio, the commissary of the holy office, who took me with him in his carriage. During the ride, he put different questions to me, and showed a great desire that I should repair the offence I had given to all Italy, by maintaining the opinion of the earth's motion; and to all the mathematical proofs which I could offer him, he replied to me by these words of scripture: 'The earth shall be immovable for eternity, because it is immovable from eternity.' Thus discoursing, we arrived at the palace of the sacred office; I appeared before a tribunal appointed not to judge me, but to condemn me. I went to work, however, to give my proofs. What pains soever I took, I could not make them comprehend me; they cut short all my reasonings by bursts of zeal, and always opposed to me the passage of scripture concerning the victory of Joshua, as the victorious piece in my trial. In turn, I quoted those strange words of the holy books in which it is said, 'That the heavens are solid and polished like a brazen mirror,' to prove that we should not interpret scripture literally, if we wished the people who are not plunged in barbarous degradation, to preserve some belief in the dogmas of religion; they only replied to me by reproaches."

At the close of this first interrogatory, Galileo was confined in the infected dungeons of the holy office, where he remained for several months; then, when they supposed that suffering, bad treatment, and a forced fast had weakened his moral energy, they brought him out; but, as he showed the same obstinacy, his holiness caused him to be conducted to the chamber of torture. The unfortunate old man underwent several times the punishment of the cord, with the greatest courage, and without admitting his guilt. Finally, his body broken by the terrible shocks of the strappado, and conquered by his horrid pains, Galileo asked pardon, and declared that his work was filled with abominable falsehoods. He was then brought before the tribunal to pronounce his abjuration there, which he did in these terms, "I, Galileo, in the seventieth year of my age, being on my knees before the most eminent lords, having before my eyes the holy gospel, which I touch with my own hands, abjure, detest, and curse the error and heresy of the motion of the earth."

It is said, that after having pronounced this abjuration, the old man, filled with the sublime sentiments of truth, rose, and striking the earth with his foot, exclaimed, "and yet it turns." When his expiation was achieved, they tore up his dialogues, and condemned him to prison for an indefinite period. Such was the reward which Pope Urban the Eighth granted to the admirable labours of one of the greatest genius of the human race.

Whilst the papacy was persecuting in Italy, the learned whose intelligence it feared; in France, royalty continuing to trample under foot the sacred rights of humanity, was persecuting the men who gave it umbrage, or the citizens whose wealth excited its covetous-

ness, and was burning them alive, as addicted to judicial astrology or alchemy. Thousands of innocent persons were thus sent to the stake on accusation of sorcery of a revolting absurdity; and a Richelieu, a cardinal, a first minister, a priest who ought necessarily to know how to treat such superstitions, was infamous enough to employ this means of ridding himself of those who were in his way, or to increase his treasures.

At his instigation, the Jesuits inveighed against the sorcerers, as they had done against the protestants, that is, against those who had inspired fears in the royalty or papacy. In order to excite the passions of the people against their victims, the disciples of Ignatius Loyola spread frightful calumnies about them. They accused them of casting curses on men, women and animals, to cause them to perish, or inflict upon them incurable infirmities; they said that they had power, by means of magical operations, to raise demons, destroy flocks, excite tempests, bring forth from the earth millions of insects and dangerous reptiles, to corrupt the air and water, and give birth to cruel murrains. They affirmed that these pretended sorcerers sought constantly to recruit new disciples for Satan, and that they nightly presented to their master, those whom they had seduced, men or women; they said that the prince of darkness appeared to them under different forms and exacted from them frightful oaths, to be assured of their fidelity, and that he impressed on their sexual organs certain indelible characters; that he then taught them to prepare beverages composed of the juices of venomous plants, of the brains of wild cats, and of the entrails of children in the cradle, and in which the sorcerers, his pupils, sometimes mixed pieces of the consecrated host, which they took from their mouths on the day of communion; that he showed them moreover how to make powders of different colours, to bring on diseases or to cure them; some black, which were mortal; others red, which caused violent fevers; and, finally, white powders to cure all sorts of diseases.

The learned fathers of the Society of Jesus also maintained, that the adepts of the evil spirit, under the presidency of their masters, held nocturnal meetings in vast plains, or in dark and remote forests; that they travelled through the air mounted on a goat, a dog without a head, or a broom handle. That some went up the chimney, placing their left foot on the pot hooks, besmeared first with an infernal drug with which they anointed their whole body; that others went out of the windows, and some even passed out through the locks of their doors; that these journeys were performed with incredible promptitude, and that the sorcerers and sorceresses only experienced an extreme lassitude in their limbs.

There, according to the Jesuits, passed sacrilegious honours, between the prince of darkness and his acolytes; the orgies commenced with a magnificent festival; meats,

admirably prepared, were served up to the guests in vessels of gold or silver, only the viands were putrid, and did not satiate. Satan presided over this banquet in the form of a he goat, a dog, or a black cat, or in that of a horse with the head of a wolf, or of a wolf with the head of a horse. After the repast he addressed them in an idiom which belonged to no human language; they then rose to dance to the sound of strange instruments; a club served as a flute, a horse's head, strip of the flesh, for a violin, and for a drum, one of them struck with a mace on the trunk of an old oak, and to the noise of this horrible music, rendered more frightful still by the hoarse cries and howlings with which they intermingled it, the sorcerers and sorceresses stripped off their clothes, turned around dancing, their backs supported against each other, and men and women mixed, without choice or distinction, or age or sex, in horrible embraces. Satan clothed himself, by turns, in the form of a beautiful young girl or a handsome youth, and took possession of all, male and female, outraging nature. When they were tired of licentiousness, they hailed Satan, and thanked him for the feast he had given them.

Evil to those who did not return thanks to the demon; they were at once beaten unmercifully; finally, before separating, all came to kneel before the spirit of darkness, depositing at his feet certain offerings, to purchase exemptions from the misfortunes he could inflict upon them, or for the services they owed him. Some gave him black fowls, others small black dogs; if they failed in their offerings they were punished by domestic misfortunes, by the sickness or death of their children; for, when they once surrendered themselves to Satan, he governed them with a rigor scarcely credible; he maltreated them, smote them, afflicted them with sickness for the least disobedience, for being absent at a nocturnal meeting, for having come too late, for having restored some one to health without his permission, or for having refused to poison their neighbours when he commanded them to.

Such were the superstitions which the Jesuits propagated at the commencement of the seventeenth century; it resulted that the people, always lovers of the marvellous, believed in sorcerers, and could soon only speak of magic, sorcery, witchcraft. The most ordinary events were every where attributed to supernatural causes; and when the priests or rulers wished to rid themselves of an enemy, they had only to point him out as one of those who was in intercourse with the prince of darkness.

This belief became so general, that it reached the highest classes of society; thus, the young Princess Catherine of Lorraine being attacked with a lingering sickness, of the cause of which the men of science were ignorant, the priests maintained that a spell had been cast on her, and they accused a gentleman named Tremblecourt of doing it. On this

more accusation, the unfortunate man was arrested, conducted to the chateau de Châte, and put to the torture; as he was unwilling to avow his pretended crime of magic, he was tortured and torn until death followed. We should, however, say that he was guilty of having spoken against some powerful ecclesiastics in his diocese, and that he was suspected of inclining towards the reformed. The sorcerer being dead, they began to exorcise the princess, and the bishop designated for this purpose, a Capuchin lay brother, named Felix de Cantalice. The latter came at once to the castle of the duke of Lorraine, and was conducted to the bed chamber of the beautiful Catherine, and commanded that he should be left alone with her all night, that he might perform his exorcisms without being disturbed by external distractions. But, unfortunately, the duke of Lorraine having wished to satisfy himself as to the means which the Capuchin employed to effect this miraculous cure, entered the chamber of his daughter one night, and was not a little surprised to find them asleep in each others arms; he could not restrain his anger, but fell upon the guilty pair and strangled the seducer. On the next day it was reported that the Carmelite had fallen in a strife with the evil spirit, and to give the more credence to this fable, the duke Charles of Lorraine, sent ambassadors to Urban the Eighth, to solicit the canonization of the blessed Felix de Cantalice, which the pope granted on the payment of sixty thousand livres, being the tax which new saints were to pay to be enrolled on the matriculation book of the Roman court.

The example spread far and wide, and every province had, like Lorraine, its sorcerers and its exorcists; the small city of Loudun in Poitou, became, among others, the theatre of a terrible strife between a legion of demons evoked by the curate Urban Grandier, and the fathers of a convent of Carmelites, sustained by some venerable Jesuits; the following is the case. The city of Loudun contained a convent of Ursulines, composed of young ladies of noble families and without fortune; the post of director of these beautiful nuns was assuredly a very agreeable one; so that after the death of the priest who was their confessor, several candidates appeared. The curate of the city, named Urban Grandier, was among them, and was rejected because he had condemned, from his pulpit, the Carmelites who carried on intercourse with the nuns, because he had attacked some odious privileges of the nobility, and, especially, because he had written a vehement satire, under the title of the Shoemaker of Loudun, against the cardinal minister. A canon of the church of the Holy Cross, named Mignon, was put in possession of the post of director of these girls. The canon Mignon had exercised his post of confessor for some months, when, suddenly, strange things were spoken of as occurring in the convent of the Ursulines; the rumour was spread abroad that spectres and phantoms appeared

every night to the nuns, and that several of them were agitated by strange symptoms; and very naturally, according to the ideas of the time, these phenomena were attributed to the devil. The director assembled several Carmelites and canons, and examined in their presence three Ursulines, who declared that they were labouring under a charm of the curate Urban Grandier; that the witchcraft had been performed by means of a branch of flowering roses thrown into the convent, so that all who had smelt the roses had been spell bound.

Grandier, finding himself personally attacked, accused the canon Mignon of calumny, and went before the judges and the bishop of Poitiers, who refused to have any thing to do with it; he then addressed himself to the archbishop of Bordeaux, who was at his abbey of St. Jouin, near to Loudun, and endeavoured, with his assistance, to put an end to the clamours of the religious possessed. Things were in this condition when the counsellor of state, Laubardemont, the tool of Richelieu, came to Loudun to superintend the demolition of the fort of that city; the enemies of the curate hastened to inform him of what had occurred in the monastery of the Ursulines, of which the superior, Sister Jeanne des Anges, was his relative. On his return he gave an account to the cardinal of this singular affair. Richelieu, delighted at being enabled to be avenged on the author of a satire which had unmasked him, immediately sent back Laubardemont to Loudun, with a royal commission, to take informations against Grandier.

The curate was arrested and conducted to the castle of Angers; his papers were seized, but nothing was found against him except a manuscript against the celibacy of the priests, which, if we are to believe Bayle, was falsely added to his papers by his enemies. As, however, the order of Richelieu was formal, the proceedings were conducted with all care; and the judges, failing in material testimony, subsidised false witnesses. Two women of loose life declared, that they had criminal commerce with the accused; and one of them avowed that he had intoxicated her with infinite pleasures to induce her to consent to become a priestess of the magicians. The Ursulines accused him of having introduced himself by day and night into their convent, of having appeared to them under all forms, of having abused them now in the form a beautiful swan, of a bull, of a serpent—sometimes in the form of a handsome youth, and even in that of their director Mignon; and as an irrefutable proof, they argued from their gross conditions, which was confirmed by physicians and matrons. They proceeded to new exorcisms; the nuns made the same avowals always, and accused Urban Grandier of being the author of their misfortune from his compact with the devil.

The judges, who were all sold to Richelieu, adopted these ridiculous accusations, and pushed impudence so far as to attest, that at different times during the exorcisms they

had seen three demons escape from the body of Sister Jeanne des Anges, the superior of the Ursulines, one in the form of a black cat, by the nostrils; another, under that of a cock, by the arms; and a third in flame of blood colour, by her private parts. This monstrous proceeding terminated, Laubardemont sent the papers to the cardinal minister, and he appointed a commission of fourteen magistrates of his creatures, taken from different jurisdictions, to judge, or rather to condemn, the unfortunate curate. This great iniquity was accomplished on the 18th of August, 1634. Urban Grandier was declared to be attainted and convicted of the crime of magic, witchcraft, and possession of the devil on the persons of the holy Ursulines of Loudun, and to be condemned to beg pardon with naked head, to be tortured and burned alive, with the magical compacts and characters which the nuns had deposited in the registry.

Before being conducted to punishment, the unfortunate man was put to the extraordinary torment of the boot, and frightfully tormented, in order to arrest an avowal from him; but frightful as was the punishment, he bore it to the end, and persisted in declaring himself innocent of the crime of magic. "The true motive for this persecution against Urban Grandier," says Nicholas Pinette, in his memoirs, "was not magic, for I, who write this, assisted at the ceremonies of the exorcisms of the sisters of Loudun, and I can affirm that they played a ridiculous and execrable farce, which did not impose upon the judges. The proof of this is, that after the condemnation they were dispossessed, and returned to their habitual mode of life. . ."

Urban the Eighth learned of the judicial assassination of Grandier, and the history of the devils of Loudun, with a mixture of indignation and pity; but he was careful of refusing credence to facts which were attested to him by the reverend fathers of the Society of Jesus, the witnesses of these prodigies, and by a stupid lord named Montague, who, a dupe to this jugglery, had come to Rome to turn Catholic.

The imbecile Louis the Thirteenth believed firmly that his kingdom was assailed by legions of devils, and imagined that by placing it under the protection of the Virgin, he could guard it from their charms. The following is the royal edict: "We consecrate in an especial manner our person, our sceptre, our diadem, and all our subjects to the blessed and ever glorious mother of God, whom we now take for the special patron of our kingdom of France."

This affair was but an insignificant episode for Richelieu. A Catholic from calculation, he persecuted the Huguenots, the sorcerers, and the men of letters who dared to write against the papacy, whilst he was forming alliances with the protestants of Germany, whilst he was striving with the English, whilst he was preparing means to free France from obedience to the pope and have himself made patriarch of the Gauls. He had already brought

into his views a shifful and wary Italian ecclesiastic, named Mazarin, and who filled the post of nuncio extraordinary at the court of France; he had already adjudged all the regular abbays, and placed at their head priors devoted to his person, so as to form useful auxiliaries when the time for the struggle with the Holy See arrived.

But the pope, who had divined his plans, went to work to defeat them. He immediately sent an order to the nuncio Mazarin to quit the court of France, and to go to the country of Avignon, in the capacity of vice legate, an injunction to which that prelate was obliged to submit, to the great displeasure of Richelieu, who wished to send him to Spain or Germany, to detach the sovereigns of those countries from the cause of Rome; he then informed the cardinal minister that he must resign his ambition if he did not wish to be pointed out to the nations as an enemy of religion. Following the example of his holiness, they soon had no respect at Rome for France or its representatives. One of the nephews of the pope dared to kill, with his own hand, the grand equerry of the marshal d'Estrees, the French ambassador, because he did not bow low enough when saluting his eminence; and another did not fear to poison the daughter-in-law of the marshal, who was his mistress, and was with child by him, lest he should be compelled to marry her.

In vain did the ambassador demand the punishment of the guilty; his holiness would hear nothing, and even interdicted the marshal from entering his palace and the consistency. The latter retired immediately to Caprarole, to the duke of Parma, who was in hostilities with the Holy See, and sent to the court of France an account of what had occurred, in order that it might exact a brilliant reparation for the insults offered to the nation in the person of its ambassador. Richelieu would not, however, make any representation to the holy father, and by his silence appeared to approve of what had been done. The wary cardinal did so to increase the boldness and insolence of Urban, and to avoid all discussions with the court of Rome, until the time came when he was ready to strike the great blow, that is to say, to free France from obedience to the popes. In order to insure the success of this important enterprise, it only remained for him to bring the Jesuits into his interests, and he laboured actively in favouring the tendencies of these holy fathers towards temporal grandeur.

Since the commencement of the century, the disciples of Ignatius Loyola had introduced into their statutes important modifications, which were insensibly to relax the bonds of discipline, and produce great changes in the order. Thus the professed, who had never before exercised but an intellectual control over their brethren, were put in possession of administrative charges, with the right of sharing in the revenue of the colleges, and the other benefices of the society; it followed naturally that they lost a great part of their

moral influence, and relaxed gradually from their severity in the admission of new members, in order to increase their revenues. The colleges were soon encumbered by greedy and interested persons, who made no scruple in departing from the duties which their title of Jesuits imposed on them of defending the papacy, and only thought of the means of reaching rapidly the highest grades of the order, which gave at once spiritual authority and temporal power, and permitted them to enjoy in idleness the wealth which flowed into the treasury of the society from all quarters.

Having once entered on this path, the Jesuits of France did not stop; and these men, before so austere, so humble, so disinterested, did not fear to exhibit their immoderate love of money in open day; they became courtiers, merchants, bankers; they managed the affairs of laymen, looked after law suits, and directed commercial enterprises. Their professed houses became themselves the counting houses and centres of great industry, which gradually extended into the two hemispheres, and produced enormous advantages to their colleges established in different parts of the world.

Up to this time they had observed the principle of their society in regard to the gratuitous instruction of children; having become more greedy from the very accumulation of riches, they began to depart, if not openly, at least by accepting presents for the admission of pupils, and seeking from preference scholars whose families were powerful.

They were no longer engaged in propagating the faith, and conquering the world for Catholicism; on the contrary, they endeavoured to bend religion to meet the wants of their material interests; and not only did they change the constitution of their order, but they even altered the doctrines of Christianity, and corrupted its morality. Their theologians published numerous works on the nature of sin, and declared that it was only a voluntary departure from the commandment, and that consequently men were not guilty, except from the previous knowledge of the fault, and the deliberate wish to commit it.

This principle adopted, they developed it with incredible scholastic subtlety, and drew from it the strangest consequences. According to this doctrine it was sufficient that an occasional, or necessary cause, should have acted on our free will, or even the liberty of our will, not to have sinned, even in committing peroxide. A violent passion, habit, bad examples, were an excuse to justify the greatest crimes. The fathers, Thomas Tamburini, Suarez, Basenbaum, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Sanchez, and a multitude of casuists, composed enormous books on these matters. We will be content with relating some of their dissertations, that the reader may judge of the degree of immorality which those infamous priests had reached, and to be enabled to comprehend the just indignation which drove them out of every country, and the reprobation,

which down to our own day, attaches to the name of Jesuit.

"It is a great blessing and a precious grace," say the children of Ignatius Loyola, "not to know God; for sin being an injury to the Divinity, if there was no knowledge of God, there would be necessarily neither sin, nor eternal damnation; thus the atheist, since he does not believe in the existence of God, cannot commit any action condemnable by the church, even though he should wish to. . . . It is certain that we can lawfully adore all sorts of inanimate things, and even animals, although it may appear to be blameable at the first sight; we can also render worship to the creature, or any parts of his body, even those of shame, because the church permits us to adore God in his works; however, as in prostrating ourselves, or in kissing those things, we might pass for superstitious, we should not do it publicly."

"When the gentile and pagans adore idols, as they firmly believe that their idols represent the Divinity, they do not commit sin."

"We are not bound to believe in the dogmas of religion or its mysteries, in order to be saved; it is enough that one should have had faith once, though only for a second during his whole life. So with regard to love for God; we are not bound to love him, but through a certain decency, which tells us he is worthy of our love; but in conscience one is not bound to love him, not more than to serve him with sincerity of heart."

"To hear mass, it is enough to be present whilst the priest officiates; a bad disposition of mind, as that of regarding women with the eyes of concupiscence, is not enough to lose the merits of this sacrifice for us, provided that we are externally continent."

"It is not a great sin for young girls to abandon themselves to love before marriage, nor for women to receive the embraces of other men, and be unfaithful to their husbands, under certain circumstances. Thus, when the chaste Susanna of the Holy Scriptures exclaims, 'If I abandon myself to the shameful desires of these old men, I am lost,' she was in error. As she feared infamy on the one hand, and death on the other, she should say, 'I will not consent to a shameful action, but I will endure it, and I will tell it to no one, in order to preserve my life and honour.'"

"Young women without experience think that to be chaste they must call for aid, and resist their seducers with all their strength; it is not so. They are equally pure if they are quiet and do not resist. We sin but by consent and co-operation. Had Susanna permitted the old men to exercise their licentiousness upon her, without taking part internally, it is certain she would not have been guilty. . . . Moreover, concupiscence is not bad, either of itself or in itself; it is a thing of indifference, and one is not blameable for touching or regarding all his body, and even that of another, whether in the bath or elsewhere, if he finds it useful or agreeable; a man and a woman, who are strangers, may

anrolve in the presence of each other, until the very last garment, without committing a sin. A young woman may, without wrong, be particular in her attire, in order to provoke the carnal desires of man, use paint and perfumes, adorn herself with superfluous ornaments, wear fine and delicate garments which show her bosom, and the contour of her limbs, provided the world permits it."

"A man does not commit a sin, be he monk or priest even, who having gone to a place of debauchery to talk of morality to harlots, though he should succumb to temptation, even although he had frequently proved that he was liable to be seduced by the sight and cajoleries of these women of love. The intention which led him into these temples of pleasure, is enough to preserve him from sin. So a domestic who is compelled, for a living, to serve a licentious master, may fulfil the vilest and most shameful functions, without ceasing to be in a state of grace; he may procure courtizans for him, and point out improper places; may aid him to scale a window to accomplish a rape, or an abduction. A serving woman may also favour the intrigues of her mistress, introduce her lovers without the knowledge of her father or husband, carry letters, and acquit herself of all little employments of this kind, without drawing on herself any consequences."

"Robbery is not a sin under certain circumstances; a woman may, unknown to her husband, take from the common purse, as much as she may judge necessary for pious donations; she may steal to spend at her leisure, whether in play, on her toilet, or even to pay her lovers, provided she gives half to the church. Children may also on the same conditions, take from their parents, for their little pleasures, all the money that their condition authorises them to spend; domestics may rob their masters by way of compensation, if their wages are too small, and divide with the priests: finally, whosoever robs a rich man without inconveniencing him, acquires the right of lawful possession, if he employs a part in pious works, and he may, without sin, say boldly that in justice he has robbed him of nothing."

"If, however, the conscience recoiled before a false oath, one might murder the words of the formula in pronouncing them, so as to be beyond all suspicion of sin; for example, instead of 'juro,' which signifies I swear, he might pronounce 'uro,' which signifies I burn, and thus would only commit a venial sin. It is, moreover, permitted in light or grave matters to take an oath, without intending to take one; in this case, one is not obliged to keep it. If a judge summons one to keep his sworn faith, he may refuse and say, 'No, I have not promised any thing,' because that may mean, 'I have not promised with a promise which compels me.' Without this subterfuge, he might be condemned to pay that which he does not wish to reimburse, or to espouse the girl whom he does not wish to take for a wife."

"Then, if you have slain another man in

lawfully defending yourself, you may affirm under the sanction of an oath, that you had not slain him, with this mental restriction, 'if he had not attacked me.' If you are surprised by a father in the apartment of his daughter, and he wishes to force you to make him a promise of marriage, you may swear boldly that you will espouse her, with this mental reservation, 'If I am constrained to it, or she please me in the end.' A shopkeeper whose wares are sold too low, may use false weights; and he may deny before the judge that he has used false weights, with this mental reservation, 'by which the purchaser has suffered unjustly.' So we may testify before justice of supposed things, by the aid of mental reservation; thus we may depose, not only to what we have heard one say, but we may even invent feigned facts, and receive money for false testimony without scruple, provided we hand over a part of it to the church."

The doctrines of the good fathers concerning sodomy, the amorous intercourse of women with each other, the shameful turpitudes of bestiality, were as frightful as those they taught concerning perjury, prostitution, robbery, and adultery; but we are compelled to pass them by in silence, on account of the obscenity of the monstrous scenes which these venerable Jesuits trace in their works, with an affectation of complacency, omitting no detail, nor allowing any occasion of showing their prodigious knowledge in such matters to escape. They were also very indulgent for murders, poisonings, even for parricide.

"If a monk," they say, "though well informed of the danger which he runs in being surprised in adultery, enters armed into the house of a woman with whom he has had amorous intercourse, and kills her husband in defence of his life, it is not irregular, and he may continue his ecclesiastical functions. If a priest, being at the altar, is attacked by a jealous husband, he may lawfully break off from the celebration of the holy mysteries to kill him who attacks him, and at once, with his hands covered with blood, return to the altar and achieve the sacrifice of the mass."

"A son may make vows for the death of his father, that he may enjoy his inheritance; a mother may desire the death of her daughter to avoid being obliged to support and endow her; a priest may wish for the death of his bishop, in order to succeed him, because it is less the evil of his neighbour than his own good he desires;—a son who in a moment of intoxication has killed his father, may rejoice in the murder he has committed, on account of the great good it may bring him, and his joy has nothing reprehensible in it;—a son may kill his father when the latter is banished, or declared a traitor to the state or religion;—Catholic children may denounce their parents, if they are heretics, though they know this crime draws after it the penalty of death for the authors of their days; and if they inhabit a protestant country, they may murder them without fear or remorse."

Such were the doctrines propagated by the

satellites of the court of Rome, by the servants of the popes, by that infamous company of Jesuits, who had the control of the education of youth, and the government of consciences. During more than fifty years, one of these shameless priests, the Jesuit Escobar, dared to affirm in his works that it was no sin to practise the act of sodomy, and yet he preserved the privilege of confessing artless young girls, and of preaching his detestable system of morals from the chair of truth. Another disciple of Ignatius Loyola, named Busenbaum, dared to write that one might drink without measure and without sin, provided he stopped whilst he could distinguish a man from a hay cart; and yet he remained in the post of rector in the college of Hildesheim and Munster, with the approval of the Holy See.

We must not believe that the excessive indulgence of the popes for the Jesuits could any longer draw closer the bonds which attached them to Catholicism; no, the time of devotion had passed. Some casuists, led on by the ardour of religious disputes, attacked the doctrines and mysteries of religion, and no longer respected the altar by which they lived. Father Guimenius wrote that it was not necessary to believe in the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation in order to be saved, that otherwise, and contrary to all justice, those who were born deaf and dumb would be damned. "The Christian religion," adds the learned Jesuit, "is credible, but not evident, for it teaches obscure things; still more, those who admit that this religion is evidently true, are forced to admit that it is evidently false. Conclude from this, that there is no evidence that there ever has been a true religion upon earth; for from whence do we know, that of all the religions which have existed or which do exist, that of Christ's is the most truthful? Have the oracles of the prophets been given by the Spirit of God? I deny it! Are the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ true? I affirm they are not. It is true that it is convenient to make simple men believe anything false; it is on that account that I approve of the gospel and all the holy books."

Father Tamburini, in his doctrine of probabilities, goes still farther: "It is permitted," says he, "to follow now one opinion, now another, in matters of religion, as in all other matters. It is probable that Christ made himself a man; it is probable that Jupiter transformed himself into a bull. Am I then to believe it? Yes. The contrary is also probable, and I may equally affirm it." The same author, passing on to other considerations, adds, "It is probable, for example, that a certain impost has been unjustly laid upon a province; it is probable also, that it has been justly laid. Am I then, in my capacity of collector, to exact it conscientiously? Yes. Am I equally, as a contributor, to refuse it? I will reply yes, also."

As these good fathers had composed manuals for the faithful of all professions, in which all cases of conscience were related, explained,

and excused, it was enough for a man to regulate his conduct according to their prescriptions, to be assured of being in a state of continual grace.

But the age was too far advanced, and intelligence too generally diffused, for such doctrines not to excite an energetic opposition; as the system of this pernicious doctrine of morals reposed entirely on dogmatical ideas, of which free will was the basis, it was precisely on this principle that their enemies attacked them. This struggle, the most terrible which the Jesuits had to sustain, and which was to place in question the very existence of the society, commenced thus singularly.

At the time when the celebrated Louis Molina was publishing his works on grace, and dividing the theologians of every country into two camps, two young students, the one a Hollander, named Cornelius Jansenius, the other a Gascon, named Duverger de Hauranne, were pursuing their studies in the university of Louvain, then in opposition to the Jesuit Molina. Both adopted the doctrines taught in their college, and conceived a violent hatred against their adversaries, which increased with their years, and which was afterwards to produce terrible consequences for the Molinists. Duverger and Jansenius went to Paris to finish their studies, and then went to Bayonne, called by the bishop of that city to take the direction of a college which he had founded there. Jansenius filled the post of head master until; he was thirty-two years old, and only left it to return to Louvain, where he had been appointed principal of the college of St. Pulcherie. Some time afterwards he was made doctor in theology; he afterwards occupied the chair of sacred literature, and was finally promoted to the dignity of bishop of Ypres, which he preserved only a few years, having fallen a victim to a pestilence which broke out in his diocese.

It was an error that the Molinists thought themselves delivered from one of their most formidable enemies. Jansenius had died a victim to his charity, in succouring those attacked with the disease; but his works remained, and the glorious end of their author gave them an extraordinary value.

One of them, the Marsgallicus, divided into twenty-eight chapters, which formed as many bitter satires against sovereigns, attacked royalty in front, unveiled the crimes of the kings of France from Clovis to Louis the Thirteenth, and had already obtained a prodigious renown throughout Europe. But this success was nothing compared with that which was to greet his last work, called the Augustinus, and which had not yet been printed. In this book, which was written principally against the Jesuits, the author developed the formulas concerning grace, sin, and its remission, with rigour and clearness; he demonstrated in it, that the principle which rules them is the negation of liberty or human will, that the soul is enchained in the bonds of concupiscence, and cannot be freed but by the aid of grace or spiritual delights; that is to say, that our will



is determined to will and execute what God has dictated. Jansenius also made God the source of justice and truth, or rather he recognised truth itself as God, for it is the most sublime expression of the Divine Being.

Whilst the illustrious bishop of Ypres was composing the *Augustinus*, his friend Duverger de Hauranne, who had returned to Paris, was seeking there to realise by the practices of his life the perfection of his doctrine, and was labouring to propagate its essential ideas. His principles were adopted by a great number of ecclesiastics, and among others by la Rocheposay, the bishop of Poitiers, who being very anxious to have him about his person, gave him the post of a canon in his cathedral. Duverger could not accustom himself to the slothful and idle life of the canons, and resigned his post for the dignity of the abbot of St. Cyran. He soon, however, determined to quit Poitiers, to return to Paris, and to abandon himself to his zeal for proselytism on a large theatre. He devoted himself to the direction of consciences, and soon obtained a reputation for piety and knowledge which attracted to him numerous disciples and ardent friends in the highest classes of society. Bishops, magistrates, ministers of state, monasteries of nuns, persons of the most eminent piety, all consulted him and received his advice with the most profound respect, and extreme docility. Sebastian Zamet, bishop of Langres, conceived so great an affection for him, that he even wished to appoint him his coadjutor, a dignity which the abbot of St. Cyran refused, as well as the title of bishop of Bayonne, which the cardinal minister offered him, from a motive of personal interest, and to make a creature of the learned friend of Jansenius.

Soon after, Zamet presented his protegee to the celebrated Mother Agnes Arnaud, abbess of Port Royal, and to the sister of Agnes, named Mother Angelica, abbess of the convent of the Holy Sacrament, associated with this abbey, and which was afterwards suppressed by order of the king; which compelled the holy girls to unite with the nuns of Port Royal.

This pious residence then obtained, thanks to the solicitation of the friends of the bishop of Langres, the privilege of being consecrated into an aggregate body of monks and nuns, under the direction of an abbess. Duverger de Hauranne, appointed director of the community, could then put in execution the plans which he meditated, and attack the infamous doctrines of the Jesuits. These, furious at finding themselves unmasked, lanced libellous publications against the abbot of St. Cyran, excited the jealous hatred of the cardinal minister against him, pushed their audacity so far as to accuse him of heresy, and obtained an order to confine him in the dungeon of Vincennes.

Laubardemont, the same who had figured in the affair of Urban Grandier, was commissioned to carry on this new proceeding, and to have a condemnation pronounced.

It was at this moment, that they learned in France of the death of Jansenius, and the appearance of the *Augustinus*. Attention was not however given immediately to this work, the minds of men being too much occupied with the enterprises of the cardinal minister against the papacy. Richelieu obtained a decree from parliament, prohibiting information being given to the apostolic nuncio, who were the subjects appointed to consistorial benefices; at the same time, he declared null the enrolment of some briefs which the parliament of Burgundy had promulgated of its own accord; he had moreover published in the name of the two brothers Dupuy, a work entitled, "The Rights and Liberties of the Gallican Church;" finally, the Jesuits, always by his inspiration, had produced writings filled with direct attacks upon the papacy, and in which the good fathers endeavoured to prove that the creation of a patriarch in France was not schismatic, and that the consent of Rome was no more necessary, than it had been at the time of the establishment of the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

Urban the Eighth was extremely offended at the work of the French Jesuits; he handed it over to the inquisition at Rome, and had it condemned as containing pernicious maxims, contrary to the hierarchical order, and the jurisdiction of the church. Although the holy father knew well from whence the blow came, he dared not strike the true culprit, and dissembled his resentment; he did more—he sent to beseech the marshal d'Estrées to return to Rome, and obliged his nephew, who had poisoned the daughter-in-law of the ambassador, to go to meet him, as a sign of repentance for what had occurred; he even advanced the promotion of two cardinals, to give the hat to the nuncio Mazarin, and thus testified his inclination to satisfy the desires of Richelieu.

The cause of this excessive condescendence to the French minister was simply caused by the desire of his holiness to obtain the condemnation of the *Augustinus* of Jansenius in France. But it was not in the power of a man to prevent the propagation of a work which had produced a profound and universal sensation; the theologians of Paris applied themselves to the study of the *Augustinus* of Ypres, and had commented on it in every way; the Jesuits had taken the side of the pope, and had attacked the common enemy. Through all Europe the clergy was divided into two camps; nothing else was talked about but efficacious and sufficient grace; and the names of Jansenists and Molinists, which were given to the two parties, became as famous as those of Guelphs and Ghibelines had formerly been in Italy.

Urban the Eighth, warned by the experience of the last century, that all religious discussions were injurious to the papacy, wished to arrest them by issuing a brief, which prohibited the *Augustinus* from being read; but this prohibition only increased the general

curiosity, and the book spread with surprising rapidity.

In the height of the dispute the cardinal Richelieu died, and the abbot of St. Cyran, set at liberty, was enabled to place himself at the head of the establishment of Port Royal, and give a fresh movement to the theological war.

The pope, finding his efforts to arrest these quarrels powerless, determined not to trouble himself about them any longer, and to bestow all his care on the more serious war which had broken out between the Holy See and Duke Odoardo Farnese. He proceeded as the pontiffs were accustomed to do; he excommunicated the duke of Parma, lanced the thunders of the Vatican against him, declared him to be deprived of all rights in his states, and freed his subjects from the oaths they had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. As bulls of anathema had fallen into great discredit, especially since his holiness had fulminated them against the Spanish Catholics who chewed tobacco, who used it as snuff, or who smoked it in the churches; and as Urban was himself the very person to recognise their inefficacy in things of this world, he was careful to strengthen his excommunication by a good army which started for Parma. In vain did the ambassadors of foreign powers wish to interfere, and reconcile the two enemies; the sovereign pontiff refused to listen to any proposal for peace, and replied, "that there was no possible pacification between a lord and his vassal; that he was desirous of punishing the duke; that he had money, courage, and troops, and that moreover God and the world would be with him."

Urban was however in error, for the Italian princes, jealous of the aggrandisement of the Roman court, were unwilling to allow the pontiff to seize on the duchy of Parma, as he had done on the provinces of Urbino and Ferrara. The dukes of Este, the princes of the family of the Medici, and the Venetians formed a league, and encamped in the territory of Modena, to prevent the passage of the troops of the pope. Odoardo Farnese, finding that Italy had declared in his favour, became bolder, and resolved to attempt a bold stroke which should immediately terminate the war. At the head of only three thousand horse, without artillery and without infantry, he turned the flank of the army of the pontiff, which had gone into winter quarters in the environs of Ferrara; he made an irruption into the states of the church, without being arrested either by the fort Urban, on which his holiness counted largely, or by the militia of the Holy See, which, instead of fighting, shut itself up in Bologna; and he arrived at the gates of Rome, having received on his way the submission of the cities of Imola, Faenza, Lodi, Castiglione de Lago, and de Citia del Pieve. But there, whether he was alarmed by his own boldness, or whether he

was under the control of religious considerations, instead of attacking the holy city, which was destitute of troops, and which he could certainly have carried at the first assault, he entered into negotiations.

The wary pontiff skilfully protracted the conferences, gained time, recruited fresh troops, and when he was in a condition to take the field, he broke off the conferences, forced the duke to retreat, and ordered the cardinal Antonio to resume the offensive at the head of a new army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. He was at first successful. His troops drove the Venetians and the dukes of Ferrara and Modena before them, penetrated into the territory of Modena, and even as far as Polesina and the duchy of Rovigo. None of the allies of the duke of Parma submitted however to the Holy See; all continued to resist it quietly, and appeared to have no other end but to protract the war, until a financial crisis should give them the victory without fighting.

The pope, who knew perfectly well that his treasury was empty, his resources exhausted, and his credit gone, saw with rage the time approaching in which his troops would disband for want of pay, and would leave him at the mercy of his enemies, if they did not even reinforce their ranks. He wrote to his generals to bring on a decisive battle; he sent courier after courier to excite them to activity, and to reproach their indolence. All this great impatience, however, only ended in inducing the leaders of the papal army to commit imprudences; for they, in obedience to the orders of the pope, engaged in several skirmishes in very dangerous places, and were defeated by the Venetians. In one of them, the cardinal Antonio himself almost fell into the power of his enemies, and was only saved by the fleetness of his horse.

At last the critical moment arrived, that of paying the troops. His holiness not having wherewith to satisfy the exigencies of his position, was obliged to address himself to the ambassadors of the regent of France, and to entreat them to negotiate a peace with the other states of Italy. The latter, in their turn, were unwilling to listen to any proposal, until the pope had relieved the duke of Parma from the sentences of excommunication lanced against him, and would restore to him the city of Castro, which he was compelled to do. Urban was so mortified at being reduced to such an extremity, that from the moment of signing the treaty, he sank into a state of febleness. His health languished, all his moral energy seemed to abandon him; he was heard to do nothing but sigh and groan, asking for vengeance from heaven on the impious princes who had constrained him to make peace, and on the 20th of July, 1644, he breathed his last, blaspheming the name of God, and confounding in the same curses the dogs of Venice, the dukes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, the French and Spaniards, protestants and Catholics.

## INNOCENT, THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1644.]

*Election of Innocent the Tenth—Character of the pontiff—His sister-in-law Olympia governs the church—The pope endeavours to make the Barberini disgorge—They take refuge in France under the protection of Mazarin—Marriage of the nephew of his holiness with the young Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest heiress in Rome—Debauchery and incest of the pope with the two Olympias—Scandalous quarrels between these two women—Re-establishment of the Barberini—War of Italy between France and Spain—Revolution at Naples—History of Masaniello the Fisherman—The duke of Guise makes an attempt to seize on the crown of Naples—Innocent the Tenth refuses to recognise John the Fourth as king of Portugal—He protests against the peace of Westphalia—Tyranny of Charles the First, king of England—Punishment of Charles the First—The pope adopts Camillo Astalli, who becomes his minion as the cardinal nephew—Division in the papal family—The Molinists and the Jansenists—Port Royal and its solitaires—The five propositions—Fanaticism of Vincent de Paul—He persecutes the Jansenists with fury—Innocent refuses to take part in the theological quarrels about grace—Charles Stuart, the son of Charles the First, endeavours to mount the throne by aid of the civil wars—He is conquered by Cromwell—The English republic—Cromwell seizes on the sovereign power, and reigns by the title of protector—Death of Innocent the Tenth.*

THE mortal remains of Clement the Eighth were scarcely buried, when the Barberini introduced troops into Rome, in order to control the new elections, and to be able to elevate to the pontificate the cardinal Sachetti, their creature; but they soon saw that their candidate, rejected by the factions of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, had no chance of success; they then united with the Medici, to intrigue for the cardinal Firenzola, a monk of the order of St. Dominic. They were again compelled to abandon their candidate, the French party actively opposing their proceeding to this exaltation, because Firenzola was the avowed enemy of Cardinal Mazarin, who had succeeded Richelieu in the post of minister of the king. The Barberini and the Medici joined the Spaniards out of spite, and gave the majority to the cardinal Pamfili, who was declared sovereign pontiff by the name of Innocent the Tenth.

The holy father was a Roman by birth, and of an old family. He had been successively advocate, consistorial, auditor of the rota, nuncio to Naples, datary in the legations of France and Spain, and finally cardinal. His character was similar to that of most priests, dissimulative, vindictive, cruel, audacious in success, timid in danger, and implacable in its vengeance; his face was hideous and deformed; his mind worthy of his exterior.

On the advent of Innocent the Tenth to the Holy See, the policy of the court of Rome was singularly modified, not from the action of the pope, but from the new direction impressed on affairs by his sister-in-law, the widow Dona Olympia Maldachini de Viterba, who carried on incestuous intercourse with him, and so publicly, that she was known by the name of the popess. By the wishes of this shameless courtesan, the Medici, and the cardinals of the Spanish faction, were placed in possession of all the most important offices of the church, which took from the French party the pre-

ponderance they had enjoyed during the former reign.

As for the Barberini, they were less reserved with them; under pretext of making them render an account of their financial administration during the war of Castro, they accused them of concussion, of encroachments on justice, and of a robbery of the public money. These, finding that they desired their wealth, sought to save it by placing themselves under the protection of France; and as the cardinal Mazarin was discontented with the court of Rome, he informed his holiness through the ambassador, that the regent took the Barberini under her safeguard, and attached them to her crown. In his turn, the pope declared that he would forcibly assist justice, and that he would not abandon his rights, even though the armies of the most Christian king were beneath the walls of Rome. Antonio Barberini, who, as the richest of the family, was the most exposed, fled immediately, and retired into France, where he was joined some time afterwards by Francisco, his brother, and Thadeo, his nephew.

Whilst, on the one hand, the ungrateful pontiff was pursuing the nephews of Urban, to whom he owed his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, on the other, in contempt of the treaties concluded by his predecessors, he recommenced the war against the duke of Parma, sacked the city of Castro, and ordered his generals to level the walls to the earth, and on the smoking ruins of this magnificent city he caused a column to be erected, with this barbarous inscription, "Here was Castro."

After having accomplished the ruin of the Barberini, the new pope was engaged in the elevation of his own family. Already had his incestuous mistress Dona Olympia attained so high a degree of power, that ambassadors, who came to Rome, commenced by visiting her, before they presented themselves at the Vatican. Cardinals had her portrait suspended

in their apartments by the side of that of Innocent, as a testimonial of their deference for the favourite; and foreign courts openly bought her protection by presents or pensions. Those soliciting preferment sought equally to interest her in their favour by the same means, so that from all sides riches flowed with such an abundance into her coffers, that she was enabled in a short time to acquire palaces and immense estates. The holy father then thought of the establishment of the children of his dear Olympia. He married the eldest of her daughters to a Ludovico, and the second to a Gustiniani. As for his bastard Don Camillo, a young man of notorious incapacity, who had been judged capable at the most of being made a cardinal, the opportunity of a brilliant marriage offering to him, he relieved him from his vows, and made him espouse Dona Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest widow in Rome, young, beautiful, full of grace and spirit, but who, at the same time, joined to these brilliant qualities an insatiable thirst for ruling.

As soon as she was installed in the pontifical palace, the young Dona Olympia sought to supplant her mother-in-law, by disputing the price of incest with her. Frightful quarrels of jealousy broke out between these two women, and were carried so far, that in order to arrest the scandal, his holiness was compelled to separate himself momentarily from his new mistress. The disgrace, however, of the young Olympia lasted but a short time; the pope himself recalled her to the Vatican, and appeared to grant her a marked preference over his sister-in-law. The intestine dissensions then became more violent than ever, and in consequence of reproaches which these two rivals addressed to each other in the midst of the Corso, the whole city was apprised of the outrageous orgies of Innocent the Tenth, and of the mysteries of the gardens of the palace of the Lateran.

This false position of the holy father naturally influenced his character; he became versatile, capricious, obstinate, insupportable to himself and others; placed between two mistresses equally ambitious, equally exacting; and as both took pleasure in contradicting each other, it reached so far, that at night his holiness prohibited what he had authorised in the morning. Thus, after having pursued the Barberini with extreme violence at the instigation of his sister-in-law, yielding to the solicitations of his niece, he suddenly changed his conduct towards them, stopped the proceedings commenced against the cardinal Antonio, recalled all the members of that family to Rome, reinstated them in their wealth and dignities, and even gave one of his nieces in marriage to Maffeo Barberino, prince of Palestrina. It is true that the success of the French in Italy had induced the holy father to take this favourable determination towards the proteges of Cardinal Mazarin.

Another event, until that time unexampled in the annals of Italy, had shown Innocent that it was surer for him to re-attach himself

to France, than to follow the Spanish power in its fall. This event was the memorable revolution of Naples directed by Masaniello, a common fisherman of the Lagunes.

The viceroy, Ponce de Leon, duke of Arcos, who commanded for Philip the Fourth, was driven from his castle by a band of malcontents, and obliged to save himself in the castle Neuf, one of the principal fortresses of the city. In vain did he endeavour to appease the revolt, by promising to the insurgents the suppression of all imposts; Masaniello, who was the leader of the revolt, was unwilling to listen to any plan of arrangement, until the duke of Arcos had handed to him the original of the privileges granted by Charles the Fifth to the city of Naples. The young fisherman then went to the viceroy at the head of a magnificent cavalcade, and clothed in a garment of brocade, to negotiate a treaty, to which he agreed as the leader of the people, correcting and modifying the articles without any one daring to contradict him. Masaniello exacted, that there should be in future an absolute equality in political rights for all citizens; he suppressed taxes and imposts; he exacted that a general amnesty should be proclaimed for all those who had taken part in the revolt, and stipulated that the Neapolitans should remain armed, until the ratification of the treaty by his majesty Philip the Fourth.

When all these conventions had been signed by the duke of Arcos, the fisherman convened the people on the great square of Naples, and announced his resolution to abdicate the temporary royalty with which he had been invested, in order to return to his cabin; fifty thousand voices were then raised to beseech him to preserve the sovereign authority until the treaty was entirely executed. Ponce de Leon feigned to share the sentiments of the crowd, besought the fisherman of the Lagunes to retain the command of the city, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, which he gave in his palace in token of rejoicing. On leaving this repast, the unfortunate Masaniello felt himself attacked by a strange fever, which manifested itself in a fit of delirium and of real madness; the traitorous Spaniard, not daring to rid himself openly of his enemy, had administered poison to him. And as if this first crime had not been enough, the infamous duke sent four gentlemen to the cabin of Masaniello, during the night, to murder him. One of these assassins cut off his head, took it by the hair, and bore it still bleeding to the viceroy, who caused it to be thrown into the ditches of the city.

In the morning, the news of the death of the fisherman spread through Naples and excited a general rising; twenty-four thousand citizens pressed to the public square demanding vengeance; the dead body was carried in triumph through all the streets of the city, the head having been reattached to the trunk; it was then covered with a royal mantle, and the brow encircled by a crown of laurels; all men and women, came in crowds to touch the body of the martyr with their rosaries,

and this manifestation was so universal, that the duke of Arcos could not avoid sending his pages, and all his officers, to the funeral of the victim.

This first moment of exasperation over, things resumed their usual course; the viceroy, freed from the leader of the insurrection, thought only of punishing the rebels, and not of fulfilling his promises. All danger was not, however, over; the noise of this revolution had spread rapidly to Rome, and the pontiff seeing the possibility of wresting the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily from Spain, by favouring the troubles, determined the young duke of Guise, who was then with him, to throw himself into Naples, in order to put himself at the head of the revolt. The young prince, seduced by the glitter of a crown, obeyed the holy father, embarked on a mere felucca, passed rashly through the midst of the naval armament of Don Juan, disembarked on the Lagunes, and entered the city, escorted by the old friends of the unfortunate Masaniello. The Spaniards were again driven from Naples and obliged to take refuge in their fortresses or vessels; but the triumph of the duke of Guise was of short duration. Some adventures of gallantry greatly indisposed several nobles towards him, and one day, when he had sallied forth at the head of some troops to facilitate the entrance of a convoy, the latter surrendered the city to the viceroy. His efforts to retake it were useless, and ended with his falling into the power of the Spaniards. The great Condé, who was then serving in the ranks of the enemies of France, asked and obtained the liberty of Henry of Guise, on condition that he would foment divisions in the kingdom, and would take the side of the house of Austria. The duke promised all that was required of him; but the bad treatment he had experienced at Madrid, during his captivity, had broken his heart too much; resentment, instead of leading him to think of keeping the oaths he had taken to recover his liberty. Instead of returning to France, he went again into Italy, to solicit from Innocent the Tenth an authority for his divorce from the countess of Bossu, his wife, and to enable him to marry Mademoiselle de Pons, one of his mistresses, and also to obtain the aid which would enable him to strike another blow at Naples.

Unfortunately for the young duke, other events of great importance engaged all the attention of the pontiff, and prevented him from thinking of his affairs. John the Fourth, duke of Braganza, had seized on the throne of Portugal, and had proclaimed the independence of that kingdom of the crown of Spain, by favour of a revolution which was accomplished in Europe, in all the colonies, in Madeira and the Azores, in Tangiers and Carache, in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola, in Ethiopia, Guinea, and India, and even in the opulent city of Macao, situated on the borders of China. All the powers of Europe had recognised the new sovereign, except the princes of the house of Austria and the king of Spain.

Notwithstanding this unanimous agreement of the Portuguese to break the odious yoke of Philip the Fourth, and the enthusiasm which had hailed his advent to the crown, John the Fourth, who knew the superstitious character of his nation, and feared a change in its ideas, so long as the court of Rome had not ratified his election, employed all his efforts to bring the pope into his interests, and to induce him to recognise him officially as king of Portugal. Thus, after the example of Louis the Thirteenth, he had placed his states under the protection of the Virgin; he had distributed large alms to churches and convents; and several episcopal sees, having become vacant, he had pushed his deference for the pope so far as to refuse to fill them, until he had received authority from him.

Supposing that such conduct had rendered the pope favourable to him, he sent to Rome, with the consent of the ecclesiastics of his kingdom, the prior of Sodefeyta, named Nicholas de Montegro, to solicit bulls of nomination for the prelates who were to fill the vacant benefices. Montegro went to the Vatican on the day of a consistory, and with a noble boldness presented the request of his master, pleaded the cause of the revolution of Portugal, and condemned in energetic terms the cruelties which the kings of Spain had exercised in that country since the usurpation of the execrable Philip the Second. The count of Sirvola, the Spanish ambassador, who was present at the reception of the prior of Sodefeyta, dared not enter into a public discussion with this skillful orator, and retired, covered with shame and confusion; but some days afterwards, he took his revenge. Banditti whom he had taken into his pay, attacked the carriage of Montegro, in open day, killed six of his people, and fired several pistols at him, which fortunately only grazed his garments. Though Innocent knew very well, that the count of Sirvola had commanded this expedition, he dared not act with severity against the culprit, and contented himself with sending him from Rome. His holiness refused all kind of reparation to the prior of Sodefeyta, and was unwilling to do any thing about the bishoprics of Portugal, which so much discontented him, that he left Rome at once and returned to Portugal.

In Germany, the political horizon was also darkening for the court of Rome and the house of Austria. The war which had been until this time, carried on between the Catholics and protestants, with alternate reverses and success, threatened to become more terrible than under Gustavus Adolphus. The Lutheran armies were commanded by Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, one of the great captains of the day, a calm, intrepid man, joining the courage of the soldier to the moderation of the philosopher. Such a leader was too formidable for the papal cause, and he died of poison.—Banner, who succeeded him in the command, met the same fate. Torstenson, the Swedish general, was more fortunate than his predecessors, he escaped the dagger and poison.

continued the war, and made himself master of Franconia, Bohemia, and Prague, whilst Condé, having returned to the service of France, gained the victories of Rocroy and Nordlingen, over the combined Austrian and Spanish armies. All these reverses alarmed Ferdinand the Third, and determined him to sign the peace of Westphalia, which put an end to the thirty years' war, and proclaimed liberty of conscience through the whole extent of the empire. By this convention Sweden acquired Pomerania, and France was assured in the possession of Alsace, several bishoprics, the city of Brisach, and the right to garrison Philipsburg. The elector of Brandenburg united to his states the dutchy of Magdeburg and the city of Minden; the elector Palatine recovered a part of his former domains, and obtained an eighth electoral vote, in recompense for that of which he had been deprived, and which was preserved to the duke of Bavaria; other princes also acquired an increase of territory to the detriment of the emperor.

Innocent the Tenth, who perceived that the influence of the Holy See was entirely lost in Germany, wished to protest against the treaty of Westphalia, and fulminated the following bull:—"By virtue of our infallible knowledge and the plenitude of our power, we declare that the treaties of Westphalia are prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to divine worship, to the safety of souls, to the apostolic see, to the inferior churches, to the ecclesiastical order and state, as well as to the clergy, its immunities, property, privileges, and authorities; we consequently revoke them perpetually, we declare them to be null, vain, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, reprov'd, without force and effect, and we affirm that no king or prince who has signed them, is bound to observe them, although he has engaged to do so by the most solemn oaths.

"Given at Rome, at St. Maria Majora, under the seal of the fisherman, on the 26th day of November, in the year 1648, and of our pontificate the fifth."

This singular protest produced no effect on Ferdinand the Third, Christiern the Second, nor Louis the Fourteenth; the attention of these sovereigns, as well as that of all the powers of Europe, was besides entirely absorbed by the gravity of the events which the despotism of Charles the First, and the religious fanaticism of his wife, Henrietta Maria of France, had given rise to in England.

The struggle commenced between the king and people, on the subject of subsidies; the parliament refused to vote them, and for twelve years Charles governed absolutely, and without a parliament. Necessity then compelled him again to call one together, and the struggle was renewed with increased bitterness, and after some years of bloody contests and ruthless massacres, ended in the death of Charles, who was beheaded by order of the parliament, on the 30th of January, 1649.—On that day a scaffold was erected in the street, which runs along side of Whitehall, of the same height with the windows of the first

story. At half-past two o'clock, Charles the First, king of Great Britain, dressed in black, with a black cap surmounted by a plume of feathers of the same colour, and wearing around his neck the collar of St. George, advanced to the foot of the block, where two executioners in masks awaited him. He then despoiled himself of his garments, covered his shoulders with his cloak, and kneeled to receive the fatal blow. One of the executioners raised his axe, and at a blow cut off his head; justice was accomplished. It is maintained that the executioner had been that day replaced in his functions by an English lord, the Earl Stair, who had thus taken vengeance for a former outrage committed to his family, in the person of his aunt, who had been carried off by the orders of Charles Stuart, when she was a young girl, and had been violated by that monarch.

The death of the king of England deprived the holy father of the hope of making Catholicism triumph in the British isles, and compelled him to seek for another aliment for the activity of his mind. He then took part in the intrigues of the palace, and by turns elevated to power, or hurled from it, the creatures of his sister-in-law, or of Dona Olympia, his niece, as either succeeded over her rival, and merited the preferences of the old cynic by lascivious caresses, or infamous compliances.

Thus, he gave the post of datary of the Roman church to a lover of the young Olympia, to recompense her for having given him, in the gardens of the palace of the Lateran, a magnificent spectacle of females, entirely naked, abandoning themselves to the games of the courtizans of Lesbos; he then disgraced the favourite, to give his post to Mascambruno, a lover of his sister-in-law, who had regained her empire over him, by even surpassing the irregularities and shameful orgies of his niece. Finally, an event, apparently very indifferent, and which had been intended to increase the influence of Dona Olympia, his sister-in-law, became the cause of her disgrace, and the triumph of her rival.

Innocent the Tenth had not had a cardinal nephew since the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, and did not think of replacing him. Dona Olympia, who was desirous of creating new means of ruling his mind, persuaded him that it was necessary for him to adopt one of his relatives to occupy the post of Don Camillo Pamfili, and she presented to him a young man of extraordinary beauty, Camillo Astalli, whom she had made her lover in advance.

At the sight of this handsome young man, Innocent the Tenth felt strange sensations in his heart; he received Astalli with extraordinary kindness, and declared that he consented to bestow the dignity of cardinal nephew on him. His holiness pushed his attentions towards his relative so far as to instal him, that same night, in a chamber of the Vatican adjoining his private apartments. The next day, Camillo Astalli had become the minion of the pope, and the elevation of the new favourite

was celebrated by public festivals and salvoes of artillery. From that day, the cardinal nephew was invested with the confidence of the sovereign pontiff, and directed, at his pleasure, all the affairs of the church. This was not what Dona Olympia had wished; she had contributed to the elevation of Camillo Astalli to obtain an ally against the young Olympia, and not to create a rival still more dangerous than her daughter-in-law, and it turned out that she had given a minion to her brother-in-law, and a lover to the young Olympia. She was then occupied in overthrowing the cardinal Astalli from power before he was entirely confirmed in it, and essayed to represent to the pontiff the fatal consequences into which his deplorable passion for this young man would infallibly draw him.

Instead of listening, with his usual indulgence, to the reproaches of his old mistress, Innocent replied to her with sharpness; she replied in the same tone, and a most disgraceful quarrel ensued. She threatened the pope to unveil to Christendom his turpitudes and his infamies, his double incest with her and her daughter-in-law, his amours with the handsome cardinal Astalli, his shameful orgies and execrable debaucheries. His holiness, who recoiled before no scandal, saw no other means of restoring tranquillity to his palace but to expel his sister-in-law, which he did, without at all disturbing himself about her threats.

Innocent the Tenth profited by this period of tranquillity, to give all his attention to the disputes of the Molinists and Jansenists, which were then disturbing the whole Gallican church. After the death of Richelieu, the personal enemy of the abbot of St. Cyran, the latter had been restored to liberty, and had returned to his friends of Port Royal, whose number had increased considerably. The celebrated Lomaisire de Sacy, with four of his brothers, all the Arnaud family, and many others, ecclesiastics, physicians, savants, merchants, tradesmen, had installed themselves there, because they were bound by no vow to live in the community, except from confraternity of sentiment. All followed, according to their taste, religious practices, or study, or the labours of the field, or some mechanical art; the greatest number, however, devoted themselves to literary occupations; they commenced translating the Holy Scriptures, the fathers of the church, the books of Latin prayers; and the new sectaries of Jansenius knew how to avoid, skilfully, in their learned works, the superannuated forms of ancient literature, and to express themselves with an elegant clearness.

From their bosom rose men of eminent knowledge, who exercised a great influence over society, and gave new perfection to language and the communication of thought. The abbot of St. Cyran had not the happiness to contemplate in its splendour, the school he had founded. But his disciples sallied forth, like young eagles, from beneath his wings; heirs of his virtue and his piety, they transmit-

ted to others what they had received from him, and courageously continued his work. Such was the nucleus of the Jansenist party in France, and such were the adversaries whom the Molinists, or rather the Jesuits, wished to exterminate.

The disciples of Ignatius Lóyola thought that it was urgent for them to have a precise and absolute condemnation pronounced by the Holy See, and the Jesuit Cornet, the syndic of the faculty of theology in Paris, summed up the fundamental doctrines of Jansenius in the following propositions, which he addressed to the sovereign pontiff: "1. There are precepts which the justest man even cannot observe, unless he possesses the grace necessary for that purpose. 2. In a state of decayed nature, one never resists inward grace. 3. To merit and to demerit it is not necessary that a man should have a liberty which excludes necessity, but only a liberty exempt from restraint. 4. Semi-Pelagians admit the necessity of prevailing grace for each particular act, but such, however, that it depends on the will of man to resist, or to follow it. 5. It is a semi-Pelagian doctrine to say that Jesus Christ is dead, and that he has shed his blood for all men."

These propositions were denounced at Rome in a letter written by Habert, become bishop of Valtes, and which Father Vincent de Paul, an insane Molinist and semi-Pelagian, succeeded by force of threats and intrigues in having signed by eighty-five French prelates.

At the solicitation of the Jesuits, the pope appointed a commission, composed of the cardinals Roma, Spada, Ginetti, Ciceterni, Chigi, Pamfili, and thirteen theological counsellors, to give their opinion on these important propositions. From the very first, there were differences in the commission; four of its members, two Dominicans, a Minor Brother, Lucca Wadding, and the general of the Augustines, decided that it was imprudent to condemn it. The majority, however, was of a contrary opinion; they referred it to the holy father for his decision; but the latter, who pushed aside every thing that could trouble his quiet, and who besides did not love dissertations on theological questions, formally refused to pronounce either for one or the other. "When he placed himself on the edge of this ditch," says Pallavicini, "and measured with his eyes the greatness of the space to cross, he stopped, and they could not make him go forward."

The Molinists of France then endeavoured to have the propositions condemned by the faculty of theology. Vincent de Paul, one of the most violent of his party, was very bitter against the partizans of the doctrines of the bishop of Ypres, and used his influence with the queen to remove from civil charges and benefices, all who were infected with the poison of the doctrines of Jansenius, and to have interdicted, as enemies of religion and the state, the professors and preachers who were suspected of Jansenism. He could not, however, prevent twenty bishops and

archbishops from undertaking the defence of the fraternity of Port Royal, and from opposing the condemnation of the doctrines they professed. Innocent finally wished to interpose his authority in the matter, to stop the uproar; but he encountered so active an opposition on both sides, that he was compelled to renounce it from regard to his dignity as sovereign pontiff. He had it, besides, more at heart to put an end to the very serious dissensions in his own family, arising from the jealousy which Camillo Pamfili had conceived of the cardinal Don Camillo Astalli. The holy father, placed in the alternative of losing his mistress or his minion to restore tranquillity to the Vatican, determined to separate from his nephew Pamfili and the young Olympia.

The sister-in-law of Innocent availed herself of this circumstance to return to the palace; she gradually recovered the empire she had exercised over his mind, she became the purveyor to his pleasures, and among others, presented to him a young man named Azzolino, whom she destined to supplant the cardinal Astalli, in the good graces of his holiness, as he persisted in wishing to preserve the honours and profits of his place for himself alone, and refused to surrender the least part to her. Azzolino, in fact, reached, notwithstanding the opposition of his rival, the important post of secretary of the briefs, and acquired such an ascendancy over the pope, that the cardinal nephew, foreseeing his approaching discharge, sought to assure himself of aid against Innocent the Tenth himself, by betraying to the Florentines and Spaniards the secrets of the policy of the court of Rome. But the treason having been discovered, and the proofs placed before the eyes of the pope, Astalli was stripped of the purple, driven from the Vatican, and exiled to Sambucco, in the marquisate of his brother. The name and arms of Pamfili were taken from him, as well as his post and benefices, and Olympia made him restore the sum of six thousand crowns of gold, which he had carried off in his baggage when quitting the palace.

After the fall of this favourite, the sister-in-law of the pontiff became, as during the first years of his reign, the dispensers of all the wealth and all the revenues of the church; Innocent was so entirely occupied with his passion for the handsome Azzolino, that he was unwilling to pay attention any longer to temporal or spiritual affairs. If ambassadors addressed any remarks to him on the disorders in his finances, he replied, "Speak to my dear Olympia." If the Jesuits wished to urge him to condemn the Jansenists, he replied to them, "That he was unwilling to annoy himself with such absurd things, that he desired to live in peace; that they must speak to Cardinal Chigi, the minister." The disciples of Ignatius Loyola returned, however, so often to the charge, that, to rid himself of their importunities, Innocent published a bull against the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, as heretical, blasphemous, and loaded with improprieties, and he declared that he had nothing more at

heart than to guide the ship of the church into a calm sea, that it might reach a port of safety. This decision was immediately sent to France, with briefs for the king and the bishops; then the cardinal Mazarin, at the instigation of Father Vincent de Paul, published an edict which enjoined on all the prelates of the kingdom to accept the bull which condemned the five propositions of Jansenius. No opposition was shown to this decree; the followers of the bishop of Ypres themselves adhered to the censures of the Holy See; they only declared that the condemned propositions were not found in the writings of Jansenius, and that they were the invention of the Jesuit Cornet, and of the head of the missions, Vincent de Paul, which rendered that polemic more violent than ever.

In England the religious and political wars continued with the same fury, and caused rivers of blood to flow. The oldest son of Charles the First, from his retreat at the Hague, sent Jesuits into Ireland and Scotland to excite these two kingdoms against the English; he had also established communications with several influential peers, who were to propose his installation on the throne when parliament assembled. But Oliver Cromwell, informed of what was about to take place, was beforehand with them, and sent to the house of commons a decree, declaring that the house of peers should be abolished as useless and dangerous. Freed from this new anxiety, he claimed, and obtained from parliament, authority to go into Ireland at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army, to combat the papists and royalists; he traversed the country like a torrent, ravaging every thing on his way with brutal ferocity, putting the garrisons of places to the sword, burning towns, villages, farmhouses, massacring, indiscriminately, men, women, and children, and leaving behind him but ruins, heaps of ashes, and dead bodies. Almost all the cities of Ireland, which held for the pretender, hastened to submit to the English general, in order to shun the effects of his anger; and every thing presaged that the kingdom was about to be pacified, when an order of parliament interrupted the progress of Cromwell, and compelled him to return to England to protect his own country against an invasion of the Scotch. Before, however, parting, he left the command of the troops with Ireton and Lud, two of his best generals, who finished his work. On his return to London he caused himself to be appointed captain general of the armies of the republic, placed himself at the head of the troops which parliament could spare, and which only amounted to sixteen thousand men, and with this small army advanced boldly against the Scotch troops, which were commanded by Charles Stuart, in person, met them near Dunbar, gave them battle and cut them to pieces.

Cromwell was not content with one victory; he wished to profit by his advantages; he pursued the pretender, drove him from the other side of the Perth, whither he had re-



tired with the wreck of his army, cut off his provisions, and forced him to fight retreating. After several months of reverses, marches and counter marches, Charles Stuart, abandoned by his followers, and pursued on every side, embarked for France, and went to join his mother, Henrietta Maria, who had been received with great distinction by the cardinal Mazarin and the regent, Anne of Austria.

The captain general returned in triumph to London, and caused it to be immediately decreed by parliament, that royalty was abolished in Scotland, and that kingdom should no longer be regarded but as a province of the English republic; he, moreover, demanded an edict of expulsion for all Catholic or episcopal priests, who were the brands of discord. He caused similar resolutions to be passed concerning Ireland, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly and the colonies. There was then seen, with astonishment, a vast empire pass from a monarchy to a republic, almost without a shock, and a parliament chosen by the commons, and totally destitute of political experience, without other aid than that of a council of state composed of thirty-eight members, occupied with government, finances, war, marine, levying armies, equipping fleets, passing laws, making treaties, and that without crushing the provinces with imposts, ruining commerce, and oppressing the people. All these facts, prove in an incontestable manner, and better than all reasoning can do, the superiority of democratical over monarchical governments.

But, for the misfortune of England, things could not remain long in the same condition. Oliver Cromwell, the old republican, that terrible adversary of royalty, wanted a dictatorship for himself. Although he had, up to this time, directed in some sort the deliberations of parliament, he discovered that he could never conquer nor corrupt the citizens who formed the national assembly, nor render them accomplices in his attempt upon the public liberties; he determined then to give the preponderance of power to the army. He induced the officers to present to the parliament a petition, asking it to pronounce its own dissolution, and providing that the sitting members should be replaced by new men. Then, as Cromwell had foreseen, parliament was offended at the audacity of the army, and several members proposed to pass a decree declaring those guilty of high treason, who should in future present such petitions. The officers immediately addressed active remonstrances to the members of the house of commons; the latter replied, with bitterness, and soon parliament and the army were engaged in a quarrel.

Finally, when he supposed the moment for striking the great blow had come, Cromwell took with him three hundred soldiers and surrounded the hall in which the assembly met. He entered alone, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, sat down in his usual place, and listened to the debate for some time. When he saw the assembly about to close the

discussion, he suddenly rose, spoke, addressed vehement reproaches to the members of parliament on their pretended tyranny, and declared that he was about to put an end to it; he then stamped with his foot and called out in a loud voice. At this signal soldiers precipitated themselves into the hall with drawn swords, and ready to execute the orders of Cromwell. Sir Henry Vane, unintimidated at this sight, rose from his seat, protested in energetic terms against this odious action, and branded Cromwell with the names of despot and tyrant.

"Sir Henry," exclaimed he, in a burst of passion, "be careful lest heaven ride me off of you at once! It is you," he said, addressing the deputies, "it is you who have driven me to this extreme measure. I implored the Lord night and day. I besought him to wrest my life from me rather than constrain me to this violence; but he ordered me to drive you hence, as he before drove the traffickers from the temple." Then pointing to the speaker's mace, which was the emblem of the inviolable power of parliament, he added, "What is this bauble doing here?"—As soon as it was carried off, he drove out all the deputies before him, emptied the chamber, and having given an order to shut the doors, he took the keys and returned to preside over the session of the council at Whitehall.

Notwithstanding his success, the captain general was not without uneasiness as to the consequences of his state blow; he wished then, in order to prevent any rising among the people, to give a new parliament to the English, and determined that the sovereign power should be divided among a hundred and thirty-nine members, of whom he reserved the nomination to himself. He chose them from among the most ultra and ignorant fanatics, in order that these incapable men might not think of disputing the exercise of the supreme authority with him, or that their exaggerated doctrines might cause their dismissal to be desired, and consequently the final dissolution of parliament be rendered more easy.

The conduct of these new deputies fully justified the hopes of Cromwell; they surpassed every thing in absurdity and fanaticism. The majority were antinomians, and affiliated with a sect which declared themselves to be enemies of the laws, and pretended to infallibility through communication with the Holy Spirit, which they said they had received like the apostles. They commenced by choosing eight members of their tribe who were especially charged "to seek the Lord in prayer," whilst the others were employed in debates about the suppression of the Presbyterian ministers, the universities, and the courts of justice. They gravely decided that all these institutions should be replaced by the laws of Moses; they declared that all Presbyterians and Catholics were carnal beings, only occupied with trade and industry, and that they must refuse even to make a covenant with them; finally, they pushed their nonsense so far as to ask of God

by vote, that the Man of Sin should disappear from the surface of the earth, and that a new generation, born of prayer and meditation, should people the world.

The people soon exclaimed against these absurd legislators, and demanded their suppression. Cromwell hastened to grant it, and the parliament was dissolved. Nothing now opposing the ambitious projects of the captain general, he was saluted as Protector of the Republic by the army; the lord mayor and aldermen of London, who were already sold to him, ratified the nomination, and came to salute him in this capacity at the palace of Whitehall, where he had already taken up his residence.

The Jesuits, who had reappeared in Ireland, sought to avail themselves of this event to renew their intercourse with the Catholics of Great Britain, and to try a movement in favour of Charles Stuart; but they were completely foiled, and obliged to re-embark in haste to shun the vengeance of the protector. They were more fortunate in an enterprise of another kind, whose success excited great joy among the whole order. They had brought about, by their intrigues, the conversion of the

daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the celebrated Christina, queen of Sweden, who had abdicated her crown, and was preparing to go to Rome to receive imposition of the hands of the pope.

Innocent the Tenth was then lying on a bed of sickness, tormented by the gout, and entirely exhausted by his excesses of lust. In addition to his physical sufferings, which were intolerable, he was under the empire of imaginary fear, and dreaded so much lest his old minion should endeavour to poison him, that he feared to take any nourishment unless it had been prepared in the presence of his sister-in-law; he even exacted that she should not leave his room for a moment, and constantly held one of her hands clasped in his.

He finally expired on the 5th of January, 1655, after a sickness of several months. His body remained three whole days abandoned to the mercy of the domestics of the palace, without any one taking the pains to bury it, according to the usages of the court of Rome. Dona Olympia herself refused to contribute to the funeral expenses, and permitted an old canon to bury it at his own expense.

## ALEXANDER THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1655.]

*Intrigues in the conclave—Election of Alexander the Seventh—Character of the new pontiff—Debaucheries of the pope and his nephews—Journeys of Queen Christina to Italy and France—St. Vincent de Paul persecutes the Jansenists—Appearance of the Provincial Letters of Pascal—The Alumbrados and the Quietists—History of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism—Atheism of the pope—He refuses to take part in a war against the Turks—Satire upon his covetousness and that of his family—He endeavours to rekindle war in Europe, in order to raise up the power of the Holy See—Quarrels between the courts of Rome and Versailles—Louis the Fourteenth threatens to come and burn the pope in the Vatican—His holiness sends relics painted in cartoons to the great king—Restoration in England—Charles the Second mounts the throne of Great Britain—The Jesuits kindle an immense fire in London, in order to destroy the Presbyterians—The court of Rome congratulates Charles the Second on the protection he grants to Catholicism—Massacre of the Vaudois in Italy—Death of Alexander.*

As soon as the obsequies of the old pope Innocent the Tenth were over, the cardinals hastened to assemble in conclave to proceed to a new election, and the struggle was as usual among the Imperial, Italian, French, and Spanish parties.

The celebrated cardinal de Retz, who was then at Rome, and a party to the conclave, has transmitted to us minutely the long intrigues in which he took an active part, and which ended in elevating to the Holy See the cardinal Fabio Chigi, who took the name of Alexander the Seventh.

The new pope was born at Sienna, and was the descendant of a noble family. Through the influence of the marquis of Pallavicini, he had been rapidly elevated at the court of Rome, and had filled in succession the offices

of grand inquisitor at Malta, and nuncio at Munster. It is maintained that in this last city, the legate wished to traffic with his conscience, and become a heretic, in exchange for a rich bishopric, but that his demand had been rejected, and that in revenge he had thrown himself into the most ultra Catholicism.

The cardinal de Retz, in his memoirs, asserts that he was all his life a profound dissembler, and had deceived the sacred college concerning his true character. "His honied tone of voice, and hypocritical countenance, imposed on all the cardinals," says the learned prelate. "When the ballot which made him pope was counted he shed tears; at the adoration, he affected to seat himself on a corner of the altar of St. Peter, and upon the remark of the master of ceremonies, that

custom demanded that he should place himself in the middle of it, he did it, but with extreme humility. He received the congratulations of the sacred college with still more modesty; instead of replying to the congratulations, he went to subbing in so grotesque a manner, that those assisting could not restrain bursts of laughter, and said to him, 'enough, holy father, enough.' Finally, as I approached in my turn to kiss his feet, he threw himself on my neck, and said to me whilst embracing me, 'pity me that I have been made pope, and pardon the marks of weakness I show, from the consideration that I am but a man.'

During the first months of his pontificate Alexander the Seventh continued his hypocritical life; but when he had consolidated his powers, he acted like his predecessors, cast aside the mask, and showed all his vices in open day.

His first care was to distribute the most important offices of the church among the members of his family, in order to have around him people interested in defending him; he gave to his brother Don Mario the superintendence of the Anona, and the administration of justice in the Borgo; he made his nephew Fabio Chigi, cardinal padrone, with a revenue of a hundred thousand scudi; he chose another of his nephews, named Agostino, to perpetuate the race of the Chigi, and married him to a Borghese, giving him as a dowry the magnificent island of Anicia, the Farnese principality, a palace on the place Colonna, and a considerable revenue on the apostolic treasury; he did not forget one of the members of his family, and there was not even the most remote cousin of his holiness, who did not find himself provided for by his care, with some fat benefice, or very lucrative employment.

Alexander was then occupied with his pleasures, and amply recompensed himself for the constraint he had imposed upon himself before he was pope; instead of passing his days in the church, and his nights in prayer, he embarked in festivities, in hunting parties, and orgies. Instead of dwelling at Rome, the better to superintend the affairs of government, he took up his residence at his magnificent country seat of Castel Gandolfo; and if, by chance, he came to pass a few hours of the day at the Vatican, it was to give an audience to buffoons, or licentious writers, who read their works to him. "I served Alexander the Seventh for forty-two months," said Giacomo Quirni; "I discovered that he thought of nothing but wallowing in the mire of licentiousness, and that he possessed but the name and the vices of the papacy."

Every thing was carried on by the congregation of state, instituted during the pontificate of Urban the Eighth, whose members divided the labour and the power among themselves as follows:—his eminence Rospigliosi managed foreign affairs; the cardinal Carrado de Ferrara those of ecclesiastical immunities; Lugano had the direction of the religious orders, and the Jesuit Pallavicini decided theological questions. His holiness only reserved

to himself the free disposal of the apostolic treasury, which he used and abused so greatly, that in order to sustain his profusions, he was obliged to double the imposts.

The preparations alone for the festivities which took place on the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden at Rome, compelled three levies of subsidies in the same year.

The daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, after having abdicated the crown, left Sweden, and crossing through Germany, came to Brussels to abjure Lutheranism in the presence of the archduke Leopold, the counts of Fuensaldagna, Monte Cuculli, and Pimentel. Some months afterwards, she made a public profession of the Catholic religion, in the cathedral of Inspruck, and started for Rome, where she wished to reside.

Few persons believed in the sincerity of the conversion of Christina. The Jesuits themselves avowed that she had yielded, not to religious convictions, but to her love for the extraordinary and the marvellous; they report, in support of their opinion, that she expressed herself in disrespectful terms of the supreme head of the church, and that her conduct in church, at the foot of the altar, was light and indifferent. It is even affirmed, that one day having read in a book a quotation from the work of a Jesuit called "Sincerity of the Conversion of the Queen of Sweden," she underlined this title, and wrote on the margin, "he who has written knows nothing about it, and she who knows all about it has written nothing."

From Inspruck the princess went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, and made an offering of her crown and sceptre to the Virgin; she then took the route for the states of the church, and finally arrived in the Campagna of Rome. She made her entrance into the sacred city mounted on a superb courser, and dressed like an Amazon. The sacred college went to meet her; the pontiff received her beneath the porch of St. Peter, at the head of a part of his clergy, and administered the rite of confirmation to her with his own hand, giving her the name of Alexandra, which she added to that of Christina. After having assisted at the festivities which had been prepared in her honour, she took her leave of the pope and went to France, in which she wished to travel before fixing herself definitely at Rome. She did not make a long sojourn, either from secret disappointment at seeing that she produced very little sensation, or from becoming tired of hearing of the constant talking about the quarrels of the Molinists and Jansenists.

It was, in fact, the time in which the disputes about grace had reached their paroxysm of irritation. Not content with having forced the solitaires of Port Royal to submit to the bull of Innocent the Tenth, the hot-headed Vincent de Paul wished to constrain them to recognise that the five propositions which had been anathematised, were to be found in the work of Jansenius; and to reach his end he acted upon Mazarin, and induced the minister

to assemble a cabal of thirty-eight bishops, who declared that the Holy See, in censuring the propositions which had been denounced to him by the Molinists, had intended to censure Jansenius himself; and that consequently those who professed his doctrines were excommunicated. The brotherhood of Port Royal replied that they did not follow the doctrines of Jansenius, but those of St. Augustin. They also established that pontifical infallibility could not be admitted in questions of faith, but only in those of right, and then commenced those famous discussions about right and fact.

Vincent de Paul and the Jesuits caused the Sorbonne to censure the two following propositions, which were found in the letters which had been published by Anthony Arnaud, one of the most distinguished members of Port Royal. The first proposition, which was called of right, was as follows:—"The fathers show us a just man in the person of St. Peter, whom grace failed on one occasion, wherefore we cannot say that he never sinned." The second which was called of fact, was thus summed up: "we may doubt whether the five propositions condemned by Innocent as coming from Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, are in the works of that author." The examination of this matter was confided to commissaries, enemies of Anthony Arnaud, who, in defiance of the statutes of the faculty of theology, introduced thirty-two mendicant monks into the assembly, to reinforce the ranks of the Molinists.

Without any regard for the explanations presented by Arnaud, this iniquitous tribunal, which was under the influence of the chancellor Séguier, an infamous man, if there ever was one, the satellite of despotism, the promoter of all measures which were odious and destructive of public liberty, the tool of the Jesuits, the regent, and Mazarin, pronounced a sentence of condemnation. Arnaud wished to protest against this judgment on account of the want of liberty in his defence; but his demands were rejected, and he himself obliged to fly from Port Royal to escape his implacable enemies, notwithstanding the powerful interference of the dukes of de Luynes and de Liancourt, the marchioness of Sablé, the beautiful dutchess de Longueville, the marquis de Coislin, the baron St. Ange, the princes de Guémené, and the prince de Conti, all partizans of Jansenism.

This defeat did not abate the courage of the solitaires of Port Royal; it only increased their hatred against the Molinists, and consequently caused them to seek the means of crushing their adversaries. Until that time, they had treated of theological questions, already so dry of themselves, in a dogmatical and serious tone, contenting themselves with exhibiting the truth to the learned, and had never thought of placing the public in a position to judge of these propositions, so that the Jesuits, much more numerous and more powerful, had easily triumphed in the eyes of the world, if not by reason at least by clamour.

After the condemnation of Arnaud, it was

determined to appeal from the judgment to all France, and to place these arduous questions on dogmas open to every mind. Pascal was charged with the composition of this work by the other solitaires. He soon discovered that he must enliven this sterile matter by a piquant irony, so as to strike to the heart of his enemies, by the doubly powerful arms of ridicule and reason. The work of Pascal appeared under the name of the Provincial Letters, because it was divided into eighteen letters, of which the first ten were addressed to a Jansenist in the provinces, named Perrier, counsellor of the Court of Aids, in the city of Clermont in Auvergne.

These letters had a success which surpassed all the hopes of the Jansenists; the author stigmatised the Jesuits with an ineffaceable ridicule, as well as the doctrines of proximate power, sufficing grace, and withholding of knowledge, which were taught in the works of Molina and St. Thomas Aquinas. He devoted to the execration of men the treatises of the moralists of the Society of Jesus, and principally their dangerous propositions on probabilities, and the art of ruling the intention was to excuse all crimes.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola, floored by the powerful reasoning of Pascal, called the court of Rome to their assistance, and obtained a new bull, which confirmed that of Innocent the Tenth, pronounced a new sentence of excommunication against the Jansenists, designated them by the name of disturbers of the public peace, children of iniquity, and condemned all the works they had printed, or the manuscripts they had prepared to sustain the doctrine of St. Augustin, as well as those which they might in future compose: the Molinists; and Vincent de Paul, especially, showed great earnestness to have this bull received in France. At their instigation, the principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom assembled in Paris, and declared that the constitution of Alexander should be published with the ordinary forms in all the dioceses, and that severe measures should be adopted to procure its execution.

Independently of this triumph over the Jansenists of France, the Jesuits obtained as brilliant a success in Venice, and by their skilful machinations were reinstated in their colleges by the senate, by a majority of one hundred and sixteen votes against fifty-three.

At Florence their influence was felt in a still more striking manner; all the dignitaries of the order were occupying the most important employments of government, and taking part in the direction of affairs. Thus they had no difficulty in persecuting those Florentines who followed the instructions of a canon named Baron Pandolphus Ricasoli, director of a convent of women, suspected of wishing to renew the heresy of the Alumbrados or Illuminati of Spain, inoffensive sectaries, who professed a doctrine of perfect quietude and impeccability, whom the inquisition had condemned to the stake by thousands half a century before, and whom the cardinal Richelieu

and persecuted in France, where they were known by the name of Guérinets, from their leader Guérin, curate of St. Georges de Roye, in the province of Picardy.

By way of beginning, the canon Ricasoli was handed over to the inquisitors and subjected to frightful tortures. The Jesuits spread a story, that this venerable priest, who had edified the city by an exemplary life of fifty years, had associated himself with the widow of a rich merchant, named Fausina Minardi, to form a congregation of young girls; that, aided by Father Seraphin Lupi, a servite monk, and a priest named Jacques Fantoni, he had inculcated among his flock of young nuns a system of libertinous quietism, and that he had availed himself of it to initiate Manardi, and her spiritual daughters, in all kinds of voluptuousness. The unfortunate man having died in consequence of the torture, could not give the lie to the calumnies of his enemies; his disciples were driven from the territory of Florence, and the nuns of his convent were condemned to perpetual detention in the dungeons of the inquisition, where they served for the debauches of the monks and their executioners.

The funeral pyres of the holy office in Spain had not been able to annihilate the Alambrosos, and the cruelty of the Jesuits to the canon Ricasoli, was not sufficient to destroy the sect of the Quietists in Italy; from Florence it spread into France and Belgium, where we will soon see it reappear.

It would really appear from the multitude of doctrines to which this age gave birth, as if men were determined to adopt the most ridiculous beliefs, and even to improve upon the extravagancies of the dogmas of the Catholic religion. One of these leaders of sects deserves to occupy an honourable place in history. It is George Fox, a simple artizan of Drayton, a village of Leicestershire, in England, the founder of the Quakers, or Tremblers.

The life of this memorable man, who was called by his followers by the names of "an apostle of the first order," "the glorious instrument in the hand of God," is too singular to be passed over in silence. In his childhood, he was placed with a dealer in wool and cattle, who sent him to keep his flocks in the woods, a kind of occupation which had contributed to exalt an imagination already addicted to contemplation. Abandoned without a guide to his own inclinations, he gave himself up with ardour to reading the Holy Scriptures, and knew the Old and New Testament almost entirely by heart. When he was sixteen years old, his father sent him to Nottingham, as an apprentice to a shoemaker, where he continued his meditations and his reading until he was nineteen years old. He then quitted his master, clothed himself in a dress of skin, and went far into the forests, passing whole days in a crotch of a tree, reading his Bible unceasingly in devout meditations. He arrived at such a degree of asceticism and exaltation, that every night he had ecstasies

and hallucinations, during which he thought he heard supernatural voices speaking to him, and ordering him to preach the word of God to men.

He then determined to quit his retreat, and appear in public. He went first to Manchester, and loudly announced that all men had abandoned the ways of God, and had left nothing uncorrupted in doctrine or morals. He preached universal tolerance, condemned war as contrary to the divine laws, and to prevent men from having any collision among themselves, he declared that all things should be in common; that no member of society should exercise any authority over another, and that the distinctions of master and lord should be for ever proscribed from the world. In regard to true faith, he professed that all external worship should be abolished as dangerous and immoral, and that the sacraments should be suppressed as absurd and ridiculous.

Fox drew around him a large number of disciples of every age, sex, and condition, who attracted the respect of the people by an incorruptible probity in their commercial relations, and by the spirit of concord, devotion, and fraternity which reigned among them. Filled with simplicity in their manners and dress, the disciples of Fox were distinguished from other sects by their horror of falsehood, and even of every chance word; thus the use of an oath was severely forbidden them; because, said the master, "it adds no value to the words of a man who speaks the truth."

The leader however of this new sect, notwithstanding the regularity of his morals and the mildness of his character, was not the less pursued for having preached against inebriety and the payment of tithes. A sermon against legal proceedings also drew on him the animadversion of the magistrates, and he was one day arrested for having announced that the Lord had forbidden him to bend his knee before any power on the earth, nor from submitting to any authority. Being brought before the judge, he presented himself with his leather cap upon his head; and in his interrogation, he refused to speak to the magistrate in the usual forms of language. The latter called him insolent, and inflicted a blow upon him; Fox turned the other cheek to him; the judge declared that he was crazy, and sent him to a lunatic hospital, with orders to whip him twice a day.

The noise of this singular arrest having at length reached London, Cromwell had the curiosity to see Fox, brought him to the capital, and after having spent an hour with him, set him at liberty. From that time the founder of the Quakers openly professed his doctrine, and prodigiously increased the number of his disciples.

The sects which rose up in every quarter, in France, Italy, Germany, and England, excited the more the anger, of the Holy See, since they threatened its temporal power; thus the congregation charged with the management of affairs did not cease to fulminate anathemas, now against the Quietists,

now against the Jansenists, now against the Quakers.

Although Alexander the Seventh was of notorious impiety, and publicly proclaimed his atheism, he still gave his approval to all rigorous measures; and through a singular contradiction, this man who joked with his cardinals about the virginity of the mother of Christ, and the simplicity of St. Joseph, and who was so lavish of the dogmas of Catholicism, exhibited the greatest jealousy concerning his privilege of infallibility, and wished to establish it as an article of faith, that at all times, the pope, in his capacity as vicar of God, is the summary and expression of human science, and that consequently all minds should bend and bow before his.

He addressed the following brief on this subject to the doctors of the university of Louvain: "Know, my brethren, that it is absolutely necessary to listen to the voice of the chief shepherd, the vicar of Christ, and to obey him, not only in all that concerns our safety and eternal life, but even in every thing scientific or doctrinal. For if all men, and especially men of letters and science, do not adhere immutably in all their ideas and determinations, without restriction or reserve, to the apostolic decisions, the curiosity inherent in the human mind will draw them into an incredible multitude of vain opinions and foolish errors; there are ways in infinite number for error, but there is but one for the truth; that of submitting to the decision of the pope, who is infallible like God, whose vicar he is."

Notwithstanding the proud pretensions of his holiness to omniscience and universal sway, no sovereign was willing to accept Alexander as the arbiter of his destinies, and all even affected no longer to consult the court of Rome on political matters. Thus the kings of France and Spain, who were at war, did not fear to conclude a peace without informing the pope of it; and all the deference they showed for the Holy See was, to mention in the preamble of the treaty, that their Catholic and most Christian majesties did not doubt that the prayers of the sovereign pontiff, addressed to God for the repose of Christendom, had contributed to lead to this happy result. Alexander exhibited great irritation at this want of attention on the part of Don Louis de Hadro and the cardinal Mazarin, the two plenipotentiaries of the courts of France and Spain; he manifested especially his ill will for the cardinal minister, and sought every means of counteracting him in his ulterior negotiations.

The occasion was not long wanting; the Venetians, exhausted in men and money by the wars they maintained against the Turks, had applied to France for aid, and had obtained from Cardinal Mazarin a body of troops, which the prince of Este was to lead to them, and the formal promise of deciding the pope to second them powerfully in their wars against the infidels. But Alexander, charmed with the opportunity of taking vengeance for the affront he had received, and of showing that his will was to be held of some account

in the councils of princes, refused to enter into the league against the Turks, and replied dryly to the French ambassadors, that if Mazarin desired to convert the infidel, nothing was easier than to send the fanatic Vincent de Paul into their country, or that if he wished to get up a crusade, he had nothing to do but place himself at the head of the troops, and make the attempt; but that he must not expect the Holy See to throw itself into an extravagant enterprise; that besides the apostolic treasury was dry, and that if he should create new subsidies, it would assuredly not be to levy troops, but to finish the numerous monuments which were in course of execution.

Since the commencement of his reign, Alexander, in fact, appeared to place his whole glory in surpassing his predecessors by his gigantic constructions; especially did he raise palaces, open streets, plant gardens. At his command the Salvati palace disappeared to form the square of the Roman college; in the midst of the place Colonna, he reared a magnificent palace, which he destined for his family, and the square of St. Peter was embellished by a colossal monument, composed of two hundred and eighty-one columns and eighty-eight pillars.

This passion for masonry, joined to the love of the holy father for his family, led him into such enormous expenses, that he was under the necessity of loading the people with imposts, and giving an unmeasured extension to the trade in relics, indulgences, absolutions, annates, and prebends. His cupidity was so universally recognised at Rome, that they openly sold a satirical engraving, representing Alexander the Seventh, with his minions, mistresses, and cardinals, at the feet of an image of Christ, which, instead of blood, permitted pieces of gold and silver to escape from his side, which the pope received in his tiara, repeating, in the form of a litany, "He was crucified only for us."

To heighten the infamy, Father Oliva, the general of the Jesuits, preached in the churches, "that all the actions of the pope were holy and meritorious, and that it was for the good of the faithful, that Alexander the Seventh and his cardinals resigned themselves to being rich, and to obey these words of the canticle of canticles, 'How beautiful are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse.'" The astute disciple of Ignatius Loyola added, "that God was unwilling his church should have a withered breast, like the Amazons described in the works of profane authors, but that her breast was adorned with two redundant paps, that princes and bishops might be nourished with abundant milk."

Not only did his holiness not neglect any occasion to stimulate the charity of his own subjects, for the greater glory of God, but he even sought to usurp the domains of his neighbours, always, however, for the same principle, and solemnly decreed the incarceration of Castro and Comachio, without being stopped by the fear of exposing himself to a terrible war with Louis the Fourteenth and Philip the

Fourth, who had engaged to cause these cities to be restored to the families of the Este and the Farnese, their lawful owners.

Still further, Alexander the Seventh having assured himself, by a treaty, of the assistance of the emperor of Germany, preserved no more restraint towards France; he even publicly insulted, by means of the Corsicans of his body guard, the people of the duke de Crequi, the French ambassador, which produced a bloody collision. The Corsicans, having had some of their number killed or wounded, wished to take revenge, assembled to the number of more than four hundred, and advanced in arms, with drums beating and colours flying, towards the palace of the ambassador, seized on the avenues and streets which led to it, and prepared to assault it. The duke de Crequi appeared in his balcony, to cause his character, as ambassador, to be respected by the soldiers of the pope, but instead of listening to him, they fired upon him. Fortunately, he was not struck, and the balls only broke the panes of glass of his apartment. Almost at the same moment, they discharged their muskets at the carriage of the ambassadress, who was endeavouring to return to the palace, and killed the page at the door. Finally, nothing but the interference of the ambassadors of the other powers put an end to the disorders.

The duke de Crequi protested against such a violation of the law of nations, and demanded the punishment of the guilty; the holy father refused to give him satisfaction, or even to withdraw the posts of the Corsicans, which were around the palace of the French embassy. It was not possible to push insolence further; then the duke de Crequi, after having protested against such conduct before the representatives of the other powers, declared that he was no longer in safety in Rome and retired to San Quirico, on the frontiers of Tuscany.

As soon as these events were known at the court of France, they excited extraordinary ferment in every mind; Louis the Fourteenth, who, since the death of Mazarin, had placed himself at the head of affairs in the kingdom, was so indignant, that he swore to punish the audacious pontiff, and to go to Rome to burn him. He immediately drove the nuncio Piccolomini from Paris, enjoined on him to retire to Meaux, and there to await his pleasure; and as he learned that the latter, instead of obeying, had taken the road for St. Denis, he sent a company of horse musketeers in pursuit of him, and had him conducted to the frontiers of Savoy.

When Piccolomini arrived at Rome, his holiness received letters from the cardinal of Arragon, and the grand duke of Tuscany, which announced to him that France had demanded from the Spaniards a passage through the Milanese territory, for an army which was assembling under the orders of Marshal Plessis Prashim, destined to invade the ecclesiastical states. Alexander thought that these preparations were only intended to

alarm him, and when the duke de Crequi notified him that France demanded, as a reparation for the insults committed to her ambassador, that his brother, Don Mario Chigi, governor of Rome, should be exiled to Siena, for not having succoured him against the Corsican guards; that the hat should be taken from Cardinal Imperiali; that the Corsican troops should be banished for ever from Rome; that a pyramid should be erected in the midst of the place Farnese, having a disgraceful inscription, for the attempt committed on the person of an ambassador; that the city of Castro should be restored to the Farnese, and that of Camachio to the house of Este: the pope in reply appointed the cardinal Imperiali legate of Romagna, gave a month's pay to his Corsican guards as a gratuity, added new benefices to the revenues of his brother, and published that he would never effect the disincorporation of Castro, since the pontifical bulls commanded him to increase the domains of the church, and expressly prohibited from ever reducing them. "We are determined," added his holiness in his brief, "to expose the ecclesiastical state, and even our own life to the sanguinary violences of kings, in support of the sacred rights of our see; but we will never succumb without having set to work, in our defence, all the aid we can obtain from men; and if they are insufficient, we will pray to God to send us legions of angels from heaven to combat in our favour."

As he had announced, the pontiff, having to enlist angels beneath the standard of the church, summoned Leopold the First to keep his promises, and send an army into Italy to defend the Holy See, whilst he should attack France on the other side. But the emperor, who not desirous of entering into hostilities with Louis the Fourteenth since the recent victories of the generals of that monarch, refused to keep the engagements he had made with the Holy See, and merely gave it permission to levy troops in the states of the empire. His holiness exclaimed against this want of faith, but dared not openly break with the emperor at so critical a moment; he decided to accept the last proposition of Leopold, and levied German troops, to join them to the twenty thousand foot and two thousand cavalry who were already enrolled under the flag of the court of Rome.

Whilst Louis the Fourteenth, putting his threats against the Holy See in execution, was seizing on the city of Avignon, and on Provence, and was preparing to invade Italy, by one of those aberrations of the human mind so common among kings, his majesty was pursuing, with bitterness, the detractors of pontifical authority, and was taking the part of the Jesuits against the Jansenists. The Jesuits, aided by the monarch, had induced the Sorbonne to condemn the Provincial Letters of Pascal, and the disquisitions of Paul Irenæus, and had caused the ordinances against defamatory libels and heretical writings to be applied to them.

Vincent de Paul, who had been one of the

instigators of this iniquitous judgment, also employed his efforts to have adopted the formulary concerning the condemnation of the five propositions, and which the general assembly of the clergy of France had drawn up, but without, however, being able to conquer the obstinate resistance of the Jansenists. Finally, at his solicitation, and that of his confessor, Louis the Fourteenth took a part in this important matter, and to constrain the solitaires of Port Royal to submit to the decisions of the pope, he drove Marie Angelique Arnaud and the nuns from their retreat, and dispersed the pious monks among different convents.

The great king pursued no less his war with the Holy See, and his troops had penetrated the Milanese territory, when Alexander, alarmed by their progress, and fearful of seeing the states of the church in fire and blood, Rome sacked, and himself driven from the apostolic throne, consented to make a reparation for the insults which France had received in the person of its ambassador. His holiness accordingly signed the treaty of Pisa, bound himself to raise a pyramid in token of expiation, as the duke de Crequi had demanded, and to banish the Corsicans for ever from the territories of the church, and took an oath publicly, that no officer of his court, or member of his family, had taken the least part in the attempt of which the king of France complained; which, however, did not hinder him, six days after having ratified the treaty of Pisa, from drawing up with his own hand, and depositing in the archives of the castle of San Angelo, the following protest as a proof of his distinguished knavery: "Of our own motion and knowledge, in the plenitude of our power we declare, that we concluded peace with Louis the Fourteenth through constraint and the fear which the army of that despot inspired in us; we protest before God and the glorious apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, that we have not consented sincerely to any of the acts that we have signed, nor to any of the numerous satisfactions we have sworn to give that king. Far from desiring to fulfil our engagements, we declare that we oppose their execution, and chiefly the disincameration of Castro and Comachio; we declare our promises null and void; we declare moreover that the present protest shall be valid, and that it shall have full and entire efficacy, though it be not registered in the public acts; finally, we wish it to bear testimony of our true will, in all times and places, for the advantage of the Holy See; we supply by the plenitude of our power, and the infallibility of our decisions, all irregularities which may be in this act, notwithstanding the usages, styles, laws, decretals, apostolic constitutions, statutes, and every thing which may be contrary to it."

Alexander the Seventh appeared, however, to submit, and sent the cardinal Fabio Chigi to the court of France, under the pretext of making the excuses of the Holy See to Louis the Fourteenth; but in reality to excite trou-

bles in the kingdom. The cardinal nephew had scarcely arrived in Paris, when he resumed the train of life he led at Rome, and gave rise to such scandals that the satiric poets made epigrams and vaudevilles on his amours with the ladies of the court, and his infamous liaisons with the young clerks of his train.

But in the midst of his debaucheries and intrigues of gallantry, Fabio Chigi did not neglect the affairs of the church, and acquitted himself faithfully of his mission by animating the Jesuits against the king, and by sustaining those who in their writings placed the power of the states-general above the authority of the monarch. The nuncio even encouraged Father Moya, the confessor of the queen mother, to publish two works under the pseudonymic of Jacques de Vernant, and Amadeus Guiminius, to maintain the doctrines of the Jesuits in all that concerned the submission of princes to the Roman church.

The despot, who was more jealous of his absolute authority than of any thing else in the world, appointed a commission of inquiry, and had them condemned as subversive of all temporal authority and public morals. Alexander immediately addressed a brief to his most Christian majesty, beseeching him to have the sentence pronounced by the Sorbonne revoked; the parliament opposed the brief, and published the following declaration:

"Two most condemnable books have appeared; the first contained maxims subversive of lawful government; the second a great number of propositions dangerous to morality. The faculty of Theology, recognising that simony, rebellion, prostitution, robbery, and murder were extolled in those writings, thought it was its duty to oppose the progress of these pernicious doctrines. The pope has thought otherwise; he annuls the censures, and orders that these infamous books should be scattered through the country for the edification of the faithful. Notwithstanding the pretended infallibility of the Holy See, we declare that the king cannot, without making an encroachment on his authority and injuring the rights of his crown, grant to the pontiff the satisfaction he asks in his brief."

The censures of the faculty having been maintained, Alexander the Seventh fulminated a terrible bull, in which he declared the decisions of the Sorbonne to be presumptuous, scandalous, and rash, and prohibited all ecclesiastics from receiving them under penalty of excommunication. This bull did not cause the slightest sensation in France, and the pope dared not go further, for fear of a serious rupture with Louis the Fourteenth.

What contributed to render him more moderate, was the sending of a considerable sum by the monarch for the canonization of St. Francis of Sales, titular bishop and prince of Geneva, and for the purchase of relics which he wished to deposit in the different churches of the capital. Alexander sent faithfully the brevet of saint which was demanded of him; he also sent three boxes of relics, done up with great care, tied with cords of red silk, and



sealed with the seals of Cardinal Genesti, to whom was committed the guardianship of the remains of martyrs and saints.

Unfortunately, the holy boxes were received, on their arrival in Paris, by a bishop who secretly favoured Jansenism; the prelate, under the appearance of the most ardent zeal, and the most artless faith, asked permission for physicians and anatomists to assist at the opening, in order to point out to what parts of the body the bones of the blessed martyrs belonged. This verification produced singular discoveries. The anatomists having proceeded to open the first box, on which was written a legend indicating that it contained the remains of two celebrated martyrs, discovered bones with which to form three skeletons instead of two. The cardinal Fabio Chigi, who was present, skilfully threw the blame on the scribe who had set down the legend.

In the second trunk were found, in the midst of human bones, three thigh bones of asses, and two of the inward bones of the legs of dogs, with other remains of bones which had belonged to different domestic animals. The cardinal legate could scarcely restrain his laughter whilst listening to the analysis of the relics expedited by his uncle; he was not, however, disconcerted, and contented himself with saying that the devil had, doubtless, added these bones out of malice, in order to prove their faith.

Finally, in the third case, which, in accordance with the brief of his holiness, was to contain the head of St. Fortunus, was found a death's head, perfectly resembling a dissected skull; but a physician having thrown it into a vessel filled with boiling water, the head of St. Fortunus lost its proper shape, and was found to be merely a skull of painted pasteboard. Fabio Chigi dared not explain this miracle, and retired covered with confusion. The anatomists prepared a report for his majesty on what they had discovered, and affirmed, moreover, that the bones sent from Rome, as having belonged to holy persons of the first centuries, were, on the contrary, those of individuals recently dead, and that thus the great king had been the dupe of an infamous piece of jugglery.

Louis the Fourteenth, fearful lest this affair should cover him with ridicule, and make him the jest of Europe, if it were noised about, threw the report of the anatomists into the fire, and prohibited them from telling what they knew, under penalty of being thrown into the dungeons of the bastille. He then commanded that they should replace the bones in boxes, closed and sealed up, and distribute them to the churches of Paris.

In England great changes had taken place; Oliver Cromwell was dead. His son Richard, who had at first taken the reins of government, determined to abdicate and resign the supreme authority into the hands of the members of parliament. This new government was overthrown by General Monk, a traitor, who had sold himself to the son of Charles Stuart, and who, for a little gold, delivered

up his country to a cowardly, hypocritical, sanguinary, and despotic king. Charles the Second was, finally, seated on the throne of Great Britain.

The new sovereign, who had become a Catholic during his exile, and who knew the invincible repugnance of the English for the papacy, appeared in the beginning to have returned to the reformed religion, and commended in public, in accordance with the English ritual; but in secret he continued to profess Catholicism, and followed all its exercises in a mysterious chapel served by Jesuits.

When his power was more confirmed, he imposed less constraint on himself, and commenced a religious persecution, which had for its apparent cause, the tranquillity of the state, and for its real end, the triumph of Catholicism. He first published severe regulations against the nonconformists, and the Presbyterians; he re-instated the bishops suspected of papacy, and who had been degraded by an act of parliament; he prepared a bill against the Quakers, who refused to take an oath of obedience to him; he published the famous act of uniformity in worship, and prohibited ministers who had not been ordained by a bishop to administer the communion to the faithful, and enjoined on the inhabitants of the three kingdoms, to adopt the English liturgy and the book of Common Prayer.

These ordinances, which were all opposed to the national spirit, forced more than two thousand reformed ministers to renounce their churches, which, however, did not prevent the disloyal Charles the Second from persevering in his odious path. To increase the misfortunes, the plague broke out in London, and carried off a prodigious number of victims; then a fire, kindled, it is said, by the Jesuits, almost entirely consumed the capital.

The Scotch wished to take advantage of these circumstances to break the yoke, and drive off the English bishops whom Charles Stuart had imposed on them; but the tyrant was on his guard; a formidable army passed the Tweed, entered Scotland, defeated the Presbyterians, and forced them to lay down their arms.

The court of Rome hastened to congratulate Charles the Second and his brother, the duke of York, on the vigour they had displayed against the heretics, and offered them his assistance, in advancing the work of the regeneration of Catholicism in Great Britain, that is to say, the extermination of all heretics.

It would be unjust, however, to cast on the holy father all the odium of the measures which were taken in England, France, and Italy against heretics, as well as the infamy of the executions which embued in blood the English cities, the provinces of the south of France, and the valleys of Piedmont. He was already attacked by an extremely severe illness, and was not in a condition to be able to occupy himself about the organization of massacres. He died, at last, on the 22d of May, 1667, and went to join in eternity the execrable pontiffs who had preceded him.

## CLEMENT THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1667.]

*Simoniacal election of Clement the Ninth—He declares against the abuses of nepotism—New political tendencies of the papal government—His holiness prohibits the works of the savants of Port Royal from being read—Louis the Fourteenth wishes the pope to become the godfather of the dauphin of France—Divorce of the king of Portugal—The pontiff consents to appoint prelates to the vacant sees in Portugal—The Jesuits deliver the Isle of Candia to the Mahometans—Their treason the cause of the death of the holy father.*

TWENTY-SEVEN days after the death of Alexander the Seventh, the cardinals chose Julius Rospigliosi to succeed him, who was immediately proclaimed the supreme head of the church, by the name of Clement the Ninth. The new pope, originally from the town of Pistoia, in Tuscany, had successively filled the posts of auditor of legation, nuncio in Spain, governor of Rome, cardinal of St. Sixtus, and secretary of state.

Some ecclesiastical authors maintain that his election was not exempt from simoniacal stipulations; to support this opinion, they point to the carq which he took to maintain, in their dignities, the members of the sacred college who had sustained his party, and the exclusion which he inflicted on those who had opposed his election. Other writers refuse to see a proof of simony in his preferences for certain cardinals, and represent him as the most worthy and most capable of occupying the Holy See. They agree that he did not possess an activity proportioned to his laudable intentions, and compare him to a tree covered with vigorous branches which produce leaves in abundance, sometimes flowers and never fruits. It is certain that he possessed that species of negative virtues which consists in the absence of vices. Thus, whilst refusing to imitate his predecessors in their nepotism, and to sacrifice the interests of the church to his relatives, he did not the less call them to court to place them in possession of lucrative offices; he was only unwilling to place them at the head of the government.

This propensity of the new pontiff to leave the exercise of authority in the hands of the princes of the church, was, moreover, in harmony with the ideas of the period; for an aristocratic reaction was manifesting itself in all the courts of Europe. In France, Louis the Fourteenth was surrounding himself with his nobility, to make a rampart of them against the burghers, and was giving to their care all the offices of the state; in Spain, the grandees governed the monarchy; in Germany, the nobility was obtaining a decided preponderance; in Poland, it had assumed to itself the election of the kings; in Sweden and Russia, it had dictated restrictive dispositions to the prerogatives of the sovereigns. It was then natural for Clement the Ninth to follow the general impulse, and instead of embarking in a struggle with the numerous aristocracy which sur-

rounded the papal throne, he consented to modify the spiritual omnipotence of the court of Rome, under the form of an oligarchical constitution. Governed by the members of his council, he resolved to take an active part in the war against the Turks, by furnishing troops and money to the most serene republic of Venice. As the treasury was empty, he did not hesitate to fill it with sums taken from several convents of men and women, whose wealth had become an object of remark among the faithful. He dared not, however, touch the treasury of the Jesuits, on account of the immense influence which the society exercised over the minds of men; he even sought to attach them firmly to the Holy See, by taking part with them in their quarrels with the Jansenists, and by condemning a translation of the gospel, commonly called the New Testament of Mons, the most remarkable work which had been composed at Port Royal. Clement the Ninth prohibited the reading of it, under penalty of excommunication; pronounced it a rash and pernicious version, and differing from the Vulgate; after his example, the archbishops of Paris, Embrun and Reims, the bishops of Evreux, Amieps, and several other prelates, declared that it was filled with additions and arbitrary changes, and was conformed to the version of Geneva, that is to say, favoured Calvinism. The atrabilious Louis the Fourteenth interfered, and caused the work to be proscribed by his council of state. But on the other side, the bishops who were partizans of the doctrines of Jansenius refused to submit; thus the religious disputes were revived and became more violent than ever.

His holiness then desired to repair the evil he had done; he drew back his brief, and contented himself with anathematising the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, supposing, added he, that these propositions have really emanated from the books of the bishop of Ypres. The Jansenists accepted these conditions, and signed the last formulary of Alexander the Seventh, taking care to specify very clearly the right and the fact, and pointing out that they only promised external respect and the submission of silence. Arnaud and his friends declared, moreover, without ambiguity, that in condemning the five propositions, they had not intended to deny the doctrine of St. Augustine, nor of St. Thomas, nor efficacious

grace. Peace was, however, apparently concluded between the Molinists and the Jansenists. The nuns and solitaires of Port Royal were relieved from censures, discharged from the interdict, and permitted to return to their convents. From this time the Jansenists, tolerated by the court of Rome, and supported by the credit of the minister Pomponne, rose to a degree of importance which daily became more considerable; and as they knew very well that they were to expect new attacks from their enemies as soon as the latter found a favourable opportunity, they sought themselves to shackle the Holy See, and prepared to inflict terrible blows on the tottering colossus of the papacy.

Nothing, however, could then foretell the triumph of Jansenism; the court of Rome appeared to be all-powerful in France. The great king had been weak enough to ask Pope Clement, if he would be the godfather of the dauphin, and the holy father had sent a commission as legate extraordinary to the cardinal Vendome, that that prelate might hold the royal child at the baptismal font in his name. The ceremony of the baptism finished, it was supposed that the mission of the cardinal legate was over, and that the absolute power with which he had been momentarily invested, ceased with his functions as godfather; but it turned out otherwise. The prelate, following the example of the Roman pontiff, whose representative he was, wished to use his ecclesiastical omnipotence for the interests of his family; he pronounced the divorce of his niece Maria Francisca d'Aumale, princess of Savoy Nemours, from her husband, Alphonso the Fifth, king of Portugal, a scion of the house of Braganza, for impotence, and authorised her union with Don Pedro, the brother of the king and lover of the young queen.

The court of Spain, which had never yet renounced its hope of recovering possession of the kingdom of Portugal, and which found itself in a good position to make its rights available, in consequence of the troubles which agitated that country, sent an ambassador to the sovereign pontiff, to solicit an annulment of the marriage of Don Pedro to his sister-in-law.

Unfortunately, the thing had become very difficult, the queen having declared that she was pregnant; Clement also secretly favoured France, and some presents which were sent him by Maria d'Aumale, served to gain him to the side of the queen; he confirmed all that had been done by the cardinal of Vendome, and declared her marriage with Alphonso well and truly annulled. Only, to save appearances, and not to be suspected of having yielded to presents, he specified in his bull that he approved of the new union of the queen with Don Pedro, because the evil had become irremediable; but that the Portuguese bishops who had pronounced the divorce under pretext of impotence on the part of the husband, were greatly guilty before God, for not having submitted the two spouses to the proofs then in use in the church, and which were called the proofs of Congress.

His holiness not only confirmed the marriage of Don Pedro and the queen, but even consented to make nominations to all the vacant bishoprics; which the court of Rome had refused to do up to this time. In consequence of this concession, the king of Spain was compelled to recognise the independence of Portugal. Clement the Ninth congratulated himself the more on the success of his policy towards these two countries, since he counted on it to use the influence he had acquired over their princes, to obtain from them succours in men and money, to push the war vigorously against the Turks. Unfortunately, he had not time to realise his plans; he learned that the Turks had seized on Candia, notwithstanding the brave defence of the Venetian garrison, and that it had fallen into the power of the sultan Mahomet the Fourth, in consequence of the treason of the Jesuits.

This news chagrined the holy father so violently, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died on the 9th of December, 1669. Father Nodot endeavours to free the society from the accusation of having caused the death of Clement the Ninth, and maintains that his holiness, who was addicted to intemperance, had simply died of indigestion, brought on by his excesses at table.

## CLEMENT THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1670.]

*Vacancy in the Holy See—Election of Clement the Tenth—Nepotism of the new pope—Cardinal Pauluzzi governs the church—The Holy See during this reign loses a part of its political influence—Beginning of the quarrel about the right of regale\*—Hatred of Louis the Fourteenth to the Jansenists—Shameful vices of the holy father—He dies, destroyed by drunkenness.*

THE cardinals having entered the conclave on the 20th of December, that is to say, ele-

\* A right belonging formerly to the kings of France, of enjoying the revenues of vacant bishoprics.

ven days after the death of Clement the Ninth, had not been able to choose a pope at the end of four months, in consequence of the intrigues which divided the sacred college.

Finally, in the last part of the month of April, the factions of the Chigi, Barberini, and Ros-pigliosi, until that time so hostile to each other, united, and proclaimed as sovereign pontiff by adoration, Emilius Altieri, an old man of eighty years of age, who was enthroned by the name of Clement the Tenth.

The family of the new pope was one of the oldest in Rome, and noble after the fashion of Italy, where those who could live without exercising professions take the title of gentleman, and purchase the right to be called count or marquis. As Altieri had only nieces, he solemnly adopted as cardinal nephew, Antonio Pauluzzi, the brother-in-law of Gasparo Pauluzzi, who had married Dona Laura, one of his relatives, and loaded all the members of his new family with dignities and favours. He made Antonio cardinal padrone, first minister, with a salary of a hundred thousand crowns; elevated his brother, Don Angelo, to the dignity of general of the galleys, and gratified Don Gasparo with the post of generalissimo of the pontifical troops.

When he had sufficiently provided his adopted family with lands, benefices, domains, and principalities, he reposed himself, and placed all the burthen of the government of the church in the hands of the cardinal nephew, who used it to increase his fortune, without troubling himself about the misfortunes of the people, nor the terrible wars which the sovereigns were carrying on. We should say, however, that his efforts to arrest the evil would not have produced any result; for the European powers having taken up a position of complete independence of the Holy See, the influence of the Roman court was annihilated in the great political interests which actuated sovereigns.

The Catholic world was divided into two hostile camps, the French and Austrian parties, both seeking to annihilate each other, both employing all their efforts to insure success in the strife, and both preferring their political interests to those of religion. Thus, although a bigoted Catholic, Louis the Fourteenth, instead of obeying the pope, wished to point out a line of conduct to him; and in his displeasure at seeing that Clement the Tenth, and his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri, favoured the house of Austria, he encroached on the spiritual power, confiscated ecclesiastical property by his own authority, claimed the right of establishing military pensions chargeable on the benefices of the church, declared by an edict that the sovereign had the right to collect the revenues of a bishopric during its vacancy, and to confer the benefices which were dependent on it, a right which became so celebrated by the name of regale; and,

finally, which was a terrible blow to the Holy See, he placed the receivers or bearers of the Roman rents under strict surveillance, to prevent the faithful from sending so much money as was done to the court of Rome for the purchase of indulgences.

The sovereign pontiff protested feebly against the usurpation of ecclesiastical privileges by the temporal power, at first because his protests would not have been listened to, and then because he was altogether incapable of taking an energetic resolution, the abuse of strong liquors having plunged him into a state of almost constant idiocy. A very curious anecdote is told on the subject of the holy father's habit of drunkenness. "One night," says the Italian chronicler, "when his holiness had become drunk, as usual, with a monk of St. Sylvester, his confessor, he took a fancy to make this unworthy frockling archbishop, and his butler a cardinal. The patents were signed, and the next day Antonio Pauluzzi had great difficulty in preventing the titularies from using these papers, and claiming the benefit of their commissions."

In France, the quarrels between the Jansenists and the Molinists broke out anew, and threatened to disturb the kingdom seriously. The Jesuits pursued their adversaries to the utmost, and such was their hatred against the solitaires of Port Royal, that they preferred to see atheism triumph rather than tolerate the propagation of Jansenism; thus they caused a criticism which the learned Perrault published on them, under the title of "The Practical Morality of the Jesuits," to be burned by the hands of the executioner, whilst they did not make the slightest complaint against "The Theological and Political Treatise," which the celebrated Jew, Benedict Spinoza, published, and in which the author maintained that God was not an infinitely perfect being; that he was not even endowed with intelligence; in a word, that the Divinity was nothing else than that force, or that vague energy of nature, which thinks in men, feels in animals, vegetates in plants, and which resembles the atoms of inert matter.

This material pantheism found no contradiction on its appearance among the Catholics, not even in Rome. It is true that they paid no attention to religion, and that it mattered little to the cardinal nephew what belief the faithful had, so they regularly paid the taxes and imposts which he laid upon them.

Antonio Pauluzzi was at last obliged to resign the supreme power. The holy father, weakened by old age, and worn out by intoxication, fell into a prostration, which took from him even the power of motion, and carried him off, the 26th of July, 1676.

## INNOCENT THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1676.]

*Election of Innocent the Eleventh—History of the pope before his exaltation—Quarrels between the new pontiff and Louis the Fourteenth—Father la Chaise, the confessor of Louis the Fourteenth—Synod of the bishops of France—The four propositions of the liberties of the Gallican church—Innocent anathematizes the French prelates who assisted at the national council—Catholic reaction in England—Conspiracy of the papists—The English parliament causes a large number of Jesuits to be arrested—Sir Edmonbury Godfrey is assassinated by order of the queen of England—Bill excluding the fanatical duke of York, the brother of the king, from the throne of Great Britain—Charles the Second dismisses the parliament, and murders his subjects—The Whigs and Tories—Death of Charles the Second—Fanaticism of Louis the Fourteenth—Revocation of the edict of Nantz—James the Second on the throne of England—Punishment of Monmouth—Condemnation of the Quietist Michel Molinos—Abolition of the franchises for ambassadors at Rome—Louis the Fourteenth causes the pope to be insulted by the marquis de Lavardin—Death of Innocent.*

THE cardinals entered into conclave on the very night of the funeral of Clement the Tenth; as usual, intrigue decided the election, and after two months of struggle and sharp shooting, the members of the conclave proclaimed as sovereign pontiff, the son of a banker, the cardinal Odescalchi, who was adored by the name of Innocent the Eleventh.

This pope, who was of an imperious, lofty, and determined character, was born in the kingdom of Austria; before embracing the ecclesiastical career, he had followed the trade of arms, and when he put on the tiara, there might still be seen on his brow the mark the casque had left there.

Louis the Fourteenth appeared to him to be a rival worthy of him, and against whom he might display his double warlike and sacerdotal energy. The moment was the more opportune for a rupture with that monarch, as he was at war with the apostolic Roman emperor, Leopold of Austria, and as Charles the Second of Spain, and Charles the Fourth, duke of Lorraine, were leagued with the heretics of the United Provinces to weaken the most Christian king, who, on his side, had made an alliance with Mahomet the Fourth, emperor of the Turks. The pope seized the pretext of the right of regale, which Louis the Fourteenth claimed, and declared that the sovereign had not the right to abuse this custom established in France, to dispose of the rentals and benefices of vacant sees, nor to seize on the revenues of abbeys and churches, without regard to their exemptions, their immunities, and their privileges.

The holy father was sustained in his step by the Jesuits, and even by the Jansenist prelates; still, he dared not come to an open rupture with Louis the Fourteenth, and contented himself with merely sending him a brief of warning. The moderation of the sovereign pontiff was induced by the financial situation of the Holy See; as the expenses had exceeded the receipts by a considerable sum, it was apprehended lest the least difficulty should bring on bankruptcy. Innocent

then wished to gain time, to ward off the inconvenience of such a situation. He first suppressed the enormous emoluments paid to the nephews of dead popes or their creatures, he abolished a crowd of useless offices, restored order to the administration of the finances, laid taxes on the nobles who had been exempted from them; he then reduced the interest on the funded debt to three per cent., made new assessments, doubled the taxes, and restored an equilibrium between the receipts and expenses.

When the skilful pontiff had placed things on a good footing, he resumed his plans against Louis the Fourteenth, and wrote to him, "Most dear son in Jesus Christ, we have already represented to your majesty how much the ordinance, which was published during the reign of our predecessor, concerning the regale, was injurious to ecclesiastical freedom, contrary to divine and human law, and remote from the examples and customs bequeathed to us by the ancient kings. We have, however, learned that your agents trample under foot the authority of the bishops, trouble the order and discipline of the church, openly, and with the assent of the royal power. We will not accuse your majesty of these deplorable outrages; we will throw the blame upon your counsellors, who have not courageously warned you that you are wandering from the right path; who have not told you to remember that you swore before God to shed your blood in the maintenance of the faith, and the defence of the liberties of his holy church; we will excommunicate those cowardly courtiers who have not recalled to you that God should be obeyed above men, that the life of kings and princes passes by as rapidly as a flash of lightning, that the most powerful of sovereigns, as well as the lowest of his subjects, after that terrible instant, called before the tribunal of the Eternal, appears there without sceptre, crown, mantle of purple, guards, suite, nor any of the terrestrial insignia of his mundane power; that there your majesty will have but your crimes as

your train, and that around it will arise the victims of your cruelty appealing for vengeance.

"We, who do not dread to make you hear the energetic language of truth, and who desire to prevent you from heaping up the measure of your iniquities, we inform you, that your edict about the regale is an impious work, and that you cannot hasten too soon to repeal it, to merit your pardon before God. We are not ignorant that you seek to make compensation for the crimes of your life by praiseworthy actions, that you destroy the synagogues, that you persecute the heretics, and that you wish to prepare yourself for the infinite recompenses of heaven; but be careful that your left hand does not overthrow that which your right hand builds up, and remember that the apostle has said, 'he who falls voluntarily into sin, loses the merit of his pious works.'

"We are rent with grief when thinking that death may surprise you, whilst your conscience is burthened with the most execrable iniquities; we thus hasten to cry to you on behalf of God, 'Repeal the ordinance of the regale, abolish all you have undertaken against the liberty and the temporal rights of the church, or dread my indignation.' If, after this new warning, you do not obey the orders of God, if your majesty does not quit the fatal path on which you have entered, we will use against you the terrible arms which Jesus Christ has placed in our hands. The performance of our duty will certainly expose us to terrible tempests, but in this holy strife we will place our glory in suffering for the cross of Jesus Christ.

"Given at Rome, on the 22d of December, 1679."

Whilst appearing to have only the interests of religion in view, it was easy to perceive, that the pope thought only of re-establishing the omnipotence of the Holy See; it was also evident that Louis the Fourteenth, under pretext of maintaining the rights of his crown, wished to make himself master of the ecclesiastical benefices, make the clergy dependent on him, and use them to rule the people.

Innocent the Eleventh had already divined Louis the Fourteenth, and the latter had penetrated the secret hopes of the holy father; the struggle then commenced between royalty and the papacy.

Never had a prince governed his empire more despotically than Louis the Fourteenth, and been more entirely the master of his subjects; all, nobles, priests, and burghers were trampled like vile slaves beneath his feet, and the prince of Condé, to paint the subjection of the clergy, said, "that if the king should take a fancy to embrace protestanism, the priests would be the first to imitate him." Father la Chaise himself, the great nephew of Father Cotton, who had become in his turn confessor of the king, and who for fifteen years directed the conscience of Louis the Fourteenth, had joined in the views of the monarch concerning the regale, and, though a Jesuit, opposed the Holy See. Some historians

accuse the good father of having contributed to inspire his august penitent with the desire to break entirely the yoke of the court of Rome, in order to have the list of livings in the king's gift at his disposal.

Instead of obeying the injunctions of the pope, Louis the Fourteenth assembled the principal prelates of the kingdom in council, in the palace of Monseigneur Marca, the metropolitan of Paris, and placed the matter before them. They who followed the lead of Father la Chaise, were careful not to contradict him, and confirmed the right of regale over all the churches of France. The archbishop of Paris even wrote a very badly digested work on the subject, called "The Agreement between the Priesthood and the Empire." Innocent the Eleventh immediately ordered his canonists to refute this book, and renewed his remonstrances to Louis the Fourteenth to abandon his pretensions to the regale. The monarch, finding himself sustained by the clergy, stood firm, refused to submit, and using as a pretext that the liberties of the Gallican church were in danger from the encroachments of the court of Rome, convened a national council to defend the rights of his crown.

Bossuet, the illustrious bishop of Meaux, who had been gained over to the cause of the king, opened the sitting in an extremely skilful discourse; he affected the most respectful deference for the Roman church, called it the mother, the nurse, the mistress of all the churches, insinuating, however, that it was necessary to examine the fundamental rights of civil power and religious authority. After five months of deliberations, the assembly published the four following propositions, which comprehended what is called, in our days, the liberties of the Gallican church:

1. "The pope and universal church have no authority, direct or indirect, over the temporal concerns of princes, and cannot depose sovereigns, nor free their subjects from the oath of fidelity.

2. "The authority of general councils is above that of the popes, as was decided in the fourth and fifth sessions of the council of Constance, a decision which the church of France recognises as universally approved of, and applicable even to times in which there is no schism.

3. "The authority of the see of Rome in matters of discipline, receives its force from the consent of the other churches, and the exercise of supreme ecclesiastical power should be regulated by the canons.

4. "On questions of faith, the decisions of the pope are not infallible; they only become so from the approval of the church."

These propositions, which were principally the work of Bossuet, were signed by eight archbishops, twenty-six bishops, and twenty-four deputies of the second order of the clergy. The king ordered them to be accepted and taught in all the universities, in the faculties of theology and the canon law, by a perpetual and irrevocable edict. Innocent the Eleventh

was so indignant at them, that he immediately assembled the sacred college, and pronounced in full consistory an excommunication against all the prelates who had assisted at the council, and caused the four propositions they had decreed, to be burned by the hand of the executioner. His holiness did not confine himself to that; comprehending that his powerless thunders would not intimidate the French clergy, he determined to create for himself defenders even in the ranks of his enemies, and to corrupt, instead of threatening.

In conformity with his instructions, the legate sought to reconcile himself with the Jansenists; he even made overtures to the theologian Arnaud, and to some other solitaires of Port Royal, and offered them the hat of a cardinal, if they would embrace the cause of the pope, and defend the omnipotence of the Holy See. Arnaud rejected the proposals of the legate, and wrote in favour of the maxims published by the French ecclesiastics. But some of the disciples of the abbot of St. Cyran proved to be better disposed, amongst others the monks Sfondrati and d'Aguierre; they were decorated with the Roman purple, gratified with rich benefices—and in exchange, they declaimed against the national council of 1682.

Louis the Fourteenth, on his side, distributed sees and abbeys to the signers of the declaration, so as to prevent defections; and as his holiness refused to grant canonical institution to the proteges of the king, it resulted in the churches having pastors who could neither receive ordination, nor exercise any spiritual power. Thus the difference between the courts of Rome and France became every day more serious.

In England, things were also beginning to take a turn less favourable to the interests of the Holy See. The murmurs of the people and the representations of parliament had reminded Charles the Second that the head of his father had fallen beneath the axe of the executioner. The prince appeared to have abandoned his extravagant project of absolute monarchy, and of the restoration of papacy into the kingdom of Great Britain; he even affected a great desire to become popular, and married his niece to the prince of Orange. All this was but trick and knavery, and the discovery of the famous conspiracy of the papists exposed the infamy of the king to open day. This dark conspiracy, which counted among its members bishops, lords, the most influential personages of the court, the duke of York, the brother of the king, Catherine of Portugal, his wife, and the king himself, had as its end to re-establish Catholicism in England, massacre the Presbyterians, and overthrow the constitutional government, to substitute a despotism for it.

Charles the Second had joined the conspirators for this last purpose, and had reserved to himself the right to decide afterwards on the fitness of the measures to be taken to secure the triumph of papacy; his secret intention was to use the Catholics to overthrow

the parliament, and then to join the Presbyterians against the papists, so that, favoured by the troubles, he might cause himself to be recognised as an absolute king, that is to say, he counted on betraying at once the English people and the Catholics. But he had to deal with persons more skilful than himself, for the leaders of the conspiracy, whilst appearing submissive to his will, had determined to put him to death, and place his brother, the duke of York, on the throne.

The plot was on the eve of breaking out, when a Jesuit, named Titus Oates, one of the conspirators, yielding to the calls of conscience, went to a magistrate in London, Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, and revealed all that he knew to him. He declared, amongst other things, that the pope, regarding himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, in consequence of the heresy of the sovereign and people, had tacitly adjudged to himself the sovereignty of these two kingdoms, and had placed them in the hands of the Jesuits,—as being the patrimony of St. Peter; that in consequence of this, Father Oliva, the general of their order, had been appointed legate by the Holy See; that several English Catholic lords had also been designated by the pontiff to fill the principal posts in the state; that Lord Arundel was to be created chancellor; Sir William Godolphin keeper of the privy seal; that Coleman, the secretary of the duke of York, was to be promoted to the secretaryship of state; Langhorne to the post of attorney general; Lord Bellasis to the dignity of generalissimo of the armies; Lord Petre to the rank of lieutenant general; and Lord Strafford to the post of treasurer.

He also revealed that the Jesuits, at the instigation of the conspirators, had formed a secret tribunal, in which it had been decided that the king of England, whom they designated by the name of the Black Bastard, was to be poisoned, for having married his niece to a heretic. He said that this decision had been communicated to Father la Chaise, the confessor of the king of France; that the latter had offered ten thousand pounds to Sir George Wakeman, physician to the queen, to take charge of this matter, and that the doctor had exacted fifteen thousand, which had been given him at once.

He also declared that the reverend fathers, fearful lest the doctor should not keep his promise, had employed four banditti, who were to poinard the king in his carriage the day he went to parliament, and that in case their blows should fail, two other conspirators, Gove and Pickering, were to fire on the king with silver balls; that the first had asked fifteen hundred pounds as his pay, and the second thirty thousand masses to ransom him from the flames of purgatory.

He added, that Coleman, the secretary of the duke of York, had in his hands the written order of the secret tribunal, concerning the plan of poisoning or stabbing the king; that he himself had been commissioned to

carry several letters for this end; that a bet of a hundred pounds had been made by several Jesuits in regard to the death of Charles the Second, some maintaining that the prince would not be in existence at the festival of Christmas; others maintaining that he could not be assassinated until after that period. He revealed also that the Catholics had planned to set fire to the four corners of London, and to do the same in the principal cities of the three kingdoms; that at a given signal, twenty thousand men were to leave Flanders, disembark in England, penetrate to London, and rain fire balls on the people, which they called the piquant pills of Tewksbury; that a general rising had been concerted in Ireland, and that, finally, the crown was to be solemnly offered to the duke of York, because they were assured he would not hesitate to take an oath to extirpate the protestant religion.

Several Jesuits denounced, by oaths, were arrested at once; Coleman, who had at first concealed himself, then surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and presented himself boldly before the magistrate, as if the high protection of the duke of York could guarantee him from every danger. The investigations of justice, however, took their course; Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who had been commissioned to take informations on this dark affair, acquitted himself of his duty with great zeal, made requisitions for all suspected persons, and seized them. Finally, he accidentally laid his hands upon a correspondence of the queen, the duke of York, and several Catholic lords, with the nuncio of the pope, who was residing at Brussels, and with the confessor of Louis the Fourteenth. As he was about to use these important letters, the court rid itself of him. His dead body was found one morning in a ditch near Primrose Hill, on the road from Hampstead, transfixed with his own sword, the whole of it in the wound, and presenting the singular circumstance that not a drop of blood had flowed from this horrid sore. It was suspected that his assassins had passed his sword through his body after he was dead, in order to create the suspicion of suicide; and this opinion was corroborated when they took off the dress of the victim, and discovered a livid and blueish mark around his neck, which proved that he had been strangled. The crime was evident; it remained to discover the guilty. William Bedloe, a captain of cavalry, one of the trusty friends of the papists, appeared before the council of inquiry, and made revelations. He declared that on the eve of the discovery of the dead body, he had been sent for to Somerset House, where Queen Catherine resided, where they showed him the unfortunate Godfrey lying strangled in a lower chamber of the palace, and that a domestic of Lord Bellasis had offered him four thousand pounds to carry it off.

The guilt of the queen was evident; the house of commons thought of accusing her; the lords alone rejected, with all their might,

the scandal of a judgment against the wife of their sovereign; Charles the Second was, however, compelled, in order to give satisfaction to public opinion, which began to threaten, to allow the trial of Coleman to proceed, and to join with him the priests Ireland, Pickering, and Gove; they were all four condemned to death, and sacrificed to the safety of the monarch. All, however, was not over in this matter. A goldsmith, named Miles Prance, a Roman Catholic, who had been denounced by Bedloe as one of the accomplices in the murder of Godfrey, indignant at seeing that the court permitted those who had obeyed its orders to be executed, made revelations in his turn; he declared that the crime had been committed in Somerset House, by Gerard and Kelly, Irish priests, assisted by Horace Hill, a lackey of the queen, Robert Green, who was employed in her chapel, and Henry Berry, a Swiss of the palace. All were tried, attainted and convicted of the assassination, and condemned to capital punishment. The provincial of the Jesuits, Whitebread, Fathers Fenwick, Gaven, Turner, and Harcourt, who were involved in the principal accusation, underwent the same punishment; George Wakeman the physician of the queen, was alone saved by the interference of Charles the Second himself, without any one having ever known what motive induced the monarch to use clemency towards a man who wished to poison him. The marquis of Strafford was also condemned as guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hung and quartered; by way of commutation, he had his head cut off. Finally, the parliament having inflicted judgment on all these wretches, talked of attacking the great culprits, and of bringing the duke of York and Queen Catherine of Portugal to judgment.

The king, who feared the consequences of such a proceeding, determined to dissolve the house of commons, which had been in existence for seventeen years, and to order new elections, hoping that it would be easy to corrupt the new delegates and to put an end to the prosecutions against those who had embarked in the plot of the papists. He judged illy; the members sent to the new parliament proved to be as incorruptible as their predecessors; they continued the inquiry commenced against the duke of York, passed a bill which excluded that prince from the throne of Great Britain, and decreed that in default of a direct heir, the king abdicating or dying, without children, the crown should devolve on the person whom the nation should judge most worthy of it. Parliament did not confine itself to this act of vigour; it passed the celebrated law called the habeas corpus act, which placed bounds on the power of the king, and took from him the right of imprisoning or hanging a citizen by the mere act of his will.

The duke of York, seeing the turn which things were taking, determined to retire to Scotland in order to tranquillize the fears of the English nation, and to attach the Scotch to his cause. The departure of the prince from the city of London gave birth to manifesta



tions extremely disagreeable to him; his carriage was accompanied by the hootings of the populace, and his people were chased with stones.

On the other hand, public opinion declared for the duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles the Second. Two parties were now formed in England, the Whigs and the Tories; the former declared themselves to be the defenders of the national liberties; they received the name Whigs from an appellation by which the Presbyterians of Scotland were designated. The Tories, the partizans of royalty, maintained the privileges of the noble castes; they took their name from an English word which was used to designate a band of Irish robbers.

The struggle between these two parties became daily more lively and animated. The king determined to dissolve parliament a second time, and to convene a new house of commons in the city of Oxford. This new effort succeeded no better with Charles the Second than the preceding one had done. The members of the assembly opened their sitting amid cries of "No papacy! no slavery!" and that, notwithstanding the presence of the royal troops which guarded the approaches to the hall in which the deputies were.

The new house was still engaged with the interminable business of the popish plot. An Irishman named Fitz Harris made revelations of a new plot still more frightful than any of those which had been discovered, and offered to furnish proof that the duke of York and Queen Catherine had ordered the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, and had presided over the accomplishment of the crime.

Charles the Second, who had the same interests as his brother and wife in not awakening public attention to this matter, and who feared lest the parliament should attack him personally, hastened to have a warrant issued by the house of lords authorising the arrest of Fitz Harris. The house of commons claimed the prisoner; declared that the cause should be tried at its bar; that if he had calumniated any one, it was right that the justification should be public; but that if the revelations of the accused were sustained by irrefutable proofs, it was necessary that the guilty should receive the punishment of their crime, and that the house of commons should attain them, even on the very steps of the throne.

This energetic declaration showed that the deputies would push the investigations to the utmost. Charles the Second dared not expose himself to the chances of the proceeding, and to put an end to the dispute he dissolved parliament, and determined never to convene another. From that moment he governed with despotic power, and, throwing off the mask, appeared in his true character—unjust, debauched, greedy, and cruel; he was always surrounded by spies and satellites; he took from the Presbyterians their offices and employments, and openly favoured the Episcopalians and Catholics, and deprived of its char-

ter the city of London, which had been for a long time at the head of the popular party.

Scotland was not treated better than England; the king sent troops into that country to bring the Presbyterians to reason. He enjoined on the inhabitants to give neither quarters nor food, nor a place of refuge to the non-conformist ministers or their partizans, and authorised the soldiers to pursue them to extremities, and to exterminate them to the last man. All the corporations and cities were forced to surrender their charters to Charles the Second; and those who preserved some privileges had to pay for them with weights of gold. For two years the nation appeared to be plunged in apathy; at last some courageous men determined to make an appeal to the national sentiment, to foment a revolution, and hurl Charles Stuart from the throne. The leaders of the conspiracy were the duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, the two republicans Essex and Algernon Sidney; an honourable citizen named John Hampden; Colonel Ramsay, an old republican officer; Lieutenant-colonel Wolcot, who held the same opinions; the under sheriff of London, Goodenough; Ferguson, a fiery Presbyterian; several lawyers and some rich merchants of the city. Unfortunately they were sold by a wretch named Reiling, and all paid with their heads for their generous devotion to their country, except Monmouth and Hampden, who were both banished.

Shortly afterwards, the king perceived himself attacked by a strange sickness which the physicians attributed to the effects of poison, and which had the character of an apoplectic attack. Public opinion accused the queen and the duke of York of this new crime. He languished for a week, and died on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

In France the religious reaction was felt more violently than even in England. The infamous Louis the Fourteenth, at the instigation of his confessor, Father la Chaise, and of Maintenon, his mistress, persecuted the protestants, excluded them from all the liberal professions, destroyed their churches, imprisoned their ministers, and compelled them to bring their children to the church and to subscribe a Catholic formula for them and their wives.

Rather than submit to these tyrannical and vexatious measures, a large number of the reformed determined to leave France; but the great king, who was not desirous of losing a part of his revenues, put a stop to this plan, garnished the frontiers with soldiers, and drove back the emigrants with blows, into the interior of the kingdom. Those Huguenots who dared to protest against this abuse of power were merely sent to the galleys of the king to serve the gracious monarch for the rest of their lives.

So much injustice finally exasperated their minds; the protestants of the southern provinces took up arms, and claimed the liberties and franchises guaranteed to them by

the edict of Nantz. Louis the Fourteenth replied to their just demands by inundating the country with dragoons and missionaries, the one commissioned to exterminate, the others to convert. Frightful massacres were organized in all the southern provinces, and the cities became the theatres of bloody executions, which recalled the atrocities of the St. Bartholomew. But these religious and military expeditions not producing the result which his majesty expected, the radical extirpation of Catholicism, the king ordered the bishops to assemble and bring a complaint before his throne against the obstinacy of the heretics, who had the audacity to wish to be neither converted nor murdered. As a consequence of the representations of his clergy, Louis the Fourteenth made the famous decree called the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The monarch declared all that had been done in the kingdom in favour of the reformed religion abolished for ever; he ordered the demolition of all the protestant temples that were still standing; he expressly prohibited the Huguenots from assembling in any public or private place; and he commanded all their ministers who refused to abjure their belief, to leave the kingdom in fifteen days after the publication of the edict.

Whilst excluding the preachers, his majesty prohibited the faithful from following their pastors, and from transporting out of France either their property or persons, under the penalty of the galleys for men, and the confiscation of their persons as well as property for females. "Notwithstanding the dangers they incurred of being arrested on the frontier, more than eight hundred thousand Huguenots," says the marquis de la Fare, "succeeded in emigrating, and of carrying into a foreign country their money and most precious objects. This was the more baneful for the country, since, independently of the capital which they took away from commerce, the land remained uncultivated in many parts of the country, in consequence of the departure of these intelligent and laborious men."

Although his holiness was at open war with the great king on the subject of the regale, he sent to him a letter of congratulations on the act of infamy he had accomplished, in revoking the edict of Nantz, which encouraged Louis the Fourteenth to persevere in this deplorable path. His majesty was soon not content with the execrable glory he had acquired of murdering his own subjects, he wished to hear of massacres in the states of his neighbours, and compelled Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, to exterminate the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, La Perouse, and St. Martin, commonly called the Vaudois, who professed the doctrines of Calvin.

The Piedmontese troops, united with the dragoons of the king of France, enveloped all the country and massacred more than twenty thousand Huguenots in the defiles of the mountains.

Louis the Fourteenth was not the only

prince who had declared himself the champion of Catholicism; the duke of York, having become king of England in defiance of the decree of parliament which excluded him from the throne, laboured openly to bring back Great Britain into the bosom of the church, and affected to go every Sunday to the chapel of his palace, clothed in the insignia of royalty, to assist at mass. He did more, he sent an ambassador to the court of Rome to demand officially from the holy father if he would receive the obedience of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He then published an edict of conscience, and abolished, of his own authority, the laws which had been before promulgated by parliament against the Catholics.

By his orders, Titus Oates, the Jesuit, who, during the reign of Charles the Second, had betrayed his companions and discovered the conspiracy of the papists, was arrested, thrown into prison, condemned as a perjurer to be whipped by the executioner, during the passage from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned for life, to stand in the pillory five times a year, and to pay a fine of twenty thousand marks of silver. This vengeance on a former accomplice served as a prelude to the bloody executions of which the Presbyterians were the victims.

The nation, which held in horror all that resembled papacy, then allowed its hatred for the king to break out, and appeared disposed to break the yoke. The duke of Monmouth, who since the last conspiracy had lived in retirement in Holland, partook of the general indignation, and determined to devote himself to wrest the crown from the brow of James the Second. He sent the earl of Argyle to Scotland to raise the country, whilst he himself prepared to make a descent on England. Argyle was unfortunately attacked by the royal troops before he had collected together more than two thousand men; he was defeated, taken prisoner, judged by a military commission, and beheaded on the public square of Edinburg. This check did not prevent Monmouth from throwing himself into the county of Dorset, at the head of his partisans. The popularity of his name was so great, and the hatred for the king such, that four days after his arrival his small troop was reinforced by three thousand men; he marched immediately on the city of Taunton, where reinforcements awaited him. There he took the title of king; but instead of using his time advantageously, and marching rapidly on London, he erred by remaining in those parts to receive puerile honours.

James the Second assembled troops in great haste, and sent them under the command of the earl of Feversham and Churchill to stop the progress of the rebels. The two armies met at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. Monmouth, inspired by his high courage, wished to deserve the throne or lose his life in the first battle. At the head of a chosen troop he vigorously charged the royal in-

country, threw its ranks into disorder, was bearing it down, and every thing was pre-  
saging victory to him, when his cavalry, com-  
manded by Lord Grey, either from cowardice  
or treason on the part of its leader, fled at the  
first attack, and left the field of battle. Mon-  
mouth saw in a moment his lines outflanked  
by his enemies, who charged from all sides  
at once; he did not, however, give way until  
after a bloody combat of three hours. He  
fled more than twenty miles without stopping  
and almost alone; finally, his horse having  
fallen beneath him, he continued his way on  
foot, followed only by a German count. At  
night they slept on the ground, exhausted by  
hunger and fatigue, and covered themselves  
in the grass. On the next day they were dis-  
covered by their pursuers; the duke was ar-  
rested and conducted into the presence of  
James the Second, who wished to feast his  
eyes with the sight of a conquered enemy.  
He was then judged and condemned to death.

The day of the punishment having arrived,  
the intrepid Monmouth was led to the place  
where he was to be executed. During the  
passage he did not exhibit the slightest sign  
of alarm, and when he arrived at the foot of  
the scaffold he only besought the executioner  
to measure his blow well, so that he would  
not be obliged to strike twice, as had hap-  
pened to Lord Russell. This recommenda-  
tion produced so painful a sensation in the  
executioner, that he felt all his strength aban-  
don him; he raised his axe, but his arm was  
so weak that the axe struck an uncertain  
blow, and only entered half an inch into his  
flesh. The duke raised his head and turned  
to him as if he would have reproached his  
want of skill, he then replaced it on the  
block; the executioner gave him two other  
blows, which only inflicted on him two new  
wounds; then, being beside himself, he cast  
down his axe to the ground and wished to  
fly, but the sheriff stopped him and compelled  
him to finish his ministerial duties; finally,  
two more blows separated the head from the  
trunk.

Terrible as had been the death of the young  
duke of Monmouth, it was not enough for the  
vengeance of the sanguinary James. After  
the leader came the turn of the soldiers, and  
all the rebels who had been made prisoners  
were pitilessly murdered. Colonel Kirke, the  
worthy slave of such a master, executed the  
royal will with incredible barbarity. This  
monster, joining irony to the most atrocious  
cruelty, massacred two hundred of these un-  
fortunate men in a festive hall, whilst he was  
gorging himself with food and wine; as the  
victims were writhing in the convulsions of  
death, he said that the rebels appeared to be  
in a humour to dance, and ordered the trump-  
ets of the regiment to play in honour of the  
king. This same Kirke dared to propose to a  
beautiful young girl who asked the pardon of  
her brother from him, to buy it at the price  
of her honour, and when the unfortunate child  
had consented to this infamous bargain, and  
accomplished her frightful sacrifice, he open-

ed a window and showed her the dead body  
of her brother hanging to a gibbet.

The military execution not proceeding fast  
enough for the impatient James the Second,  
he added a judicial commission to them, under  
the presidency of a hot Catholic named Jef-  
fries. It is computed that this tribunal of  
blood tortured, burned, or beheaded, in one  
month, more victims than the troops of the  
king had murdered during the whole cam-  
paign. As a recompense for the zeal which  
the president of the commission had shown in  
the service of royalty, James made Jeffries  
the Catholic, Jeffries the executioner, a peer,  
declared him worthy to sit in the capacity of  
chancellor among those lords, the descendants  
of robbers and assassins, who composed the  
upper chamber, that scourge of England, the  
execration of the people and the shame of the  
human race.

From that moment it became evident to all,  
that James the Second wished to establish the  
papacy in Great Britain by violent means; cour-  
tiers openly abjured protestantism; the Jesuits  
built colleges in the provinces, bishops were  
consecrated in the royal chapel, in accordance  
with the ritual of the Roman church, and  
styled themselves apostolic vicars; from all  
quarters legions of priests and monks came  
in, and to see their audacity, it would really  
appear as if they came to take possession of  
England as of a conquered country. Before  
the danger to which the political and religious  
liberties of Great Britain were exposed, all  
parties ceased their quarrels and united against  
the common enemy; Whigs and Tories, Pres-  
byterians and churchmen, concentrated all  
their hatred on the person of the king, and  
fomented a revolution, which led to the ex-  
pulsion of the fanatical James the Second, and  
to the elevation of William of Orange, the  
stadtholder of the United Provinces, to the  
throne, by the name of William the Third.

This news affected the old pope very  
slightly; besides, his holiness not having  
any religious belief, it mattered little to him  
whether the Jesuits or the church of England  
men triumphed, since in no case would bring  
any profit to the Holy See, the one not being  
more disposed than the other to divide the  
treasures of Great Britain with him.

We should say, however, as an excuse for  
the indifference of Innocent the Eleventh, on  
the subject of the affairs of the church, that  
he was very much occupied in publishing  
sumptuary laws at Rome, and that all his at-  
tention was absorbed by the struggle in which  
he was engaged with a new sect of heretics,  
who threatened to pervert all Italy. The  
principal supporter of the heresy was a Spanish  
priest, named Michael Molinos, who had pub-  
lished several works, amongst others the Spi-  
ritual Guide, in which the maxims of the an-  
cient and modern mystics were openly ex-  
tolled, in order to lead the faithful into "the  
inner way," that is to say, into a state which  
consisted in thinking no longer of the material  
part of his being, so as to identify himself with  
God. According to the Spanish priest, when

one wished to enter into communion with God, he must abandon himself entirely to the Holy Spirit, annihilate himself before it, and not operate actively, neither in thought nor actions. He maintained that this annihilation of the moral faculties, was the return of the human soul toward its source, and the only means of communicating with the All Powerful; he affirmed that as soon as one was enabled to lose himself in the Divinity, he was really in "the inner way."

Molinos prohibited those who had attained to this state of quietude, from thinking either of future penalties or recompenses, of paradise or hell, of death or eternity; he was unwilling that the soul should preserve the recollection either of itself or of God. He added, that contemplation, consisting in remaining in one faith and a general adoration, it mattered little whether impure ideas were presented to the mind, that we should neither nourish nor reject them, but tolerate them with patience, so as not to depart from the state of quietude, which is nothing else than the most absolute resignation to the divine will; that if God permitted that the devil should use their bodies, in order to accomplish carnal actions with persons of the same sex, or of a different sex, they should be careful how they opposed Satan.

These singular doctrines concerning quietism were propagated rapidly, and found numerous adepts in France; Father Guilleré wrote, amongst other extravagancies, "That blindness, the most profound and deep, insensibility, the hardest and most remote from all consolation, was the most holy situation in which the soul could be."

In another passage of his works he said, "That if God permitted the devil to seize on the body as well as on the imagination and the mind, we should permit him to lead us into all kinds of abominations; that the more horrible and confounding the temptation was, the more sublime was the abandonment; that the more impossible it was to save the purity of the soul and the chastity of the body, the more should we sink into prostration."

Innocent the Eleventh fulminated bulls of anathema against the Italian and French Quietists; he declared their doctrines to be heretical, suspicious, erroneous, outrageous, rash, blasphemous, tending to the entire relaxation and overthrow of the ecclesiastical discipline. But neither could the censures of the pontiff, nor the severities he displayed against Molinos and his adherents, arrest the progress of quietism, which gradually invaded the convents of men and women, and counted among its partizans a great number of abbots and the noblest ladies of the court, its doctrines favouring their tastes for debauchery.

His holiness did not otherwise disturb himself about quietism, and gave his attention to a subject to which he attached great importance, the abolition of the franchises of the ambassadors. The pope took advantage of the death of Marshal d'Estrées, the minister plenipotentiary of Louis the Fourteenth, at his

court, to seize on the palace of the embassy, and to decree that there no longer existed a French quarter in Rome. This step, to which most of the powers submitted, exasperated the imperious Louis the Fourteenth, who thought he saw in it an attempt on his dignity; he wrote at once to the holy father, that he demanded that things should be replaced on their former footing. Innocent was unwilling to revise his decision, and maintained, with reason, that the ambassadors abused their privileges in introducing merchandise and defrauding the apostolic treasury of its dues, and in giving an asylum to criminals in their palaces, and in bargaining with them for their protection.

Notwithstanding the wise representations of the pope, Louis the Fourteenth continued to demand the maintenance of the privileges which his ambassadors had enjoyed, and immediately sent the marquis Lavardin to take the post of the marshal d'Estrées at Rome, being careful to have him accompanied by eight hundred armed men. The latter presented himself at the gates of the holy city, accompanied by his formidable escort and his baggage, which was borne by fifty mules. On the remark of the officers of the customs that he could not enter until he had submitted to an examination, he replied insolently, that he would cut off the ears of the first man who was bold enough to lay hands upon the baggage which belonged to the ambassador of the king of France, and he made his entrance so well sustained by his cavalry, that it became impossible for the soldiers of the pope to dispute the right of asylum with him, not only for the palace of the embassy, but also for the adjacent streets. He placed guards at all the avenues of the quarter, with orders to fire on the troops of the Holy See, if they dared to approach his palace; on the next day he sent, by way of derision, to demand an audience of his holiness. Instead of admitting him into his presence, Innocent the Eleventh fulminated a terrible anathema against him; the marquis of Lavardin, as if to brave him, immediately went to the church of St. Louis, caused divine service to be celebrated in his presence, and solemnly communed.

Louis the Fourteenth did not content himself with approving of the conduct of his ambassador, he wished then to attack the pope in the exercise of his spiritual power. He declared, by an edict, that the bulls published in France by the court of Rome, concerning the franchises, were null and abusive; he caused the parliament of Paris to decree that a general council should be convened to judge Innocent the Eleventh; and the advocate general Talon, before the assembled great chamber and criminal court, in the name of all the subjects of the king, accused the pope of troubling Christendom, and declared that, Innocent not putting the concordat into execution, they were no longer obliged to conform to it in France.

"And, oh, strange thing," added the advocate general, "the head of the church, whose

chief care it should be to preserve the integrity of the faith, has not ceased, since he has been seated on the chair of St. Peter, to carry on intercourse with dangerous men, who have declared themselves the disciples of Jansenius, and whose doctrines his predecessors have condemned; he loads them with favours, he has openly praised them, he has declared himself their protector, even against kings; and this faction, which is subversive of all political and religious authority, which has not forgotten how, during thirty years, to sap slyly all spiritual and temporal powers which were not favourable to it, which wishes to substitute a republic for the throne, freedom of thought for the Christian faith, erect altars to the pope, because he sustains and foments the cabals. What would have become of the peace of the church, if the foresight and indefatigable cares of the great king, to whom he even gave birth, to be the defender and buckler of religion, had not stricken the heretics with the sword of his justice? A singular spectacle, given to the world by a prince whose piety, intelligence, and faith render him infallible, when the pontiff of Rome, the successor of the apostle, precipitates himself into the abyss of error. Thus, France, Europe, the Christian world, beseech by my mouth, the oldest son of the church, the descendant of St. Louis, to save the belief of our fathers, by using his power, not only to maintain the franchises in their full extent, but

also to put an end to the disorders which the vacancy of the bishoprics in the kingdom produces, to prohibit his subjects from sending any money to the court of Rome, and to overthrow the unworthy priest who soils the pontifical throne by his abominations." Louis the Fourteenth, who had thus decreed himself to be the supreme arbiter in his difference with Innocent the Eleventh, did not hesitate to follow the injunctions of the advocate general; he first seized on Avignon, confined the cardinal Rannoci, the apostolic nuncio at St. Oleron, and announced that he was about to appoint Monseigneur de Harlay, archbishop of Paris, patriarch of France.

Although these threats were of a nature to inspire serious fears in the sovereign pontiff, he still persisted in his resistance, and was unwilling to listen to any arrangement, or any concession. If we should seek on what assistance he relied in daring to enter upon a strife with the most powerful monarch of Christendom, we will find that it was not on the hope of producing a reaction by his censures, nor on the authority of his apostolic power, nor on the zeal of Catholic princes for the interest of religion, but upon that general hatred which was beginning to be felt towards Louis the Fourteenth, and which was to be so fatal to France. Still, Innocent the Eleventh had not the satisfaction of seeing the defeat of his enemy; he died on the 12th of August, 1689, broken down by old age, and worn out by sickness.

## ALEXANDER THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1689.]

*Louis the Fourteenth purchases the suffrages of the cardinals, and causes the Venetian Peter Ottoboni, to be chosen pope—Indolence of the sovereign pontiff—His prodigality to the members of his family—Bull of the pope against the philosophical sin—Restitution of Avignon—Death of Alexander the Eighth.*

AFTER the death of Innocent the Eleventh, the duke de Chauvnes, the French ambassador, who had been sent by Louis the Fourteenth to replace the marquis Lavardin, distributed more than three millions among the cardinal electors, and induced them to choose as pope, the Venetian Peter Ottoboni, one of the creatures of the monarch.

The new pontiff took the name of Alexander the Eighth; the authors of his time agree in saying that he was of an easy character, that he had agreeable manners, and that his only fault consisted in loving the table too much; rigourists reproach him with passing his nights in drinking, singing love songs of his own composition, and discoursing upon the excellence of atheism.

The first use which he made of his omnipotence, was to appoint his great nephew Ottoboni, cardinal padrone, who, it is main-

tained, was his bastard and minion; he gave him also the superintendence of the affairs of the church, the dignity of grand chancellor, and legate of Avignon, and conferred on him benefices which produced an annual revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

After having enriched his grand nephew, the pope thought of the other members of his family, and distributed among them several millions which remained in the apostolic treasury on the death of Innocent the Eleventh. Antonio Ottoboni, his nephew, received for his share five hundred thousand crowns and the post of generalissimo of the troops of the church; he gave to his other nephew, Don Marco, a like sum, with the title of general of the galleys and duke of Fiano, which enabled him to marry a rich heiress of the Colonna family. Finally, he behaved so generously to the children of his brothers and

esters, than in less than three weeks, he had emptied the treasury, exhausted the list of benefices, and loaded the Holy See with enormous engagements. A cardinal wished to remonstrate with him on the subject of his prodigalities, and to induce him to set bounds to his nepotism; but Alexander imposed silence on him and replied, alluding to his great age, "I have no time to lose; only twenty-three hours and a half remain for me."

During all his reign the holy father was occupied exclusively with enriching his family, and heaping honours on the cardinal padrone, his favourite. He showed the most perfect indifference for the affairs of the church, and the only acts which marked his passage across the chair of the apostle, were, first, a constitution against Jansenism, and the partizans of that doctrine, in which, according to Ligny, he gave an evident mark of his fallibility, by condemning the five propositions in the sense of Jansenius, for he attacked St. Augustine himself, and proved that the theories of that father concerning grace were the same as those of Port Royal. Doctor Gilbert also wrote on this subject: "We must separate the evangelical doctrine concerning the grace of Christ from the opinions of the head of the church, since Alexander the Eighth, by his constitution, has inflicted a wound on himself, of which the sore can never perhaps be cicatrized." He then published two bulls, the one concerning "Philosophical Sin," which was a thesis taught by the Jesuits, and which consisted in maintaining, "that man can commit condemnable actions without offending God, if he has no knowledge of the Divinity, or if he did not think of God whilst he was doing them." The second decretal of his holiness was in regard to the famous protest of Innocent the Eleventh on the regale. It was as follows:

"Wishing to walk in the footsteps of Innocent the Eleventh, our predecessor of bless-

ed memory, who disapproved of, annulled, and erased all that had been done in the matter of the regale, with all its consequences; wishing, moreover, to regard as well specified here the acts emanating from the assembly of 1682, as well in all that concerns the extension of the right of regale, as in that which touches the declaration concerning ecclesiastical power and the mandates, arrests, decrees, edicts, and ordinances of the clergy, the parliament and the king of France, we declare, after mature deliberation, and by virtue of the plenitude of our apostolic power, that all those things, and each of them, which have been done touching the extension of the right of regale, the declaration concerning the ecclesiastical power and four propositions that it contains, have been, are, and shall be of full right null, invalid, illusory, fully and entirely destitute of force and effect; that no one is bound to observe them, even though he may have taken an oath to do so; finally, we declare that they should be regarded as not in being, as never having existed, and we protest before God, against them of their nullity."

Alexander the Eighth dared not, however, promulgate this bull of anathema against the four propositions of the French clergy; he imitated the prudent reserve of one of his predecessors, shut up his protest in the archives of the Vatican, and put off the publication of it to a more favourable time. His hypocrisy succeeded admirably. The great king attributed the moderation of the pontiff to his gratitude, and to give him a brilliant proof of his satisfaction, restored to him Avignon and the Venaissin county.

Louis the Fourteenth was not long in repenting that he had made this restitution, for a few days afterwards he learned that the pope, on his death bed, had lanced a terrible bull against the regale. His holiness, Alexander the Eighth, died on the 30th of January, 1691.

## INNOCENT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1691.]

*Vacancy in the Holy See—Election of Innocent the Twelfth—He publishes a bull against nepotism—Policy of the new pontiff—His holiness wishes to humble the pride of Louis the Fourteenth—The devout monarch submits to the Holy See—Cowardice of Louis the Fourteenth—Quarrel about quietism between Fenelon and Bossuet—History of Madame de la Mothe Guyon—Her singular doctrines—Her mystic loves—Bossuet causes this singular woman to be condemned—Bull against the book of "The Maxims of the Saints"—Fenelon is declared a heretic—Partiality of Louis the Fourteenth in the quarrel between Bossuet and Fenelon—The secular jubilee—Death of the pontiff—Reflections on the history of the church during the seventeenth century.*

SUCH a division was manifested among the cardinals who were called upon to give a successor to the pontiff Alexander the Eighth, that for six entire months it was impossible

for one of the competitors for the chair of St. Peter to obtain a majority; at last, thanks to the millions of France, Antonio Pignatelli carried it over his rivals. Louis the Four-

teenth, notwithstanding the deception he had experienced in the case of Alexander the Eighth, persisted in his plan of wishing for a pontiff devoted to his interests, and spent as much as fifteen millions in purchasing the votes of the cardinals, and in inducing them to choose as pope, by the name of Innocent the Twelfth, Antonio Pignatelli, a wary, supple, and persevering old man, who had promised the French ambassador to approve of the regale without restrictions.

The holy father was originally from Naples, and sprung from an ancient family in farther Calabria; he had been successively vice legate of the dutchy of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, governor of Viterba, nuncio at Florence, in Poland, and at Vienna, secretary to the congregation of bishops, master of the household to Clement the Tenth, bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, metropolitan of Naples, and cardinal.

In the exercise of these different offices he had acquired a great experience in the government of the church, and had discovered that by abandoning the interests of the Holy See, to occupy themselves only with those of their families, the pontiffs had themselves sapped the bases on which the edifice of the papacy rested. He then determined to follow an entirely different system of conduct; he declared that he would extirpate the frightful nepotism which had outraged the people, and ruined the church for more than two centuries; he made all the members of the sacred college subscribe to a bull which took away all extraordinary distinctions from the nephews of popes, making it obligatory on cardinals, present and future, to confirm it by an oath at each new conclave, and on all the pontiffs to do the same.

In order to fortify, by example, the rule which he had prescribed, he gave neither benefice nor dignity to his relatives, who were numerous, and even prohibited them from coming to Rome. He made ordinances to reform the expenses of the apostolic chamber, and pushed his domestic economy so far as to prohibit his steward from spending more than a tester at his repast. He suppressed useless offices, as well as the pensions with which his predecessors had loaded the treasury, and which amounted to the enormous sum of two hundred millions of crowns.

After having introduced order into the civil administration, Innocent the Twelfth wished to make reforms in the organization of the regular and secular clergy; but there he met with such resistance, that he dared not touch the ancient order of things, and was constrained to leave his work of political and religious regeneration incomplete. All his efforts, all his perseverance, were foiled by the obstinacy of the religious congregations, and he was obliged to tolerate, as of old, the irregularities of monks and nuns, and the shameful disorders of the princes of the church and the Roman ecclesiastics.

In his political controversies with foreign powers, he was more successful than in his endeavours with the monks; notwithstanding

the promises which he had made to Louis the Fourteenth concerning the regale, he knew how to induce that proud monarch to restore to him his promise, and to submit to his wishes. The skilful pontiff used, to secure his ends, Father la Chaise, the confessor of the king, and Maintenon, who was united by a secret marriage to Louis the Fourteenth. Both inspired the royal devotees with religious terrors on the subject of the regale, and obtained from him an edict, which enjoined on the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to send to the court of Rome a retraction of the decisions which they had made by his order, and induced them to declare, in testimony of their repentance, that they regarded their own decrees as null and culpable, and that they swore a passive and absolute obedience to the Holy See. As his share, the cowardly despot wrote the following letter:

"Most holy father, I experience a great joy, in seeing all that your holiness has accomplished for the good of the church, and the advancement of our most holy religion, which redoubles my filial respect for your person; thus I seek to inform you, by the strongest proofs I can give, how sincere is my submission to the Holy See. I have published the necessary decrees, to prevent the things contained in my edict of 1682, touching the declaration made by the clergy of France, from being observed for the future. I desire, that not only may your holiness be informed of my docility to your orders, but that all Europe may know, by this brilliant mark of my submission, how much I venerate your great qualities. I do not doubt that your beatitude responds to the affection I bear to you, by every demonstration of your paternal pity; and that God may preserve your holiness many happy years, is the wish, most holy father, of your most devoted son, Louis, fourteenth of the name, king of France and Navarre."

If this letter were not entirely from the hand of Louis the Fourteenth, we might think that it was written by Tartuffe, under the dictation of Escobar, so shamelessly does the great king sport with truth, good faith, and reason.

Thus terminated the affair of the regale, for which France had been in incessant hostilities with the Holy See for eleven years.

As soon as Innocent the Twelfth had obtained this triumph, he detached himself at once from the league formed against France, and broke abruptly with the empire and Spain; he even protested against the investitures of some fiefs comprised in the states of the church, which had been conferred by Leopold, and published through the camerlingue\* a decree, in which he declared, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, that the revenues of the fiefs included in the provinces of the Holy See, should be reunited to the apostolic treasury. The ambassadors, Martiniz and Lambex, protested in vain against

\* A high officer of the Roman court.

this abuse of power; the pope persisted in his pretensions, and separated violently from his old ally, leading into his defection some princes of Italy and the duke of Savoy.

Some historians give it as an opinion, that the sovereign pontiff, in joining the party of France, did not follow his own judgment, but that of the Jesuits; that he yielded in this to the fears which the good fathers inspired in him concerning his existence. They produce, in support of this assertion, the bulls which the holy father fulminated against Jansenism, and especially against the disciples of Anthony Arnaud.

This celebrated doctor, after having for a long time combated the despotism of kings, the absolutism of popes, and the corrupting morality of the Jesuits, had taken refuge in the Low Countries, to escape from the tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth; and he, whose nephew had been a minister of state, and who had himself refused to be a cardinal, lived in an obscure retreat, without fortune and without servants. He had to console him in his exile only Nicholas, one of his old companions at Port Royal, to whom he made this beautiful reply, when the latter was discouraged, and sought to persuade him that it was time for them to take some repose. "We repose! when mankind is suffering! and shall we not have all eternity in which to repose?" This formidable adversary of the oppressors of the people remained in the breach until the last. His great soul sustained him in the midst of trials and adversities, gave an extraordinary vigour to a body apparently weak and delicate, and permitted him to continue his admirable labours unto extreme old age.

"Finally, after a career so stormy and unfortunate," says Voltaire, "according to the ideas of those who place misfortune in exile and poverty, without considering the glory, the friends, and the active old age, which were the lot of this famous man," Arnaud saw death approaching without alarm and weakness, and he expired in the arms of Father Quesnel, at Brussels, on the 8th of August, 1694, aged eighty-three years. He was buried in the sanctuary of the church of St. Catherine.

As nothing about so extraordinary a man can be matter of indifference, we transcribe a portrait which one of his disciples has left us of him. "The exterior of Arnaud," says he, "was not prepossessing; he was short, and his head was of a disproportionate size; his countenance would even have announced stupidity, had it not been for the brightness of his eyes, which revealed the fire of his genius. This doctor, so terrible with his pen in his hand, was the best of men among his intimates and in the world, whither he carried simple and mild manners. His conversation was grave and reflective, without excluding a proper gaiety; his memory was prodigious, and furnished him always, at the proper moment, with the most striking passages that authors had used on the subject of the conversation. He thoroughly under-

stood the Latin poets; he was not only profound in theology, in the knowledge of scripture, in ecclesiastical science, but he was also versed in dialectics, geometry, grammar, and rhetoric. He wrote about one hundred volumes in different forms, of which several were done in connection with Pascal, Nicholas, and Lamy, besides the correspondence which he carried on all his life with the learned in Italy, Germany, and France. The place of his burial was for a long time unknown, but his heart was carried to Port Royal, and from thence to Palaiseau. The most illustrious poets made epitaphs on him; and Boileau was not afraid to displease Louis the Fourteenth, by consecrating verses to the memory of the great Arnaud. His death took from the partisans of Jansenius the most skilful defender they ever had, and the Jesuits were freed from the most formidable of their adversaries.

The bulls of Innocent the Twelfth came in very good season to revive the old quarrels of the Molinists and Jansenists, and to assure the triumph of the Jesuits. Very fortunately the censures did not produce a great effect upon the minds of men, the attention being then captivated by the reappearance of quietism, and the discussions between the celebrated Fenelon, archbishop of Cambrai, and the illustrious Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who had declared themselves to be, the one the defender, the other the persecutor of, the new doctrines concerning pure love.

Among its most ardent propagators, this sect counted a Barnabite monk, called Father Lacombe and a young woman, his penitent, named Jeanne Bouvier de la Mothe Guyon. This woman, who has become celebrated as much for the singularity of her life, as for the strangeness of her doctrines, was the daughter of Claude Bouvier, the lord of la Mothe-Vergonville, the master of requests. Her parents placed her, when very young, in a convent of Montargis to be educated, and took her from it when twelve years old. Having become a young girl, Jeanne showed an irresistible desire for an ascetic life, and was desirous of becoming a nun of the Visitation. Her father strongly opposed this plan, and seeing no other means of combatting the exaltation of his daughter but marriage, he married her to a rich inhabitant of the province named Jacques Guyon.

From this union five children were born in twelve years. Jeanne Guyon was about to give birth to a daughter, who was afterwards duchess of Sully, when her husband died. She was then twenty-eight years old, beautiful, rich, full of grace, and spirit. It was then that she entered, by letter, into intercourse with Father Lacombe, the Barnabite monk, whose convent was situated near to Thonon, in the Chablais, and whom she had before seen at Paris. She confided to him her most secret thoughts, and asked his advice for the direction of her conscience. Two days afterwards the Barnabite replied to her, that he had prayed to obtain from God a perfect know-



ledge of the mysteries of her ardent soul. That Jesus Christ had appeared to him, and revealed to him that he destined her for an extraordinary ministry.

Jeanne Guyon wished to place herself at once in a condition to fulfil this holy mission to which God called her. She chose preceptors for her children; abandoned her guardianship, which was of great consequence; only reserved a moderate pension from her own property, and came to place her heart and her existence at the disposal of Father Lacombe, to be used by him according to the designs of Providence. This monk professed the most subtle and most refined mysticism, and, say the antagonists of quietism, he governed his devotees absolutely, by abusing the system of spirituality, which caused external acts to be regarded as indifferent, and sins as salutary proofs to tame our pride, and acquire for us inward perfection. It is even pretended that he attached his penitents doubly to him, by the charms of his doctrine, and the enjoyments without remorse which he permitted them.

Father Lacombe left his convent and accompanied the beautiful Jeanne into the diocese of Geneva, where they taught; but the bishop, scandalised by the strangeness of their doctrines, interdicted Father Lacombe, and drove him and his penitent from his diocese. They then retired to the city of Grenoble, where Jeanne Guyon published, with the approval of the clergy of the province, "The Short and Easy Way to Pray," and the Barnabite his "Analysis of Mental Prayer."

In these works the two Quietists developed their principles of the necessity of self-annihilation, even to complete inaction, in order to allow God to operate alone; they explained that the inner way admits of neither light, nor love, nor desire; they maintained that in prayer the faithful could pass even from the knowledge of God; that they ought never to think of chastisement, nor recompense, nor death, nor life, nor of eternity, nor of the saints, nor of the Virgin, nor of the humanity of Christ, nor of the attributes of God.

Besides her work on "The Short and Easy Way to Pray," Jeanne Guyon published "The Canticle of Canticles, explained according to the true, mystic sense;" and a third work, called "The Rule of the Associates of the Infancy of Jesus and the Torrents."

This last publication is unquestionably the most remarkable, on account of the singularity of the doctrines, and the extravagance of the opinions contained in it. Among other things, she explains, "that God sometimes hates a soul perfect in every gift, in every grace, in every virtue, and that for ever; that the fidelity of this soul then consists in allowing itself to be buried and crushed, in suffering its stench, and permitting itself to grow putrid in the full extent of the will of God, without even seeking to shun the corruption; that it ought to have no more consciousness, to confess without repentance, and to commune as if going to dinner; that it should be happy in finding itself a cause of horror to

others, and forgotten by God, who leaves it to be spoiled in its rottenness. She affirmed that this absolute abandonment was the most sublime state into which grace could elevate the soul; that the Quietists then experienced infinite joys, and had visions which could not be recounted to the profane, from fear of soiling the imagination, though they left the mind pure, and entirely occupied with mystic thoughts."

Jeanne Guyon maintained that she had reached a point of perfection so sublime, that she saw clearly into the depths of souls, and exercised over them, as well as over the body a miraculous authority. In her extacies, she said, she was filled with graces for herself and others; that she ran a danger of suffocating, and ordered them to relieve her by unlacing her stays. Sometimes she made the assistants merely seat themselves, in silence, by her side, and she affirmed, that from the divine reservoir of her heart there was an overflowing which mildly relieved her; and that her acolytes, children of wisdom, received from their mother the measure of aliment which was necessary for each of them.

Finally, after five years of career and adventures, of success and reverse, Father Lacombe and his beautiful penitent finished what they called their mission, and returned to Paris, where the archbishop, thinking that he found a conformity between their doctrines and the errors of Molinos, which were condemned by the Holy See, wished to put an end to their preaching, and sent Father Lacombe to the bastille and confined Jeanne Guyon in the convent of the Daughters of Visitation, in the faubourg St. Antoine, to do penance there. But it turned out, that instead of being converted, and yielding to the pious exhortations of the nuns of the Visitation, it was the new recluse who led all her companions into the doctrines of pure disinterested love.

The cousin of Jeanne Guyon, Madame de la Maisonfort, who had been placed by la Maintenon at St. Cyr, to finish the education of the young boarders there, became enthusiastic in the cause of her relative, and spoke of her at court as of a persecuted saint. The dutchesses of Bethune, Beauvilces, Chevreuse, and Mortemart, became ardent Quietists, and Jeanne Guyon was soon the fashion.

Through the interference of her new protectresses, the beautiful Jeanne was set at liberty, and even obtained the distinguished favour of being presented to Madame de Maintenon. Her misfortunes, her resignation, her enchanting eloquence when she spoke of God, her remarkable beauty, rendered her interesting in the eyes of the favourite, and procured for her her friendship. She was admitted to the intimacy of the king, and soon counted among her spiritual daughters all the noble pupils at St. Cyr.

It was in this house that she met Fenelon, and that the liaison between the ardent Quietist and the tender abbot commenced. "The latter, for a long time addicted to a refined spiritualism," says St. Simon, "tasted the doc-

trines of Jeanne, and affirmed to la Maintenon, that the Quietist was the most sublime of saints. It was thus that he became the director of the distinguished sheep of the small flock which Jeanne Guyon had collected; affecting, however, not to conduct them but under the direction of that prophetess who was introduced into the conscience of these gentle maids. She also made constant visits to Paris, to the house of Monseigneur the duke of Burgundy himself, where she gave instructions to her faithful companions Madame de Morstein, the countess de Guiche, and other noble dames who left the court to come to profit by the manna which she spread in the desert of their souls."

An event was about to trouble the little flock; Fenelon was appointed to the archbishopric of Cambrai. All the Quietists exclaimed, for it was the see of Paris they wanted for their director, and not that of Cambrai, which they regarded with contempt as a country diocese. The archbishopric of Paris would have placed Fenelon at the head of the clergy, in a place of immediate and durable confidence, would have obliged every one to account to him, and would have placed him in a situation to dare every thing for Jeanne Guyon and her doctrine, which was propagating with extreme rapidity. Mysterious, however, as were the meetings of the adepts, the Jesuits were enabled to penetrate the secret of them; they were alarmed by the number and quality of the disciples of the Quietist; they attacked her works, and sought to raise scruples in the conscience of Louis the Fourteenth; they succeeded. The great king, fearful of having yielded to culpable suggestions, in protecting a woman accused of quietism, desired Father Bourdaloue to examine her doctrines; and in accordance with the opinions of the preacher, informed her that she must put an end to her visits to St. Cyr.

Madame de Maintenon wrote to Jeanne Guyon, that she had better, for her own safety, quit Paris and retire to some village, taking care not to discover the place of her retreat to any one; the poor persecuted obeyed, and sought to hide herself from attention and be forgotten; but it was too late. Public attention was awakened by the Jesuits, and they, holding it a point of honour to show their power over the mind of the king, resolved to destroy her. They first circulated a kind of confession, attributed to Father Lacombe, and in which the Barnabite asked pardon of God and men, for having fallen with his beautiful penitent into the excesses and misery of a frightful immorality; for having been precipitated by an impulse of madness and fury into disorders which the law prohibits, without, however, having had any intention of doing evil, and only because he persuaded himself that God exacted from him to accomplish all these abominations, although he had foreseen the terrible consequences of them. The good fathers then adroitly spread the most calumnious allegations concerning Jeanne, gave credit to suspicions the most derogatory to her

honour, and sought to create the impression, that she concealed herself from fear of being unmasked before all.

Jeanne Guyon, advised by Fenelon of the outrageous accusations brought against her, determined to leave her retreat and demanded to be judged, herself and her writings, by a commission composed of an equal number of ecclesiastics and laymen. Her request was granted; the king appointed a commission composed of three ecclesiastical judges, Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, Monseigneur de Noailles, bishop of Chalons, and Tronson, the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice; but he refused to join three laymen to them. Jeanne only obtained, through the influence of Madame de Maintenon, that Fenelon, who was not yet installed in the archbishopric of Cambrai, should be admitted into the commission.

The four prelates held their meetings in the village of Issy, from which they were called the conferences of Issy." At the first meeting, Bossuet avowed that he understood very imperfectly the mystic works of the accused, and asked Fenelon to make extracts from them. The latter complied with the invitation, in the hope of being useful to his friend, and of making her innocence triumph.

Unfortunately, to prevent the judgment which might be rendered, the metropolitan of Paris, at the instigation of the Jesuits, claimed the right of deciding alone on a cause which was tried in his diocese; and before the prelates had had time to form an opinion on the doctrines of Jeanne Guyon, he published a mandement, in which he condemned the celebrated Quietist, as teaching false propositions, tending to heresy, contrary to the word of God, capable of scandalising the faithful, and of offending pious ears. What is the most remarkable in this censure is, that it was pronounced by a prelate who knew nothing of the books which he anathematized, nor of any of the works on piety which appeared.

The commissioners of Issy being unable to give the cause to Jeanne Guyon, against the archbishop, also condemned her; they proceeded, however, with more circumspection, and instead of censuring the books which were submitted to their examination, they composed thirty-four articles, diametrically opposed to the opinions taught by the Quietists, presented them to Jeanne, and induced her to subscribe to them. She signed, moreover, the pastoral instructions, which were published in support of the anti-mystic articles, and made an authentic abjuration of her pretended apostleship.

This submission procured for her a favourable certificate from Bossuet, attesting her innocence and her orthodoxy. But she soon allowed herself to be drawn on by her inspirations, and recommenced propagating the doctrines of quietism. The Jesuits immediately demanded a letter de cachet from the king, and she was conducted to Vincennes and thence to the bastille.

Bossuet then produced a book, called

"States of Prayer," in which he censured severely the celebrated Quietist. He wanted Fenelon to approve of it, which he refused to do, under the very honourable excuse, that he had promised to condemn the errors of Jeanne Guyon, and not her person. The archbishop of Cambrai even announced to his colleague, that he should have no scruples, on every occasion, of testifying his esteem for this woman; that he would never denounce to the church as worthy of fire, her, who had committed no other wrong in his eyes, than that of not having explained herself in a sufficiently lucid manner, and whose religious sentiments he well knew. The virtuous prelate did not confine himself to this protest in favour of his old friend; he resolved to operate actively with Monseigneur de Noailles, who had been recently promoted to the archbishopric of Paris; he paid him several visits, and obtained from him an order for the release of Jeanne from the bastille, and her admission into a religious house of Vaurigard. He did still more, he undertook a justification of the doctrines of the poor recluse, and published the remarkable book, called "An Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Inward Life."

Bossuet replied to him, attacked his work without circumspection, denounced it to public opinion as a concealed apology for quietism, a repetition of the writings of Jeanne Guyon, and called the archbishop of Cambrai the new Montan of a second Priscilla.

Fenelon answered his adversary, complained bitterly that the bishop of Meaux had made him dream with his eyes open, and had lent him reasons which he had never held. The theological discussions soon degenerated into true disputes, and both prelates calumniated each other. To stop the scandal, Father la Chaise interfered, sided with the archbishop of Cambrai, and declared that his antagonist had passed the bounds of propriety, and showed an irritation which was entirely contrary to the precepts of apostolical charity.

Bossuet, furious at the triumph of Fenelon, cast himself at the feet of the king, asked his pardon for not having sooner denounced the abominable doctrines of the new Molinists, and accused the archbishop of Cambrai of favouring the heresy of the Quietists. This time the bishop of Meaux prevailed over his adversary, thanks to the support of Maintenon, who would not pardon Fenelon for his opposition to the publication of her secret marriage with Louis the Fourteenth. His majesty, after having listened favourably to Bossuet, wrote to the court of Rome to procure the condemnation of the book of "The Maxims of the Saints."

Notwithstanding the urgency of the monarch, his holiness manifested a great repugnance to persecuting a bishop, who had always proved himself to be one of the most zealous defenders of pontifical infallibility and omnipotence; and whilst yielding to the wishes of Louis the Fourteenth, he proceeded with extreme mildness, in hopes that the king, who was already sixty years old, and who was

worn out by debauchery, would die in the mean time. He appointed to examine the work two commissions, which held, the one twelve conferences, and the second twenty-one, without deciding upon any thing; a third commission employed fifty-two sessions in determining on the censurable propositions in "The Maxims of the Saints," and thirty-seven in deliberating on the mode in which his holiness should censure them.

Whilst this affair was occupying the Roman theologians, they were proceeding in France to an information against Father Lacombe, who was detained in the castle of Vincennes, and whom they constrained by torture to sign a writing, in which he exhorted Jeanne Guyon to repent of her guilty intimacy with him and the archbishop of Cambrai.

This confession, wrested from the poor monk, who had already become crazy from the bad treatment to which he had been submitted, was scandalously circulated in Paris, in order to cast infamy on Fenelon and the unfortunate Jeanne. It was in vain that the prelate protested against such an act, and demanded justice on his calumniators, in a letter which he sent by another prelate to Louis the Fourteenth. His majesty, instead of giving the slightest satisfaction to the archbishop of Cambrai, broke out against the ambassador, called Fenelon a fanatical protector of vice, and Jeanne a corrupt extravagant, and announced that he was about to punish the two culprits. In fact, on the next day, the archbishop received an order of exile from the gracious monarch, and Madame de la Mothe Guyon was again plunged into the dungeons of the bastille. This celebrated woman remained there a whole year, and only left them to be exiled to one of the estates of her eldest son, where she lived for fifteen years in the practice of the most edifying virtues. Father Lacombe was transferred from Vincennes to Charenton, where he died a lunatic.

The bull of the holy father finally arrived from Rome, in which were condemned twenty-three propositions from the book of "The Maxims of the Saints." The archbishop of Cambrai, who was already confined to his diocese, and did not wish to make his position worse, submitted to the ecclesiastical censures. Thus terminated the quarrel between the two most illustrious prelates of the seventeenth century, Fenelon and Bossuet.

The secular jubilee then opened, and the gold of the people was engulfed in the apostolic treasury; but Innocent the Twelfth had not the joy of contemplating the wealth which accumulated in the cellars of the Vatican; a slow fever, which weakened him for several months, carried him off on the 18th of September, 1700.

During the seventeenth century we have seen the pontiffs of Rome consume themselves in powerless efforts to dispute with kings, the prerogatives of their omnipotence, and become reduced, in order to escape from their nothingness, to excite theological quarrels, in order to give birth to heresies, and

even to encourage direct attacks against religion, thus preferring sarcasm and strife to the indifference and forgetfulness of men. In the eighteenth century we will see the proud successors of the apostle crushed by a legion of

sublime geniuses, and France finally break the double chains of superstition and despotism, sap the foundations of the papal colossus, break the sceptres of kings, and make a giant stride towards the conquest of liberty.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

### CLEMENT THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST POPE.

*State of the church in the eighteenth century—Election of Clement the Eleventh—The history of the pope before his exaltation—He recognises the son of James the Second as king of England—He foments the divisions caused by the succession of Spain—He wishes to seize the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily—Death of the abbe de Rancé, the reformer of the Trappists—Quarrels between the Jansenists and Molinists on cases of conscience—Inundation and earthquake at Rome—The pope extorts money from France—Crusade against the Quiesnellists—The Chinese worship is condemned at Rome—Death of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux—Bull *Vincam Domini*—Universal jubilee—The pope, after having declared for France in the war of the succession, joins the Empire—Knavery of Clement the Eleventh—Destruction of Port Royal des Champs—Assassination of the cardinal de Tournon by the Jesuits—Bull *Unigenitus*—Cabals of Father Tellier to have the bull received in the kingdom—Protest of the cardinal de Noailles and the French bishops against the constitution *Unigenitus*—Fenelon adheres to the bull—His death—Singular discovery of the antichristian belief of Fenelon—The Jesuit Tellier is driven from court by the duke of Orleans, the regent of France—Dispute between the Holy See and Savoy concerning the monarchy of Sicily—The abbe Alberoni and the Duke de Vendome—Alberoni becomes the minister of Philip the Fifth, king of Spain—Quarrel between Clement the Eleventh and Alberoni—The latter extorts from the pope the hat of a cardinal—The abbe Dubois, the confidant and minister of the regent of France, endeavours to have bull "*Unigenitus*" received, in order to obtain the Roman purple—Letter of his holiness to the duke of Orleans—Bull "*Pastoralis Officii*"—The tribunal of the inquisition at Rome condemns the pastoral instruction of the archbishop of Paris—New disputes between Clement the Eleventh and Cardinal Alberoni—The pope causes the minister to be exiled from the Spanish dominions—His holiness makes efforts to unite the Russian to the Roman church—The Czar Peter the Great makes his buffoon pope, and marries him in public with grotesque ceremonies—Death of Clement the Eleventh.*

We are entering upon the eighteenth century, that is to say, on a period in which we shall see the sacerdotal influence annihilated, and the reason of mankind develops itself in a prodigious manner. Until now, man was wandering in the midst of thick darkness, the truth appeared to him but as a doubtful light in a morbid atmosphere; in the eighteenth century philosophy enlightens the minds of all, and mankind reconquers its rights.

How can the vessel of St. Peter, accustomed to sail in a dark and muddy sea, float in the ocean of light which covered the world? How can the papacy resist the formidable attacks of adversaries sworn to annihilate it, those terrible encyclopedists, those fathers of modern philosophy? The explanation of it is simple; the popes, finding themselves outflanked by the progress of the age, formed a connection with kings, made common cause with them, sought more than ever to prop the spiritual authority by material power, and marched to a sacrilegious crusade against the nations, sustained by the despots, and a cohort of Jesuits, priests, monks, nobles, and all that infernal brood which devours the substance

of the people, and consumes the fruits of the earth in shameful idleness.

In the conclave which, as usual, was held at Rome, after the obsequies of Innocent the Twelfth, to proceed to the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals chose, as the most capable of steering the ship of St. Peter in the stormy times in which the church was, the cardinal John Francis Albani, aged only fifty years, and one of the youngest members of the sacred college, and proclaimed him pope by the name of Clement the Eleventh.

The new head of the church was descended from a noble family of Urbino; he had before filled the post of referendary, counsellor of the consistory, governor of Rieti, Civita Vecchia, and Sabino, and had, finally, been raised to the cardinalate by his predecessor. Having but just seated himself on the pontifical throne, he was employed with the ceremonies which take place at the close of each jubilee, and which are called "shutting the holy door;" he then took the reins of government in hand and placed himself as the arbiter of the destinies of Europe.

He addressed a brief to James the Second,

the dethroned king of Great Britain, who had come to France to hide his shame, to console him in his exile, and to announce to him in the name of God, that he would return in triumph to London with an escort of Jesuits; a prediction which, most happily for England, was not realised. Some months afterwards, the infamous James the Second surrendered his soul to the devil in the castle of St. Germain en Laye, and made this singular exhortation to the prince of Wales his son, whose legitimacy was more than suspected: "Remember, my son, that if you ever remount the throne, we owe all to the pope and the Jesuits; spare no means to re-establish the Catholic religion in your kingdom; burn, sack, murder, and remember that is better to gain heaven than to merit the blessings of the people." The young prince promised to follow these instructions faithfully; immediately after the death of his father, he took the name of James the Third, and styled himself king of Great Britain, a title by which two or three valets, attached to his person, and the apostolic nuncio, saluted him.

The solicitude of Clement the Eleventh for the Stuarts, had only regard to the interests of the Holy See; for the pontiff did not believe they could ever be reinstated on the throne of Great Britain, and he appeared so ardent in maintaining their interests only to excite disturbances in the three kingdoms, and call off the attention of the powers to that quarter, whilst he was preparing to seize Sicily, or the Milanese, or even the kingdom of Naples, which excited his covetousness.

These reasons of high policy determined him to pronounce secretly in favour of France, which had accepted the succession of Spain for Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, whilst remaining ostensibly a careless spectator of the long and bloody wars which the houses of Austria and Bourbon were waging. It was the intention of his holiness to preserve, as far as he could, an absolute neutrality, and not to recognise either Philip the Fifth or the archduke Charles as the lawful king of Spain, until the fate of arms had made the balance incline to one side or the other. But circumstances forced him, almost from the commencement of hostilities, to abandon the prudent line of conduct he had marked out. Alarmed by the rapidity of the march of the French armies, which had already invaded the Milanese, he thought that victory would remain constant to the generals of Louis the Fourteenth, and he hastened to declare that he regarded the wishes of the dead king of Spain as obligatory, and informed the belligerent powers that he would employ all the force of his authority to protect its execution in all that concerned the states of the Spanish peninsula.

He then put his frontier places in a state of defence, and levied an army to protect the ecclesiastical states, in case that through a reverse of fortune he should have to dread the vengeance of Austria. He sent a brief to the emperor to induce him not to choose Italy as

the theatre of the war, or at least to spare the patrimony of St. Peter. But all his exhortations produced no effect; Prince Eugene entered the Milanese, restored the affairs of the archduke, made the pope tremble even in Rome, and compelled him to return to his former declarations.

If the sovereign pontiff appeared to be undecided in the political questions which were agitated around him, by way of compensation, he decided boldly in the theological quarrels, which had sprung up anew between the Molinists and Jansenists, on the occasion of a letter published by the abbe de Rancé, the reformer of the abbey of la Trappe, a fanatical debauchee, who, in despair at having lost the dutchess of Montbazon, his mistress, had renounced the world and retired to a solitude, to practise there the austerities of the first anchorites of the Thebaïde. Before his retreat Rancé had entertained the ideas of the Jansenists, and following their example had condemned the pontifical omnipotence, the institution of the Jesuits, and the tyranny of kings: he had even declared himself a partizan of republican doctrines as being the application of the doctrine of fraternity preached by Christ. As soon as the cowl had re-covered his head, he prostrated himself before the papal infallibility, and on the death of Arnaud, the illustrious leader of the Jansenists, dared to write to the abbot Nicaise: "The great Arnaud is dead at last; after having pushed his career as far as he could, it has terminated. However they may talk, the question is settled; his condition and his authority were a great weight for his party. Blessed is he who has no other than Jesus . . ."

This reflection, which appeared to be a blame cast on the Jesuits, induced an energetic reply on the part of Father Quesnel, who was considered by his party as the successor of Arnaud, and who continued the work of propagation, although forced to conceal himself, and remain hidden in the environs of Brussels. Rancé replied, that he had not wished to condemn his old friends, that his intentions had been misinterpreted. The Jansenists were not satisfied, and demanded a formal retraction. The reformer of la Trappe answered as tartly, and the dispute became daily more embittered up to the time of his death.

As soon as Rancé had closed his eyes, the Molinists published an apocryphal letter attributed to the Trappists, which was extremely violent against the followers of the bishop of Ypres, and renewed their attacks against the five propositions. Father Quesnel, instead of replying, made use of the trick of a priest to surprise and conquer his adversaries; he imagined this case of conscience. He supposed the case of a provincial confessor, who, undecided as to the manner of behaving toward an ecclesiastical whose orthodoxy he suspected, had interrogated him on several points of doctrine; and in his pamphlet the skilful theologian asked the doctors to give him their opinion on the different replies the

priest made to the confessor. The following are some of the controverted points :

"I condemn the five propositions attributed to Jansenius in the sense in which the church has condemned them ; but on the question of fact, I think it is enough for me to maintain a silent and respectful submission, and as long as I shall not have been judicially convicted of having maintained any of these propositions, my belief cannot be suspected. In order, however, to reassure alarmed consciences, I will add this profession of faith : 'I believe that being obliged to love God as the end towards which we tend, all actions which do not refer to him, and which are not induced by some motive of charity or love, are so many sins. I affirm that it is a great sin to assist at divine service without any feeling of repentance, and with the wish to persevere in the irregularities of a condemnable life ; I do not believe that devotion to the saints and the Virgin consists principally in the vain forms and ridiculous practices which certain rituals teach us ; finally, I declare that in reading the Letters of St. Cyran, the Hours of Dumont, the conferences of Lucon, the Morality of Grenoble, I am acting in conformity with the rules of the church, which recommend the reading of religious books which are duly approved of.'" Forty doctors united to reply to this consultation. They declared that the sentiments of the ecclesiastic were not culpable, and that absolution might be granted him without exacting any retraction.

This decision was printed at Paris, and a large number of copies struck off. The Molinists were embittered at the forty doctors who had approved of the case of conscience, and the fiery Bossuet pursued them with extreme violence. The bishop of Chartres imitated his example, as did the archbishop of Paris, the cardinal de Noailles. This prelate declared that the case of conscience was contrary to the pontifical constitutions, tended to perpetuate troubles in the church, to favour equivocations, mental restrictions, and perjuries ; and he summoned the doctors, under penalty of exclusion from the Sorbonne, and even of exile, to revoke their first decision. All obeyed, excepting only the doctor Petit Pied, who was constrained to leave the kingdom.

Queanel immediately addressed a vigorous letter to the cardinal de Noailles ; he condemned, in energetic terms, the violence which had been employed towards the doctors, to constrain them to a forced submission, which he called a public and outrageous falsehood, false testimony drawn forth by terror, shameful prevarication, unworthy cowardice. He followed up this new epistle by a small work in the form of a dialogue between two bishops. Among other stinging criticisms, one of these persons introduced on the scene, says to the other :

"We do not flatter, my dear lord ; in a matter of reason, the mitre, the tiara, and the cross go for nothing ; a crossed and mitred reason is still a human reason ; we are the more liable to be deceived, since the episco-

pal functions engage us in a great number of puerile occupations, which we have not time to study and explore. To impose then on the faithful the decisions of a man, subject like all other men, as articles of faith, is to wish to degrade mankind."

This attack was too openly directed against pontifical infallibility for Clement the Eleventh not to hasten to fulminate his anathemas against the author of the case of conscience. His holiness excommunicated him, and sent to the king of France and the archbishop of Paris two terrible briefs against the Jansenists. "They are minds sprung from darkness to trouble the peace of kingdoms and the church," said the holy father, in his epistles ; "they are audacious demons, who wish to overthrow the papacy and royalty ; they are heretical republicans ; agitators of the people, who must be silenced ; finally, they are rebels, who must be repressed, tamed, even cut down by the edge of the sword, before they have undermined the foundations of the altar and the throne."

Louis the Fourteenth, who had all Europe against him, thought it imprudent to execute the orders of his holiness in all their force ; he contented himself with banishing some refractory Jansenists, and with imposing silence on both parties. His majesty was not, besides, favourably disposed towards the holy father, on account of his refusal to give the investiture of Naples to Philip the Fifth ; and his discontent was even increased by a matter of arbitration which had been carried to the tribunal of Clement the Eleventh, on the subject of a contest between the duchess of Orleans and the elector Palatine.

This prince, the head of the Palatine branch of Neubourg, and the brother of the empress, had succeeded a brother of Madame, who died childless. The duchess had presented herself as the heiress of the personal property, which was large, and of the female fiefs pertaining to the electorate, which had brought on very grave discussions. The two parties appealed, the one to the emperor, the other to the king of France, and obtained from them judgments dictated by the interests of their dynasties, which satisfied no one. As a last resort, the two families had referred it to the pope. It was at the time when the victories of Prince Eugene made the balance incline in favour of the emperor. His holiness ranged himself as usual on the side of the conqueror, confirmed the sentence pronounced by Leopold the First, declared the pretensions of Madame badly founded, and condemned the elector Palatine to pay her only three hundred thousand Roman crowns. The court of France maintained that the pope had surpassed his powers, and instructed the abbot of Thesac solemnly to protest, in the name of Madame, against this judgment.

His holiness was not disturbed by the anger of Louis the Fourteenth, being assured that he was under the protection of the emperor, who was then victorious ; but as it was the destiny of Clement the Eleventh only to es-

## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

cape from one danger to fall into another, his apprehensions of war were scarcely quieted, when two terrible events plunged Rome into consternation. In consequence of heavy rains, the Tiber rose above its banks, buried all the country under water, and destroyed the crops; then an earthquake, which lasted almost fifteen minutes, threw down whole streets, and buried very many inhabitants beneath the ruins of their houses. Thus on the one side the inundation of the Tiber, and on the other the earthquake, contributed to render the position of the pope extremely critical. Within the holy city, as without, the exhalations which escaped from the slime the river had left in retiring, had corrupted the atmosphere and engendered pestilential fevers, which daily carried off thousands of victims. The misery had become so universal, so profound, that two thirds of the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of living on herbs, and those who wished to obtain a little bread or meat to sustain their miserable existence, were compelled to prostitute their wives or daughters to the ecclesiastics, who alone were rich enough to purchase this precious food. It was at once a curious and afflicting spectacle, to behold the dwellings of the priests transformed into so many seraglios, in which were to be found the youngest and handsomest girls of Rome. There was not the meanest clerk, who, under the pretext of charity, had not collected several of these unfortunates.

His holiness was alarmed by the consequences which might result from such licentiousness, and issued a bull enjoining on priests, prelates, and cardinals to maintain a conduct more in conformity with the priestly character, under penalty of being disgraced; he ordered them to restore at once to their families the women and young girls whom they had in their residences; he, moreover, expressly prohibited every ecclesiastic, under penalty of interdiction, from becoming intoxicated, gambling, or taking part in any orgies whilst Rome was in distress.

Other measures were then adopted to remedy the disasters which had fallen on the holy city. The council of the sovereign pontiff had the wisdom to decree, that the citizens, whose houses had been thrown down, should be exempted from imposts for several years; that poor young girls should be maintained at the expense of the city, and placed under the supervision of matrons, to prevent them from prostituting themselves for a livelihood, and, finally, that all public festivals and rejoicings should be suspended until a return of prosperity.

Admirable as were these ordinances, they were but a feeble solace for the evils of all kinds which burthened the population of Rome; that which starving people needed, was cargoes of corn; but the treasury of St. Peter was dry, and not in a condition to make extraordinary expenses. The cardinals had so well trafficked away their votes in the election of Clement the Eleventh, that all the wealth which was in the cellars of the Vati-

can, at the death of Innocent the Eleventh, as well as the enormous sums arising from the jubilee had passed into their hands. The holy father naturally turned towards France to repair the disorders which his simoniacal election had made in the finances; but like a skilful politician, he first restored the friendly intercourse between the court of Versailles and his see, which had for some time past received rude shocks. The occasion, moreover, suited admirably.

The archduke Charles had proclaimed himself, at Vienna, sovereign of Spain, by the name of Charles the Third, and had transmitted this information to the ambassadors of the empire at Rome, enjoining on them to celebrate this great event in the national church of the Germans, in order to force the pope, and engage him openly in their interests. His holiness did not fall into the snare; he sent for the representatives of Louis the Fourteenth and Philip the Fifth, to come to the Vatican, and declared to them that he did not approve of the demonstrations of the plenipotentiaries of the archduke; that if the law of nations prevented him from prohibiting the celebration of a religious festival, he should at least take measures to show to all Europe, that he did not recognise the son of the emperor as the lawful king of the Spaniards. In fact, the cardinal Carpegna informed the Austrian ambassadors, that the pope would prohibit them the use of the German church, if they exposed his portrait with that of the archduke, clothed in the insignia of Spanish royalty.

This conduct procured for Clement the Eleventh, a reconciliation with the great king, and a large sum of money for alms. Father la Chaise, as well as all the French Jesuits, hastened to take advantage of the circumstances, and proposed to his holiness to allow him new subsidies, if in return he would consent to pronounce against the Jansenists, and employ his influence over the king of Spain, to obtain the surrender of Father Quesnel, who, from his retreat, did not cease to carry on a rough war with them. Clement the Eleventh agreed to the bargain, and induced Philip the Fifth to give an order to the marquis of Bedman, who commanded for him in the Low Countries, to seize Quesnel and his disciples wherever they were.

The spies of the Jesuits had already discovered the retreat of their formidable adversary, and as soon as the Spanish governor received the instructions of his sovereign, it became easy for him to make the arrest. A troop of police agents, conducted by the Jesuits, went into a part of the country, called the Refuge de Forêt, where the venerable Jansenist dwelt, and led him away prisoner to the archbishop of Brussels. Fortunately, a French gentleman enabled him to escape, and furnished him with the means of getting to Holland. They, however, continued proceedings against the papers they had discovered in his retreat, and condemned him for contumacy to excommunication and confinement in a monastery, until the Holy See, or rather

the Jesuits were satisfied; prohibiting him from printing any thing, under penalty of perpetual imprisonment.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola immediately thundered forth songs of victory, and proclaimed every where that they were in favour with the pope. This success emboldened them to dare to ask Clement the Eleventh, to proceed to judgment on the affair of Chinese worship, which had been pending at the court of Rome for a great many years. It was as follows:—In 1645, during the pontificate of Innocent the Tenth, in accordance with the report of Father Morales, a Dominican, the society of the propaganda had provisionally prohibited the worship which the Jesuits rendered to Confucius in the Catholico-Chinese ceremonies, which these good fathers used to obtain the confidence of the emperor, the mandarins, and the people of the Celestial empire; Alexander the Seventh, on the other hand, had in 1656, on the remonstrances of Father Martini, a Jesuit, authorised, through the congregation of the inquisition, the exercise of the same ceremonies, and had declared that they were necessary for the maintenance of Catholicism in China. Notwithstanding this decision, the different religious orders, who disputed for the glory of establishing their sway in these provinces, continued to carry on a violent war against each other, which threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the Chinese empire, and drew on them a long persecution by the sovereign.

Up to 1684, the quarrels had lost neither their vivacity nor their animosity, when Father Gregory Lopez, a Dominican, who had gone over into the camp of the Jesuits, and had been made, through their influence, bishop of Basileum, apostolic vicar, and then titular metropolitan of the capital of China, wrote to the pontiff in the same year:—"Most holy father, I have learned, that my former brethren, the Dominicans, led away by a false zeal, have written to you that my defection was a dishonour to the order, and have sought to injure me in your opinion. I hasten then to explain my conduct to you. If I have joined the Jesuits, it is because I discovered that their methods of propagating Catholicism were preferable to those of the other orders; and I could the better judge of it, since I am a Chinese by birth, and consequently fitter than another to decide what suits the men of the country, being better learned in the language, and more skilful in reading Chinese books than any European."

These letters of Lopez provoked new decretals from Alexander the Seventh, which confirmed the former bulls concerning the Chinese rites, and authorised the worship rendered to Confucius, as well as the ceremonies celebrated in honour of the dead, though their worship constituted a true adoration, and these dead ceremonies were to be positively regarded as sacrilegious and idolatrous, according to the spirit of the Christian religion. These practices consisted, for the inhabitants of the Chinese empire, in prostrating themselves

until their forehead touched the ground, at the sacred name of the philosopher, written in large characters on a box exposed on a table, with incense pans and lighted candles. The mandarins rendered this adoration to him when they took possession of their governments, bachelors when they received their degrees, governors of cities and men of letters renewed it twice a month. The ceremonies celebrated in honour of the dead were three in number, and were practised at different periods. That which took place before inhumation, consisted in placing the portrait of the deceased on a table before a coffin, and above it a box which bore the name of the dead. Flowers, perfumes and lighted candles, were arranged symmetrically on both sides, after which the relatives and friends came to take part in the grief, saluted the coffin, prostrated themselves, struck the earth with their foreheads, and deposited near the box, the perfumes, flowers, fruits, and candles they had brought.

The second commemorative ceremony took place twice a year; on those days every family spread a table on which was placed the portrait of their most illustrious ancestor. On the right and left, on tablets, were traced the names of the other dead of the family, with the quality, employment, age, and day of decease of each of them. All the relatives assembled in this saloon, and came to deposit on the table decanters of wine, plates of food, perfumes, and candles, without failing to make the usual genuflexions and salutes.

The third ceremony was practised but once a year, at the beginning of the month of May. The heads of families went with their wives and children into the cemeteries where their relatives were interred, tore away the thorns and plants which surrounded the tombs, reiterated the marks of grief and respect they had paid them at the time of their death, and placed on the tombstones food and wine, of which they made a sumptuous repast. Such was the national worship which the disciples of Ignatius Loyola were willing to retain, the better to assure their rule over the people.

A member of the society of the propaganda, named Maigrot, scandalized by the conduct of the Jesuits, undertook to put an end to such crying abuses; he made a terrible statement which he sent secretly to the commission of the holy office, beseeching it to order an inquiry, and have the truth of his charges verified. The matter was conducted with so much mystery, that the company of Jesus was not informed of what was going on against them for two years, and then by a writing called "Questions in regard to the Chinese ceremonies," which Pope Innocent the Twelfth communicated to them. This book excited a general reprobation against the good fathers throughout all Europe, whom it accused of being nothing less than favourers of idolatry, and corrupters of the Catholic religion. A letter of the minister Jurieu, the head of the foreign missions, gave them a still more terrible blow, and became the signal for a strife in which crowds of pamphleteers, of every be-



lief, took part. The children of Ignatius, however, made head against the storm, and obtained a delay of the judgment which the society of the propaganda was ordered to make. At last, in despite of their intrigues, the court of Rome sanctioned, by a decree of the 20th. of November, 1704, the sentence which the society had already rendered against the Chinese worship, and ordered the cardinal de Tournon to go into the Celestial empire to abolish idolatry, and arrest the disorders of the missionaries.

Whilst the Society of Jesus was undergoing this check, to increase its misfortune, it lost one of its fiercest adepts. In his turn disappeared from the earth the famous Bossuet, that proud prelate, so terrible to the weak, so basely servile to the strong. This proud bishop who, during the whole course of his life, had shown himself to be the apologist of absolute monarchy, and of excessive Catholicism, the champion of authority under its most tyrannical forms, the apostle of the edifice which all minds were engaged in demolishing, the enemy of that liberty which his essentially despotic genius could not understand, and which France was preparing to salute with enthusiasm.

He died dressing himself in his shroud, boasting of the triumphs which he had gained, and enumerating, with a ferocious joy, the number of victims whom he had crushed—Arnaud, all the cohort of Port Royal, Fenelon, Jeanne Guyon, Father Lacombe, and so many others besides! And yet this insolent priest, so harsh, so implacable towards others, had not only trespassed several times in his life, but even, what will seem incredible, had urged his irreverence for the Catholic religion so far as to violate the sacred laws of the church. Bossuet the Jesuit, the bishop of Meaux, the excessive fanatic, was married. This fact is attested, in a formal manner, by Jean Denis, the secretary of the cardinal de Bissy, who has left us very interesting memoirs of the court and clergy of France.

Voltaire also declares, that several members of the family of Secousse, which was allied to that of Mademoiselle Desvieux, the wife of Bossuet, related to him the details of this affair. We will add, in corroboration of these proofs, that the archives of the city of Meaux show, that the bishop had acquired for one Mademoiselle Desvieux, the property de Maulèn, of which she took the name; that it was publicly notorious that his eminence made large and frequent sacrifices of money for her; that he saw her frequently, familiarly, and lengthily, at her own house, at all hours of the day and night; that he was much in debt for her; that at his death, his heirs having refused to pay his debts, the creditors had commenced proceedings against the domains of the pretended lady of Maulèn, and had probed judicially, that she was the lawful wife of the prelate; that the latter, to save her property, had threatened the relatives of Bossuet to make her marriage contract public; and that the family, to avoid dishonouring his memory, had deter-

mined to pay the debts. But though the proceedings were at once suspended, it remained none the less proved, for all those who had assisted in the controversy of this singular affair, that Madame de Maulèn was well and duly the lawful wife of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

This family quarrel excited at the time but little attention, the minds of men being strongly occupied by the wars of the succession, and the persecutions directed by the great king against the unfortunate Calvinists of Cevennes, the Vivarais, and Gevaudan. In these last provinces it arose from the vexatious proceedings of which the agents of the police and the officers of the despot were guilty. They drove the poor people who could not pay the capitation, from their huts; and some of them went so far as to sell, in the public place, the straw which served for their beds. Exasperated by such treatment, the Calvinists resolved to take vengeance on their oppressors. In several villages of the Cevennes they assembled in numerous bands, surrounded the houses of the receivers by night, seized the fiscal officers, and hung them to trees with their lists attached to their necks. To avoid being recognised, the executioners of this terrible justice had placed shirts over their clothes, which gave them the name of Camisards. The revolt soon extended through the whole chain of the Cevennes, and Louis the Fourteenth had no other mode of crushing the heresy, but to proceed to a general massacre of the Calvinists. Perhaps the great king would not have succeeded in taming this courageous population, if he had not been seconded by the Jesuits in the work of extermination.

Therefore when these latter, with their hands dripping in the blood of the Camisards, presented themselves before the king to claim his interference in their quarrels with the Jansenists, his majesty sent at once an ambassador to the court of Rome, to solicit from Clement the Eleventh a new bull of excommunication against the disciples of the great Arnaud. The pontiff conformed to the wishes of Louis the Fourteenth, and fulminated the terrible bull "Vincam Domini," in which his holiness attacked directly the respectful silence, under the pretext, that the subterfuge of the case of conscience prevented them from condemning internally the book of Jansenius as heretical, that it destroyed no error, and did not satisfy the obedience due to the apostolic constitutions. Thus, the Jansenists could neither speak nor keep silence without being declared guilty of heresy; and there remained no alternative for them but that of submitting to the Jesuits, their implacable enemies.

Louis the Fourteenth presented the bull of the pope to the parliament for registry, and to avoid all opposition on the part of the young counsellors, he joined to it a declaration, in which he announced his wish to dry up the source of a poisonous doctrine, to dissipate the miserable remains of an error which reappeared under a thousand forms, glided about in darkness, and even fortified itself by

silence. The bull was registered, and then sent to all the bishops of the kingdom.

It had been first submitted to an examination of an assembly of the clergy, presided over by the cardinal de Noailles; and the prelate, while accepting it, declared that the constitutions of the popes were not always infallible, even in the decision of facts of doctrine. Clement the Eleventh protested earnestly against the irreverence of such language, and obtained from Louis, that the archbishop of Paris should be compelled to retract what he had advanced in the meeting of the French bishops, and to recognise that the head of the church possessed the privilege of absolute infallibility in matters of faith.

His holiness was then engaged in remodeling his finances, and found no better means of making the gold of the simple flow into his coffers, than by publishing an extraordinary jubilee. But as it was scarcely six years since the secular jubilee had taken place, he took for his theme the necessity resting on the church to implore the Divinity to put an end to the wars. This move succeeded marvelously well; bands of imbecile pilgrims came from all parts, who gave their money in exchange for benedictions, indulgences, exemptions, absolutions, and other merchandise of the same kind.

Notwithstanding the prayers of the devout, the war still continued; and the troops of Prince Eugene invaded the duchy of Ferrara, and seized on the strong places which were most convenient to enable them to ransack the people of the neighbouring provinces. The pontiff, seeing the indifference of celestial powers to succour him, tried terrestrial means to resist the arms of the emperor. He threw three thousand men into the city of Ferrara, to place it in a condition to sustain a siege, and gave the command of it to the cardinal Casoni; he then levied a corps of four thousand foot soldiers for the defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, appointed the count Marsigli generalissimo of his armies, and formed a defensive league with all the petty princes who had the same interest as himself in repulsing the arms of the house of Austria. These expenses having made a large hole in his purse, he was constrained to ask authority from the sacred college to draw upon the treasures of Sixtus the Fifth, which were deposited in the cellars of the castle of San Angelo, and which a law prohibited from touching, unless the existence of the Holy See were in danger.

These measures, though wisely combined, produced no favourable result; Prince Eugene led his victorious armies through all the provinces of Italy; Naples even fell beneath the sway of the archduke, through the treason of the cardinal Grimani, who was its viceroy—"a wretch of the first order," says St. Simon, "who took no pains to conceal his turpitudes; a violent and furious priest, who was the avowed enemy of Clement the Eleventh." Already had the dominions of the grand duke of Tuscany, the dukes of Parma and Pis-

cenza, the republic of Genoa, and a great number of cities been constrained to receive German garrisons, and to pay enormous contributions for the war.

In this extremity, the pope determined to open negotiations with the marquis de Prie, the plenipotentiary of the emperor. The latter made, as a first condition for the withdrawal of the troops from the states of the church, that Clement should make a promotion of a cardinal in the name of the archduke, and should give to that prince the title of king of Spain. His holiness made some difficulty in yielding to this demand, since he comprehended that such a manifestation would place him at enmity with the king of France, and compromise his temporal authority; but on the announcement that the prince of Darmstadt was quitting Naples to come to Rome with his army, and that the Anglo-Dutch fleet had appeared on the waters of Livourna, he declared that he was ready to do what the emperor required. The marquis de Prie having become more exacting, since he had perceived the alarm of the holy father, went to the pontifical palace, and announced to the cardinals assembled in consistory, that the ecclesiastical states would be placed in fire and blood, unless his holiness immediately subscribed to the following conditions: 1. "That he should disarm his strong places, dismiss all his troops, and retain neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards in his service; 2. That he should recognise the archduke as lawful sovereign of Spain, by the name of Charles the Third, and should grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; 3. That he should grant winter quarters to fifteen thousand imperialists in different places of the church; 4. That he should pay a contribution of a hundred thousand Roman crowns towards defraying the expenses of the war.

Clement asked for a respite of some days, to be enabled to implore the mercy of God, and to beseech him to soften the heart of the emperor, that he might obtain more favourable terms. He made, on this occasion, processions through all the streets of Rome, and traversed the holy city, followed by his clergy; but the marquis de Prie was not moved by the tears of the holy father, and abated none of his pretensions. His holiness, finding that he had neither peace nor truce to hope for from his enemy, determined to ask mercy, yielded to the demands of the Austrian ambassador, and solemnly recognised the archduke as lawful king of Spain, in the presence of the ambassadors of the courts of France and Madrid. The latter protested against such a violation of the oaths of his holiness; they declared this recognition null, since neither Clement the Eleventh nor his cardinals could revoke a preceding bull granted voluntarily, in which they recognised Philip the Fifth as the sole and lawful king of the Spanish peninsula; they then sallied forth from the Vatican, and quitted Rome.

On the same day, a treaty was signed between the church and the empire; hostili-

was immediately ceased in the ecclesiastical states, the blockade of Ferrara was raised, and the hostile troops who were in the neighbourhood of Rome, immediately returned to join the army at Naples.

Scarcely had the imperialists quitted the territories of the church, when Clement the Eleventh, in contempt of the engagements which he had contracted with the emperor, proceeded publicly to bless the swaddling clothes of a child to which the wife of Philip the Fifth had given birth, and sent them to Madrid by an extraordinary nuncio, who had orders to assist at the oath which the deputies of Spain were to take to the young prince of the Asturias, in recognising him as the presumptive heir to the crown. He then convened the cardinals in convocation, to decide if he had a right to recognise the archduke as the heir of King Charles the Second. There, as was expected, the members of the sacred college, who were favourable to the house of Austria, decided in the affirmative; the Italians, who were the most numerous, protested that this recognition was null of itself, having been wrested by force of arms. The sovereign pontiff used this divergency of opinions as a pretext for not deciding between the two parties, and for maintaining his system of neutrality, whilst having recognised two kings of Spain.

From that time Clement the Eleventh did not appear to trouble himself any more about this political question, and gave all his attention to the new persecutions by the Jesuits against the Jansenists, on the occasion of a translation of the New Testament which Father Quessel had published, with commentaries on each verse, or "moral reflections." This book was but a new edition of a work which Bishop Vialart had approved of in 1671, which the Doctors Hideux and du Pin had accepted in 1687, to which the cardinal de Noailles had given his approval in 1693, and of which he had said, among other things, "We find here all that is most beautiful and touching that the fathers have written concerning the gospel, and that the most sublime truths of religion were there treated with that force and mildness of the Holy Spirit which make them relished by the hardest hearts." It was, however, on its reappearance handed over by the Jesuits for the censure of the court of Rome, and the body charged to examine it declared that it was heretical in all its parts, that it was not susceptible of correction, and that the reading of it should be absolutely prohibited. In conformity with this decision, Clement the Eleventh proscribed this New Testament with the moral reflections, by a brief which prohibited the printing and reading of it; he, moreover, enjoined on the faithful who possessed copies of it, to carry them to the inquisitors of the faith, that they might be burned.

This last clause, which was contrary to the usages of France, in which temporal executions are reserved for the secular power, prevented the brief from being received in that kingdom. The Jesuits, however, cried out

victory, and Father Tellier, who had been appointed confessor to the king, solemnly announced that he was about to crush Jansenism which he called a hydra with a thousand heads. He began by attacking Port Royal des Champs, which he regarded as the hearthstone of the evil, and which, however, was but a poor monastery, inhabited by some old nuns. Father la Chaise had already induced Louis the Fourteenth to make an edict prohibiting the nuns from admitting any girl to make a profession, for which cause the community insensibly dwindled away; but Father Tellier did not think the remedy sufficient, he wished to finish it at a blow, so that if any of these poor women survived the great king, they might not be able to ask from his successor for authority to receive novices.

A pretext was not wanting for him to attain his ends; the venerable Jesuit revived the bull "Veniam Domini," which had proscribed respectful silence, and under pretext that the nuns of Port Royal des Champs were guilty of keeping silence, he caused the cardinal de Noailles to enjoin on them, in the name of the king, to sign the bull without restriction. The holy girls refused to do as they were bid, and appealed to the pope. His holiness decided that it was unnecessary to constrain the nuns to sign the bull without restriction; it was enough for them to have approved of it under the benefit of the peace of Clement the Ninth. This result was not what Father Tellier had expected, and the reply of the pontiff appeared to him to be a Gordian knot, easier to cut than to untie; he then resolved to change his batteries to obtain the suppression of the monastery. He availed himself of the division of the nuns of Port Royal into two houses; that of Paris, which was placed under the direction of the company of Jesus, and that of des Champs, to represent to his royal penitent that the latter of these communities had been maintained through toleration; that it was best for the interests of religion to unite all the nuns of that abbey, in order to place things on their former footing, and he proposed to preserve the convent of Paris, which was very important, in preference to that of des Champs, which had scarcely the means of subsistence, and which contained only some obstinate old women, whom it was impossible to bring to reason on questions of doctrine.

His majesty, never refusing the good father any thing, issued a decree in council, by virtue of which Port Royal des Champs was invested during the night by detachments of French and Swiss guards, under the orders of d'Argenson, the lieutenant of police, the doors were broken in by squads of the guard, the nuns dragged from their cells in their night dresses, and conducted to the chapter to listen to a letter de cachet, which suppressed the community, and condemned them to seclusion in other monasteries. In consequence of this order the poor nuns were immediately put into carriages, and conducted separately to different convents, situated at twenty, thirty, and even fifty leagues from Paris. To heighten

the ignominy, each carriage was escorted by horse archers, as was done when public women were removed. When the house was empty, d'Argenson had it rummaged by his police blood hounds from the eaves to the cellar, seized all the papers, and carried them to Father Tellier, rendering to him an account of the expedition. The good father, encouraged by his success, wished to render his victory complete by annihilating even the buildings of this celebrated community. He solicited and obtained an order from the great king, which enjoined on the families of those whose ancestors were interred in Port Royal des Champs, to have them exhumed and taken elsewhere, in a month's time; then, and still by a royal ordinance, he caused the church and abbey to be razed, as was the custom with the houses of regicides, without leaving one stone on another; only, it was not sown with salt, thanks to the interference of the archbishop of Paris, who interfered to prevent this last profanation.

Thus Father Tellier attained the end he had proposed, and the Society of Jesus could add this triumph to that which they obtained in China over the cardinal de Tournon. This venerable prelate had been sent, about the year 1704, with the title of patriarch of Antioch, and apostolic vicar, to verify the exactness of the accusations brought against the Jesuits, and to interdict the idolatrous ceremonies which those religions had practised, contrary to the rules of the church. On his arrival in the Celestial empire, the patriarch had satisfied himself of the fidelity of the reports which had been made to the sovereign pontiff, and, in conformity with his instructions, had assembled at Canton the heads of the different missions, on whom he had enjoined, in the name of the Holy See, to take from their churches the signs and emblems which pertained to the worship of Confucius, of heaven, and of ancestors.

The Jesuits dared not resist him openly; but they acted in the dark, and used their influence over the emperor Khang-li, to indispose him towards the legate, and represented the patriarch as a dangerous fanatic, who had come to China to subvert religion and reduce the people of Asia beneath the sway of the Roman pontiff. The monarch, who was excessively jealous of his absolute authority, saw an enemy in the patriarch; when the latter came to Peking to be admitted to his presence, he gave him an ungracious reception, and on the next day sent him an order to quit his capital immediately. The prelate obeyed, quitted the court of the Celestial empire, went to Nankin and published the famous edict in which he interdicted the Christians of China from the idolatrous practices authorised by the Jesuits, and enjoined on the missionaries to conform to his instructions under penalty of ecclesiastical censures.

This command excited the anger of the Jesuits very much; without losing time they solicited and obtained an order from the emperor to arrest the patriarch and conduct him

to Macao, where he was thrown into a dungeon, ironed hand and foot, and submitted to frightful treatment. At the same time, the society wrote to the court of Rome against the apostolic vicar, and demanded his recall. But Clement the Eleventh, notwithstanding his attachment to this company, dared not affront the judgment of men, and instead of approving of the conduct of the Jesuits, declared that the patriarch had deserved well of the Holy See, and sent to him, in his prison at Macao, the insignia of the dignity of cardinal. The unfortunate man did not long enjoy his new title, for, a few days afterwards, his enemies poisoned him.

All these victories exalted the Jesuits, and pushed them on to show themselves more enterprising than ever; in France, sustained as they were by Maintenon and Louis the Fourteenth their audacity appeared openly, and they did not fear to attack persons most eminent for their functions or their learning. Thus, they made a kind of levy of bucklers against the cardinal de Noailles, to punish him for having approved of the moral reflections of Quesnel, and for having condemned the violence exercised towards the nuns of Port Royal des Champs; they endeavored to injure him with the bishops of his party, and with the doctors, who had, until now, remained indifferent, neutral, or strangers to all the religious quarrels. It is supposed that it was at this time that Tellier enrolled the great king among the Jesuits, from the ardour which the monarch evinced in the new theological war. Thanks to his powerful interference, the moral reflections of Quesnel were again brought forward, and the pope was so urgent, solicited to condemn them by a special bull that he could not avoid obeying, and determined to lanch the celebrated bull "Unigenitus," which declared one hundred and one propositions of that remarkable book to be attached of heresy.

We may relate on this subject, that the ambassador of France, Amelot, having asked Clement the Eleventh, why he had said that this celebrated work contained one hundred and one erroneous propositions, without specifying any of them, his holiness replied with artlessness, "What do you want me to do? I find nothing to blame in this book; but Father Tellier having said to the king that it contained more than one hundred censurable propositions, d'Aubenton and Cardinal Fabroni, who are both Jesuits, have compelled me to exceed this number; I have made but one more."

This bull condemned the propositions of Quesnel as false, captious, of evil tendency, pernicious, rash, injurious, not only to the church, but also to the secular power; as seditious, infamous, blasphemous, favouring heresies and schism; as heretical, as renewing the errors of Luther and Calvin, and especially those of Jansenius. It moreover declared to the faithful of both sexes, that whosoever should teach, sustain, or put forth these propositions, whether jointly or separately, or

who should even talk about them, in public or private, except to condemn them, incurred by this act alone, without need of ulterior decisions, the ecclesiastical censures and secular penalties pronounced against heretics.

His holiness, by virtue of his apostolic omnipotence, declared the work of Quesnel to be proscribed under every name, and in every language in which it had been or might hereafter ever be printed, as being fit to capture and seduce innocent souls by words filled with mildness, and the false appearances of the most pious instruction; he also anathematized all books and pamphlets, in manuscript or printed, which might be published in the defence of this dangerous work, and he prohibited all Catholics from reading, copying, retaining in their memory, or using them, unless they desired to be pronounced guilty and punishable with spiritual and temporal penalties inflicted on heretics. "Such was that abominable constitution 'Unigenitus,'" says St. Simon, "so fatal to the state, so advantageous to the Jesuits, to the ultra montanes, ignorant priests, awinding monks, and all the wretches of the regular and secular orders, and of which the consequences were to engender disorders, perfidy, violence, and persecutions, under which the kingdom groaned for more than thirty years; it was that constitution whose appearance produced effects so extended, so frightful, that morality, customs, the laws themselves have been overturned by it, and which has replaced the ordinary tribunals by military commissions which have unceasingly inundated France with letters de cachet, and which have completely annihilated justice."

D'Aubenton and Fabroni, the true authors of the bull, the tools of the Society of Jesus, had pushed their audacity so far as to condemn the formal texts of St. Paul, which all ages and all heresies had respected as the oracles of the Holy Spirit; they had not even respected the doctrines of St. Augustine and the fathers, which had, however, been approved by general councils.

According to Bruys, one of the historians who have written on the pontificate of Clement the Eleventh, the two Jesuits, to have this work of infamy passed, acted like robbers, keeping the printers in confinement lest their plan should be noised abroad, and having the number of copies they judged necessary, clandestinely struck off; the author adds, that they then went to communicate their labour to Clement the Eleventh, enjoining on him to affix his signature to the bull; that his holiness having protested against their condemnation of the texts of St. Paul and St. Augustine, and having expressed a doubt whether the sacred college would consent to approve of such impieties, Fabroni replied that he would not suffer his work to be submitted to revisers; that the right of condemnation belonged to the vicar of God alone, in his capacity of infallible pontiff; that it was to him, Clement the Eleventh, he addressed himself, and not to his cardinals; finally, Bruys

affirms, that the latter objecting, that he had solemnly promised the members of the sacred college to promulgate no bull without having consulted them, that Fabroni approached the holy father, his face livid, his hand clenched, and spoke to him in a low voice, at which Clement the Eleventh, trembling and alarmed, immediately took up a pen and signed the constitution. All writers agree, that one morning, after a conference with the pope, the cardinal de Fabroni set up the bull "Unigenitus" in the Champ de Flora, and placarded it on the doors of St. Peter, as well as those of the principal churches of the city.

When the news of this act of compliance with the desires of the Jesuits was spread through Rome, a universal cry of reprobation arose against Clement the Eleventh; the cardinals, the bishops, the heads of the orders protested against the terms of the bull, and addressed energetic remonstrances to the sovereign pontiff, in which they said, that he was the first of the successors of the apostles who had dared to raise his hand against the sacred texts of the holy books, and to censure the most sublime propositions of St. Paul. His holiness replied to these representations by subtrefuges; and when the sacred college came in a body to summon him to retract this bull of scandal, he shed tears, but steadily refused to review his decision.

Fabroni, and Father Aubenton were not content with promulgating this bull at Rome; in the intoxication of their success, they dispatched a large number of copies to the members of their society, and more especially to Father Tellier, and the apostolic nuncio at the court of Louis the Fourteenth, that they might consult about the publication of it in France. The great king, in his capacity as a Jesuit, applauded the victory which the members of his company had gained, and immediately signified to the regular and secular clergy to receive the new constitution with blind submission. But in France, as at Rome, it excited a general indignation; the cardinal de Rohan declared that it was heretical; the cardinal de Noailles protested against its tenour, and accused the pope of an attempt on the liberties of the Gallican church; Bissy, bishop of Meaux, though the intimate friend of de Maintenon, pronounced against its adoption; the courts of justice, the chapters, the ministers, the courts, the capital, the provinces, equally protested against it. Father Tellier was firm; he reprimanded Bissy, and knowing the ambition of that prelate, warned him that he would not obtain the hat of a cardinal but as the price of submission to the king; he strongly rebuked Rohan, and represented to him that he incurred great danger in not keeping the promises which had procured for him the post of grand almoner; as for the cardinal de Noailles, he suffered him to manifest his opposition, in hopes of destroying him in the opinion of the monarch.

He then thought of having the bull approved by the clergy, which was an enterprise of the more difficulty as the majority of the bishops

was opposed to him. The following was the mode adopted by this new Escobar to filch the adhesion which was necessary for him. He commanded the bishops who were devoted to him, to assist at an ecclesiastical meeting convened in the capital, and under divers pretexts dismissed to their dioceses those whom he feared; he "then thrust into the assembly," to use his own expression, the bishops in partibus of his coterie, and those of recent formation, who had not yet received bulls of installation. To the observation made to him, that these ecclesiastics had no right to vote, "What matters it whether it is regular or not, provided the council accepts the constitution 'Unigenitus!' With this shoe-horn we will see who will dare resist the pope, the king, and myself."

Forty prelates then assembled in the hotel Soissons, under the presidency of the cardinal de Noailles, to deliberate on the acceptance of the constitution. The assembly commenced by an examination of the propositions about grace; which was only done for form, for none of the commissioners dared to explain himself on this dangerous subject, from fear of being reported to the terrible Father Tellier. The cardinal de Rohan and the bishop of Bissy, who had given in their submission, were commissioned to defend the bull, and to defend its articles in the terms employed for the collation of this abominable work. Thus the bishop of Blois having remarked, that a great number of the censured propositions were not textually extracted from the book of Quesnel; Bissy exclaimed, "Silence to all the defenders of the infamous Oratorian. We are assembled to condemn, not to justify him. Whatever he may have written, he is guilty; for the truth itself becomes a falsehood in passing through the mouth of a follower of Jansenius."

These deliberations were, however, much protracted; for the cardinal de Noailles, and the prelates who shared his apprehensions, dared not pronounce too openly against the acceptance, and desired to paralyse the effect of an acceptance, by considerations placed at the beginning of their decree. But Father Tellier had unveiled their plan, and to prevent its execution, caused it to be proclaimed by the king, that they must accept it purely and simply, or not at all. At last, after three months of intrigue, the assembly decreed that it recognised, with a holy joy, that the bull "Unigenitus" contained the true doctrine of the church, and that it accepted it with the submission and respect which the clergy owed to their head, the Roman pontiff; that it should consequently be translated into French, and be rendered obligatory in all the dioceses of the kingdom.

The bishops who were submissive to Father Tellier hastened to address their flocks, vaunting the excellence of this constitution; and among them was distinguished the archbishop of Cambrai, the obsequious Fenelon, who sought to obtain his recall to court, and the termination of the exile to which he had been

condemned since the affair of quietism. His mandamus commences thus, "Oh, Roman church! oh, holy city! oh, dear and common country of all true Christians! There is not in Jesus Christ, neither Greek, nor Scythian, nor barbarian, nor Jew, nor Gentile! all men form but one people in your bosom; all are fellow citizens of Rome, all are Roman Catholics. Oh, church, from whence St. Peter will confirm his brethren for ever! Oh, if I ever forget you, may my right hand forget itself, and my tongue wither in my palate, if you are not to my last sight the object of my songs." He did not receive the reward of eloquence, Tellier constantly opposed any relaxation of rigour by the king, and maintained the order of exile which prohibited him from leaving his diocese.

Notwithstanding the approval of some bishops sold to the Jesuits, the appearance of the bull "Unigenitus" excited violent agitations in different parts of the kingdom. All the civil and religious orders, without distinction of state or character, protested against it; the cardinal d'Estrées called it the work of the spirit of darkness; the cardinal de Polignac, who did not know of the affiliation of the great king with the Society of Jesus, dared to name it in a mandamus, an abominable work, which a Jesuit alone could conceive. He was punished for this by exile, and a prohibition to appear at court.

Some counsellors of parliament wished also to resist the encroachments of Jesuitism, but the dungeons of Vincennes and the bastille did good and prompt justice to them. France was divided into two parties, the opponents and the acceptants of it. Still, in the faction of the acceptants, composed of the creatures of Father Tellier, there were such divisions, that it was easy to perceive that without a resort to the intimidation employed by the royal disciple of Ignatius Loyola to have the bull accepted, it would have been rejected almost unanimously by the French ecclesiastics.

In the midst of these idle discussions between the opponents and the acceptants, died the celebrated Fenelon, the archbishop of Cambrai, the courtier prelate, whom the priests persist in showing to us as the model of every virtue. We think it useful to show how the chancellor d'Aguesseau expresses himself concerning him:—"He is a gossip," says he in his memoirs, "simple and artful, open and deceitful, modest and ambitious, sensitive and indifferent, capable of desiring every thing, and of despising every thing; always agitated, always tranquil; mixing in nothing, taking part in every thing; a Sulpician, a missionary, even a Jesuit and a courtier, all at once; fit to play the most brilliant parts, fit to live in obscurity; competent for all things, and yet still more competent for himself; a versatile genius, who knows how to assume all characters, without ever losing his own, and the bottom of which is a fruitful and graceful imagination."

D'Aguesseau forgot in his portrait some

strokes of the pencil, which would have painted this bishop as he was, cowardly, hypocritical, and persecuting; such as he proved himself in a denunciatory memoir addressed to Clement the Eleventh, with the recommendation "to be read privately." He wrote to his holiness:—"Experience has for a long time proved to demonstration, most holy father, that there remains no hope of reducing the Jansenist faction by moderate and mild means. Whilst paternal indulgence suspends the employment of violent remedies, the contagion is propagated without obstacles and with impunity. Belgium is infested by Jansenists, as well as Holland; the elector of Cologne favours the heresy; the court of Vienna is more than suspected of not being opposed to it. This detestable doctrine has insinuated itself every where, in Spain, at Naples, even at Rome; but it is in France that the evil has penetrated the deepest, and that it reigns without an obstacle; the greater part of the bishops and of the religious orders, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustines, Genevains, Benedictines, Premonstrans, Oratorians, Capuchins, Lazarists, are Jansenists, as well as the colleges, schools, the preceptors of the young princes, the princesses, the parliaments, the magistracy, and a great number of prelates. The cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, is tainted with this error, as are all those who surround him. We must then hasten to find a remedy for so terrible an evil; the time is propitious, we must impose formularies, exact oaths, deprive the refractory of their posts and benefices, excommunicate them, and apply to them all the canonical and temporal penalties to constrain them to abjure. . . ."

This odious information contains not less than twelve pages, and the informer, whilst asking secrecy, takes great pains to designate his enemies by their names; and if he sometimes affects not to name them, he gives such minute indications, that it is impossible not to recognise them.

Whilst the pious Fenelon was carrying on this bitter war against the Jansenists in the dark, he was writing to the ambassador of France at Rome, that he felt neither hatred nor love for either of the two theological parties which were rending the kingdom; which did not prevent him from addressing a memoir a few days afterwards to the duke de Chevreuse, in which he informed him, still under the seal of secrecy, "That he wished to be rid of the theologians of Louvain, who occupied ecclesiastical dignities in his diocese; that he dared not send them away of his own authority, because they were cherished by the faithful, and that in persecuting them he would incur the risk of being stoned; but that he asked it as a favour from the king to order the expulsion of all the priests of Louvain, without even excepting the non-Jansenists, so as to cut short the possibility of employing suspicious persons. He, moreover, besought his majesty to compel the professors of the university of Douay to hand in their resigna-

tions, that their employments might be conferred on Jesuits."

A very strange intercourse was established between the archbishop of Cambrai and him who was to be his successor, the too famous Abbe Dubois, as appears by a voluminous correspondence, in which Fenelon enters at length upon their agreement in character, a sentiment of profound esteem, and mutual services of high importance which united him to Dubois. It is even supposed that he helped the abbe in his clandestine marriage, from the terms of a letter which he wrote to Madame Rougault, the wife of the intendant of Poitiers, an old associate in Guyonism:—"I recommend to you strongly, madam, the grave and difficult affair which Dubois has in your province, and in which your husband can serve very efficiently this abbe, my best friend for many years, a man who has given me solid and touching marks of attachment, and whose interests are so dear to me, that I shall regard the favours you shall grant him as done to myself."

What will appear still more extraordinary than the intimate friendship, between the archbishop of Cambrai and the abbe Dubois, is his affiliation with the Templars. All historians agree in saying that Fenelon was received as a knight of the Temple in 1699, a period at which he was already in possession of his see, and that on the day of his joining the order, he pronounced the usual oath, which contains a full and entire adhesion to the doctrine of pantheism; it is this:—"God is all which exists; each part of that which exists is a part of God, but is not God. Immutability in his essence, God is mutable in his parts, which, after having existed under the laws of certain combinations, more or less complicated, revive under the laws of new combinations. All is uncreated. . . ." Thus, then, Fenelon, that devoted servant of the Holy See, that intrepid defender of pontifical authority, that fierce apostle of Jesuitism, that bitter Catholic, was not even a Christian!

He died at the age of sixty-four years on the 7th of January, 1715, at the time when Louis the Fourteenth, to assure the triumph of the Society of Jesus, was preparing to force parliament to register the edicts which assimilated the refusal to accept the bull "Unigenitus" to heresy, and rendered the guilty liable to be burned. He was also preparing to restore the heated chambers, which, under his predecessors, had put to death so many victims, and he would certainly have executed this criminal design, if death had not delivered France of him.

Under the successor of Louis the Fourteenth, ecclesiastical matters wore an entirely different face; the duke of Orleans, the regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young Louis the Fifteenth, possessed a cynical materialism, and instead of showing the regard for the Jesuits to which the old king had accustomed them, he sought out every opportunity of humbling them. Thus, as soon as he had the exercise of the sovereign au-

thority in his hands, he exiled the most influential members of the society, amongst others, Fathers Tellier and Doucin, who were constantly manœuvring to have the bull "Unigenitus" received.

As the persecutions against the Jansenists had entirely ceased, the ambassador Amelot, who was charged to solicit secretly, at Rome, briefs useful to the Jesuits, finding himself without an official mission, quitted Italy and returned to France, with letters from his holiness for the archbishop of Paris, whom he had restored to favour, and in which the pontiff announced that he was ready, if not to revoke, at least to modify the constitution which had troubled the kingdom. This singular declaration of the holy father surprised the cardinal de Noailles so much, that he could not avoid showing his astonishment to the ambassador. "What!" replied Amelot, "do you know our pope, and yet find his conduct extraordinary? Do you not know that Clement the Eleventh himself avowed to me, that he was never bound by what he had promised, even in writing, since he was frequently obliged to say one thing and do another; and that the truth never escaped his lips."

The prelate was not long in verifying the exactness of the allegations of the ambassador; for at the very time his holiness was giving him assurances of attachment to his person, he was addressing to the regent, in reply to official letters which he had received from him, a brief in which he spoke of the cardinal de Noailles in terms so harsh, that the prince complained of them to the nuncio. As his whole reply, the legate showed him the secret instructions he had received by the same courier, and in which he protested his affection and esteem for the same cardinal, ordered him to seek out his friendship, and to induce him by all possible means to enter into the secrets and plans of the court of Rome. The holy father was then solely occupied with establishing as a principle, his infallibility in matters of religious doctrine, and on political questions, in order to be enabled to contest the monarchy of Sicily with the duke Victor Amadeus, which had fallen to him by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, concluded during the preceding years among the princes who had taken part in the war of the Spanish succession.

Since the peace, Clement the Eleventh had not ceased to lanch warnings, excommunications, and interdicts against Amadeus. But the new king of Sicily, without allowing himself to be disturbed by these hostile manifestations, had prohibited his subjects from publishing any writing from the court of Rome which had not first been examined by competent authority, and had not received the approval necessary for its promulgation. He had, moreover, declared the pontifical interdict abusive, and had rejected the bull fulminated by the pope to reject the old constitution of Urban the Second, which, since the eleventh century, had recognised the kings and queens of Sicily as born legates of the Holy See, and

authorised them to regulate, themselves, all the ecclesiastical, spiritual, and temporal affairs, with the assistance of a special tribunal, called the tribunal of monarchy. The royal advocate did not fail to protest against this decree, and to appeal from a pope badly informed, to his successor better informed. The thing was in this condition when the duke of Savoy, tired of his strife with the court of Rome, thought of bargaining his island of Sicily with Austria for other possessions.

The king of Spain, whom these dispositions thwarted very much, interfered in the matter through his minister Alberoni, who then played the first part in the Spanish monarchy. That extraordinary man, who had so many points of resemblance to Cardinal Richelieu, was merely the son of a gardener, of Fiorenzuola, a village of Parmesan. His first employment had been that of bell-ringer in the cathedral of Piacenza; his fine figure and sprightliness were remarked by the count of Roncioveri, bishop of St. Donnin, who took him into his service, made him his Ganymede, and then gave him the rank of canon and chaplain. The same compliances had afterwards procured him the favour of the duke of Parma; and as the prince found ability in his minion, he did not disdain to talk with him sometimes of the important affairs of his dutchy, which was the cause of the fortune of Alberoni.

One day the prince having to treat with the duke de Vendome, who commanded the armies of Italy, and not knowing to whom to confide his mission, offered it to the young abbe. The latter accepted it, went to the French camp as the commissary of the duke of Parma, and asked to be admitted to an audience of the general. The duke was so delighted with the new ambassador, that the latter was enabled to gain the cause he came to plead; The duke of Parma was, however, compelled to part with him, and he entered into the service of the French general, whose secretary and favourite he became. From that time he never left his new protector, and accompanied him to Spain when he went to take command of the army sent by Louis the Fourteenth to the aid of Philip the Fifth. On the death of the duke de Vendome, who was poisoned at Vignarez, in the kingdom of Valencia, Alberoni returned to Paris, from whence the duke of Parma sent him, shortly after, on a secret mission to the court of Madrid.

The princess des Ursini, the favourite of Philip the Fifth, then governed the kingdom, and made her authority to be felt so severely, that all the grandes, and even the monarch, were tired of her. Thus it was not difficult for Alberoni to negotiate the marriage of Philip the Fifth with Elizabeth Farnese, the heiress of the dutchess of Parma. The young princess came to Madrid, married the king, and exiled the favourite; and as a recompense to the skilful negotiator of her marriage, she surrendered herself to the former minion of her father, and raised him to the rank of first minister. Alberoni, invested with the coufi



dence of the sovereign, and in possession of the most elevated post in the kingdom, was not yet satisfied; he wished to govern alone. He used the ascendancy which he exercised over the new queen, insinuated to her that she ought to aspire to replace the princess des Ursini, and to seize on the royal authority in an absolute manner; that to attain this end, she should enervate her husband by voluptuousness, remain constantly with him, prevent even his valets from approaching him, except for indispensable services, and that, above all, she should accustom him never to give audience to any minister but in her presence.

Elizabeth executed the instructions of her lover with the most scrupulous exactitude, and entirely controlled the mind of the stupid Philip the Fifth. But as the young queen was incapable of governing a kingdom, it turned out that it was Alberoni who had in his hands the exercise of the supreme authority. It was not yet enough to have reached the power—he must maintain himself there. The minister was occupied in consolidating his position, and proceeded as Cardinal Richelieu had done, by removing from the court the grandees of the state, and particularly the ecclesiastics, whose perfidious spirit he well knew. He first exiled the bishop Tabarada, the governor of the council of Castile, and prepared his batteries to overthrow the grand inquisitor, the cardinal del Giudice, and Father d'Aubenton, one of the framers of the famous bull "Unigenitus," who was then the confessor of Philip the Fifth; his efforts, however, for the destruction of this Jesuit only served to excite the whole order against him, and to cause the hat of a cardinal, which he solicited, to be refused him.

The prudent Alberoni then changed his tactics; as he regarded it as essential for him to be admitted into the sacred college, as well to strengthen his title as first minister, as to obtain a guarantee of inviolability in case of disgrace, he became reconciled to d'Aubenton, engaged to maintain him in his post of confessor to the king, to abandon to him the whole control of affairs with the Holy See, and not to grant any benefice in Spain without his approval. On his side, the Jesuit promised to serve the minister, to smooth down the obstacles which opposed his elevation to the cardinalate, and to bring the Holy See into his interests. He also engaged to obtain for him the aid of the cardinal Aldovrandi, who had great influence in the sacred college, provided he should ask that he should be appointed nuncio in Spain.

Several favourable circumstances then came to aid the minister, and concurred in assuring his promotion. The Turks, after having conquered the Morea, and gained several victories over the Venetians, threatened Italy with an invasion, which alarmed the pope very much. On the other hand, the emperor of Germany, who still preserved his pretensions to the Spanish peninsula, also announced his intention to establish himself in Italy, to resume with more advantage hostilities against the house of

Bourbon. Thus Clement found himself in a most embarrassing position, as he was exposed to the attacks of the Musselmans, or to the evil designs of the imperialists, without being able to claim the aid of any power, Charles the Sixth having signified to him that he was unwilling that a single French or Spanish battalion should pass the Alps, and if they did, he would seize on the states of the church. It only remained for him to solicit vessels and galleys to combat the Turks by sea, whilst the Venetians, united with the Germans, would endeavour to repel them on land. He addressed himself to Spain, whose marine was flourishing, and besought Philip the Fifth to arm a fleet in his defence. Alberoni appeared to listen favourably to the demand of the holy father, and made great preparations to assemble an imposing squadron; at the same time he renewed his request to the court of Rome for the hat of a cardinal. As he was in no hurry to send his fleet to sea, Clement the Eleventh wished to seek other allies, and to form a powerful league against the infidels, of which the emperor of Germany and the czar were to be the heads. He immediately ordered his nuncio Bentivoglio, who resided in Paris, to labour secretly for the realization of this plan; and he himself even addressed a brief to Peter the Great, who was then in the capital of France. His holiness had a double purpose in writing to the autocrat of the north; that of interesting him in the success of a league that he thought necessary for the safety of Rome, and that of leading him to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion through the whole extent of his dominions. The better to have his desires complied with, Clement had been careful to repeat in his letter all the emphatic titles which the czar took, although the pontiffs, his predecessors, had always refused to give the title of majesty to the dukes of Muscovy. Peter the Great, however, did not appear to attach much importance to this mark of deference by the holy father, for he contented himself with replying, that he would examine into the religious question on his return to St. Petersburg, and that, as to the affair of the league, he could not think of it until he had finished his war with Sweden.

Such promises were of no account to the sovereign pontiff, who wished to obtain prompt and immediate aid; he then turned to Spain, which had armed a formidable fleet, and reopened negotiations with Alberoni. The latter demanded the hat of a cardinal, and announced that the fleet would not sail until the pope had consented to his admission into the sacred college. The holy father, pressed by circumstances, solicited by the cardinal Aldovrandi, Father d'Aubenton, and other Jesuits whom he feared to discontent, opposed only a mild resistance. But events suddenly occurred to overthrow the plans of the minister. The emperor having been informed that the grand inquisitor of Spain had gone to Milan to take part in some political machinations, had him arrested and kept prisoner. Alberoni

used this pretended violation of the law of nations, as a pretext to declare war on the empire, and the Spanish squadron sailed at once from the ports of the Mediterranean. Clement the Eleventh suspected then that the minister had taken him for his dupe, and that the fleet had been destined for a long time to attack Naples or Sicily, and swore on the consecrated host that he would never make Alberoni a cardinal.—The oath of a priest! Some days afterwards the nuncio Aldovrandi had so well demonstrated to the pope, that the expedition had sailed to chastise the barbarian pirates, and not to attack Sardinia, nor make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, that he reviewed his former decision, and in full consistory, conferred the title of cardinal on Alberoni, on the 12th of July, 1717. At almost the same moment, the Spaniards, commanded by the marquis of Leda, approached the coast of Sardinia, seized upon Cagliari, and after having left a garrison there, returned to their vessels, and went against Sicily. His holiness, twice tricked by Alberoni, exclaimed treason, and exhausted himself in powerless threats against the Spanish minister. Afterwards, however, the latter was to experience the effects of the hatred of the pontiff.

The approach of a war which threatened to embrace anew all Europe, did not prevent the Jesuits from continuing their intrigues for the acceptance of the constitution "Unigenitus." In France they ruled, thanks to the abbe Dubois, who laboured to merit his hat of cardinal, and who used his influence over the regent to obtain the pure and simple acceptance of the bull. Finally, the infamous abbe, seconded by the nuncio Bentivoglio, extorted from the duke of Orleans a consent, which rendered the constitution obligatory on all the faithful, and enabled the execrable disciples of Loyola to gain their cause over the prelates who wished to defend the liberties of the Gallican church. The Sorbonne, which had recently decreed that the acceptance wrested from the dead king was not obligatory, received orders to stop its session, and saw this decision ratified by a bull of the pope, which declared the doctors stripped of every dignity, until they amended their lives; deprived them of all the privileges which had been delegated to them by his predecessors, and prohibited them from admitting any clerk to the grade of doctor in theology.

Clement then renewed his attacks against the cardinal de Noailles, the head of the council of conscience, and held a general congregation of cardinals to judge the prelate. He pronounced the following discourse on this subject:—"My brethren, we are occupied about a great culprit, the archbishop of Paris, formerly the son of our joy, now the son of our grief. If, however, this child of our predilection had ignorance as an excuse, we would be disposed to pardon him; but no, the servant knew the will of his master and refused to perform it. We have seen him understood in a criminal letter which he signed with his own hand. Thus, he has condemned

himself, and we would be culpable if our love prevented us from punishing him; we are then determined to take the hat of a cardinal from him, for we must reject from the synagogue and the sanhedrim, him who has stood up against the success of the apostle." At the close of the consistory, he published extremely violent briefs against the opposing bishops, in which he declared, "that to seek to interpret the bull 'Unigenitus,' was to desire the fruit of the forbidden tree, and that curiosity should yield to faith."

So much audacity alarmed the regent himself, and induced him to make the parliaments of the kingdom interfere in the quarrel to prevent the Roman rescripts from being admitted into France, unless they were accompanied by letters patent. He moreover encouraged the faculties of theology of Rheims, Nantz, and Caen, to follow the example of that of Paris, to erase the decrees of acceptance, and to appeal from the constitution to a future council, not to interpret it, but to condemn it as bad and contrary to the truth, as overthrowing the faith, destructive to morality, ruinous to ecclesiastical discipline, violating the sacred rights of the episcopate, and annihilating the authority of sovereigns.

This levy of bucklers plunged Clement the Eleventh into an abyss of perplexities. On the one hand he saw from the boldness of his opponents, that all orders in the kingdom sustained them, that the parliaments and the faculties waited but the opportunity to declare against the bull, all the inferior clergy and the people applauded the opposition; on the other side, he perceived that the bishops of his party, and the regent himself, would approve of the act of appeal as soon as they saw that it was universally demanded by the provinces.

To allay the storm and save the pontifical infallibility, Clement wished to temporise; he sent the Jesuit Lafitteau to the cardinal de la Tremouille, who was commissioned by the regent to settle with the court of Rome all questions regarding the bull "Unigenitus," and instructed him to solicit from the duke of Orleans, a declaration by which it should be enjoined on the French bishops neither to speak nor write against the constitution, offering, on these terms, to take no new determinations against its opponents. At the same time, he wrote the following letter to the archbishop of Paris to endeavour to gain him over to his cause, or at least to weaken his resentment:

"To our very dear son Louis Anthony, of the order of St. Marie sur la Minerve, priest of the holy Roman church, Cardinal de Noailles, Clement the Eleventh:

"My dear son, health and the apostolical blessing:

"The sharp thorns which have so long pierced our heart, on account of the resistance of a small number of French bishops to our constitution "Unigenitus," causes us to feel most sensibly, when we reflect on the words of our divine master, which recommend fra-

ternal union to his disciples. Jesus Christ was unwilling that his seamless robe, which, in its allegorical sense, signifies the church, should be divided by those who crucified him; he did no more permit, whatever desire he had to suffer for us, that his bones should be broken on the cross, so as to teach us, that every division, light as it might be, which the mystical bones of his body suffered, which is the clergy, should be sharper for him than the flagellation and punishment of the cross; from which we must infer how much he must condemn that baneful disension which troubles France, to the contempt of Catholic authority, and to the danger of the destruction of the Christian religion. God knows how often we would have offered to him the sacrifice of our life to appease this horrible tempest, and how often we have carried our prayers to the foot of his throne, to ask that you, our most dear son, would be at length enlightened by his divine light, and that you would recognise that it is time to heal the evils which bad men do in your name, and hinder those with which they still menace the church.

"We conjure you with all possible earnestness, by the holy mysteries instituted on that day of which we celebrate the memory, to be willing to listen to our voice, or rather to the word of Christ himself, who speaks to you by our mouth, and exhorts you paternally to distrust your reason in a matter of so grave importance, to make a generous sacrifice of your own sentiments, to prefer the tranquillity of the church to worldly considerations, to give the example of submission to our constitution, to cover with shame the wicked and heretics who rejoice in our discords. May it please the divine clemency to give a triumphant force to our words, that it may dispose your lordship to diffuse them, and that it may pour into the great church of the flourishing kingdom of France, the treasures of blessings which we desire for it in our apostolical meekness. Given at Rome, in our palace of St. Peter, on Holy Thursday, in the year 1717, and in the seventeenth year of our pontificate."

This letter was handed to the archbishop of Paris by the nuncio, and immediately communicated by the prelate to the council of the regency. It was generally approved of. The duke of Orleans, who hoped that it announced the termination of the theological quarrels, induced the cardinal to raise no obstacle to the peace, and to propose to the holy father an arrangement which should lead the two parties to a reconciliation by means of mutual concessions, promising to act for this purpose on the court of Rome. The archbishop immediately wrote a profoundly respectful letter to Clement, in which, without giving an explicit or implied adhesion to the constitution "Unigenitus," he enumerated at length all the evils which it had produced, and besought him to seek a remedy which should put an end to them. This epistle was presented to his holiness by the cardinal de la Tremouille.

When Clement the Eleventh had read it, he crushed it with rage in his hands, blas-

phemed, and turning towards the plenipotentiary of the regent, said to him with concentrated rage, "that it was unnecessary to send so large a volume to announce to him that his bull was rejected." The cardinal replied, that the acceptance by Monseigneur de Noailles, whom he supposed to be the leader of the appellants, would not annihilate an opposition which counted almost all Frenchmen in its ranks; that times had changed since the death of Louis the Fourteenth; that it was imprudent in the holy father to show so much obstinacy in the maintenance of a bull which he well knew to be filled with vicious and erroneous propositions; that the regent would not send its opponents to the bastille, and persecute the clergy, the theologians, and the magistracy, to please the Jesuits; that, finally, it was time to put an end to ridiculous quarrels which endangered the throne. The pope exclaimed against the audacity of the cardinal, declared that he would abate nothing from his pretensions, that he was infallible, and that it was his will that the bull should be received as an article of faith.

His eminence hastened to transmit the result of his negotiations to the regent, who, seeing the impossibility of obtaining the slightest concession from the obstinate pontiff, published a declaration which imposed silence about the constitution on all parties, and caused the court of Rome to be informed of it. Clement the Eleventh at first pronounced it outrageous, raged against the duke of Orleans, threatened France with his thunders, and called down all the curses of heaven upon the nation. Then, after some remarks of the cardinal de la Tremouille, he softened down wonderfully, and discovering that he had to fear lest the regent should exact forcibly what was refused to his diplomatic agents, he announced that he consented to enter into arrangements.

When the conditions of the treaty were discussed, the pope avowed that he had yielded only to the solicitations of the Jesuits, and had granted the bull "Unigenitus," but at the pressing solicitations of the dead king, and on the payment to him of some millions; he only asked them to double the sum for its revocation. The exactions of the sovereign pontiff not having been admitted, all agreement was broken off, and things remained on their former footing. Clement immediately seized skilfully on the pretext of a publication of an appeal, fabricated in the name of the cardinal de Noailles, by the Jesuits, to assemble a congregation, and to have the apocryphal act condemned at the same time, with the act of appeal before drawn up by the French bishops. In his new bull, "Pastoralis officii," he was not content with fulminating his anathemas against the clergy and laity, who refused to adhere to the constitution "Unigenitus," he even enjoined on the faithful to have no communication with the rebels, who disguised their heresy and their sophism under the name of opponents, and declared as separate from the communion of the Catholic and Roman church, those who contravened his orders.

On the appearance of this bull, the nation was moved, the universities assembled, and protested energetically against the pretensions of the Holy See; the parliament did not remain behind the schools, and published a decree against it. The cardinal de Noailles, supported by the chapter of Notre Dame at Paris, lunched a new appeal against this second bull, and the constitution "Unigenitus," declaring that Clement the Eleventh violated the most essential rights of the episcopate, destroyed the fundamental maxims of the Gallican liberties, attacked the laws of discipline, and sowed the seeds of trouble in church and state.

Though beaten down by this explosion of hatred, the Jesuits were not conquered; the imminence of the common danger brought them closer together, and they appeared to be more formidable than ever. They drew into their party the infamous Abbe Dubois, the purveyor of the regent, who aspired to play in the state the part of Richelieu or of Mazarin, and who wished, after their example, to obtain the hat of cardinal. This venerable personage offered to the duke of Orleans his mediation in the matter, and engaged to terminate the discussions to his entire satisfaction. The end of the abbe was to use the Jesuit Lafiteau, the secret agent of the Holy See, to bring about an arrangement between the court of Rome and the regent, reserving for himself, as his reward, his entrance into the sacred college. But the end proved that he had counted too much on the influence Father Lafiteau had over Clement; notwithstanding the entreaties and the pressing messages of the Jesuit, his holiness refused to relax from his rigour, and even caused a pastoral instruction of the cardinal de Noailles, to be condemned by the inquisition at Rome, which embittered the opponents very much.

Clement the Eleventh preserved no more restraint in his intercourse with Spain than with France; the disgust which he felt at having had the hat of a cardinal extorted from him by the minister of Philip the Fifth, led him from his habitual policy, and induced him to thwart the political plans of Alberoni. The end of the latter, in his war with the empire, was to assure the sovereignty of Naples, Sicily, and the ports of Tuscany, to the king of Spain, and the consent of the other powers, that the estates of the grand duke and of the dutchy of Parma, should go as a heritage to one of the sons of Philip the Fifth, in case these princes died without heirs. He proposed as a recompense to divide the territory of Mantua; to give one part to the duke of Guastalla and the other to the Venetians; he offered to grant the Milanese and Montferrat whole to the emperor, to yield Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, for Sicily, preserving to him the title of king; finally, to restore Commachio to the court of Rome.

Not content with refusing his consent to these arrangements, the holy father sought to excite France, Holland and England against Spain, and caused it to be signified to Philip

the Fifth, in the name of these three powers, that they would invade his kingdom if the queen persisted in maintaining the cardinal Alberoni in power. This threat had no influence on the king of Spain; the cardinal minister preserved the supreme authority, and regulated as before the destinies of Europe. Alberoni had even the impudence to solicit from the court of Rome, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred between him and Clement the Eleventh, bulls of investiture for the bishopric of Malaga, and the archbishopric of Seville, which had been given him by his Catholic majesty. On the refusal of the sovereign pontiff to acquiesce in his request, he referred it to the council of Castile, which was entirely composed of his creatures, and obtained an order enjoining on the pope to send the bulls of investiture speedily, if he did not wish to be constrained to do so by force of arms.

Clement made no reply, and maintained his first refusal; the minister, rendered furious by the silence of the court of Rome, determined to strike a great blow, in order to give a lesson to the pope, he said; and to teach him not to forget the respect which was due to a cardinal, he sent an order to the apostolic nuncio to leave Madrid. Before obeying, the cardinal Aldovrandi asked, and obtained permission to communicate with the Holy See, to make a last effort in favour of peace; the legate, who was strongly attached to his nunciature, on account of the great profits he derived from it, sent a message to the pope, and pointed out to him, in his correspondence, all the motives which should induce him to desire peace with Spain; he even insinuated to him, that if he persisted in refusing to grant the bulls asked by the council of Castile, he might fear lest the Spanish troops, who were in Italy, might make an advance towards Rome. None of these considerations could change the determination of Clement. He wrote to the cardinal Aldovrandi not to quit the capital, and he would charge himself with the rest; and the same courier who had borne the despatches from the legate, brought back to Alberoni, who was then at Balsam with the court, a brief from his holiness relating the order enjoined on the cardinal Aldovrandi to remain in Spain. The minister seeing his authority openly braved, resolved to act with vigour; he started immediately to Madrid, went to the palace of the nuncio, closed it, set guards on the legate to prevent him from leaving it, and sent an order to the cardinal Aquaviva, the ambassador of his Catholic majesty to Clement the Eleventh, to leave the states of the church, and inform his holiness that an army would enter Italy to attack Rome, if he did not immediately apologise.

Nothing could move the pontiff; he replied to the Spanish cardinal that he was about to disgrace Alberoni from his dignity of prince of the church, as guilty of rebellion towards the Holy See, and without troubling himself, he allowed the ambassador to depart for Spain. The great confidence of the pope arose from

his having been informed by Father d'Aubenton, who had a short time before rejoined his party, that the credit of the minister was daily diminishing, and that the queen, lanced into new intrigues, paid scarcely any attention to her old lover, who was in some sort under the control of Laura, her nurse, and the go-between in her debauchery. His holiness had arranged his plans accordingly; thanks to a large sum of money, he had bought the nurse into his interests, and counted on the disgrace of the favourite before he could put his plans in execution. It so turned out; Queen Elizabeth, overreached by her confidant, determined to rid herself of a lover who had become importunate, and one morning the first minister received orders to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in fifteen days. Alberoni, driven from Spain, was obliged to wander about, under a feigned name, to avoid the poinards of the satellites of the Holy See; at length, tired of his wandering life, he determined to fix his residence at Sestri di Levante, in the territory of Genoa, where he underwent new persecutions from Clement the Eleventh, and even from Philip the Fifth.

This success emboldened the pope, and

gave him such confidence in his political skill, that he supposed no one could resist him; he even dared to make an effort with the emperor of Russia, to bring about the reunion of the Greek and Roman churches. But the czar Peter, who did not think of bowing his head beneath the yoke of a priest, drove off the legates he sent to him, and to take away from the pontiffs all hopes of extending their influence into Russia, he determined to give the people of his capital the spectacle of the enthronement of a pope; he chose one of his buffoons, named Joseph, to play this part, and had him promenaded through the streets of St. Petersburg with a fool, who represented a popess, in the midst of the most burlesque ceremonies.

Clement the Eleventh perceived that he had presumed too much on his influence; he abandoned his plans of converting Russia, and fell back on France, which he continued to trouble with new claims until the time of his death, which took place on the 19th of March, 1721. Pasquin made his funeral eulogy in two lines: "Rome rejoice, thou art delivered from that pope who promised much, performed but little, and wept all the time."

## INNOCENT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1721.]

*Funeral of Clement the Eleventh—Alberoni comes to Rome to concur in the election—Intrigue of Michael Angelo Conti—He signs a promise to give the hat to the abbé Dubois—His exaltation—Dubois, the first minister of the regent, purchases the hat of a cardinal—Nepotism of Innocent the Thirteenth—Tergiversation of the pope in the affair of the Quémellists—The abbé Tencin and the holy father—Sickness of the sovereign pontiff—He sells permission to Louis the Fifteenth to breakfast before communion—Quarrel between the Holy See and the empire—Alberoni is absolved from all the accusations brought against him during the preceding pontificate—Persecutions by the Jesuits in China of the legate Mezzabarba—Innocent the Thirteenth announces that he is about to reform the Society of Jesus—He dies poisoned.*

As soon as Clement the Eleventh had closed his eyes, the cardinal camerlingue discharged the functions of his office; he called the dead pope three times, according to usage, and receiving no reply, he approached the body with the cardinal grand master of the chamber, took the ring of the fisherman, and then ordered all the bells of the city to be rung, to announce to the faithful that the pope had finished his reign. On the next day the mortal remains of Clement the Eleventh were borne to the Quirinal palace in the Vatican, and from thence to the church of St. Peter, where, for nine days, solemn offices were celebrated for the repose of his soul.

Whilst the funeral ceremonies were proceeding, the cardinals who aspired to the papacy set to work to secure votes. As at this time no voice was to be disdained, several competitors recollected that Alberoni dwelt in the territory of Genoa, and wrote to him to

come and take part in the conclave, although judicial proceedings had been then commenced to deprive him of the purple. He yielded to the urgency of his colleagues, went to Rome without show or noise, in his own carriage, and was received in the conclave with the honours usually rendered to the princes of the church.

All the cardinals being seated, according to their rank, in the Sixtine chapel, the balls which regulated the order of the elections were read in a loud voice, then each swore to observe the constitutions which rendered the property of the Holy See inalienable. After this ceremony the ballot was opened, and the intrigues commenced among the different competitors.

For a month the balance was suspended between the three principal factions, the French, the Italian, and the Spaniard; finally, it inclined to the side of Cardinal Michael

Angelo Conti, who had brought Alberoni into his party, by promising him to put an end to the persecutions against him, and who had also attached the cardinal de Rohan to his cause, by engaging in writing to give the hat to Dubois, the prime minister of France. There were still struggles and skirmishes for ten or eleven days, but the money of France rendered the most obstinate docile, and on the 8th of May, 1721, the cardinal Michael Angelo Conti, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff.

After the ceremonies of the exaltation, the abbe Tencin, who was the creature of Dubois and the secret agent of the regent at the court of Rome, summoned the new pope to keep the promise he had made to the cardinal de Rohan, and to elevate the favourite of Philip of Orleans to the rank of a prince of the church.

His holiness, who justly feared to excite a general discontent by appointing as cardinal a man so infamous as Dubois, wished to review his promise, and argued from the necessity in which he was placed of retarding the promotion. The abbe Tencin who had received orders to hasten the conclusion of this affair, threatened to publish the secret engagement given to the cardinal de Rohan, and which invalidated the election of the pope as simoniacal; he besides offered to the holy father eight millions of francs, in exchange for a simple act of compliance. Innocent yielded to such powerful reasoning and signed the promotion of Dubois.

The panegyrist of the holy father seek to excuse this guilty action, by representing it as a weakness, by showing that he distributed the money among his two brothers, the duke de Poli and Monsignor Conti, Benedictine monks, his two sisters, the one the widow of the duke of Aquasparta, the other the wife of the prince Ruspoli, and his five nephews or nieces.

It was supposed that in his conduct, he would be a faithful continuer of the policy of his predecessors, and that he would maintain the bull "Unigenitus;" but it turned out the reverse, as he showed himself favourable to the appellants, either from a secret engagement with the cardinal de Rohan, who was hostile to its supporters, or from his hatred to the Jesuits, who were becoming daily more formidable. His holiness entered into communication with the cardinal de Noailles, and addressed a brief to him to engage him to turn his attention to devising means which should put an end to the troubles which the Jesuits, Louis the Fourteenth, and Clement the Eleventh, had excited and sustained for so many years in the kingdom.

Unfortunately, this first step failed in its effect, in consequence of the precipitation of the opponents themselves. Seven bishops of the party, finding themselves sustained by the head of the church, thought that victory was assured to them; they preserved no restraint in the manifestations of their joy, and wrote a letter in which they attacked violently the bull "Unigenitus" in its fundamentals and form, laid it down as a principle, that

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a pope had no right to promulgate a constitution without the consent of the cardinals, and blamed the dead pontiff sharply, for having proceeded to the condemnation of Father Quesnel, without the approval of the archbishop of Paris.

This imprudent letter, which was printed and distributed, made so much noise, that the pope found himself constrained to hand it over to the congregation of the holy office, if he did not wish to be regarded as a Queenellist. It was condemned by a decree, as containing several propositions injurious to the Catholic prelates of France, to the memory of Clement the Eleventh, and the Holy Apostolic See.

The abbe Tencin, the secret agent of the regent, continued to dwell at Rome, and to give cause for scandal, by the most shameful excesses, when he took the singular fancy to be made a cardinal. As he had not surrendered to the holy father, the promise written, when in the conclave, with his own hand, to promote Dubois, he impudently offered to the pope to traffic it against a hat. At such an overture Innocent could not restrain a movement of indignation; he replied to the diplomatic spy, that he could not accede to his demand; that the nomination of the favourite of the regent had already made him enough enemies; that he could, however, excuse himself for that fault, by the pressing solicitations of the French government, and the recommendation of the emperor; but that he had no reason to allege for the promotion of an abbe who had no dignities, titles, nor avowed functions; who was only known at Rome for his excessive immorality, and in France for his incests with his sister, and the renown of an infamous trial.

Tencin retired covered with confusion, without, however, having renounced his plan; he returned to the charge some days afterwards, insisted, threatened, and so beset the holy father, that the latter, tormented by the idea that in a moment all Europe, informed of his shameful bargain with the cardinal de Rohan, would withdraw from their obedience to him, and on the other side, recoiling before the accomplishment of a fresh outrage, fell into a kind of black melancholy, which was very injurious to his health.

These grave subjects of contrarieties did not, however, prevent Innocent from attending to the temporal affairs of the church. The movement of the imperial armies in Italy, and the disembarkation of some Spanish troops, appeared to announce that hostilities were about to recommence between the two parties. The pope did not allow himself to be governed by appearances; he perceived that this display of forces was only to compel him to decide in the affair of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. To prevent a disagreement, he was beforehand with them, and announced that he was willing to give entire satisfaction to the court of Vienna, and that he was ready to receive the white hackney and the purse of five thousand ducats of gold, which composed the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the

Holy See. He also took care to press the ceremony of the investiture, that the emperor Charles the Sixth, might send a fleet to sea, and attend to the defence of the island of Malta, which was threatened by the Turks. The pope also wished to interest the other Catholic princes in a kind of crusade against the Sublime Porte, and addressed briefs to all the courts of Europe, to obtain contributions in troops, vessels, and especially money.

France was then engaged in preparations for the coronation of Louis the Fifteenth, and the minister Dubois had asked from the court of Rome for authority for the young monarch to breakfast before communing, that he might be the better enabled to support the fatigue of this long ceremony. His holiness took advantage of the circumstance, and sold this ridiculous dispensation for several millions. The attention which Innocent showed not to confide the conduct of the war against the Turks exclusively to Charles the Sixth, showed that he was endowed with a rare sagacity, and had foreseen what was about to happen; for scarcely had the emperor received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, than he wished to put himself in the stead and place of the sovereign pontiff, and gave the investiture of Parma and Placenza to the infant Don Carlos, under the pretext that these provinces were mere fiefs of the empire. The court of Rome loudly demanded the rights it claimed over these states; but neither sovereign troubled himself about their claims, and the threats as well as the prudence of the holy father were insufficient to prevent this usurpation of power.

Alberoni then occupied the attention of Europe by his quarrels with the court of Spain; fired of being the object of the persecutions of his old master, the deceitful Philip the Fifth, he himself demanded that the pope should try

him; he appeared before the assembly of cardinals, defended himself from all the accusations brought against him, and obtained a brief of absolution.

This bull contained, in substance, that Alberoni was not guilty of any of the accusations brought before the cardinals by the Spanish monarch and Clement the Eleventh; that in consequence his holiness imposed perpetual silence on those who had taken steps against him, abolished all the censures inflicted on him, washed him from the spots cast upon his purple without its being necessary for him to justify himself farther from the accusations and proceedings brought against him, and willed that he should in future enjoy all his prerogatives and dignities as a prince of the church.

Some days afterwards another event, whose result was to be fatal to the sovereign pontiff, occurred to distract men's minds. The legate Mezzabarba, sent into China to abolish the worship of Confucius, returned to Rome and rendered an account to the society of the propaganda of the persecutions to which he had been subjected by the Jesuits. He related in full detail the abominations of which the Jesuits were guilty, and the idolatries which they authorised. He formally accused them of the death of the unfortunate Cardinal de Tourmon, and of their efforts to corrupt and intimidate him. All these things appeared so serious to Innocent, that notwithstanding his fear of discontenting the Jesuits, he announced his intention to issue edicts for the reform of the society, and as a first step prohibited them from receiving adepts. The good fathers apparently submitted, and laboured in the dark to rid themselves of the pontiff. The work was finally accomplished. Innocent the Thirteenth died in the midst of frightful convulsions, which detached his intestines, and caused them to fall into the scrotum.

## BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1724.]

*Election of Benedict the Thirteenth—Origin of the holy father—Nicholas Coscia, one of his domestics, governs the church in his name—Attempt to reform the clergy and the religious orders—The pope reigns but does not govern—He shows himself favourable to the appellants—Correspondence between the pope and the cardinal de Noailles—The Jesuits become more formidable than ever—Intrigues of Fleury, the bishop of Frejus and instructor of Louis the Fifteenth, to obtain the hat of a cardinal—The duke de Bourbon the minister, and his mistress, the marchioness de Prié, become the instruments of the Jesuits—Quarrels about the twelve articles—Council of the Lateran—Plan of the pope to reunite the four Christian communions—The pope in tutelage—Fleury prime minister of France—Condemnation of an octogenarian prelate—The inhabitants of the canton of Luzerne drive the Jesuits from their territory—Journey of the holy father to Beneventum—He puts forth a bull in favour of the Dominicans, and condemns the constitution "Unigenitus"—Intrigues of the Jesuits—Peace between the courts of Rome and Turin—Divisions between the Holy See and the king of Portugal—Consultation of fifty French advocates—Remorse and death of the cardinal de Noailles—The bull "Unigenitus" is definitely accepted in France—Triumph of the Jesuits—Legend concerning Gregory the Seventh—Death of Benedict the Thirteenth.*

WHEN the funeral of Innocent the Thirteenth was over, the cardinals entered into conclave and formed several factions to elevate a new pontiff to the throne of the apostle

The cardinal Olivieri, one of the gentlemen ushers, intrigued with so much address in behalf of Peter Francis Orsini, the candidate of the Italian party, that he gained a majority of the votes for him, and he was proclaimed pope by the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. He was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, of a character so detestable, that, according to the report of Father Cloche, the general of the order, he resembled a club of acacia, pointed, hard, and crooked. He was, moreover, regarded as the most stupid of the members of the sacred college. But he had the merit in the eyes of the ambitious, who desired to supplant him, of being more than seventy-five years old, and of feeble health.

Historians who have written about this pontiff say, that he embraced the monastic life in his earliest youth, and was not long in making a brilliant fortune in the ecclesiastical career, through the influence of his father, the duke of Bassiano, of the family of the Ursini; that he successively obtained the sees of Manfredonia, Cesena, the archbishopric of Beneventum, and, finally, the title of cardinal. What most distinguished Benedict the Thirteenth, was an absolute incapacity for business, so that on the very day of his exaltation, he announced to the sacred college, that he would discharge the government of the church through one of his old domestics, Nicholas Coscia, whom he had made his major domo, and whom he afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal, and the archbishopric of Beneventum.

From the very commencement of his reign he was animated by the most laudable intentions. He announced that he was desirous of introducing salutary reforms among the clergy, as well as among Christian societies; and to put his plans in execution, he instituted a congregation, which held several sessions under his presidency. Unfortunately, the cardinals, who made a part of the assembly, and who were interested in the maintenance of abuses, adroitly thrust aside all the propositions which were submitted to them, and employed the sessions in the discussion of very insignificant decrees, one of which prohibited the clergy from wearing wigs, and another condemned public girls, who were enjoined to confine their residence without the gates of the holy city. Coscia, whom these reforms threatened in his dearest interests, in the sale of employments, benefices, annates, indulgences, and absolutions, and who dreaded to see the source of his disgraceful profits dried up, took care to dissuade the pope from changing any thing.

His holiness, for a long time habituated to see only with the eyes of his minister, and to follow his counsels, abandoned his generous intentions, and threw himself into theological questions. It is maintained that the high favour which Coscia enjoyed with his master, arose from a pleasant farce which the latter had played off in the beginning of the reign of Benedict. The good pope had several times been informed of his licentious conduct, his intrigues with courtizans, and had threatened

him with disgrace if he were assured of it. One morning the minister had the holy father warned, that he was shut up in a secret chamber of the palace with one of his mistresses. Benedict was immediately conducted to the designated apartment, to surprise the culprit, and to drive him off. Having arrived at the threshold of the door and hearing no noise, he stopped, looked through the key-hole, and saw his secretary on his knees before a crucifix; he then saw him rise, take a discipline, and strike himself heavy blows with it. The pope, duped by this jugglery, would never afterwards listen to any accusation against the pious Coscia. The latter greatly abused his simplicity; he placed no bound to the excesses of his private life, controlled the mind of the pontiff entirely, and remained absolute master, to govern at his will the spiritual and temporal affairs of the church.

Benedict the Thirteenth reigned but in name; his old valet became the true depository of the spiritual and temporal authority; and if he sometimes permitted him to play his part of pope, it was but in questions of theology, which he regarded as too absurd, and altogether unworthy of him. Thus he submitted to him the letter which the cardinal de Noailles wrote to his holiness congratulating him on his exaltation, and expressing the hope he entertained, in regard to the cessation of the quarrels excited by the constitution "Unigenitus."

The pope received the message of the archbishop of Paris favourably, and replied to him in ambiguous terms, which made him hope he would take the part of the appellants against the Jesuits, if the clergy of France consented to make some concession. In this supposition Menseigneur de Noailles drew up, with the approval of the opposing bishops, a memoir which contained twelve propositions on doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline; he immediately sent it to the court of Rome, to have it approved by the sacred college, promising, in exchange, to cause the bull "Unigenitus" to be received in the kingdom. Benedict appointed a committee to examine the twelve propositions and make a report to him. After a conference of three months, the committee reported to him, that the articles proposed for his verification had no need of approval, since they were the expression of evangelical doctrines and were not contested by any one; that the cardinal de Noailles ought to accept the bull "Unigenitus" purely and simply, revoke his appeal, and disavow generally all that he had written and done against the constitution, and expressly to condemn his pastoral instruction. This decision, which placed the friends of the constitution and its opponents on their former ground, without giving the slightest satisfaction to the latter, showed plainly that the Jesuits had resumed their empire at the court of Rome. Moreover, there could no longer be a doubt about it, when Benedict the Thirteenth, or rather his infamous minister, suspended the inquirers of the society of the propaganda inae



the affair of the Chinese worship, and exiled the legate Mezzabarba, the same whom his predecessor wished to appoint a prince of the church, as a recompense for the courage which he had shown in his dangerous mission. The cause of this change arose from the Jesuits having brought the cardinal Coscia into their interests, by opening to him their treasury, and permitting him to draw his hands full out of it.

In France, especially since the death of the regent, their credit had revived, and they were more powerful than ever. The duke of Bourbon, then prime minister, his mistress, the marchioness de Prie, as well as Monseigneur de Fleury, bishop of Frejus, and preceptor to the king, were all entirely devoted to them, and did their best to aid them to triumph. The stupid duke of Bourbon, who was called monsieur the duke, pushed his fanaticism so far as to lanch against the protestants *à la cecree*, which prohibited the most secret exercise of the reformed religion under penalty of death, and which declared the memory of those who expired without receiving the sacraments, infamous.

The parliaments were cowardly enough to register this tyrannical edict, whose clauses, in some particulars, excelled the odious ordinances of Louis the Fourteenth; and the attacks against the Queenellists resumed a new intensity. The opposing bishops defended themselves vigorously, accused the Holy See of bad faith, and furnished, as a proof of it, the refusal to approve of the twelve propositions, which the pope himself had indicated in his correspondence with the archbishop of Paris, as a sufficient modification of the bull "Unigenitus;" they even published the secret letters of the pope, with commentaries on the twelve articles, which overthrew all the doctrines of the constitution "Unigenitus." Fleury obtained a decree of the council of state against the work, providing that it should be suppressed, and that the copies already distributed, should be handed in and torn up by the public executioner.

The excess of rigour which was employed towards the twelve propositions, was the more incomprehensible, since a committee of cardinals had declared them to be holy and orthodox; but the better to cause the conduct of the supporters of Jesuitism to be appreciated, we give the text of these remarkable articles:

1st. Since the sin of Adam no one can acquire true justice or eternal safety, without faith in the Redeemer, more or less developed and distinct, according to the difference in times and persons.

2d. The law of Moses did not give by its own virtue, the grace which is essentially necessary to accomplish the commands of God.

3d. No one resists the absolute will of God.

4th. In the state of fallen nature, in order that the free will of man be deemed to sin or to merit, it is not necessary that there should be an equal aptitude for good or evil, nor that one should find in his will equal force for these two desires.

5th. We may maintain, without error, that the blind and the hardened are sometimes deprived of all inward grace, as a punishment for preceding sins; but it would be condemnable to advance that a man deprived of all grace, can commit the most enormous sins, and the greatest impurities without being guilty before God.

6th. The capital and most essential point of the Christian religion is the divine commandment of the love of God; and this commandment is distinguished from others.

7th. The affinity of all our actions to God is from precept, and not alone from council, and it is not enough that our actions tend to him by implication.

8th. He who commits mortal sins offends God, though he is ignorant of the commands of God, or though he is not actually thinking of him, or though he does not do an express action through the malice of sin.

9th. Those do not follow the sure way of safety, who do not ask in the sacrament of penance, the same love of God, which the second council of Orange and the council of Trent demand from adults, in order to be justified in the sacrament of baptism.

10th. It is a conduct in conformity with the precept of the gospel, and the rules of the church to withhold the benefit of absolution from penitents who are charged with very great or public crimes; or from those who are in the habit, or even in the near occasion of mortal sins; from those who refuse to be reconciled sincerely with their enemies, to restore the property they have taken from their neighbour, either of honour or reputation, and to repair the scandal which they have voluntarily caused by their irregularities or their calumnies.

11th. Holy reading is, without doubt, useful in itself, it is not, however, absolutely necessary for all men without exception, and every one is not permitted to interpret according to his fancy, by following his own mind as his rule, nor to read without preserving the respect and obedience due to pastors, or without a sincere submission to the church, which alone is the judge of the true sense and proper interpretation of scripture.

12th. If any sentence of excommunication clearly prohibits the exercise of acts of true virtue, or diverts from a true precept, it ought at once to be regarded as null and unjust, and that in conformity with the most sacred decrees of the church.

The persecutions recommenced against the opponents of the bull, to force them to receive it without modification; Fleury, who aspired to the cardinalate, wished to prove his zeal, and persecuted the monks of the Chartreuse at Paris, who had been denounced to him as Queenellists by the Sulpicians; twenty-six of these solitaires were obliged to burst the doors of their cells, and escape from their convent to shun the hatred of their enemies; they took refuge in Holland, from whence they protested against the execrable tyranny of the Holy See.

To render to each the justice which is his due, we will say that these rigorous acts were prescribed by cardinal Coscia, and not by Benedict the Thirteenth, who always showed a disposition to sustain the Jansenists rather than the Jesuits. The pontiff was only guilty in having placed his confidence in a minister who abused it to do evil. Still, we must give as an excuse for his negligence, that he was entirely absorbed in the approach of the jubilee of the first quarter of the century.

As usual pilgrims flocked to Rome, increased the treasures of the Vatican, and carried away, in exchange for their money, indulgences, absolutions, scapularies, rosaries, relics, consecrated rings, and all the trifles which are found in the shop of the pope.

During the following year, Benedict the Thirteenth opened, in the church of St. John of the Lateran, a council at which thirty-two cardinals and fifty-two prelates assisted. His holiness had convened this assembly to regulate some very important points of ecclesiastical discipline and of the liturgy; but the fathers, who were most of them affiliated with the Jesuits or sold to the society, instead of occupying themselves with the questions which were submitted to them, employed their sessions in haranguing about the bull "Unigenitus," and decided that it should be maintained complete. It was in vain that the pope wished to interpose his authority, and claim the benefits of pontifical infallibility; the prelates went on and caused him to affix his signature to the foot of their decrees, by abusing his good faith, and gliding in this important piece among other papers which the secretary of the synod was ordered to place before him each day for his signature.

A Dominican, who assisted at the conferences, wrote a very energetic letter to his superior, in which he thus expresses himself concerning the proceedings in the assembly of St. John of the Lateran:—"You will know, my venerable father, that acts have occurred at Rome which merit the just reprobation of the heretics. A pope, pious and full of good intentions, assembles his prelates to produce a reform in the morals of the clergy, and in the doctrines of a corrupt society; he has the authority in his hand; all who form the synod declare that he is the mouth of truth. What now happens? The Molinists have triumphed over St. Augustine, St. Thomas and grace; they reformed the length of wigs and the cut of clothes, without deciding any thing about the licentiousness of prelates, or still more about the ill regulated morals of the Italian clergy. What consequences can the heretics draw from this? That there is nothing to hope from councils, in which astuteness and fraud usually take the place of the Holy Spirit."

Benedict the Thirteenth was not discouraged by the ill success of the synod of the Lateran; he did not abandon his idea of pacifying the church, and meditated the idea of a universal council, in order to fuse together all the Christian communions by reuniting

the four principal sects of Christendom, the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Christians. He proposed to put this magnificent plan into execution, by acting in concert with these four churches, and by indicating œcumenical assemblies, which were to be presided over by prelates of the different communions in the cities of Rome, Lubeck, London, and the capital of Livonia.

His holiness had drawn up a programme of the sessions, indicating the measures to be taken to annihilate the schisms; he wished the fathers to make, in common, a new translation of the Bible with explanatory notes, as well as a universal catechism; he consented that the mass should be transformed in the service of the liturgy, that convents should be changed into schools, that the marriage of priests should be permitted on certain conditions, that the worship of images should be entirely modified, and the ecclesiastical discipline established on a uniform basis for all the ministers of religion.

The sovereign pontiff justified this enterprise by saying, that in the temple at Jerusalem, which was the type of the heavenly Jerusalem, there were several approaches to the Holy of Holies, which, in his opinion, was an unanswerable proof that there were several ways to reach heaven. Unfortunately he could not realise this holy work; the Jesuits cried out scandal, made the cardinal Coscia interfere, and the poor pope, who had then attained his seventy-eighth year, was constrained to bind himself by an oath, and on his knees before his old valet, to abandon his pious design, and to promise on the spot not to abdicate the tiara. As a reward for his submission, the minister permitted him to go to Beneventum, whither he had long wished to go, to repose from the bustle of business.

The fatal influence of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola was felt in France as well as in Italy; the bishop of Frejus, Fleury, had supplanted the duke de Bourbon in the post of prime minister, and purchased the hat of a cardinal by the price of the most cowardly concessions. He even associated himself with Senein, become archbishop of Embrun in the persecutions which he carried on against the bishop of Senex, his suffragan, one of the appellants bishops, who was an octogenarian; this worthy ecclesiastic was accused of having published, in a mandamus, propositions analogous to those of the famous book of Quesnel, and even to the works of Arnaud, Nicole and Pascal.

Fleury did not blush to persecute a venerable old man, who had passed his life in the exercise of the most sublime virtues, and to be anxious for his fall, in order to assure the triumph of the archbishop of Embrun, the worthy rival of Dubois, whose turpitudes were an object of scandal for the faithful. At the instigation of the Sulpicians, his ordinary counsellors in civil and religious affairs, the minister determined to give great lustre to the condemnation of the bishop of Senex. As the Jansenists continued to demand a synod, he

thought of offering to them the phantom of an ecclesiastical assembly, and convened in a provincial council, by a letter de cachet, the most ardent supporters of the bull.

The assembly held its sessions in the palace of the archbishop of Embrun, and under his presidency; therefore, the appellants designated this meeting by the name of the "Brigandage of Embrun." These wretched supporters of Satan were unwilling even to hear the justification of the venerable prelate; they declared him guilty of outrage, sedition and heresy; they interdicted him from his episcopal functions, and exiled him to the mountains of Auvergne, where he died shortly after of chagrin, misery, and some historians say, of poison. This brilliant victory procured for the archbishop of Embrun the hat of a cardinal, that emblem of infamy, and the constant object of his ambition.

Whilst the members of the clergy, the doctors of the Sorbonne, and the counsellors of parliament were submitting disgracefully to the yoke of the Jesuits, the magistrates of the small canton of Luzerne had the courage to expel them from their territory, and to brave the formidable society.

Benedict the Thirteenth remained an entire stranger to these quarrels, and contented himself with making excursions into the province of Beneventum. It is related that he was met in his walk one day by a woman who passed for a propheteess in the country, and who made this singular address to him, "Holy father, I come in the name of God to announce that Rome is thy true church, thy city, the place of thy canonical residence, and not Beneventum. Return then to the Vatican, and remember that thou shouldst obey neither the Jesuits, nor the infamous cardinal Coscia."

The sovereign pontiff listened graciously to the propheteess, promised to follow her advice rigorously, and gave her his blessing. He, however, remained several months longer at Beneventum, and occupied himself with consecrating churches and performing miracles.

Quirini, archbishop of Corfu, maintains that he did three very remarkable things; that he restored sight to a young girl of twelve years of age; that he delivered a woman who was horribly possessed by a devil, and that he cured an infant of five years old, which was lame and dumb from its birth.

He then made preparations to return to Rome, and announced that he was about to publish two bulls, the one on free predestination and efficacious grace, the other upon the constitution "Unigenitus." As he trusted his natural weakness, he wished to finish these two matters, before setting foot in the holy city, and stopped at the monastery of Monte Casino, where Monsignor Accoramboni and Father Mola, attorney general of the Dominicans, drew up the bulls. The pope was so satisfied with the labour of these two theologians, that he made them a rich present on his departure for Sezza, and during the journey he caused the two pieces to be read over

to him several times by Bishop Fini, who accompanied him in his carriage.

This prelate, who was connected with the society of the Jesuits, was thunderstruck by this discovery, but concealed his astonishment. That same evening he sent a courier to Father Corradini, a Jesuit, and the brother of a cardinal, to inform him of what was going on. The news was immediately transmitted to the general. The most active members of the order were hurried off, some to the cardinals of their party, others to the ministers of the different powers, in order to embitter all the sacred college and the ambassadors against the holy father.

The cardinals Lezzeri, Polignac, and Benvivoglio, went immediately to his holiness to prevent the publication of his bulls. The pope stood firm, and would make no concession. Nicholas Coscia came in his turn, sought to change his resolution, prayed and threatened, and, notwithstanding his urgency, gained only half a victory. Benedict consented to modify the bull concerning the constitution "Unigenitus;" but in that which consecrated the theory of the Dominicans concerning "efficacious grace," he would change nothing, and caused it to be set up in the place of Flora. It was as follows:

"We condemn, repulse, and reject, by virtue of our authority, the calumnies rashly advanced against the doctrines of the angelic doctor St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Augustine and it is for the purpose of rendering a still more shining testimony to the morality taught by those fathers, and of animating still more and more the order of the Dominicans, and of all those who follow their doctrine, to make a sincere profession of it; that of our own knowledge we order the turbulent and obstinate disturbers of the repose of the Catholic church to cease their attacks against the orthodox works of St. Thomas. We enjoin on them not to turn aside the sublime meaning of those works by interpretations removed from the truth, by doing open violence as well to our own words as those of our predecessors. We prohibit them from expressing the lightest blame about our apostolical letters, and about the order of the Dominicans: and we condemn the letters, pamphlets, theses, and books which have attacked or may attack the followers of the Thomistic school."

This bull was a positive declaration of war against the Society of Jesus. Its children, however, were silent, from fear of reviving their old quarrel with the Dominicans, at a time when they already had the *Quecelliste* upon their hands. They also feared, by raising the gauntlet which had been thrown down to them by the disciples of St. Dominic, to discontent the cardinal Coscia, who appeared to be already tired of these incessant disputes, and who was, besides, occupied with very serious difficulties which had broken out between the Holy See and the courts of Turin and Lisbon, in regard to the confirmation of the indult which Victor Amadeus claimed, that is to say, the right of nominating to the

vacant benefices in the island of Sardinia, which he had exchanged for Sicily; and in the matter of the king of Portugal, it was to obtain a hat, the hat of a cardinal, for the nuncio Bichi, an infamous prelate, for whom his majesty, John the Fifth, had taken a singular affection, and whom he wished to introduce by force into the sacred college.

The reverend fathers had foreseen that the discussions of the friends of the constitution, and the appellants of France, would absorb all the attention of Nicholas Coscia, and would not permit him to enter into fresh intrigues. Matters were indeed assuming a character of extreme gravity. At the close of the "Brigandage of Embrun," twelve opposing bishops had protested against the judgment, and with them fifty advocates of the bar of Paris, had drawn up an energetic document, tending to weaken the proceedings of the council, as departing even from the text of the ecclesiastical and civil laws.

The cardinal Fleury, exasperated by this manifestation, caused the work of the advocates to be seized, handed it over to a council of stipendiary bishops, and obtained a new condemnation. The prelates decreed that the doctors of law "had wandered out of the way on all points; blamed them for having raised themselves above the authority of the church, councils, popes, bishops, and the bull "Unigenitus," by maxims and propositions rash, false, tending to schism, destructive of all hierarchy, suspected of heresy, and even heretical; they added that these lawyers had attacked the council of Embrun to the prejudice of the royal authority, and the respect which was due to a considerable number of prelates, and to the pontiff himself.

By a decree of the council of state the consultation was suppressed, and the authors denounced to the vindictiveness of the devotees. The prelates who even wished to speak, were threatened with exile; the monastic orders who dared to make simple remarks were stricken with an interdict; the poor nuns who permitted themselves to compassionate the victims, were torn mercilessly from their holy retreats, and dispersed through other communities.

This revival of persecution, which it was announced would fall on all the appellants without exception, intimidated even the members of the high clergy. The cardinal de Noailles himself, that intrepid adversary of the Jesuits, who had to this time shown himself to be immovable, staggered in his sentiments, and offered to accept the bull "Unigenitus," on condition that his enemies would allow him to die in peace. He, however, protested against the condemnation of Soanen, bishop of Senes, and appealed to the king, as well as to a future general council from the "Brigandage of Embrun." His majesty, Louis the Fifteenth, condemned this step, and made such terrible threats against the old man, who was already on the edge of the grave, that he forced him to retract his opinions, and belie his character, by publishing a mandamus in which he de-

clared that he accepted the bull "Unigenitus" without modification.

This submission of the cardinal de Noailles was a true triumph for the constitutionalists, and consequently it inflicted a terrible blow on the appellants; for the adhesion of the metropolitan drew after it that of the chapters and canons of the first vicarates of the archbishopric. It is true that the manifestations of joy by the Jesuits opened the eyes of the venerable prelate, and showed him that he had committed an act of irreparable weakness. He himself said, weeping, to those who surrounded him, that he had, in a moment of culpable weakness, lowered himself in the eyes of men, and rendered himself unworthy to contemplate the face of Christ. The shame and despair which sprang from his acceptance hastened his end, and led him to the tomb in less than a month.

The new archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur de Vintimille, a violent man, and entirely devoted to the Holy See, undertook to subject the clergy of the second order; and by employing in turns, threats, violence, and corruption, succeeded to his entire satisfaction. He obtained a new royal ordinance which enjoined on the faculty of theology in Paris, to make a decree providing that it had accepted the constitution freely, respectfully, and without any restriction.

This great affair over, the Jesuits began to intrigue with the cardinal Coscia to have the famous monk Hildebrand, the poisoner of popes, the triumph over kings, him who, by the name of Gregory the Seventh, had exalted the religious power, and trampled under foot the sceptres and diadems of kings, canonized. This pontiff had already been beatified by Paul the Fifth; but this was not enough in the eyes of the good fathers; they wished so great a man to be raised to the rank of a saint, and to have a right to the worship of the stolid; it was to give a rich bishopric to a bishop in partibus; for the blessed, according to the Roman doctrine, is an inert personage in heaven, not enjoying any invocation, any worship, whilst the saint possesses both prerogatives.

The decree of canonization was obtained without difficulty from Benedict, who had almost fallen into second childhood; but it was not so easy to have it received in France; the parliament refused to register the legend of Gregory the Seventh; it did more, it condemned its tenor, as infringing on the rights of the crown. The parliaments of Metz, Rennes, and Bordeaux followed this example, as did several bishops, amongst others Caylus of Auxene, and Drosmenil of Verdun.

The Jesuits, whose secret end was to force kings to bow their heads before the popes, and by ruling these latter, to command the whole world, regarded it as essential to have the legend of Gregory the Seventh accepted; and to conquer the repugnance of the magistrates, they essayed to present it in a bull, in which was decreed the canonization of Vincent de Paul, the fierce persecutor of the soli-

taires of Port Royal. It was, however, lost pains; the counsellors of the parliament declared that they professed a profound veneration for the sublime institution of the Sisters of Charity, but that they regarded the founder as sufficiently recompensed by his title of blessed.

An event which had been for some time foreseen, suspended the discussions about this ridiculous affair; Benedict the Thirteenth

died at Rome in his ninety-first year, on the 21st of February, 1730. This Dominican proved himself during his pontificate to be simple, ignorant, and superstitious, but austere in his morals, and pure in his intentions; and the only thing with which we can reproach him is, in having allowed the infamous Coscia, and the execrable Jesuits, to have too great an ascendancy over him.

## CLEMENT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1730.]

*Election of a blind pope—He endeavours to arrest the progress of civilization—Quarrel between the parliament of Paris and the cardinal de Fleury—Appeal of the priests of Orleans—Protests of the advocates—Journey of the parliament to Versailles—Polemical Gazette, called the Ecclesiastical News—The cardinal Fleury has the abbe Pucelle, several counsellors of parliament, advocates, and even doctors of the Sorbonne, carried off—Exile of the parliament—History of the deacon Paris—Condemnation of the cardinal Coscia—Progress of philosophy in France—Bulls of Clement the Twelfth against the Free Masons—History of Masonry—The pope claims the tutchies of Parma and Piacenza—State of Christianity in Asia—Canonization of Vincent de Paul—Fresh opposition of parliament to the bull of the pope—Church of Holland—Sickness of the holy father—He restores the infamous Coscia to the dignity of cardinal—His nephews pillage the treasury of the church—His death.*

FIFTY-THREE cardinals entered the conclave after the funeral of Benedict the Thirteenth to give him a successor, and caballed for four whole months without being able to choose a pope; finally, battalions of bugs fell upon their eminences, and put an end to the intrigues. The members of the sacred college hastened to leave their cells, which were invaded by these disgusting insects, and gave their votes to the cardinal Lawrence Corsini, a peevish and gouty octogenarian, whom they proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Clement the Twelfth.

A singular incident had almost annulled the election; the pope was affected, without its being known, with almost entire blindness, which was by the canons a cause for exclusion. When the deed of his appointment was presented to him to sign, he affixed his name across the writing; fortunately, his attendant in the conclave perceived it before giving it up, and designedly spilt the ink from his inkstand over the signature, who compelled the cardinals to remake a minute of the proceeding, and prevented them from suspecting the infirmity of the newly chosen. He was careful, in the second deed, to have his hand guided by his attendant, under the pretext that his paralysis prevented him from writing. Nine days afterwards his holiness was crowned at St. Peter's, and immediately left the Vatican to establish himself with all his court in the Quirinal palace.

Clement the Twelfth was sprung from the ancient family of the Corsini of Florence; he had come to Rome when young, and entered upon an ecclesiastical career. He had suc-

cessively obtained the place of prefect of the signature of livings, the dignity of archbishop of Nicomedia, of treasurer general of the apostolic chamber, and lastly the hat of a cardinal.

As soon as he was seated on the throne of the apostle, like his predecessor, he declared himself to be an enemy of the democratic ideas which were filtering through all classes of society, announced his pretensions to omnipotence, and set himself up as a pontiff of the middle age. He commenced by applauding the furious zeal of the cardinal Fleury, and encouraged that minister to use his influence to repress the liberal inclinations of parliament. That prelate had obtained from king Louis the Fifteenth, a declaration providing that the constitution "Unigenitus" should hereafter be regarded as one of the fundamental laws of the church of France, and had caused the bull to be registered in a bed of justice. As it was usual for the parliaments to make their protests against registrations on the succeeding day, the cardinal minister, who wished to shun all appearance of opposition, thought that he could not do better than prohibit the counsellors from assembling. This injunction, which was conveyed to them in the name of his majesty, at first alarmed them; they then resumed courage, and announced that they would go on and hold their sessions, notwithstanding the prohibition of an insolent priest. The counsellors were strongly urged to this resistance by an abbe named Pucelle, a member of their body, the nephew of Marshal Catinet, and one of the most determined adversaries of the Jesuits, and the

more formidable from his exercising an extraordinary influence over the minds of men. Already did this generous citizen, the precursor of the apostles of liberty, who were to render the close of the century illustrious, preach openly the emancipation of the people, and prepared the way for those energetic attacks before which the papacy and royalty were to fall. His ardent, cutting, and impassioned eloquence carried away all the magistrates, and on the very next day, from the bed of justice, they decreed the four following propositions:—

“The temporal power, established directly by God, is independent of every other, and no power can inflict the least blow on its authority.

“It does not belong to the ministers of the church to fix the bounds which God has placed between the two powers; the canons of the church do not become laws of the state, until they are clothed with authority by the sovereign.

“To the temporal power alone belongs the external power which has a right to constrain the subjects of the king.

“The ministers of the church are accountable to the king and the parliament, under his authority, for all which may hurt the laws of the state; ordinances, edicts, regulations, decrees of parliament, under the authority of the head of the government, are to be executed according to their form and tenor.”

This edict was immediately erased by a decree of the council of state; and as the vacation was approaching, hostilities remained suspended. But on their return, they commenced with more vivacity than before.—Three priests of the diocese of Orleans having been interdicted by their bishop for protesting against the bull “Unigenitus,” had referred it to parliament as an abuse of power, and the counsellors, notwithstanding the declarations of Louis the Fifteenth and the decrees of his counsel, admitted the appeal of the ecclesiastics, and ordered their reinstallation into the cures from which they had been expelled. The prelate informed against them at the officialty, and they were personally summoned. Immediately a new appeal was made by the priests, and there was another decree of parliament which ordered the proceedings to be brought before its tribunal. The bishop, in his turn, presented the order of the king, and demanded that the decree of parliament should be erased as striking a blow at the laws of the church. But all the bar, excited by the abbe Pucelle, took part in the dispute; the advocates of Paris entered the lists, and forty of the most renowned of them signed a consultation, in which the temporal and spiritual powers were openly attacked. They declared that the parliaments representing the nation, no man was permitted to oppose their decrees, not even the monarch, who, in his capacity as head of the government, should set an example of submission to the laws. It was the first time that republican ideas were so clearly promulgated in France; the king was alarmed

by them; the courtiers, the members of the clergy and the nobility, the princes, the cardinal minister, cried out anarchy, and demanded the punishment of the culprits. By order of his majesty, the council passed an ordinance concerning the consultation, declaring that it contained anarchical propositions, which were injurious to the royal authority, and called down all the wrath of the king upon its authors.

The archbishop of Paris raised his voice in his turn, and lanced a mandamus against the protest of the advocates; the latter appealed at once from this condemnation to the parliament, which took hold of the affair. The minister interfered and sent a sealed letter to the assembled chambers, which prohibited them in the name of the king from deliberating about ecclesiastical matters, under penalty of banishment. The magistrates, who suspected what the royal letter contained, refused to break the seal, and it was necessary for a new envoy to be sent to give a formal command to them to take cognizance of the letter, under the penalty of incurring the wrath of the king. These threats, expressed in offensive terms by the count de Maurepas, the messenger of Louis the Fifteenth, so irritated the counsellors, that they decided, with one consent, to go at once to the king, to inform him of the brutal manner in which his agents executed his orders. They first opened the letter and saw, with indignation, that the insolent monarch had exceeded the rudeness of his favourite; their first determination was, however, maintained, and the departure for Marly was immediately effected. When they arrived at this residence, as they were not preceded by any express, they found the court in the greatest disorder, and were obliged to traverse the galleries in the midst of a hedge of lords in dishabille and titled courtizans, who spared neither taunts nor railleries on them. It was in vain that the first president negotiated to obtain an audience of the monarch; his majesty refused to receive him. This scandalous scene was only terminated by the arrival of Fleury, who had hastened from Paris on the first news of what was passing. The cardinal minister presented himself before the bantered, degraded, and humbled magistrates, and informed them that they had better retire if they did not wish to be put out by the lackeys.

The counsellors retired with rage in their hearts, and determined to take vengeance for the outrages they had drunk. On the next day on the appeal of the advocates of the bar of Paris, they condemned the mandamus of the archbishop de Vintimille, and suppressed it as containing ultra montane doctrines, which were destructive of the rights of the nation. They, moreover, secretly encouraged the circulation of a host of pamphlets and songs directed against the cardinal de Fleury, M<sup>on</sup>seigneur de Vintimille, the Jesuits, and even the king.

Among all these publications, there was one which was remarkable for the violence

of its attacks and the power of its reasoning; it was an hebdomadal sheet, which had been issued for some years by the name of the "Ecclesiastical News." A priest named Fontaine de la Roche, who was its founder and principal conductor, flagellated unmercifully the Jesuits, the bishops, and the pope; he designated them in his articles by no other names than those of robbers and thieves; he accused them of thinking of nothing but speculating on the folly of men, so as to make the wealth of nations flow into their coffers, and supported his accusations by historical and irrefutable proofs.

The court was treated with no more respect in the "Ecclesiastical News" than the clergy. Fontaine de la Roche tore away, without pity, the veil which concealed the idol, and exhibited the infamous Louis the Fifteenth in all his hideous nudity. Monseigneur de Vintimille seeing the still increasing success of this gazette, endeavoured to have it seized; but the bloodhounds of the police failed in their search, and could not discover either the presses where it was printed, or the bookseller who published it; he then fulminated an excommunication against the unknown authors, and prohibited the priests of his diocese from reading it, under penalty of interdict. Several of them refused to submit, and as the prelate threatened to bring them before the official, they denounced the mandamus to parliament. Again the cardinal Fleury interfered in the strife, and prohibited the counsellors from deliberating on the matter. They deputed a commission to the monarch to address remonstrances to him; the envoys were badly received and their representations rejected. The parliament then announced that it was about to break off its judicial labours, and the court of requests immediately suspended its sessions.

The king, who feared lest this determination should produce serious troubles, immediately sent for the counsellors to Compiègne, where he was. They obeyed, and went in a body to the monarch; his majesty awaited them in the throne room, in order to intimidate them by the solemnity of their reception. When they were admitted into his presence, he ordered them to resume the exercise of their functions, and renewed his injunctions not to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. The first president wished to make some observations to him; but at the first word, Louis the Fifteenth interrupted him, and said in an imperious tone, "Be silent, for every reply will be punished as a crime against the state." The intrepid Abbe Pucelle then left the ranks of the counsellors and silently deposited a written protest at the feet of the monarch.

The crowd of titled slaves who surrounded their master, broke out into murmurs against the daring man; the count de Maurepas seized the protest and tore it up before the eyes of the downcast magistrates. They retired without uttering a complaint, but each one was well determined to persist in his opposition and to compel the despot to repent his un-

worthy conduct. To heighten the trouble, the cardinal de Fleury had the abbe Pucelle carried off by his guards, and conducted to his abbey of Corbigny; and to intimidate the refractory, he acted with the same rigour towards five counsellors, whose energy he most dreaded.

The parliament demanded the return of its members, the court affected not to pay any attention to its request; then the people interfered in the quarrel, and meetings took place in all parts of the capitol. The old cardinal became alarmed, and hastened to open negotiations for the return of the magistrates, awarding to parliament the right of remonstrance in ecclesiastical matters. All the chambers returned to Paris, and tranquillity was for some time restored.

We must also say that another cause contributed to moderate the attacks against the Jesuits; it was the discredit into which Jansenism had fallen among enlightened men, in consequence of the fanaticism of the ignorant of the sect. Some greedy priests who wished to speculate on the insatiation of the imbecile, got up a story, that several Jansenists, who had been dead some years, were performing miracles, and by the aid of this fraud extorted money from the devotees.—Among these holy persons was one named the deacon Paris, who had a colossal reputation. He was merely a priest, the son of a counsellor to the parliament, and one of the most determined appellants. At his death a great concourse of the poor, whom he had appointed his heirs, accompanied the funeral. After the burial, all these unfortunates, yielding to a sentiment of gratitude, had come to kiss the earth which covered his coffin. The priests of St. Medard, in which cemetery he had been interred, struck by this sentiment of profound veneration, determined to take advantage of it, reported skilfully that miracles were performed at the tomb of the deacon, and erected a magnificent marble mausoleum to him. Their trick succeeded, and an incredible number of the faithful soon flocked from all parts to the cemetery of St. Medard.

Prepossessed minds saw what they had promised themselves to see; the imbecility of the devotees seconded the gross charlatanism of the priests, and it became very easy to speculate on credulity by healing the pretended sores which swindlers exhibited before the eyes of the fanatical. In less than a month the number of visitors had so increased, that they had to open twelve entrances to the cemetery, that the crowd might walk round freely; it was still necessary for visitors to wait several hours before they could reach the tomb. This, moreover, did not purchase too dearly the pleasure of assisting at the singular spectacle which was given there.

In a reserved enclosure, into which visitors were only admitted for money, men and women, pell mell, and almost naked, were agitated—danced and gambled in the midst of contortions so strange, and convulsions so

lively, that it was impossible to see how these unfortunates could stand such rough exercise. Sometimes more than a hundred persons were seen at once, rolling about, entwined together, and acting in the most indecent manner. Several persons of distinction took part in these extravagances, amongst others the chevalier Folard, celebrated for his "History of Polybius," and Louis Basil de Montgeron, counsellor to the parliament, and the author of several works on the deacon Paris and the Convulsionists.

The scenes became so scandalous that the authorities were obliged to put an end to them, and to close the cemetery of St. Medard. On the next day this epigram was found fastened to the gate :

"In the king's name—God is prohibited from performing miracles in this place."

This step did not, however, put a stop to the pernicious representations of the deacon Paris; the priests continued their culpable industry in private assemblies, and recruited adepts from among all classes of society. There were counted more than eight hundred thaumaturgs or demoniacs, who gave spectacles still more licentious from the profane being excluded from their meetings. Girls and women played the principal parts in these religious saturnalia; they excelled especially in forcible whirling, and games of suppleness; some, in imitation of the eastern dervishes, turned on their toes with extraordinary rapidity, so as to give a vertigo to those who looked at them; others reversed their positions like rope dancers, with their heads backwards, and then gave themselves up to puerile sports, playing with rattles, &c. Others performed various other contortions, and scenes of licentiousness were enacted unfit to be recorded.

In proportion as the Jansenists lost ground, the Jesuits appeared to become more formidable, more imperious, more insolent than ever in the provinces of France. But this triumph was but a feeble compensation to the Society of Jesus for the checks they experienced at Rome, where their protectors, and especially the cardinal Coscia, became the object of animadversion to the citizens and even to the old pope.

The palace of the former valet of Benedict the Thirteenth had been pillaged by the Romans, and the cardinal archbishop of Benevento, to insure his personal safety, had been constrained to leave the apostolical city and retire to Naples, which did not prevent the committee appointed to examine the acts of his government from placing him under an interdict, sequestering his property, and claiming his surrender. He was taken back to Rome to be there judged by a special commission, and after a minute examination he was condemned to excommunication, to lose his vote in the conclave, to restore the money he had stolen from the treasury, to pay a fine of a hundred thousand ducats, and to be confined for ten years in the castle of San Angelo. His brother, the bishop of Targa, who had been judged guilty of malversation, was al-

ready confined in the same fortress. The cardinal Fini, one of those who had been the highest in the favor of Coscia, was also punished for the crime of concussion; but Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, to whom he had rendered great services, having undertaken his defence, the sovereign pontiff stopped the proceedings, and even reinstated him in all his dignities.

Whilst the Jesuits and the chief of the church were struggling for the rule of the world, and were discussing the right to plunge nations into brutality from a speculative and egotistical interest, a war cry arose from the middle of France, which, repeated by a thousand voices, taught Rome and its black cohorts that God was watching over humanity. The Pleiad of philosophers, which had already ranged themselves around Voltaire, attacked the church, and inflicted on it rude blows, from which it has not since recovered. Voltaire, the leader of these lofty spirits, was then shining in all the aureole of his glory, and was battling in the breach against the civil and religious authority of popes, bishops, and priests, those implacable enemies of all advancement. Montesquieu combatted by his side in the cause of liberty, and published his famous Persian letters; Rousseau, Diderot, and d'Alembert, entered the lists and reinforced the battalion of the encyclopedists; Maupertuis, Clairault, Camus, Le Montais, &c. determined, geometrically, the figure of the earth, by measuring a degree from the meridian under the equator, and another under the poles.

All these great men impressed an irresistible impulse on their cotemporaries, and forced the third estate, the nobility, and even a great part of the French clergy, to march in their train in their progressive route to the conquest of a new order of things. The political movement, though less apparent than the religious, was not the less real. Secret associations were every where organised to labour for the overthrow of kings and priests; the sacred love of liberty, that divine sentiment, the lightnings of which despots had restrained for so many years, was reanimating all hearts. Rome was moved by this revolutionary tendency of the mind, and to arrest it Clement the Twelfth declared war on secret societies, and fulminated a terrible bull against the Freemasons, who had established lodges in England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Italy.

His holiness prohibited his subjects, under penalty of death, from becoming affiliated with, or from assisting at an assembly of Freemasons, or even from inducing any one to enter the proscribed society, or only from rendering aid, succour, counsel, or a retreat to one of its members. He also enjoined on the faithful, under penalty of the most severe corporeal punishments, to denounce those whom they suspected of being connected with them, and to reveal all they could learn touching this heretical and seditious association. These proscriptions, instead of checking the advance of freemasonry, contributed to give it extraor-



inary lustre, and Europe was soon covered by a prodigious number of lodges.

The initiated maintain that the institution of their order goes back to the most remote antiquity, and say, "that as soon there were sufferers, there were masons to solace them; that as soon as there were unjust men, there were masons to repair the injustice; that as soon as there were knaves and oppressors, there were masons to combat them."

Some commentators have placed the cradle of masonry in the country of the ancient Idumeans, under the reign of the third king of the Israelites, the great Solomon, and have supposed that after the construction of the famous temple of Jerusalem, the Jewish king had assembled all the workmen who had concurred in building the monument, into a society. Others place the commencement of the society in the time of the Pharaohs, at the period when Moses appeared. Some make it descend from the Templars, and others even declare that it owes its birth to the Vaudois, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, those protestant sects which have been so violently persecuted by the Catholics.

Among these different opinions, that put forth by the skilful antiquarian, Prestors, appears to be the most truthful. According to his opinion, a Roman general, named Carranius, charged with the conquest of Great Britain, towards the year 287 of our era, had caused himself to be recognised by his legions as emperor of the British isles, had formed an independent state, and protected the arts, and especially architecture, and had instituted solemn meetings of architects and workmen, who called themselves Freemasons, and who from that time did not cease to form a society organised for the construction of the principal monuments of England.

He maintains that in 600 they constructed the cathedral of Canterbury, that of Rochester in 602, the famous church of St. Paul in 604, the church of St. Peter of Westminster in 605, and that towards the end of the ninth century, they were employed by Alfred the Great to reconstruct the castles which had been burned during the war with the Danes. Until the year 924, the society of architects and working masons continued their useful labours; it was still but an association of workmen. That year King Athlestan gave them a special protector in his brother Prince Edwin. Two years afterwards he permitted his brother to decorate himself with the title of Grand Master of the masonic brothers. The head quarters of the fraternity were established at York, which, on account of other associations of the same kind established in the different provinces of England, received the designation of the grand lodge.

From Great Britain, the society passed into Scotland about the year 1550, but it was not until two centuries afterwards, in 1717, that masonry assumed the character of a mysterious society. It owed it chiefly to its grand master, Christopher Wren, to whom succeeded Anthony Sayer and George Payne. The last

of these made regulations, subjected the society to fixed rules, and re-established the ceremonial, which had become much altered. Although there remains no trace of the passage of the corporation of architects and workmen into the institution of Freemasonry, it is probable that it took place at the close of the struggle between democracy and absolutism under the Stuarts.

From the British isles masonry passed into France, and an Anglo French lodge was installed in Paris in the beginning of the year 1725. A quarter of a century had not passed by, when the institution crossed the Alps and the Pyrenees, passed the Rhine, and planted itself through all Europe.

His holiness, obliged to renounce the hope of annihilating masonry, turned all his attention to his own affairs, and thought of increasing his treasures, to be the better enabled to corrupt, if not to combat his enemies. At the instigation of his nephews, he sold to Philip the Fifth of Spain, for his son Don Louis, who was scarcely eight years old, the briefs which raised a child in his jacket to the dignity of archbishop of Toledo and Seville, and which conferred on him the title of cardinal.

This sacrilegious appointment, and this act of cowardly compliance with the wishes of the king of Spain, did not, however, produce the consequences which the court of Rome expected from them. His Catholic majesty thought himself liberated from all obligations to the holy father, by the millions he had given to his family, and made no scruple in putting in execution, notwithstanding the pope's prohibition, the plan of invasion he had long meditated, in order to place the crowns of Naples and Sicily on the head of his second son.

A war broke out between the different powers of Europe, for the succession to the throne of Poland, become vacant by the death of Frederick Augustus. The father-in-law of Louis the Fifteenth, the old Stanislaus Leczinski, claimed the throne, from which he had been driven, as a property belonging to him, and was sustained in his pretensions by France, which naturally led Savoy and Spain into his party. The elector of Saxony, who had been proclaimed king of Poland by the states, sought on his side to maintain himself, and was supported by Russia and Austria. Holland and England remained tranquil spectators of the strife.

After a war of two years, Charles the Sixth was constrained to sign the treaty of Vienna, and to cede to the infant Don Carlos, the second son of Philip the Fifth, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, the island of Elba, and the estates degli Presidi, in exchange for the duchies of Parma and Placenza, which the court of Rome claimed as dependencies of the Holy See. Clement the Twelfth protested against the treaty of Vienna, but the parties went on, took possession of the contested territories, and made the exchanges.

His holiness, unable to sustain his pretensions by an army, submitted to force, and is

console himself for this check, fell back upon ecclesiastical affairs. He sent several nuncios into the provinces of Italy, to superintend the conduct of the priests, and gave a mission to an ab-legate, to go into Syria and convene a provincial council, to reform the abuses which had been introduced into the convents.

He did not content himself with extending his solicitude over ignorant people; he endeavoured to rekindle the zeal of European nations, by promotions in the heavenly militia. He raised to the rank of saint the blessed Jesuit, John Francis Regis, the beatified Catherine Flisco, the beautiful Julianna Falconieri, the Capuchin Joseph de Leonissa, as well as the fanatical Vincent de Paul, whose canonization had been already rejected by the French during the last pontificate. The earnestness of the court of Rome to have the founder of the order of missions catalogued among the saints, became afterwards the cause of a very great disappointment, through a singular accident, of which Grimm speaks in his correspondence with Diderot. This was the fact; in 1659, Vincent de Paul, when dying, had confided a sealed package to one of his friends, the head of the family of d'Argenson, with an injunction that it was not to be opened until a hundred years after his death. When the term had expired, M. de Paulny, the great grandson of d'Argenson, broke the seals of the deposit, in the presence of Louis the Fifteenth, and found a letter from Vincent de Paul, in which the saint declared, that he had always lived and died in the opinions of Socinianism; that in the conviction this doctrine would be universally spread before a century had gone by, he wished his profession of faith to remain unknown until the time in which falsehood should have given place to truth.

Thus was it proved, that Vincent de Paul, the fierce enemy of the Jansenists, the corypheus of the Molinist party, persecuted his enemies for the pleasure alone of glutting his vengeance, without any religious conviction, without even having the excuse of fanaticism, since he neither believed in the divinity of the Catholic religion, nor the infallibility of the popes, nor even in the existence of Jesus Christ!

And yet the bull which conferred the honours of the apotheosis was granted to him for his orthodox zeal! "It is because Vincent de Paul never ceased to exhort the king, the queen, and their ministers, to persecute such of their subjects as were opposed to the Roman communion, that we grant him his commission of saint," said Clement the Twelfth in his bull; "it is to recompense him for having massacred those who were obstinate in the Jansenist error, that we rank him among the cohorts of the heavenly militia. . . . For if it is true that the church refuses to shed blood, we must, however, say that it draws great assistance from the secular power, and that it cannot too much encourage the ministers of the altars to claim the aid of kings, to force heretics to recur to spiritual remedies, through fear of punishment."

The parliament, which did not approve of

the sanguinary doctrines of the court of Rome, suppressed the bull canonizing Vincent de Paul, as tending to destroy the maxims of the Gallican church, and as surpassing the system of the partizans of papal omnipotence. The cardinal de Fleury, who had perhaps a secret hope of meriting the distinction of Vincent de Paul, took the side of the saint against the parliament, and reinstalled him in heaven by an edict of Louis the Fifteenth. The magistrates persisted in their former decision, and for the third time expelled Vincent from paradise. The quarrel warmed; the Jesuits took part in it, wrote volumes in defence of the saint, and seized on the occasion to attack the Jansenists, and even the university. The doctors of the Sorbonne replied with vigour, and raised the old discussion about the bull "Unigenitus." As always, the cardinal de Fleury interferred, gained their cause for the disciples of Ignatius, and exiled the members of the university by an ordinance of the king.

In the midst of all these disputes, ultra montanism became more and more discredited in the eyes of the nations. In Holland a church which has maintained itself to our own days, afforded at that period the singular sight of a community entirely Catholic in its doctrines, ritual and discipline, though entirely separated from the Holy See.

Codde, the apostolic vicar of that country, had been pursued by the pope, on account of his Jansenist opinions, and had been several times obliged to obtain the assistance of the states-general to maintain himself in his post, and to have the bulls of the court of Rome, which deprived him of his functions, erased. After his death, seven canons of Utrecht, also partizans of Jansenius, had persevered in the revolt against the Holy See, and had of their own authority proclaimed as archbishop, Steenhooven, to whom succeeded Burchman Wuytiers, a violent Jansenist, who set an example of every evangelical virtue, received with admirable charity all the French who were exiled for the cause of religion, and succoured them from his own purse, when the appellent party could not send them aid in money.

At every election of a new prelate to the see of Utrecht, the titular never failed to address synodical letters to the reigning pontiff, to inform him of his election. Burchman Wuytiers being dead, his successor, the prelate Meindartz, conformed to existing usages, and sent his letters to Clement the Twelfth. His holiness replied by a bull of anathemas, which did not prevent Meindartz from continuing his sacerdotal functions as before, and from re-establishing the bishopric of Harlem, which had been extinct for a hundred and fifty years.

Clement the Twelfth was so chagrined at seeing himself braved by a mere archbishop, that he became very sick. His nephews foresaw that his end was approaching; they hastened to use the time advantageously, stole all the treasures shut up in the Quirinal palace, and to assure themselves of impunity, they forced the dying pontiff to sign a bull of re-

installation in favour of Coesia, by annulling the condemnation pronounced against him, in order to deprive his successor of all desire of acting against them. The infamous Nicholas Coesia left the castle of San Angelo, was re-

instated in his dignity of cardinal and archbishop, and in almost all his property. Some days after having accomplished this great iniquity, the old gouty and blind pope died, on the 6th of February, 1740.

## BENEDICT THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1740.]

*Election of Cardinal Lambertini—The beginning of his reign—Ambition of the pontiff—His condescension towards kings—Voltaire and Benedict the Fourteenth—The pope secretly favours the Jesuits—Struggle between them and the philosophers—The publication of the Encyclopædia—Bull of the pope against Freemasons—Decretals concerning the property of the French clergy—Louis the Fifteenth and la Pompadour are threatened with ecclesiastical thunders—The Jesuits wish to restore the inquisition in France—Origin of the billets of confession—Parliament seizes on the temporalities of the archbishop of Paris—The counsellors are exiled to Pontoise—Protests of all the parliaments of France against the persecutions styled by the Jesuits—The edict of silence—The French priests refuse burial to the dead—Exile of the archbishop of Paris—Benedict the Fourteenth exhorts Louis the Fifteenth to protect the Jesuits, and persecute the philosophers—His majesty is constrained to revoke the law of silence—Quarrel between the court and parliament—Attempt to assassinate Louis the Fifteenth—Condemnation and punishment of Damians—Death of Benedict the Fourteenth.*

In consequence of the appointments to the cardinalate made during the last pontificates, of fifty-four members of the sacred college, who entered into conclave after the death of Clement the Twelfth, there were only four Spanish, three French, and one German cardinal; the Italian party was in a vast majority. Their eminences were divided into two coteries; that of the cardinals created by Clement the Eleventh, Innocent the Thirteenth, and Benedict the Thirteenth, who were called the old college, and that of the members of the new formation, which was called the new college. These two parties presented successively as candidates Kurro, Rezzonico, and Fiffio; one of them obtained even as many as thirty-three votes. There was wanting but one more vote to place a pontiff on the chair of the apostle, when Prosper Lambertini caused the election to fail by a pleasantry, in replying to one of his colleagues who claimed his vote, and showed that it depended on his will to make a pope, "that he would not usurp the functions of the Holy Spirit." The wary Lambertini had the more reason for not giving his vote to the candidate, since, under an appearance of indifference, he was himself intriguing for the papacy. The election having failed, the intrigues recommenced and prolonged the conclave until the month of August; then came the interference of the bugs, as in the last conclave, to bring their eminences to agreement.

Prosper Lambertini, thinking that his colleagues were tired of debating, made them a pleasant speech, and finished as follows:—"To terminate the matter, if you want a holy pontiff, take Gotti; if you desire a skilful politician take Aldovrandi; but, if you prefer

a good fellow take me." They laughed at the sortie, went to balloting, and thirty-four cardinals, who thought they were merely continuing a joke, gave him their votes. On counting the votes, they found, to their great astonishment, that they had made him a pope; but there was no time to look back upon an accomplished act, and on the 17th of August, 1740, Prosper Lambertini was proclaimed pontiff, by the name of Benedict the Fourteenth.

The new vicar of Jesus Christ was in his sixty-seventh year. He was born of an illustrious family in Bologna. It is said that, from his youth, he had fixed his ambitious hopes upon the apostolic throne, and that during his whole life he had not wandered for a single instant from the route he had traced out to reach it. Endowed with an active and acute mind, an extraordinary penetration, and an observant genius, he had discovered that to reach the high fortune to which he aspired, he must bridle his turbulent passions, and plunge into the depths of canonical jurisprudence, and the imaginary spaces of theological subtleties. His first labours had procured for him the services of the celebrated advocate Justinian, who took him in the capacity of a clerk; Lambertini himself afterwards obtained the title of consistorial advocate, and that of promoter of the faith. He triumphed over the disgusts which theological studies inspired in his mind, and composed sixteen folio volumes about ecclesiastical matters. All that this alarming delivery of grievous labour must have cost to the mind of Lambertini, proves how ardent was his thirst for greatness. An affectionate tone of voice, prepossessing manners, and an appearance of frankness, which no one could resist,

soon made him numerous partizans. He united himself with all men who, like himself, had a passion for the sciences, for historical inquiries, and for the arts. He professed the highest esteem for Father Montfaucon, a learned Benedictine, whom he knew at Rome, and who said of him, "that he had two souls, one for ecclesiastical science, and another for worldly knowledge." In fact, the theological studies of the young advocate of the consistorial court, did not prevent him from cultivating the good Italian authors, and adorning his memory with their most brilliant passages. "They growl at me," said he, "that I have had light intercourse with Tasso, Dante, and Ariosto; but do they not know that the reading of these is the delicious beverage which aids me in digesting the heavier substance of the stupid doctors of the church? Do they not know that these poets furnish me with the brilliant colours, by the assistance of which I am enabled to reconcile the incongruities of religion."

The gaiety of the young Lambertini, and his prodigious knowledge caused him to be distinguished at the court of Clement the Eleventh. His holiness made him a canon of St. Peter, then bishop, then counsellor to the holy office, associate of the congregation on the rituals, and canonist of the penitentiary. Innocent the Thirteenth elevated him to the dignity of archbishop of Theodosia in partibus; Benedict the Thirteenth made him titular prelate of Ancona, and introduced him into the sacred college; and finally, Clement the Twelfth, in 1732, had promoted him to the archbishopric of Bologna, his natal city, where he made himself numerous partizans. We must render him this justice, that he governed his diocese paternally, protected the weak, and was, in all things, of an amiable tolerance.

Having become the head of the church, Lambertini changed in nothing his affectionate manners; he preserved his cheerful faculties, his piquant mind, and did not depart from his habit of tolerance in religious matters. He was, however, pope, and as such was obliged to rule the nations. From the summit of the Vatican, his genius hovered over all the kingdoms of Christendom, to discover what it was useful to maintain, or what proper to abandon for the interests of Rome. He remarked the great change that had taken place, not only in Italy and southern Europe, but even in the general condition of political affairs in the north. He discovered that among the powers which governed the destinies of the Christian world Russia, Prussia, and England had raised themselves to the first rank, and preserved a marked superiority over the Catholic kingdoms; he observed that the practical good sense, mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial genius of England had conquered the monkish nonchalance of Spain and the political Jesuitism of France; that the energetic organization of Prussia had triumphed over the ultra montane monarchy of Austria, and that the sword of Russia threa-

tened to annihilate the fanatical aristocracy of Poland.

Benedict satisfied himself that this preponderance, though entirely material, would exercise a reaction on religious affairs; that Russia would not fail to establish Greek archbishops in the United Provinces of Poland; that Prussia would not be backward in preaching revolt among the German Lutherans; that England, extending its rule over the seas, would arrest the progress of the Catholic missions. He discovered what enormous faults his predecessors had committed in their attempts at religious reactions; he perceived that the persecutions committed by the execrable Jesuits had only succeeded in arresting for a moment the intellectual movement of the masses; he saw that in France the massacres commanded by Louis the Fourteenth, and the ridiculous quarrels excited by Cardinal Fleury, the minister of Louis the Fifteenth, had heaped up so much hatred, that it was to be feared, lest their explosion should overthrow both the altar and the throne; he calculated the results which a literature, hostile to despotic power, was to produce, by attracting to itself all minds, and enchaining them by the indissoluble bonds of truth. Though the different tendencies of the great men of this period accorded but little among themselves, he observed that all tended to the same centre of activity, the same end, the destruction of royalty and the papacy. In fact, notwithstanding the difference in their ideas and sentiments, the partizans of religious reform who were combatting the omnipotence of Rome, and the leaders of the philosophical party who placed themselves in formal opposition to the monarchy, combined their double movement, and impressed an extraordinary force on this single and multiple tendency.

His holiness, by studying these different symptoms, discovered that mankind was accomplishing a great work; that the people, tired of bending their heads, were preparing to claim their slighted rights, and that the time was not far distant in which kings and priests would have to account with the nations.

In this foresight, Benedict determined to save the vessel of St. Peter, by following an entirely different route from that of his predecessors, and by labouring to render religion venerable by reforming the abuses which existed among the clergy. He at first thought of submitting the Jesuits to ecclesiastical discipline and of restraining their privileges. He resumed the matter of the Chinese worship, and issued the bull "Ex quo Singulari," in which he reviewed all the phases of this long proceeding since the first decisions of the society of the propaganda. He annulled the concessions wrenched from the legate Mezza-barba, and prescribed the form of an oath to be taken by missionaries, in order that the good fathers should not again take a fancy to free themselves from the obedience which they owed to the Holy See. He acted with

the same rigour towards ecclesiastics, and undertook to reduce all the priests of Christendom beneath his authority, from the simple deacon to the proud bishop.

We must say that this despotism was in opposition to the doctrine of the apostles, and particularly to that of St. Paul, who recognised the right of absolute jurisdiction by prelates in their dioceses. Benedict, however, went on and, in opposition to this doctrine, prohibited them from performing their ministerial acts, without having referred them to him, and to sustain these encroachments, he composed a book called, "The Diocesan Synod," in which he exalted the papacy, and abased the episcopate. This conduct towards inoffensive prelates demonstrates that if circumstances had favoured him, he would have treated people and kings as he did the bishops. But he dared not expose the pontifical barque to perish in the bosom of the revolutionary tempest, which appeared to him to be so imminent, nor did he wish it to be dismasted by the sovereigns who appeared to be desirous to tow it.

Instead of being despotic towards the people, he affected to be opposed to the bull "Unigenitus." To gain the favour of the potentates, he appeared to place himself without the continental diplomatic circle, and flattered the pretensions of all the sovereigns. He was careful to observe a modest neutrality in the war of the Austrian succession, which broke out on the death of Charles the Sixth, and in which the different powers of Europe took a more or less active part. A pontiff less enlightened would have interfered in this bloody strife, and the thunders of the Vatican would have fallen on the head of the candidate rejected by the Holy See. Benedict the Fourteenth, a skilful politician, was content to be a spectator, without taking part either for Duke Charles Albert of Bavaria, whom the electors had proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles the Seventh, or for the young Maria Theresa, the daughter of the deceased monarch, who had been appointed by her father the heiress of his dominions. The pope acted like Moses on Mount Horeb, he raised his arms to heaven, whilst the armies were exterminating themselves in the Austrian provinces. He gave a free passage, without distinction, to the troops of Maria Theresa, the Spaniards, and the Neapolitans, and even permitted them to establish themselves on the territories of the states of the church. It is true, that after the war, his holiness did not forget to have large indemnities allowed him by the belligerent parties for their sojourn in his dominions.

Peace restored, he sought to obtain the good will of Maria Theresa; and to establish concord between the courts of Rome and Vienna, he suppressed the patriarchate of Aquila, which was asked by the empress queen, notwithstanding the active opposition of the Venetians, and permitted her, as she desired, to tolerate the protestant worship in her dominions. "It is a great good," he wrote on this

subject, to seek to bring back the Lutherans to the Catholic religion, not by employing the sword, as some of our predecessors practised, but by persuasion and mildness."

In his solicitude for conciliatory measures, Benedict sought the friendship of the Italian princes, and even purchased it by important concessions, against the opinion of the members of the sacred college. He thus consented to the ratification of the concordat, agreed upon during the pontificate of Benedict the Thirteenth, with Victor Emanuel, king of Sardinia, which Clement the Twelfth had annulled as contrary to the ecclesiastical immunities, and which conceded to the government of that prince, the right of not being restrained in his fiscal operations by a foreign ecclesiastical power, of submitting priests to the secular jurisdiction, of appointing to all the vacant bishoprics, and of prohibiting the publication of the decrees of the court of Rome, without their first receiving the sanction of the sovereign. His holiness also granted to Don Carlos, the new king of the two Sicilies, several privileges which he demanded, amongst others the abrogation of a great number of festivals which cramped commerce; this abrogation was afterwards extended to all the Catholic states. From gratitude Don Carlos, the son of Philip of Spain, the founder of the Bourbon race of Naples, which still reigns, unfortunately for the people, came in person to render homage to Benedict for his dominions and to kiss his sandals.

The pope also showed a very great deference for Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, that royal witling, who published the ante-Machiavel, at the very time he was putting in practice the despotical maxims of that book; he authorised him to fill the bishoprics of Silesia, a Catholic country which he had conquered from Austria, and when his Prussian majesty, not wishing to have too skilful priests in his dominions, presented as a successor to Cardinal Zinzendorf in the see of Breslau, a subject who was almost an idiot, Benedict shut his eyes upon it, and ratified the nomination of the imbecile prelate. This act of compliance procured for the head of the church a large sum of money and rich presents, which were offered him by the margravine of Bareith, the sister of the king, who made a journey to Rome expressly for this purpose.

These tolerant and conciliatory tactics succeeded marvellously well, and procured for the sovereign pontiff the friendship of all the princes of Europe. Elizabeth, empress of Russia, styled him the sage; the king of Portugal wrote to him on a footing of the most intimate friendship; the sultan Mahmoud sent ambassadors to compliment him. It was a curious thing to hear a pope say to a cardinal, "This good Turk has said the most amiable things in the world to me, through the marquis de Maio." But of all the homages which his policy procured for him, that which flattered him most was unquestionably that of Voltaire.

This great writer had had his tragedy of *Fanaticism* refused by the censor; it appeared to him pleasant to procure the assistance of the pope for his piece, and to dedicate it to the successor of Boniface the Eighth, John the Twenty-second, and Pius the Fifth. Lambertini finding it to be piquant, and useful to sustain the tottering papacy, on the arm which had inflicted such terrible blows upon it, accepted the dedication. The philosopher then entered upon an exchange of courtesies with the head of the church, in order to enrage the faction of devotees which persecuted him; the holy father replied to his letters, in order to make an ally of a writer, who was regarded as the luminary of the age. They cajoled each other with all their might; Voltaire seasoned his eulogies with all the salt of his mind: Benedict placed in his all the noctuous address of the vicar of God. But in this kind of fencing the priest had the advantage over the philosopher. In return for his gift of the manuscript of the tragedy of *Mohamet*, his holiness replied by sending an admirable medal struck with his likeness. Arouet de Voltaire, the philosophical writer, the antagonist of the Roman church, was seduced by his vanity, and thundered forth an eulogy on the virtues and talents of the politic Lambertini, in odes which were repeated from pole to pole. As an act of reciprocity, the pontiff took the tragedy of *Fanaticism* under his protection, raised the interdict of censure, and obtained permission for it to be played at Paris. All Europe applauded the philosophy of a pope who appeared to establish a distinction between fanaticism and religion.

Did Benedict the Fourteenth really merit the respect and veneration with which his contemporaries surrounded him? No one should dare to affirm it. History should not stop at the surface of things; before rendering a judgment, its investigating looks should penetrate into the profoundest depths of the soul of him on whom it is called to pronounce. Then it would discover that beneath the mask of tolerance with which Lambertini covered himself, the priest could not always be discovered. There was seen at the court of Rome, the commissaries of protestant sovereigns, pressing with enthusiasm around a pontiff, who maintained in force the decrees and anathemas launched by his predecessors against the dissenting communities. The English, especially, flowed into Italy, to admire with what exquisite urbanity the pope excommunicated them, and with what a charming grace he damned them; and these islanders, captivated by his address, were not sparing of eulogies upon his love for the fine arts, and the amenity of his manners.

It is not extraordinary that this concert of praise influenced the judgment of cotemporary authors, who have written about Benedict the Fourteenth. Almost all affirm, and very seriously, that the pope wished to conciliate that which is not reconcilable; to place in harmony Catholicism and philosophy; love for science and the doctrines which beatify igno-

rance; philanthropy and the cruel inquisition; but an evident proof that the sovereign pontiff was only submitting to the law of necessity, and that there was no good faith in his conduct, is the effort which he made at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to maintain the pretensions of the Holy See to the dutchies of Parma and Placenza, as well as to the island of Corsica.

As the political interests of the powers could not accommodate themselves to the claims of the court of Rome, the ambassadors of the pope were put off, and his holiness was constrained to conceal the grief which this check caused him. Benedict the Fourteenth was, besides, powerfully engaged to submission by events which tended to nothing less than the overthrow of Christianity; all minds were in a ferment in Europe, and particularly in France, where the struggle between the parliament and the clergy continued more violently than ever.

The holy father, in this emergency, thought he could not do better than connect himself with the society of the Jesuits, and use them as a bulwark to arrest the encroachments of the sovereigns, without, however, avowing himself to be the protector of an order which was held in execration every where, and whose digressions he himself had blamed. The disciples of Ignatius, satisfied with this concealed patronage, re-entered the lists and became so animated in their attacks against the parliament, that it was feared, for a short time, lest France should be divided into two parties, and afford the afflicting sight of a new religious war. At this time occurred a new rally among the philosophers of the school of Voltaire; and by the corruptions of the papacy religion suffered violence. The great text books of French infidelity received countenance in their attacks upon all revealed religion, from the evident justice of their charges against those who impiously professed to hold the keys of heaven. The policy of the Jesuits in the persecution of these men but aided the progress of their labours, for it made them popular, and gave them authority as martyrs.

Among the principles which the philosophers sought to establish, was one whose adoption became daily more imperious, on account of the wretched state of the finances; it was equal taxation among all citizens. Louis the Fifteenth, who hoped, by extending this measure to the members of the clergy, to bring enormous sums into his coffers, had the air of yielding to public opinion, and instructed the comptroller general Machant, to make arrangements to have all the privileged orders concur in the payment of taxes. The priests exclaimed scandal, sacrilege, and refused to restore the slightest part of the wealth they had extorted from the credulity of the people. To bring them to reason, a decree of the council prohibited any new establishment of chapters, colleges, or convents, without the express permission of the king, and prohibited to convents the right of acquiring, possessing, or receiving funds, houses, or rents, without

the permission of the governors of the provinces. The bishops assembled for the purpose of arresting the effects of a law which was to restore the virtues of the primitive church, protested against the royal decree, and addressed remonstrances to his majesty.

The king replied to the prelates by issuing an edict, which levied an impost of several millions on the property of the church, and which enjoined on the beneficiaries to render, as soon as possible, an account of their revenues. Before the imminence of the danger all the priests rallied around the Society of Jesus; they threatened to excite the fanaticism of the ignorant populace against Louis the Fifteenth and the favourite, and intimidated the court.

Christopher de Beaumont, the archbishop of Paris, one of the principal members of the company of the Jesuits, a haughty, obstinate, and implacable ecclesiastic, resolved to attach a religious persecution to his name, and in concert with the reverend disciples of Ignatius Loyola, formed a plan of establishing tribunals of the inquisition in France, on the same model as those of Spain. The good fathers were too skilful to proceed brutally, by exacting sudden conversions through fear of punishment, as was practised in the Spanish peninsula, under the successor of the odious Philip the Fifth. They thought of making an essay with their new code on the pretended Jansenist heretics, and submitted their plan of attack to Benedict the Fourteenth, who gave it his entire approval. The bishops, heads of orders, as well as most of the curates, feigned to believe that the Jansenists were on the eve of reappearing more terrible than ever, and claimed from the secular authority the means of crushing them. On the refusal of the government to enter upon vigorous measures, Christopher de Beaumont wished to perform justice, he discharged the superior of the general hospital of Paris, under the pretext of opposition to the bull "Unigenitus," and replaced her by a nun who passed for his mistress. The parliament accused the prelate of usurpation of the attributes of the administrative council of the city of Paris, and wished to replace the superior in her dignity. The Jesuits, in their turn, accused the magistrates of sustaining heresy, and signalled them out to the vindictiveness of the devotees. The king interfered in the quarrel but gently; he would not take either side, and allowed things to become more embittered. Christopher de Beaumont, satisfied with the result of his first effort, determined to strike a second blow, which should crush all the incredulous at once. He ordered all the curates of the capital to refuse the sacraments, and even burial in the holy ground, to those who could not produce a bill of confession from an orthodox priest.

The curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, an old renegade from Jansenism, Father Bouettin, was one of the fiercest satellites of the archbishop of Paris. One of the first victims of this fanatic was the celebrated professor Coffin, the rector of the university, who had illus-

trated his passage through this high dignity by the establishment of gratuitous instruction. This octogenarian, the old friend and disciple of the good Jansenist Rollin, having asked for the aid of the church on his death-bed, yielded to the entreaties of his relatives, and permitted Father Bouettin to be brought to him. The latter, instead of discharging the duties of his ministry, declared to the dying man that he would not administer the sacraments to him, until he had retracted his alleged errors; Coffin, indignant at the infamy of the priest, drove him from his house, and prohibited any other ecclesiastic from being sent for. When he died Bouettin refused to bury him. A nephew of the rector, who was a counsellor to the chatelet, succeeded, with the assistance of the parliament, in having the body of his uncle received in the church, notwithstanding the prohibition of the curate. He paid dear for his triumph; eight days afterwards he was attacked with a terrible sickness to which the Jesuits were no strangers. The curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, charmed at having his vengeance to his hand, went to his enemy without being sent for, and informed him that he should not be interred in holy ground. This odious scene hastened the end of the sick man. On the next day the parliament, being advised of this act of cruelty, laid an information against Father Bouettin, and ordered him to be seized. The curate protested against the violence which was used towards him, maintained that the inviolability of the altar was attacked in his person, and alleged in his exculpation the orders of his superiors. The archbishop of Paris interfered; the magistrates, none the less, persisted in condemning the curate of St. Stephen; but, as the marchioness de Pompadour was then under the impression of fear of the clergy, the council of state erased the decree, and appeared to legitimatise the persecutions ordered by Christopher de Beaumont.

In the intoxication of the success of their policy, the Jesuits determined to follow up the struggle which had been commenced with new vigour. The duke Louis of Orleans, the son of the regent, was dying in the Jansenist monastery of St. Geneviève, whither he had caused himself to be carried; Father Bouettin, who was once a member of that community, took a kind of pride in coming to dispute for the soul of a prince of the blood with his old brethren; he was introduced into the presence of the dying man and spoke to him as he had done to the rector of the university; the devout Louis endured his sermon with patience, had the sacraments administered to him by his almoner, and expired prohibiting them from pursuing the curate of St. Peter.

This new act of audacity remaining unpunished, Bouettin continued to excommunicate the dying prince, to the great scandal of the faithful; at last the violent sacrilege which he exercised towards the old almoner of the gallant abbot of Chelles, forced the parliament to interfere. All the chambers assembled to judge the curate: a first resolve decreed his

arrest; a second declared that the bull "Unigenitus" was not an article of faith, and prohibited ecclesiastics from persecuting the faithful denying it, under the penalty of being themselves incarcerated as disturbers of the public peace. A very large number of copies of this last resolve were printed and distributed; all the Parisians, Jansenists, philosophers, peaceful Christians, nobles, burghers, artisans, bought them, saying, "This is my billet of confession."

Madame de Pompadour, whom a caprice had led into the party of the philosophers, and who, from another caprice, had returned into the party of the Jesuits, had caused the decision of parliament to be erased by the council of state, which caused a frightful disorder. The preachers thundered from the height of their pretended chair of truth against the magistrates; the incredulous published stinging pamphlets against the Jesuits, who, in revenge, attacked their enemies in the very churches.

The ecclesiastics of the provinces did not remain behind those of the capital; in all parts of the kingdom the altar was profaned by a refusal of the sacraments, expressed with a brutality and the bursts of passion which are the habits of Catholic ministers. Every where the dying were left without confession, the dead without burial; no retreat was beyond the reach of the fury of the priests; private houses, monasteries, even hospitals were invaded by those wretches, and became the theatre of their odious struggles. The triumphant Jesuits began to rally, to make songs, and to sport with their adversaries. Father Bougeand had his comedy of "The Female Doctor in Theology" performed; Father Danton published one under the title of "The Bankruptcy of the Trader of Miracles." The philosophers replied with vigour, and the people repeated couplets after them, in which the eucharist was called the wafer, and in which the mummeries of religion were turned into ridicule. All this formed a singular mixture of incredulity, fanaticism, fury, and gayety. Both parties strove with the blows of the parliament and the clergy.

At last the magistrates, tired of lancing useless decrees against the priests, determined to act with vigour against their obstinate instigator, the archbishop of Paris. On the refusal of the curate to administer the sacraments to a nun of the convent of St. Agatha, called Sister Perpetua, the parliament summoned the fanatical priest to its bar; the latter sent his vicar to represent him and to declare to the counsellors that he acted by virtue of the express orders of Monseigneur Christopher de Beaumont. A deputation was immediately sent to the arch-episcopal palace, to enjoin on the prelate to administer the ordinances to the sick woman; his eminence boldly replied, that he rendered an account to no one but the pope, of the power which had been confided to him; that he, however, owed it as a duty to explain the motives of his conduct to the king, but that

he would not abase himself by replying to the representatives of the people. The magistrates retired exasperated, and returned to their colleagues, who, still in session, awaited the result of their mission; parliament brought an action against the archbishop, convened the peers to judge him, and ordered his revenue to be seized. The marchioness of Pompadour caused the decree to be arrested by the council of state, prohibited the convocation of the peers, and sent the ordinance which prescribed those orders to the parliament.

The assembled chambers refused to take cognizance of the message of the favourite, pretending that it had not even the royal seal, and insisted that the peers should be convoked. Louis the Fifteenth prohibited these latter from meeting the parliament, threatened the counsellors with letters de cachet, and ordered the count d'Argenson to have the nun, who was the innocent cause of this conflict, removed from her convent, which the minister did. It is rare that the minister of a king refuses to accomplish an act of infamy.

The people cried out sacrilege; the orators of the parliament lashed, in energetic terms, the inhumanity of power, which tore a dying woman from her convent to plunge her in a dungeon. The abbe Chauvelin, one of the most distinguished members of this company, dared to discuss the illegality of letters de cachet, and by means of his eloquence, led all the counsellors, young and old, to draw up, during the sitting, a vehement protest against the arbitrary acts of the court. Louis the Fifteenth refused to receive the commissaries charged to carry it to him, and dismissed them very cavalierly. The magistrates replied that all the chambers would remain in session until their voice should reach the foot of the throne.

His majesty immediately expedited letters de cachet against the counsellors of the courts of inquiry and request. The abbe Chauvelin was sent to Mount St. Michel; Bisé-de-Lis to Pierre-en-cise; the president de Beligny to the castle of Ham; and the president de Méri to the island of St. Marguerite. The others were merely scattered through the cities which were to be their places of exile. The great chamber had alone been spared, because the court had need of it to enrol the money edicts. The king even wished to extend its attributes, but the members who composed it, and who were principally old men, were unwilling to dishonour their white locks, and refused to register the edict which made them the heirs of the spoils of their colleagues. To punish them Louis the Fifteenth exiled them to Pontoise. There these noble magistrates continued to sit as at Paris, and proceeded against the archbishop of Paris and the fanatical curates.

His majesty declared the chamber dissolved, and, to replace it, instituted a new tribunal, composed of the counsellors of state, and masters of the requests, without, however, daring to invest them with the important attribute of registering the edicts. The sovereign ad-



dressed himself to the chatelet to have his ordinances approved. This inferior tribunal was unwilling to arrogate to itself the attribute of a superior court, and refused to register the edict. The members of the new royal chamber were then obliged to open their sessions, and to sit in the hall of the Augustines without having been recognised by any body. Not only were their audiences deserted, but they were personally exposed to the insults and contempt of the advocates, who persisted in not recognising them in the capacity of judges.

The parliaments of the provinces imitated the example of that of the capital; the magistrates of Rouen stood courageously, for six months, against the orders of Louis. Those of Aix made regulations against the ecclesiastics, and paid no attention to the prohibitions of the prince; finally, the parliament of Toulouse signalled itself by energetic decrees.

On their side, the Jesuits persevered in the path they had opened. They no longer confined themselves to demanding billets of confession from the faithful who wished to commune or marry, they denounced as heretics all who refused to appear before the tribunal of penance, and occasioned such scandals that Louis the Fifteenth and Pompadour, fearing lest a curate might demand from them even, a billet of confession, decided to recall the exiled magistrates to counterbalance the encroachments of the clergy. The birth of the second son of the dauphin, the duke de Berry, who was afterwards Louis the Sixteenth, furnished the pretext for an arrangement between the court and the magistracy; and the comptroller general, Marchault, was commissioned to negotiate the return of the counsellors, with the president de Maupeou. As, however, Louis the Fifteenth and the favourite dreaded the clamours of the priests, they endeavoured to sow dissension between the members of the clergy and the Jesuits, and through the interference of the cardinal de Rochefoucauld, they managed that the bishops would no longer insist on billets of confession, provided the court would renounce its plan of levying imposts on the property of the church. After this patching up the parliament returned to Paris amid the acclamations of an immense crowd, who had gone to meet them to celebrate their return. On the next day they resumed their sessions, and signalled their reinstatement by enrolling an edict which prescribed absolute silence on religious matters. The archbishop of Paris was cast down by it, as well as the Jesuits; and the society, finding themselves no longer sustained by the court, sent deputies to Benedict the Fourteenth to claim his official interference in their quarrel with the French magistrates. The sovereign pontiff was too skilful a politician to allow his participation in what was going on in France to be suspected. He received the commissaries of the society at a public audience, before the ambassadors of the foreign courts, and replied to their harangue by an extremely adroit speech. He told them that the events which they recounted

to him appeared to be inexplicable; that the priests and the magistrates appeared to him to be equally culpable; and that he was astonished that a king did not know how to control his subjects; and that he admired the solidity of a government which had resisted such shocks. Still, under the apparent calm of the holy father, it was easy to see the disappointment which the check suffered by the church in France, in its struggle with the parliament, caused him.

Venice also gave grievous causes of uneasiness to the pope by its efforts at rebellion against the Holy See. England, which had at first affected extreme veneration for Benedict the Fourteenth, commenced to show him less regard by persecuting the Scotch Catholics. In all the provinces of that kingdom the preachers thundered from their pulpits against the ultra montane priests, the Jesuits, and, consequently, the pope, who was strongly suspected of having aided the pretender, Charles Edward, the son of the chevalier St. George, and grandson of James the Second, in his adventurous expedition to the shores of Great Britain.

Benedict the Fourteenth, who was careful, in difficult matters, never to give written instructions to his agents, in order to be able to disavow them in case of failure, did not interpose his authority to save the unfortunate priests who had been arrested as partizans of the Stuarts, and cowardly abandoned them to the justice of George the Second. This act of perfidy disarmed his Britannic majesty, and procured his great esteem for the holy father. Benedict hastened to profit by it for the advantage of his see, and asked for authority to submit the regular and secular clergy which composed the orthodox churches of Great Britain to a special organization. He made several briefs to submit the monks and the Jesuits to the authority of the bishops, and published his bulls in the four Catholic districts of England, which had not been done since the time of Charles the First.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success gained by the skilful pontiff over the Anglican church, Catholicism could not be consolidated in the British kingdom, in consequence of the opposition of the Jesuits to his decrees. They could not pardon the holy father for having abandoned their brethren in Scotland, and having repaid their devotion to the Holy See with the blackest ingratitude, and they set to work to counteract his designs. It was not in England only, that the animadversion of the society for the pope manifested itself; in France even, they openly braved the admonitions of his holiness, and continued to refuse the sacraments to Jansenists, philosophers, and skeptics. The archbishop of Paris, the haughty Christopher de Beaumont, made common cause with these good fathers, and published mandamuses, enjoining on the priests of his diocese not to administer the communion to the faithful, unless they were fortified by billets of confession. The parliament proceeded against the prevaricators, and ordered its offi-

cers to apprehend the priests, to make them carry the viaticum to the dying, so that the communion was almost always preceded by a summons, and terminated by a verbal process. At length the king became enraged at the conduct of the archbishop, and ordered him to administer the sacraments; the prelate replied, that it was his duty to obey God, and not kings and their favourites. This insolence procured for him an order of exile. He continued, however, from his retreat to excite trouble in the capital, in concert with the bishop of Mirepoix, a bitter Jesuit, who disposed of the livings in the king's gift. But this prelate dying, it became very easy to bring the clergy to reason, by confiding the list of benefices to the cardinal la Rochefoucauld, and by causing him to distribute abbeys and prebends to the ecclesiastics who exhibited devotion to the court.

In vain did the Jesuits seek to cast ridicule on those who accepted these benefices, by calling them Feuillants; their party lost its importance. They, however, succeeded by force of intrigues in deciding several bishops to assemble in a national council, to address a memoir to the monarch on the danger which royalty incurred in taking the part of the philosophers against the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The following was the tenor of this remarkable piece:—"Sire, an imperious duty leads us to the foot of the throne, to warn you that the thick smoke which is spoken of in the holy books, which rises from the depths of the abyss, and obscures the air and the sun, appears to have spread itself over the surface of your kingdom. Know that royalty cannot subsist with the liberty which the French arrogate of speaking and writing; know that it is the interest of kings to maintain darkness, to prevent bold minds from reasoning about the origin of religions and governments; do not forget that the throne and the altar are intimately united, and that kings cannot reasonably maintain their rule without the aid of priests, and that it would be a great imprudence to take the part of the people against them. Be fearful lest men, enlightened by the philosophers, accustom themselves to regard the powers which govern them as usurpations; for from that day the monarchy will be lost. They elevate themselves from proud heights against God; philosophers first overthrow the altars of Christ, and then beat down the throne of Cæsar. Foresee these frightful evils; imprison the dangerous writers, gag the printers who lend the aid of their presses to the propagation of these pernicious doctrines, which filter through all the pores of society, and which will end in corrupting the nation. Exterminate, sire, the infamous apostles of liberty, force them to silence by the most frightful tortures and the most terrible punishments; and let their viprions breath not vibrate longer, but beneath the dark and impenetrable vaults of the dungeons of the *bas-tille*."

The assembly of the clergy terminated its address by representations concerning the

edict which enjoined silence in religious matters, concerning the decrees which the parliament had passed against the bull "Unigenitus," and concerning the banishment of several Jesuits. His majesty making only evasive replies, the prelates determined to write solemnly to the pope, that he should at least give his opinion. Benedict, compelled to explain himself, was obliged to depart from his habitual prudence; he pronounced against the philosophers, and published the brief "Ex Omnibus," by which he declared the constitution "Unigenitus" to be an article of the faith: "No Christian," said he, "can free himself from the submission which is due to this bull, nor be opposed to it, without periling his eternal safety. The archbishop of Paris, and all the prelates who have acted with them, have done well in refusing the viaticum to the refractory, by the general rule which prohibits us from admitting a public and notorious sinner to the holy eucharist."

The brief of the holy father arrived in France at a time when the people, reduced to a frightful state of misery, were absolutely unable to meet the fiscal demands, when the parliament showed itself more refractory than ever, in the adoption of new imposts, and in which, however, Louis the Fifteenth had an urgent need for money for his mistresses and courtiers. His majesty had but one resource; it was to address himself to the clergy; he made a bargain with them, and in exchange for subsidies, revoked the edict of silence in favour of the priests, and declared in a bed of justice, that the French bishops might openly profess, in future, whatever they thought advantageous for the interests of religion.

The Sorbonne, which at this time showed itself as favourable to the bull "Unigenitus," as it had been before opposed to it, applauded the royal decree; but it was not the same with the parliament. On the refusal of the counsellors to register it, Louis the Fifteenth changed entirely the organization of the magistracy, deprived it of all political influence, suppressed the third and fourth chamber of inquests, and preserved but the great chamber. Ten counsellors, whose names have remained attached with infamy, as well as the presidents *à mortier*, alone consented to obey the monarch; all the others sent in their resignations, and the course of justice was again suspended.

Every thing foreshadowed a terrible struggle between the philosophers and the Jesuits, when an incident, to which an enormous importance was attached at that period, an attempt against the person of the king, distracted the public attention. On the 5th of January, at six o'clock in the evening, Louis the Fifteenth was preparing to get into his carriage to go from Versailles to Trianon; the guards were ranged under the vestibule, when suddenly a young man passing through the soldiers, came right up to the king, struck him on the breast, and immediately re-entered the crowd. His majesty feeling himself wounded, carried his hand to the place where he had been struck

and exclaimed, "I am assassinated." Then perceiving a man wearing a large hat, he designated him with his hand, and ordered him to be arrested. It was in truth the assassin, who, a stranger to the customs of the court, had unluckily kept his hat on his head.

The king was carried to his bed, although the wound was extremely slight, having been made with a penknife. The queen, alarmed, hastened to the monarch; the marchioness de Pompadour found herself for a time deserted by the courtiers; the keeper of the seals, whom she had most protected, Machault, came himself to give her the order to leave Versailles; d'Argenson, who owed to her his position, his fortune, in fine, all that he was, also treated her with great contempt. Such is the usage of courts.

The assassin of the king was named Robert Francis Damiens; he was born at Tieullus, in the diocese of Arras; his father was a porter to the provostship of Arc, near St. Omer. He was put as usual to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to constrain him to make avowals as to the causes which had induced him to commit the crime, and as to the names of his accomplices; but it was useless; he would designate no one, and contented himself with saying, "That he stabbed the monarch to give him a warning, and to lead him back to God." It appeared from the examinations, that he had served several years with the Jesuits, and that on different occasions, he had given proofs of unbounded devotion to the society; the court was, therefore, unanimous in laying the crime of Damiens at the door of the disciples of Loyola. It was maintained that their purpose was to open the road to the throne to the dauphin, who was the protector of the company, and to cast all the odium of the assassination on the philosophers, Jansenists, and members of parliament. In fact, Damiens, in his concealments, allowed suspicions to drop on the most influential personages of the parliament; his allegations, however, appear-

ed to be so absurd, that the king did not hesitate to confide the task of judging him to the counsellors.

Damiens appeared before the tribunal; he showed much firmness, resolution, and almost gayety. He was condemned to the same punishment as Ravillac, that is, to be quartered, with the aggravation of tortures by means of hot pincers and burning sulphur. He listened to the reading of this terrible judgment on his knees, and without allowing the least emotion to appear, and only said on rising, "The day will be a rough one." On the day of punishment he was conducted before the church of Notre Dame, to ask pardon, and then led to the place de Greve, where the judgment was executed.

The result of this affair was, that the king sought to connect himself closely with the parliament; he revoked the edicts which changed the organization of that body, permitted all the magistrates who had resigned, to resume their places, took measures to conquer the obstinacy of the archbishop of Paris and the Molinist curates, concerning the refusal of the sacraments, and announced openly that he abandoned the Jesuits. Thus the horizon was every where covered with black clouds, and announced the tempest which was about to fall upon the company of Jesus. The good fathers turned their looks to Rome and asked for aid. Benedict the Fourteenth, who had never dreamed of compromising his authority by avowing his connection with them, closed his ears to their complaints, and even made a hostile bull, which authorised Carvalho, marquis of Pombal, the first minister of Joseph, king of Portugal, to reform, at his pleasure, the abuses which the Jesuits had introduced into their colleges and establishments in that kingdom. This was the last act in the reign of Benedict the Fourteenth. He died on the 10th of May, 1758, aged eighty-three years, after a pontificate of eighteen years.

## CLEMENT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1758.]

*Election of Clement the Thirteenth—The character of the new pontiff—The Jesuits form a conspiracy and attempt to assassinate Joseph the First, king of Portugal—This prince drives them from his kingdom—Fraudulent bankruptcy of the Society of Jesus—The good fathers refuse to pay the debts of Father Lavallette—They are brought before parliament—Examination of the constitutions of their company—Their abolition in France—Protest of Clement the Thirteenth—New exile of the archbishop of Paris—The apostolic bull—Louis the Fifteenth threatens to seize on the Venaisian countship to avenge himself on the pope—The clergy preach a crusade against the philosophers—The Jesuits are driven from Spain and from the territories of France, Naples, Sicily, Malta, Placenza, and Parma—Clement fulminates bulls against the sovereigns who suppress them—He wishes to enforce the pretensions of the Holy See to Parma and Placenza—Quarrel between Rome and Venice—The abolition of the order of the Jesuits by the holy father every where demanded—Clement the Thirteenth is poisoned by them.*

Forty-four cardinals composed the conclave which followed the death of Benedict the Fourteenth. His eminence, Monseigneur Archinto, who had exercised great influence

during the last pontificate, received twenty-three votes on the first ballot; his party was then divided and reinforced the faction of Cavalehini, who obtained twenty-seven suffrages. But the French party rejected the nomination of this prelate, because he was affiliated with the Jesuits, and because he had contributed to the canonization of Bellarmine, that strong writer who, in his works, favoured regicide. They then fell into the ranks of the cardinal Passionei, then of Spinelli, and finally, into those of the Venetian Charles Rezzonico, who obtained a majority.

As soon as this cardinal found that he was elected, he uttered lamentable cries, shed tears, raised his eyes and arms to heaven, declared himself to be unworthy of so great an honour, and refused to clothe himself in the pontifical ornaments. He played the farce so perfectly, that the members of the conclave crowded around him to determine him to receive their adoration. As they could not stop him, one of them exclaimed, "Well, my lords, let us leave this brawler; there has been nothing done since he has not accepted the tiara; let us choose another pope." Which Rezzonico hearing, replied, "No, by God you shall not do that, for I accept it." Then wiping away his tears, he called his attendant to him, proceeded to his toilette, and was enthroned by the name of Clement the Thirteenth.

Charles Rezzonico, born at Venice, in 1693, was of a family originally from Como in the Milanese. He had been first assistant apostolical prothonotary, then auditor of the rota for the Venetians, and finally; cardinal.—Scarcely was he seated on the throne of St. Peter, when the new pontiff, who was secretly allied with the Jesuits, announced that he undertook the defence of the reverend fathers against the French philosophers, and that he was determined to make no concession to the ideas of the age. The disciples of Ignatius Loyola then conceived the hope of triumphing over their enemies, and solicited from the court of Rome the revocation of the brief of Benedict the Fourteenth in regard to affairs in Portugal.

The cardinal Saldanha, who had been appointed apostolic commissary to execute the bull, had already commenced his examination of the establishments of the good fathers, had satisfied himself that they were engaged in trade, and had seized, in the name of the king, on their warehouses, merchandize, bills of exchange, and commercial books. But all that did not discourage the Jesuits; they thought of drawing off the attention of the king and of the marquis Pombal to other matters; they declaimed against a commercial society which was invested with the exclusive privilege of trading in the wines of Oporto, and fomented troubles in several provinces, under pretext of claiming a suppression of the monopoly.

These tactics having only succeeded in causing their colleges to be closed, they changed their batteries, and prepared, in the dark, to strike a terrible blow, which was to

restore to them all their influence in Portugal. Among the members of the company was one named Gabriel Malagrida, an ignorant fanatic, who, in order to obtain access to the palaces of lords and princes, pretended to be in direct communication with Jesus Christ, and gave himself out as being the object of the particular predilection of the Virgin. This impostor counted among his penitents, the marchioness of Tavora, a haughty and ambitious woman, who was enraged at the disgrace which had overtaken her husband, the former viceroy of the Indies.

Father Malagrida perceived the advantage he might derive from the exasperation of this woman; he flattered her hatred, brought religion and vanity to play, encouraged her in her thoughts of vengeance, and satisfied her as to the consequences of a crime which was fermenting in her head; with the assistance of John Mathoz and Alexander Souza, two of his brethren, he proved to her that a Christian could not do any thing more agreeable to the Divinity than kill a king, and that there were no sins or crimes which were not ransomed by a regicide. The marchioness was convinced, adhered to her plan of conspiracy, and sought for accomplices. She brought into her plot, Joseph Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, the ex-minister of John the Fifth, who had fallen into disgrace since the advent of Joseph to the throne; she also opened herself to her husband, who was the director general of all the cavalry of the kingdom, and counsellor of war, to Louis Bernard and Joseph Maria de Tavora, her sons, to Don Jerome d'Ataide, her son-in-law, an officer of the palace guards, and to her daughter, who was the mistress of the monarch.

Different meetings of the conspirators took place at St. Antoine and St. Roch, two houses belonging to the Jesuits, in order to agree upon the means of putting their criminal plan into execution; and when all the dispositions had been made, one night when Joseph was going alone from his royal residence of Quintado Mego to the residence of Quintado Cima, to a love rendezvous, Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, accompanied by two bravos, sallied from an ambuscade and fired upon the postilion who drove the king. The piece having hung fire, the postilion whipped up his horses and left them at a gallop; the two bravoes hurried on in pursuit of the carriage, discharged their carbines at it, and returned into the woods, so as to leave the other conspirators, who were posted farther along the route, the care of finishing the work. Things did not turn out as they had hoped; Joseph, wounded by two balls, and losing much blood, gave orders to the postilion to retrace his steps, and to take him to Junquiere, which saved him from certain death.

On the next day, thanks to the activity of the marquis de Pombal, all the culprits were soon in the hands of justice. The whole family of the Tavoras perished on the scaffold, with the exception of the young countess Ataide, who was only confined in a convent.

All went on well, so long as the minister had only to judge the lords who had embarked in the conspiracy; it was not the same when he wished to proceed against the Jesuits.

The secular judges refused to cite before them the fathers Malagrida, Souza, and Mathoz, whose instrumentality had been proved during the trial of the first accused, and declared that they had no authority to take cognizance of a crime committed by priests. The minister wished to frame an extraordinary tribunal to judge them, but the bishops protested, and the accused appealed to the pope. Joseph the First then issued a decree of banishment against the Jesuits as traitors, rebels, enemies to, and aggressors on, his person, his states, and the public peace, and the general good of the people. He confiscated their property, arrested them all, and shipped them on vessels which had orders to land them in Italy. The three culprits were alone detained at Lisbon, in the dungeons of the palace, awaiting the decision of the pontiff.

Not only was Clement the Thirteenth unwilling to authorise the proceedings against the Jesuits, but he even threatened Joseph and his minister with all his wrath, if he did not immediately revoke the decree against the society. This excess of audacity determined the king to break openly with the court of Rome, and to recall his ambassadors; and, as he dared not violate the privileges of the regular clergy by judging Malagrida as a regicide, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope, he handed him over to the Dominicans, the natural enemies of the Jesuits, who burned him alive as a heretic, a visionary, and a false prophet. His two acolytes were merely condemned to imprisonment for life.

Throughout all Europe, and particularly in France, the Jansenists, the philosophers, and the magistrates, applauded this energetic proceeding of Joseph the First, and sought to excite all the governors to imitate his example by driving out the Jesuits. The latter, instead of replying to the attacks of their enemies, and taking measures to escape the danger, whether they were struck by a sort of blindness, or whether they were tired of their incessant strife with parliament, allowed things to go on. They soon came to the aid of their adversaries, and furnished them with an opportunity of destroying them in public opinion, and of annihilating them.

A French Jesuit, named Father Lavalette, had been sent by his superiors to Martinique, in the capacity of curate to a small village, and had become the superior or rector of their house in Martinique. By his financial skill he had increased the wealth of the community considerably, and controlled all the commerce of the islands. A rich banking house in Marseilles, the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, had been charged by Father Sacy, advocate general of the Windward islands, and Father Forestier, the provincial of France, to accept all bills of exchange under the tacit guarantee of the society. This prosperity was to have an

and several ships sent by the reverend father to brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, to cover a sum of two millions of francs, or bills of exchange which they had accepted, were unfortunately captured by the English. This incident compelled the banking house to address themselves to Fathers Sacy and Forestier, as well as to the general of the order, for a reimbursement of the advances. They replied that the statutes of the order authorised superiors to disavow their inferiors, when any injury might result to the society from acknowledging their engagements. One of the brothers Gouffre went immediately to Paris to interest the dignitaries of the company in favour of his house. To all his entreaties, reasonings, and solicitations, the good fathers had but one reply, "The statutes of the order are inflexible, we can do nothing for you." It was in vain that he sought to move them, by telling them that his house would be forced to stop payment, and that he and his associates would not survive their ruin, and that they would be the cause of their suicide. The reverends replied to him very tranquilly, "That they would celebrate masses for the repose of their souls."

The Marseilles banker left Paris, returned to his associates, and announced to them the sad result of his mission. These unfortunate bankers, having no means of meeting their engagements, stopped payment, and surrendered all they possessed. The syndics of the creditors made immediate preparations to follow up Father Lavalette. The latter, in his turn, failed for four millions of francs, so as to frustrate the lawful rights of the creditors of Lioncy and Gouffre to the possessions of the Jesuits in the islands. Then arose a cry of outrage, and the syndics, without losing time, sued the whole Society of Jesus. By a decree of the council, the king sent the whole affair before the parliament of Paris, who were pleased to see their enemies brought before their bar on a charge of fraudulent bankruptcy.

The disciples of Loyola accepted the jurisdiction, thinking to entrench themselves behind their constitutions, and to deny their participation in, and consequently their being bound for the operations of Father Lavalette; they committed a still greater fault in surrendering the mysterious acts of their order to strengthen their reasons. As the examination of these constitutions was a long work, the parliament first made a decree against the company, declaring it to be one and indivisible, under the orders of its general, and condemning it to pay the amount of the bills of exchange drawn by Father Lavalette on the house of the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre of Marseilles.

This decree showed the Jesuits the mistake they had made in allowing things to go so far; they immediately went to work to execute the decree in its full tenor, so as to hush up the affair and prevent a greater evil. It was too late; the examination of the famous statutes of the company, had produced alarm and consternation among all classes in society,

and their expulsion was demanded from all quarters.

The duke de Choiseul, and the marchioness de Pompadour, delighted at finding a mode of diverting the attention of the people from their persons, and of making a useful diversion from the frightful disorders they had brought on France, encouraged the hostile manifestations to the Jesuits, and even united with their enemies. The congregation endeavoured to allay the storm, and obtained, through the influence of the apostolic nuncio, that a council of fifty bishops should be commissioned to examine their statutes. As was to be expected, the prelates declared that the constitutions of the society contained nothing reprehensible, and decided that there was no reason to prosecute them.

The parliament, urged on by the minister Choiseul, refused to register the edict, and sustained its opposition by such powerful motives, that Louis the Fifteenth was compelled to yield to the opinions of the magistrates, and surrender to them the decision of this important affair. The parliament again took hold of the proceeding, and after some months of inquiries and pleadings, made a decree, which pronounced the doctrines and practices of the Jesuits "as perverse, destructive of every principle of religion, and even of probity; as injurious to Christian morality, pernicious to civil society, seditious, dangerous to the rights of the nation, the nature of the royal power, and the safety of the persons of sovereigns; as fit to excite the greatest troubles in states, to form and maintain the most profound corruption in the hearts of men; it accordingly ordered that the institution of the Jesuits should for ever cease to exist throughout the whole extent of the kingdom; it prohibited the subjects of the king from proposing, soliciting, and demanding at any time, or on any occasion, the recall of the society; nor of frequenting the colleges, boarding-houses, seminaries, retreats and congregations of the infamous fraternity; it enjoined on the disciples of Loyola to abandon all the schools, professed houses, novitiates, residences, missions, and other establishments, under what rule soever they were, and to retire into whatever part of the kingdom they pleased, to reside there under the ordinary authority, with an injunction of not living in common, nor of longer recognising the authority of the general, nor of wearing a religious dress."

In its judgment, the parliament passed in review all the decrees published in France, as well in favour of the society as against it, the first to show that the Jesuits had always surpassed the limits of the concessions granted to them; the second to prove that they have constantly given ground for just complaints and grievous recriminations. The act of condemnation related the principal works of the good fathers, which were cited as extremely dangerous, on account of the doctrines they taught concerning simony, blasphemy, magic, witchcraft, astrology, irreligion, idolatry, impurity, false witness, adultery, incest, sodomy, rob-

bery, suicide, murder, parricide and regicide. It finally concluded with a list of the kings, princes, bishops, and popes murdered or poisoned by the disciples of Loyola.

His holiness, in order to counterbalance the decision of parliament, assembled in secret consistory, the cardinals who were devoted to the institution; and after having made a violent address to them against the princes, ministers, magistrates, Jansenists, and philosophers of France, read them a protest written entirely by his own hand as follows:—

"We, Clement the Thirteenth, the vicar of Christ, successor of the apostle, in the infallibility of our intelligence, condemn, reprove, and curse all that the French magistrates have attempted against religion, the universal church, the Holy Apostolic See, and the pontifical constitutions, by proscribing the constitutions of Jesus. We, moreover, declare, decree, and ordain, by the force of this solemn and consistorial statute, that all the mandates, judgments, decrees, ordinances, sentences, and declarations emanating from the laical power of the kingdom of France, in regard to the extinction and dissolution of the said Society of Jesus, have been, are, and always shall be, null, inefficacious, invalid, and entirely destitute of all lawful effect. We affirm that no one shall be obliged to observe them, although he had bound himself by oath to do so. Thus, of our own motion and certain knowledge, and by the plenitude of our power, we disapprove, annul, erase, and annihilate all those injurious and barbarous acts, and we protest before Christ of their manifest nullity, reserving to ourselves to give the most ample proofs of their repeal, annihilation, abolition and abrogation, as soon as we can do so without danger to the church."

Clement the Thirteenth sent a part of this protest to the French clergy, in a confidential brief, in which he enjoined on the prelates to carry on a rough war with the parliament, whilst treating with respect the court and the king, who could not delay long, he said, to recognise that the Jesuits were the best auxiliaries of despotism.

His majesty, Louis the Fifteenth, had already for a long time known this, for the cardinal de Fleury had not ceased to repeat to him in his youth:—"Sire, the Jesuits are wretches, and you can, however, make useful instruments of them, the better to oppress the people and assure your sway." Thus the king had tolerated, rather than approved, out of regard for the favourite, the act of parliament which annihilated the Society of Jesus.

He had even had some feelings of remorse for the expulsion of the Loyolists, for he had proposed to the sovereign pontiff, to reinstate the congregation in his kingdom, under the sole condition, that the members should introduce some modifications concerning regicide into their constitutions. But the fiery Clement the Thirteenth, had brutally repulsed his advances, by saying that the Jesuits should remain as they had always been, or they should not exist at all, and compulsion

had been laid on Louis the Fifteenth, to give his sanction to the decree of parliament, and to declare by an edict, dated from Versailles, that it was his pleasure that the society should no longer exist in his kingdom, nor in the territories or lordships which were obedient to him.

The archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, wished to make opposition, and censure the acts of government in his pastoral instructions. All that he gained by it was a second decree of parliament, which condemned his mandamus to be burned, and an order from the king, which sent him into exile and confined him in the abbey of la Trappe.

The expulsion of the four thousand Jesuits, who infested the capital, and the banishment of the archbishop of Paris, raised the irritation of Clement the Thirteenth to its height. His holiness, not knowing how better to oppose what he called the general fermentation of the governments, lanced the bull "Apostolicum pascendi murus," filled with praises for the black cohorts of the Jesuits, and with injuries and outrages for their enemies. The parliament of Paris suppressed this bull, on the strong conclusions of the advocate Joly de Fleury, and prohibited its being printed in France. The parliament of Aix acted with still more firmness; it had it torn up by the executioner and publicly burned, and, moreover, it invited Louis the Fifteenth to seize on the Venaisin countship, to avenge himself on the court of Rome and the pope.

His majesty, stimulated by the marchioness de Pompadour, appeared well disposed to use great rigour, and appeared only to wait an opportunity to seize the city of Avignon, when the almost sudden death of the favourite turned him aside from this plan, and freed the Jesuits from their most formidable foe. The clergy resumed courage, intrigued around the monarch, and obtained authority to convene a synod, to decide on what measures it was useful to take, in order to put an end to the disputes between the civil and religious powers.

In consequence of this authority, thirty-two archbishops or bishops, and thirty-six deputies of the second order in the ecclesiastical hierarchy assembled in council in the capital, and fulminated anathemas against the principal works of the philosophers, amongst others, against the Encyclopædia, the Analysis of Bayle, the Book of the Mind, by Helvetius, Emile, the Social Contract, the Letters from the Mountain, of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the Essay on Morals, the Philosophical Dictionary, the Philosophy of History, and the Oriental Despotism by Voltaire.

They then declared that the church alone had the right to teach and instruct children; that it alone could judge in matters of doctrine, and fix the degree of submission which was due to them; that it alone, by virtue of the assistance of Jesus Christ, could regulate articles of belief; that it alone had the right to pronounce on the excellence of the religious orders, to declare them suppressed, or to sus-

tain them; that the administration of the sacraments appertained to Catholic priests alone; that the civil authority could in no way go against the canon laws, nor force the ministers of religion to administer the sacraments to sinners whom they thought unworthy to receive it. Finally, they declared that the bull "Unigenitus" was binding on all the faithful of the kingdom of France.

The parliament erased the acts of this ecclesiastical assembly as derogatory to the authority of the government, and prohibited the citizens from paying regard to them. The clerical dignitaries, who were a part of this council, went immediately to Versailles, cast themselves at the feet of Louis the Fifteenth, and obtained an edict which annulled the decree of parliament.

This first victory emboldened the ecclesiastics; they raised their heads proudly every where, publicly panegyrised the archbishop of Paris, and announced the approaching recall of the Jesuits. The marshal Richelieu and the duke d'Aiguillon, his nephew, the secret enemies of the prime minister, the duke de Choiseul, intrigued for the good fathers, and announced that the reign of confessors was about to succeed that of mistresses. His majesty himself was seized with an holy fervour for religious exercises, and had even closed the royal lupanar called the Parc-aux-cerfs. This new caprice of the monarch lasted, however, but a short time, a demoiselle de Romans attracted his attention, and prevented him from amending his life. The parliament took advantage of this circumstance to arrest the encroachments of the Jesuits. It published a decree, which made the law of silence concerning religious matters as binding on the clergy as the laity; it prosecuted the priests who persisted in refusing the sacraments; it enjoined on the bishops who held cabals in Paris, to return to their dioceses, under penalty of a seizure of their temporalities, and took energetic measures against the disciples of Ignatius Loyola.

From this period, the history of the congregation of Jesus is but a registry of a long train of disasters; already expelled from China and Portugal, the good fathers found themselves arrested in one day throughout all Spain, by order of Charles the Third, and conducted by officers to different sea ports and sent to Italy.

France did not long delay in imitating the example of Spain, and drove beyond the mountains, the cohorts of Jesuits who infested the provinces. The king of the Two Sicilies also drove them from his dominions. Don Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma and Placenza, infant of Spain, followed the political impulse of his family, and extirpated them from his domains. The soil of Italy was polluted by this unclean slime which the nations had rejected, and which they had sent back to Rome, the fountain of all corruption.

The pope was soon alarmed by the prodigious number of Jesuits which fell upon the patrimony of St. Peter, as upon a prey which

belonged to them; and to place his provinces beyond the reach of a certain devastation, he crowded them on the neighbouring territories.

His holiness, however, lanced a bull of excommunication against the kings who persecuted the members of the congregation, and threatened with his vengeance the princes who should maintain the decree of proscription with which the disciples of Ignatius Loyola had been struck. He even wished to join the execution to the threat; he began with the duke of Parma, who was the least formidable of his adversaries, summoned him to restore the duchies of Parma and Placenza to the Holy See, and sent troops to sustain his claim.

The kings of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, who were united by the family compact, pronounced loudly against the court of Rome, and prepared to punish the outrage done them in the person of a prince of their house. Louis the Fifteenth, by the advice of the duke de Choiseul, sent troops to Avignon and seized on the Venaissin territory. The young Ferdinand the Fourth, the king of the Two Sicilies, invaded the province of Beneventum, which he occupied with his troops; the courts of Parma, Madrid, and Lisbon, and the parliament of Paris caused the bull of Clement to be torn up.

His holiness then sought assistance in Aus-

tria, and asked for aid from Maria Theresa, but the empress, discontented with the Jesuits, who, on a recent occasion, had betrayed her secrets to the court of Rome, did not even deign to reply to him, and caused the famous bull, "In Cœna Domini," to be suppressed in her dutchy of Milan. The pope, repulsed on all sides, and being without allies, humbled his pride, declared that he was ready to make concessions, and implored the clemency of the sovereigns.

But the impulse was given, and his tardy submission could not prevent the progress of the reform. The Catholic powers continued to trace out, definitely, the line of demarcation between the spiritual and temporal power, and made it a condition of peace that the pope should suppress the institution of the Jesuits. Clement, too weak to resist the princes of the house of Bourbon, determined, finally, to sacrifice the satellites of the papacy, and announced that he would pronounce the abolition of the society in a public consistory. This imprudent declaration was the cause of his death; the good fathers were on their guard, and on the night preceding the day appointed for this solemn act of justice, the holy father was seized with strange pains, and expired in convulsions at four o'clock on the morning of the 2d of February, 1769. The Jesuits had poisoned him.

## CLEMENT THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1769.]

*Election of the virtuous Ganganelli—The details of his life before his elevation to the pontifical throne—His projects of reform in the church—The Jesuits threaten him with the fate of his predecessor, if he dare to touch their order—He makes peace with all the powers—Representations of the French clergy to Louis the Fifteenth, concerning the progress of philosophy—The encyclopedists follow up their victory—Clement the Fourteenth suppresses the society of the Jesuits throughout Christendom—Arrest of the general of the Jesuits, Lorenzo Ricci, and of the principal chiefs of the order—Frightful vengeance taken by the Jesuits on the unfortunate pontiff—He dies poisoned.*

Forty-seven cardinals opened the conclave to give a successor to Clement the Thirteenth. From the first, the electors were divided into two parties, equally powerful; the one, those who were affiliated with the Jesuits, wished to give him a successor capable of walking in the footsteps of Gregory the Seventh and Pius the Fifth; the others, who were sold to the courts of France and Spain, wished to place the tiara on the head of a pope who was conciliatory enough to restore harmony between the altar and the throne. The intrigues lasted for three months; at last the Franciscan John Vincent Anthony Ganganelli, obtained the suffrages of the majority, and was proclaimed head of the church by the name of Clement the Fourteenth.

The new pope had scarcely attained his sixty-fourth year. He was born in the small town of St. Archangelo, near Rimini, where his father was a physician. From his ten-

derest infancy, he had shown a decided predilection for meditation, which had determined his family to enter him in a convent of the order of St. Francis, where he was distinguished for his virtues. He left it to be raised to the post of adviser to the holy office by Benedict the Fourteenth; during the following reign he obtained the hat of a cardinal.

Ganganelli preserved, beneath the tiara, the same morals as under the cowl of the Franciscan; he studied to remain humble and charitable, and took great pains to preserve the frugal and studious habits, which had been the charm of his existence. Never, since Titus Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, had a sovereign been endowed with a nobler character, a finer soul, a more judicious mind, commanded in Rome. His first act of authority was to remove from his court, the ministers of his predecessor; he then announced that he wished to restore peace to the church and reform Christianity.



The consternation was great among the cardinals, bishops, priests, and monkish mob, who grew fat in idleness on the sweat of the unfortunate. All rose in mass against him, and endeavoured to make him renounce his generous projects by terrible threats. A Jesuit dared to post up in open day, on the principal entrance to the Vatican, a placard containing these words: "Pray for the pope, who is about to die." Another fanatic placed on his table a billet which contained these four letters: "P. S. S. V.," which the pope thus explained: "Presto sarà sede vacante,—the Holy see will soon be vacant."

Clement, unshakable in his resolution, paid no attention to the complaints, curses, or threats of the ecclesiastics. He walked with a firm step in the path he had marked out. The finances were in extreme disorder in consequence of the depredations of his predecessors; he changed the treasury officers, diminished the number of charges which weighed upon the treasury, and soled the people. Industry and the arts were languishing; commerce and agriculture were in a deplorable state; he established manufactures, repaired the public buildings, drained the Pontine marshes, founded the rich museum which bears his name, provided for the expenses of nunciature and missions, for the payment of troops and artists, and paid regularly the pensions which were chargeable on the Holy See. All these internal matters arranged, he turned his attention to the external. The political horizon was dark with clouds; the irritation of the crowned heads had been carried to the highest point by the brief of Clement the Thirteenth against the duke of Parma, and by a new attempt made by the Jesuits to assassinate the king of Portugal. That monarch even announced his intention to appoint a patriarch independent of the pope, so as to finish matters with the court of Rome at a blow. Clement the Fourteenth commenced by renewing relations with the courts of France and Spain; he caused it to be skilfully insinuated to them, that the papacy was the basis on which the absolute authority of the Catholic princes reposed; that it was their interest to defend it, saving to restrain the privileges which their ancestors, right or wrong, had granted to the successors of the apostles, and which they regarded as incompatible with their dignity. Then, to join example to precept, he abrogated the famous bull "In Cœna Domini," and annulled all the decrees of the council of Trent, and the popes regarding it; desisted, in theory and practice, from all pretensions to temporal authority over princes, and gave pledges of his sincerity. This conduct brought back to him all minds; France restored to him the Venaisin territory, and the king of Naples, Beneventum and Ponte Corvo.

The princes of the houses of Braganza and Bourbon did not, however, depart from their rigour on the subject of the Jesuits, and urgently claimed the suppression of the order. Clement the Fourteenth, like a prudent man, replied, that before accomplishing so solemn

an act as the abrogation of an order which counted its members by thousands, and which had ramifications in all parts of the world, he must first, inform himself as to the causes which might justify his decision in the eyes of posterity. From that time the pope enveloped himself in an impenetrable mystery; he studied, with scrupulous attention, the statutes, rules, acts, and history of the society; he appointed apostolical visitors to examine into the administration of the property of their colleges, and expert accountants to establish the reports of their monstrous wealth.

Clement was not, however, so absorbed in this affair as to be unable to play his part of pope, and lanch bulls of excommunication against Diderot, d'Alembert, Voltaire, Helvetius, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Marmontel, and Holbach. The French clergy naturally took the side of the pope against the philosophers; the parliaments cowardly turned against those who had aided them in triumphing over the Jesuits, and authorised the bishops of the kingdom to meet at Paris to judge the works which had been censured by the court of Rome. This assembly of prelates drew up its formula in the following terms: "Most dreadful Sire—Impiety does not confine itself to attacks on the church; it attacks at once the sanctuary and the empire, and announces that it will never be satisfied until it has annihilated all divine and human power. If your majesty doubts this sad truth, we will hasten to furnish you proof of it: by placing before you a work recently published, called the 'System of Nature.' The author of this production, the most criminal that the human mind has probably ever given birth to, does not think that he has done enough evil to men by teaching them that there is no revealed religion, and that hell is a hideous and absurd chimera, which owes its origin to the knavery of priests; he even dares to turn his attention upon societies, and the heads who govern them; he announces that he only perceives in the different states a vile assemblage of cowardly or corrupt men prostrated before bishops who rob them, or princes who oppress them. He says that the heads of nations are all infamous usurpers, who sacrifice the people to execrable passions, and who do not arrogate to themselves the proud titles of representatives of God, but to exercise with the more impunity an odious despotism over the human race; he says that the agreement between the priesthood and the sovereign power is a sacrilegious compact between knavery and force. He dares to deny that the authority of kings is of divine right; he maintains that the people may demand an account from them, of the management of affairs, and even, excess of audacity, deprive them of their life and crown, if they discover that they have abused the supreme authority. Be careful, sire; such principles are of a nature to please the imagination, are propagated with extreme rapidity, and the inevitable consequences will be, the emancipation of the human race, and the ruin of the thrones and the altar.

"Who would, however, believe it, sire? This dangerous, impious book, is sold in your capital, at the very gates of your palace; soon it will penetrate to the very extremities of the empire, and will spread the germs of liberty in the heart, that formidable foe to all. And the laws are silent—and the tranquil authorities do not dream of wresting from the hands of your subjects this monstrous collection of blasphemies. Do not suffer such an outrage any longer, oh, well-beloved prince! Arrest the progress of human reason! Enchain that spirit of independence which has so often overthrown thrones; repress these outbreaks of a delirious imagination which revel in equality among men, or tremble for the future kings of your race."

The requisitions of the magistracy were joined to the representations of the episcopate. The advocate general Segnier was instructed to prosecute the philosophers before parliament, and expressed himself thus: "An impious and audacious sect has decorated its false wisdom with the name of philosophy; its partizans have erected themselves into preceptors of the human race, and seek to overthrow the altar and the throne. Their rallying cry is, 'The freedom of the press;' and to make their device triumphant, they have placed themselves at the head of the skeptics, and displayed the standard of revolt. If then, we wish to guarantee our privileges from the attacks of these dangerous doctrines, which threaten to throw society into confusion, under the pretext of reforming abuses; we must be severe against these works, we must annihilate them, we must efface even the recollection of them."

In conformity with the furious conclusions of the advocate general, the parliament, by a decree of the 16th of August, 1770, condemned to be burned, the works which were denounced to it by the assembly of the clergy; the System of Nature, Hell Destroyed, the Sacred Contagion, the Examination of the Prophecies which serve for the foundation of Religion, Christianity Unveiled, God and Men, Treatise on the Miracles of Jesus Christ, the Philosophical Collection, Critical Examination of the Apologists for the Christian Religion, and the Impartial Examination of the Principal Religions of the World. These works were attributed to Damilville, Diderot, Voltaire, and the celebrated baron d'Holbach, whose house, according to the expression of Grimm, was one of the pleasantest hospitals of the initiated of the Encyclopædia; it was called "the synagogue" by the priests, who called that of Madame Neckar "the parish church;" there met the abbe Chanvelin, the count d'Argental, Miraud, Mirabeau, Foncange, and many other disciples of Voltaire.

Thanks to the imprudent conduct of parliament, the Jesuits appeared to be once more on the eve of resuming their former preponderance; the magistrates had stupidly aided the clergy in their struggle with the philosophers. The clergy, whose interests drew them towards the Society of Jesus, made in

their turn common cause with the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, and intrigued so skilfully that finally the well-beloved Louis the Fifteenth closed the parliament.

The king, yielding to the solicitations of the new favourite, the countess du Barry, who was herself the instrument of the chancellor Maupeou, the tool of the Jesuits, announced his desire to recognise the company, and informed the court of Rome of his intentions. The sovereign pontiff wrote at once to the monarch, beseeching him to allow things to remain as they were, until after the judgment which he was about to render concerning the society.

Clement the Fourteenth continued his minute inquiry, regardless of the threats or obstacles of every kind which he met on his way. He had, however, judged it prudent to take certain precautions to avoid the terrible fate of his predecessor. Thus he had replaced the cook of the Quirinal palace by a good monk, named Francis, who, from devotion to him, had consented to serve as his cook and prepare the dishes destined for his table.

Nothing could intimidate the virtuous Ganganelli, and when, after four years of close inquiries, he found himself sufficiently enlightened concerning the crimes of the congregation, he lanced the celebrated bull "Dominus ac Redemptor." The decree which abolished the society was thus framed, "Inspired by the Holy Spirit, urged on by the duty of bringing back concord into the bosom of the church, convinced that the congregation of the Jesuits can no longer render the services for which our predecessor, Paul the Third, instituted them, induced, moreover, by other motives which morality commands us to confine in our own soul, by virtue of our sovereign authority in religious matters, we abolish and for ever destroy the Society of Jesus, its functions, its houses, and its institutions." In signing this bull, Clement said with a sigh, "I sign my death warrant, but I obey my conscience."

This sentence was immediately notified to the professed house, and the other colleges, by the deputies of the commission of inquiry. To prevent all rebellion, his holiness arrested the general of the order, Lorenzo Ricci, his assistants, the secretary general, Fathers Faure, Forestier, and Guatier, who were conducted to the castle of San Angelo. From that time Clement redoubled his precautions to free himself from the vengeance of his enemies, and renewed his recommendations to the good Franciscan to watch the kitchen—"Fra Francisco," he said to him, "cadate a la pignata,"—"Brother Francis, watch the pot." The active prudence of the good monk did not disconcert the Jesuits, it only rendered them more ingenious. The following was the infernal trick they employed to attain their ends. A lady of the Sabine, entirely devoted to them, had a tree in her garden which bore the handsomest figs in Rome. The reverend fathers, knowing that the pope loved this fruit very much, induced the lady to disguise herself as

a peasant and go and present these figs to Brother Francis. The devotes did so several times, gained the confidence of the Franciscan, and one day slipped into the basket a fig larger than the others, into which a subtle poison, called aquetta, was injected. Up to this time the holy father had enjoyed perfect health; he was well made, though of the ordinary height; his voice was sonorous and strong; he walked with the activity of a young man, and every thing presaged a long old age to him.

From that day his health failed in an extraordinary manner; it was remarked with alarm, that his voice was sensibly failing. To those first symptoms of his sickness was joined so violent an inflammation of his throat that he was obliged to keep his mouth constantly open; vomiting then succeeded the inflammation, accompanied by pains in his bowels; finally, the sickness increasing in intensity, he discovered that he was poisoned. He wished to make use of antidotes, but it was too late, the evil was beyond remedy, and he had only to wait the close of his

life. For the three months that he endured this terrible agony, his courage never failed him for a moment; one day only, after a more violent crisis than all the others, he said, "Alas, I knew well that they would poison me, but I did not expect to die in so slow and cruel a manner." He became, if we may so speak, the shadow of himself; his flesh was eaten out by the corrosive action of the aquetta, his very bones were attacked and became softened, contorting his members and giving them a hideous form; at last, God took pity on the poor victim of the execrable Jesuits, and recalled him to himself, on the 22d of September, 1774, at seven and a half o'clock in the morning.

An authentic piece, the despatch of the ambassador of Spain, relates in its fullest details, the examination of the dead body, which was made the day succeeding his death, and adds to the irrefutable proofs of the poisoning of the pontiff and the guilt of the Jesuits.

Thus were realised the threats of the Jesuits, and their sinister predictions were accomplished!

## PIUS THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1774.]

*Simoniacal election of Pius the Sixth—Execrable character of the new head of the church—His infamous morals—He maintains the decrees of Clement the Fourteenth concerning the Jesuits, in order to seize on their wealth—By way of compensation, he authorises them to found establishments in Russia and Prussia, and at Liege—Louis the Sixteenth, the pupil of the Jesuits, renews the decrees of his predecessor against them—The nobility, clergy, and parliaments, league against the philosophers—Brief of the holy father against the Jews—Draining of the Pontine marshes—Nepotism of Pius the Sixth—His incests—He renews the crimes of the Borgias, and marries his bastard to his daughter—Frightful debauchery of the pontifical family—Prodigalities of the holy father towards his minions and bastards—Quarrel between the courts of Rome and Vienna—Joseph the Second brings about useful reforms among the clergy of his dominions—His holiness goes to the court of the emperor of Germany to convert him—Pontifical farce—Pius the Sixth fails in his efforts, and returns to Rome—Saturnalia at the Vatican—Spoliations of the pontiff—Scandalous lawsuit between the pope and the marchioness Lepri—Congress of Ems, and separation of the church of Germany from the Holy See—All the powers declare themselves hostile to the court of Rome—Ecclesiastical reforms in the duchy of Tuscany—Scipio Ricci and the Dominicans of Pistoia—Pius the Sixth anathematizes the prelate Scipio Ricci—Abolition of the inquisition at Naples—Revolutionary movement in France—Suit of the cardinal de Rohan—Ministry of the archbishop of Brene—Louis the Sixteenth opens the states-general—Civil constitution of the clergy—The constitutional bishops—The pope fulminates bulls against the constituent assembly—Revolution in the Venaisin territory—Pius the Sixth massacres the inhabitants of Avignon—He persecutes the French at Rome—Condemnation of Cagliostro—Louis the Sixteenth refuses to sanction the laws concerning the ecclesiastics—The kings of Europe and the pope form a confederacy against the French—The nobles and priests emigrate into Italy and England—Proclamation of the republic in France—The French government intimates to the pope to set at liberty the citizens who were retained as prisoners—Pius the Sixth massacres the citizen Basseville—Judgment and condemnation of Louis the Sixteenth—The pope causes all the French found in his dominions to be arrested—Outbreak at Rome—Pius the Sixth arms against France—Bonaparte in Italy—Armistice between the Holy See and the republic—Perfidies of the pope—Miracles of the madonnas—Massacre of the French in Italy—Feats of Tolentino—The pope murders the Romans—Murder of General Duphot—Revolution at Rome—Pius the Sixth is exiled to Florence—From that city his holiness organises massacres at Rome and Naples—He is transferred to Valence in Dauphiny—His death.*

WHEN the funeral of the unfortunate Ganelli was over, the cardinals entered into the conclave to give him a successor. As in the last elections, two great parties were at

onow formed, that of the crowns, and that of the Zelanti, or the prelates sold to the Jesuits. At the head of this last party were the cardinals John Baptiste Rezzonico, Castelli, and Buffalini; the other was governed by the ministers of the courts of France and Spain, the cardinal Bernis, and Monino, count of Florida Blanca. The Zelanti at first proposed as their candidate the imperious Mark Anthony Colonna, who was at once rejected by Bernis; the French ambassador, in his turn, presented Negroni, showing that he did not belong to any party, that he was sprung from an humble condition, and that he had all the guarantees of wisdom and probity that could be sought for in a pontiff. But the Zelanti cried out against this choice. "We do not wish another beggar," they said to Cardinal Bernis, "and now we will prevent the election of a mendicant," wishing to designate the virtuous Clement the Fourteenth by these outrageous epithets.

The faction of the crowns proposed in succession Palavicini, who was rejected on account of his tolerance, and Visconti, who was objected to on account of his rigidity. The partisans of the Jesuits then presented Castelli, who was opposed as too immoral, and Boschi, who was rejected as too fanatical. The holy assembly consumed five months in warring, or undoing the warps which each competitor set at work to filch the tiara; sometimes the opposing cardinals did not confine themselves to epigrams, reproaches, nor insults, to conquer their adversaries; they even used brute force, and ignobly battered each other. Things went so far, that a censor afterwards composed a satirical piece on this meeting, called the Conclave, in which all the cardinals who took part in it, appeared on the scene in the truest and most grotesque manner.

From the turn which the elections took, the vacancy in the Holy See would have been beyond all doubt prolonged indefinitely, if the minister of Spain, Florida Blanca, had not conceived the happy idea of gaining over to his side the mistresses of the cardinals opposed to the party of the crowns, and making the Holy Spirit speak by the mouths of the handsomest courtizans of Rome. The gold of Spain and France was lavished on these queens of the conclave, who, in return, promised to support by secret advice to their lovers, the candidate who should be designated to them.

Bernis, informed of what was going on without, proposed as pope, John Angelo Braschi, one of the Zelanti, whom he believed to have been gained over to France; the other cardinals, who were secretly influenced by the Roman dames, were favourable to his promotion, and proclaimed him supreme head of the church, on the 14th of February, 1775, by the name of Pius the Sixth.

The cardinal Bernis at once announced this promotion to the court of France in the following note: "Braschi has been elevated to the chair of St. Peter; it is believed he will occupy it worthily; but I dare not answer for

events which may result from certain circumstances which it is impossible to foresee, or from variations which a too great elevation produce by operating upon the character, the mind, and the habits of most men. God alone sees the depth of the heart, and we can only judge by appearances. The reign of the new pontiff will reveal whether, before his election, I saw his face or his mask."

One might, however, foresee what kind of a pope Pius the Sixth would be, from the explanation he gave concerning the name he chose on accepting the tiara. "Pius the Fifth is the last pope canonized by the church," said he, "I wish to walk in his footsteps." Alas, the execrable Braschi but too much resembled the sanguinary Dominican, the originator of the St. Bartholomew; like him, insatiable of sway, coldly cruel, implacable, proud; he only wanted the political genius of the ferocious Pius the Fifth, to complete the resemblance.

During his pontifical career Braschi was at once enterprising and irresolute, ambitious and pusillanimous, interested and prodigal, suspicious and careless, false in heart, and knavish in mind; with such a character he became, as he was, the sport of the courtiers who surrounded him. He abandoned all the affairs of government to his favourites, and contented himself with being enthroned in the Vatican, in order to exhibit the fine proportions of his imposing figure, with such a dramatic affectation, that strangers, who were present at the religious ceremonies at which his holiness officiated, asked if they saw a pontiff actor, or an actor pontiff.

Pius the Sixth attained his fifty-eighth year when he reached the throne of St. Peter; he was born of a noble, but poor family of the territory of Cesena. The cardinal Ruffo, the lover of the mother of the young Braschi, had been his first protector, and had opened the way for him to high ecclesiastical dignities, by procuring for him the appointment of private secretary to Benedict the Fourteenth. During the following reign he had exchanged that place for that of auditor, and then for that of treasurer of the apostolic chamber, which was one of the most important posts in the Roman government. Under Clement the Fourteenth, serious accusations of concussions drove him from his place, but as the virtuous Ganganelli was an enemy to scandal, he spared him the disgrace of a public dismissal by giving him the hat. Braschi lived in a kind of disgrace until the death of his predecessor, making common cause with the Jesuits, concealing them in his palace, even conspiring with them, which induced the supposition that he was not a stranger to the crime which had terminated the existence of Clement the Fourteenth.

His morals were not more irreproachable than his administration; for Gorain, the author of "The Secret Memoirs of Italy," an extremely curious work, and one of high historical importance, formally accuses him of adultery, sodomy, and incest, and with him

all cotemporary authors, except the stipendiaries of the priestly party, agree in saying, that the holy father led the life of a Sybarite, fulfilling none of his pontifical functions, confining himself to the celebration of masses in his oratory, or being enthroned for an hour at a solemn audience, and passing the rest of his time in getting drunk with his mistresses and his minions, whom he chose out of his own family.

On his advent to the chair of St. Peter, the new pontiff endeavoured to induce the Romans to forget his past extortions, and spared nothing to gain their affections; he distributed money to the poor, promised to diminish the imposts, and announced that he was about to carry into effect great reforms among the clergy. In fact, he dismissed a large number of prelates and ecclesiastics, convicted of malversation and speculation, from the employments they filled, but it was to give their functions to his relatives and creatures; he diminished the pensions granted to the great dignitaries of the church, but it was to increase by so much the more, his private fortune.

The people of Rome, usually so easily deceived, were not this time the dupes of the juggleries of the pope, and preserved for Pius the Sixth the hatred they had for Cardinal Braschi. His holiness, unable to gain the people, wished to find a support among the members of the sacred college, by flattering by turns, the two parties of the Zelanti and the crowns, which rendered his position extremely difficult through his whole pontificate, and frequently forced him to take the most contradictory measures, now under the inspiration of the courts of Madrid or Versailles, or under the dread of a threat of death from the Society of Jesus.

At first, the sovereign pontiff had appeared to lean towards the Zelanti, and had exhibited a disposition to repair the disasters of the congregation of St. Ignatius; he then reviewed his decision, and declared that he would maintain the dispositions taken towards them by Clement the Fourteenth, until the conclusion of the proceedings which had been commenced against them. The pretext for this change was the fear of drawing upon Rome the wrath of the kings of France and Spain, but his real motive was his desire to retain their wealth, which had been confiscated to the benefit of the Holy See.

By way of compensation, he permitted the good fathers to scatter pamphlets against the memory of Clement the Fourteenth, and he himself opposed the king of Spain, in regard to the canonization of a former bishop of Mexico, named John Palafox, one of the most ardent enemies of the Jesuits. The more Florida Blanca, the ambassador of his Catholic majesty, urged the court of Rome to place his protegee in the catalogue of the saints, the more did the pope exhibit hostility to this promotion, and seek to depreciate the merits of the Spanish bishop. A sort of quarrel of vanity was the result, and it reached such a point that Charles the Third was obliged to threaten

him with his wrath to obtain an entrance for Bishop Palafox to the skies.

This small satisfaction given to the Loyolists made them resume patience, and even induced them to unite with the holy father to aid him in combatting the ideas of the reformers, which were invading all governments, and particularly Germany, where reigned Joseph the Second, one of the most terrible adversaries of the supremacy of the Holy See.

Through a continued reciprocity of kindness, Pius the Sixth rendered great honours to Lorenzo Ricci, the general of the order, who had died in the dungeons of San Angelo; and by a fresh contradiction, whilst maintaining the abrogation of the society, he authorised the Jesuits to spread themselves through Prussia and Russia, form schools, colleges, and professed houses, and even appointed to the prebend of the collegiate establishment of St. John the Baptist at Liege, a member of the congregation, the English Aphton, who had the direction of the famous college of that city. Only to avoid showing too openly his contempt for the representations of the kings of France and Spain, he prohibited the disciples of Loyola from wearing the habit of their order.

This kind of hidden restoration excited the discontent of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and became the subject of representations which were addressed to the pontiff by Cardinal Bernis and Florida Blanca, in the name of Louis the Sixteenth, the new king of France, and of Charles the Third. His holiness did not content himself with denying his participation in what had been done, and sent to the two sovereigns a brief, in which he declared all the encroachments of the congregation in the Russian empire and the Prussian monarchy, to be null, abusive, and unlawful. The two monarchs, occupied with more serious interests, permitted the Jesuits to proclaim their approaching re-establishment, and to use, as trophies, the rescripts which the pope had granted them, and the authority which was given them to remain in every place in which the bull of Clement the Fourteenth had not been published, as they were before.

The disciples of Loyola availed themselves of this species of toleration to seek to retake root in France; they rallied the clergy to their side, and excited new persecutions against the philosophers. They caused to be condemned by an assembly of bishops entirely devoted to them, a number of remarkable works levelled against fanaticism, among others, *Antiquity Unveiled by its Usages*; the *Sermon of the Fifty*; *Critical Examination of the Old and New Apologists for Religion*; the *Letters of Thraasybulus to Leosippus*; the *Social System*; *Questions on the Encyclopedia*; *Critical History of the Life of Jesus Christ*; *Common Sense*; *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishment of Europeans in the Two Indies*, the *Profession of the Faith of the Theists*; the *Dialogue of Ethernus*; the *Canonization of St. Caoufin*; *Instructions* &c

Brother Pedienoso; the Questions of Zapata; the Cry of Nations.

The nobility, which was no better treated than the church in the books of the philosophers, joined the clergy, and brought into play all the resources of Machiavelism and corruption, to have the condemnation of these works sustained by the new parliaments which Louis the Sixteenth had recalled from exile.

The struggle then recommenced with more animation and more violence than ever, between the philosophers on the one side, and the priesthood on the other, seconded by the footmen of the court. All means were judged proper by shameless great lords, and the ecclesiastics, their worthy acolytes, to triumph over their opponents in this discussion; they first sought to excite troubles in the kingdom by monopolising the grain, and starving the people; they then applied themselves to perverting the soul of the young queen, surrounded her with seductions of all kinds, pushed her into an abyss of corruption, and made her the instrument of their hatred. The feeble Louis the Sixteenth, ruled by Marie Antoinette, obeyed the impulse of the clergy and nobility, and thought of nothing less than arresting the car of civilization. For a moment, one might have imagined that their sacrilegious wishes were realised; two ministers of integrity, Turgot and Malesherbes, the partizans of toleration, were forced to retire; letters de cachet were issued against several men of letters; every thing presaged a religious reaction. The apostolic nuncio even was so assured of the triumph of the ecclesiastics and of a return to the good traditions of ultra montanism, that he wrote to the holy father that France was still worthy of the name of the eldest daughter of the church, which the first popes had given it, and that before long the philosophers would be all crushed, burned, or shut up in the bastille.

This news was naturally received at Rome with transports of joy; it rejoiced the pontiff the more, since this mode of proceeding to conversions was entirely in accordance with his views, and as he himself was preparing to put in force, through the police of his states, the old decrees of his predecessors against heretics, and particularly against the Jews, which had fallen into disuse on account of their cruelty and absurdity. Instead of moderating them, he rendered them more rigorous than ever; he assigned to the Israelites an infected quarter, called the Ghetto, prohibited them, under penalty of death, from passing the night out of their prison, enjoined on them, under penalty of the galleys, not to approach the convent of the Annunciado, and not to be seen near the churches, monasteries, or hospitals of Rome. He prohibited them from carrying on any commerce with the Christians, or even from taking Catholic domestics into their service, unless they wished to incur very severe corporal punishments. And, that we may not be accused of extravagance, we will add, that most of these odious measures are still in full vigour at Rome, Naples, Turin,

Milan, Modena, and all the cities of Italy, which are submitted to the despotism of reigning princes. Each city has its ghetto; no Jew has the right to possess, without it, the smallest parcel of land; only, for those who essayed to quit the ghetto, the penalty of death has been replaced by that of the galleys, a fine, or imprisonment.

Pius the Sixth also exacted that the Jews should only use yellow garments, and should celebrate no ceremony but the funeral of their coreligionists. So much rigour constrained a crowd of these unfortunate people to fly from the states of the church; it was what the pope desired, since the property of emigrants appertained by law to the Holy See. Those who continued to dwell at Rome, independently of the bad treatment they received, were subjected to enormous imposts.

All the money which the pontiff extracted from the Jews was swallowed up with that of the Christians in foolish expenses, which the pontiff thought would shed great lustre on his reign. Among other extravagancies, he increased beyond measure the museum of antiquities, which was commenced by his predecessor; he made large excavations in the environs of Otricoli, which produced no other discovery than some shafts of columns, some tripods, and the remains of mosaics; he added a sacristy to the church of St. Peter, into which he crowded, without order or taste, a crowd of master-pieces of sculpture and painting, which cost him enormous sums; he threw down and reconstructed, in gigantic proportions, the miserable abbey of Subiaco, of which he had been superior, whilst he occupied the post of treasurer to the apostolic chamber. The only labours which he executed for a really useful end, were the grading of the routes which led to Rome; he even proceeded in this work by vexatious means, which increased the public misery; he was infamous enough, after having made the community contribute to these expenses by extraordinary taxes, to have the work performed by compulsory and unpaid labour.

He lavished in turn millions on the embellishment of the Quirinal palace and in draining the Pontine marshes, an enterprise which was doubtless very glorious, had it not been undertaken from an interest of cupidity, and to augment the wealth of his bastard. These Pontine marshes had submerged, for very many ages, an immense extent of land, and spread through all the environs pestilential emanations, which, fortunately for the inhabitants of Rome, were arrested by the forests of Cisterna and Sermonetta.

The Pontine marshes commenced at the bridge of Astura, where Cicero had been beheaded, and where the unfortunate Conradin, thirteen centuries afterwards, fell into the hands of his cruel conqueror, the duke of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis; they extended along the shore as far as Terracina, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and in some places even penetrated into it. Historical traditions represent this plain to have been

one of the most fertile in Italy. The authors of antiquity count as many as twenty-three cities or towns of the warlike nation of the Volsci, as inhabiting the place which the waters afterwards occupied.

Three hundred years before the Christian era, in consequence of the ravages of war, the Volscian cities had entirely disappeared, and their country had been transformed into a marsh, when the censor, Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind; endeavoured to restore the country and built the way, which has preserved his name. A century and a half later, the consul, Cornelius Cethegus, resumed the labours which had been interrupted; he was in his turn compelled to suspend them. Julius Cæsar found this country abandoned to new devastations, and thought of undertaking great works to restore to it its former fertility. Augustus, the heir of his plans, dug an immense canal, destined to receive the stagnant waters and to drain them. Trajan was also engaged with the Pontine marshes; but their successors lost sight of this object; then when the emperors disappeared to give place to the popes, the labour of draining was completely abandoned, and this country, once so flourishing, was buried beneath the waves.

Some pontiffs, less indolent than most of the successors of the apostle, Boniface the Thirteenth, Martin the Fifth, Leo the Tenth, Sixtus the Fifth, attempted some reparations, abandoned almost as soon as begun. Finally, Pius the Sixth, in his advent to the throne of St. Peter, cast his eyes upon the Pontine marshes, and determined to reconquer from the seas the ancient country of the Volsci, and to form an appanage out of it for his bastard. He first established a bank, by the name of the Mont des Marais, to receive the funds devoted to this enterprise, and which amounted in a few months, by voluntary subscriptions, to the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand Roman crowns; he then caused plans to be drawn up by Bolognini and the skilful engineer Sani, to be enabled to sound the places which offered the most facilities for the work. They began by repairing an old aqueduct, which supplied the city of Terracina with water; they then cleared the famous Appian way, concealed for so many centuries beneath beds of mud, which was constructed entirely of blocks of lava, and still furrowed by the ruts which the Roman carriages, and perhaps the triumphal chariots of the old consuls of the republic, had made. Thousands of arms were employed in digging a large canal, which was to lead into Lake Fogliana, and dried several leagues of ground, which were immediately put under cultivation.

This first success encouraged the holy father to persevere in his enterprise, and even decided him to build an important city in the midst of the marshes, which a grand canal was to traverse in the lower part, emptying itself into the sea. The work had already been commenced, and enormous sums expended, when an engineer thought of measuring the levels, and found that the earth was much

lower than the sea. Pius the Sixth was consequently obliged to renounce his plans; he then turned towards the side adjoining the declivities of the mountains, and swallowed up in new efforts, all the money in the apostolic treasury, that of voluntary taxes and forced imposts, and that which he drew from the treasury of our Lady of Loretto.

The most odious part of all this operation was, that the pope, to replace the voids which death made among the workmen, carried off forcibly labourers from the adjoining country, and decimated the population. He finally became so hated, that the Romans no longer designated him but by the name of "Secatore," in allusion to his mania for draining the marshes, and to the ingenious means he resorted to to drain their purses. Every one asked what great interest induced the pope to pursue this senseless strife against nature, when he might, at a quarter of the expense, and without danger to the lives of the workmen, have cleared up the uncultivated land in the states of the church, which were five times more considerable. The cause of this preference was very simple; the waste lands belonged to the cities or private individuals, and the holy father could not dispose of them at his good pleasure. The Pontine marshes, on the contrary, having no owners, his holiness had the free disposal of them, and could form an appanage out of them for some of his own.

In the prosperous ages of nepotism, the popes enriched their relatives with the pious presents which flowed from all parts of Europe into the purse of St. Peter; but since superstition had decreased among nations, they were obliged to do so at the expense of the Roman people, and to increase the imposts to gratify the avidity of their relatives. Pius the Sixth naturally followed this path for the two bastards whom his sister had borne him. He purchased for the youngest, who was called Romuald, the property of the duke of Lante, conferred on him the title of count, gave him magnificent equipages and apartments in the interior of the palace; then, to take all pretext for public malignity, which gave to his handsome nephew the names of Ganymede and minion, he sent him to the court of France with the rank of apostolic nuncio.

The pope behaved, in the absence of young Romuald, as if he had been his most cherished mistress; he occupied himself with causing a magnificent palace to be decorated by the first artists, painters, and sculptors; he adorned it with splendid furniture, rich hangings, and extremely precious objects, either as antiquities or works of art. He was even so interested in rendering this palace worthy of the object of his shameful amours, that he was taken very sick, and ran the risk of his life.

The nuncio, warned of the state in which his uncle was, returned immediately to Rome, under the pretence of consoling him, but in reality not to leave to others the care of pillaging the apostolic treasury. The convalescence of Pius the Sixth disappointed the hopes

of his nephew in the pillage of the purse of the church, but it was only to render his fortune more brilliant. He was first created apostolic protonotary, which gave him a right to wear a violet-coloured robe, and to be called *Monsieur*, he was then made major domo of the sovereign pontiff, and received several important benefices.

His holiness did not confine himself to these acts of kindness for his family. When he had assured the fortune of his cherished bastard, he thought of the establishment of his elder brother; he gave him also the title of count, with equipages, horses, and palaces; he permitted him then to draw upon the apostolic treasury, in order to make speculations of the most revolting cupidity, to monopolise grain, oil, and all provisions of the first necessity, of which he might raise the price, and then sell again to an outrageous profit.

Count Louis became, in his turn, the minion of the holy father, and partook of his infamous caresses with his own mother, his brother, and a young girl named *Dona Costanza*, of a ravishing beauty, the fruit of the adultery of Pius, when he was but a cardinal, with the countess *Falconieri*, and to whom he was united in marriage!!

The pope loaded his nephew with favours in commemoration of this event. Independently of the new title of duke de *Braschi*, which he had conferred on him some time before, he gave him a precious casket which contained ten thousand doubloons in gold, rosaries, diamonds of inestimable price, a collection of medals enriched with precious stones, lands, domains, palaces, a part of the great property which the Jesuits had possessed at *Tivoli*, and the magnificent silver plate of this brotherhood, which had been confiscated. The new couple received, besides, from the cardinals, Roman princes, the nobility, prelates, bishops, farmers of the apostolic chamber, and officers of every class, considerable presents, and in such great abundance, that they filled several halls in the Vatican.

It appeared by the vain-glorious joy which the sovereign pontiff manifested at the sight of these presents, as if he felt a sort of defiance to place all Christendom under contribution for his bastards. He was not content with the offerings of the Romans, he wished even to bring Catholic kings into the interest of the duke and dutchess de *Braschi*. He took advantage of the accouchments of the princess of the *Asturias*, and the queen of France, and sent, in the name of his beloved niece, blessed swaddling clothes, destined for the embryo who was one day to rule over Spain, and for the son of Louis the Sixteenth. His hopes were not deceived; the courts of *Madrid* and *Versailles* were foolish enough to recognise the gallantry of such a proceeding, and rained down on the well-beloved bastards of the holy father, gifts, pensions, gold, precious stones, and decorations of every kind.

All sovereigns, however, did not partake of the infatuation of Louis the Sixteenth and the prince of the *Asturias*. The emperor, Joseph

the Second, was, on the contrary, outraged by the licentiousness of the pontifical family, and in his indignation announced his determination to break off all intercourse with the court of Rome, and to drive ultra montanism out of his kingdom. The sentiments which urged this monarch into the progressive path were not entirely disinterested, and his real end was to substitute his own absolute authority for the pontifical infallibility of the papacy. He commenced by permitting his subjects in Germany and Italy to speak and write as they pleased about religious matters; he prohibited the publication of bulls, briefs, decretals, or other acts emanating from the court of Rome, throughout his dominions; he submitted the monastic orders to the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, and prohibited them from all correspondence with foreign superiors; he suspended the reception of novices in the convents; he secularised a large number of religious and monks; declared the colleges of the missions, and the seminaries, freed from the immediate dependence on the Holy See; disposed of bishoprics, benefices, and abbeys; submitted the bishops to an oath of fidelity, restrained the franchises of holy places, and regulated the external discipline of the churches. He was then occupied with proceedings against the refractory; he deprived of his revenues the cardinal *Miguzzi*, the archbishop of Vienna, the avowed enemy of all reform; he drove from their sees, their cures, or their colleges, the bishops, priests, and Jesuits who had persecuted the abbot *Ploner*, the governor of the seminary of *Brixen*, in *Mofavia*, under the pretence of Jansenism. He suppressed, and erased from the missals, the constitution "Unigenitus," and the bull "In *Cœna Domini*;" and, finally, he abolished the odious tribunals of the inquisition, and prohibited his subjects from going to Rome for dispensations.

These reforms excited to the utmost the anger of his holiness, and determined him to address representations to Joseph the Second, through *Monsignor Garampi*, his nuncio at Vienna. But the emperor was but little moved by them, and charged *Prince Kaunitz*, his minister, to inform the court of Rome that he must not be reprimanded as to his proceedings in his own provinces, inasmuch as he did not touch the doctrines of Catholicism, and that the angry notes of the pope would produce no other result than a rupture with the Holy See, and the appointment of a patriarch in Austria.

This threat was a thunderbolt to Pius the Sixth; it humbled his pride, and induced a determination which surprised all Europe. His holiness thought that no other means of bringing back Joseph were left, but to go to him personally, and without delay he addressed a brief to him to apprise him of his determination.

The sovereign pontiff, under the pretext of representing the apostolic see worthily, wished that his journey should resemble a triumphal march, and made a gorgeous display through the whole route. He left Rome by the gate del *Popolo*, and was accompanied by



the principal lords of his court, as far as the city of Otricoli, where he separated from his dear nephews. The latter returned that same night to the holy city, to assist at an illumination of the church of St. Peter, and at artificial fireworks, which were to be discharged from the castle of San Angelo in their honour.

Pius the Sixth, who desired ardently to appear at the court of the emperor in all the lustre of his majesty, had been careful to carry with him his tiara, and the crosses of ceremony, as well as his most magnificent ornaments. He had also made a provision of caps to gain the bishops, and of gold medals to seduce the ecclesiastics. These medals were struck on one side with the likeness of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the other with his own, which made him say to the prelates, that it was not the foolish persons whom they represented, that rendered them precious, but the metal out of which they were made. His holiness was compelled to receive every where, in his passage, puerile honours, to distribute relics, rosaries, and scapularies, to have his sandals kissed, and to distribute indulgences.

The journey of Pius the Sixth was one long farce; at Tolentino he adored the bones of St. Nicholas; at our Lady of Loretto, he begged pardon of the Virgin for having made forced loans for the Pontine marshes; at Cesena, his native city, he showed himself at a grand dinner with all his relatives, and got extravagantly drunk; at Imola he treated the ambassadors of the king of Sardinia and the duke of Parma in the same way, and renewed the same outrage. Finally, he entered the Venetian states in the Bucentaur, which waited for him on his leaving Ferrara, and descended from it at the island of Chiozza, where he was complimented by the Venetian prelates, the doge, and the senate, whom the two procurators of St. Mark represented. He was unwilling, however, to visit the queen of the Adriatic, and leaving Venice on his right, he passed through the canals of the Lagoon and disembarked at Malagherra. From this city he went to Treviso, crossed the Po on a bridge built expressly for him, stopped for a moment at Udine, the last town of the republic, and entered the Austrian territories.

At Giritz he found the nuncio Garampi, the count Cobartzel, the vice chancellor of the emperor, a squadron of the noble guard, and several lords, who waited to escort him to Vienna. At Laybach, in Carniola, the archduchess Mary Ann, the sister of the emperor, came to meet him, and kissed his feet, to the great edification of the faithful. At Gratz, he walked for an hour between two rows of spectators, who, notwithstanding the guards, broke the order of the march, to kiss his sacred vestments. At Neunkirchen, he found the emperor and his brother, the archduke Maximilian, who awaited him in the midst of a brilliant escort of lords and ladies. The pontiff descended from his carriage as soon as he saw the two princes, and took some steps in advance to join Joseph the Second,

who, on his side, had set foot on the earth. The emperor and the holy father embraced three times, and gave reciprocal testimonials of interest; it was even remarked, that tears of tenderness flowed from the eyes of these two eminent personages; it is true that Pius the Sixth knew how to weep at will, and Joseph the Second, on proper occasions. Thus they mounted into a carriage, and entered Vienna to the ringing of bells and the noise of cannon, escorted by an innumerable crowd of people who filled the streets, standing on tiers of staging, from the first stories to the roofs, and made the air resound with fanatical exclamations. Pius the Sixth, intoxicated with joy, exalted by vanity, did not cease to rise in his carriage, extend his arms and send floods of blessings among the stupid crowd.

It would be really difficult to give an idea of the sensation which this pontifical farce produced, if historians, who were witnesses of it, had not been careful to preserve a relation of it for us. A Lutheran thus expresses himself in a letter to one of his friends. "You cannot imagine what an effect the presence of the pope produced in our city, especially when he exhibited himself to the people. I have seen more than fifty thousand men together, salute the head of Catholicity with frenzied shouts, when he raised the tiara to his brow, clothed with ornaments sacred in their sight, magnificent in ours, surrounded by cardinals, bishops, and all the high clergy. The skilful actor bends towards the earth, then raises his arms to heaven in a theatrical attitude, and appears profoundly persuaded that he bears thither the vows of a whole nation. Figure to yourself this ceremony, performed by an old man of majestic stature, of the noblest and handsomest figure; figure to yourself this immense crowd, which falls on its knees with religious enthusiasm, at the moment in which the pontiff bestows his blessing upon it. Judge how forcibly these religious scenes must operate on weak minds which are disposed to be seduced by external actions."

They acted, in fact, on the Viennese to such a point, that for a month the course of the Danube was constantly obstructed by the crowd of barks which were mounting or descending the river, and which bore thousands of curious persons to the capital of the empire. The faithful pressed by twenty and thirty thousands into the streets which surrounded the imperial palace, where the pope resided, and five times a day was his holiness obliged to appear at his balcony to grant to this impatient multitude the easy benefit of his blessing.

The fanatical worship which the Austrians rendered to Pius the Sixth, was not confined to his person, but extended even to his garments and sandals. Every one knows the veneration of the Catholics for the male of the pope. It was the time, now or never, for superstitious farce; the sacred slipper was placed carefully on a cushion, in the audience chamber, and an incredible number of devotees

and imbeciles of every class came to kiss it, to the disgrace of the human kind. They did more; it was carried about as a relic through the lordly mansions of Vienna, and princes made it a pious duty, to kiss the slipper of a sodomite and incestuous priest.

Joseph the Second finished it by taking charge of the enthusiasm of his people for Pius the Sixth, and thought to dismiss him; he wished, however, to have the appearance of granting him some concessions; he permitted his subjects to address themselves to Rome to obtain dispensations of the first and second degree; he consented that nothing should be changed in the appointment to the vacant sees of Lombardy; he tolerated historical instruction, in regard to the questions which related to the bull "Unigenitus," and only prohibited discussions concerning the dogmas it taught or those it condemned.

Before separating, the emperor and pontiff gave to each other mutual marks of affection. Joseph presented the head of the church with a breast-plate enriched with diamonds, and valued at more than two hundred thousand florins; he gave him besides, through the vice chancellor of the empire, a diploma, which elevated his bastard, Louis Braschi Onesti, to the dignity of a prince of the holy empire, and exempted him from the taxes paid in such cases, which amounted to ninety thousand florins; he did not forget the cardinals and bishops who composed the suite of the pontiff, he ennobled them all and made them rich presents. On the day of his departure, he accompanied him as far as the church of Mariabrunn, a league from Vienna, and embraced him with appearances of the frankest cordiality. But that was all, for scarcely had the pope left the Austrian territories, than the emperor resumed his plans of reform, annulled the preceding decrees in regard to the sees of Lombardy, himself appointed a prelate to the archbishopric of Milan, suppressed the mendicant orders which infested his kingdom, seized the revenues, restrained the privileges of the apostolic nuncios, sanctioned his edicts of toleration, and took under his immediate protection, writers who were hostile to the court of Rome.

Joseph the Second having entered further than ever on the path of religious reforms, was desirous of overthrowing at a blow the obstacles which opposed his designs, and went into Italy for the purpose of making a last effort to bring the Holy See to extreme concessions, or openly to declare his rupture with the papal court. He was received at Rome as Pius the Sixth had been at Vienna, but instead of falling out abruptly as he had intended to do, he allowed himself to be overreached by the cardinal de Bernis, the ambassador of France, and the chevalier Azara, the Spanish minister, and consented to conclude a kind of concordat with the Holy See.

Pius the Sixth no longer disturbed himself about the reforms in Germany, and surrendered himself to all the excesses of drunken debauchery. The Vatican was the nightly

theatre of disgusting saturnalia, at which met the father, the daughter, and the two brothers; and which recalled the orgies of the Borgias. Rome was daily informed by the indiscretions of the officers of the palace, who were the favourites of the pope during the night, and whether he had chosen among his bastards, his pages, or the scullions in his kitchen.

His holiness no longer performed any pontifical functions; he passed whole mornings at his toilette, painted his cheeks and his lips, perfumed his hands and his breast; he bathed himself with precious essences, like the most coquettish of courtizans, and decorated himself with lace. Gorani maintains that he fell into a violent passion when his chamberlains did not dress him to his fancy, and that he beat them with his fist, and that one day he beat a tailor almost to death for bringing him a badly fitting garment. It is certain that Pius the Sixth was extremely arrogant and rough, and that he preserved this violent character to his death. Finally, his turpitudes rendered him such an object of hatred and contempt to the Romans, that in the religious ceremonies in which he appeared, the faithful returned him only hisses in exchange for his blessings.

It may not be useless to give information concerning a very curious incident which caused great noise throughout all Italy. A certain Amanzio Lepri, a Milanese by birth, and the son of an old officer of the customs, was the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he expended in pious works. The pope having been informed that this blessed person was of an extremely weak mind, determined to use religion for the purpose of seizing on his great wealth. He sent an old Jesuit to him, who inspired doubts in his mind as to the lawfulness of his wealth, determined him to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and to make a donation of his large patrimony to the bastard and cherished daughter of his holiness.

Pius affected to wish that the duke de Braschi should not accept the gift; he then permitted himself to be overcome by the entreaties of Amanzio Lepri, and only insisted, as a condition, that he should reserve for himself a pension of five hundred crowns a month. The sister-in-law of this fanatic, the marchioness Victoire Lepri, protested against these dispositions, which deprived her young daughter Marianne, the niece and pupil of Amanzio, of her inheritance, and attacked the donation before the tribunal of the auditor of the chamber. The latter, who was all devotion to the pope, rejected her petition, and received the hat of a cardinal as the price of his conduct. Victoire Lepri was not discouraged, and she appealed to the tribunal of the rota. This was the only jurisdiction which had preserved any independence at Rome, and consequently its right to public regard; it owed its independence to its organization, being composed of twelve judges or auditors, of whom three only were Romans, and the rest spread about in the following manner; one

from Bologna, one from Ferrara, one from Venice, one from Milan, one German, two Spaniards, and two Frenchmen. Five of these doctors only were paid by the pope, the others were paid by the states to which they belonged. The form of their judgment was simple, and left little room for chicanery; every thing concurred to render them respectable.

Pius the Sixth, fearing a condemnation, offered the marchioness to pay her down a hundred thousand crowns, provided she would desist from her pursuits, and even proposed to marry the young Marianne to his nephew Romuald Onesti. The family of Lepri refused, and persisted in its determination to have the donation voided by the tribunal of the rota. The judges rendered a decree favourable to the dispossessed pupil, and broke the act of donation. The holy father was not conquered, he extorted a will in proper form from the imbecile Amanzio in favour of his nephew, the duke de Braschi, and then when he had this important piece, he merely poisoned him to prevent him from taking a fancy to change his mind. On the next day he convened the tribunal of the rota and presented the will, in order that his bastard should be put in possession of the property of the deceased; but what were his astonishment and rage, when at the very moment when the judges were about to pronounce in favour of the validity of the rights of the duke de Braschi, to see the young Marianne herself, led by her mother, advance before the tribunal and enroll a later will than that of the pope, in which Amanzio declared that he appointed her his sole heir, that he annulled the donation made in favour of the nephew of the pontiff, as well as the will which had been obtained from him by violence, and that he left to his family the task of avenging his death.

This incident changed every thing; the tribunal pronounced a second judgment in favour of Marianne Lepri, and cast the duke de Braschi. The obstinate pontiff did not yet abandon it; he refused to yield to the orders of the magistrates, and decided, of his own authority, that the cause should be re-examined, and in the interval he brought into play threats and promises so appropriately, that the auditors handed to him on a plate of gold, the definite decree, which confirmed the donation of the unfortunate Amanzio to the infamous Duke de Braschi, and which condemned his lawful heirs to pay the expenses of the proceedings. This odious spoliation excited a general indignation among the Romans, and even among foreigners; the courts of Naples, Spain, France, Germany, the republic of Venice, the states of Modena, and the dutchy of Parma lashed the conduct of the pope in their gazettes.

Joseph the Second took advantage of it to keep no longer on any terms with the Holy See; he abolished the nunciatures entirely, as contrary to the jurisdiction of the ordinary bishops; he made a decree concerning the

nuncios, and brought them down to the class of mere diplomatic envoys; he then assembled the famous congress of Ems. The prelates who composed this meeting framed twenty-three very important articles, which were directly hostile to the ultra montane principles of the court of Rome, and which, among other things, proclaimed the independence of the religions of every superior residing in a foreign country, the absolute authority of bishops in their dioceses from all exemptions and dispensations, the necessity of the acceptance of the Roman bulls by competent authority to render them binding in the empire, the abolition of the oath of vassalage prescribed to prelates by Gregory the Seventh, the exclusive recognition as the true public law of the German church, of the decrees of the council of Basle, and the abolition of the concordat concluded with Rome at Aschaffeneburg. Finally, in order to give the last blow to the supremacy of the Holy See, Joseph demanded from the pope, through the congress, the convocation of an œcumenical council, which the popes had promised for two centuries; he rested this demand on the necessity which existed in the church to abolish a crowd of superstitious usages which compromised religion, and at the same time to revise the lying constitutions which served as a pretext for the encroachments of the court of Rome.

The troubles which then broke out in the low countries, distracted the attention of the emperor, and compelled him to defer the execution of his plans to another time; his example had, however, produced good results; the taste for reform had reached the states of Italy; the republics of Venice and Genoa, the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchy of Modena, laboured seriously to abase the Holy See; the grand duke of Tuscany, Leopold, the brother of Joseph the Second, especially distinguished himself in this crusade against the papacy; like the emperor, he had convened a council at Pistoia, under the presidency of the bishop of that city, the famous Scipio Ricci, the nephew of the general of the Jesuits who had died in the dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, a prelate of sincere piety, but who had the misfortune, in the eyes of the pontiff, of not sharing the sentiments of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. His holiness immediately condemned the decisions to which this assembly came, and prohibited the duke of Tuscany from paying any attention to them. Leopold, instead of being intimidated by the apostolic censures, assembled the bishops of his kingdom at Florence, to have four new articles adopted concerning the reformation of the breviaries and missals, the translation of the ritual into the vulgar tongue, the precedence of curates over canons, and the declaration that the episcopal institution was of divine right. But Pius the Sixth had intrigued so well, and put into play so well the resources of corruption, that a majority of the prelates declared against the plans of the grand duke.

The coteries of the pope did not confine

itself to this first success, it wished to render its victory complete by crushing at once the prince and Scipio Ricci; it sent agitators into the city of Pistoia, excited the fanatics of the place by accusing the bishop of wishing to destroy religion, and by giving as proofs, that five years before, he had carried off a miraculous relic from the church of Prato. The intrepid Ricci made head against the storm, and pursued, none the less, the execution of his generous plans of reform; he gave his attention particularly to the religious houses, whose disorders gave rise to great scandal, and proved that in the convents of the Dominicans licentiousness had reached its utmost extreme.

From the declarations of the nuns, it was shown that in the convents of St. Lucia and St. Catherine at Pistoia, the female Dominicans received their confessors in the chapter, and abandoned themselves to the most unbridled excesses of libertinage on the very steps of the altar; other nuns avowed that frequently jealousy, or the inconstancy of the monks, led to serious collisions; that they disputed for the provincial or prior; that they deprived themselves of their money or effects for their confessors; that several Dominicans had five or six mistresses at once, who formed a kind of seraglio; that at each promotion of a provincial in the monastery of the men, the newly chosen went to the convent to choose a favourite, and that the novices, entirely naked, were ranged in two rows for his inspection, that he placed his hat on the head of her who pleased him most, and made her his mistress at once. Scipio Ricci further discovered that these disorders were not the only ones to which the nuns abandoned themselves; he ascertained that they surrendered themselves to the most horrid saturnalia among themselves, and that they professed the most libertine quietism. He put an end to these turpitudes by placing these houses of prostitution under an inflexible supervision, and by excluding the Dominicans from employment as confessors.

It was in vain that the holy father interfered and fulminated bulls against the reformer; the grand duke Leopold maintained the regulations of Scipio Ricci, and suppressed the inquisition throughout his dominions.

Ferdinand the Fourth, the king of the Two Sicilies, had also abolished the terrible tribunals of the holy office, and was preparing to enter on the path of monastic reform. He had already ordered the suppression of seventy-eight convents in Sicily; he went further, he ordered the other monasteries to make no new acquisitions in future, and he placed them all under the rule of the bishops; he then prohibited the ecclesiastics from obeying the regulations of the Roman chancellery, claimed from the sovereign pontiff the right of conferring the vacant benefices, and refused to continue to pay the disgraceful tribute which his predecessors had been accustomed to send to Rome, and which was called the homage of the hackney. Pius the Sixth protes-

ted against these efforts at rebellion on the part of the sovereign, threatened him with his anathemas, and informed him through his nuncio, that he would not permit a petty king to treat him like a country curate. His Sicilian majesty as his reply, drove the legate out of his kingdom and made preparations to chastise the insolent pontiff and retake the duchies of Castro and Ronciglione, which were enclosed in the states of the church and of which the kings of Naples had constantly claimed possession. The grave events which were occurring in France suspended the effects of the wrath of Ferdinand, and forced him to give all his attention to the imposing sight of a nation striving against royalty.

Louis the Sixteenth, yielding to the fatal councils of his courtiers, had committed the enormous fault of recalling all the ecclesiastics who had been banished on account of their fanaticism, of joining the party of the Jesuits, of declaring himself the enemy of the philosophers, and of persecuting to extremes the men who were the glory of the country. From that moment, the quarrels which had been for a time assuaged, resumed all their energy, and the monarchy found itself again exposed to the attacks of its formidable foes. It was no longer a faction that absolutism had to combat; it was a whole nation which rose in a menacing attitude to reclaim its forgotten rights, and which was preparing to demand a terrible account from royalty for the disasters it had, for fourteen centuries, drawn upon it.

Voltaire died at Paris, and the clergy, instigated by the Jesuits, had refused a tomb to the mortal remains of one of the greatest men of genius who has appeared in the world. Rousseau, the rival of the fame of Voltaire, had followed him to eternity, and the priests, renewing the same bigotry, had refused a corner of earth to the immortal author of the Social Contract.

The death of these two great men filled the nobles and ecclesiastics with joy; they all supposed that the party, deprived of its chiefs, could be easily crushed, and set to work to do it. The bishop addressed parliament to ask that an old decree, inflicting the penalty of death against the authors, printers, and distributors of books hostile to religion, should receive a rigorous execution. "We must punish with the sword of the executioner," said the prelates, "the crimes of the press. The philosophers who write against the church, are more culpable than regicides, for they attack God and not man. We claim the same punishment for them, and we also desire that their right hands be burned off! . . ." Louis the Sixteenth, to his shame, associated himself with this odious persecution against the writers. He threatened the republic of Geneva with his wrath, if it continued to allow irreligious books to be printed. At Paris, and in the provinces, he persecuted the booksellers and printers, in default of the authors, who escaped punishment by flight.

But nothing could arrest the spread of the philosophic doctrines; the phalanx, instead of

diminishing, became daily more numerous, and more enterprising. Beaumarchais, Diderot, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Bailly, Thomas, Vieg-d'Azir, Marmontel, Chamfort, and a multitude of others, continued the work commenced by Voltaire. Magistrates, members of the university, lords of the court, ministers, showed themselves to be partizans of the new ideas. It was the fashion in high society to condemn the institutions of a decrepid papacy and of a tottering monarchy.

The agitation which was manifested in France, caused serious alarms to Pius the Sixth, and foreshadowed to him that the time was not far distant when the eldest daughter of the church would free itself from the tutelage of its mother. The court did not, however, cease to maintain the best relations with his holiness, and the imbecile Louis the Sixteenth offered large sums to the Roman chancery to canonise the blessed daughter of Louis the Eleventh, Joan the Lame, whom Louis the Twelfth had so scandalously repudiated for the haughty Anne of Brittany, his second wife. But before this ridiculous matter was settled, the good understanding was interrupted by the famous proceedings about the necklace, in which the honour of the queen of France and of a prince of the church were seriously compromised. The arrest of the principal culprit, the cardinal de Rohan, had created a great sensation in the sacred college. The pope had immediately addressed representations to the ambassador of France, and had signified to him that he would invoke the observance of the canonical rules in favour of the accused, if matters were carried further.

Louis the Sixteenth would listen to nothing, and declared that he would proceed to the judgment of the prince de Rohan notwithstanding the pope, the cardinals, and all foreign courts, in order to avenge the honour of the queen. Monseigneur de Rohan then determined to face the danger, and demanded to have his cause submitted to the parliament for examination. The wary prelate had foreseen that Marie Antoinette would recoil before the scandal of public debates, would purchase his silence, and have him cleared. But the sacred college, which did not know the motives which had induced him to take this determination, did not like the step, and protested against his voluntary abandonment of his rights, by declaring that the court of Rome could alone judge a prince of the church.

All Europe was engaged about this trial. The king of Spain sent notes to France, to engage Louis the Sixteenth to hush up this matter; the emperor of Germany claimed the cardinal de Rohan for the same purpose, as a prince of the holy Roman Empire. The elector of Mayence also maintained, that he had a right to take cognizance of this accusation, because the accused was bishop of Strasburg and his suffragan; finally, the diet of Ratisbon claimed jurisdiction of this cause as belonging to a state of the empire.

In this occurrence Pius the Sixth, discover-

ing the impossibility of changing the dispositions of Louis the Sixteenth, who, though a little tardily, appeared to be serious about his honour as a husband, wished at least to save the dignity of the cardinals, and to shun the disgrace of having a prince of the church declared, by a secular tribunal, to be a slanderer, sharper, thief, and forger, he pronounced the suspension, ad interim, of the cardinal de Rohan, grand almoner of France, and granted him a respite of six months to justify himself before his peers, from the accusations brought against him.

The parliament of Paris maintained, that the brief of his holiness trespassed on the liberties of the Gallican church, refused to pay any attention, and continued its inquiries. Fortunately for the grand almoner, Marie Antoinette interfered secretly in the affair, gained over the most influential counsellors, and had him discharged. His eminence was immediately reinstalled in his titles and dignities, which made the Parisians say, in allusion to the pretended bon mot of Francis the First, that the cardinal had lost nothing but his honour.

Concord was restored between the two courts, their intercourse was replaced on the same footing as before this affair, and Louis the Sixteenth leaned, as before, on Pius the Sixth, to cause civilization to retrograde, and to restore France to ages of slavery. It was, however, no longer in the power of a king to accomplish this sacrilegious work; men and things, laws and constitutions, were all impelled, by an irresistible force, into the revolutionary whirlpool; and, as if events were not hurrying on fast enough even for the wishes of those whom they were to abase, nobles and priests affected more arrogance, more pride, than ever. The queen threw herself, with a kind of delirium, into pleasure and debauchery, without being restrained by the care of her own preservation—sacrificing the millions of France to the young lords and ladies of her court, who were the objects of her criminal ardour, at the time in which the finances of the nation were in a state of frightful disorder.

It was then that Louis the Sixteenth conceived the idea of convening the notables to obtain new imposts to meet the deficiencies of the treasury. From the very opening of the assembly it could be seen what progress ideas of reform had, thanks to the philosophers, made in all minds. The notables, though belonging to the privileged classes, refused the subsidies which were demanded of them, protested against the dissipation of the court, and demanded the suppression of the annates, a right which sent millions out of the kingdom yearly, for the benefit of the apostolic chamber.

Under these circumstances the nuncio of Pius the Sixth interfered to defend the interests of the court of Rome, and induced Louis the Sixteenth to place the reins of government in the hands of an energetic priest, who might, after the example of Richelieu,

sava the throne and the altar from imminent ruin. The feeble monarch obeyed, appointed as his principal minister Charles Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, and gave to him the administration of the finances. The prelate immediately drew up edicts of imposts, and carried them to parliament to be registered. The counsellors refused to obey his orders, and declared that an assembly of the states-general was alone competent to establish public charges. That word, "states-general," immediately resounded through all France. The clergy, the nobility, the parliament, the burghers, all moved by different hopes or fears, proclaimed the principle, "that a nation represented by its delegates, possessed an imprescriptible right to reform abuses and levy imposts.

His majesty wished to resist the opinion and held several beds of justice, in which new edicts were registered; the parliament protested against this illegality, and declared the registry void. In vain had the principal minister resorted to intimidation, and caused the most refractory magistrates to be imprisoned. These acts of rigour only exasperated men the more, and compelled the king to dismiss his minister, and give him as a successor the Genevese Necker, and to issue a decree fixing the opening of the states-general for the 1st of May, 1789. An incredible effervescence was already manifested in all parts of France; clubs and political assemblies organised everywhere, for the elections of the commissioners of the nation.

At last, on the 4th of May, 1789, the deputies of three orders, the third estates, the nobility, and the clergy went to Versailles, where they were to hold their meetings. Louis the Sixteenth, followed by the princes and great officers of the crown, went to meet them at the church of the Holy Spirit, to hear a solemn mass, at the conclusion of which, Monseigneur de la Fare, bishop of Nancy, preached a sermon, in which he mixed up protestations of love for religion, loyalty to the king, and sublime reflections on the advantages of liberty. On the following day, his majesty opened the states-general in a cautious speech, in which he was prodigal of assurances of his respect for the laws and love for the people. The deputies of the third estate were not the dupes of this hypocritical language; met to bring about useful reforms for the nation, they went to work, without allowing themselves to be deterred or discouraged by the obstacles of every kind which were thrown in their way. They began by attacking the ecclesiastical privileges, declared that the property of the clergy was national property, abolished the tithes, sold the properties of the churches and converted them into life rents; they then suppressed the annates. At length, on the 17th of May, the deputies, whose powers had been recognised, having taken the title of National Assembly, decreed the famous civil constitution of the clergy, which overthrew all degrees in the spiritual hierarchy, and enjoined on the

bishops and curates to take the oath of fidelity to the nation.

The great majority of the French clergy refused to submit to the decisions of the assembly; out of one hundred and thirty bishops, only four were in favour of its adoption. The first consecration of constitutional bishops, soon, however, took place in the church of the Oratoire; Talleyrand Perigord, bishop of Autun, assisted by the prelates Gobel, Lydda, and Miroudot, conferred the constitutional episcopal dignity on the curates Expilly and Marolles, recently promoted to the sees of Quimper and Laon. This news created a profound sensation at the court of Rome; Pius the Sixth had contented himself, until that time, with addressing protests to the philosophic legislators, who, as he said, were biting each other, in the constituent assembly. He thought that his remonstrances had been too mild, and he determined, in order to intimidate the deputies, to launch terrible bulls against the ecclesiastics, who had taken the oath of fidelity to the constitution, and ordered them to retract within forty days, under penalty of being excommunicated as intruders, unlawful schismatics, heretics, and sacrilegious.

The bulls of his holiness only served to induce the legislative body to decree, that all intercourse should be broken off with the court of Rome, that the nuncio should be expelled from France, the ambassador recalled to Paris, and the priests who refused to take the oath be prosecuted as refractory.

Pius the Sixth found himself attacked at once in his spiritual and temporal power. The cry of liberty, uttered by the national assembly, had resounded at Avignon; the inhabitants of the Venaisain countship had rallied to the ideas of independence proclaimed by the French; they formed a national guard, framed a religious constitution on the same basis as that of the French, and had revolted against the vice legate, who commanded the province in the name of the pope. Then, on the refusal of his holiness to give his sanction to all these acts, they had driven from their territory the vice legates, the archbishop, and all the ecclesiastics attached to the court of Rome; finally, they had declared themselves independent of the pope, and had offered themselves to France. Pius the Sixth, furious at seeing one of his handsomest provinces detach itself from his temporal power, wished to make an effort to retain it beneath his sway; he organised bands of assassins, who, under the name of pontifical soldiers, abandoned themselves to frightful brigandages in the Venaisain territory, and murdered a great number of the republicans in the name of the holy father, and for the greater glory of religion. Most happily the cause of liberty triumphed; public indignation did justice to the murderers, and the country was reunited to France.

This event was celebrated in Paris by rejoicings, at the close of which the people of the capital burned the pope in effigy in the

gardens of the Palais Royal; a burlesque farce which became, on the part of Pius the Sixth, a pretext for cruel reprisals. His holiness fell on the French who inhabited his states, and were regarded as partizans of the new ideas; he massacred or poisoned them all, and did the same towards the Italians and strangers, who were suspected of partaking of the doctrines of the constituent assembly; as for those who were regarded as indifferent, he contented himself with confining them in the dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, and submitting them to the harshest treatment.

Among these last was the famous Cagliostro, one of the most extraordinary men of the eighteenth century, who had retired to Rome after the affair of the queen's necklace, in which he was seriously compromised. After that affair he had married the beautiful Lorenzia Feliciani, who, under the name of Seraphina, had accompanied him in all his journeys, and shared his good and bad fortune. As he treated her with much harshness, after she was bound to him by indissoluble ties, the lady found no other way of getting rid of his tyranny than by revealing to her confessor, that he might impart it to other members of the sacred office, the divining practices by means of which Cagliostro duped fools.

The good father, much smitten with his beautiful penitent, had no scruples about destroying her husband, to obtain possession of her, and denounced Cagliostro to the tribunal of the inquisition. In consequence of this information, the latter was arrested and plunged into a dungeon; his trial then commenced. The inquiry was long and minute, considering the importance of the personage; all his letters and smallest papers were read, commented upon, and translated with extreme care; but nothing was discovered which treated of sorcery; they only judged from certain passages written by himself, that he was a Freemason and a partizan of the French ideas. He could not be judged worthy of the most cruel punishments. For a short time his holiness thought of having him burned alive, under the pretext of the crime of sorcery; then reflecting that such an execution would excite general indignation, he only condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Another unfortunate, named Octavius Capelli, for the same crime, that is to say, for having expressed opinions favourable to the French republicans, was condemned to languish in a dungeon all his life; a monk, named Rugusain, underwent a still more cruel punishment on like accusations.

But what could the furious anger of a pope do before the revolutionary movement? The cry of liberty uttered in Paris, crossed the Alps, resounded even in Rome, and was repeated by the Italians. The holy father then conceived the thought of fomenting a civil war in France, and of using the legions of monks, who were devoted to his cause, in renewing the terrible religious wars. More than seventy thousand ecclesiastics had refused to take the constitu-

tional oath; the constituent assembly had, however, the weakness to authorise them to celebrate divine service in the churches of the sworn priests. These miserable satellites of fanaticism, at the instigation of the court of Rome, unworthily abused this tolerance, to conspire against the new order of things; they insinuated to the devotees, that all the sacraments administered by the constitutional bishops and curates were essentially void; they rebaptised children, remarried adults, and dared to announce from the pulpit, that out of their communion were only concubinage, illegitimacy, and damnation. A dangerous agitation, the consequence of those insinuations, manifested itself in all the departments and reacted against the revolutionary work; fortunately the legislative assembly, which had succeeded the constituent, took measures to arrest the progress of the evil. It suppressed the pensions the state still allowed to the refractory, decreed the liberty of worship, the emancipation of all the monastic orders, the marriage of the priests, and on the proposition of Archbishop Torne, it prohibited all religious costumes.

Louis the Sixteenth wished to cover the clergy by his tottering authority, and used the right which the constitution granted to him of rejecting a law according to the caprice of his will, by a simple veto. The ecclesiastics resumed a pride and insolence which became fatal to them; they dared to announce publicly, that a vast confederacy had been organised by the pope, and that soon all the Catholic powers, reunited by his holiness, would fall together on France to stifle the philosophical hydra in a sea of blood.

The boldness of the clergy, and the imminence of the danger, at last impelled the legislative assembly to act with severity against the rebellious priests. It was enjoined on all ecclesiastics, without exception, to take the civic oath, or leave the kingdom. Those who refused to obey the decree, and persisted in remaining in France, were cast into the national prisons; the greater part, however, joined the princes and princesses who had fled to foreign lands, and who intrigued with kings to excite them against the nation.

Among the emigrants was the celebrated abbe Maury, one of the most skilful champions of despotism, who had taken refuge with the pope, and obtained flattering distinctions, and the title of nuncio, to represent the Holy See at the diet of Frankfort, in order to urge Germany into a war of invasion.

At last, thanks to the efforts of these props of tyranny, a formidable coalition was organised against France; the civil war broke out in la Vendée, and the frontiers were threatened by the armies of the kings of Prussia, Sweden, Austria, and Sardinia; within, base machinations increased the disorders, and threatened the country with certain ruin. Should we then be astonished that the people, in a moment of despair, at seeing all these disorders fall upon the country, dreading to fall beneath the yoke of despotism, went to the prisons which con-

tained the enemies of liberty, to take vengeance on the guilty authors of these evils! Doubtless such outbreaks are to be deplored, but we will say that they were in some sort justified by the priests themselves, who, within their prisons, conspired against the nation, and did not cease to affront the anger of the people, by expressing the sacrilegious hope of seeing themselves delivered by the allied armies. And lest despotism should make too much noise about the massacres of the prisons, we will recall the crusades against the Albigenses executed under Philip the Second, the atrocities of the Armagnacs and Burgundians under King Charles the Sixth, the bloody executions of the St. Bartholomew under Charles the Ninth, the dragonings of the Cevennes under Louis the Fourteenth, and will ask which, whether royalty or democracy, is in arrears to the other.

But events were changing appearances; a new national assembly, the convention, succeeds the legislative; the republic is proclaimed in France, and Louis the Sixteenth expiates the crimes of his race upon the scaffold. Pius the Sixth immediately fulminates a bull of excommunication against the French nation, designates it by the names of impious, sacrilegious, and abominable, and calls down upon it the thunders of heaven and earth. The convention sends the following letter to his holiness as its reply: "The Executive Council of the Republic to the prince bishop of Rome. Pontiff—You will immediately discharge from your dungeons several French citizens who are detained in them. If these demands are ineffectual, you will learn that the republic is too bold to overlook an outrage, and too powerful to allow it to go unpunished."

The pope could scarcely restrain his rage when he received the message of the convention. The cardinals, however, who surrounded him, having shown him the danger he incurred by exposing himself to the wrath of a republican people, there was seen the pretended vicar of God, the successor of St. Peter, the infallible pontiff, who lords it over the Christian world, humble himself before a simple deputy, sprung from the lowest ranks of the people, and promise to obey the wishes of the republic.

Then, on the news that the French had experienced some reverses, he resumed his boldness, assembled troops, and announced that he was about to put on the helm and cuirass to combat the republicans. After the example of their head, the priests and monks, filled with a holy enthusiasm, traversed the city and country, reunited fanatics on their way, enrolled them beneath the pontifical banners, and organised them into bands of assassins; then, when they supposed they were strong enough to fight the republic, they threw aside all shame, and in contempt of the laws of nations, massacred a secretary of the embassy, named Basseville, whilst passing through the streets to go to the academy, accompanied by his wife and children. These cannibals

then rushed into the city exclaiming, "Long live Pius the Sixth! Long life to the St. Bartholomew! Death to all Frenchmen."

The palace of the academy was invaded, the boarders pursued, and forced to fly before the swords of the priests, whilst other bands of murderers beat down the doors of the houses inhabited by the French, and there renewed the same scenes of violence.

In France, things were daily assuming a more ingubrious aspect; within were disorders and anarchy; the peasants of Brittany and la Vendée, excited by the preaching of fanatics, organised the insurrection of the Chouans, and transformed their rich plains into frightful battle fields; without, despots and their hordes of slaves were warring, ready to fall on the republic. Such was the critical position into which nobles and priests had brought the country.

Pius the Sixth, the organizer of this sacrilegious crusade, undertaken by kings against liberty, was not backward in the odious task he had imposed upon himself. He, the head of the Catholic church, united with heretical England, and the schismatic northern courts, and formed, in connection with these powers, and the kings of Italy and Spain, a formidable coalition.

It is true that tyrants have neither religion nor country; their religion is an immoderate love of power; it is the exercise of that supreme power with which the weakness or the ignorance of their fellow citizens has invested them; their country is the throne on which they sit in the plenitude of their insolence. In the opinion of these demi-gods men are but slaves, only fit to dig into the bowels of the earth, to extract from it the wealth it contains, and they scarcely think them worthy to rear their palaces, and furnish their handsomest sons, and most beautiful daughters, to gratify their passions and licentiousness.

Grand and sublime in its efforts, the republic set on foot fourteen armies, struggled against its enemies, caused despots to tremble on their thrones, and announced that it was about to punish the old pope for his crimes and perfidies. At the news that the French were preparing to invade Italy, Pius the Sixth wished to make an appeal to fanaticism, and spread this furious proclamation through the provinces.

"Italians, as soon as the stroke of the bell shall announce the entrance of the republicans on the territories of the church, run all to arms, burn the harvests, poison the rivers and fountains; slay by every means, sword, fire, or poison, an unbridled foe, who mows off the heads of kings and priests with the axe of the executioner; annihilate these barbarous republicans, who have sworn to overthrow the throne and the altar. Obey, all of you, it is your god, your pope who orders you.

"We promise plenary indulgences and eternal recompenses to the faithful who shall murder most of these ferocious French; we grant an entire amnesty to robbers, assassins, and parricides, who shall redeem their crimes by fighting for religion; we give, in advance,



our absolution to courageous women, who, like Judith, shall abandon themselves to the Philistines, and cut off their heads.

"Let all men who have received baptism hasten beneath the immaculate standard of the Roman church; let all Italy rise with its millions of swords at the voice of the vicar of Christ, and let all men and women plunge their hands in the blood of the French, and taste the delights of this glorious holocaust.

"We grant no dispensation from this crusade but to ecclesiastics; because it is the duty of pastors to elevate their arms upon the mountains, whilst the faithful are combatting and murdering each other in the plain."

Never had fanaticism spoken a more furious language during the days of darkness of the middle ages, nor during the fury of the league. Fortunately the times were changed, and the proclamation of the holy father had scarcely any influence over the people of the ecclesiastical states. Besides, what could men demoralised by misery, rendered brutal by exactions, and plunged in the most profound ignorance, do? Moreover, the apostolic treasury was empty; its credit gone, and the resource of loans exhausted. Every thing had been swallowed up by the pontiff or his bastards, even to the plate of the churches. The Italians made no movement, and awaited the arrival of the French, not as enemies, but as liberators. Nay, more; the pope having desired to double the taxes, they revolted against the fiscal agents, killed some of them at Rome, and even thought of burning the palace of the duke de Braschi, whose wealth and insolent luxury contrasted in so odious a manner with the general distress. But a few sbirri were enough to arrest the hostile manifestations, and cause the degenerate sons of ancient Rome to tremble. It is related, that the miserable people were so demoralised that on the day of an outbreak, Braschi left his palace with a whip in his hand, followed by some lackeys carrying baskets filled with pieces of money, and cried out in a loud voice, "Here, throw some gold to this mob, that it may go howl farther off." Then, clearing a passage with blows of his whip, he passed through the crowd, without a single man daring to punish his insolence. As the holy father lost some of his guards in these collisions, he determined to declare them inviolable, and published, that every insult offered to one of the sbirri would be regarded as a crime of high treason.

In the interval, France had seen the convention pass away, and the Thermidorean reaction be accomplished. A party, composed of all the infamous men who had enriched themselves by betraying the popular cause, triumphed over the mountain, and placed the exercise of power in the hands of a council of five members, called the directory. With these men reappeared the priests, and in their train came bands of assassins, organised under the name of the company of Jesus, who made a terrible war on the republic.

These new soldiers of the cross, recruited

from among the nobles and the unfringed monks, spread through several departments, especially those of Vaucluse and the mouths of the Rhone, and exercised the most barbarous atrocities in the name of the pope, and of Louis the Eighteenth, the king of France, whom his holiness, Pius the Sixth, had recognised by that title, since the news of the death of the son of Louis the Sixteenth in the temple.

Their audacity soon increasing, from the feebleness of the directory, they dared to proclaim Catholicism the national religion. Five bishops sworn to, and secretly affiliated with the Jesuits, seconded their plans by publishing an encyclical letter, to which thirty-three other prelates adhered, that is to say, almost the whole new Gallican church. The refractory priests thought that their day of triumph had come, and encouraged the companies of Jesus in their work of devastation. The court of Rome applauded this sanguinary zeal, and in the intoxication of its joy commanded actions of solemn thanks for the success of the cause of despotism.

The directory was at last aroused by the progress of the companies of Jesus, and took vigorous measures to arrest them. They exacted the civic oath from all ecclesiastics without exception, and banished from France those who refused to take it. Unfortunately for the nation, there remained too great a number still; and it was afterwards discovered, without ability to remedy the evil, that this same clergy had prepared the ruin of the national liberties, and the triumph of despotism.

The republican armies were every where victorious. The countries lying on this side of the Rhine were completely subjugated; it only remained to conquer Italy to break up the coalition. This mission was confided to General Bonaparte, then but twenty-seven years old. Brilliant successes signalized the arrival of this young chief, who was one day to fill the world with his military glory. The Austrians and Piedmontese were routed by the republican soldiery, who were scarcely armed, and without shoes; and the pope soon trembled for his temporal sovereignty.

Pius the Sixth endeavoured then to levy troops; and to repair the penury of his treasury he issued billets, a species of payment whose circulation he forced by compelling the shopkeepers of Rome to receive them in exchange for specie. But the rapid march of the French surprised him in his preparations, and prevented him from putting his warlike plans into execution. The wary pontiff then feigned to wish to enter into an arrangement with General Bonaparte, and sent to him the Spanish ambassador, the chevalier Azara, to ask of him an armistice, and to offer to buy peace by ceding the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, the payment of a contribution of fifteen millions of francs, and the surrender of the master-pieces of art of ancient Greece and modern Italy, which adorned the galleries of the Vatican.

The armistice granted, Pius the Sixth, who had only thought of gaining time, and not of

fulfilling the conditions stipulated in his name, hastened to take advantage of the time to put his armaments in a state of activity. By his orders, legions of priests spread themselves through all the cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, and embittered the fanatical population against the French by furious preaching. In order to increase the enthusiasm of the devotees, he opened the treasuries of celestial liberalities, and promised, in a bull, forty thousand years of indulgences to all those who should aid in repulsing the republicans. The following was the tenor of this brief:

"To all our well-beloved and Catholic children, brethren in Jesus Christ: We order you, for the good of Christendom, to take up arms; and that no one may hesitate to accomplish our wishes, we inform you, that by virtue of our sovereign power, we grant forty thousand years of indulgences to those who shall range themselves under our banner, and celestial beatitude to those who shall have slain only one of our enemies! . . ." Independently of these machinations, his holiness was careful to send emissaries to the emperor of Austria, to obtain succours.

Bonaparte, informed of what was going on, immediately informed the court of Rome, that he would at once commence hostilities, if the pope did not stop his intrigues, and at once fulfil his engagements with the republic. Pius the Sixth appeared resigned to obedience; he assembled in an immense gallery the tableaux destined for the ransom of Rome; he drew from the castle of San Angelo all the money which remained in the famous treasury of Quintus the Fifth; he constrained the churches, convents, pious houses, and congregations to surrender to him their ornaments and precious vessels which were not absolutely necessary for the celebration of divine service; he compelled all his subjects to surrender their plate, and even searched their houses for precious stones, golden ornaments, and even the rings of the women. When he had accumulated in his treasury all the wealth of his people, he informed the French general that he was ready to satisfy the republic.

The commissaries of the directory went immediately to Rome, to receive the pledges of the capitulation, and inform Pius the Sixth that it was the will of France that he should retract, disavow, and annul all bulls, decisions, sentences, censures, edicts, mandamuses and generally all writings emanating from the Holy See since the commencement of the revolution; that he should abolish the inquisition in all Catholic countries, and suppress the barbarous practice of castration on children destined to chant in the churches.

These conditions, which added nothing to the material part of the treaty and which were made for a humane end, appeared to excite the anger of the pope to the highest point. His holiness maintained that their only tendency was to deny his infallibility, to make him avow in the face of Europe, that he was an impostor, and that religion was only composed of absurd and odious practices.

He asked for a consultation with the sacred college, as to the measures he was to take under the circumstance. It was a new ruse to gain time and put off the fulfilment of the execution of the treaty, until the arrival of the Austrian troops would permit him to break openly with the republic.

In fact, as soon as it was known at Rome, that Austria had resumed the offensive, the priests recommenced preaching; the pope redoubled his activity to procure pecuniary resources; he altered the money; compelled the cultivators to sell their grain at a low price, and for paper billets to provision the troops; he organised a civic guard, built embattled guard-houses in all the quarters of Rome, and transformed the holy city into an arsenal. On all sides were seen but soldiers and carts laden with muskets, cannon, tents, and materials of all kinds. The enthusiasm communicated itself even to the Romans; contributions flowed into the apostolic treasury; gold, silver, jewels, provisions, beasts, all that they possessed, was placed at the disposal of the holy father. Several rich citizens raised bodies of troops at their own expense; the constable Colonna equipped an entire regiment of infantry; the banker Torlonia armed a company of cavalry; it was a sort of madness which had seized all their heads.

In order to produce this result, Pius the Sixth had employed great means. All the convents of the ecclesiastical states had received orders to set their madonnas to playing. In the villages the statues of the Virgin moved their arms, opened their eyes, raised their legs; in the cities the crucifixes sweated blood and oil; at Ancona St. Cyriacus uttered long bursts of laughter; at Rome the skulls of St. Peter and St. Paul sang hymns, and what was most extraordinary, most miraculous was, that in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and more than eighty thousand persons, a madonna walked, moved her head three times, rolled her eyes in their orbits, and uttered groans. These juggleries, executed by means of automata, alarmed the gross minds of the Romans, and raised the exasperation of fanatics to its height.

Pius the Sixth, had at last the satisfaction of seeing his execrable policy produce the results which he expected; on the day of the outbreak, bands of monks, sbirri, and misguided fanatics, surrounded the palace of the commissaries of the republic, and vociferated threats of death, which would have been without doubt executed, had it not of been for the interference of the chevalier Azara, the ambassador of Spain; repulsed from the palace of the ambassador, they spread howling through the streets of Rome, assassinating all the French they met to the cries of "Long live Mary! Long live Pius the Sixth!" they then went into the interior to accomplish their mission as executioners.

Fortunately new victories gained by Bonaparte over the Austrians, forced the pope to put an end to these scenes of carnage. Pius, fearful of drawing the French army to Rome,

wrote in haste to the general, to make protestations of his good intentions towards the republic. He at the same time sent a message to the emperor of Austria, to obtain the aid of ten thousand soldiers, and informed him that he had made excellent arrangements to organise a civil war in France; he also informed him, that he was amusing the republican commissaries, whilst awaiting the arrival of the Austrians, and that immediately on the junction of the two armies, he would replace the tiara of the popes with the casque of the Cæsars, display the famous labarum of Constantine, and march at the head of the soldiers to combat the proud Corsican and his brigands.

This letter fell most mal-appropriately into the hands of Bonaparte; the armistice was immediately broken off, the French army entered the territory of the church, and in fifteen days conquered half of it. It was hoped that the infamous Pius would then receive the just punishment of his knaveries and his crimes. It was not so; whether Bonaparte wished to take advantage of the occasion to resist the directory, who had ordered him to seize on Rome, or whether he thought the existence of the religious authority useful for his profound and secret designs, he stopped his march and proposed a negotiation, which was promptly accepted. His holiness sent as his plenipotentiaries to the French general, his nephew, the duke de Braschi, the marquis Camillus Massini, the cardinal Mattei and Monsignor Galoppi, with full powers to treat of peace. It was agreed between them and the general-in-chief of the army in Italy, that the Holy See should pay thirty-one millions of francs to the republic, should settle a pension on the family of the unfortunate Basseville, who was assassinated at Rome, should surrender Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and Modena for ever to France, and should receive a French garrison in Ancona. This arrangement signed, Bonaparte went immediately towards the Tyrol, leaving fifteen thousand men under the command of General Victor, to guard the conquered countries and see to the execution of the treaties.

Pius the Sixth again endeavoured to appease the storm; but these shocks, this incessant disquietude, and above all his debauchery with the beautiful dutchess de Braschi, his daughter, had given a fatal blow to his health, and a few days after the conclusion of the treaty of Tolentino, he fell so sick, that they began to think of giving him a successor.

His two bastards, Romuald and the duke de Braschi, hastened to lay hands on the treasures collected in the Vatican, and destined to pay the ransom of Rome. But as the citizens had exhausted all their resources to raise the millions demanded by Bonaparte, and were beginning to partake of the ideas of the French in regard to priests and kings, they rose at this new spoliation, went to the palace of the duke de Braschi, and forced him to leave the city to shun the popular vengeance. Unfortunately, the pope recovered, and things were restored to their former footing; only his

holiness dared not increase the taxes to satisfy the exigences of the treaty of Tolentino, and turned towards the clergy to replace the sums stolen by his nephews.

The priests, threatened in their property, turned immediately against the pope, cried out tyranny, called the people to revolt, accused Pius the Sixth of all the calamities which had fallen on Rome, and dared, in their sermons, to designate the holy pontiff by the names of stupid, incestuous, sodomite, and robber. They made a poor girl, named Labrousee, play the part of a prophetess, who announced publicly that the empire of the pope was approaching its termination; that heaven was tired of the reign of these infamous impostors, and that Pius the Sixth was about to be hurled from the throne of the apostle.

It was in the midst of these circumstances that Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the general-in-chief of the armies of Italy, arrived in Rome, to claim the execution of the treaties of Tolentino, and to demand the enlargement of all Italians who were incarcerated for their political opinions. As soon as this was known in Rome, the city changed its appearance as if by enchantment; the noblest enthusiasm succeeded to stupor. In an instant the streets, the public places, highways, were filled with crowds of people, who made the air resound with patriotic acclamations and with threats of death against Pius the Sixth; then this immense multitude, as if urged on by the same inspiration, rushes to the Transteverine quarter and spreads the tri-coloured flag amid cries, a thousand times repeated, of "Huzza for liberty! Huzza for France!"

These manifestations, these cries, these menaces, exasperate the old pope, he wishes to reason with those Romans, who had been accustomed, for so many ages, to bow the head cowardly beneath the yoke; he wishes to try, by an act of cruelty, to retain the power which is escaping from him, and orders his sbirri to charge the people. The soldiers of the execrable Pius fall on the citizens, massacre women, children, and old men, beat down the flying with their balls, cover the streets with dead bodies, pursue the unfortunate who had taken refuge in the palace of the French embassy, and transform that inviolable asylum into a field of carnage. Joseph Bonaparte, General Duphot, and the officers of the embassy immediately rushed forward to stop the massacres. At the sight of them, the rage of the sbirri appears to redouble, and the officer who directs the butchery, cries out in a loud voice, "Kill, kill, these are French." At the same moment, General Duphot falls mortally wounded by a ball; the commissary and the officers only escape the same fate by retreating up the staircase of the palace. At length the ambassadors of the foreign powers, warned by an express, hasten thither with their suites, and come in time to disengage the representatives of the republic, and prevent new assassinations.

The chevalier Azara, in the name of the

diplomatic body, went at once to the Vatican, to address energetic remonstrances to the pope on the atrocity of his conduct; but the infamous Pius feigned extreme surprise; swore on a crucifix that he had given no order, and even dared to say that he was entirely ignorant of all that had passed in the city, since he had been shut up in his oratory for several hours, occupied in praying to God for the republic. Joseph Bonaparte, indignant at such an excess of impudence and hypocrisy, informed him that he would quit Rome, unless he at once obtained satisfaction for the murder of General Duphot. Fourteen hours passed by without any ecclesiastical officer presenting himself in the name of his holiness to announce to him that he would proceed against the guilty. The ambassador then executed his threat and departed for Florence.

It was not in Rome only that the pontiff had organised massacres against the French and their partisans; on almost the same day, like scenes took place in the principal cities of the states of the church, and in Venice; at Verona, especially, the priests had shown a boldly ferocious cruelty; not only were several thousand inoffensive men murdered by their orders, but, shame for ever on those wretches, they led bands of assassins into the hospitals, who tore from their beds four hundred sick or wounded French, who were all pitilessly stabbed or thrown into the Adige.

The people of Italy at last opened their eyes to the crimes of Pius the Sixth, and commenced joining the republic; at Milan, the indignation which the conduct of the pope excited, produced an explosion in all circles and in all assemblies. Every where were heard cries of "Death to the pontiff assassin, vengeance for the French, our liberators." An Italian patriot even pronounced a public discourse, in which he expressed the wish, "That the Tiber would soon roll its majestic waves amidst a free people, and that the blood of a pope would purify the earth from eighteen centuries of crime, shame, and servitude."

General Berthier, charged with avenging the republic on the attempts of Pius the Sixth, marched on Rome at the head of his troops, and passed through the states of the church with as much security as if he had been traversing French departments; he was every where received with transports of joy. In vain did the cardinals, priests, and all the black cohorts of monks and Jesuits endeavour to kindle the fanaticism of the populace; their voices found no echoes: in vain did saints and madonnas move their arms and legs, roll their eyes, and sing psalms; no one rose against the republican army. Nay, Berthier had not yet arrived beneath the walls of Rome, when the citizens had already proclaimed their independence, and planted the tree of liberty before the capitol and in all the public places.

As soon as the French columns appeared, a deputation went to meet them, to announce to the general that free Rome opened its gates to the regenerators of nations. Berthier immediately entered the city, in the midst of

an incredible number of citizens, to the sound of trumpets, accompanied by his staff, a hundred soldiers of the different regiments of cavalry, and the grenadiers of his army. When he arrived at the foot of the capitol he halted, and pronounced the following discourse before an immense auditory: "Manes of the Catos, Pompeys, Ciceros, and Brutuses, receive the homage of the free French, in that capitol in which you have so often defended the rights of the people, and illustrated the Roman republic. The children of the Gauls, with the olive branch of peace in their hands, come to this august place to restore the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus! Are you Romans, who come to reconquer your lawful rights? recollect your glorious ancestors, cast your eyes on the sacred monuments which surround you, and resume your ancient greatness, and the virtues of your fathers."

Frenzied acclamations replied to the address of the republican general. After this imposing ceremony, Berthier returned to his camp. Pius the Sixth, still shut up in the Vatican, wished to endeavour to disarm his formidable foe; he sent the most eminent persons of his court to him to treat of peace, and obtain a favourable capitulation. But the firmness of Berthier soon dissipated the illusions of the pope; the general refused to receive the deputation; he informed the envoys that he no longer recognised the sovereignty of the pope, and that he only admitted the delegates of the Roman republic to his presence.

The citizens had already constituted a government on the model of the ancient constitutions of Rome, had appointed seven consuls, decreed the downfall of Pius the Sixth, and brought some cardinals to trial as spoliators and peculators. Assured of the assistance of France, after the reply of the republican general to the overtures of the pope, the new heads of the Roman government proceeded to acts of high justice. They placed seals on the museums, galleries, and all the precious objects which decorated the churches, to place them beyond the reach of the rapacity of the pontiff; they sold for the benefit of the state the statues and vases which adorned the splendid villa of Cardinal Albani, and the palace of Cardinal Busca at Santa Agatha dei Monti, two prelates who had shared in all the robberies committed by the bastards of the pope; they expelled several cardinals from Rome; threw into prison Doria, the secretary of state, the politico Antonelli, the astute della Somaglia, with their worthy acolytes Borgia, Caranda, Roverella, Carandini, Vincenti and Mattei, to have them judged by the tribunals. The famous Abbe Maury, who had been made a cardinal by Pius the Sixth, as the price of services rendered to despotism, was fortunate enough to get out of Rome and escape public vengeance. As for the pope and his two bastards, the people, always great, always merciful, pardoned their lives and contented themselves with taking from them their rich domains, the palaces, and the trea-

asures stolen from the nation, or acquired with the public funds.

The dutchess de Braschi, that shameless courtesan, doubly incoestuous with her brother and her father, the wife of one, and the mistress of the other, was treated with still more indulgence; the consuls left with her a part of the ornaments and precious stones given her by the pope, and exiled her to Tivoli, where she consoled herself in the arms of another lover for the ruin of her family.

All these catastrophes had cast the pope into a despondency, which amounted almost to idiocy. At last the governor of Rome, General Cervoni, inflicted the last blow on him, by informing him officially that the people had reconquered their rights, and that he was no longer any thing in the government. "And my dignity," exclaimed the pope, anxiously, "what becomes of it?"—"It will be preserved to you," replied the general, "and a pension of two thousand Roman crowns is granted to you to maintain your rank."—"And my person, what is to become of it?"—"It is safe," replied Cervoni, "and they even grant you a hundred men for your guard."—"I am still pope then," exclaimed the holy father, with a strange laugh. The governor of Rome having retired, the old audacity of the pontiff seemed to rekindle. He called to him his chamberlain and his attendants, and prepared with them plans for new Sicilian vespers, in which were to be engulfed all the French, and all the partizans of the new government. Fortunately, they were apprised of what was going on, and made arrangements to arrest the execution of these criminal plans.

The removal of Pius the Sixth was one of these measures. In vain did the old pope, who saw all his plans thus disconcerted, wish to protest against the violence which was done him, and which tore him from his people and his duties; he was placed in a carriage with his physician, his steward, and his cook, and driven towards Tuscany. He was first placed in the convent of St. Augustine of Sienna, where he remained three months. He lived there peaceably, and almost forgotten by the world, when an extraordinary event, an earthquake, shook the asylum which had been given him, and destroyed some of the walls of the building. Although he had incurred no danger, since, at the time of the catastrophe, he was walking in the gardens of the city, he was so alarmed that he was unwilling to re-enter the convent. They placed at once at his disposal a country house, called "The Lower Regions," which induced sarcasms of the irreligious, and made them say, that the holy father was at last in his place. Some time afterwards he was transferred to the grand chartreuse of Florence, where he remained three months.

But in his exile, the old pope had not renounced the hope of being avenged on the French; from the depth of Tuscany he organised insurrections, and Rome soon became the theatre of frightful massacres. Bands of

fanatics, led by priests and monks, with a crucifix in one hand, and a torch in the other, traversed the streets and the public places; the French fell every where, assassinated by blessed daggers, to the shouts of "Huzza for Mary! Huzza for Pius the Sixth!" The Italian patriots were cast into the Tiber; a whole company of the guard of the Vatican was surprised, and murdered to the last man. It was difficult to foresee where these assassins would have stopped, if General Vial had not marched against them at the head of his troops, and seized the most mutinous.

Those who escaped from the republican general fled to the country, and excited the fanaticism of the inhabitants of Albano, la Riccia, Genzano, and Villettri, and returned towards Rome with a body of six thousand men. They even dared to give battle to the French. The engagement took place at Frattocchi, but it was not of long duration; at the first charge they fled and yielded the field of battle.

His holiness was not content with creating embarrassments to the republic in the heart of Rome itself; he laboured to excite enemies to it in the other parts of Italy. In concert with England, he intrigued through his agents with the imbecile Ferdinand the Fourth, king of Naples, and his shameless wife, Marie Caroline, and induced them to declare war on the French nation.

The king of the Two Sicilies was for a short time victorious; Rome, destitute of troops, fell into the power of the Neapolitans; the French, pressed on all sides by an innumerable army, were compelled to retreat. But they soon took their revenge under general Championnet; the enemy were in their turn driven back, even to Naples, and constrained to surrender. Ferdinand the Fourth was hurled from the throne, and the Parthenopean republic proclaimed.

His eminence, Cardinal Ruffo, the minister of the king, and the indefatigable agent of ultra montanism, then threw himself into the Calabrias, excited insurrections among the ignorant inhabitants of these countries, hoisted the white cross as a signal for a crusade against the republicans, distributed indulgences and blessings, raised an army of brigands, and marched on Naples at the head of his bands.

The French, attacked by sea and land, were again obliged to retreat, and the Neapolitan patriots were compelled to capitulate to the royal army. They did not, however, surrender until they had obtained permission to leave the kingdom with their property. As soon as Cardinal Ruffo entered the capital, shame for ever on him! shame on Ferdinand the Fourth and Marie Caroline! shame on England and Admiral Nelson, in contempt of a treaty clothed with the royal seal, guaranteed by the representative of Great Britain, that execrable priest arrested all the citizens suspected of republicanism, and had them judged by a special tribunal called the Junta. As many as three hundred executions were counted in a day; and as if this commission

of executioners was not yet enough to exterminate the unfortunate Neapolitans, who had given in their adherence to the Parthenopean republic, Ruffo excited his barbarous Calabrese to pillage, incendiarism, rape, and murder, and transformed the opulent city of Naples into a vast plain of carnage.

Pius the Sixth learned, with indescribable transports, the success of his machinations, and being unable to restrain, in his heart, the joy which he experienced, he addressed a brief to all Christian bishops, to announce the triumph gained over the enemies of the church, and also to announce that the time was near in which the papacy would sally forth, radiant, from the dungeons in which it had been crucified in his person. His holiness called on the priests of all countries to draw near kings, to aid them with their counsels, their prayers, and if necessary, with their arms, in order to bring back the people beneath their sway, and to put an end more promptly to the revolutionary hydra.

The holy father felt so satisfied of a rapid change in his fortune, that he recalled his nephew the duke de Braschi to him. The handsome minion, who knew that his uncle had considerable sums, and a large quantity of precious stones, hastened to Florence, took advantage of his state of suffering, which prevented him from rising, and stole his treasures; then, on the news that the directory, tired of the incessant efforts of the pope, had

determined to transfer him to France, he fled from Tuscany like a thief, with the gold and precious stones of his uncle. Pius the Sixth left Florence in charge of the commissioners of the republic, and went towards Turin; he crossed the Alps, and arrived at Valens, in Dauphiny, which had been designated as his place of exile.

By order of the directory he was installed in the apartments of the governor of the citadel; they showed him all the attention which a free people never cease to bestow on an enemy whom they have conquered; they even permitted him to form a court of all his servants, and the priests who had accompanied him; but nothing could console the old pope in his exile; the last ingratitude of his cherished bastard had inflicted a terrible blow on him. Moreover, the resources of life were singularly used up by age, debaucheries, and excesses at the table; a paralysis, which had at first fallen on his limbs, extended to his entrails, and freed the earth, on the 29th of August, 1799, of the last pontiff of the eighteenth century.

Alas! God had not yet decided, in his immutable decrees, the ruin of the execrable institution of the papacy; after Pius the Sixth, other pontiffs were yet to sit on the dishonoured chair of the apostle; sacrilegious hymns were yet to resound beneath the roofs of the Vatican, and tyrants celebrate the triumphal march of despotism over liberty.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

### PIUS THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

*Conclave at Venice—Bonaparte, consul, has the monk Chiaramonti chosen pope, by the name of Pius the Seventh—Origin of the new pontiff—His republican doctrines—He calls the first consul the eldest son of the church—He gives the same title to the count of Provence—Knavery of the holy father—Concordat of 1801—Pius the Seventh re-establishes the Jesuits in Russia—Catholic reaction in France—Organization of the episcopal sees—Publication of the organic articles—The pope protests against this addition to the concordat—Divisions among the French prelates—Political changes in France—Bonaparte is proclaimed emperor of the French by the name of Napoleon the First—Pius the Seventh receives orders to come to Paris to consecrate him—Cowardly obsequiousness of the holy father to Bonaparte—The pope wishes to canonise one of the relatives of the emperor—Ridiculous pretensions of the sovereign pontiff—Rupture between the altar and the throne—Return of Pius the Seventh—He becomes the most bitter foe of Napoleon—Letters of the emperor to his holiness—The French take military possession of the holy city—Pius the Seventh is deprived of his temporal sovereignty—The pope excommunicates the emperor—His holiness is conducted a prisoner to Savona—The red and black cardinals—National council—Concessions of the holy father—Pontifical brief—Pius the Seventh is conducted to France—He signs a new concordat at Fontainebleau—Retraction of the pope—His holiness rejects the concordat he had granted by virtue of his infallible power, and declares that he acted under the inspiration of the spirit of darkness—Napoleon sends the pontiff back into Italy—Bull for the solemn re-establishment of the Jesuits throughout Europe—Fall of the emperor—Return of the Bourbons into France—Pius the Seventh sends to compliment Louis the Eighteenth—Provisional arrangement for the Gallican church—Religious persecutions—Death of the pontiff.*

THE nineteenth century opened under the most favourable auspices for the people; kings, who for so many years had ruled the nations by fear, were, in their turn, trembling on their

tottering thrones; priests, who for fourteen centuries had reigned despotically over consciences, to the misfortune of mankind, were reduced to conspire in the dark; the papacy, that fatal and monstrous institution, which had been the cause of so many calamities, so many disasters, so many persecutions, found itself, since the death of Pius the Sixth, on the eve of being completely annihilated. But men were not yet sufficiently freed from superstition, and the triumph of liberty was yet deferred.

Bonaparte, consul, who had already thought of covering his brow with the diadem of Charlemagne, and foresaw the moment when he would need a new Leo the Third to consecrate him, collected together the scattered stones of the pontifical Babel, which the republic had dispersed, and rebuilt it. Twenty days after his advent to power, thirty-five cardinals assembled in Venice, to put an end to the vacancy in the Holy See, and to give a new head to the church.

Each power intrigued as usual to have one of its creatures appointed, and sought to assure itself of the votes; France succeeded, either because it was most skilfully served, or paid best. After a hundred and four days of discussion and strife, Cardinal Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti carried it, and was proclaimed pope on the 4th of March, 1800, by the name of Pius the Seventh.

The new pontiff was only fifty-eight years old; he came from Cesena, and was the son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti and the countess Ghini. His parents had entered him when very young into the order of the Benedictines. Afterwards Pius the Sixth, who was allied to his family, had raised him in succession to the dignity of abbot, bishop of Tivoli, then of Imola, and, finally of cardinal. In these different positions he had given proof of extreme flexibility of opinions; thus, after having been an extravagant partizan of absolutism, he had suddenly turned to liberalism; and on the occasion of the enclosure of his diocese in the Cisalpine republic, had pronounced a superb homily, in which he proved, by relying on texts of scripture, that in order to be a good Christian, one must be a democrat. The wary cardinal had foreseen that, by affecting liberal sentiments he assured himself of the protection of France, and prepared the way to the pontifical throne.

Having become pope, he pursued the crafty policy which had procured him the tiara; he exhausted all forms of adulatory thanks to the consul Bonaparte, for the assistance he had afforded him; he proclaimed him the chosen of God, the surpassingly just. As we may suppose, all these base flatteries had an interested purpose; it was to obtain the interference of France to constrain the emperor of Germany to permit him to leave Venice, and renounce his plan of establishing the Holy See at Vienna.

The first consul listened favourably to his requests, and informed Francis the Second, that he must place no obstacle in the way of

the departure of Pius the Seventh. His holiness embarked, reached Pesaro, and took the road for Rome. The French no longer occupied the apostolic city, and had been replaced by the Neapolitans. The pope thought it was good policy to have protectors on both sides; and, to make his court to the Bourbons, he hastened to inform the count of Provence, officially, of his exaltation, giving him the title of "King of France and eldest Son of the Church." Then, on the news that the first consul had crossed the Alps, and was invading Italy a second time, at the head of a formidable army, he wrote to him, gave him also the title of "Most Christian Prince, eldest Son of the Church," and opened the first negotiations in relation to the famous concordat, which was definitively concluded in the following year, on the 15th of July, 1801.

By this convention, Pius the Seventh transferred to the head of the French government the rights and prerogatives which the ancient kings had enjoyed near the Holy See; he even authorised the priests to take the oath of fidelity to Bonaparte, without troubling himself farther about the divine right of the fallen dynasty. The pope only reserved to himself the canonical institution of the bishops, in order to be able to paralyse the action of religion in France, so as to suit his interests. The first consul had the weakness to accede to this clause, either because he did not foresee all the consequences, or because he wished, by this compliance, to assure himself of the devotion of Pius the Seventh to further his ulterior designs. It is true, that as a compensation, his holiness placed the French clergy at the feet of the conqueror, and imposed on the priests an obligation to reveal to the government all the conspiracies of which they should obtain a knowledge; that is to say, should envelope the royalists in a vast net, and use religion as a kind of sacred espionage.

The concordat was scarcely signed, when Pius the Seventh entered openly on the path of Catholic reaction, re-established the company of the Jesuits in Russia, and sent the good fathers into France, by the name of the Adorers of the Sacred Heart, and Associates of the Faith. Converts reappeared, professed houses were reopened, and from them were launched forth thousands of fanatics, commissioned to degrade and subjugate the people.

His holiness had been too fast in his work; the mass of the nation was alarmed at the efforts of the clergy, and pronounced so energetically against a return to Catholic superstitions, that the consular government was obliged to defer the publication of the concordat concluded with the Holy See, until the 13th of April, 1802. Bonaparte having had time, in the interval, to reduce men to submission to him, the pope was enabled to employ himself about the reorganization of the high clergy of France.

Out of a hundred and thirty-five episcopal sees which existed before the revolution, fifty-four were vacant in consequence of the death or renunciation of the titularies, and many

others in consequence of the voluntary absence of their pastors, who had refused to take the civic oath, and had emigrated. In the conquered countries of Germany, Flanders, and Savoy, out of twenty-four dioceses, ten were also vacant from like causes. The sovereign pontiff addressed a bull to the constitutional bishops, and the prelates who had not taken the oath, to hand in their resignations, and consent to a new election for the interest of the church. The sworn-in pastors obeyed, and deposited their powers in the hands of the consuls. It was not so with the rebel bishops who had fled to foreign countries, and who regarded themselves as martyrs: they refused to adhere to the measures commanded by the court of Rome, and called the pontifical bull violent and irregular. Pius the Seventh went on, declared all the old churches suppressed, and promulgated a decree which authorised a new division of the territory of the republic into ten archbishoprics, and fifty-nine bishoprics. He then sent the cardinal Caprara, as his legate a latere, to Paris, with the most extensive powers, to regulate, in concurrence with the minister of worship, Portalis, all that had connection with religion.

His eminence had an audience of the first consul on the day succeeding his arrival. Immediately afterwards he went to work to deliver the bulls of canonical institution to the prelates designated by Bonaparte. Things went on very smoothly; the exercise of the Catholic worship was solemnly re-established in France, and the legate, as a token of satisfaction, published an extraordinary jubilee, that the faithful might be enabled to purchase pardon for their faults. A very small number consented to encourage the traffic in indulgences; the majority of the nation remained indifferent; some energetic men, who were sincerely devoted to their country, even dared to blame the conduct of the first consul. General Lannes, amongst others, said on this occasion, "Bonaparte steepers himself in the holy water. Holy water will drown him."

He was not long in discovering the capital fault he had committed in becoming dependent on the court of Rome. The concordat was scarcely promulgated when he sought to regain, gradually, the authority of which he had deprived himself so improperly, by publishing organic articles, which were none others than the four propositions of the French clergy, and the maxims of the Gallican church contained in the pragmatic sanction. These articles rendered the authority of the government indispensable for the publication of bulls, briefs, and rescripts from Rome, as also for the lawful exercise of the powers of nuncios, legates, and envoys from the Holy See; they authorised a recourse to the council of state in case of abuse of power by the pope; rendered vain all exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and forbade the instruction of the four celebrated articles of 1682. His holiness, irritated at seeing the first consul place obstacles in the way of his plans of absolute sway, protested against the organic articles as hostile to

religion, and contrary to the doctrines of the church, and secretly fomented divisions among the French clergy. Thirty-six bishops, at his instigation, drew up a protest against the measures taken by government in regard to the diminution of the old number of bishoprics; they protested forcibly against the subjugation of the spiritual power to the temporal authority; they lashed as apostates the prelates who accepted them, and excommunicated them; they even attacked the apostolical bulls, and drew up a manifesto in favour of the rights of Louis the Eighteenth to the throne, rights, they said, he held of God, and which imposed on the French, by virtue of the religious law; rights from which nothing could free them. These positions, called canonical, were intended to weaken the oath of fidelity to the established government, to excite a schism in the church, and to revive the old pretensions of the popes over France; but the hypocritical Chiamonti had to do with a more skilful man than himself, and was to succumb in the strife.

Bonaparte, who, since the 18th of Brumaire, had had himself appointed successively first consul, consul for life, and finally, emperor, instead of addressing recriminations to him concerning the conduct of the bishops, simply informed him through Cardinal Fesch, his uncle, the ambassador of France at Rome, that he desired his holiness to start at once for Paris, to come to consecrate him in his capital. The pope, not daring to resist the wishes of the new Cæsar, assembled the consistory, informed the cardinals of his determination to cross the Alps, appointed Gonzalvi to replace him in the political government of Rome, and left the apostolic city on the 2d of November. At Turin he found several persons, sent by Napoleon to increase his train, and render his journey more imposing. He arrived at Fontainebleau on the 26th, where the emperor awaited him. He remained there several days to recruit, and on the 28th of November started with Napoleon to make his entrance into Paris. The refractory bishops imitated the conduct of the pope and submitted.

On the day appointed for the consecration, Pius the Seventh went to the church of Notre Dame, clothed in a cape glittering with precious stones, the tiara on his head, escorted by a numerous clergy, and preceded, according to the Roman usage, by an officer carrying the sacred slipper on a cushion, which excited the mirth of the Parisians, and greatly injured the gravity of the cortege. He had by his side two assistant cardinal deacons, the cardinal Braschi, the nephew of Pius the Sixth, and the cardinal de Bagano; a little in advance were the cardinal bishop Antonelli and the cardinal deacon de l'Évangile Casselli. His holiness was conducted to one of the thrones, which had been erected in the interior of the nave, to wait for the emperor. As soon as his majesty entered, the ceremony commenced. Napoleon placed himself on his knees to receive, with the empress, the sacred



anointing ; he then rose, and without waiting for Pius the Seventh to crown him, took the diadem from his hands, placed it on his head, and then crowned Josephine.

On the day succeeding this grand solemnity, Chiaramonti, who cherished the secret hope of making his compliance advantageous for the interests of the Holy See, claimed the abolition of the organic articles. Napoleon did not show any disposition to sacrifice the rights of his crown to his gratitude, and refused to yield to his desires. Pius was not rebuffed, he returned to the charge, and in order to carry the matter, set to work a means which he regarded as infallible. He proposed to the emperor to canonise a poor fellow, called brother Bonaventure Bonaparte, who had died in a convent some hundred years before. To the great astonishment of his holiness, Napoleon, instead of being touched by the illustrious honour which he desired to confer upon his family, protested against the ridicule which would fall upon him, and declared that he should oppose, with all his might, the making a saint out of the monk Bonaventure. This second refusal greatly indisposed the pope against his host ; but he dared not show his secret sentiments, on the contrary, he affected to lavish on him more than ever testimonials of his friendship, and on the mere proposal of Portalis, minister of worship, he granted the hat of a cardinal to Cambaceres, as well as to du Belloy ; he then erected Ratisbon into the metropolis of all Germany. It is true, that the minister had consented, in exchange, to grant some claims which he had drawn up in a memoir, and which were eleven principal ones :—"The abolition of divorce, as incompatible with the principle of indissolubility of marriage taught by the church ; the absolute inspection by the bishops over the morals and conduct of the clergy who were dependent on them ; means for the Catholic clergy to live decently, and to maintain for themselves the interest of the sacerdotal caste ; the renewing of the old laws concerning the celebration of Sundays and feast days ; the exclusion of public education from all married priests or devotees ; the submission of the French clergy to the judgments of the Holy See ; the restoration of the religious establishments and congregations which the revolution had abolished ; allowances for the Lazarists, the seminary of foreign missions and that of the Holy Spirit ; and finally, an equivalent in money for the abbey of Clairac, given to the Holy See by the renegade, Henry the Fourth, at the time of his last abjuration."

Several of these things were immediately granted to his holiness, others were put off to a more remote time. These first concessions induced the pope to draw up a new memorial on the political affairs of Italy. In this singular piece Pius the Seventh claimed the post of administrator of the patrimony of St. Peter, with the possession of the apostolic domains, which were annexed to the territory of the French empire, or to that of the Italian republic, and to ex-

cite the generosity of the conqueror, he wished on him all the forms of the most servile adulation. Napoleon remained insensible to this excess of degradation ; he did not even reply formally to Chiaramonti, and contented himself with replying to him, through his minister, that he would never consent to dismember his empire, still less to diminish the territory of a people who had given it to him, in order to increase the dominions of an ambitious priest. And without troubling himself any more about Pius the Seventh, he left Pius, crossed the Alps, and was crowned king of Italy at Milan.

Though disappointed in his pretensions, Chiaramonti was unwilling to go from France without leaving upon its soil traces of his passage. At his voice cohorts of Jesuits sprang from beneath the earth, formed themselves into a society by the name of the Fathers of the Faith, and spread themselves through all the provinces. His holiness then retook the route to his dominions ; but on removing from the capital, he carried with him a profound, implacable hatred, the hatred of a priest against the emperor. He gave proofs of it on the very day of his arrival at Rome, by anathematising the maxims of the Gallican church, by the confirmation of the bull "Auctorem Fidei," and by associating himself with the policy of the cabinet of St. James.

Napoleon replied to the pontifical bulls by imperial decrees, and by dismembering the Roman states piecemeal. His holiness, exasperated, summoned the eldest son of the church to declare, if it was his intention to despoil him of all his provinces. The emperor informed him, by his ambassador, that he was aware of the intrigues of the pontifical court, and that he would not respect the dominions of St. Peter, unless Pius the Seventh would drive the English from his ports, and give in his adhesion to the continental blockade. The pope, to whom such a measure was very disagreeable, and who dared not, however, enter upon an open struggle with the French, objected that religion imposed on him the duty of maintaining a neutrality, and of not closing his kingdom to foreigners.

To close all discussion, Napoleon placed garrisons in the ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and gave to his brother Joseph the kingdom of Naples, the principalities of Beneventum and Ponte Corvo, which were included in it ; he then informed the pontiff that he wished him to crown the new king of the Two Sicilies. Chiaramonti still refused to comply with the wishes of the emperor, pretending vain scruples of conscience. But the true motives for his conduct were the refusal of Joseph to receive the crown of Naples in the capacity of a vassal of the Holy See, and the hope that he entertained of seeing his enemy crushed by the combined forces of England, Russia, and Austria. The famous battle of Austerlitz, gained by the French, destroyed his illusions. He then sought to regain the good graces of Napoleon, and addressed crafty congratulations to him on his

new victory; the emperor replied to him, that "if he did not wish to expose himself to a severe chastisement, he must walk in a straight line, shun the maze of politics, and not ally himself with heretical powers which were incapable of protecting him."

"All Italy," added Napoleon, in another letter on the same subject, "will be submissive to my law; but I will not touch the independence of the Holy See. I will even repay the expenses which the movements of my army have cost it, on condition that your holiness will have the same regard towards me in temporal affairs, that I have towards you in spiritual, and then you will put an end to useless overtures to heretical enemies of the church, and to powers that cannot do you any good. You are the sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor. All my enemies must be yours. You must not then permit any agent of the king of Sardinia, nor any Englishman, Russian, or Swede to reside at Rome, nor in your dominions, nor any vessel pertaining to those powers, to enter your ports. I will still have for your holiness, the filial deference which I have shown to you under all circumstances; in return, you will remember that I am accountable to God for the good of the people. How then can I, without grief, see religion compromised by the delays of the court of Rome, by miserable pretensions? How will they answer to God, who show so much zeal in patronizing marriages with protestants, and wish to oblige me to unite the members of my family with heretics? How will they answer to God who retard the expediting of the bulls of my bishops, and give up my dioceses to anarchy? It was six months before the prelates could enter upon the exercise of them, and it might have been arranged in eight days.

"In the affairs of Italy, I have done every thing for the bishops; I have consolidated the interests of the church; I have touched nothing spiritual, neither at Milan nor Naples, nor in any of the cities over which my power is extended. I do not decline intercourse with men endowed with a true zeal for religion, and converse with them; but since God has committed the maintenance of religion to me, I will act without the court of Rome, if it remains in guilty inaction. If your holiness had followed the advice I gave you at Paris, the religion of Germany would be organised, and not be in the bad condition in which it is. In that country, and in Italy, all would have been arranged in concert with the Holy See and properly. But I cannot permit a thing to languish for a year which might be done in fifteen days. It was not by sleeping that I have carried to so high a state the clergy and public worship, and reorganised religion in France, so that there is no country in which it is doing so much good, or is more respected, or enjoys more consideration. Those who hold any other language deceive you and will be the cause of great evils . . ."

Instead of listening to the voice of reason, and giving satisfaction to the emperor for his

just complaints, the pontiff fell into a fit of rage on the receipt of this letter. He immediately assembled the consistory, and announced to the cardinals that he was about to engage in a terrible strife with France, and that he would not cease from it, until he had trampled the cockatrice beneath his feet.

Napoleon, as his only reply, sent troops, who took military occupation of Rome; he then incorporated the soldiers of the pope into his own regiments, seized the control of the posts and the press, sent off the foreign cardinals, in defiance of the protest of the sacred college, and had them conducted without the states of the church. His holiness, still more exasperated, sent a comminatory brief to the emperor, threatening him with pontifical thunders, if he did not hasten to recall his troops and implore pardon for his past conduct. Napoleon punished his presumption by annexing to the kingdom of Italy the handsomest provinces of the church, the March of Ancona, the dutchy of Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino.

This vigorous action quieted the pope; for some months the court of Rome dared not make any hostile manifestation to France; but soon, on the news of the embarrassments of Napoleon in his war with Spain, the old audacity of Pius the Seventh reappeared, and intrigues were renewed with more activity than ever between the cabinets of St. James, Vienna, and the Quirinal palace. In consequence of these intrigues, the war was rekindled in Germany.

Napoleon darted with more rapidity than light, to chastise his enemies, gained the victories of Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmuhl, over the Austrian troops, and entered Vienna on the 13th of May, 1809. On the 17th, he issued his famous decree which declared the states of the church reunited to the French empire.

As soon as this measure was known at Rome, the holy father became violently enraged; he vociferated the most horrid imprecations against the emperor, France, the Italians, the English, all Christian nations, friendly or hostile, who had seconded him in his wars, or who had not conquered in the combats. When he had exhaled his anger in powerless threats, he thought of awakening the fanaticism of the people, and fulminated a bull of excommunication against Napoleon. His attempt was again foiled; the Italians remained indifferent; his manifesto only served to show to Europe into what discredit the thunders of the Vatican, so terrible in the hands of Gregory the Seventh, had fallen; independently of the disgrace which the pope experienced in this matter, he had the mortification to be taken from his palace and led into exile in the city of Savona.

A few days afterwards he learned that Napoleon, the conqueror of the Austrians at Wagram, had signed a treaty with Francis the First at Schonbrunn, and had imposed, as the first condition of peace, his marriage with the archduchess Maria Louisa, the eldest daugh-

ter of the emperor. This news took from Pius the Seventh his last hope; still he did not yield. Armed with the concordat of 1801, which gave him the right to confer the episcopate in France, he continued the war against Napoleon. The latter then discovered the enormous fault which he had committed in recognising the interference of the pope as necessary in the appointment of bishops; but it was too late, the conqueror of kings was constrained in some sort to obey a fanatical old man, and to leave several episcopal sees vacant, to which Pius the Seventh refused to give his sanction.

Serious divisions resulted from this among the high dignitaries of the clergy, and especially among the cardinals. Thus, on the celebration of the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa, thirteen members of the sacred college, out of twenty-six who were at Paris, did not present themselves at the ceremony, under the pretext that the holy father had not authorised the divorce of the emperor from Josephine, and in reality to make their court to Pius the Seventh, the sole dispenser of places and benefices.

To put an end to this ridiculous strife, Napoleon determined to send the following declaration to the holy father through one of his prefects: "In accordance with the orders of his imperial and royal majesty, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation, etc., we are charged to notify Pope Pius the Seventh, that he is prohibited communication with any church of France, or any subject of the emperor, under penalty of disobedience on his part and theirs; warning him that he ceases to be the organ of the Catholic church, and that his majesty is about to have him deposed."

Napoleon, in fact, thought seriously of assembling a national council to judge the pope, abolish the concordat of 1801, and establish, in a dogmatic manner, the rights of metropolitans in regard to the institution of bishops. His holiness, restored to moderation by the imminence of the danger, then offered to make concessions, consented to enter into negotiations with the French envoys, and drew up a note, in which he offered canonically to constitute the bishops named by Napoleon; to extend the French concordat to Tuscany, Parma, and Placenza, and to insert in a private act a clause which legitimised the installation of bishops by the metropolitan or the oldest prelate of the province.

These concessions not having satisfied the emperor, the bishops received orders to hold a council on the 17th of June, 1811. Several preparatory meetings took place before the solemn session; what strangely surprised Napoleon, was the violent opposition manifested in it to his edicts. He was ignorant, that it was the habit of the clergy, in its spirit of rule, to turn against their protectors the authority they have been imprudent enough to grant them. Perceiving then that a majority of the bishops was imbued with ultramontane maxims, he closed the council at its first session, and arrested the bishops of

Tours, Ghent, and Tournay, who had openly declared themselves to be the agents of Pius the Seventh. This proceeding rendered more docile a new meeting of the prelates which took place in the palace of the archbishop of Paris on the 5th of the following August; the fathers there decided the question in regard to episcopal institution, in compliance with the desires of the emperor. It was supposed that his holiness would oppose the principles of the Gallican church; it was not so; he declared that the opinion of the prelates was in accordance with his own; he joined to his brief, instructions concerning the manner in which bishops should conduct themselves in conferring the institution of the metropolitan, and passed high eulogiums on the fathers for the wisdom they had evinced in so delicate an affair. He even went further, and addressed a private letter to Napoleon, called him his most dear son, emperor and king, lavished on him the most fulsome epithets, and terminated by entreating him not to oppose a reconciliation. He, however, avoided touching on the causes which induced his disgrace, and particularly on the extension Napoleon wished to give the concordat, by applying it to the provinces of the French empire, to Rome itself, to the states annexed to the kingdom of Italy, to Holland, Hamburg, and the Rhenish provinces. The wary pontiff had calculated that such a step would not compromise his position, and would force his enemy to set him at liberty; his hopes were deceived; the emperor did not reply to his letters, and sent the bishops to their respective dioceses without taking the trouble to close the council.

Napoleon then had on hand more serious subjects of apprehension than the subjugation of a pope; he was engaged in immense preparations for war, and in his gigantic plan for the invasion of Russia. But before commencing this brilliant and disastrous campaign, he sent orders to the court of Turin, to transfer the holy father into France. His holiness made no protest, started with an escort, and arrived on the 20th of June, 1812, at Fontainebleau, which had been fixed upon as his place of residence. The princes of the church who dwelt at Paris, and were called the red cardinals, were permitted to go and make their court to him; the black cardinals, so called because they had been deprived of their purple by the emperor for having refused to be present at his marriage with Maria Louisa, were alone excluded.

After the unfortunate retreat from Moscow, Napoleon returned to France, and was immediately occupied with resuming negotiations with the pope. He went to Fontainebleau, and fixed the basis of a new concordat, which was acceded to by his holiness. The principal conditions were, "That Pius the Seventh should exercise spiritual functions in France and Italy, as his predecessors had done; that ambassadors and other envoys near the Holy See, should be regarded as members of the diplomatic body; that the pontifical domains not then alienated, should remain the pro-

party of the pope, and should be administered by his agents; that he should be allowed for the alienated domains, a revenue of two millions of francs; that the emperor should have six months to nominate to the vacant sees; that the metropolitans should make the necessary inquiries into the merits of the nominee; that the pope should institute him in the six months following the notification; that, neglecting this, the right of investiture should revert to the metropolitan or oldest bishop of the province; that the propaganda, the penitentiary, and the archives should be established in the place where the pope was sojourning; that the latter should renounce the sovereignty of Rome, and consent to transfer the Holy See into France." The two contracting parties solemnly signed the treaty on the 25th of January, 1813. Festivals were given in celebration of this happy event, and Pius the Seventh embraced Napoleon, although he was not yet relieved from his excommunication. This agreement was of short duration; the cardinal ministers having been set at liberty, and having received permission to join the pope, the intrigues recommenced. Pacca and Gonzalvi frightened the pontiff about the consequences of the concordat which he had signed, and induced him to take an extreme resolution, to protest against his own acts, to revoke what he had done, to afford to the Christian world the scandalous sight of a pope giving the lie to his own infallibility.

His holiness then wrote to the emperor on the 24th of March, that is, two months after the signing of the concordat, to inform him of his new determination. "It is the spirit of darkness, it is Satan, who prompted to me all the articles of that concordat! . . . The most bitter repentance, the greatest remorse, rend my soul, which has neither truce nor peace; I retract, as Pascal the Second retracted the promises he had made to Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany; and I protest that I will not agree to any treaty until I am restored to all my rights, spiritual and temporal. . . ."

Napoleon, irritated at the very bad faith of the pontiff, paid no attention to this declaration, and issued a decree to maintain the concordat. This measure would, without doubt, have led to great disorders in the church, and produced a schism, if political events had not turned aside the general attention from ecclesiastical affairs.

For the fifth time, the foreign sovereigns, subsidised by the gold of England, had formed a new coalition, and were preparing to invade France. Hordes of Russians, Austrians, English, Prussians, Swedes, Hollanders, Danes, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Portuguese had united to crush the great nation, and formed several armies, whose total amounted to more than eleven hundred thousand men. Napoleon, perceiving the necessity of not leaving a fire place of discord in the heart of the empire, and being unable to conquer the obstinacy of the pope, authorised his return to Rome.

His holiness had scarcely arrived in his

states when great changes took place in France. Napoleon had succumbed; the Bourbons had returned at the rear of the baggage waggons of the foreign armies, and Louis the Eighteenth was enthroned at the Tuilleries. Pius the Seventh hastened to write to the new king to congratulate him on his happy advent. After this he persecuted the Italian patriots who had sided with the French; he condemned some of them to banishment, others to the galleys, most to death. The fanatical priests also thought of having a festival after their own fashion, in honour of the return of the holy father; they preached a crusade against the republicans, distributed holy daggers to murder the heretics, and in their furious excitement, designated the Israelites to public vengeance, and demanded from the pope authority "to eat a roast Jew." The interference of the ambassadors of the powers were necessary to prevent the cannibals from executing their horrible plan. The Israelites saved their lives, but not their fortunes. His holiness confiscated their property, overloaded them with imposts, and shut them up like a herd of unclean animals, in a separate quarter called "Ghetto."

Pius the Seventh was then engaged in an act which the satellites of despotism regarded as most important, the restoration of the odious Society of Jesus. He published for this purpose, on the day of the octave of the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola, the following bull: "The Catholic world, with one voice, demands the re-establishment of the Jesuits; it recognises the abundant fruits which these apostles have produced in every country. . . . The dispersion of the very stones of the sanctuary in these last periods of calamities, the annihilation of the discipline of the religious orders, the glory of the Catholic religion, exact that we should yield to the wishes of the whole people by reorganising this sacred militia. We should believe ourselves guilty before God of great dereliction of duty, if in the great dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the aid which the special providence of Christ grants us; and if placed in the bark of St. Peter, agitated and assailed by continual tempests, we refused to employ vigorous and experienced rowers, offering of themselves to break the waves of a sea which each moment threatens the papacy with shipwreck and death. . . . Induced by such powerful motives, we have decreed, of certain knowledge, by virtue of the plenitude of our apostolic power, and as lasting for ever, that all the concessions, privileges, faculties, and rights granted to the Jesuits of the Russian empire, and of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall hereafter extend to the use of our ecclesiastical states, and also to all those of other kingdoms. . . ."

This bull was immediately sent to France, with the wax candles for Candlemas day, which his holiness sent to the royal family; but in the interval singular events had transpired. Napoleon had left the island of Elba, which had been assigned to him by the allies for his residence, had disembarked on the

shores of France, and reconquered his throne. The Bourbons had fled in disgrace from Paris, and had gone towards Ghent. The sovereign pontiff was extremely alarmed on learning this unhopèd-for return of Bonaparte to power; no longer believing himself in safety at Rome, he hastened to leave it with his court, and went to Genoa. There he received a letter from the emperor, which was a model of wisdom and mildness.

"Most holy father," wrote Napoleon, "you have heard during the last month of my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and of the departure of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events ought, however, to be known to you; they are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its rights and its duties. The dynasty which foreign bayonets imposed on the French people was no longer made for it. The Bourbons have been unwilling to associate themselves in sentiments, wants, and morals with them; the people determined to separate from them. Their voice called a liberator; I hastened to them. From the moment I touched the shore, the love of my people has carried me to the bosom of the capital. The first care of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French; my sweetest thought is to render it at the same time useful to the tranquillity of Europe.

"Enough glory has by turns illustrated the flags of the different nations; the vicissitudes of fate have sufficiently made great reverses succeed great successes; a more beautiful arena is now opened to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the sight of great combats, it will be sweeter to know hereafter no other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, no other strife than that of the happiness of the people. France is pleased to proclaim sincerely this noble end of all its wishes; jealous of its own independence, the invariable principle of its policy will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations. If such are, as I believe, the paternal sentiments of your beatitude, tranquillity is assured for a long period, and justice, seated on the confines of different states, will alone be sufficient to guard the frontiers."

Such were the sublime sentiments which animated the great soul of Napoleon, but which were not shared by the allied kings. Thus the war recommenced more terribly than ever. England made desperate efforts, subsidised, with all her means, hostile armies, opened her treasures for treasons of all kinds, and then cast a million of men on the French territory. The battle of Waterloo put an end to this struggle; Napoleon, defeated, not by fortune, but by the treason of his generals, abdicated the crown and surrendered to the English; magnanimous imprudence, which he paid for with his liberty, his life. The wretches, in contempt of the laws of nations,

dared to retain him a captive, to conduct him to a rook in the midst of the seas, in a fatal climate, to torture, to assassinate him.

On the first news of the reverses which the armies of the emperor had experienced, his holiness returned in triumph to Rome; as soon as he was installed in the Quirinal palace, he appointed ambassadors to go to compliment Louis the Eighteenth, on his return to France. The cardinal legate, Hercules Gonzalvi, and the sculptor Canova, were sent on this mission; they were at the same time to present to the allied sovereigns, briefs to obtain the entire restitution of the provinces of which the pope had been despoiled, as well as the pictures, statues, and objects of art which had been carried off from the museum at Rome; they were also to solicit the recall of the Jesuits into France. All these things were granted to the sovereign pontiff. The provinces were soon invaded by swarms of the black disciples of Ignatius Loyola; at Bourdeaux, St. Anne, Forcalquier, Montmorm colleges were opened under the direction of the good fathers; shortly after, their number was increased by all those who were driven from Russia by Alexander, and who fell upon Dole, Laval, Vitry, Avignon, and especially Paris.

Pius the Seventh, satisfied of the submission of Louis the Eighteenth, supposed that he could push his encroachments still farther, and presented to him a concordat, based upon that of Leo the Tenth with Francis the First, that is to say, which made France retrograde three centuries. The king signed it, but did not wish to make it obligatory on his clergy, either from not caring to place himself beneath the feet of a spiritual father, who had so long treated him as a younger son, or from fear of the refusal of the sanction of the legislative chamber, in which all regard for the public good was not extinguished.

His holiness, still more encouraged by the success of these efforts to go on, intrigued actively at the Congress of Vienna, and was placed in possession of the three provinces, the March of Ancona, Macerata, and Zermo, of the dutchies of Camerino, Beneventum, and Ponte Corvo, as well as the provinces of Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara, known by the name of the three legations, and even claimed some cities of this last legation situated beyond the Po, as well as the city of Avignon, and the Venaisin country.

The fatal influence of the court of Rome was already extending itself over the different kingdoms of Europe; the senate of Savoy had received its atrocious old laws, and restored the afflictive and infamous penalties of barbarous ages against blasphemers; Bavaria had signed a concordat with the pope; the emperor had done the same for the kingdom of Poland; the king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand the Seventh, was forced to grant compensations to the Holy See for the suppression of the disgraceful tribute of a hackney; the protestant princes of Germany found themselves vigorously pressed, solicited, and threatened to permit the Jesuits to enter their

dominions; from all quarters, was at last announced the restoration of the papacy. Fortunately, the Catholic and protestant princes of the states of the Germanic confederacy were alarmed by the progress of the court of Rome. To avoid a collision, they arranged among themselves the principle of unlimited freedom of worship, and proposed a concordat, established on this basis, to the pontiff. He refused to adhere, under the pretence that such a treaty would compromise his temporal and spiritual power; they went on, notwithstanding his censures. The holy father then walked with erect head in the path of reactions; he rallied around him the kings of the holy alliance, declared a terrible war against liberal ideas, fulminated excommunications against the democrats of France, the illuminati of Germany, the radicals of England, and the Carbonari of Italy; he persecuted liberal writers to the utmost, and even pushed his

vengeance so far as to persecute a venerable old man, the virtuous Llorente, the author of the History of the Inquisition of Spain, who had taken refuge at Paris. At the instigation of Monseigneur Macchi, the apostolic nuncio, the minister of police sent to this venerable octogenarian, already a great invalid, an order to quit France in a few days, though it was then mid-winter. Llorente obeyed, started, and died before reaching the frontier.

God struck the persecutor in his turn. On the 6th of July, 1822, Pius the Seventh fell in his chamber and broke his hip; all the aid of science could not cure him, and he died on the 20th of April, 1823, in the eighty-first year of his age, after having reigned twenty-three years, five months, and six days. His funeral was celebrated with the usual pomp, and his coffin was deposited, as usual, in the sarcophagus, in which the dead awaits the living pontiff.

## LEO THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1823.]

*Inclusive and exclusive factions in the conclave—Annibal della Genga is proclaimed pope by the name of Leo the Twelfth—His history before his exaltation—He excites the king of Spain to violent measures against the Cortes—Pastoral letter of the archbishop of Toulouse—Resistance in France to the progress of ultra montanism—Sickness of the holy father—He proclaims the opening of the universal jubilee—Churches of Germany, Switzerland, England, and Ireland—Encyclical letter of the pope—The Jesuits obtain the exclusive privilege of teaching in the states of the church—Death of Louis the Eighteenth—Advent of Charles the Tenth to the throne of France—Opening of the holy door—Speculations of the pontiff in indulgences—Fanaticism of the Jesuit missionaries in France—Considerable wealth extorted by the pope during the jubilee of 1825—Presents from his holiness to the royal family—The Jesuits persecute the liberal press—The last auto-da-fe celebrated in Spain—Knaveries of the priests in France—Miracle of the cross at Migné—Efforts of the Jesuits to seize on instruction in France—Struggle between them and the university—Ordinances against them—The Catholics of England and Ireland—Death of Leo the Twelfth.*

We think it useful, at a time when every thing is presaging the imminent ruin of the papacy, to explain the usages which govern the sacred college, and to transmit to posterity the regulations which are established for the elections of the head of the church, before they have fallen into forgetfulness. The cardinals are divided into three classes; the first comprises six cardinals, called suburban; these are the prelates of Sabine, Frascati, Porto, St. Rufinus, Veletri, Palestrina, and Albano; the second includes fifty cardinal priests, among whom are bishops of different nations; the third is composed of fourteen cardinal deacons; but this number of sixty-six princes of the church is never full; the sacred college usually contains from fifty-five to sixty members. The pope must, to procure an election, obtain one more than two-thirds of all the votes. On the opening of the conclave, the cardinals divide into two sections, called the inclusive and exclusive. The first, com-

posed principally of Italians, who are always in a majority, has for its aim to unite electors enough to choose a pope from among its number; the exclusive is formed of foreign prelates, and of those who have not yet sold their votes; by way of opposition, it endeavours to organise a minority to prevent the election. Moreover, France, Spain, and Austria exercise a right of exclusion, that is to say, they can reject a candidate who has obtained a majority, if he is not agreeable to them; but this right having been exercised once by each power, they are then compelled to accept the choice which is made.

Sixteen days after the death of Pius the Seventh, fifty cardinals entered the conclave to give him a successor. The intrigues, which had been very animated before the meeting of the sacred college, still continued for twenty-six days. At last the cardinal Annibal della Genga, prevailed over his competitors, and was proclaimed pope by the name of Leo

the Twelfth. The choice had fallen on a prelate only sixty-three years old, which appeared to be a departure from the habits of the cardinals, who usually elevated to the Holy See, out of preference, titularies who were bowed by age, and inclining to the tomb. But Annibal made up for this defect by languishing health and precocious infirmities, the fruits of the debauchery of his youth, which made them foresee that he would not preserve for a long time the deposit which had been confided to him.

The new pontiff was born in the diocese of Fabriano; his father was named Hilary Count della Genga, and his mother Louisa Periberti. His parents had made him embrace the ecclesiastical state in his youth, in which he was not long in raising himself to the highest dignities, by means of his intrigues with the Roman courtizans, and his liaisons with the bastards of the incestuous Pius the Sixth. He had obtained from that pope the title of archbishop of Tyre, and the nuncioship of Cologne. Under Pius the Seventh he had been accredited as nuncio extraordinary near the diet of Ratisbon, to defend the interests of the court of Rome, and was sent afterwards to Napoleon, to bring the powerful emperor of the French into the interests of the pope. In this last mission the prelate had been distinguished for his baseness and servility; he constantly loaded Napoleon with the most extravagant praises; called him the imperial hero, the new Charlemagne, the regenerator of the world; he proclaimed him to be the strongest among the great, the most glorious among the powerful, the predestined of God from all eternity. . . . Which did not prevent him, when fortune turned, when Napoleon was constrained to yield the throne to the Bourbons, from presenting himself at the court of Louis the Eighteenth, in the capacity of extraordinary nuncio, and congratulating him that the god of armies had led him, as it were, by the hand to the throne of his ancestors, to put an end to the tribulations of the Catholic church, that holy spouse of Christ, which had not ceased to lament over the evils caused by the usurper.

On his return to Italy, Annibal was promoted to the cardinalate, and obtained besides the post of vicar general to his holiness. He was already archpriest of St. Mary Majora, prefect of the congregation of the residences of bishops, of ecclesiastical immunity, and of the spiritual affairs of the Roman college and seminary, and was accumulating enormous benefices. He had acquired a very great influence over the mind of Pius the Seventh, and had contributed powerfully to restore the barbarous practices abolished during the sojourn of the French, the strappado, the rack, and the odious tortures employed by the holy inquisition.

Such were the antecedents of this fanatical priest. Having become pope, he wished to finish the work commenced by his predecessor, annihilate liberty, and cause civilization to retrograde to the ages of barbarism. He

addressed congratulations to the king of Spain, Ferdinand the Seventh, a knavish, cowardly, and perjured prince, in regard to his restoration, and to Louis the Eighteenth, for the aid he had lent that monarch in men and money, to induce the triumph of despotism. He then essayed to extend his influence over France, and excited the cardinal Clermont Tonnerre, archbishop of Toulouse, who was at Rome, to draw up a pastoral letter for his flock, which he could use as a pilot balloon, to enable his holiness to judge of the state of men's minds. The prelate, in his letter, asked for legislative modifications, so that the laws of the kingdom should be in harmony with those of the church, that is, should concur in subjugating and stupefying the nation. He demanded the restoration of solemn festivals, or Catholic rests; the restoration of a great number of religious orders of that monkish militia, which had for centuries weighed down the nation, devoured the substance of the people, and corrupted their morals. He also claimed the independence of the ministry, that is, that they should restore to the priests the rich domains which had been extorted from weak souls, and of which the republic had despoiled them; finally, he wished the suppression of the organic laws.

All France was in an uproar on the appearance of this pastoral letter. The writers of the opposition denounced it as encroaching on the constitutional liberties, consecrated by the charter, and used such energetic language, that Louis the Eighteenth was constrained to issue a royal ordinance, which declared this letter abusive, and suppressed it, as contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the prerogatives and independence of the crown.

In the mean while Leo the Twelfth fell sick, and so badly, that the cardinals hoped for a short time that he would yield to the attack; but he recovered, and after some months of convalescence, was enabled to resume the course of his apostolic labours. One of his first cares was to promulgate the bull "Quod hoc ineunte sæculo," which announced the opening of the universal jubilee, for the year 1825, in order to revive the trade in dispensations, indulgences, benefices, and absolutions, which had become much discredited since the French revolution. He also desired to make his influence predominant in protestant countries, now by allying himself with the people against the sovereigns, now by making common cause with the latter, according as his policy required. He succeeded, in this way, in producing serious collisions in the cantons of Berne, Geneva, and Vaud; in several German states, in Hanover, and in Ireland. He then attacked the philosophical and liberal schools, whose progress caused great inquietude to the Holy See, and denounced it to the vengeance of nations in an encyclical letter. His holiness thus expressed himself

"There is a sect, my brethren, who, arrogating wrongfully to themselves the name of philosophy, have rekindled from their ashes the dispersed phalanxes of errors. This sect,

covered externally by the flattering appearances of piety and liberality, professes toleration, or rather indifference, and interferes not only with civil affairs, but even with those of religion; teaching that God has given entire freedom to every man, so that each one can, without endangering his safety, embrace and adopt the sect or opinion which suits his private judgment. . . . This doctrine, though seducing and sensible in appearance, is profoundly absurd; and I cannot warn you too much against the impiety of these maniacs. . . .

"What shall I say more? The iniquity of the enemies of the Holy See is so increased, that besides the deluge of pernicious books with which they inundate Europe, it goes so far as to turn the religion of the holy scriptures to detriment. A society, commonly called the Bible Society, spreads itself audaciously over the whole earth, and in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, in opposition to the celebrated decree of the council of Trent, which prohibits the holy scriptures from being made common, it publishes translations of them in all the languages of the world. Several of our predecessors have made laws to turn aside this scourge; and we also, in order to acquit ourselves of our pastoral duty, urge the shepherds to remove their flocks carefully from these mortal pasturages. . . . Let God arise: let him repress, confound, annihilate this unbridled license of speaking, writing, and publishing—"

His holiness wished to create powerful auxiliaries for himself in the strife on which he was about to enter, and naturally thought of the Jesuits. He loaded the good fathers with honours and wealth, in order to attach them the more to his cause; he yielded and assigned for ever to the company and its general, Louis Fortis, the Roman college, with the church of St. Ignatius, several convents, the oratory called that of Father Caravita, the museum, the library, the observatory, and all the dependencies. He invested them, moreover, with the exclusive privilege of teaching, and published a constitution in regard to the mode of directing education in the ecclesiastical states.

Once entered on the path of reform, the fanatical Leo the Twelfth did not confine himself to the first regulations. He made edicts about the simplest things—about costumes, furniture, equipages, spectacles, balls. Rome soon assumed a lugubrious and funereal aspect, as in the time of the fierce Pius the Fifth, of sanguinary memory. The irksome ceremonies of religion replaced the most innocent pleasures; holy spies swarmed, night and day, through the city of the Cæsars, to surprise the delinquents, and watch over families. The pontifical censure extended as far as the toilette of the females. Severe penalties were inflicted on all the Roman ladies, who permitted their noble and graceful forms to be robbed in gauze. He even went still further, and mounted up to the source of the delinquency of coquetry, and prohibited mantua makers, seamstresses, and milliners from making

dresses low in the neck, under penalty of excommunication.

Whilst Leo the Twelfth was playing his part as pope at Rome, Louis the Eighteenth was finishing his reign, and leaving the throne of France to the count d'Artois, his brother, an old rake, who had become a hypocrite, a bigot recruit and ally of the Jesuits; the new sovereign took the name of Charles the Tenth.

Three months after this event, the jubilee opened; Leo the Twelfth went, as usual on Christmas eve, to the porch of the church of St. Peter in great state, covered with a mantle of silver, an emblem of the rich harvest on which he counted, he struck three times on the casing of the door, which fell inward and left a free passage to the imbecile devotees who desired to carry their offerings.

Although it was no longer in those fine times of the church in which the publication of the jubilee made so much wealth flow into Rome that the cellars of the Vatican could not contain it, still the pope had cause to be satisfied. The Jesuits knew admirably how to take advantage of the superstition of the Catholics. They organised missions, traversed the cities, villages, smallest boroughs, planted crosses, preached in the open air, fanaticised the populace, and every where extorted money from the faithful. Independently of these extraordinary means, Leo the Twelfth had conceived the idea, in order to increase his treasures, to set in vigour the taxes of the apostolic chancellery for the redemption of crimes, which had not fortunately succeeded with him. He was heard to say, on the occasion of this measure, to the cardinals who remonstrated with him on the danger of giving just pretexts to the enemies of the papacy to declaim against the abuse, "Bah! fear nothing; we will bring all the writers to reason. I act to-day with money for religion, in order to act to-morrow for religion with money."

In fact, he expended, generously, a very large sum in the purchase of a sword, and a cap ornamented with precious stones, which he sent to the stupid duke of Angouleme, the eldest son of Charles the Tenth. He joined to them, for the dauphiness, the silver mantle with which he had opened the holy door, as well as magnificent medals; and for Madame, the widow of the duke de Berri, the second son of the king, two cameos in agate, representing the Saviour and St. Peter, and two reliquaries containing, the one, a piece of the wood of the manger in which Christ was born; the other, a piece of the stone of the tomb of the chief of the apostles. There were very many at the court of France who were incredulous about these two last objects. The prince and princesses were, nevertheless, flattered by the presents of his holiness, and, in exchange, they promised to second Charles the Tenth with all their power in the war which he had declared against the press. They could only proceed, however, gently, on account of the universal repulsion which ultra montanism excited, and especially on account of the institutions of the country.



But in Spain things went on faster; the priests, not being restrained as in France, by constitutional laws, cast themselves with a species of fury on the path of Catholic reaction; the frightful inquisition, which had been re-established since the return of the fanatical Ferdinand the Seventh, confined thousands of victims in its prisons. The Jesuits went still farther; at Valencia they celebrated an auto-da-fe, and burned an unfortunate Jew, who was condemned as a relapsed heretic, with all the pomp used in the fine times of Ferdinand the Catholic and Philip the Fifth, under the terrible inquisitors, Torquemada and Don Diego Sarmiento de Balladarés. This atrocious execution took place in the beginning of the year 1826. Leo the Twelfth, to his disgrace, gratified with the plenary indulgences of a special jubilee those who had co-operated in or merely assisted at the punishment of the Israelite, and declared in his bull that the presence of a Catholic at an auto-da-fe, was equivalent to a hundred stations in a hundred different churches.

His holiness being unable to act in the same way in Germany and France, and impose silence on the incredulous through terror, was obliged to have recourse to other means; he ordered the Jesuits to perform miracles. A fanatical prince, who had embraced the ecclesiastical state, named Hohenlohe, was commissioned to perform cures in the different circles of the Germanic confederacy, and acquitted himself admirably. In France, where they feared lest too rigorous investigations should be made about the sick, the Jesuits acted differently; they chose a small hamlet, called Migné, in the diocese of Poitiers, which was inhabited by poor peasants, as the theatre of their miracles, and one night, at the close of the religious exercises, on the 17th of December, 1826, they made a phenomenal cross appear in the air. There being no one there to unmask the imposture, all those present were convinced of the existence of the prodigy, and cried out, a miracle. The clergy made a great noise about it, and used it to extend their moral influence. The pope, on his side, did not fail to show the lively interest which he took in the miracle, and sent to the humble church of Migné a golden cross, containing a piece of the true cross. From that moment the good fathers thought that every

thing was allowed them; they entered upon an open strife with the university, and sought to seize on the exclusive education of youth. The university defended itself, addressed energetic remonstrances to the deputies, and had the ministry of public instruction taken away from Count Frayssinous, bishop of Hermopolis, who was secretly affiliated to the congregation. The new minister, the grand master of the university, immediately commenced purging the primary instruction from those mitigated Jesuits, known by the name of Brothers of the Christian School; he then drew up a report to the king, to put an end to the encroachments of the Jesuits, and to have the execution of the laws of the kingdom assured, in all the secondary ecclesiastical schools. Charles the Tenth, forced to make a concession to public opinion, authorised the formation of a commission, to decide on the measures to be taken to make clerical instruction accord with political legislation, and the maxims of the French public law. This commission came to a kind of agreement, and yielded several points to the university, in order to obtain permission for the Jesuits to have a certain number of colleges freed from the supervision of government. Fortunately, the chamber of deputies refused to ratify this arrangement, and decided that all the colleges kept by the good fathers, should be submitted to university regulations, especially those of Billom, Aix, Bourdeaux, Dôle, Forcalquier, Montmorillon St. Anne d'Auray, and St. Acheul; and, moreover, that no one could hereafter be employed either in directing or teaching, in a house of education, which was dependent on the university, or even on the secondary ecclesiastical schools, unless he first declared in writing that he did not belong to any religious congregation.

Leo the Twelfth wrote at once to the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, to console them for the check they had experienced; he at the same time addressed strong remonstrances to Charles the Tenth, on his weakness, and enjoined on him to try a stroke of state policy in defence of the altar.

The holy father had not the happiness to see his wishes hearkened to; he soon afterwards became very ill, and breathed his last on the 10th of February, 1829, about ten o'clock in the morning.

## PIUS THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1829.]

*Election of Pius the Eighth—History of Cardinal Castiglioni before his elevation to the throne of the apostle—Synodical letter of his holiness—Revolt of the inhabitants of Imola—Catholic emancipation in Ireland and England—O'Connell, the first Catholic admitted into the house of commons—He demands the repeal of the union and a separate parliament for his own country—Pius the Eighth recognises the usurper, Don Miguel, as the lawful sovereign of Portugal—Blasphemers put to the torture by the inquisition of Spain—Pragmatic sanction of the protestant princes of Germany—The Camarilla at the court of Charles the Tenth—French revolution—Fall and flight of Charles the Tenth—The duke of Orleans is proclaimed king of the French, by the name of Louis Philippe the First—His holiness refuses to recognise the new king—Negotiations on the subject—Death of Pius the Eighth.*

AFTER forty-nine days of vacancy in the Holy See, and thirty-six days of struggles and intrigues in the conclave, the cardinals united their suffrages on Francis Xavier Castiglioni, who was proclaimed pope by the name of Pius the Eighth.

The new head of the church was in his sixty-eighth year; he was born at Cingoli, a small town, situated near Orsino, in the states of the church, on the 20th of November, 1761. His parents, who had remarked in him, from his earliest youth, a supple, servile character, joined to much astuteness, had sent him to Rome, to remove him from them, and make a priest of him. This aversion, which Castiglioni inspired in his family, was the cause of his high fortune. Having entered on the ecclesiastical career, he made rapid progress in it. In the year 1800 he was made bishop of Monte Alto, a small city of the March of Ancona, by Pius the Seventh. In 1808 he obtained the hat and the bishopric of Cesena; in 1821 he passed into the order of cardinal bishops, and became the titular of the suburban see of Frascati; he was finally made grand penitentiary and prefect of the congregation of the Index. Having become sovereign pontiff, he considered it an honour to show that he would continue the policy of his predecessors, and would pursue the impious work of subjugating the people. He addressed the following circular letter to the bishops of Christendom, to inform them of his detestable intentions, and to excite them to lend him assistance.

"It is your duty, venerable brethren, to turn all your attention towards the secret societies of factious men, of fierce republicans, the declared enemies of God and kings, who apply themselves wholly to desolating the church, to destroying states, to troubling the universe, and who, by breaking the bridle of the true faith and passive obedience to princes, open the way to all crimes. We ourselves labour with all our might, that the church and public matters should not suffer from the attempts of these mysterious sects, who, by virtue of oaths of darkness, seek to hurl religion and empires into the abyss. But these are not the only dangers to which the altar and

the throne are exposed; the children of the age sap these two divine institutions by other means, which, if less violent, are no less dangerous. We speak of these innumerable errors which the press is scattering about, of those false and perverse doctrines which attack the Catholic faith, no longer secretly and in the dark, but boldly and openly. We say it weeping; yes, the roaring lions have cast themselves upon Israel; yes, they have united against God, against his Christ, and his ministers; yes, these impious have exclaimed, 'Destroy the church, destroy it even to its foundations.' It is thither that the dark manœuvres of the sophists of this age tend, of those philosophers who maintain that the Catholic religion is but a tissue of absurd falsehoods, of ridiculous superstitions, invented by corrupt, greedy, and impostor priests, in order to degrade the nations. We must, venerable brethren, pursue these dangerous sophists; we must denounce their works to the tribunals; we must hand over their persons to the inquisitors, and recall them by tortures to the sentiments of the true faith of the spouse of Christ."

The exhortations of his holiness awakened the zeal of the Italian prelates, and gave fresh alignment to the war against the liberals. The cardinal Justiniani, bishop of Imola, was distinguished among others by a display of excessive rigour, so that the populace interfered and rose in insurrection to put an end to his atrocities.

Other events, produced by very different causes, but which were equally favourable to the extension of the Holy See, were occurring in the kingdom of Great Britain; the Irish Catholics had constrained George the Fourth to decree their political emancipation, and to render them competent to sit and vote in the two houses of parliament, and exercise all civil and military functions, on the sole condition that they should take an oath of fidelity to the king, the state, and the protestant succession, and should abjure all fealty or allegiance to any foreign power.

The immediate result of the emancipation bill was to introduce into parliament the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, one of the most

rumours are circulated on this subject; that Gregory the Sixteenth is openly designated as the father of the children of Cajetanina, and that the disguised exile of a cardinal appointed to the legation of Ravenna is attributed to a fit of jealousy; that in the circles of the city an anecdote is related concerning a young nurse of Tivoli, remarkably handsome, attached to the family of the chamberlain, who had for a short time attracted the attention of his holiness; that the intemperance of the sovereign pontiff is publicly blamed; that he is accused of living like an epicurean, and of getting drunk every night on the wine of Orvieto, which he corrects, it is said, with champagne, to weaken it.

But what concerns us chiefly to know is, the species of religious crusade undertaken by the court of Rome against the new order of ideas; it is the redoubled audacity of the ultra montane clergy; it is the brutal appeal which the pope makes to force, to stifle the germs of liberty in the heart of the people of Italy; it is the execrable bull issued by Gregory the Sixteenth against the Israelites.

"All the Jews," says his holiness in this edict, "who reside at Ancona and at Sinigaglia, shall no longer receive Catholic nurses, nor engage Christians in their service, under penalty of being punished conformably with the pontifical decrees. All the Israelites shall sell, within three months, their moveable and immovable property, if they do not wish it sold at auction. None of them shall reside in a city without the authority of the government; in case of contravention, they shall be sent into their respective ghettos. No Israel-

ite shall sleep out of his ghetto, nor induce a Christian to sleep in that accursed enclosure, nor carry on friendly relations with the faithful, nor trade in sacred ornaments, nor books of any kind, under a penalty of a fine of a hundred crowns and of seven years imprisonment. The Israelites, in interring their dead, shall not make use of any ceremony, nor shall they use torches under penalty of confiscation. Those who shall violate our edicts, shall incur the penalties of the holy inquisition. The present measure shall be communicated in the ghetto, to be published in the synagogue.

"The chancellery of the holy inquisition, June 24th, 1843.

"Fra Vincenzo Salina, Inquisitor General."

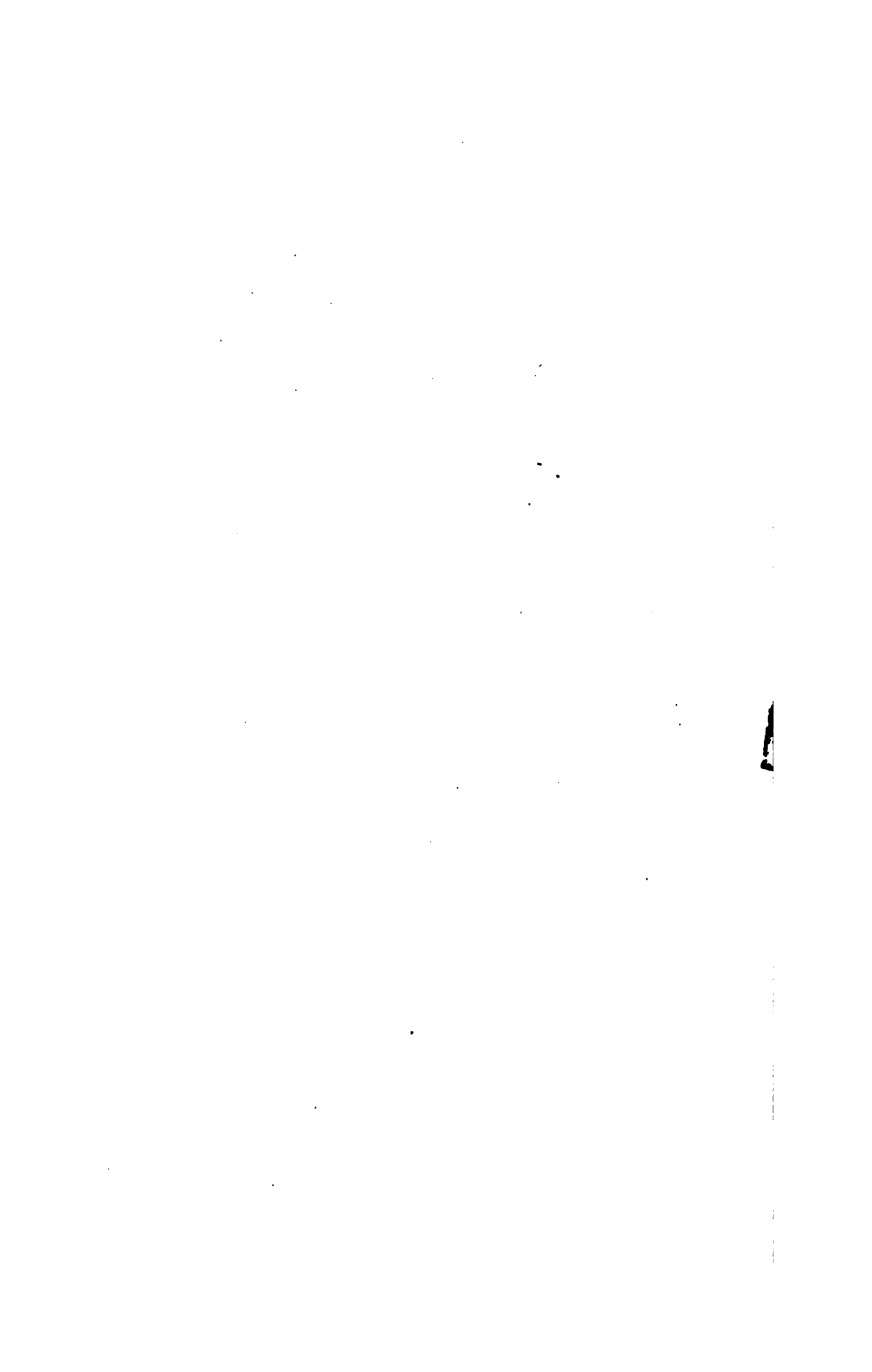
It is useful to explain the reason why his holiness speaks only of the Jews of Ancona and Sinigaglia in his bull; it is because in all the cities of the states of the church, these odious measures are rigidly executed; whilst in the legation of Ancona, since the recent occupation by the French in 1832, they had been abolished by General Cubières and his successor General Gazan, who had both, on this occasion, worthily represented France, and employed the temporary authority with which they were invested in that country, for the triumph of progressive ideas.

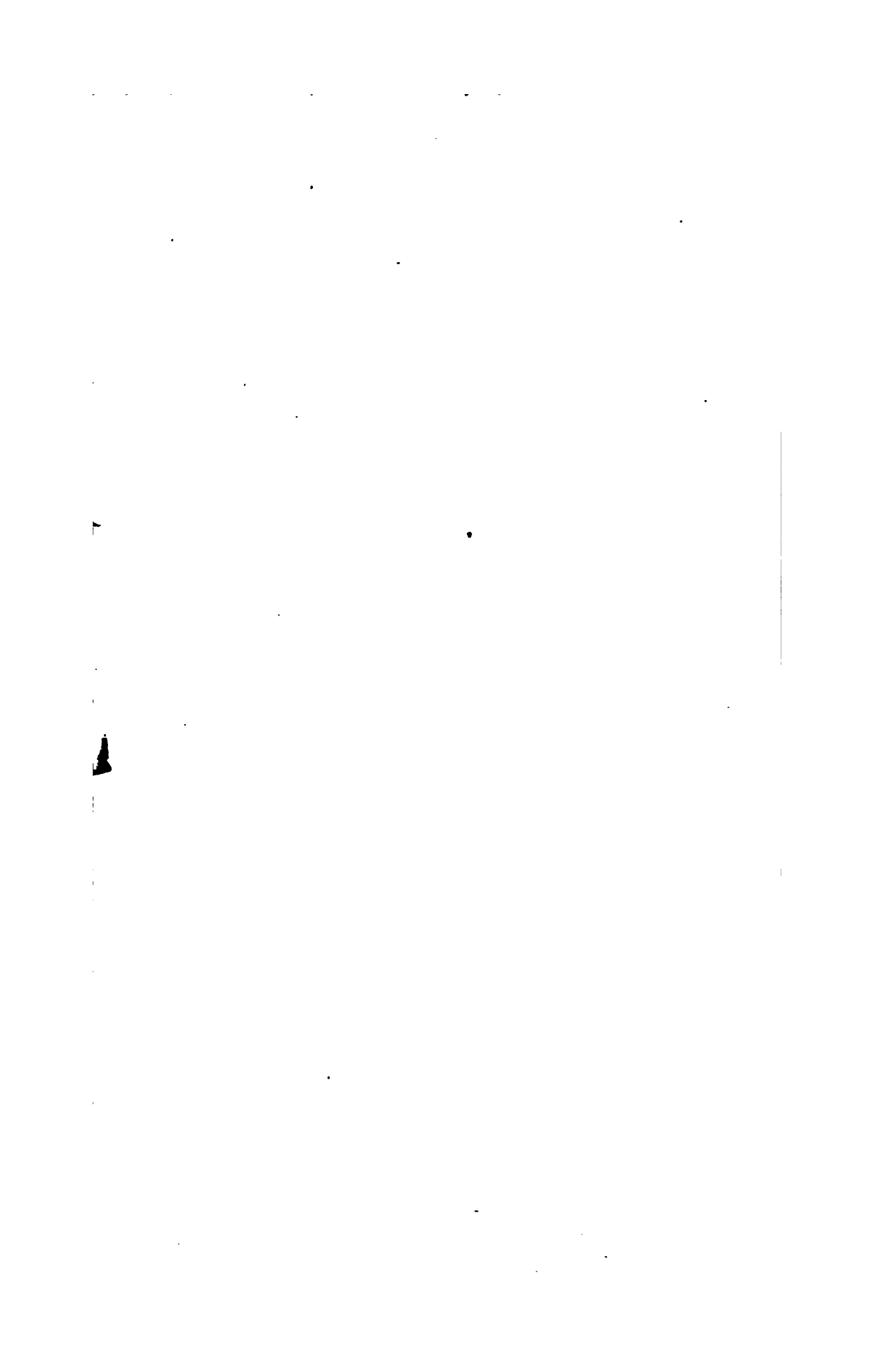
As is seen, it is the destiny of the papacy to drag itself in a miry and bloody track, to persevere in its struggle against the revolutionary movement, by teaching its detestable doctrines, by its furious attacks on civilization, until it shall have been crushed beneath the wheels of the car of liberty.

[While the preceding work was passing through the press, intelligence was received of the death of Gregory XVI. His demise took place on the 1st of June. He had been indisposed, but at the latter end of May was pronounced entirely recovered; and the suddenness of his demise, it is remarked in European journals, may give occasion to reports similar to those which sprung up upon the deaths of some of his predecessors.

His successor, Cardinal Mastai Ferreti, takes the name of Pius IX. He is only fifty-four years of age, and is therefore one of the youngest cardinals ever elected to the papacy. His election was over before the arrival of the foreign cardinals, the conclave lasting only forty eight hours. On the 21st of June, 1846, the coronation took place. Pius IX. is a member of a noble Italian family, and was born near Ancona. He entered the priesthood very young, and is said to be an able diplomatist.]—*Translator.*

THE END.







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