History of the Christian Church Vol V The Middle Ages AD 1049 - 1294

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HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum. Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME V.

THE MIDDLE AGES

From Gregory VII., 1049, to BONIFACE VIII., 1294

by

DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

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[1] Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church, (Oak Harbor, WA:

Logos Research Systems, Inc.) 1997. The material has been carefully

compared and corrected according to the Eerdmans reproduction of the

1907 edition by Charles Scribner's sons, with emendations by The

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preface.

It was the constant hope of Dr. Philip Schaff, the author of the

History of the Christian Church, that he might live to finish the

treatment of the Middle Ages, to which he had devoted one volume,

covering the years 600-1050. He frequently said, during the last years

of his life, "If I am able to accomplish this, my History of the

Christian Church will be measurably complete and I will be satisfied

then to stop." He entered upon the task and had completed his studies

on the pontificates of Gregory VII. and Alexander III., when his pen

was laid aside and death overtook him, Oct. 20, 1893. The two volumes

found lying open on his study table, as he had left them the day

before, Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying and a volume of

Hurter's Life of Innocent III., showed the nature of his thoughts in

his last hours.

Dr. Schaff's distinction as a writer on Church History dated from the

year 1851 when his History of the Apostolic Church appeared, first in

its original German form, Mercersburg, Pa., pp. xvi, 576, and Leipzig,

1853, and then in English translation, New York and Edinburgh, 1853,

1854. Before that time, he had shown his taste for historical studies

in his tract on What is Church History? translated by Dr. John W.

Nevin, Phila., 1846, pp. 128, and the address on the Principle of

Protestantism, which he delivered at his inauguration as professor in

the theological seminary at Mercersburg, 1844. This address was

published in its German form and in an English translation by Dr.

Nevin, Chambersburg, 1845.

Dr. Schaff continued his publications in this department with the issue

of his History of the Christian Church 1-600, in 2 volumes, N. Y.,

1858-1867. In the meantime, his attention had been called to the

subjects of biblical literature and exegesis, and his labors resulted

in the publication of the American edition of Lange's Commentary in 25

volumes and other works. In 1887 he issued his Creeds of Christendom in

3 volumes. Left free to devote himself to the continuation of his

History, which he was inclined to regard as his chief literary work, he

found it necessary, in order to keep abreast of the times and to

present a fresh treatment, to begin his studies again at the very

beginning and consequently the series, to which this volume belongs, is

an independent work written afresh and differing in marked features

from its predecessors. For example, the first volume, on the Apostolic

age, devotes an extensive treatment to the authorship and dates of the

Apostolic writings to which scarcely any space was given in the History

of the Apostolic Church of 1851 and the History of the Apostolic Church

of 1858-1867. The treatment was demanded by the new attitude of

scholarship to the questions presented by the Apostolic age.

Dr. Schaff lived to prepare six volumes of this new work, three on

early Christianity, one on mediaeval Christianity, and two on the

Protestant Reformation. It is of some interest that Dr. Schaff's last

writing was a pamphlet on the Reunion of Christendom, pp. 71, a subject

which he treated with warm practical sympathy and with materials

furnished by the studies of the historian. The substance of the

pamphlet had been used as a paper read before the Parliament of

Religions at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago. It was a great

satisfaction to him to have the Faculty of the Berlin

University,--where he had spent part of his student life, 1840-1841,

and which had conferred on him the doctorate of divinity in 1854,--bear

testimony in their congratulatory letter on the semicentennial of his

professorial career that his "History of the Christian Church is the

most notable monument of universal historical learning produced by the

school of Neander" (Life Of Philip Schaff, p. 467).

The further treatment of the Middle Ages, Dr. Schaff left to his son,

the author of this volume. It was deemed by him best to begin the work

anew, using the materials Dr. Schaff had left as the basis of the first

four chapters.

The delay in the issue of the present volume is due chiefly to the

requirements of study and in part to the difficulty in getting all the

necessary literature. The author has felt unwilling to issue the volume

without giving to it as thorough study as it was possible for him to

give. This meant that he should familiarize himself not only with the

mediaeval writings themselves but with the vast amount of research

which has been devoted to the Middle Ages during the last quarter of a

century and more. As for the literature, not a little of it has been,

until recently, inaccessible to the student in this country. At Lane

seminary, where the author was a professor, he found in the library an

unusually well selected collection of works on the mediaeval period

made fifty years ago by the wise judgment of two of its professors,

Calvin E. Stowe and the late George E. Day, who made tours in Europe

for the purpose of making purchases for its shelves. He also owes a

debt to the Rev. Dr. Henry Goodwin Smith, for some time professor in

the seminary and its librarian, for his liberal use of the library

funds in supplementing the works in the mediaeval department. In

passing, it may be also said that the Cincinnati Public Library, by

reason of a large permanent fund given more than a half century ago for

the purchase of theological works and by the wise selection of such men

as Professor George E. Day, is unusually rich in works for the

historical student, some of which may perhaps not be duplicated in this

country.

On removing to the Western Theological seminary, the author found its

librarian, Professor James A. Kelso, most ready to fill up the shelves

of the mediaeval department so that it now possesses all the more

important works both original and secondary. To the librarians of the

two Roman Catholic libraries of Cincinnati and to other librarians the

author is indebted for the courtesy of the free use of their

collections.

An explanation is due for devoting an entire volume to the middle

period of the Middle Ages, 1050-1294, when it was the intention of Dr.

Philip Schaff to embrace it and the third period of the Middle Ages,

1294-1517, in a single volume. It is doubtful whether Dr. Schaff, after

proceeding with his studies, would have thought it wise to attempt to

execute his original purpose. However this might have been, to have

confined the treatment of 500 years to the limits of a single volume

would have meant to do a relative injustice and, in the light of recent

study, to have missed a proper proportion. To the first 600 years,

1-590, the History devotes three volumes. Dr. Schaff intended to devote

three volumes to the Protestant Reformation, two of which he lived to

prepare. The intervening 900 years deserve an equal amount of space.

The period covered by this volume is of great importance. Here belong

the Crusades, the rejuvenation of monasticism by the mendicant orders,

the development of the canon law, the rise of the universities, the

determined struggles of the papacy with the empire, the development of

the Inquisition, the settlement of the sacramental system, and some of

the most notable characters the Christian Church has produced. No one

can fully understand the spirit and doctrinal system of the Roman

communion without knowing this period. Nor can any one, without such

knowledge, fully understand the meaning of the Protestant Reformation,

for the Reformation was a protest against the mediaeval theology and

mediaeval practices. The best evidence for the truth of the latter

statement is found in the work of the learned Dominican Denifle,

entitled Luther und Lutherthum, and the Protestant rejoinders to its

assaults.

A partial list of the more modern works show the amount of study that

has recently been spent upon this period. Among the great collections

of mediaeval documents, besides the older ones by Mabillon, Muratori,

and Migne, are the Monumenta Germaniae, intended to give an exhaustive

collection of mediaeval German writers, the series of collections of

the papal documents called the Regesta, edited by Jaff�, Potthast,

Auvray, Berger, and others, the Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis,

a collection of documents edited by Denifle and Chatelain of the

highest importance for the study of the university system, the Recueil

des Historiens des Croisades, the remarkable collection of mediaeval

sacred poetry edited by Dreves and Blume filling about 15 volumes, the

Boehmer-Friedberg edition of the Canon Law, and the Rolls Series,

containing the writers of mediaeval England. To such works must be

added the new editions of Schoolmen, Albertus Magnus by Borgnet,

Bonaventura by Peltier, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, and the

editions of such writers as Caesar of Heisterbach, De Voragine,

Salimbene, and Etienne de Bourbon. Among the recent students who have

made a specialty of this period are Giesebrecht, Gregorovius,

Scheffer-Boichorst, Karl Mueller, Hauck, Deutsch, Lempp, and other

Protestants of Germany, and among German Catholic scholars Doellinger,

Father Denifle, Ehrle, Knoepfler, Schwane, Schulte, Funk, and Felder.

In France we have R�musat, Haur�au, Chevalier, Vacandard, Sabatier,

Alphand�ry. In England and America, we have Dr. Henry Charles Lea, who

deserves to be mentioned first, the late Bp. Stubbs, R. L. Poole,

Rashdall, Bridges, the editors of the Rolls Series, such as Brewer and

Luard, and Prof. D. C. Munro, O. T. Thatcher, and Shailer Mathews.

Except in rare cases, the quotations are taken from the original works,

whether they were written in the Middle Ages or are modern discussions.

An exception is the History of the City of Rome by Gregorovius. It has

required severe discipline to check the inclination to extend the notes

to a far greater length than they have been carried, especially in such

chapters as those on the sacramental system and the Schoolmen. In the

tables of literature, the more important modern works have at times

been indicated by a star, \*.

In the preparation of the volume for the press, efficient aid has been

rendered by the Rev. David E. Culley, fellow and tutor in the Western

Theological seminary, whose literary and historical tastes and sober

judgment have been confirmed by studies abroad.

The second part of this volume, carrying the history from Boniface

VIII. to the Reformation, is in an advanced stage of preparation.

In closing, the author indulges the hope that Dr. Philip Schaff's

spirit of toleration may be found permeating this volume, and its

general historic judgments to be such as Dr. Schaff himself would have

expressed.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

The Western Theological Seminary,

Allegheny, Pa

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE PAPAL THEOCRACY IN CONFLICT WITH

THE SECULAR POWER.

FROM GREGORY VII. TO BONIFACE VIII.

A. D. 1049-1294.

THE FIFTH PERIOD OF CHURCH HISTORY.

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series containing the writings of the "Fathers, Doctors, and Writers of

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vol. 139.--Philip Labbaeus, S. J., d. 1667: Sacrosancta concilia ad

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see vol. IX. in print. Completed by Gabriel Cossart. This collection

has been used in places in this volume. --John D. Mansi, abp. of Lucca,

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Florence and Venice, 1759-1798. Extends to the Council of Florence,

1439. New facsimile ed. with continuation. Paris, 1901 sqq. Thus far 38

vols., 0-37, reaching to 1735.--L. A. Muratori, d. 1750: Rerum

Italicarum scriptores, 500-1600, 25 vols. Milan, 1723-1761, with

supplemental vols., Florence, 1748, 1770, Venice, 1771, in all 31

parts. Repub. and ed. by G. Carducci et V. Fiorini, Citta di Castello

1902 sqq.--Monumenta Germaniae historica, ed. by G. H. Pertz, d. 1870,

and his coeditors and successors, Wattenbach, B�hmer, etc. More than 50

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papacy.--Scriptores rerum Germanicarum for use in schools and drawn

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Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, ed. by Pertz, etc., in German

trans, 92 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1849-1892.--The Rolls Series, Rerum

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contains splendid edd. of William of Malmesbury, Roger of Wendover,

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II., 64-1143; vol. II. Lips., 1888 from Coelestin II. to Innocent III.,

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sqq. Many important documents were published here for the first

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For other works relating to the whole period of the Middle Ages, see

vol. IV. 1-4.

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� 2. Introductory Survey.

The fifth period of general Church history, or the second period of

mediaeval Church history, begins with the rise of Hildebrand, 1049, and

ends with the elevation of Boniface VIII. to the papal dignity, 1294.

In this period the Church and the papacy ascend from the lowest state

of weakness and corruption to the highest power and influence over the

nations of Europe. It is the classical age of Latin Christianity: the

age of the papal theocracy, aiming to control the German Empire and the

kingdoms of France, Spain, and England. It witnessed the rise of the

great Mendicant orders and the religious revival which followed. It

beheld the full flower of chivalry and the progress of the crusades,

with the heroic conquest and loss of the Holy Land. It saw the

foundations laid of the great universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford.

It was the age of scholastic philosophy and theology, and their

gigantic efforts to solve all conceivable problems and by dialectical

skill to prove every article of faith. During its progress Norman and

Gothic architecture began to rear the cathedrals. All the arts were

made the handmaids of religion; and legendary poetry and romance

flourished. Then the Inquisition was established, involving the theory

of the persecution of Jews and heretics as a divine right, and carrying

it into execution in awful scenes of torture and blood. It was an age

of bright light and deep shadows, of strong faith and stronger

superstition, of sublime heroism and wild passions, of ascetic

self-denial and sensual indulgence, of Christian devotion and barbarous

cruelty. [2] hristianity and civilization in the thirteenth and the

opening years of the fourteenth century, when the Roman Church was at

the summit of its power, and yet, by the abuse--of that power and its

worldliness, was calling forth loud protests, and demands for a

thorough reformation from all parts of Western Christendom.

A striking feature of the Middle Ages is the contrast and co-operation

of the forces of extreme self-abnegation as represented in monasticism

and extreme ambition for worldly dominion as represented in the papacy.

[3]

The papal theocracy in conflict with the secular powers and at the

height of its power is the leading topic. The weak and degenerate popes

who ruled from 900-1046 are now succeeded by a line of vigorous minds,

men of moral as well as intellectual strength. The world has had few

rulers equal to Gregory VII. 1073-1085, Alexander III. 1159-1181, and

Innocent III. 1198-1216, not to speak of other pontiffs scarcely second

to these masters in the art of government and aspiring aims. The papacy

was a necessity and a blessing in a barbarous age, as a check upon

brute force, and as a school of moral discipline. The popes stood on a

much higher plane than the princes of their time. The spirit has a

right to rule over the body; the intellectual and moral interests are

superior to the material and political. But the papal theocracy carried

in it the temptation to secularization. By the abuse of opportunity it

became a hindrance to pure religion and morals. Christ gave to Peter

the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but he also said, "My kingdom is not

of this world." The pope coveted both kingdoms, and he got what he

coveted. But he was not able to hold the power he claimed over the

State, and aspiring after temporal authority lost spiritual power.

Boniface VIII. marks the beginning of the decline and fall of the papal

rule; and the seeds of this decline and fall were sown in the period

when the hierarchy was in the pride of its worldly might and glory.

In this period also, and chiefly as the result of the crusades, the

schism between the churches of the East and the West was completed. All

attempts made at reconciliation by pope and council only ended in wider

alienation.

The ruling nations during the Middle Ages were the Latin, who descended

from the old Roman stock, but showed the mixture of barbaric blood and

vigor, and the Teutonic. The Italians and French had the most learning

and culture. Politically, the German nation, owing to its possession of

the imperial crown and its connection with the papacy, was the most

powerful, especially under the Hohenstaufen dynasty. England, favored

by her insular isolation, developed the power of self-government and

independent nationality, and begins to come into prominence in the

papal administration. Western Europe is the scene of intellectual,

ecclesiastical, and political activities of vast import, but its arms

and devotion find their most conspicuous arena in Palestine and the

East.

Finally this period of two centuries and a half is a period of imposing

personalities. The names of the greatest of the popes have been

mentioned, Gregory VII., Alexander III., and Innocent III. Its more

notable sovereigns were William the Conqueror, Frederick Barbarossa,

Frederick II., and St. Louis of France. Dante the poet illumines its

last years. St. Bernard, Francis d'Assisi, and Dominic, the Spaniard,

rise above a long array of famous monks. In the front rank of its

Schoolmen were Anselm, Abelard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas,

Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus. Thomas � Becket and Grosseteste are

prominent representatives of the body of episcopal statesmen. This

combination of great figures and of great movements gives to this

period a variety of interest such as belongs to few periods of Church

history or the history of mankind.

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[2] Dean Stanley, Sermons and Addresses in America, p. 220, speaks of

the "grace of the Middle Ages and their hideous atrocities."

[3] The ideas are expressed by the German words Weltentsagung and

Weltbeherrschung

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CHAPTER I.

THE HILDEBRANDIAN POPES. A.D. 1049-1073.

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� 3. Sources and Literature on Chapters I. and II.

See the general literature on the papacy in vol. IV. 202 sqq.; and the

list of mediaeval popes, 205 sqq.

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persecutione ecclesiae (in Jaff�'s Monum. Gregor., p. 628 sqq., where

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which is printed in the preface to the second edition. The bishop tried

to convert Voigt to the Catholic Church, but in vain.--Sir Roger

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� 4. Hildebrand and his Training.

The history of the period begins with a survey of the papacy as the

controlling power of Western Christendom. It embraces six stages: 1.

The Hildebrandian popes, 1049-1073. 2. Gregory VII., 1073-1085, or the

assertion of the supreme authority of the papacy in human affairs. 3.

From Gregory's death to the Concordat of Worms, 1122, or the settlement

of the controversy over investiture. 4. From the Concordat of Worms to

Innocent III., 1198. 5. The Pontificate of Innocent III., 1198-1216, or

the papacy at its height. 6. From Innocent III. to Boniface VIII.,

1216-1294, or the struggle of the papacy with Frederick II. and the

restoration of peace between the papacy and the empire.

The papacy had reached its lowest stage of weakness and degeneracy when

at Sutri in 1046, under the influence of Henry III., two popes were

deposed and a third was forced to abdicate. [4] ld overthrow the Jewish

monarchy, or wicked emperors the Roman Empire. In the public opinion of

Europe, the papacy was still a necessary institution established by

Christ in the primacy of Peter for the government and administration of

the church. There was nothing to take its place. It needed only a

radical reformation in its head, which would be followed by a

reformation of the members. Good men all over Europe anxiously desired

and hoped that Providence would intervene and rescue the chair of Peter

from the hands of thieves and robbers, and turn it once more into a

blessing. The idea of abolishing the papacy did not occur to the mind

of the Christians of that age as possible or desirable.

At last the providential man for effecting this necessary reformation

appeared in the person of Hildebrand, who controlled five successive

papal administrations for twenty-four years, 1049-1073, then occupied

the papal chair himself for twelve years, 1073-1085, and was followed

by like-minded successors. He is one of the greatest, if not the

greatest, of popes, and one of the most remarkable men in history. He

excited in his age the highest admiration and the bitterest hatred.

Opinions about his principles and policy are still divided; but it is

impossible to deny his ability, energy, earnestness, and achievements.

Hildebrand was of humble and obscure origin, but foreordained to be a

prince of the Church. He was of small stature, and hence called

"Hildebrandellus" by his enemies, but a giant in intellect and

character. His figure was ungainly and his voice feeble; but his eyes

were bright and piercing, bespeaking penetration, a fiery spirit, and

restless activity. His early life is involved in obscurity. He only

incidentally alludes to it in his later Epistles, and loved to connect

it with the supernatural protection of St. Peter and the Holy Virgin.

With a monkish disregard of earthly relations, he never mentions his

family. The year of his birth is unknown. The veneration of friends and

the malice of enemies surrounded his youth with legends and lies. He

was the son of a peasant or goatherd, Bonizo, living near Soana, a

village in the marshes of Tuscany, a few miles from Orbitello. The

oft-repeated tradition that he was the son of a carpenter seems to have

originated in the desire to draw a parallel between him and Jesus of

Nazareth. Of his mother we know nothing. His name points to Lombard or

German origin, and was explained by his contemporaries as hell-brand or

fire-brand. [5] uing from his raiment, and predicted that, like John

the Baptist, he would be "great in the sight of the Lord."

He entered the Benedictine order in the convent of St. Mary on the

Aventine at Rome, of which his maternal uncle was abbot. Here he had a

magnificent view of the eternal city. [6] [7] discipline, and in

austerity and rigor he remained a monk all his life. He cherished an

enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary. The personal contemplation

of the scandalous contentions of the three rival popes and the fearful

immorality in the capital of Christendom must have raised in his

earnest soul a deep disgust. He associated himself with the party which

prepared for a reformation of the hierarchy.

His sympathies were with his teacher and friend, Gregory VI. This pope

had himself bought the papal dignity from, the wretched Benedict IX.,

but he did it for the benefit of the Church, and voluntarily abdicated

on the arrival of Henry III. at the Synod of Sutri, 1046. It is strange

that Hildebrand, who abhorred simony, should begin his public career in

the service of a simonist; but he regarded Gregory as the only

legitimate pope among the three rivals, and followed him, as his

chaplain, to Germany into exile.

"Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni." [8]

He visited Worms, Spires, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, the old seats of

the empire, and spent much time at the court of Henry III., where he

was very kindly treated. After the death of Gregory at Cologne, 1048,

Hildebrand went to Cluny, the nursery of a moral reformation of

monasticism. According to some reports, he had been there before. He

zealously gave himself to ascetic exercises and ecclesiastical studies

under the excellent abbot Hugo, and became prior of the convent. He

often said afterwards that he wished to spend his life in prayer and

contemplation within the walls of this sacred retreat.

But the election of Bishop Bruno of Toul, the cousin of Emperor Henry

III., to the papal chair, at the Diet of Worms, brought him on the

stage of public action. "Reluctantly," he said, "I crossed the Alps;

more reluctantly I returned to Rome." He advised Bruno (either at Cluny

or at Besancon) not to accept the triple crown from the hands of the

emperor, but to await canonical election by the clergy and people of

Rome. He thus clearly asserted, for the first time, his principle of

the supremacy of the Church over the State.

Bruno, accompanied by Hildebrand, travelled to Rome as a pilgrim,

entered the city barefoot, was received with acclamations, canonically

elected, and ascended the papal chair on Feb. 12, 1049, as Leo IX.

From this time on, Hildebrand was the reigning spirit of the papacy. He

understood the art of ruling through others, and making them feel that

they ruled themselves. He used as his aide-de-camp Peter Damiani, the

severe monk and fearless censor of the immoralities of the age, who had

conquered the world within and helped him to conquer it without, in the

crusade against simony and concubinage, but died, 1072, a year before

Hildebrand became pope. [9]

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[4] Vol. IV. � 66, pp. 299 sqq.

[5] The contemporary spellings are: Yldibrandus, Heldebrandus,

Ildebrandus, Oldeprandus. William of Malmesbury calls him homuncio

exilis staturae.

[6] Giesebrecht (III. 12 sq.): "Das Marienkloster auf dem Aventin,

jetzt unter dem Namen des Priorats von Malta bekannt, bietet eine

entz�ckende Aussicht ... ein hochbegabter Knabe, der hier erwuchs,

musste die verschiedensten und m�chtigsten Eindr�cke erhalten, die sich

kaum in einem anderen Gedanken zusammenschliessen konnten, als in dem

der unvergleichlichen Hoheit des ewigen Roms."

[7] So Martens, etc. Gregory speaks of having been brought up from

childhood a pueritia by the prince of the apostles and "in the Roman

palace."

[8] The German historian, Otto von Freisingen, aptly applies this verse

of Luican to the relation of the two popes, thus comparing Hildebrand

to Cato.-

[9] See vol. IV. 787 sqq.

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� 5. Hildebrand and Leo IX. 1049-1054.

The moral reformation of the papacy began with Hildebrand as leader.

[10] he interest of the hierarchy. He was appointed cardinal-subdeacon,

treasurer of the Roman Church, and abbot of St. Paul's. He was

repeatedly sent as delegate to foreign countries, where he acquired an

extensive knowledge of affairs. He replenished the empty treasury and

became wealthy himself through the help of a baptized Jew, Benedictus

Christianus, and his son Leo, who did a prosperous banking business.

But money was to him only a means for exalting the Church. His great

object was to reform the clergy by the destruction of two well-nigh

universal evils: simony (Acts 8:18), that is. the traffic in

ecclesiastical dignities, and Nicolaitism (Rev. 2:6, 15), or the

concubinage of the priests. In both respects he had the full sympathy

of the new pope, and was backed by the laws of the Church. The

reformation was to be effected in the regular way of synodical

legislation under the personal direction of the pope.

Leo, accompanied by Hildebrand, held several synods in Italy, France,

and Germany. He was almost omnipresent in the Church, and knew how to

combine monastic simplicity with papal dignity and splendor. He was

believed to work miracles wherever he went, and to possess magic powers

over birds and beasts.

In his first synod, held in Rome at Easter, 1049, simony was prohibited

on pain of excommunication, including the guilty bishops and the

priests ordained by them. But it was found that a strict prosecution

would well-nigh deprive the churches, especially those of Rome, of

their shepherds. A penance of forty days was, therefore, substituted

for the deposition of priests. The same synod renewed the old

prohibitions of sexual intercourse of the clergy, and made the

concubines of the Roman priests servants of the Lateran palace. The

almost forgotten duty of the tithe was enjoined upon all Christians.

The reformatory synods of Pavia, Rheims, and Mainz, held in the same

year, legislated against the same vices, as also against usury,

marriage in forbidden degrees, the bearing of arms by the clergy. They

likewise revealed a frightful amount of simony and clerical immorality.

Several bishops were deposed. [11] y. On his return, Leo held synods in

lower Italy and in Rome. He made a second tour across the Alps in 1052,

visiting Burgundy, Lorraine, and Germany, and his friend the emperor.

We find him at Regensburg, Bamberg, Mainz, and Worms. Returning to

Rome, he held in April, 1053, his fourth Easter Synod. Besides the

reform of the Church, the case of Berengar and the relation to the

Greek Church were topics of discussion in several of these synods.

Berengar was condemned, 1050, for denying the doctrine of

transubstantiation. It is remarkable with what leniency Hildebrand

treated Berengar and his eucharistic doctrine, in spite of the papal

condemnation; but he was not a learned theologian. The negotiation with

the Greek Church only ended in greater separation. [12]

Leo surrounded himself with a council of cardinals who supported him in

his reform. Towards the close of his pontificate, he acted

inconsistently by taking up arms against the Normans in defense of

Church property. He was defeated and taken prisoner at Benevento, but

released again by granting them in the name of St. Peter their

conquests in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. The Normans kissed his toe,

and asked his absolution and blessing. He incurred the censure of the

strict reform party. Damiani maintained that a clergyman dare not bear

arms even in defense of the property of the Church, but must oppose

invincible patience to the fury of the world, according to the example

of Christ.

Leo spent his remaining days in grief over his defeat. He died at Rome,

April 19, 1054, in his fifty-third year, after commending his soul to

God in a German prayer of humble resignation, and was buried near the

tomb of Gregory I. As he had begun the reformation of the Church, and

miracles were reported, he was enrolled in the Calendar of Saints.

Desiderius, afterwards Victor III., wrote, "All ecclesiastical

interests were reformed by Leo and in him a new light arose in the

world."

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[10] See E. Martin, St. Leon IX., Paris, 1904, pp. 216; Mirbt art. in

Herzog, XI. 379-386.

[11] In deposing at the Synod of Rheims the abp. of St. Iago, who had

assumed the title apostolicus, Leo asserted in the strongest terms the

primacy of the Roman see, quod solus Romanae sedis pontifex

universalis, ecclesiae primas esset et apostolicus, Mansi, XIX. 738.

[12] The controversy of Berengar is treated in vol. IV. 554 sqq.; the

Greek controversy, ibid. p. 318 sqq. On the synods during the

pontificate of Leo IX., see Jaff�, Reg., 529-549, Hefele, IV. 716-777,

and Mirbt, Quellen, 95 sq.

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� 6. Victor II. and Stephen IX. (X.). 1055-1058.

Hildebrand was absent in France when Leo died, and hurried to Rome. He

could find no worthy successor in Italy, and was unwilling to assume

the burden of the papacy himself. He cast his eye upon Gebhard, bishop

of Eichst�dt, the ablest, richest, and most influential prelate of

Germany, who was warmly devoted to the emperor. He proceeded at the

head of a deputation, appointed by the clergy and people, to the German

court, and begged the emperor to raise Gebhard to the papal chair.

After long delay, Gebhard was elected at a council in Regensburg,

March, 1055, and consecrated in St. Peter's at Rome, April 13, as

Victor II. He continued the synodical war against simony, but died as

early as July 28, 1057, at Arezzo, of a fever. He was the last of the

German popes.

The cardinal-abbot of Monte Cassino was elected and consecrated as

Stephen IX. (X.), Aug. 3, 1057, by the clergy and people of Rome,

without their consulting the German court; but he died in the following

year, March 29, 1058.

In the meantime a great change had taken place in Germany. Henry III.

died in the prime of manhood, Oct. 5, 1056, and left a widow as regent

and a son of six years, the ill-fated Henry IV. The long minority reign

afforded a favorable opportunity for the reform party to make the

papacy independent of the imperial power, which Henry III. had wisely

exerted for the benefit of the Church, yet at the expense of her

freedom.

The Roman nobility, under the lead of the counts of Tusculum, took

advantage of Hildebrand's absence in Germany to reassert its former

control of the papacy by electing Benedict X. (1058-1060). But this was

a brief intermezzo. On his return, Hildebrand, with the help of Duke

Godfrey, expelled the usurping pope, and secured, with the consent of

the empress, the election of Gerhard, bishop of Florence, a strong

reformer, of ample learning and irreproachable character, who assumed

the name of Nicolas II. at his consecration, Jan. 25, 1059. Benedict

was deposed, submitted, and obtained absolution. He was assigned a

lodging in the church of St. Agnes, where he lived for about twenty

years.

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� 7. Nicolas II. and the Cardinals. 1059-1061.

The pontificate of Nicolas II. was thoroughly under the control of

Hildebrand, who became archdeacon and chancellor of the Roman Church in

August or September, 1059. His enemies said that he kept Nicolas like

an ass in the stable, feeding him to do his work. Peter Damiani calls

him the lord of the pope, and said that he would rather obey the lord

of the pope than the lord-pope himself. [13] [14] down his bishopric at

Ostia and retire to a convent, but was not permitted to do so. He

disliked the worldly splendor which Hildebrand began to assume in dress

and mode of living, contrary to his own ascetic principles.

Two important steps were made in the progress of the hierarchy,--a

change in the election of the pope, and an alliance with the Normans

for the temporal protection of the pope.

Nicolas convened a Lateran Council in April, 1059, the largest held in

Rome down to that time. It consisted of a hundred and thirteen bishops

and a multitude of clergymen; but more than two-thirds of the prelates

were Italians, the rest Burgundians and Frenchmen. Germany was not

represented at all. Berengar was forced at this synod to submit to a

formula of recantation (which he revoked on his return to France). He

calls the bishops "wild beasts," who would not listen to his idea of a

spiritual communion, and insisted on a Capernaitic manducation of the

body of Christ. [15]

A far-reaching act of this council was the transfer of the election of

a pope to the "cardinal-bishops" and "cardinal-clergy." [16] e classes

of functionaries they were to present the candidate to the Roman clergy

and people for ratification. The stress thus laid upon the

cardinal-bishops is a new thing, and it is evident that the body of

cardinals was accorded a place of importance and authority such as it

had not enjoyed before. Its corporate history may be said to begin with

these canons. The election of the pope was made its prerogative. The

synod further prescribed that the pope should be chosen from the body

of Roman clergy, provided a suitable candidate could be found among

their number. In usual cases, Rome was designated as the place of

holding the election. The cardinals, however, were granted liberty to

hold it otherwheres. As for the emperor, the language of the canons

leaves it uncertain whether any part was accorded to him in the

ratification of the elected pope. His name is mentioned with respect,

but it would seem that all that was intended was that he should receive

due notification of the election of the new pontiff. The matter was,

therefore, taken entirely out of the emperor's hands and lodged in the

college of cardinals. [17] control of the papal office for the Romans

and the Roman clergy. With rare exceptions, as in the case of the

period of the Avignon exile, the election of the pope has remained in

the hands of the Romans ever since.

The alliance which Nicolas entered into, 1059, with the Normans of

Southern Italy, was the second act in the long and notable part which

they played in the history of the papacy. Early in the eleventh century

four brothers of the house of Hauteville, starting from Normandy, began

their adventurous career in Italy and Sicily. They were welcomed as

crusaders liberating the Christian population from the rule of the

Saracens and its threatened extension. The kingdom their arms

established was confirmed by the apostolic see, and under the original

dynasty, and later under the house of Anjou, had a larger influence on

the destinies of the papacy for three centuries than did Norman England

and the successors of William the Conqueror. Robert Guiscard, who had

defeated the army of Leo IX., and held him a prisoner for nine months,

was confirmed by Nicolas as duke of Apulia and Calabria. The duchy

became a fief of Rome by an obligation to pay yearly twelve dinars for

every yoke of oxen and to defend the Holy See against attacks upon its

authority. Robert's brother, Roger, d. 1101, began the conquest of

Sicily in earnest in 1060 by the seizure of Messina, and followed it up

by the capture of Palermo, 1071, and Syracuse, 1085. He was called

Prince of Sicily and perpetual legate of the Holy See. One of his

successors, Roger II., 1105-1154, was crowned king of Sicily at Palermo

by the authority of the anti-pope Anacletus II. A half century later

the blood of this house became mingled with the blood of the house of

Hohenstaufen in the person of the great Frederick II. In the prominent

part they took we shall find these Norman princes now supporting the

plans of the papacy, now resisting them.

About the same time the Hautevilles and other freebooting Normans were

getting a foothold in Southern Italy, the Normans under William the

Conqueror, in 1066, were conquering England. To them England owes her

introduction into the family of European nations, and her national

isolation ceases. [18]

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[13] His epigrams on Hildebrand (Opera, II. 961, 967):-- "Vivere vis

Romae, clara depromito voce: Plus domino Papae, quam domino parea

Papae"

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro: Tu facis hunc Dominum; te

facit iste Deum."

[14] Ep. 1:16.

[15] See vol. IV. 557 sq.

[16] The canons are given in Mirbt, Quellen, 97 sqq. The two classes of

cardinals are called cardinales episcopi and cardinales clerici. Langen

makes the attempt to identify the latter with "the clergy of Rome," but

without sufficient reason. The clergy, clerus, as a special body, are

distinctly mentioned in the canons.

[17] The canons have come down to us in two forms. The second form,

falsified in the interest of the emperors, was current at least thirty

years after Nicolas's death. The fourth canon bearing on the emperor

ran in its original form thus: salvo debito honore et reverentia

dilecti filii nostri Henrici, qui inpresentiarum rex habetur et futurus

imperator deo concedente speratur, sicut jam sibi concessimus et

successoribus illius qui ab hac apostolica sede personaliter hoc jus

impetraverint. See Scheffer-Boichorst, Die Neuordnung der Papstwahl

durch Nikolas II., Strass., 1879, who made a thorough investigation of

the subject, Hefele, IV. 800 sqq.; Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Kirchengesch.,

II. 342 sqq.; Mirbt, Nikolas II., in Herzog, XIV. 73 sq.; Hauck,

Kirchengesch. III. 683 sqq. Hergenr�ther, p. 344 note, interprets the

canon as conceding notification and nothing more, in the light of the

words of the contemporary Anselm of Lucca (Alexander II.): ut obeunte

Apost. pontifice successor eligeretur et electio ejus regi

notificaretur, facta vero electione, etc., regi notificata, ita demum

pontifex consecraretur. The imperial bishops of Germany fought against

the limitation of the election to clerical circles in Rome. Under Henry

III. and IV. the view prevailed among them that no one could be a

legitimate pope without the consent of the emperor. See

Scheffer-Boichorst, Zu den Anf�ngen des Kirchenstreites unter Heinrich

IV., Innsbruck, 1892, p. 122 sq.

[18] Stubbs, ed. of Rich. de Hoveden, II. pp. lxxiii. sqq.

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� 8. The War against Clerical Marriage.

The same Lateran Council of 1059 passed severe laws against the two

heresies of simony and Nicolaitism. It threatened all priests who were

unwilling to give up their wives or concubines with the loss of their

benefices and the right of reading mass, and warned the laity against

attending their services. "No one," says the third of the thirteen

canons, "shall hear mass from a priest who to his certain knowledge

keeps a concubine or a subintroducta mulier."

These severe measures led to serious disturbances in Northern Italy,

especially in the diocese of Milan, where every ecclesiastical office

from the lowest to the highest was for sale, and where marriage or

concubinage was common among priests of all grades, not excluding the

archbishop. [19] d by a fictitious decision of Ambrose, who, on the

contrary, was an enthusiast for celibacy. Candidates for holy orders,

if unmarried, were asked if they had strength to remain so; if not,

they could be legally married; but second marriages were forbidden, and

the Levitical law as to the virginity of the bride was observed. Those

who remained single were objects of suspicion, while those who brought

up their families in the fear of God were respected and eligible to the

episcopate. Concubinage was regarded as a heinous offense and a bar to

promotion. [20]

But the Roman Church and the Hildebrandian party reversed the case, and

denounced sacerdotal marriage as unlawful concubinage. The leader of

this party in Lombardy was Anselm of Baggio (west of Milan), a zealous

and eloquent young priest, who afterwards became bishop of Lucca and

then pope (as Alexander II.). He attacked the immorality of the clergy,

and was supported by the lowest populace, contemptuously called

"Pataria" or "Patarines," i.e. "Ragbags." [21] ent and sanguinary

tumults took place in the churches and streets. Peter Damiani, a

sincere enthusiast for ascestic holiness, was sent as papal legate to

Milan. He defended the Pataria at the risk of his life, proclaimed the

supremacy of the Roman see, and exacted a repudiation of all heretical

customs.

This victory had great influence throughout Lombardy. But the strife

was renewed under the following pope and under Gregory VII., and it was

not till 1093 that Urban II. achieved a permanent triumph over

Nicolaitism at a great council at Piacenza.

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[19] Bonizo, a friend of Hildebrand, calls Wido, who was elected bishop

of Milan in 1045, a "vir illiteratus et concubinarius et absque ulla

verecundia Simoniacus." Migne, Tom. CL. 825; Jaff�, Mon. Greg., 639.

But Hefele, IV. 793, doubts the charge of concubinage, and also Mirbt,

Publizistik, 249.

[20] Lea, l.c., p. 210.

[21] Muratori and Du Cange (sub Pataria and Paterinus) derive pataria

from pate, which in the Milanese dialect means a huckster or pedler. So

also Hefele, IV. 796. Giesebrecht(III. 31) renders

PatarinaLumpengesindel. The contemporary, Bonizo, interprets the term

to mean "ragged,"patarinos id est pannosos vocabant. See Mirbt, art.

Patara, in Herzog, XIV. 761 sqq.

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� 9. Alexander II. and the Schism of Cadalus. 1061-1073.

Pope Nicolas II. died July 27, 1061. The cardinals elected, in some

unknown place outside of Rome, Anselm, bishop of Lucca, Sept. 30, 1061.

He was conducted to Rome in the following night by Norman soldiers, and

consecrated, Oct. 1, as Alexander II. His first act was to administer

the oath of fealty to Richard, the Norman leader.

The anti-Hildebrandian party of the Roman nobles, headed by Count

Girard of Galeria (an excommunicated robber), with the aid of the

disaffected Lombard clergy, and the young emperor Henry IV., elected

Cadalus (or Cadalous), bishop of Parma, anti-pope. He was consecrated

Oct. 28, 1061, as Honorius II., and maintained a schism of ten years.

He had been repeatedly charged with simony, and had the sympathy and

support of the married or concubinary clergy and the simoniacal laity,

who hoped that his success would lead to a modification of discipline

and legalization of clerical marriage. The opposition thus became an

organized party, and liable to the charge of heresy, which was

considered worse than carnal sin. Damiani and Humbert defended the

principle that a priest who is guilty of simony or concubinage, and

believes himself innocent, is more criminal than he who knows himself

to be guilty. Damiani hurled the fiercest denunciation of a Hebrew

prophet against the anti-pope. Cadalus entered Rome with an armed

force, and maintained himself in the castle of St. Angelo for two

years; but at length he sought safety in flight without a single

follower, and moved to Parma. He died in 1072. His party was broken up.

Alexander held a council at Mantua, May 31, 1064, and was universally

recognized as the legitimate pope; while Cadalus was anathematized and

disappeared from history.

During the pontificate of Alexander, the war against simony and

Nicolaitism went on under the lead of Hildebrand and Damiani with

varying success. The troubles in Lombardy were renewed. Archbishop Wido

of Milan sided with Cadalus and was excommunicated; he apologized, did

penance, and resumed office. After his death in 1071 the strife broke

out again with disgraceful scenes of violence. The Patarine party,

supported with gold by the pope, gained the ascendancy after the death

of Cadalus. The Normans repelled the Mohammedan aggression and won

Southern Italy and Sicily for the Church of Rome.

This good service had some weight on the determination of Hildebrand to

support the claim of William of Normandy to the crown of England, which

was a master-stroke of his policy; for it brought that island into

closer contact with Rome, and strengthened the papal pretension to

dispose of temporal thrones. William fought under a banner blessed by

the pope, and founded the Norman dynasty in England, 1066. The conquest

was concluded at Winchester by a solemn coronation through three papal

delegates, Easter, 1070.

But in Germany there arose a powerful opposition, not indeed to the

papacy, which was the common ground of all parties, but to the

Hildebrandian policy. This led to the conflict between Gregory VII. and

Henry IV. Alexander threatened Henry with excommunication in case he

persisted in his purpose to divorce his queen Bertha.

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CHAPTER II.

GREGORY VII, 1073-1085.

See literature in � 3.

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� 10. Hildebrand elected Pope. His Views on the Situation.

Alexander II. died April 21, 1073, and was buried in the basilica of

St. John in Lateran on the following day. The city, usually so

turbulent after the death of a pope, was tranquil. Hildebrand ordered a

three days' fast with litanies and prayers for the dead, after which

the cardinals were to proceed to an election. Before the funeral

service was closed, the people shouted, "Hildebrand shall be pope!" He

attempted to ascend the pulpit and to quiet the crowd, but Cardinal

Hugo Candidus anticipated him, and declared:, "Men and brethren, ye

know how since the days of Leo IX. Hildebrand has exalted the holy

Roman Church, and defended the freedom of our city. And as we cannot

find for the papacy a better man, or even one that is his equal, let us

elect him, a clergyman of our Church, well known and thoroughly

approved amongst us." The cardinals and clergy exclaimed in the usual

formula, "St. Peter elects Gregory (Hildebrand) pope." [22]

This tumultuary election was at once legalized by the cardinals. He was

carried by the people as in triumph to the church of S. Petrus ad

Vincula, clothed with the purple robe and tiara, and declared elected,

as "a man eminent in piety and learning, a lover of equity and justice,

firm in adversity, temperate in prosperity, according to the apostolic

precept (1 Tim. 3:2), 'without reproach ... temperate, soberminded,

chaste, given to hospitality, ruling his house well' ... already well

brought up and educated in the bosom of this mother Church, for his

merits advanced to the office of archdeacon, whom now and henceforth we

will to be called Gregory, Pope, and Apostolic Primate." [23]

It was eminently proper that the man who for nearly a quarter of a

century had been the power behind the throne, should at last be pope in

name as well as in fact. He might have attained the dignity long

before, if he had desired it. He was then about sixty years old, when

busy men begin to long for rest. He chose the name Gregory in memory of

his departed friend whom he had accompanied as chaplain into exile, and

as a protest against the interference of the empire in the affairs of

the Church. [24] s election, and delayed his consecration long enough

to receive the consent of Henry IV., who in the meantime had become

emperor. This was the last case of an imperial confirmation of a papal

election. [25]

Hildebrand was ordained priest, May 22, and consecrated pope, June 29,

without any opposition. Bishop Gregory of Vercelli, the German

chancellor of Italy, attended the consecration. The pope informed his

friends, distinguished abbots, bishops, and princes of his election;

gave expression to his feelings and views on his responsible position,

and begged for their sympathy and prayers. [26]

He was overwhelmed, as he wrote to Duke Godfrey of Lorraine (May 6,

1073), by the prospect of the task before him; he would rather have

died than live in the midst of such perils; nothing but trust in God

and the prayers of good men could save him from despair; for the whole

world was lying in wickedness; even the high officers of the Church, in

their thirst for gain and glory, were the enemies rather than the

friends of religion and justice. In the second year of his pontificate,

he assured his friend Hugo of Cluny (Jan. 22, 1075) that he often

prayed God either to release him from the present life, or to use him

for the good of mother Church, and thus describes the lamentable

condition of the times: --

"The Eastern Church fallen from the faith, and attacked by the infidels

from without. In the West, South, or North, scarcely any bishops who

have obtained their office regularly, or whose life and conduct

correspond to their calling, and who are actuated by the love of Christ

instead of worldly ambition. Nowhere princes who prefer God's honor to

their own, and justice to gain. The Romans, Longobards, and Normans

among whom I live, as I often told them, are worse than Jews and

heathens. And when I look to myself, I feel oppressed by such a burden

of sin that no other hope of salvation is left me but in the mercy of

Christ alone." [27]

This picture is true, and we need not wonder that he often longed to

retire to the quiet retreat of a convent. He adds in the same letter

that, if it were not for his desire to serve the holy Church, he would

not remain in Rome, where he had spent twenty years against his wish.

He was thus suspended between sorrow and hope, seized by a thousand

storms, living as a dying man. He compared himself to a sailor on the

high seas surrounded by darkness. And he wrote to William the

Conqueror, that unwillingly he had ascended into the ship which was

tossed on a billowy sea, with the violence of the winds and the fury of

storms with hidden rocks beneath and other dangers rising high in air

in the distance. [28]

The two features which distinguished Gregory's administration were the

advocacy of papal absolutism and the promotion of moral reforms. In

both these respects Gregory left an abiding impression upon the thought

and practice of Latin Christendom. Even where we do not share his views

we cannot help but admire his moral force and invincible courage.

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[22] The earliest account is given by Gregory himself in two letters

written April 24, 1073, and a third written April 26 to Wibert of

Ravenna (Reg., I. 1-3). It is confirmed by Bonizo. Gregory frequently

referred to his election as having been against his will. (See Mirbt,

Wahl, etc., pp. 2, 42.) The anti-Gregorian party made the slanderous

accusation that he secured his office by force and bribery, but not

till the struggle between him and Henry IV. had begun. The subject is

thoroughly discussed by Mirbt in his Wahl Gregors VII. p. 56. In his

later work, Die Publizistik, p. 582, he again pronounces Gregory's own

account as "the most credible."

[23] The clauses, "the husband of one wife," as well as "having his

children in subjection," are omitted in the quotation from Paul's

letter to Timothy. They would be fatal to the papal theory of clerical

celibacy. See the Latin text in the Acta Sanctorum for May 25, Tom. VI.

117, from the "Acta Romae 10 Kalend. Maji." The cardinals concluded the

declaration with the questions: "Placet vobis? Placet. Vultis eum?

Volumus. Laudatis eum? Laudamus."

[24] From Bonizo's account it would seem that the cardinals gave him

that name; but they probably ascertained his wishes beforehand, or

anticipated them. Wattenbach (p. 130) regards the assumption of the

name Gregory as an open insult to the empire and the Synod of Sutri,

where Henry III. had deposed three popes, including Gregory VI.

[25] This is Mirbt's view. The anti-Gregorian writers, reflecting the

policy of Henry IV., insisted that Gregory had not received the royal

assent. The imperial theory was laid down at Brixen, 1080, that any one

assuming to be pope without such assent, was an apostate, si quis sine

assensu romani principis papari praesumeret, non papa sed apostata ab

omnibus haberetur. See Mirbt, Die Wahl, etc., pp. 29-38.

[26] Jaff�, Mon. Greg. (1885), pp. 9 sqq.

[27] Abridged from Ep., II. 49; Jaff�, p. 163; Migne, 148, 400

[28] Reg., I. 70.

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� 11. The Gregorian Theocracy.

The Hildebrandian or Gregorian Church ideal is a theocracy based upon

the Mosaic model and the canon law. It is the absolute sovereignty of

the Church in this world, commanding respect and obedience by her moral

purity and ascetic piety. By the Church is meant the Roman Catholic

organization headed by the pope as the vicar of Christ; and this

hierarchical organization is identified with the Kingdom of God, in

which men are saved from sin and death, and outside of which there is

no ordinary salvation. No distinction is made between the Church and

the Kingdom, nor between the visible and invisible Church. The Holy,

Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church has been to popes as visible and

tangible as the German Empire, or the Kingdom of France, or the

Republic of Venice. Besides this Church no other is recognized, not

even the Greek, except as a schismatic branch of the Roman.

This ideal is the growth of ages. It was prepared for by pseudo-Isidor

in the ninth, and by St. Augustine in the fifth century.

St. Augustine, the greatest theological authority of the Middle Ages,

first identified the visible Catholic Church with the City or Kingdom

of God. In his great apologetic work, De Civitate Dei, he traced the

relation of this Kingdom to the changing and passing kingdoms of this

world, and furnished, we may say, the programme of the mediaeval

theocracy which, in theory, is adhered to by the Roman Church to this

day. [29] s more interested in theology than Church policy; he had

little to say about the papacy, and made a suggestive distinction

between "the true body of Christ" and "the mixed body of Christ," which

led the way to the Protestant distinction (first made by Zwingli)

between the visible and invisible Church. [30] c theory of the

apostolic right to depose temporal sovereigns.

The pseudo-Isidorian Decretals went further: they identified the

Catholic Church with the dominion of the papal hierarchy, and by a

series of literary fictions carried this system back to the second

century; notwithstanding the fact that the Oriental Church never

recognized the claims of the bishops of Rome beyond that of a mere

primacy of honor among equal patriarchs.

Gregory VII. actualized this politico-ecclesiastical system more fully

than any previous pope, and as far as human energy and prudence would

admit. The glory of the Church was the all-controlling passion of his

life. He held fast to it in the darkest hours, and he was greatest in

adversity. Of earlier popes, Nicolas I. and Leo I. came nearest to him

in lofty pretensions. But in him papal absolutism assumed flesh and

blood. He was every inch a pope. He anticipated the Vatican system of

1870; in one point he fell short of it, in another point he went beyond

it. He did not claim infallibility in theory, though he assumed it in

fact; but he did claim and exercise, as far as he could, an absolute

authority over the temporal powers of Christendom, which the popes have

long since lost, and can never regain.

Hildebrand was convinced that, however unworthy personally, he was, in

his official character, the successor of Peter, and as such the vicar

of Christ in the militant Church. [31] e Kingdom of Heaven; but he

forgot that in temporal affairs Peter was an humble subject under a

hostile government, and exhorted the Christians to honor the king (1

Pet. 2:17) at a time when a Nero sat on the throne. He constantly

appealed to the famous words of Christ, Matt. 16:18, 19, as if they

were said to himself. The pope inherits the lofty position of Peter. He

is the Rock of the Church. He is the universal bishop, a title against

which the first Gregory protested as an anti-Christian presumption. He

is intrusted with the care of all Christendom (including the Greek

Church, which never acknowledged him). He has absolute and final

jurisdiction, and is responsible only to God, and to no earthly

tribunal. He alone can depose and reinstate bishops, and his legates

take precedence of all bishops. He is the supreme arbiter in questions

of right and wrong in the whole Christian world. He is above all

earthly sovereigns. He can wear the imperial insignia. He can depose

kings and emperors, and absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance

to unworthy sovereigns.

These and similar claims are formulated in a document of twenty-seven

brief propositions preserved among Gregory's letters, which are of

doubtful genuineness, but correctly express his views, [32] famous

letter to Hermann, bishop of Metz.

Among his favorite Scripture quotations, besides the prophecy about

Peter (Matt. 16:18, 19), are two passages from the Old Testament: the

words of the prophet Samuel to Saul, which suited his attitude to

rebellious kings (1 Sam. 15:23): "Rebellion is as the sin of

witchcraft, and stubbornness is as idolatry and teraphim; because thou

hast rejected the word of the Lord, he has also rejected thee from

being king;" and the words of the prophet Jeremiah (48:10): "Cursed be

he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he that

keepeth back his sword from blood." He meant the spiritual sword

chiefly, but also the temporal, if necessary. He would have liked to

lead an army of soldiers of St. Peter for the conquest of the Holy

Land, and the subjection of all rebellious monarchs. He projected the

first crusade, which his second successor carried out.

We must consider more particularly his views on the relation of Church

and State. Public opinion in the Middle Ages believed neither in

co-ordination nor separation of the two powers, but in the

subordination of one to the other on the basis of union. Church and

State were inseparably interwoven from the days of Charlemagne and even

of Constantine, and both together constituted the Christian

commonwealth, respublica Christiana. There was also a general agreement

that the Church was the spiritual, the State, the temporal power.

But the parties divided on the question of the precise boundary line.

[33] uperiority of the State, or at least the equality of the two

powers. It was a conflict between priestcraft and statecraft, between

sacerdotium and imperium, the clergy and the laity. The imperialists

emphasized the divine origin and superior antiquity of the civil

government, to which even Christ and the Apostles were subject; the

hierarchical party disparaged the State, and put the Church above it

even in temporal affairs, when they conflicted with the spiritual.

Emperors like Otto I. and Henry III. deposed and elected popes; while

popes like Gregory VII. and Innocent III. deposed and elected emperors.

Gregory compares the Church to the sun, the State to the moon, which

borrows her light from the sun. [34] dignity, as heaven is above the

earth. He admits the necessity of the State for the temporal government

of men; but in his conflict with the civil power he takes the

pessimistic view that the State is the product of robbery, murder, and

all sorts of crimes, and a disturbance of the original equality, which

must be restored by the priestly power. He combined the highest view of

the Church and the papacy with the lowest view of the State and the

empire. [35]

His theory of the papal power could not have been more explicitly

stated than when, writing to Sancho, king of Aragon, he said that

Jesus, the king of glory, had made Peter lord over the kingdoms of the

world. This principle he consistently acted upon. [36] subjects from

allegiance to him. He concluded his second excommunication of Henry

IV., at the synod in Lent, March 7, 1080, with this startling

peroration: --

"And now, O ye princes and fathers, most holy Apostles Peter and Paul,

deal ye with us in such wise that all the world may know and understand

that, having the power to bind and to loose in heaven, you have the

like power to take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies,

marquisates, earldoms, and all manner of human rights and properties

.... Having such mighty power in spiritual things, what is there on

earth that may transcend your authority in temporal things? And if ye

judge the angels, who are high above the proudest of princes, what may

ye not do unto those beneath them? Let the kings and princes of the

earth know and feel how great ye are--how exalted your power! Let them

tremble to despise the commands of your Church!

"But upon the said Henry do judgment quickly, that all men may know

that it is not by fortune or chance, but by your power, that he has

fallen! May he thus be confounded unto repentance, that his soul may be

saved in the day of the Lord!"

This is the extreme of hierarchical arrogance and severity. Gregory

always assumed the air of supreme authority over kings and nobles as

well as bishops and abbots, and expects from them absolute obedience.

Sardinia and Corsica he treated as fiefs. [37] er, and that it belonged

to no mortal man but to the Apostolic see. For had not the Holy See

made a grant of Spanish territory to a certain Evulus on condition of

his conquering it from pagan hands? [38] at St. Paul had gone to Spain

and that seven bishops, sent by Paul and Peter, had founded the

Christian Church in Spain. [39] did not desist from simony, to place

his realm under the interdict. [40] [41] ize the dependence of his

kingdom upon Rome and to send his son to Rome that he might draw the

sword against the enemies of God, promising the son a certain rich

province in Italy for his services. [42] onies to the king of Russia,

whose son, as we are informed in another letter, had come to Rome, to

secure his throne from the pope. [43] ht to Rome, [44] ent of two

hundred pieces of silver to himself and his papal successors. To

Michael, Byzantine emperor, he wrote, expressing the hope that the

Church of Constantinople as a true daughter might be reconciled to its

mother, the Church of Rome. [45] munications to the emperor, Gregory

made propositions concerning a crusade to rescue the Holy Land.

For William the Conqueror, Gregory expressed great affection,

addressing him as "best beloved," carissime, but solemnly reminded him

that he owed his promotion to the throne of England to the favor of the

Roman see and bidding him be prompt in the payment of Peter's Pence.

[46] his predecessors had paid, but fealty he refused to pay as his

predecessors had refused to pay it. [47]

Unbiblical and intolerable as is Hildebrand's scheme of papal

absolutism as a theory of abiding validity, for the Middle Ages it was

better that the papacy should rule. It was, indeed, a spiritual

despotism; but it checked a military despotism which was the only

alternative, and would have been far worse. The Church, after all,

represented the moral and intellectual interests over against rude

force and passions. She could not discharge her full duty unless she

was free and independent. The princes of the Middle Ages were mostly

ignorant and licentious despots; while the popes, in their official

character, advocated the cause of learning, the sanctity of marriage,

and the rights of the people. It was a conflict of moral with physical

power, of intelligence with ignorance, of religion with vice.

The theocratic system made religion the ruling factor in mediaeval

Europe, and gave the Catholic Church an opportunity to do her best. Her

influence was, upon the whole, beneficial. The enthusiasm for religion

inspired the crusades, carried Christianity to heathen savages, built

the cathedrals and innumerable churches, founded the universities and

scholastic theology, multiplied monastic orders and charitable

institutions, checked wild passions, softened manners, stimulated

discoveries and inventions, preserved ancient classical and Christian

literature, and promoted civilization. The papacy struck its roots deep

in the past, even as far back as the second century. But it was based

in part on pious frauds, as the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the

false Donation of Constantine.

The mediaeval theocracy was at best a carnal anticipation of the

millennial reign, when all the kingdoms of this world shall obey the

peaceful sceptre of Christ. The papacy degenerated more and more into a

worldly institution and an intolerable tyranny over the hearts and

minds of men. Human nature is too noble to be ruled by despotism, and

too weak to resist its temptations. The State has divine authority as

well as the Church, and the laity have rights as well as the clergy.

These rights came to the front as civilization advanced and as the

hierarchy abused its power. It was the abuse of priestly authority for

the enslavement of men, the worldliness of the Church, and the

degradation and profanation of religion in the traffic of indulgences,

which provoked the judgment of the Reformation.

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[29] Pope Leo XIII., in his encyclical concerning the Christian

constitution of States (Immortale Dei, Nov. 1, 1885), defends the

mediaeval theory of Church and State, and refers to the authority of

St. Augustine, as having in his De Civitate Dei clearly set forth the

true principles on this subject for all time to come. See Schaff's

edition of St. Augustine's Works, pref. to vol. II. (New York, 1887).

Comp. also Reuter, Augustinische Studien (Gotha, 1887), pp. 106-152,

and Mirbt., l.c., who has industriously collected the quotations from

Augustine by the friends and opponents of Gregory VII.

[30] The influence of Augustine's theory upon Wyclif, Hus, and the

Reformers is shown in this Church History, vol. VI. 522 sqq.

[31] Gregory again and again expressed his feeling of personal

unworthiness in such expressions as cui licet indigni et nolentes

praesidemus, Reg., I. 18, 70, etc.; Migne, 300, 344, etc.

[32] Dictatus Papae, Migne, 148, 407 sq.; Mirbt, Quellen, p. 113. Comp:

the note of Gieseler, II. B. 7 (Germ. ed.). I quote a few: 12. Quod

illi liceat imperatores deponere. 22. Quod Romana Ecclesia numquam

erravit, nec in perpetuum, Scriptura testante, errabit. 26. Quod

catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Ecclesiae Romanae. 27. Quod

a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere

[33] See Mirbt, Publizistik, 572-579.

[34] Letter of May 8, 1080, to William of England. Jaff�, 419 sq.;

Migne, 148, 569. Gregory also compared the priesthood to gold and

royalty to lead, Reg., IV. 2.

[35] In a letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz, March 15, 1081 (Reg., VIII.

21). "Quis nesciat reges et duces ab illis habuisse principium, qui,

Deum ignorantes, superbia, rapinis, perfidia, homicidiis, postremo

universis pene sceleribus, mundi principe Diabolo videlicet agitante,

super pares scilicet homines, dominari caeca cupidine etintolerabili

presumptione affectaverunt," St. Augustine likewise combines the two

views of the origin of the State, and calls it both a divine ordinance

and a "grande latrocinium," an enslavement of men in consequence of

sin. See Reuter,August. Studien, l.c., 135 sq. The letter to Hermann is

also given in Mirbt, Quellen, 105-112.

[36] Petrum dominus Jesus Christus, rex gloriae, principem super regna

mundi constituit, Reg., I. 63; Migne, 148, 339.

[37] Reg., I. 29, VII. 10; Migne, 148, 312, 584.

[38] Reg., I. 7; Migne, 289.

[39] Reg., I. 64; Migne, 339.

[40] Reg., II. 5, 18, 32.

[41] Lupus rapax, etc.

[42] Reg., II. 51, 75; Migne, 403, 426.

[43] Reg., II. 73, 74; Migne, 423 sq.

[44] Regnum Hungariae sanctae Romanae ecclesiae proprium est a rege

Stephano beato Petri olim cum omni jure et potestate sua oblatum et

devote traditum, Reg., II. 13; Migne, 373.

[45] Reg., I. 18; Migne, 300.

[46] Reg., I. 70, VII. 23; Migne, 345, 565 sqq., etc.

[47] "Hubert, your legate in your behalf has bade me to do fealty to

you and your successors, and to think better in the matter of the money

which my predecessors were wont to send to the Roman Church. The one

point I agreed to, the other I did not agree to. Fealty I refused to

do, nor will I do it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your

predecessors." The letter of William the Conqueror to Gregory, written

after 1076, the date being uncertain. See Gee and Hardy, Documents of

Eng. Ch. Hist., p. 57. The efforts of Gregory to secure William's

support in his controversy with Henry IV. failed. Reg., VI. 30, VII. 1;

Migne, 535, 545.

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� 12. Gregory VII. as a Moral Reformer. Simony and Clerical Marriage.

Gregory VII. must be viewed not only as a papal absolutist, but also as

a moral reformer. It is the close connection of these two characters

that gives him such pre-eminence in history, and it is his zeal for

moral reform that entitles him to real respect; while his pretension to

absolute power he shares with the most worthless popes.

His Church ideal formed a striking contrast to the actual condition of

the Church, and he could not actualize it without raising the clergy

from the deep slough of demoralization to a purer and higher plane.

His reforms were directed against simony and Nicolaitism. What he had

done as Hildebrand, by way of advice, he now carried out by official

authority.

In the war on simony he was altogether right from the standpoint of

Protestant as well as Roman Catholic ethics. The traffic in

ecclesiastical dignities was an unmitigated nuisance and scandal, and

doubly criminal if exercised by bishops and popes.

In his war on Nicolaitism, Gregory was sustained by ancient laws of the

Roman Church, but not by the genuine spirit of Christianity. Enforced

clerical celibacy has no foundation in the Bible, and is apt to defeat

the sacerdotal ideal which it was intended to promote. The real power

and usefulness of the clergy depend upon its moral purity, which is

protected and promoted by lawful matrimony, the oldest institution of

God, dating from the paradise of innocence.

The motives of Gregory in his zeal for sacerdotal celibacy were partly

monkish and partly hierarchical. Celibacy was an essential part of his

ascetic ideal of a priest of God, who must be superior to carnal

passions and frailties, wholly devoted to the interests of the Church,

distracted by no earthly cares, separated from his fellow-men, and

commanding their reverence by angelic purity. Celibacy, moreover, was

an indispensable condition of the freedom of the hierarchy. He declared

that he could not free the Church from the rule of the laity unless the

priests were freed from their wives. A married clergy is connected with

the world by social ties, and concerned for the support of the family;

an unmarried clergy is independent, has no home and aim but the Church,

and protects the pope like a standing army.

Another motive for opposing clerical marriage was to prevent the danger

of a hereditary caste which might appropriate ecclesiastical property

to private uses and impoverish the Church. The ranks of the hierarchy,

even the chair of St. Peter, were to be kept open to self-made men of

the humblest classes, but closed against hereditary claimants. This was

a practical recognition of the democratic principle in contrast with

the aristocratic feudalism of the Middle Ages. Hildebrand himself, who

rose from the lowest rank without patronage to the papal throne, was

the best illustration of this clerical democracy.

The power of the confessional, which is one of the pillars of the

priesthood, came to the aid of celibacy. Women are reluctant to intrust

their secrets to a priest who is a husband and father of a family.

The married priests brought forward the example of the priests of the

Old Testament. This argument Damiani answered by saying that the Hebrew

priest was forbidden to eat before offering sacrifices at the altar.

How much more unseemly it would be for a priest of the new order to

soil himself carnally before offering the sacraments to God! The new

order owed its whole time to the office and had none left for marriage

and the family life (1 Cor. 7:32). Only an unmarried man who refuses to

gratify carnal lusts can fulfil the injunction to be a temple of God

and avoid quenching the Spirit (Eph. 4:30; 1 Thess. 5:19). [48]

These motives controlled also the followers of Gregory and the whole

hierarchy, and secured the ultimate triumph of sacerdotal celibacy. The

question of abolishing it has from time to time been agitated, and in

the exceptional cases of the Maronites and United Greeks the popes have

allowed single marriage in deference to old custom and for prudential

reasons. Pope Pius II., before he ascended the papal chair (1458-1464),

said that good reasons required the prohibition of clerical marriage,

but better reasons required its restoration. The hierarchical interest,

however, has always overruled these better reasons. Whatever may have

been the advantages of clerical celibacy, its evils were much greater.

The sexual immorality of the clergy, more than anything else,

undermined the respect of the people for their spiritual guides, and

was one of the chief causes of the Reformation, which restored

honorable clerical marriage, created a pastoral home with its

blessings, and established the supremacy of conscience over

hierarchical ambition.

From the standpoint of a zealous reformer like Gregory, the morals of

the clergy were certainly in a low condition. No practice did he

condemn with such burning words as the open marriage of priests or

their secret cohabitation with women who were to all intents and

purposes their wives. Contemporary writers like Damiani, d. 1072, in

his Gomorrhianus, give dark pictures of the lives of the priests. While

descriptions of rigid ascetics are to be accepted with caution, the

evidence abounds that in all parts of Latin Christendom the law of

priestly celibacy was ignored. [49] [50] [51] , was thinking of taking

a wife openly. [52] e supposed the very existence of the Church

depended upon the enforcement of clerical celibacy. There were bishops

even in Italy who openly permitted the marriage of priests, as was the

case with Kunibert of Turin. [53] t conceal his quasi-marital relations

which Gregory denounced as fornication, [54] "incontinent" or

"concubinary priests." [55] [56]

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[48] See Mirbt, p. 278.

[49] Mirbt, Publizistik, 259, says that there was no such thing as a

general observance of celibacy in Western Europe.

[50] Kirchengesch., 339.

[51] Kirchengesch., 271. It will be remembered that in Spain, in the

eighth century, King Witiza formally abolished the law of clerical

celibacy.

[52] So Bonizo of Sutri ad amicum, lib. V.

[53] So Damiani. See Mirbt, 248.

[54] Gregory, Reg., II. 10.

[55] Incontinentes sacerdotes et levitae ... sacerdotes concubinati.

[56] Reg., II. 30.

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� 13. The Enforcement of Sacerdotal Celibacy.

Literature, special works: Henry C. Lea: A Hist. Sketch of Sacerdotal

Celibacy in the Christian Church, Phil. 1867, 2d ed. Boston, 1884.--A.

Dresdner: Kultur und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit

im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1890.--Mirbt: Publizistik, pp.

239-342; Hefele, V. 20 sqq. The chief contemporary sources are Damiani

de coelibatu sacerdotum, addressed to Nicolas II. and Gomorrhianus,

commended by Leo IX., and other writings,--Gregory VII.'s Letters.

Mirbt gives a survey of this literature, pp. 274-342.

Gregory completed, with increased energy and the weight of official

authority, the moral reform of the clergy as a means for securing the

freedom and power of the Church. He held synod after synod, which

passed summary laws against simony and Nicolaitism, and denounced all

carnal connection of priests with women, however legitimate, as sinful

and shameful concubinage. Not contented with synodical legislation, he

sent letters and legates into all countries with instructions to

enforce the decrees. A synod in Rome, March, 1074, opened the war. It

deposed the priests who had bought their dignity or benefices,

prohibited all future sacerdotal marriage, required married priests to

dismiss their wives or cease to read mass, and commanded the laity not

to attend their services. The same decrees had been passed under

Nicolas II. and Alexander II., but were not enforced. The forbidding of

the laity to attend mass said by a married priest, was a most

dangerous, despotic measure, which had no precedent in antiquity. In an

encyclical of 1079 addressed to the whole realm of Italy and Germany,

Gregory used these violent words, "If there are presbyters, deacons, or

sub-deacons who are guilty of the crime of fornication (that is, living

with women as their wives), we forbid them, in the name of God Almighty

and by the authority of St. Peter, entrance into the churches,

introitum ecclesiae, until they repent and rectify their conduct."

These decrees caused a storm of opposition. Many clergymen in Germany,

as Lambert of Hersfeld reports, denounced Gregory as a madman and

heretic: he had forgotten the words of Christ, Matt. 19:11, and of the

Apostle, 1 Cor. 7:9; he wanted to compel men to live like angels, and,

by doing violence to the law of nature, he opened the door to

indiscriminate licentiousness. They would rather give up their calling

than their wives, and tauntingly asked him to look out for angels who

might take their place. The bishops were placed in a most embarrassing

position. Some, like Otto of Constance, sympathized with the married

clergy; and he went so far as to bid his clergy marry. [57] [58] eed

with the Hildebrandian principle, but deemed it impracticable or

inopportune. When the bishops lacked in zeal, Gregory stirred up the

laity against the simoniacal and concubinary priests. He exhorted a

certain Count Albert (October, 1074) to persist in enforcing the papal

orders, and commanded Duke Rudolf of Swabia and Duke Bertolf of

Carinthia, January, 1075, to prevent by force, if necessary, the

rebellious priests from officiating, no matter what the bishops might

say who had taken no steps to punish the guilty. He thus openly

encouraged rebellion of the laity against the clergy, contrary to his

fundamental principle of the absolute rule of the hierarchy. He acted

on the maxim that the end sanctifies the means. Bishop Theodoric of

Verdun, who at first sided in the main with Gregory, but was afterwards

forced into the ranks of his opponents, openly reproached him for these

most extraordinary measures as dangerous to the peace of the Church, to

the safety of the clerical order, and even to the Christian faith.

Bishop Henry of Spires denounced him as having destroyed the episcopal

authority, and subjected the Church to the madness of the people. When

the bishops, at the Diet of Worms, deposed him, January, 1076, one of

the reasons assigned was his surrender of the Church to the laity.

But the princes who were opposed to Henry IV. and deposed him at Tribur

(1076), professed great zeal for the Roman Church and moral reform.

They were stigmatized with the Milanese name of Patarini. Even Henry

IV., though he tacitly protected the simoniacal and concubinary clergy

and received their aid, never ventured openly to defend them; and the

anti-pope Clement III., whom he elected 1080, expressed with almost

Hildebrandian severity his detestation of clerical concubinage,

although he threatened with excommunication the presumptuous laymen who

refused to take the sacrament from immoral priests. Bishop Benzo, the

most bitter of imperialists, did not wish to be identified with the

Nicolaitan heretics.

A contemporary writer, probably a priest of Treves, gives a frightful

picture of the immediate results of this reform, with which he

sympathized in principle. Slaves betrayed masters and masters betrayed

slaves, friends informed against friends, faith and truth were

violated, the offices of religion were neglected, society was almost

dissolved. The peccant priests were exposed to the scorn and contempt

of the laity, reduced to extreme poverty, or even mutilated by the

populace, tortured and driven into exile. Their wives, who had been

legally married with ring and religious rites, were insulted as

harlots, and their children branded as bastards. Many of these

unfortunate women died from hunger or grief, or committed suicide in

despair, and were buried in unconsecrated earth. Peasants burned the

tithes on the field lest they should fall into the hands of disobedient

priests, trampled the host under foot, and baptized their own children.

[59]

In England, St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, d. 988, had

anticipated the reforms of Hildebrand, but only with temporary success.

William the Conqueror made no effort to enforce sacerdotal celibacy,

except that the charge of concubinage was freely used as a pretext for

removing Anglo-Saxon prelates to make room for Norman rivals. Lanfranc

of Canterbury was a Hildebrandian, but could not prevent a reformatory

council at Winchester in 1076 from allowing married priests to retain

their wives, and it contented itself with the prohibition of future

marriages. This prohibition was repeated at a council held in London,

1102, when Anselm occupied the see of Canterbury. Married priests were

required to dismiss their wives, and their children were forbidden to

inherit their fathers' churches. A profession of chastity was to be

exacted at ordination to the subdiaconate and the higher orders. But no

punishment was prescribed for the violation of these canons. Anselm

maintained them vigorously before and after his exile. A new council,

called by King Henry at London, 1108, a year before Anselm's death,

passed severe laws against sacerdotal marriage under penalties of

deposition, expulsion from the Church, loss of property, and infamy.

The temporal power was pledged to enforce this legislation. But Eadmer,

the biographer of Anselm, sorrowfully intimates that the result was an

increase of shocking crimes of priests with their relatives, and that

few preserved that purity with which Anselm had labored to adorn his

clergy.

In Spain, which was as much isolated from the Continent by the Pyrenees

as England by the sea, clerical celibacy was never enforced before this

period. The Saracenic invasion and subsequent struggles of the

Christians were unfavorable to discipline. A canon of Compostella,

afterwards bishop of Mondonego, describes the contemporary

ecclesiastics at the close of the eleventh century as reckless and

violent men, ready for any crime, prompt to quarrel, and occasionally

indulging in mutual slaughter. The lower priests were generally

married; but bishops and monks were forbidden by a council of

Compostella, in 1056, all intercourse with women, except with mothers,

aunts, and sisters wearing the monastic habit. Gregory VII. sent a

legate, a certain Bishop Amandus, to Spain to introduce his reforms,

1077. A council at Girona, 1078, forbade the ordination of sons of

priests and the hereditary transmission of ecclesiastical benefices. A

council at Burgos, 1080, commanded married priests to put away their

wives. But this order seems to have been a dead letter until the

thirteenth century, when the code of laws drawn up by Alfonso the Wise,

known as "Las Siete Partidas," punished sacerdotal marriage with

deprivation of function and benefice, and authorized the prelates to

command the assistance of the secular power in enforcing this

punishment. "After this we hear little of regular marriage, which was

replaced by promiscuous concubinage or by permanent irregular unions."

[60]

In France the efforts of reform made by the predecessors of Gregory had

little effect. A Paris synod of 1074 declared Gregory's decrees

unbearable and unreasonable. [61] ere unable to carry out the canon

without the aid of the secular arm. The Norman clergy in 1072 drove the

archbishop of Rouen from a council with a shower of stones. William the

Conqueror came to his aid in 1080 at a synod of Lillebonne, which

forbade ordained persons to keep women in their houses. But clerical

marriages continued, the nuptials were made public, and male children

succeeded to benefices by a recognized right of primogeniture. William

the Conqueror, who assisted the hopeless reform in Normandy, prevented

it in his subject province of Britanny, where the clergy, as described

by Pascal II., in the early part of the twelfth century, were setting

the canons at defiance and indulging in enormities hateful to God and

man.

At last, the Gregorian enforcement of sacerdotal celibacy triumphed in

the whole Roman Church, but at the fearful sacrifice of sacerdotal

chastity. The hierarchical aim was attained, but not the angelic purity

of the priesthood. The private morals of the priest were sacrificed to

hierarchical ambition. Concubinage and licentiousness took the place of

holy matrimony. The acts of councils abound in complaints of clerical

immorality and the vices of unchastity and drunkenness. "The records of

the Middle Ages are full of the evidences that indiscriminate license

of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy."

[62] of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

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[57] In a letter to Sicardus, abp. of Aquileja, Jan. 24, 1074, Gregory

complained of princes who treated the Church as a servant-maid, quasi

vilem ancillam, etc. Reg., I. 42; Migne, 148, 322.

[58] Gregory, Reg., II. 29, III. 4, commanded him to root out "clerical

fornication."

[59] Hauck, III. 780 sq.; Mirbt, Publizistik, 269 sqq.; Hefele, V. 30

sqq.

[60] Lea, p. 309.

[61] importabilia ideoque irrationabilia.

[62] g Lea, p. 341.

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� 14. The War over Investiture.

The other great reform-scheme of Gregory aimed at the complete

emancipation of the Church from the bondage of the secular power. His

conception of the freedom of the Church meant the slavery of the State.

The State exercised control over the Church by selling ecclesiastical

dignities, or the practice of simony, and by the investiture of bishops

and abbots; that is, by the bestowal of the staff and ring. [63]

The feudal system of the Middle Ages, as it developed itself among the

new races of Europe from the time of Charlemagne, rested on land tenure

and the mutual obligations of lord and vassal, whereby the lord, from

the king down to the lowest landed proprietor, was bound to protect his

vassal, and the vassal was bound to serve his lord. The Church in many

countries owned nearly or fully one-half of the landed estate, with the

right of customs, tolls, coinage of money, etc., and was in justice

bound to bear part of the burden attached to land tenure. The secular

lords regarded themselves as the patrons of the Church, and claimed the

right of appointing and investing its officers, and of bestowing upon

them, not only their temporalia, but also the insignia of their

spiritual power. This was extremely offensive to churchmen. The bishop,

invested by the lord, became his vassal, and had to swear an oath of

obedience, which implied the duty of serving at court and furnishing

troops for the defense of the country. Sometimes a bishop had hardly

left the altar when his liege-lord commanded him to gird on the sword.

After the death of the bishop, the king or prince used the income of

the see till the election of a successor, and often unduly postponed

the election for his pecuniary benefit, to the injury of the Church and

the poor. In the appointments, the king was influenced by political,

social, or pecuniary considerations, and often sold the dignity to the

highest bidder, without any regard to intellectual or moral

qualifications. The right of investiture was thus closely connected

with the crying abuse of simony, and its chief source.

No wonder that Gregory opposed this investiture by laymen with all his

might. Cardinal Humbert had attacked it in a special book under Victor

II. (1057), and declared it an infamous scandal that lay-hands, above

all, female hands, should bestow the ring and crosier. He insisted that

investiture was a purely spiritual function, and that secular princes

have nothing to do with the performance of functions that have

something sacramental about them. They even commit sacrilege by

touching the garments of the priest. By the exercise of the right of

investiture, princes, who are properly the defenders of the Church, had

become its lords and rulers. Great evils had arisen out of this

practice, especially in Italy, where ambitious priests lingered about

the antechambers of courts and practised the vice of adulation, vitium

adulationis. [64]

The legislation against lay appointments was opened at the Synod of

Rheims, 1049, under the influence of Leo IX. It declared that no priest

should be promoted to office without the election of clergy and people.

Ten years later, 1059, the Synod of Rome pronounced any appointment of

cleric or presbyter to benefice invalid, which was made by a layman.

[65]

By abolishing this custom, Gregory hoped to emancipate the clergy from

the vassalage of the State, and the property of the Church from the

feudal supervision of the prince, as well as to make the bishops the

obedient servants of the pope.

The contest continued under the following popes, and was at last

settled by the compromise of Worms (1122). The emperor yielded only in

part; for to surrender the whole property of the Church to the absolute

power of the pope, would have reduced civil government to a mere

shadow. On the other hand, the partial triumph of the papacy

contributed very much to the secularization of the Church.

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[63] investitura per baculum et annulum.

[64] Humbert's work, adversus simoniacos, is giveninlibelli de lite and

Migne, vol. 153. Wido of Arezzo and Damiani expressed the same views.

See Mirbt, Publizistik, 463-471. Of those who received lay investiture

it began to be said "that they entered not in by the door,"non per

ostium intraverant.

[65] ut per laicos nullo modo quilibet clericus aut presbyter obtineat

ecclesiam nec gratis nec pretio, Mansi, XIX. 898.

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� 15. Gregory VII. and Henry IV.

The conflict over investiture began at a Roman synod in Lent (Feb.

24-28), 1075, and brought on the famous collision with Henry IV., in

which priestcraft and kingcraft strove for mastery. The pope had the

combined advantages of superior age, wisdom, and moral character over

this unfortunate prince, who, when a mere boy of six years (1056), had

lost his worthy father, Henry III., had been removed from the care of

his pious but weak mother, Agnes, and was spoilt in his education.

Henry had a lively mind and noble impulses, but was despotic and

licentious. Prosperity made him proud and overbearing, while adversity

cast him down. His life presents striking changes of fortune. He

ascended and descended twice the scale of exaltation and humiliation.

He first insulted the pope, then craved his pardon; he rebelled again

against him, triumphed for a while, was twice excommunicated and

deposed; at last, forsaken and persecuted by his own son, he died a

miserable death, and was buried in unconsecrated earth. The better

class of his own subjects sided against him in his controversy with the

pope. The Saxons rose in open revolt against his tyranny on the very

day that Hildebrand was consecrated (June 29, 1073).

This synod of 1075 forbade the king and all laymen having anything to

do with the appointment of bishops or assuming the right of

investiture. [66] actising simony. [67]

The king, hard pressed by the rebellious Saxons, at first yielded, and

dismissed the five counsellors; but, as soon as he had subdued the

rebellion (June 5, 1075), he recalled them, and continued to practice

shameful simony. He paid his soldiers from the proceeds of Church

property, and adorned his mistresses with the diamonds of sacred

vessels. The pope exhorted him by letter and deputation to repent, and

threatened him with excommunication. The king received his legates most

ungraciously, and assumed the tone of open defiance. Probably with his

knowledge, Cencius, a cousin of the imperial prefect in Rome,

shamefully maltreated the pope, seized him at the altar the night

before Christmas, 1075, and shut him up in a tower; but the people

released him and put Cencius to flight.

Henry called the bishops and abbots of the empire to a council at

Worms, under the lead of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, Jan. 24, 1076.

This council deposed Gregory without giving him even a hearing, on the

ground of slanderous charges of treason, witchcraft, covenant with the

devil, and impurity, which were brought against him by Hugo Blancus

(Hugh Leblanc), a deposed cardinal. It was even asserted that he ruled

the Church by a senate of women, Beatrix, Matilda of Tuscany, and

Agnes, the emperor's mother. Only two bishops dared to protest against

the illegal proceeding. The Ottos and Henry III. had deposed popes, but

not in such a manner.

Henry secured the signatures of the disaffected bishops of Upper Italy

at a council in Piacenza. He informed Gregory of the decree of Worms in

an insulting letter: --

"Henry, king, not by usurpation, but by God's holy ordinance, to

Hildebrand, not pope, but a false monk. How darest thou, who hast won

thy power through craft, flattery, bribery, and force, stretch forth

thy hand against the Lord's anointed, despising the precept of the true

pope, St. Peter: 'Fear God, honor the king?' Thou who dost not fear

God, dishonorest me whom He has appointed. Condemned by the voice of

all our bishops, quit the apostolic chair, and let another take it, who

will preach the sound doctrine of St. Peter, and not do violence under

the cloak of religion. I, Henry, by the grace of God, king, with all my

bishops, say unto thee, Come down, come down!" [68]

At the same time Henry wrote to the cardinals and the Roman people to

aid him in the election of a new pope. Roland, a priest of Parma,

brought the letter to Rome at the end of February, as Gregory was just

holding a synod of a hundred and ten bishops, and concluded his message

with the words. "I tell you, brethren, that you must appear at

Pentecost before the king to receive from his hands a pope and father;

for this man here is not pope, but a ravening wolf." This produced a

storm of indignation. The prelates drew swords and were ready to kill

him on the spot; but Gregory remained calm, and protected him against

violence.

On the next day (February 22) the pope excommunicated and deposed Henry

in the name of St. Peter, and absolved his subjects from their oath of

obedience. He published the ban in a letter to all Christians. The

sentence of deposition is as follows: --

"Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, incline thine ear unto me, and

hear me, thy servant, whom from childhood thou didst nurse and protect

against the wicked to this day. Thou and my lady, the mother of God,

and thy brother, St. Paul, are my witnesses that the holy Roman Church

has drawn me to the helm against my will, and that I have not risen up

like a robber to thy seat. Rather would I have been a pilgrim my whole

life long than have snatched to myself thy chair on account of temporal

glory and in a worldly spirit .... By thy intercession God has

intrusted me with the power to bind and to loose on earth and in

heaven.

"Therefore, relying on this trust, for the honor and security of the

Church, in the name of the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, I do

prohibit Henry, king, son of Henry the emperor, from ruling the kingdom

of the Teutons and of Italy, because with unheard-of pride he has

lifted himself up against thy Church; and I release all Christians from

the oath of allegiance to him which they have taken, or shall take, and

I forbid that any shall serve him as king. For it is fitting that he

who will touch the dignity of the Church should lose his own. And

inasmuch as he has despised obedience by associating with the

excommunicate, by many deeds of iniquity, and by spurning the warnings

which I have given him for his good, I bind him in the bands of

anathema; that all nations of the earth may know that thou art Peter,

and that upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built His Church,

and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." [69]

The empress-widow was present when the anathema was pronounced on her

son. At the same time the pope excommunicated all the German and

Italian bishops who had deposed him at Worms and Piacenza.

This was a most critical moment, and the signal for a deadly struggle

between the two greatest potentates in Christendom. Never before had

such a tremendous sentence been pronounced upon a crowned head. The

deposition of Childeric by Pope Zacharias was only the sanction of the

actual rule of Pepin. Gregory threatened also King Philip of France

with deposition, but did not execute it. Now the heir of the crown of

Charlemagne was declared an outlaw by the successor of the Galilean

fisherman, and Europe accepted the decision. There were not wanting,

indeed, voices of discontent and misgivings about the validity of a

sentence which justified the breaking of a solemn oath. All conceded

the papal right of excommunication, but not the right of deposition. If

Henry had commanded the respect and love of his subjects, he might have

defied Gregory. But the religious sentiment of the age sustained the

pope, and was far less shocked by the papal excommunication and

deposition of the king than by the royal deposition of the pope. It was

never forgotten that the pope had crowned Charlemagne, and it seemed

natural that his power to bestow implied his power to withhold or to

take away. [70]

Gregory had not a moment's doubt as to the justice of his act. He

invited the faithful to pray, and did not neglect the dictates of

worldly prudence. He strengthened his military force in Rome, and

reopened negotiations with Robert Guiscard and Roger. In Northern Italy

he had a powerful ally in Countess Matilda, who, by the recent death of

her husband and her mother, had come into full possession of vast

dominions, and furnished a bulwark against the discontented clergy and

nobility of Lombardy and an invading army from Germany. [71]

When Henry received the tidings of the sentence of excommunication and

deposition, he burst into a furious rage, abused Gregory as a

hypocrite, heretic, murderer, perjurer, adulterer, and threatened to

fling back the anathema upon his head. William, bishop of Utrecht, had

no scruples in complying with the king's wishes, and from the pulpit of

his cathedral anathematized Gregory as "a perjured monk who had dared

to lift up his head against the Lord's anointed." Henry summoned a

national council to Worms on Whitsunday (May 15) to protest against the

attempt of Gregory to unite in one hand the two swords which God had

separated. [72] the popes, who claimed that God had given both swords

to the Church,--the spiritual sword, to be borne by her; the temporal,

to be wielded by the State for the Church, that is, in subjection and

obedience to the Church.

The council at Worms was attended by few bishops, and proved a failure.

A council in Mainz, June 29, turned out no better, and Henry found it

necessary to negotiate. Saxony was lost; prelates and nobles deserted

him. A diet at Tribur, an imperial castle near Mainz, held Oct. 16,

1076, demanded that he should submit to the pope, seek absolution from

him within twelve months from the date of excommunication, at the risk

of forfeiting his crown. He should then appear at a diet to be held at

Augsburg on Feb. 2, 1077, under the presidency of the pope. Meanwhile

he was to abide at Spires in strict privacy, in the sole company of his

wife, the bishop of Verdun, and a few servants chosen by the nobles.

The legates of Gregory were treated with marked respect, and gave

absolution to the excommunicated bishops, including Siegfried of Mainz,

who submitted to the pope.

Henry spent two dreary months in seclusion at Spires, shut out from the

services of the Church and the affairs of the State. At last he made up

his mind to seek absolution, as the only means of saving his crown.

There was no time to be lost; only a few weeks remained till the Diet

of Augsburg, which would decide his fate.

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[66] This statement is based upon the authority of Arnulf of Milan. The

decree itself is lost. See Mirbt, Publizistik, 492. Arnulf says, papa

... palam interdicit regi jus deinde habere aliquod in dandis

episcopatibus omnesque laicas personas ab investituris ecclesiarum

summovet.

[67] "Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicae

personae susceperit, nullatenus inter Episcopos vel Abbates habeatur

...Si quis Imperatorum, Regum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, vel quilibet

saecularium potestatum aut personarum investituram episcopatus vel

alicujus ecclesiasticae dignitatis dare praesumserit, ejusdem

sententiae vinculo se adstrictum sciat." Pagi, Crit. ad ann. 1075, No.

2; Watterich, I. 365; Hefele, V. 47; Reg., VI. 5.

[68] "Descende, descende." Bruno, De bello Saxonico, in Pertz, VII. 352

sq. There are several variations of the letter of Henry, but the tone

of imperious defiance and violence is the same.

[69] Bernried, Vita Greg., c. 68 sq. (in Migne, 148, p. 74); Jaff�,

223;Mirbt, Quellen, 100; Hefele, V. 70 sqq.

[70] The papal sentence against Henry made a profound impression upon

Western Europe. Bonizo says, universus noster romanus orbis contemruit,

postquam de banno regis ad aures personuit vulgi. See Mirbt, 139.

[71] The excommunication of Henry in 1076 and again in 1080 called

forth a controversial literature of some proportions, Mirbt,

Publizistik, 134-239, as did Gregory's attitude towards simony and

clerical celibacy. The anti-Gregorians took the ground that the

excommunication was unjust and even called in question the pope's right

to excommunicate a king. Gregory's letters make reference to these

objections. Writing to Hermann of Metz, Reg., IV. 2, Gregory said that

there were some who openly declared that a king should not be

excommunicated, regem non oportet excommunicari. Gregory justified his

act on the ground of the king's companionship with excommunicated

persons, his refusal to offer repentance for crimes, and the rupture of

the unity of the Church which resulted from the king's course, Reg.,

IV. 1, etc. The Council of Tribur, Oct. 16, 1076, discussed the

questions whether a pope might excommunicate a king and whether Gregory

had acted justly in excommunicating Henry. It answered both questions

in the affirmative. A hundred years after the event, Otto of Freising,

Gesta Friderici, I., speaks of the sentence as unheard of before, quo

numquam ante haec tempora hujusmodi sententiam in principem romanum

promulgatam cognoverat.

[72] Reg IV. 2; Migne, 148, 455.

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� 16. Canossa. 1077.

The winter of 1076-1077 was one of the coldest and longest within the

memory of men--the Rhine being frozen to a solid mass from November

till April--and one of the most memorable in history--being marked by

an event of typical significance. The humiliation of the head of the

German Empire at the feet of the bishop of Rome at Canossa means the

subjection of the State to the Church and the triumph of the

Hildebrandian policy.

A few days before Christmas, Henry IV. left Spires on a journey across

the Alps as a penitent, seeking absolution from the pope. He was

accompanied by his wife with her infant son Conrad (born August, 1071)

and one faithful servant. Bertha, daughter of the margrave Odo of Turin

and Adelheid of Susa, was betrothed to Henry in 1055 at Z�rich, and

married to him, July 13, 1066. She was young, beautiful, virtuous, and

amiable; but he preferred to live with mistresses; and three years

after the marriage he sought a divorce, with the aid of the

unprincipled archbishop Siegfried of Mainz. The pope very properly

refused his consent. The king gave up his wicked intention, and became

attached to Bertha. She was born to love and to suffer, and accompanied

him as a comforting angel through the bitter calamities of his life.

The royal couple passed through Burgundy and Susa under the protection

of Count William and the mother of Bertha, and crossed Mont Cenis. The

queen and her child were carried up and lowered down the icy slopes in

rough sledges of oxhide; some horses were killed, but no human lives

lost. When Henry reached the plains of Lombardy, he was received with

joy by the anti-Hildebrandian party; but he hurried on to meet the

successor of Peter, who alone could give him absolution.

He left his wife and child at Reggio, and, accompanied by his

mother-in-law and a few friends, he climbed up the steep hill to

Canossa, where Gregory was then stopping on his journey to the Diet at

Augsburg, waiting for a safe-conduct across the Alps.

Canossa, now in ruins, was an impregnable fortress of the Countess

Matilda, south of Reggio, on the northern slope of the Apennines,

surrounded by three, walls, and including a castle, a chapel, and a

convent. [73]

The pope had already received a number of excommunicated bishops and

noblemen, and given or promised them absolution after the case of the

chief sinner against the majesty of St. Peter should be decided.

Henry arrived at the foot of the castle-steep, Jan. 21, 1077, when the

cold was severe and the ground covered with snow. He had an interview

with Matilda and Hugo, abbot of Cluny, his godfather, and declared his

willingness to submit to the pope if he was released from the

interdict. But Gregory would only absolve him on condition that he

would surrender to him his crown and forever resign the royal dignity.

The king made the last step to secure the mercy of the pope: he assumed

the severest penances which the Church requires from a sinner, as a

sure way to absolution. For three days, from the 25th to the 28th of

January, he stood in the court between the inner walls, as a penitent

suppliant, with bare head and feet, in a coarse woolen shirt, shivering

in the cold, and knocked in vain for entrance at the gateway, which

still perpetuates in its name. "Porta di penitenza," the memory of this

event. [74]

The stern old pope, as hard as a rock and as cold as the snow, refused

admittance, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Matilda and Hugo,

till he was satisfied that the cup of humiliation was drained to the

dregs, or that further resistance would be impolitic. He first exacted

from Henry, as a condition of absolution, the promise to submit to his

decision at the approaching meeting of the German nobles under the

presidency of the pope as arbiter, and to grant him and his deputies

protection on their journey to the north. In the meantime he was to

abstain from exercising the functions of royalty. [75]

The king made the promise, and two bishops and several nobles, in his

behalf, swore upon sacred relics that he would keep it. Hugo, being a

monk, could not swear, but pledged his word before the all-seeing God.

Hugo, the bishops, nobles, and the Countess Matilda and Adelheid signed

the written agreement, which still exists.

After these preliminaries, the inner gate was opened. The king, in the

prime of life, the heir of many crowned monarchs, and a man of tall and

noble presence, threw himself at the feet of the gray-haired pope, a

man of low origin and of small and unimpressive stature, who by his

word had disarmed an empire. He burst into tears, and cried "Spare me,

holy father, spare me!" The company were moved to tears; even the iron

pope showed signs of tender compassion. He heard the confession of

Henry, raised him up, gave him absolution and his apostolic blessing,

conducted him to the chapel, and sealed the reconciliation by the

celebration of the sacrifice of the mass.

Some chroniclers add the following incident, which has often been

repeated, but is very improbable. Gregory, before partaking of the

sacrament, called upon God to strike him dead if he were guilty of the

crimes charged on him, and, after eating one-half of the consecrated

wafer unharmed, he offered the other half to Henry, requesting him to

submit to the same awful ordeal; but the king declined it, and referred

the whole question to the decision of a general council. [76]

After mass, the pope entertained the king courteously at dinner and

dismissed him with some fatherly warnings and counsels, and with his

renewed apostolic blessing.

Henry gained his object, but at the sacrifice of his royal dignity. He

confessed by his act of humiliation that the pope had a right to depose

a king and heir of the imperial crown, and to absolve subjects from the

oath of allegiance. The head of the State acknowledged the temporal

supremacy of the Church. Canossa marks the deepest humiliation of the

State and the highest exaltation of the Church,--we mean the political

papal Church of Rome, not the spiritual Church of Christ, who wore a

crown of thorns in this world and who prayed on the cross for his

murderers.

Gregory acted on the occasion in the sole interest of the hierarchy.

His own friends, as we learn from his official account to the Germans,

deemed his conduct to be "tyrannical cruelty, rather than apostolic

severity." He saw in Henry the embodiment of the secular power in

opposition to the ecclesiastical power, and he achieved a signal

triumph, but only for a short time. He overshot his mark, and was at

last expelled from Rome by the very man against whom he had closed the

gate.

His relation to Matilda was political and ecclesiastical. The charge of

his enemies that he entertained carnal intimacy with her is monstrous

and incredible, considering his advanced age and unrelenting war

against priestly concubinage. [77] ern Italy, and afforded to the pope

the best protection against a possible invasion of a Northern army. She

was devoted to Hildebrand as the visible head of the Church, and felt

proud and happy to aid him. In 1077 she made a reversionary grant of

her dominions to the patrimony of Peter, and thus increased the fatal

gift of Constantine, from which Dante derives the evils of the Church.

She continued the war with Henry, and aided Conrad and Henry V. in the

rebellion against their father. In the political interest of the papacy

she contracted, in her fifty-fifth year, a second marriage with Guelph,

a youth of eighteen, the son of the Duke of Bavaria, the most powerful

enemy of Henry IV. (1089); but the marriage, it seems, was never

consummated, and was dissolved a few years afterwards (1095). She died,

1115. It is supposed by many that Dante's Matilda, who carried him over

the river Lethe to Beatrice, is the famous countess; [78] eror.

Canossa has become a proverbial name for the triumph of priestcraft

over kingcraft. [79] he State of Prussia and the Vatican from 1870 to

1887. At the beginning of the conflict, Prince Bismarck declared in the

Prussian Chambers that "he would never go to Canossa"; but ten years

afterwards he, found it politic to move in that direction, and to make

a compromise with Leo XIII., who proved his equal as a master of

diplomacy. The anti-papal May-laws were repealed, one by one, till

nothing is left of them except the technical Anzeigepflicht, a modern

term for investiture. The Roman Church gained new strength in Prussia

and Germany from legal persecution, and enjoys now more freedom and

independence than ever, and much more than the Protestant Church, which

has innocently suffered from the operation of the May-laws.

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[73] The castle was destroyed by the inhabitants of Reggio in 1255. The

site affords a magnificent view of the Apennines towards the south, and

of the plain of the Po towards the north, and the cities of Parma,

Reggio, and Modena. An excursion from Reggio to Canossa and back can be

made in eight hours. For Gregory's own account of the meeting, see

Reg., IV. 2, in Migne, 148, 465, and Mirbt, Quellen, 101. See also

Hauck, III. 792 sqq.

[74] "Illic," says Berthold (Monum. Germ. SS., V. 289)."laneis indutus,

nudis pedibus, frigorosus, usque in diem tertium foris extra castellum

cum suis hospitabatur." During the night the king was under shelter.

See Hefele, V. 94 sq.

[75] The last point is omitted by Berthold, but expressly mentioned by

Lambert of Hersfeld, and confirmed by Gregory, who says in his account

of the Canossa event to the German prelates and princes, that he

received Henry only into the communion of the Church, without

reinstating him in his reign (losum ei communionem redidi, non tamen in

regno ... instauravi), and without binding the faithful to their oath

of allegiance, reserving this to future decision. Jaff�, p. 402;

Hefele, V. 96. The same view he expresses in the sentence of the second

excommunication. In view of these facts it is strange that Giesebrecht

(III. 403) should discredit the report of Lambert, and hold that Henry

regained with the absolution also the royal prerogatives.

[76] This story, first told by Lambert of Hersfeld, who in the main

sided with Gregory against Henry, is discredited by Giesebrecht, III.

401; Ranke, VII. 284; Mirbt, 194-199; and the Catholic historians,

D�llinger and Hefele(V. 98), reject it as a fable. The pope had no need

to protest his innocence, and had referred the charges against the king

to a German tribunal; the king had previously promised him to appear

before this tribunal; his present purpose was simply to get rid of the

interdict, so as to be free to act. By declining the ordeal he would

have confessed his guilt and justified the pope, and superseded the

action of the German tribunal. On the historical value of Lambert's

Annales, see Giesebrecht, III. 1030-1032, and Wattenbach, Deutschlands,

Geschichtsquellen, II. 87 sqq. Gregorovius repeats the story as

authentic.

[77] Lambert refutes this slander (M. G., V. 257), and the best modern

historians. Protestant as well as Catholic, reject it. See Neander,

Ranke. (VII. 280), and Hefele (V. 67 sq.). Ranke says: "Solche

Verh�ltnisse giebt es ja zwischen Individuen beiderlei Geschlechtes,

die sich nur auf geistigem Boden entwickeln, in welchen ohne sinnliche

Ann�herung die tiefste innere Vereinigung der Gesinnungen und

Ueberzeugungen besteht. Die Markgr�fin glaubte an die Wahrhaftigkeit

und den geistigen Beruf des Papstes, und der Papst andererseits

bedurfte ihrer H�lfe."

[78] Purg., XXVIII. 40, XXXII. 92; XXXII. 28, 82, XXXIII. 119, 121.

[79] Mirbt,Publizistik, 181-200, seeks to make out that Henry's act at

Canossa was regarded by his age as an act of humility and not of

humiliation. The contemporary writers speak of it as an act of unheard

of and wonderful humility, "mira inaudita humilitas, officium

humilitatis." In view of the profound reverence for the Church which

prevailed it may be taken as certain that the people looked upon it as

an act of humble piety. But for Henry it was a different thing. As

Mirbt agrees, the king was not moved by deep religious concern but by a

desire to hold on to his crown. For him Canossa was a humiliation and

before the bar of historic judgment the act wherein the State

prostrated itself at the feet of the pope must be regarded as a

humiliation. For other instances of princely submission to the pope,

see Mirbt, p. 198, note.

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� 17. Renewal of the Conflict. Two Kings and Two Popes.

The result of Canossa was civil war in Germany and Italy king against

king, pope against pope, nobles against nobles, bishops against

bishops, father against son, and son against father. It lasted several

years. Gregory and Henry died in exile. Gregory was defeated by Henry,

Henry by his own rebellious son. The long wars of the Guelphs and the

Ghibellines originated in that period. The Duke Guelph IV. of Bavaria

was present at Forchheim when Henry was deposed, and took up arms

against him. The popes sided with the Guelphs against the Hohenstaufen

emperors and the Ghibellines.

The friends and supporters of Henry in Lombardy and Germany were

dissatisfied, and regarded his humiliation as an act of cowardice, and

the pope's conduct as an insult to the German nation and the royal

crown. His enemies, a small number of Saxon and Swabian nobles and

bishops, assembled at Forchheim, March 13, 1077, and, in the presence

of two legates of the pope, but without his express authority, offered

the crown of Germany to Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, Henry's brother-in-law,

but on two important conditions (which may be traced to the influence

of the pope's legates), namely, that he should denounce a hereditary

claim to the throne, and guarantee the freedom of ecclesiastical

appointments. He was crowned March 26, at Mainz, by Archbishop

Siegfried, but under bad omens: the consecrated oil rail short, the

Gospel was read by a simoniacal deacon, the citizens raised a tumult,

and Rudolf had to make his escape by night with Siegfried, who never

returned. He found little support in Southern Germany, and went to

Henry's enemies in Saxony.

Henry demanded from the pope the ban over the robber of his crown, but

in vain. He refused him the promised safe-conduct to Germany, acted as

king, crossed the Alps, and defeated Rudolf in a battle at Melrichstadt

in Franconia, Aug. 7, 1078, but was defeated by him near M�hlheim in

Thuringia, Jan. 27, 1080, in a decisive battle, which Rudolf regarded

as a divine decision, and which inclined the pope in his favor.

After long hesitation, Gregory, in a Synod of Rome, March 7, 1080,

ventured upon the most extraordinary act even for a man in the highest

position. Invoking the aid of St. Peter and St. Paul, he fulminated a

second and severer ban against Henry and all his adherents, deprived

him again of his kingdoms of Germany and Italy, forbade all the

faithful to obey him, and bestowed the crown of Germany (not of Italy)

on Rudolf. The address was at once a prayer, a narrative, and a

judgment, and combined cool reflection with religious fervor. It rests

on the conviction that the pope, as the representative of Peter and

Paul, was clothed with supreme authority over the world as well as the

Church. [80]

Gregory hazarded a prophecy, which was falsified by history, that

before the day of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29), Henry would either

lose his life or his throne. After the close of the synod, he sent to

Rudolf (instead of the iron crown of Charlemagne, which was in

possession of Henry) a diadem with the characteristic inscription: --

"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho." [81]

A reconciliation was now impossible. Henry replied to the papal ban by

the election of an anti-pope. A council of about thirty German and

Italian bishops met at Brixen in the Tyrol, June 26, 1080, and deposed

Gregory on the frivolous charges of ambition, avarice, simony, sorcery,

and the Berengarian heresy. Cardinal Hugo Candidus and twenty-seven

bishops (of Brixen, Bamberg, Coire, Freisingen, Lausanne, etc.) signed

the document. At the same time they elected the excommunicated

Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna pope, under the name of Clement III. He

was a man of talent, dignity, and unblemished character, but fell into

the hands of simonists and the enemies of reform. Henry acknowledged

him by the usual genuflexion, and promised to visit Rome in the

following spring, that he might receive from him the imperial crown.

Wibert returned to Ravenna with the papal insignia and great pomp.

This was the beginning of a double civil war between rival popes and

rival kings, with all its horrors. Gregory counted on the Saxons in

Germany, Countess Matilda in Northern Italy, and the Normans in

Southern Italy.

Henry was defeated Oct. 15, 1080, on the banks of the Elster, near

Naumburg; but Rudolf was mortally wounded by Godfrey of Bouillon, the

hero of Jerusalem, [82] same evening, exclaiming, as the story goes:

"This is the hand with which I swore fidelity to my lord, King Henry."

But, according to another report, he said, when he heard of the victory

of his troops: "Now I suffer willingly what the Lord has decreed for

me." His body with the severed hand was deposited in the cathedral at

Merseburg. [83]

Rudolf's death turned his victory into a defeat. It was regarded in

that age as a judgment of God against him and the anti-pope. His

friends could not agree upon a successor till the following summer,

when they elected Count Hermann of Luxemburg, who proved incompetent.

In the spring of 1081 Henry crossed the Alps with a small army to

depose Gregory, whose absolution he had sought a few years before as a

penitent at Canossa. He was welcomed in Lombardy, defeated the troops

of Matilda, and appeared at the gates of Rome before Pentecost, May 21.

Gregory, surrounded by danger, stood firm as a rock and refused every

compromise. At his last Lenten synod (end of February, 1081) he had

renewed his anathemas, and suspended those bishops who disobeyed the

summons. Nothing else is known of this synod but sentences of

punishment. In his letter of March 15, 1081, to Hermann, bishop of

Metz, he justified his conduct towards Henry, and on April 8 he warned

the Venetians against any communication with him and his adherents. "I

am not afraid," he said, "of the threats of the wicked, and would

rather sacrifice my life than consent to evil."

Henry, not being permitted by the Romans to enter their city, as he had

hoped, and not being prepared for a siege, spent the summer in Upper

Italy, but returned to Rome in Lent, 1082, and again with a larger

force at Easter, 1083, and conquered the city and the Church of St.

Peter in June. Gregory was intrenched in the Castle of St. Angelo, and

fulminated anew his anathema upon Henry and his followers (June 24).

Henry answered by causing Wibert to be enthroned in St. Peter's (June

28), but soon left Rome with Wibert (July 1), promising to return. He

had probably come to a secret understanding with the Roman nobility to

effect a peaceful compromise with Gregory; but the pope was inexorable.

In the spring of 1084 Henry returned and called a synod, which deposed

and excommunicated Gregory. Wibert was consecrated on Palm Sunday as

Pope Clement III., in the Lateran, by two excommunicated bishops of

Modena and Arezzo (instead of the bishops of Ostia, Albano, and Porto).

Henry and his wife, Bertha, received from him the imperial crown in St.

Peter's at Easter, March 31, 1084. He left Rome with Wibert (May 21),

leaving the defense of the city in the hands of the Romans. He never

returned.

In the meantime Gregory called to his aid the Norman chief, Robert

Guiscard, or Wiscard. This bold adventurer approached from the south

with a motley force of Normans, Lombards, Apulians, and Saracens,

amounting to thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse, arrived in

Rome, May 27, 1084, liberated the pope, and entered with him the

Lateran. He now began such a pillage and slaughter as even the

barbarians had not committed. Half the city was reduced to ruins; many

churches were demolished, others turned into forts; women and maidens,

even nuns, were outraged, and several thousand citizens sold into

slavery. The survivors cursed the pope and his deliverer. In the words

of a contemporary, the cruelty of the Normans gained more hearts for

the emperor than a hundred thousand pieces of gold. Rome was a ghost of

her former self. When Hildebert of Tours visited her more than ten

years later, he saw only ruins of her greatness. [84]

Many confused reports were circulated about the fate of Gregory VII.

His faithful friend, the Countess of Tuscany, assembled troops, sent

emissaries in all directions, and stirred up distrust and hatred

against Henry in Germany. The following letter remains as evidence of

her zeal for Gregory: --

"Matilda, such as she is by the grace of God, if she be anything, to

all the faithful residing in the Teutonic kingdom, greeting.

"We would have you know that Henry, the false king, has stolen the seal

of the Lord Pope Gregory. Wherefore, if ye are told anything contrary

to the words of our envoys, hold it false, and believe not Henry's

lies. Further, he has carried away with him the Bishop of Porto,

because that man was once familiar with the Lord Pope. If by his help

he should attempt anything with you or against you, be sure this bishop

is a false witness, and give no credit to those who shall tell you to

the contrary. Know that the Lord Pope has already conquered Sutri and

Nepi; Barabbas the robber, that is to say, Henry's pope, has fled like

himself. Farewell. Beware of the snares of Henry."

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[80] See the extract in �11, p. 32, and Latin text of the address in

Mansi, Harduin, Jaff�, and Shailer Mathews, 51-54.

[81] The Rock gave the crown to Peter and Peter gives it to Rudolf.

[82] This fact is reported by Albericus of Trois-Fontaines, but doubted

by Sybel (Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzugs, p. 218) and Hefele (V. 150,

note).

[83] For a good description of the battle, see Giesebrecht, III. 516

sqq.

[84] Hildebert's poem, lamenting the ruins of Rome, is found in Migne,

171, 1441 sq.

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� 18. Death of Gregory VII.

Gregory was again in possession of the Lateran, but he left the scene

of melancholy desolation, accompanied by Guiscard and a few cardinals

and Roman nobles. He went first to Monte Cassino and then to Salerno.

The descent from Canossa to Salerno was truly a via dolorosa. But the

old pope, broken in body, was unbroken in spirit.

He renewed the ban against Henry and the anti-pope at the close of

1084, and sent a letter to the faithful in Germany, stating that the

words of the Psalmist, Quare fremuerunt gentes (Ps. 2:1, 2), were

fulfilled, that the kings of the earth have rebelled against Christ and

his apostle Peter to destroy the Christian religion, but could not

seduce those who trusted in God. He called upon them to come to the

rescue of the Church if they wished to gain the remission of sins and

eternal salvation. This is his last written document.

His mind remained clear and firm to the end. He recommended Cardinal

Desiderius of Monte Cassino (Victor III.) as his successor, and next to

him Otto, bishop of Ostia (Urban II.). He absolved all his enemies,

except Henry and Wibert. "the usurper of the apostolic see." [85] d,

May 25, 1085, with the words which best express the meaning of his

public life and character: "I have loved righteousness and hated

iniquity; therefore I die in exile." [86] Christ and his Apostles, hast

received all the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts

of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. 2:8).

Robert Guiscard, his protector, died a few weeks afterwards (July 17,

1085).

The body of Gregory, clad in the pontifical vestments, was buried in

the church of St. Matthew at Salerno, which he had consecrated shortly

before. A plain stone marked his grave till John of Procida--although a

zealous Ghibelline--erected a sumptuous chapel over it. [87] mperor of

Germany, the king of France, and other sovereigns opposed the

celebration; but if ever a pope deserved canonization for devotion to

the papal theocracy, it was Hildebrand. The eighth centenary of his

death was celebrated in the Roman Church, May 25, 1885.

Gregory was, in his own time, and has been since, the subject both of

the highest praise and of the severest censure. Modern historians agree

in giving him credit for the honesty and courage of his convictions,

and concede the purity and loftiness of his motives and aims. He is the

typical representative of papal absolutism in the Middle Ages in

conflict with imperial absolutism. He combined personal integrity,

consummate statesmanship, and monastic contempt of the world. He lived

and moved in the idea of the Old Testament theocracy, and had no

conception of the free spirit of the gospel. He was a man of blood and

iron, an austere monk, inaccessible to feelings of tenderness, when

acting in his official capacity as the head of the Roman hierarchy; yet

he showed singular liberality in his treatment of Berengar, and

protested against the use of torture. His piety was absorbed in

devotion to the hierarchy, to St. Peter, and to the Virgin Mary. He was

unscrupulous in the choice of means for his end, and approved of civil

war for the triumph of the Roman Church.

The lofty principles he espoused he was willing to stake his life upon.

No pope has ever used the term "righteousness" more frequently than he

used it. No pope has ever employed the figure of warfare to describe

the conflict he was engaged in more frequently than he employed it.

[88] gain and again, such as 1 Sam. 15:23, which is found quoted in his

writings nineteen times. [89] Matt. 16: 18 the certain warrant for the

papal supremacy and excepted no person from the jurisdiction of Peter's

successors. [90] is views, we may admire the man of fearless courage

and moral conviction.

His spirit still moves in the curia, which adheres to the theocratic

theory, without the ability of carrying it into practice. The papal

Syllabus of 1864 denies that "the Roman pontiffs have exceeded the

limits of their power" (� V. 23), and asserts the superiority of the

Church over the State "in litigated questions of jurisdiction" (� VI.

54). The politico-ecclesiastical encyclicals of Leo XIII. (Immortale

Dei, Nov. 1, 1885, and Libertas praestantissimum naturae donum, June

20, 1888) reasserted substantially, though moderately and cautiously,

the Gregorian theory of Church and State.

Ranke, in his last years, wrote of Gregory: [91] e the clergical order

the basis of all human existence. This makes intelligible its two

characteristic and fundamental principles, the command of celibacy and

the prohibition of lay investiture. By the first it was intended to

build up out of the lower clergy a body isolated from all the personal

and family relationships of human society. By the second it was

intended to insure the higher clergy against all interference from the

civil power. The great hierarch thought out well the platform on which

he placed himself. He met a demand of the age to see in the priest, as

it were, a being belonging to a higher order. All that he says betrays

dignity, force, and logical connection .... His activity, which left

nothing untouched, was of a very human sort, while at the same time it

embraced religious ideals. The hierarchical principle constituted his

real life."

Gregorovius, who carries on a sustained comparison between Gregory and

Napoleon, praises Gregory's genius and moral vigor. He says: [92] of

the ancient aims of the papacy. But his unexampled genius as ruler and

statesman is his own, and no one either in ancient Rome or in modern

times has ever reached to his revolutionary daring .... His dying words

reveal the fundamental basis of his character, which was great and

manly. To this grand spirit, a character almost without an equal,

belongs a place among the rulers of the earth, men who have moved the

world by a violent yet salutary influence. The religious element,

however, raises him to a far higher sphere than that to which secular

monarchs belong. Beside Gregory, Napoleon sinks to an utter poverty of

ideas."

Let us hope that Gregory felt in his heart some of that Christian love

and meekness whose commendation closes one of his letters to Hermann,

archbishop of Metz, [93] ve God and our neighbor as we ought, this

presupposes the mercy of him who said, Learn of me, for I am meek and

lowly of heart. Whosoever humbly follows him shall pass from the

kingdom of submission which passes away, to the kingdom of true liberty

which abides forever."

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[85] "Praeter Henricum regem dictum omnes absolvo et benedico,

quicumque me hanc habere specialem potestatem in vocem apostolorum

Petri et Pauli credunt indubitanter." Paulus Bernriedensis, Vita Greg.,

c. 12; Baronius, Ann. XVII. 566.

[86] "Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem; propterea morior in exilio."

The first two sentences are from Ps. 46:8; the last is put instead of

"propterea unxit te Deus." His enemies spread the false report that he

repented of the controversy which he had excited. Mon. Germ. Script.,

VIII. 470; Baxmann, II. 424 sqq.

[87] His monument, erected in 1578 in the cathedral of Salerno, bears

the Inscription: "Gregorius VII. Soanensis, P.O. M., Ecclesiae

libertatis vindex acerrimus, assertor constantissimus, qui dum Romani

Pontificis auctoritatem adversus Henrici perfidiam strenue tueretur,

Salernae sancte decubuit. Anno Domini 1085, oct. Cal. Jun." Hefele, V.

184; Gregorovius, Die Grabm�ler der P�pste, p. 49; Giesebrecht, III.

578. Rome, which has so many papal monuments, has none for Gregory

VII., except an inscription on a stone In S. Prudentiana, where he is

called "Vir benedictus, moribus ecclesiam renovavit." See Gregorovius,

IV. 246.

[88] Hauck, III. 754 sqq.

[89] In a single letter to Hermann of Metz, Reg., IV. 2, Gregory quotes

at least nine passages of Scripture.

[90] Ubi Deus Petro principaliter dedit potestatem ligandi et solvendi

in terra et in caelo, nullum excepit, nihil ab ejus potestate

subtraxit. Reg., IV. 2; Migne, 148, 456.

[91] Weltgesch. VII. 34 sqq.

[92] Hist. of City of Rome, IV. 256. Of Canossa this author had said,

IV. 207: "The weaponless victory of the monk Gregory has more claim on

the admiration of the world than all the victories of an Alexander, a

Caesar, and a Napoleon." Like other Protestant German historians he has

no sympathy with Gregory's papal scheme of papal absolutism, but most

of the German Church historians, as Mirbt and Hauck, are inclined to

magnify the courage and manly vigor of Henry, as well as the justice of

his cause, and to underestimate or question the moral quality of

Gregory in his conflict with the emperor, and the immediate results of

the event at Canossa. Hauck, III. 805, omits a detailed description of

that remarkable scene with the remark that it was so well known to

Germans as not to need retelling. He pronounces the estimate usually

put upon Gregory's intellectual gifts as too high, and declares that

the title "Great" is properly associated with the name of the first

Gregory and not with the seventh pope of that name. Hildebrand had

convictions enough, but lacked in native force, p. 832 sq.

[93] Dated March 15, 1081, Reg., VIII. 21; Mirbt, Quellen, 105-112;

Migne, 148, 594-604.

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CHAPTER III.

THE PAPACY FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS.

A.D. 1085-1122.

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� 19. Victor III. and Urban II. 1086-1099.

Compare the chapter on the Crusades.

At the death of Gregory, his imperial enemy was victorious in Germany,

and had recovered part of Saxony; Lombardy remained loyal to the

empire; Matilda was prostrated by grief and sickness; the anti-pope

Wibert (Clement III., 1080-1100) continued to occupy a part of Rome

(the Lateran palace and the castle of St. Angelo); Roger, the new duke

of the Normans, spent his whole force in securing for himself the sole

rule over Calabria and Apulia against his brother Bohemund. There was a

papal interregnum of twelve months.

At last the excellent Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, who had raised

that convent to the height of its prosperity, was elected to succeed

his friend Gregory, May 24, 1086. He accepted after long delay, but

ruled only eighteen months as Victor III. He loved monastic solitude,

and died Sept. 16, 1087.

He was followed by Otto (Odo), cardinal-bishop of Ostia, a Frenchman,

formerly prior of Cluny, and one of the intimate counsellors of

Hildebrand. He assumed the name Urban II., and ruled from March 12,

1088, to July 29, 1099. He followed in the steps of Gregory, but with

more caution and adaptation to circumstances. He spent his pontificate

mostly outside of Rome, but with increasing moral influence. He

identified himself with the rising enthusiasm for the holy war of the

Cross against the Crescent. This was an immense gain for the papacy,

which reaped all the credit and benefit of that extraordinary movement.

He took a noble stand in favor of the sanctity of marriage against the

licentious King Philip I. of France, who cast away his legitimate wife,

Bertha, 1092, and held adulterous intercourse with Bertrada of

Montfort, the runaway wife of the rude Count Fulco of Anjou. This

public scandal led to several synods. The king was excommunicated by a

synod at Autun in Burgundy, Oct. 16, 1094, and by the Synod of Clermont

in 1095. He afterwards dismissed Bertrada, and was absolved by the

pope.

Urban continued the war with Henry IV. without scruple as to the means.

He encouraged the rebellion of his eldest son, Conrad, a weak and

amiable man, who fled for protection to the Countess Matilda, was

crowned king of Italy at Monza, and paid the pope the homage of holding

his stirrup (the officium stratoris) at Cremona (1095). Urban, who had

been consecrated pope outside of Rome, was able, 1088, with the aid of

the Normans, to enter the city and possess himself of all its parts

except the castle of St. Angelo, which remained in the hands of the

followers of Wibert. Wibert had been in possession of St. Peter's,

which he held as a fortress against Victor III. The streets of the

papal city resounded with the war-cries of the two papal armies, while

pope and anti-pope anathematized one another. Urban died at Florence in

1101.

The pope arranged an unnatural matrimonial alliance between the widowed

countess and the young Guelph of Bavaria, whose father was the most

powerful of the emperor's enemies in Germany. It was a purely political

match, which made neither party happy, and ended in a divorce (1095).

But it gave the papal party a political organization, and opened the

long-continued war between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which

distracted every city in Italy, and is said to have caused seventy-two

hundred revolutions and more than seven hundred atrocious murders in

that country. [94] rn to an inheritance of hatred and revenge, and

could not help sharing in the conflict of factions headed by petty

tyrants. The Guelphs defended the pope against the emperor, and also

the democracy against the aristocracy in the city government. They were

strong in pulling down, but were unable to create a new State. The

Ghibellines maintained the divine origin and independent authority of

the State in all things temporal against the encroachments of the

papacy. The party strife continued in Italy long after the German

emperor had lost his power. Dante was at first a Guelph, but in mature

life joined the Ghibellines and became the most formidable opponent of

Pope Boniface VIII.

Urban was able to hold a synod at Piacenza in Lombardy, where Henry IV.

had his chief support, during Lent, 1095. It was attended by four

thousand priests and monks and over thirty thousand laymen, and the

meeting had to be held in the open field. The pope permitted Praxedis

(Adelheid), the second wife of Henry IV., to recite the filthy details

of acts of impurity to which she had been subjected by her husband,

endorsed her shameless story, absolved her from all uncleanness, and

remitted every penitential observance, "because she had not blushed to

make a public and voluntary confession of her involuntary

transgression." [95] e true and essential presence of the body and

blood of Christ in the eucharist was asserted against the heresy of

Berengar.

More important was the Synod of Clermont in France, Nov. 18-28, 1095,

which inaugurated the first crusade. Here Urban preached the most

effective sermon on record, and reached the height of his influence.

He passed in triumphal procession, surrounded by princes and prelates,

through France and Italy. He exhorted the people everywhere to repent

of their sins and to prove the sincerity of their conversion by killing

as many enemies of the cross as they could reach with their swords.

When he reached Rome the anti-pope had been driven away by the

Crusaders. He was enabled to celebrate the Christmas festival of 1096

with unusual magnificence, and held two synods in the Lateran, January,

1097, and April, 1099. He died, July 29, 1099, a fortnight after the

capture of Jerusalem (July 15) by the Crusaders.

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[94] Guelfi, Welfen, from Welf, Wolf, a family name of the dukes of

Bavaria. Ghibellini, Ghibellinen, from Waiblingen, the patrimonial

castle of Conrad of Hohenstaufen in Swabia. Comp. Ferrari, Histoire des

r�volutions d'Italie, ou Guelfes et Ghibellins, Paris, 1858, 4 vols.

From the Guelphs descended the house of Brunswick and Hanover, and the

royal family of England since George I., 1714.

[95] Praxedis or Eupraxia, or (as the Germans called her) Adelheid was

a Russian princess, who married Henry in 1089, two years after Bertha's

death. She had preferred the same horrible charges before a synod at

Constance in 1094. See Pertz, Tom. VII. 458, XVII. 14; Hefele-Kn�pfler,

V. 211 sq. and 216; Greenwood, IV. 561.

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� 20. Pascal II. and Henry V. 1099-1118.

The letters of Paschalis II. in Migne, 163.--W. Schum: Die Politik

Papst Paschalis II. gegen Kaiser Heinrich V. Erfurt, 1877. --- G.

Peiser: Der deutsche Investiturstreit unter Heinrich V. bis 1111.

Berlin, 1883.--Gregorovius Iv., Hauck Iii., Pflugk-Harttung: Die Bullen

der P�pste. Gotha, 1901, pp. 234-263.--Mirbt, art. Paschalis II in

Herzog, XIV. 717-725, and the literature there given.

Pascal II., a monk of Cluny and disciple of Hildebrand, but less firm

and consistent, was elected in July, 1099, and reigned till 1118.

Clement III., the anti-pope, died in September, 1100, weary of the

world, and left a reputation of integrity, gentleness, and dignity. The

imperialist clergy of Rome elected another anti-pope, Sylvester IV.,

who soon disappeared noiselessly from the stage.

Pascal gained a complete victory over Henry IV. by supporting the

wicked rebellion of his second son, Henry V., the last of the Salic or

Franconian line of emperors, 1104-1126.

The unfortunate father died under the anathema in misery at Li�ge

(L�ttich), Aug. 7, 1106. The people of the city which had remained

faithful to him, lamented his death; but the papal agents commanded the

bishop of Li�ge to remove his body from consecrated ground to an island

in the Maas. Henry V. had not lost all feeling for his father, and

complied with his dying request for burial in the imperial sepulchre at

Spires. The clergy and the citizens accompanied the funeral procession

to the cathedral of St. Mary, which the departed sovereign had himself

built and richly endowed. He was buried with all honors. But when

Bishop Gebhard, one of his fiercest persecutors, who was absent at the

time, heard of it, he caused the body to be forthwith exhumed and

removed, and interdicted all services in the church till it should be

purified of all pollution. The people, however, could not be deterred

from frequent visits to the unconsecrated chapel where the dishonored

remains of their monarch and patron were deposited. At last the pope

dissolved the ban, on the assurance of Henry V. that his father had

professed sincere repentance, and his body was again deposited in the

cathedral, Aug. 7, 1111. By his moral defects and his humiliation at

Canossa, Henry IV. had promoted the power of the papal hierarchy, and

yet, by his continued opposition after that act, he had prevented its

complete triumph. Soon after his death an anonymous writer gave

eloquent and touching expression to his grief over the imperial lord

whom he calls his hope and comfort, the pride of Rome, the ornament of

the empire, the lamp of the world, a benefactor of widows and orphans,

and a father of the poor. [96]

Pascal had to suffer for his unscrupulous policy. When Henry V. came

into full possession of his power, he demanded the right of investiture

over all the churches of the empire, and coronation at Rome. The pope

was imprisoned and so hard pressed by Henry, that he resolved to buy

the spiritual freedom of the Church by a sacrifice of its temporal

possessions (except the patrimony of Peter). A compact to this effect

between him and the emperor was signed provisionally, April, 1111.

Henry was crowned emperor of the Romans in St. Peter's. But after his

return to Germany, a Lateran synod rejected the compact, March, 1112.

The pope represented to the synod that, while in the custody of the

emperor, with many bishops and cardinals, he had conceded to him the

right of investiture to avoid greater evils, and had promised him

immunity from excommunication. He confessed that the concession was

wrong, and left it with the synod to improve the situation. He made in

the sixth session (March 23) a solemn profession of the Catholic faith

in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the Canons of the

Apostles, the four Oecumenical Synods of Nicaea, Constantinople,

Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and the decrees of Gregory VII. and Urban II.

against lay-investiture and all other crimes which they had condemned.

Then the synod, while the pope kept silent, resolved to annul the

treaty which he had been forced to make with King Henry. All exclaimed,

"Amen, Amen, fiat, fiat." Twelve archbishops, a hundred and fourteen

bishops, fifteen cardinal-priests, and eight cardinal-deacons signed

the decree.

The zealous Gregorians wished to go further and to declare

lay-investiture a heresy (which would imply that Pope Pascal was a

heretic). A French Synod of Vienne, Sept. 16, 1112, passed three

decrees: 1) Investiture by a layman is a heresy; 2) the enforced

compact of Pascal with Henry is null and void; 3) King Henry, who came

to Rome under the pretext of peace, and betrayed the pope with a

Judas-kiss, is cut off from holy Church until he gives complete

satisfaction. The decisions were submitted to the pope, who approved

them, October 20 of the same year, to avert a schism. Other provincial

synods of France, held by papal legates, launched anathemas against the

"tyrant of Germany."

But Henry defied the pope, who had pledged himself never to

excommunicate him on account of investiture. After the death of

Countess Matilda, July 24, 1115, he hastened for a third time to Italy,

and violently seized the rich possessions which she had bequeathed to

the chair of St. Peter. Pascal fled to Benevento, and called the

Normans to his aid, as Gregory VII. had done. Henry celebrated the

Easter festival of 1117 in Rome with great pomp, caused the empress to

be crowned, showed himself to the people in his imperial purple, and

amused them with shows and processions; but in the summer he returned

to Germany, after fruitless negotiations with the pope. He lived to

conclude the Concordat of Worms. He was an energetic, but hard,

despotic, and unpopular ruler.

Pascal died, Jan. 21, 1118, in the castle of St. Angelo, and was buried

in the church of St. John in Lateran. He barely escaped the charge of

heresy and schism. He privately condemned, and yet officially

supported, lay-investiture, and strove to satisfy both his own

conscience and his official duty to the papacy. The extreme party

charged him with the sin of Peter, and exhorted him to repent; milder

judges, like Ivo of Chartres and Hildebert of Le Mans, while defending

the Hildebrandian principle of the freedom of the Church, excused him

on the ground that he had yielded for a moment in the hope of better

times and from the praiseworthy desire to save the imprisoned cardinals

and to avoid bloodshed; and they referred to the example of Paul, who

circumcised Timothy, and complied with the wish of James in Jerusalem

to please the Jewish Christians.

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[96] The tract is more eloquent than accurate. It is ascribed by

Goldast, Floto, and Gieseler to Bishop Otbert of L�ttich (Li�ge); by

Dr. Jaff�, to an unknown writer in Mainz (see the preface to his German

translation, Das Leben Kaiser Heinrich des Vierten, Berlin, 1858); by

Druffel and Giesebrecht, to Bishop Erlung of W�rzburg, who was

chancellor of the emperor from 1103 to 1105. For a good

characterization of Henry IV. see Giesebrecht, III. 764-768, and on

this biography, pp. 1050 sq.

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� 21. The Concordat of Worms. 1122.

Ekkehardus Uraugiensis: Chronica (best ed. by Waiz in Mon. Germ.

Script., VI. 260).--Ul. Robert: �tude sur les actes du pape Calixte II.

Paris, 1874.--E. Bernheim: Zur Geschichte des Wormser Concordats.

G�ttingen, 1878.--M. Maurer: Papst Calixt II. M�nchen,

1886.--Giesebrecht, III. 931-959.--Ranke, VIII.

111-126.--Hefele-Kn�pfler, V. 311-384; Bullaire et histoire de Calixte

II. Paris, 1891.--D. Schafer: Zur Beurtheilung des Wormser Konkordats.

Berlin, 1905.

The Gregorian party elected Gelasius a cardinal-deacon, far advanced in

age. His short reign of a year and four days was a series of pitiable

misfortunes. He had scarcely been elected when he was grossly insulted

by a mob led by Cencius Frangipani and cast into a dungeon. Freed by

the fickle Romans, he was thrown into a panic by the sudden appearance

of Henry V. at the gates, and fled the city, attempting to escape by

sea. The Normans came to his rescue and he was led back to Rome, where

he found St. Peter's in the hands of the anti-pope. A wild riot again

forced him to flee and when he was found he was sitting in a field near

St. Paul's, with no companions but some women as his comforters. He

then escaped to Pisa and by way of Genoa to France, where he died at

Cluny, 1119. The imperialist party had elected an anti-pope, Gregory

VIII., who was consecrated at Rome in the presence of Henry V., and

ruled till 1121, but was taken captive by the Normans, mounted on a

camel, paraded before Calixtus amid the insults and mockeries of the

Roman mob, covered with dust and filth, and consigned to a dungeon. He

died in an obscure monastery, in 1125, "still persevering in his

rebellion." Such was the state of society in Rome.

Calixtus II., the successor of Gelasius, 1119-1124, was elected at

Cluny and consecrated at Vienne. He began his rule by renewing the

sentence of excommunication against Henry; and in him the emperor found

his match. After holding the Synod of Rheims, which ratified the

prohibition of lay investiture, he reached Rome, 1120. Both parties,

emperor and pope, were weary of the long struggle of fifty years, which

had, like the Thirty Years' War five centuries later, kept Central

Europe in a state of turmoil and war. At the Diet of W�rzburg, 1121,

the men of peace were in the majority and demanded a cessation of the

conflict and the calling of a council.

Calixtus found it best to comply, however reluctantly, with the

resolution of the German Diet, and instructed his legates to convoke a

general council of all the bishops of France and Germany at Mainz for

the purpose of restoring concord between the holy see and the empire.

The assembly adjourned from Mainz to Worms, the city which became

afterwards so famous for the protest of Luther. An immense multitude

crowded to the place to witness the restoration of peace. The sessions

lasted more than a week, and closed with a solemn mass and the Te Deum

by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who gave the kiss of peace to the

emperor.

The Concordat of Worms was signed, Sept. 23, 1122. It was a compromise

between the contending parties. It is the first of the many concordats

which the popes have since that time concluded with various sovereigns

and governments, and in which they usually make some concession to the

civil power. If they cannot carry out their principle, they agree to a

modus vivendi.

The pope gained the chief point, namely, the right of investiture by

delivery of the ring and crosier (the symbols of the spiritual power)

in all the churches of the empire, and also the restoration of the

properties and temporalities of the blessed Peter which had passed out

of the possession of the holy see during the late civil wars.

On the other hand, the pope granted to the emperor that the elections

to all bishoprics and abbeys of the empire should be made in the

emperor's presence, without simony or any kind of corruption; that in

cases of dispute the emperor should be at liberty to decide in favor of

the person who, in his judgment, had the best claim; and that the

candidate thus elected should receive from the emperor the

temporalities of his see or abbey by the delivery of a rod or sceptre

(the symbol of the temporal power), but without bargain or valuable

consideration of any kind, and ever after render unto the sovereign all

such duties and services as by law he was bound to render. But the

temporalities belonging to the Roman see were exempt from these

stipulations.

There are some ambiguities and uncertainties in this treaty which

opened the way for future contention. The emperor surrenders the right

of investiture (with ring and crosier), and yet takes it back again in

a milder form (with the sceptre). The question whether consecration is

to precede or to follow investiture was left undecided, except outside

of Germany, i.e. in Italy and Burgundy, where investiture with the

regalia by the sceptre was to take place within six months after the

consecration. Nothing is said about heirs and successors. Hence the

concordat might be understood simply as a treaty between Calixtus and

Henry, a temporary expedient, an armistice after half a century of

discord between Church and State. After their deaths both the papal

tiara and the imperial crown became again apples of discord.

The Concordat of Worms was confirmed by the Ninth Oecumenical Synod

(according to the Roman counting), or First Oecumenical Council of the

West, held in the Lateran from March 18 to April 6, 1123. It is also

called the First Lateran Council. Over three hundred bishops and abbots

were present, or, according to other reports, five hundred or even nine

hundred and ninety-seven. The documents of Worms were read, approved by

all, and deposited in the archives of the Roman Church.

NOTES.

The text of the Concordatum Wormatiense or Pactum Calixtinum is

preserved in the Vatican, and in the Chronicle of Ekkehard (abbot of

Aura, near Kissingen, from 1108 to 1125). It has been repeatedly

published by Baronius, Annales; Goldast, Constitutiones Imperiales;

Leibnitz, Corpus juris diplomaticum; in Gieseler's Church History; in

German translation, by Hefele-Kn�pfler, Conciliengesch. V. 373; and

also by Pertz, in the Monumenta Germaniae Legum, II. 75 sq. (who gives

the various readings from seven MSS. of Ekkehard's Chronica), and

Mirbt, Quellen, 115, 116. It is as follows:--

"In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis.

"Ego Heinricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator Augustus pro amore Dei et

s. Romanae Ecclesiae et domini P. Calixti, et pro remedio animae meae,

dimitto Deo et ss. ejus Apostolis Petro et Paulo, sanctaeque catholicae

Ecclesiae omnem investituram per annulum et baculum, et concedo, in

omnibus Ecclesiis canonicam fieri electionem et liberam consecrationem.

Possessiones et regalia b. Petri, quae a principio hujus discordiae

usque ad hodiernam diem, sive patris mei tempore, sive etiam meo,

ablata sunt, quae habeo, s. Romanae Ecclesiae restituo, quae autem non

habeo, ut, restituantur, fideliter juvabo. Possessiones etiam omnium

Ecclesiarum aliarum, et Principum, et aliorum tam clericorum quam

laicorum, quae in guerra ista amissae sunt, consilio Principum, vel

justitia, quas habeo, reddam, quas non habeo, ut reddantur, fideliter

juvabo. Et do veram pacem domino Papae Calixto, sanctaeque Romanae

Ecclesiae, et omnibus, qui in parte ipsius sunt vel fuerunt. Et in

quibus s. Romana Ecclesia mihi auxilium postulaverit, fideliter juvabo;

et de quibus mihi fecerit querimoniam, debitam sibi faciam justitiam.

"Ego Calixtus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, tibi dilecto filio

Heinrico, Dei gratia Romanorum Imperatori Augusto, concedo, electiones

Episcoporum et Abbatum Teutonici regni, qui ad regnum pertinent, in

praesentia tua fieri absque simonia et aliqua violentia; ut si qua

inter partes discordia emerserit, Metropolitani et Comprovincialum

consilio vel judicio, saniori parti assensum et auxilium praebeas.

Electus autem regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat, et quae ex his jure

tibi debet, faciat. Ex aliis vero partibus Imperii consecratus infra

sex menses regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat, et quae ex his jure tibi

debet, faciat, exceptis omnibus, quae ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere

noscuntur. De quibus vero querimoniam mihi feceris, secundum officii

mei debitum auxilium tibi praestabo. Do tibi veram pacem et omnibus,

qui in parte tua sunt, aut fuerunt tempore hujus discordiae. Data anno

dominicae Incarnationis MCXXII. IX Kal. Octobr."

Then follow the signatures.

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� 22. The Conflict of the Hierarchy in England. William the Conqueror

and Lanfranc.

The Domesday or Doomesday Book (Liber judicii; Book of judgment; Liber

de Wintonia, because deposited in the cathedral at Winchester, now in

the Charter House at Westminster, published in facsimile, 1783 and

1861).

It was prepared between 1080 and 1086 by the "justiciaries" of William

the Conqueror for the purpose of ascertaining the taxable wealth and

military strength of the conquered country and securing a full and fair

assessment. It contains, among other things, a list of the bishops,

churches, religious houses, great men, etc. See Freeman's Norman

Conquest, V. 1-52 and 733-740. He says (Preface, viii.): "The stores of

knowledge in Domesday are boundless" (for secular history, rather than

church history).--The Gesta Wilhelmi by William of Poitiers, a chaplain

and violent partisan of the Conqueror. Also the chronicles of William

of Jumi�ges, Ordericus Vitalis, in Migne, 188, Eng. Trans. 4 vols.

Bohn's Libr.

Lanfranc (thirty-fourth archbishop of Canterbury, 1005-1089): Vita and

(55) Epistolae, in his Opera, edited by D'Achery (Paris, 1648), Giles

(Oxford, 1844, in 2 vols.), and Migne, 150.--H. B�hmer , Die

F�lschungen Lanfranks von Cant. Leipzig, 1902.

\*Eadmer (monk of Canterbury, pupil and biographer of Anselm): Vita

Sancti Anselmi, and Historia Novorum, both in Anselm's Opera (ed.

Migne, 158, 159, and in Rolls Series, 1884).--The biographies of Anselm

by Frank (T�bingen, 1842), Hasse (Leipzig, 1843, vol. I. 235-455),

Remusat (Paris, 1853; German translation by Wurzbach, 1854), Dean

Church (London, 1875), Rule (London, 1883), Hook (in 2d vol. of Lives

of the Archbishops of Canterbury, London, 1861-1874), Rigg, 1896,

Welch, 1901.

\*William of Malmesbury (b.a. 1096, d. 1143, son of a Norman father and

Saxon mother, monk and librarian in the abbey of Malmesbury): De Gestis

Regum Anglorum (a history of England from the Anglo-Saxon Conquest to

the end of the reign of Henry I., 1129); Historiae Novellae (a

continuation till 1151); De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum (history of the

English Church till 1123). Edited by Savile, in Rerum Anglicarum

Scriptores, London, 1596; best ed. in Rolls Series, English translation

by John Sharpe, edited by Giles, in Bohn's "Antiquarian Library,"

London, 1847.

The Works of Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newburgh, Gervaise of

Canterbury, Ralph of Coggeshall, Richard of Hoveden, Matthew Paris,

etc., as ed. in the Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, called

the Rolls Series, London, 1858 sqq. These works ed. by Stubbs, Luard,

and other competent Eng. scholars are indispensable.

J. N. Aug. Thierry (1795-1856): Histoire de la conqu�te de l'Angleterre

par les Normands, de ses causes et de ses suites en Angleterre, en

�cosse, et en Irlande et sur le continent. 5e �d. enti�rement revue et

augment�e. Paris, 1839, 4 vols. The first edition was published, 1825,

in 3 vols., a 6th ed. in 1843, etc. English translation by Hazlitt,

1847.

Edw. A. Freeman (Professor of History in Oxford): History of the Norman

Conquest. Oxford, 1867-1876 (vols. II., III., IV., and V. See Index,

vol. VI.). And his Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry

the First. Oxford, 1882, 2 vols. (see Index, sub Anselm). An exhaustive

treatment of that period by a master in historic research and

erudition, with model indexes.

Bishop Stubbs furnishes authentic information in his Constitutional

History of England, 6th ed. 3 vols. 1897; Select Charters and Other

Illustrations of English Constitutional History to the Reign of Edward

I. (1870); Memorials of St. Dunstan (1874).

H. Gee and W. J. Hardy: Documents illustrative of Eng. Ch. Hist.,

London, 1896.

W. R. W. Stephens: The Eng. Ch. 1066-1272. London, 1891.

Milman (bk. VIII. ch. VIII.) briefly touches upon this important

chapter of the Church history of England. Hardwick (Church History of

the Middle Ages) ignores it. Robertson notices the principal facts.

Dean Hook gives the Lives of Lanfranc and Anselm (II. 73-168 and

169-276).

The conflict between the pope and the emperor for supremacy was

repeated, on a smaller scale, in England, between the archbishop of

Canterbury and the king, and was settled for a season in favor of the

hierarchy, several years before the Concordat of Worms. The struggle

for the freedom of the Church was indirectly also a struggle for the

freedom of the State and the people from the tyranny of the crown.

Priestcraft prevailed over kingcraft, then aristocracy over absolute

monarchy in the Magna Charta, and at last the people over both.

The Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles enriched the Church of England, their

alma mater, by liberal grants of real estate amounting to about

one-third of the land, and thus conferred upon it great political

influence. The bishops ranked with the nobles, and the archbishops with

princes, next to the king. The archbishop of Canterbury was usually

intrusted with the regency during the absence of the sovereign on the

Continent.

But for this very reason the British sovereigns of the different

dynasties tried to keep the Church in a state of dependence and

subserviency, by the election of bishops and the exercise of the right

of investiture. They filled the vacant bishoprics with their chaplains,

so that the court became a nursery of prelates, and they occasionally

arrogated to themselves such titles as "Shepherd of Shepherds," and

even "Vicar of Christ." In one word, they aspired to be popes of

England long before Henry VIII. blasphemously called himself, "Supreme

Head of the Church of England."

Under the later kings of the Saxon line the Church had degenerated, and

was as much in need of reform as the churches on the Continent. The

ascetic reforms of Dunstan took no deep root and soon passed away.

Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) was a monastic saint, but a stranger

and shadow in England, with his heart in Normandy, the home of his

youth. The old Saxon literature was forgotten, and the clergy was sunk

in ignorance. [97]

The Norman Conquest aroused England to new life and activity. It marks

the greatest change in English history since the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

It left its impress upon the language, literature, architecture, laws

and institutions of the country, without, however, breaking the

continuity. The Normans, though a foreign, were yet a kindred race, of

Teutonic stock, Romanized and Gallicanized in France. From savage

pirates they had been changed into semi-civillized Christians, without

losing their bravery and love of adventure, which they showed in the

crusades and the conquest of England. They engrafted the French

language and manners upon the Anglo-Saxon trunk, and superinduced an

aristocratic element on the democratic base. It took a long time for

the two nationalities and languages to melt into one.

The amalgamation was an enrichment. The happy combination of Saxon

strength and endurance with Norman enterprise and vivacity, in

connection with the insular position and the capacity for

self-government fostered thereby, prepared the English race for the

dominion of the seas and the founding of successful colonies in all

continents. [98]

The Norman kings were as jealous of their rights and as much opposed to

papal superiority as the German emperors. Their instincts and interests

were caesaropapistic or Erastian. But the Church kept them in check.

The Hildebrandian ideas of reform were advocated and carried out in

part by two of the most eminent scholars and monks of the age, Lanfranc

(1005-1089) and Anselm (1033-1109), who followed each other in the see

of Canterbury. They were both of Italian birth,--one from the Lombard

city of Pavia, the other from Aosta,--and successively abbots and

teachers of the famous convent of Bee in the diocese of Rouen.

William I. of Normandy, surnamed "the Conqueror," the natural son of,

"Robert the Devil" and the daughter of a tanner, and the first king of

the Norman dynasty (1066-1087), enforced his pretension to the English

throne under the consecrated banner of Pope Alexander II. by the defeat

of Harold in the battle on the hill of Senlac, near Hastings, Oct. 14,

1066. Five years afterwards he made Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury.

He had formerly banished him from Normandy for opposing his marriage

with Matilda of Flanders, as being within the forbidden degrees. He

overtook the abbot as he was leaving the convent on a lame horse, and

hurried him on. The abbot said, "Give me a better horse, and I shall go

faster." This cool request turned the duke's wrath into laughter and

good-will. He was reconciled, and employed him to obtain the pope's

sanction of the marriage, and the removal of the interdict from his

territories.

Lanfranc was a moderate Hildebrandian. He had been the chief promoter

of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Berengarian controversy;

while Hildebrand protected Berengar as long as he could. [99] retain

their wives. He did not fully sustain the pope's claim to temporal

authority, and disobeyed the frequent summons to appear at Rome. He

lived, upon the whole, on good terms with the king, although he could

not effect anything against his will. He aided him in his attempt to

Normanize the English Church. He was intrusted with the regency when

the duke was absent on the Continent. He favored the cause of learning,

and rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury, which had burnt down.

William was a despot in Church and State, and rather grew harder and

more reckless of human suffering in his later years. His will was the

law of the land. Freeman places him both "among the greatest of men"

and "among the worst of men." [100] ndoubted; but he was utterly

unscrupulous in the choice of means. He had a strong sense of religion

and reverence for the Church, and was liberal to her ministers; he did

not, like his son, keep the benefices vacant and rob her revenues; he

did not practise simony, and, so far, he fell in with the Hildebrandian

reform. [101] hat he owed his crown only to God and to his own sword.

He was willing to pay Peter's pence to the pope as alms, but not as

tribute, and refused to swear allegiance to Gregory VII.

He made full use of the right of a victor. He subjected the estates of

the Church to the same feudal obligations as other lands. He plundered

religious houses. He deposed Archbishop Stigand and other Saxon bishops

to make room for Norman favorites, who did not even understand the

language of the people. These changes were not begun till 1070, when

Stigand was tried before the papal legates who had placed the crown on

William's head. The main charges were simony and that he had received

the pall from the usurping pope, Benedict X. William left only one

Englishman, the simple-minded Wulfstan of Worcester, in possession of

his see. He gradually extended the same system to abbacies and lower

dignities. He allowed no synod to convene and legislate without his

previous permission and subsequent confirmation of its decrees, no pope

to be acknowledged in England without his will, no papal letters to be

received and published without his consent. No ecclesiastic was to

leave the kingdom without his permission, and bishops were forbidden to

excommunicate a noble for adultery or any capital crime without the

previous assent of the king. In these ways the power of the clergy was

limited, and a check put upon the supremacy of Rome over the English

Church. Lanfranc seems to have fully sympathized with these measures.

For after the death of Alexander II., who had been his pupil at Bec, he

seems to have treated the popes, especially Gregory VII., coolly.

Gregory wrote him several letters threatening him with suspension and

for his absence from the synods which were convening in Rome. [102]

On the other hand, the law was passed in William's reign remanding

ecclesiastical suits to separate tribunals, [103] ire courts. Another

important movement in William's reign, sanctioned by synodal authority,

[104] herborne, Chester of Lichfield, Lincoln of Dorchester, 1085, Bath

of Wells, 1088, and Norwich of Thetford, 1094, which had taken the

place of Elmham, 1078. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, nephew of the

Conqueror, prepared the liturgical service called the Sarum use, which

was adopted in other dioceses than his own, and later became one of the

chief sources of the Book of Common Prayer.

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[97] It is said of the later Anglo-Saxon clergy that they were scarcely

able to stammer out the forms of divine service, and that any one who

knew "grammar" was regarded as a prodigy.

[98] On the effects of the Norman Conquest, see the fifth volume of

Freeman's great work. Comp. also Schaff's essay on the cosmopolitan

character and mission of the English language, in his Literature and

Poetry, New York, 1890, pp. 1-62.

[99] On Lanfranc's connection with the Berengar controversy, see

Schaff, vol. IV. 556 and 567 sq.

[100] Norman Conquest, II. 165.

[101] Freeman, V. 169: "He was one of the few princes of that age whose

hands were wholly clean from the guilt of simony. His ecclesiastical

appointments for the most part do him honor; the patron of Lanfranc and

Anselm can never be spoken of without respect."

[102] Reg. Greg., VI. 30, IX. 20; Migne, 148, 621, 643.

[103] Gee and Hardy, 57 sq.

[104] The Synod of London, 1075. See Wilkins, I. 363; Gee and Hardy,

54.

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� 23. William Rufus and Anselm.

William II., commonly called William Rufus or the Red (for his red

hair), the third son and first successor of the Conqueror, ruled from

1087 to 1100. He bought Normandy from his brother Robert to enable him

to make a crusade. This is the only good thing he did, besides

appointing Anselm primate of England. He inherited all the vices and

none of the virtues of his father. He despised and hated the clergy. It

was said of him that, "he feared God but little, and man not at all."

He was not a sceptic or infidel, as some represent him, but profane and

blasphemous. He believed in God, like the demons, but did not tremble.

He defied the Almighty. When he recovered from a severe sickness, he

said: "God shall never see me a good man; I have suffered too much at

his hands." He doubted his justice, and mocked at the ordeals. He

declared publicly that neither St. Peter nor any other saint had any

influence with God, and that he would not ask them for aid. He used to

swear "by the holy face of Lucca." [105] n gross and shameless

debaucheries. The people said of him that he rose a worse man every

morning, and lay down a worse man every evening.

He had promised Lanfranc at his coronation to exercise justice and

mercy and to protect the freedom of the Church, but soon forgot his

vow, and began systematically to plunder the Church and to oppress the

clergy. He robbed the bishoprics and abbeys of their income by leaving

them vacant or selling them to the highest bidders. Within four years

he changed thirty cemeteries into royal parks to satisfy his passion

for bunting, which at last cost him his life. He used to say: "The

bread of Christ is rich; the kings have given to the Church one-half of

its income: why should I not try to win it back?"

He kept the see of Canterbury vacant for nearly four years (1089-1093).

At last he yielded, under the influence of a severe sickness, to the

pressure of the better class of bishops and noblemen, and elected

Anselm, who was then in England, and well known as a profound

theologian and saintly character. A greater contrast can scarcely be

imagined. While William Rufus delighted in witnessing the tortures of

innocent men and animals, Anselm was singularly tenderhearted: he saved

the life of a hare which was chased by the hunters and had sought

protection under his horse; he saw a worthy object for prayer in the

sufferings of a bird tortured by a thoughtless child. [106]

The primacy was forced upon Anselm in spite of his remonstrance. He

foresaw a hard struggle. He compared himself to an old and feeble

sheep, and the king to a young, wild bull. Thus yoked, he was to draw

the plough of the Church of England, with the prospect of being torn to

pieces by the ferocity of the bull. [107] inciples of Hildebrand,

though with more moderation and gentleness.

A short time elapsed before the relations between the king and the

prelate became strained. Anselm supported Urban II.; William leaned to

the anti-pope Clement III. The question of investiture with the pallium

at once became a matter of dispute. The king at first insisted upon

Anselm's receiving it from Clement and then claimed the right to confer

it himself. Anselm refused to yield and received it, 1095, from Urban's

legate, who brought the sacred vestment to England in a silver casket.

The archbishop gave further offence to the king by the mean way, as was

said, in which he performed his feudal obligations. [108] se, not

submit. It was the old question whether an English ecclesiastic owed

primary allegiance to the pope or to the crown. [109] elate by ordering

Anselm's baggage searched at Dover. He seized the revenues of

Canterbury, and Anselm's absence was equivalent to exile. Eadmer

reports a remarkable scene before Anselm's departure. [110] the king's

presence until he had given him his blessing. "As a spiritual father to

his son, as Archbishop of Canterbury to the king of England," he said,

"I would fain before I go give you God's blessing." To these words the

king made reply that he did not decline the priestly blessing. It was

the last time they met.

Anselm was most honorably received by the pope, who threatened the king

with excommunication, and pronounced an anathema on all laymen who

exercised the right of investiture and on all clergymen who submitted

to lay-investiture. [111]

The Red King was shot dead by an arrow,--nobody knows whether by a

hunter or by an assassin, Aug. 2, 1100, while hunting in the New

Forest. "Cut off without shrift, without repentance, he found a tomb in

the Old Minster of Winchester; but the voice of clergy and people, like

the voice of one man, pronounced, by a common impulse, the sentence

which Rome had feared to pronounce. He received the more unique brand

of popular excommunication. No bell was tolled, no prayer was said, no

alms were given for the soul of the one baptized and anointed ruler,

whose eternal damnation was taken for granted by all men as a thing

about which there could be no doubt." [112]

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[105] Per sanctum vultum de Luca. A figure of the crucified Saviour in

wood which was said to have been carved by Nicodemus, and was preserved

in the cathedral at Lucca.

[106] These rare traits of character are mentioned by Eadmer in his

Vita Anselmi. Freeman, V. 25.

[107] Eadmer (Hist. Nov., in Migne's edition of Anselm, II. 368):

"Indomitum taurum et vetulam ac debilem ovem in aratro conjungere sub

uno jugo," etc. Ranke, Weltgesch., VIII. 115, makes here a curious

mistake by putting into Anselm's mouth the saying that England's plough

must be drawn by "two noble and powerful bulls" (von zwei edlen und

kr�ftigen Stieren, dem K�nig und dem Primas).

[108] Soon after he was made archbishop, Anselm sent the king �500, a

sum far below what the king expected. On another occasion when the king

was starting on a campaign against Wales, Anselm sent what the king

regarded as a beggarly contingent of ill-trained knights.

[109] The matters in dispute were discussed at Rockingham at a meeting

of barons and bishops with Anselm at their head. See Freeman,W. Rufus,

I. 476 sqq.

[110] Hist. Nov., II., Migne's ed. 169, 402.

[111] According to Eadmer, Hist. Nov., Migne's ed. 159, 414, it was due

to Anselm's intercession that Urban withheld from William Rufus the

anathema.

[112] Freeman, Norm. Conq., V. 147.

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� 24. Anselm and Henry I.

At the death of the Red King, one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and

eleven abbeys were without pastors. Henry I., his younger brother,

surnamed Beauclerc, ascended the throne (1100-1135). He connected the

Norman blood with the imperial house of Germany by the marriage of his

daughter Matilda to Henry V. After the emperor's death, Matilda was

privately married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou (1128), and

became the mother of Henry II., the founder of the Plantagenet dynasty.

King Henry I. is favorably known by his strict administration of

justice. He reconciled the clergy by recalling Anselm from exile, but

soon renewed the investiture controversy. He instituted bishops and

abbots, and summoned Anselm to consecrate them, which he steadfastly

refused to do. He sent him into a second exile (1103-1106). [113]

crifice of a little earthly power, reminding him that Paul circumcised

Timothy, and went to the temple to conciliate the Jewish brethren.

Pascal II. excommunicated the bishops who had accepted investiture from

Henry. But the king was not inclined to maintain a hostile attitude to

Anselm. They had an interview in Normandy and appealed to the pope, who

confirmed the previous investitures of the king on condition of his

surrendering the right of investiture in future to the Church. This

decision was ratified at Bec, Aug. 26, 1106. The king promised to

restore to Anselm the profits of the see during his absence, to abstain

from the revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and to remit all

fines to the clergy. He retained the right of sending to vacant sees a

cong� d'�lire, or notice to elect, which carried with it the right of

nomination. Anselm now proceeded to consecrate bishops, among them

Roger of Salisbury, who was first preferred to Henry's notice because

he "began prayers quickly and closed them speedily." [114]

Anselm returned to England in triumph, and was received by the queen at

the head of the monks and the clergy. At a council held at Westminster

in 1107, [115] e the archbishop promised to tolerate the ceremony of

homage (which Urban II. had condemned). The synodical canons against

clerical marriage were renewed and made more rigorous (1102, 1107,

1108); but the pope consented for a time that the sons of priests might

be admitted to orders, for the remarkable reason, as Eadmer reports,

that "almost the greater and the better part of the English clergy"

were derived from this class. [116]

During the remaining years of his life, Anselm enjoyed the friendship

and respect of the king, and during the latter's absence on the

Continent in 1108, he was intrusted with the regency and the care of

the royal family. He was canonized by the voice of the English people

long before the formal canonization by the pope. [117]

After his death, in April, 1109, the primacy remained vacant till 1114,

when it was conferred upon Ralph of Escures, bishop of Rochester, who

had administered its affairs during the interval. He is described as a

learned, cheerful, affable, good-humored, facetious prelate. He was

called "nugax," but his jests and repartees have not been recorded. He

and his two Norman successors, William of Corbeuil, 1123-1136. and

Theobald, 1139-1161, lived on good terms with the king and his

successor, Stephen. Thomas Becket, an English man, resumed, in 1162,

the controversy between the mitre and the crown with greater energy,

but less wisdom, than Anselm.

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[113] While in England, Anselm had celebrated the marriage of Henry to

Matilda, or Eadgyth (as her English name was), daughter of the Scotch

king Malcolm. Her aunt, a nun at Romsey, had placed the veil upon

Eadgyth when she was a child as a protection against violence. There

was a difference of opinion as to whether this was to be construed as a

vow. Anselm pronounced her free. Ladies at the time of the Norman

Conquest had temporarily put on the veil as a protection to their

virtue. Lanfranc afterwards declared them free to marry.

[114] See Fuller,Ch. Hist. of Britain, I. 340.

[115] A previous council had been held at Westminster in 1102. See

Freeman, V. 221, 226, and Gee and Hardy, pp. 63 sq.

[116] Freeman, V. 223: "The newly devised rigor only led to laxity of a

worse kind, which it was intended to stop. But, at any rate, it was now

that the rule of celibacy became for the first time the universal law

of the English Church. Anselm's counsel at Westminster [that of 1102]

thus marks an era in our ecclesiastical history."

[117] The canonization by Alexander III. came to nothing, but was

renewed by Alexander VI. Dean Church says that Anselm "suffered the

indignity of a canonization at the hands of Borgia."

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CHAPTER IV.

THE PAPACY FROM THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS TO INNOCENT III. A.D. 1122-1198.

On the historical sources for this period down to the middle of the

thirteenth century, see Wattenbach: Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im

Mittelalter, II. 217-442.

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� 25. Innocent II., 1130-1143, and Eugene III., 1145-1153.

Innocent II.: Epistolae et Privilegia, in Migne, Patrol., Tom. 179,

fol. 54636; his biographies in Muratori (Rer. Ital., Tom. II. and III.)

and Watterich (Pontif. Rom. Vitae, II. 174 sq.).--Anacletus (antipapa):

Epistolae et Privil., in Migne, Tom. 179, fol. 687-732.--Eugenius III.:

Epistolae, etc., in Migne, 180, 1013-1614.--The Works of St. Bernard,

edited by Mabillon, and reprinted in Migne's Patrol. (Tom. 182-185,

Paris, 1855); Ordericus Vitalis, Eccl. Hist., XII. 11, etc.; Bohn's

Trans. IV.

Jaff�: Geschichte des deutschen Reichs unter Lothar von Sachsen.

Berlin, 1843.--Mirbt, art. Innocent II. in Herzog, IX. 108 sqq.--E.

M�hlbacher: Die streitige Papstwahl d. J. 1130. Innsbruck, 1876.--W.

Bernhardi: Konrad III. Leipzig, 1883, 2 vols.--Hefele-Kn�pfler, Bd. V.

385-532.--Giesebrecht, Bd. IV. 54 sqq.--Gregorovius, IV. 403 sqq.

Hauck, IV. 130 sqq.--The Biographies of St. Bernard.

Calixtus II. was followed by Honorius II., whose rule of six years,

1124-1130, was an uneventful one. After his death a dangerous schism

broke out between Innocent II., 1130-1143, and Anacletus II.,

1130-1138, who represented two powerful Roman families, the Frangipani,

or Breadmakers, [118]

Innocent, formerly cardinal-legate of Urban II. and mediator of the

Concordat of Worms, enjoyed the reputation of superior learning and

piety, which even his opponents could not dispute. He had also the

advantage of a prior election, but of doubtful legal validity, since it

was effected only by a minority of cardinals, who met in great hurry in

an unknown place to anticipate the rival candidate. [119]

Anacletus was a son of Pierleone, Petrus Leonis, and a grandson of Leo,

a baptized Jewish banker, who had acquired great financial, social, and

political influence under the Hildebrandian popes. A Jewish community

with a few hundred members were tolerated in Trastevere and around the

island of the Tiber as a monumental proof of the truth of Christianity,

and furnished some of the best physicians and richest bankers, who

helped the nobility and the popes in their financial troubles.

Anacletus betrayed his Semitic origin in his physiognomy, and was

inferior to Innocent in moral character; but he secured an election by

a majority of cardinals and the support of the principal noble families

and the Roman community. With the help of the Normans, he took

possession of Rome, banished his opponent, deposed the hostile

cardinals, and filled the college with his friends.

Innocent was obliged to flee to France, and received there the powerful

support of Peter of Cluny and Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest monks

and oracles of their age. He was acknowledged as the legitimate pope by

all the monastic orders and by the kings of France and England.

Lothaire II. (III.) of Saxony, 1125-1137, to whom both parties

appealed, decided for Innocent, led him and St. Bernard to Rome by

armed force, and received in turn from the pope the imperial crown,

June 4, 1133.

But after Lothaire's departure, Anacletus regained possession of Rome,

with the help of the Norman duke, Roger, and the party of the rival

emperor, Conrad III. He made Roger II. king of Sicily, and thus helped

to found a kingdom which lasted seven hundred and thirty years, till it

was absorbed in the kingdom of Italy, 1860. Innocent retired to Pisa

(1135). Lothaire made a second expedition to Italy and defeated Roger

II. Bernard again appeared at Rome and succeeded in strengthening

Innocent's position. At this juncture Anacletus died, 1138. The healing

of the schism was solemnly announced at the Second Lateran Council,

1139. War soon after broke out between Innocent and Roger, and Innocent

was taken prisoner. On his release he confirmed Roger as king of

Sicily. Lothaire had returned to Germany to die, 1137. Innocent had

granted to him the territories of Matilda for an annual payment. On

this transaction later popes based the claim that the emperor was a

papal vassal.

After the short pontificates of Coelestin II., 1143-1144, and Lucius

II., 1144-1145, Eugene III., a pupil and friend of St. Bernard, was

elected, Feb. 15, 1145, and ruled till July 8, 1153. He wore the rough

shirt of the monks of Citeaux under the purple. He had to flee from

Rome, owing to the disturbances of Arnold of Brescia, and spent most of

his time in exile. During his pontificate, Edessa was lost and the

second crusade undertaken. Eugene has his chief interest from his

connection with St. Bernard, his wise and loyal counsellor, who

addressed to him his famous treatise on the papacy, the de

consideratione. [120]

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[118] The name was derived by legend from the distribution of bread in

time of famine by one of the ancestors of the family. Its coat of arms

represented two lions rampant, holding a loaf of bread between them.

Gregorovius. IV. 404.

[119] The thorough investigation of M�hlbacher is unfavorable to the

validity of the election of Gregory (Innocent II.), and Deutsch (note

in his edition of Neander's St. Bernhard, I. 110 sq.) agrees with him,

and bases his claim on purely moral grounds.

[120] See the chapters on the Second Crusade and St. Bernard.

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� 26. Arnold of Brescia.

Otto (Bishop of Freising, or Freisingen, d. 1158): De Gestis Friderici

I. (lib. II. 20).--Gunther (Ligurinus): De Gestis Friderici I., an epos

written 1187 (lib. III. vers. 262 sqq.).--Gerhoh (provost of

Reichersberg, d. 1169): De investigatione Antichristi, edited by

Scheibelberger. Lincii, 1875.--John of Salisbury: Historia Pontificalis

(written c. 1162, recently discovered), in Mon. Germ. Script., XX. c.

31, p. 537.--St. Bernard: Epist., Migne, 195, 196, 198.--Walter Map

(archdeacon of Oxford, 1196): De Nugis Curialium, ed. Wright, pp. 41

and 43. The sources are all hostile to Arnold and the Arnoldists.

J. D. K�ler: De Arnoldo Brixiensi dissert. G�ttingen,

1742.--Guadagnini: Apologia di Arnaldo da Brescia. Pavia, 1790, 2

vols.--K. Beck: A. v. Brescia. Basel, 1824.--H. Francke: Arnold von

Brescia und seine Zeit. Z�rich, 1825 (eulogistic).--Bent: Essay sur

a.d. Brescia. Gen�ve, 1856.--Federico Odorici: Arnaldo da Brescia.

1861. Georges Guibal: Arnauld de Brescia et les Hohenstaufen ou la

question du pouvoir temporel de la papaut� du moyen age. Paris,

1868.--\*Giesebrecht: Arnold von Brescia. M�nchen, 1873 (in the Reports

of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences). Comp. his Gesch. der d.

Kaiserzeit, IV. 314 sqq.--A. Di Giovanni De Castro: Arnaldo da Brescia

e la revoluzione romana dell XII. secolo. Livorno, 1875.--A. Hausrath:

Arnold von Brescia. Leipzig, 1891.--Deutsch, A. von Brescia, in Herzog,

II. 117-122;--Gregorovius, IV. 479 sqq. The Lives of St. Bernard,

especially Vacandard and Neander-Deutsch.

During the pontificates of Innocent II., Eugene III., and Adrian IV.

occurred the interesting episode of Arnold of Brescia, an unsuccessful

ecclesiastical and political agitator, who protested against the

secularization of the Church, and tried to restore it to apostolic

poverty and apostolic purity. These two ideas were closely connected in

his mind. He proclaimed the principle that the Church and the clergy,

as well as the monks, should be without any temporal possessions, like

Christ and the Apostles, and live from the tithes and the voluntary

offerings of the people. Their calling is purely spiritual. All the

things of this earth belong to the laity and the civil government.

He practised what he taught, and begged his daily bread from house to

house. He was a monk of severe ascetic piety, enthusiastic temper,

popular eloquence, well versed in the Scriptures, restless, radical,

and fearless. [121] own. [122]

With this ecclesiastical scheme he combined a political one. He

identified himself with the movement of the Romans to emancipate

themselves from the papal authority, and to restore the ancient

republic. By giving all earthly power to the laity, he secured the

favor of the laity, but lost the influence of the clergy. It was the

political complication which caused his ruin.

Arnold was a native of Brescia in Lombardy, and an ordained reader in

the Church. He was a pupil of Abaelard, and called armor-bearer to this

Goliath. [123] h him against St. Bernard, who became his bitter enemy.

But with the exception of the common opposition to the hierarchy, they

differed very widely. Abaelard was a philosopher, Arnold, a politician;

Abaelard, a speculative thinker, Arnold, a practical preacher;

Abaelard, a rationalist, Arnold, an enthusiast. The former undermined

the traditional orthodoxy, the latter attacked the morals of the clergy

and the temporal power of the Church. Arnold was far below Abaelard in

intellectual endowment, but far more dangerous in the practical drift

of his teaching, which tended to pauperize the Church and to

revolutionize society. Baronius calls him "the father of political

heresies."

In his ascetic zeal for the moral reform of the clergy, Arnold was in

sympathy with the Hildebrandian party, but in his views of the temporal

power of the pope, he went to the opposite extreme. Hildebrand aimed at

the theocratic supremacy of the Church over the State; Arnold sought

the welfare of the Church in her complete separation from the State and

of the clerical office from secular entanglements. Pascal II., we may

say, had prepared the way for this theory when he was willing to

sacrifice the investiture to the emperor. The Hildebrandian reform had

nearly passed away, and the old corruptions reappeared. The temporal

power of the Church promoted the worldliness of the clergy. The author

of the Historia Pontificalis says that Arnold's doctrine agreed with

the Gospel, but stood in crying contrast with the actual condition of

things. St. Bernard, his opponent, was as much opposed as he to the

splendor and luxury of bishops, the secular cares of the popes, and

expressed a wish that he might see the day when "the Church, as in

olden times, should cast her net for souls, and not for money." [124]

All the monastic orders protested against the worldliness of the

Church, and realized the principle of apostolic poverty within the wall

of convents. But Arnold extended it to the secular clergy as well, and

even went so far as to make poverty a condition of salvation for

priests and monks. [125]

Arnold's sermons gained great popular applause in Lombardy, and caused

bitter disputes between the people and the bishop of Brescia. He was

charged before the Lateran Synod of 1139 with inciting the laity

against the clergy, was deposed as a schismatic (not as a heretic),

commanded to be silent, and was expelled from Italy.

He went again to France and was entangled in the controversy of

Abaelard with Bernard. Pope Innocent condemned both Abaelard and Arnold

to silence and seclusion in a convent, 1140. Abaelard, weary of strife

and life, submitted and retired to the convent of Cluny, where two

years later he died in peace. [126] f the clergy. He exposed especially

the avarice of the bishops. He also charged St. Bernard with unholy

ambition and envy against scholars. Bernard called him a man whose

speech was honey, whose doctrine was poison. At his request the king

expelled Arnold from France.

Arnold fled to Z�rich and was kindly received and protected by the

papal legate, Cardinal Guido, his former fellow-student in Paris. [127]

After a few years of unknown exile, Arnold appeared in Rome as the

leader of a political movement. Innocent II. had allowed him to return

to Italy; Eugene III. had pardoned him on condition of his doing

penance in the holy places of Rome. But after the flight of this pope

to France, Arnold preached again the doctrine of apostolic poverty,

called the popes and cardinals Pharisees and scribes, and their church

a house of merchandise and den of robbers. He was protected by the

Roman senate, and idolized by the people. The Romans had renounced the

papal authority, expelled the pope, substituted a purely secular

government after the ancient model, and invited Conrad III. to assume

the r�le of Constantine I. or Justinian. They lost themselves in dreams

of government. The tradition of the old Roman rule controlled the

Middle Ages in various forms: it lived as a universal monarchy in the

German Empire, as a universal theocracy in the papacy; as a short-lived

republic in the Roman people. The modern Italians who oppose the

temporal power of the pope are more sensible: they simply claim the

natural right of the Italian people to govern themselves, and they

confine the dominion of Rome to Italy.

Arnold stepped out of the ecclesiastical into the political sphere, and

surrounded the new republic with the halo of religion. He preached in

his monastic gown, on the ruins of the Capitol, to the patres

conscripti, and advised them to rebuild the Capitol, and to restore the

old order of senators and knights. His emaciated face gave him a

ghost-like appearance and deepened the effect of his eloquence.

But the republican experiment failed. The people were at last forced

into submission by the interdict of Pope Adrian IV. Arnold was banished

from Rome, 1154, and soon afterwards hanged by order of Emperor

Frederick I., who hated democracy and republicanism. His body was burnt

and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, 1155, lest his admirers

should worship his bones. [128]

Arnold's was a voice of protest against the secular aims of the papacy

and the worldliness of the clergy which still has its hearers. "So

obstinate is the ban of the Middle Ages under which Rome is still

held," says Gregorovius, "that the soul of a heretic of the twelfth

century has not yet found rest, but must still haunt Rome." The

Catholic Bishop Hefele refused to class him among "real heretics."

[129]

The Arnoldists continued for some time to defend the doctrines of their

master, and were declared heretics by a council of Verona, 1184, after

which they disappeared.

But the idea of apostolic poverty and the opposition to the temporal

power of the papacy reappeared among the Spirituals of the Franciscan

order. Arnold's political scheme of restoring the Roman republic was

revived two hundred years later by Cola di Rienzi (1347), but with no

better success; for Rienzi was murdered, his body burnt, and the ashes

were scattered to the winds (1354).

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[121] Otto von Freising calls him "singularitatis amator, novitatis

cupidus, " and ranks him with those characters who are apt to produce

heresies and to make schismatic disturbances. St. Bernard denounces him

as the author of a schisma pessimum, but bears testimony to his ascetic

piety, yet with the cruel charge of satanic thirst for the blood of

souls: "Homo est neque manducans neque bibens, solo cum diabolo

esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum."

[122] Von Freising: "Praeter haec [his views on Church property]de

sacramento altaris, et baptismo parvulorum non sane dicitur sensisse."

Some Baptists claim him for his supposed rejection of infant baptism.

The attempts to bring him into contact with the Waldenses (who are of

later date) have no foundation.

[123] Freising: "Arnaldus iste et Italia, civitate Brixia oriundus,

ejusdemque ecclesiae clericus ac tantum lector ordinatus, Petrum

Abailardum olim praeceptorem habuerat." St. Bernard seems to place the

acquaintance at a later period: "Execratus a Petro apostolo, adhaeserat

Petro Abailardo."

[124] Epist., 238 ad Eugen. III.

[125] Otto v. Freising, l.c.: "Dicebat, nec Clericos proprietatem, nec

Episcopos regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes aliqua ratione

salvari posse. Cuncta haec Principis esse, ab ejusque beneficentia in

usum tantum laicorum cedere opportere."

[126] Tosti, in his Storia di Abelardo, Naples, 1851, says of Abaelard

that he had the courage of thought, but not the courage of action (il

coraggio del pensiero non quello dell'azione).

[127] This Guido was formerly identified with Guido of Castello who

became Pope Coelestin II., Sept. 26, 1143, and ruled five months. But

Giesebrecht and Gregorovius (IV. 455) distinguish the two. Francke

exaggerates Arnold's influence upon Swiss liberty while at Z�rich.

Milman makes him a forerunner of Zwingli, who opposed the hierarchy;

but Zwingli knew little or nothing of Arnold, and had no idea of

pauperizing the Church, or of a separation of Church and State.

[128] According to a Brescian poem, Arnold refused to recant and made

only the single request for time for prayer before dying. Gregorovius,

IV. 545.

[129] Unter die eigentlichen Heretiker. Hefele denies the errors

ascribed to Arnold by Otto of Freising. Kirchengesch. 407.

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� 27. The Popes and the Hohenstaufen.

I. Principal Sources:

(1) The Regesta of the popes from Anastasius IV. to Innocent III.

(1153-1198) by Jaff�-Wattenbach (ed. 1886).--The Opera of these popes

in Migne's Patrol. Lat.--The Vitae of the popes by Platina, Watterich,

etc.

(2) Otto (half-brother of King Conrad III. and uncle of Frederick

Barbarossa, and partial to him, bishop of Freising, or Freisingen, in

Upper Bavaria, d. 1158): De Gestis Friderici I., finished by his pupil

Rahewin or Reguin. Best ed. by Waitz, 1884. Also his Chronicle (De

duabus Civitatibus, after the model of Augustin's De Civitate Dei),

continued by Otto of St. Blasien (in the Black Forest) till 1209. First

critical ed. by R. Wilmans in Mon. Ger. Scr., XX. 83-493.--Gunther

Ligurinus wrote in 1187 a Latin epic of 6576 verses on the deeds of the

Emperor Frederick I. till 1160. See Wattenbach's Geschichtsquellen, II.

241 sqq

II. Works on the Hohenstaufen Period:

Jaff�: Geschichte des deutschen Reichs unter Konrad III., Hanover,

1845.--Fr. von Raumer: Geschichte der Hohenstaufen. Leipzig, 1823. 4th

ed. 1871. --W. Zimmermann: Die Hohenstaufen oder der Kampf der

Monarchie gegen den Papst und die republ. Freiheit. Stuttgart, 1838. 2d

ed. 1865, 2 vols.--G. De Cherrier: Histoire de la lutte des papes et

des empereurs de la maison de Souabe. Paris, 1841, 4 vols.--\*Hermann

Reuter (Professor of Church History in G�ttingen, d. 1888): Alexander

III. und die Kirche seiner Zeit. 1845. 2d ed. thoroughly rewritten,

Leipzig, 1860-1864; 3 vols. (A work of fifteen years'

study.)--Schirrmacher Kaiser Friedrich II. G�ttingen, 1859-1864, 4

vols.; Die letzten Hohenstaufen. G�ttingen, 1871.--P.

Scheffer-Boichorst: K. Friedrichs I. letzter Streit mit der Kurie.

Berlin, 1866.--H. Prutz: K. Friedrich I. Danzig, 1871-1874, 3

vols.--Del Guidice: Il guidizio e la condanna di Corradino. Naples,

1876.--Ribbeck: Friedr. I. und die r�mische Kurie. Leipzig, 1881.--Ugo

Balzani: The Popes and the Hohenstaufen. London and New York, 1888 (pp.

261).--Giesebrecht, Bryce, 167 sqq.; Gregorovius, IV. 424 sqq.; Hauck,

IV.;-- Hefele-Kn�pfler, V. 533 sqq.

With Conrad III. the powerful family of the Hohenstaufen ascended the

imperial throne and occupied it from 1138 till 1254. They derive the

name from the family castle Hohenstaufen, on a hill in the Rough Alp

near G�ppingen in Swabia. [130] Agnes in marriage. They were thus

connected by blood with the antagonist of Pope Hildebrand, and

identified with the cause of the Ghibellines against the Guelphs in

their bloody feuds in Germany and Italy. Henry VI., 1190-1197, acquired

by marriage the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His son, Frederick II.,

raised his house to the top of its prosperity, but was in his culture

and taste more an Italian than German prince, and spent most of his

time in Italy.

The Hohenstaufen or Swabian emperors maintained the principle of

imperialism, that is, the dignity and independence of the monarchy, as

a divine institution, against papal sacerdotalism on the one hand, and

against popular liberty on the other.

They made common cause with the popes, and served their purposes in the

crusades: three of them, Conrad III., Frederick I., and Frederick II.,

undertook crusades against the Saracens; Conrad III. engaged in the

second, which was a failure; Frederick I. perished in Syria; Frederick

II. captured Jerusalem. The Hohenstaufen made also common cause with

the popes against political and doctrinal dissent: Barbarossa

sacrificed and punished by death Arnold of Brescia as a dangerous

demagogue; and Frederick II., though probably himself an unbeliever,

persecuted heretics.

But on the question of supremacy of power, the Hohenstaufen were always

in secret or open war with the popes, and in the end were defeated. The

conflict broke out under Frederick Barbarossa, who after long years of

contention died at peace with the Church. It was continued by his

grandson Frederick II. who died excommunicated and deposed from his

throne by the papacy. The dynasty went out in tragic weakness in

Conradin, the last male representative, who was beheaded on the charge

of high treason, 1268. This conflict of the imperial house of the

Hohenstaufen was more imposing than the conflict waged by Henry IV.

with Gregory and his successors because of the higher plane on which it

was fought and the greater ability of the secular antagonists engaged.

Lasting more than one hundred years, it forms one of the most august

spectacles of the Middle Ages, and furnishes some of the most dramatic

scenes in which kings have ever figured. The historian Gregorovius has

felt justified in saying that "this Titanic war of the Middle Ages

filled and connected the centuries and formed the greatest spectacle of

all ages."

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the German Empire maintained, till

its death in 1806, a nominal connection with the papacy, but ceased to

be the central political power of Europe, except in the period of the

Reformation under Charles V., 1519-1558, when it was connected with the

crowns of Austria, the Low Countries, and Spain, and the newly

discovered lands of America, and when that mighty monarch, true to his

Austrian and Spanish descent, retarded the Protestant movement for

national independence and religious freedom. The new German Empire,

founded on the ruins of the old and the defeat of France (1870), is

ruled by a hereditary Protestant emperor.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A.D.

POPES

THE HOHENSTAUFEN

A.D.

1130-1143

Innocent II.

Conrad III.

1138-1152

1143-1144

Coelestine II.

Crowned emperor at Aix la Chapelle by the papal legates.

1144-1145

Lucius II.

1145-1153

Eugene III.

Frederick I. (Barbarossa).

1152-1190

1153-1154

Anastasius IV.

(Nephew of Conrad.)

1154-1159

Adrian IV.

Crowned emperor by Adrian IV.

1155

1159-1181

Alexander III.

1181-1185

Lucius III.

1185-1187

Urban III.

1187

Gregory VIII.

1187-1191

Clement III.

Henry VI.

1190-1197

1191-1198

Coelestine III.

(Son of Barbarossa.)

Crowned emperor by Coelestine III

1191

King of Sicily.

1194

1198-1216

Innocent III.

Otto IV

1209-1215

Crowned by Innocent III

1209

Deposed by the Lateran Council

1215

1216-1227

Honorius III.

Frederick II

1227-1241

Gregory IX.

(Son of Henry VI and Constance of Sicily)

1241

Coelestine IV.

Crowned emperor by Honorius III

1220

1241-1254

Innocent IV.

Conrad IV

1250-1254

(Second son of Frederick II)

Crowned king of the Romans

1237

Excommunicated, 1252, and again 1254

1254-1261

Alexander IV.

Interregnum

1254-1273

1261-1264

Urban IV.

Conradin

1265-1268

Clement IV.

(Son of Conrad, the last of the Hohenstaufen, b. 1252)

Beheaded.

1268

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[130] The castle was destroyed in the Peasants'War in 1525. At the foot

of the hill is a village and an old church with a fresco picture of

Barbarossa, bearing the inscription: "Hic transibat Caesar, amor

bonorum, terror malorum.""Here Caesar passed away, beloved by the good,

dreaded by the bad." Close by is the ancient seat of the Hohenzollern

family. On the site of the old castle a splendid castle was erected by

William I., the Emperor of Germany.

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� 28. Adrian IV. and Frederick Barbarossa.

Lives of Hadrian in Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. I. III.--Migne, vol.

188.--Otto of Freising.--William of Newburgh, 2 vols. London, 1856.--R.

Raby: Pope Hadrian IV. London, 1849.--Tarleton: Nicolas Breakspear,

Englishman And Pope, 1896.--L. Ginnell: The Doubtful Grant of Ireland

of Pope Adrian IV. to Henry II., 1899.--O. J. Thatcher: Studies conc.

Adrian IV. Chicago, 1903. pp. 88.--Reuter: Alex. III., vol. I. 1-48,

479-487.

Eugene III. was followed by Anastasius IV., whose rule lasted only

sixteen months.

His successor was Nicolas Breakspear, the first and the only Englishman

that has (thus far) worn the tiara. He was the son of a poor priest of

St. Albans. He went to France in pursuit of bread and learning, became

a monk, prior, and abbot of the convent of St. Rufus, between Arles and

Avignon. He studied theology and canon law. Eugene III. made him

cardinal-bishop of Albano, and sent him as legate to Norway and Sweden,

where he organized the Church and brought it into closer contact with

Rome.

He occupied the papal chair as Adrian IV., from 1154 to 1159, with

great ability and energy. A beggar raised to the highest dignity in

Christendom! The extremes of fortune met in this Englishman. Yet he

felt happier in his poverty than in his power. He declared soon after

his consecration that "the papal chair was full of thorns and the papal

mantle full of holes and so heavy as to load down the strongest man."

And after some experience in that high office, he said: "Is there a man

in the world so miserable as a pope? I have found so much trouble in

St. Peter's chair that all the bitterness of my former life appears

sweet in comparison." [131]

The Romans, under the lead of Arnold, requested him to resign all claim

to temporal rule; but he refused, and after a bloody attack made by an

Arnoldist upon one of the cardinals in the open street, he laid--for

the first time in history--the interdict on the city. By this unbloody,

yet awful and most effective, weapon, he enforced the submission of the

people. He abolished the republican government, expelled Arnold and his

adherents, and took possession of the Lateran.

At this time, Frederick I., called Barbarossa (Redbeard) by the

Italians from the color of his beard, one of the bravest, strongest,

and most despotic of German emperors,--the sleeper in Kyffh�user, [132]

y to receive the iron crown of royalty from the Lombards and the golden

crown of empire from the pope (1154).

The pope demanded, as the first condition of his coronation, the

surrender of Arnold. With this Barbarossa willingly complied and

ordered the execution of the popular agitator. In his first interview

with Adrian, he kissed the pope's toe, but neglected the ceremony of

holding the stirrup on descending from his palfrey. Adrian felt

indignant and refused to give him the kiss of peace. When informed that

this was an old custom, Barbarossa on the following day complied with

it, but in an ambiguous way by holding the left stirrup instead of the

right. He took forcible possession of Trastevere, and was solemnly

invested, anointed, and crowned, according to the prescribed ritual, in

St. Peter's, amid the acclamations of the curia, the clergy, and the

army (June 13, 1155). An insurrection of the Roman people was speedily

suppressed, the emperor leading the charge into the rebel ranks. But on

the next morning he retired with the pope to the Tiburtine hills. He

was reluctantly compelled by the want of supplies and by rumors of

rebellion in Lombardy to return with his army. The pope, shut out from

Rome, without foreign or domestic ally, retired to Benevento, was

besieged there by King William of Sicily (son and successor of Roger

II.) and forced by desertion and famine to submit to the terms of the

conqueror by investing him with the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of

Apulia, and the principality of Capua. This involved him in a

controversy with the emperor, who regarded Apulia and Capua as parts of

the empire. He protested against the divorce from his first, and the

marriage to his second, wife, 1156.

To these occasions of offence Adrian added another which Frederick

would not bear. It was evoked by the ill-treatment done by robbers to

the archbishop of Lund on his way from Rome through Germany to his

Scandinavian diocese. [133] f or a gift. In either case the implication

was offensive to the Germans, and they chose to interpret it as a claim

that the emperor held his empire as a fief of the apostolic see. Two

legates, rent by Adrian, attempted to soften down the meaning of the

imprudent expression.

The pope was too much of a hierarch and Frederick too much of an

emperor to live in peace. In 1158 Frederick led his army across the

Alps to reduce Milan and other refractory Lombard cities to submission.

Having accomplished this, he assembled a diet on the plain of

Roncaglia, near Piacenza, which is memorable for the decision rendered

by Bologna jurists, that the emperor held his empire by independent

divine right and not by the will of the pope. This was the most

decisive triumph the empire had won since the opening of the conflict

with Henry IV. But the decision of professors of law did not change the

policy of the papacy.

Adrian again gave offence by denying the emperor's right to levy a tax

for military purposes, fodrum, on estates claimed by the papacy and

demanded that he should recognize the papal claim of feudal rights over

the Matilda grant, Sardinia, Corsica, Ferrara, and the duchy of

Spoleto. Frederick proudly retorted that instead of owing fealty to the

pope, the popes owed fealty to the emperor, inasmuch as it was by the

gift of the emperor Constantine that Pope Sylvester secured possession

of Rome. A war of letters followed. Adrian was intending to punish his

imperial foe with excommunication when he was struck down by death at

Anagni. He was buried in St. Peter's in an antique sarcophagus of red

granite which is still shown. So ended the career of a man who by his

moral character and personal attractions had lifted himself up from the

condition of a child of a poor cleric to the supreme dignity of

Christendom, and ventured to face the proudest monarch as his superior

and to call the imperial crown a papal beneficium. [134]

This English pope, who laid the city of Rome under the interdict, which

no Italian or German pope had dared to do, presented Ireland to the

crown of England, on the ground that all the islands of the Christian

world belong to the pope by virtue of Constantine's donation. The

curious bull Laudabiliter, encouraging Henry II. to invade and

subjugate the land and giving it to him and to his heirs for a

possession, may not be genuine, but the authorization was certainly

made by Adrian as John of Salisbury, writing about 1159, attests, and

it was renewed by Alexander III. and carried out, 1171. [135] land will

hardly want to have a second trial of an English pope.

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[131] John of Salisbury, Polycraticus, VIII. 23; Migne, 199, 814.

[132] See vol. IV. 258, and R�ckert's poem there quoted. Em. Geibel

also wrote a beautiful poem on the German dream of sleep and revival of

Barbarossa:-- "Tief im Schoosse des Kyffh�users Bei der Ampel rothem

Schein Sitzt der alte Kaiser Friedrich An dem Tisch von

Marmorstein,"etc.

[133] Eskill of Lund seems to have had the loftiest ideas of prelatical

prerogative, and boasted that he was accustomed to command kings, not

obey them. It is quite possible the emperor took inward satisfaction at

his custody. Hauck, IV. 210. Adrian's letter, Mirbt, Quellen, 119 sq.,

speaks of the treatment of the archbishop as "that fearful and

execrable deed and sacrilegious crime,"illud horrendum et execrabile

facinus et piaculare flagitium.

[134] Gregorovius, IV. 560, after praising his merits, says of Adrian.

"He was shrewd, practical, and unyielding as Anglo-Saxons are wont to

be." His "nature was as firm and strong as the granite of his tomb."

[135] The subject has been thoroughly discussed by Professors Thatcher

and Scheffer-Boichorst before him. John of Salisbury, Polycr. VI. 24;

Migne, 199, 623, distinctly says that Adrian, "listening to his

petitions, conceded and gave" Ireland to Henry and his heirs on the

ground that all islands "by ancient law and Constantine's donation, are

said to belong to the Church." The pope sent to the king through John a

ring of gold set with a precious stone to be a seal of investiture.

There is no good reason to doubt this statement. And we know from Roger

de Wendover, Rolls Series, I. 11, that an English embassy was sent to

Adrian to secure this permission. The bull Laudabiliter (Mansi, XXI.

788), which formally confers the island upon the English crown and

demands from it the payment of Peter's Pence, is found also in Roger de

Wendover (Giles, Trans., I. 529) and Giraldus. Upon internal grounds

its genuineness is considered doubtful or flatly denied, as by

Thatcher. This author gives, p. 4, a list of review articles on the

subject. Scholarship and patriotism have made it possible for Irish

writers to use much argument to show that the bull is a forgery and the

alleged fact a fancy, whether of a prophetic enemy of Ireland or by a

historical bungler is not known. The Protestant has an easier way out

of the difficulty in affirming that the pope may make mistakes.

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� 29. Alexander III. in Conflict with Barbarossa.

See the literature in � 27, especially Reuter's Alex. III.--Vita

Alexandri auctore Bosone Card., in Watterich, II. 377 sqq.--Migne, Tom.

200.--The Regesta of Alexander III. in Jaff�-Wattenbach's Reg. Pont.

Rom., pp. 145-418; and of the anti-popes, Victor IV., Pascal III.,

Calixtus III., and Innocent III., ibid., pp. 418-430.--Milman, bk.

VIII. chs. VIII. and IX.--Greenwood, bk. XII. chs.

III.-VII.--Gregorovius, IV. 525 sqq.; Hefele-Kn�pfler, V.

570-720.--Moritz Meyer: Die Wahl Alex. III. und Victors IV. G�ttingen,

1871.--Edw. A. Freeman: Frederick the First, King of Italy, in his

"Historical Essays," London, 1871, pp. 252-282.--P. Scheffer-Boichorst;

Friedrich I. letzte Streit mit der Kurie, 1866.--Wattenbach, 167 sqq.;

Hauck, IV. 227-311.--Gietl: Die Sentenzen Rolands, nachmals Alexander

III. Freib., 1891.

With Alexander III. (1159-1181) the conflict between Caesarism and

sacerdotalism, which had begun under Adrian, assumed a more serious

character. It was not a war for destruction, but for supremacy on the

one hand and submission on the other. "Who shall be the greater?" that

was the question. It was the old contention between Church and State

under a new phase. Caesar and pope were alike Catholic Christians as

far as they had any religion at all. They were indispensable to each

other. The emperor or king needed a pope, as a kind of chief chaplain

and father confessor for the control of the consciences of his

subjects; the pope needed the secular arm of an emperor for the

protection of the property and rights of the Church and the prosecution

of heretics. The emperors elected anti-popes, and the popes supported

rival emperors. It was the ambition of the Hohenstaufen to keep Germany

and Italy united; it was the interest of the popes to keep them

separated, and to foment division in Germany and in Italy, according to

the maxim. "Divide et impera."

On the 7th of September, 1159, Cardinal Roland, the chancellor of the

Roman curia and a distinguished canonist, ascended the papal chair as

Alexander III. He had previously been professor at Bologna, and written

the first work on the Decretum Gratiani. He had been created cardinal

by Eugene III. He had once offended Barbarossa by the question: "From

whom does the emperor receive his dignity if not from the pope?" He had

also advised Adrian to excommunicate the emperor. He was a scholar, a

statesman, and a vigorous champion of the Hildebrandian theocracy. He

had an unusually long pontificate of twenty-one years, and is the most

conspicuous pope between Gregory VII. and Innocent III. He had a

checkered career of fortune and misfortune in a conflict with the

emperor and four anti-popes; but he consistently adhered to his

principles, and at last triumphed over his enemies by moral force and

the material aid of the Normans in the south and the Lombards in the

north.

The election of Roland by fourteen cardinals was immediately followed

by the election of Cardinal Octavian of St. Cecilia, the imperial

anti-pope, who called himself Victor IV., and at once took possession

of the Vatican. Roland was consecrated at Ninfa, Octavian in the

convent of Farfa. They were quartered in the Campagna, a few miles

distant from each other, and published contradictory reports with

charges of disgraceful violence at the election. [136]

The emperor, who was then besieging the city of Cremona, being appealed

to by both parties (though with different feelings), and using a right

exercised by Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, Charlemagne, and Otto,

summoned a council at Pavia to investigate and decide the case, 1160.

[137] The rival popes were invited by messengers to appear in person.

Octavian, who was always an imperialist, accepted the invitation.

Roland distrusted the emperor, and protested against his right to call

a council without his permission. He said that he honored him as a

special defender of the Church above all other princes, but that God

had placed the pope above kings.

The partisan council, which consisted chiefly of bishops from Germany

and North Italy, after a grave debate, unanimously decided in favor of

Octavian, and excommunicated Roland, Feb. 11, 1160. The emperor paid

the customary honors to Victor IV., held his stirrup and kissed his

toe. Alexander issued from Anagni a counter-excommunication against the

anti-pope and the emperor, March 24, 1160. He thereby encouraged revolt

in Lombardy and division in Germany. Another schism rent the Church.

The rival popes dispatched legates to all the courts of Europe. France,

Spain, and England sided with Alexander. He took refuge in France for

three years (1162-1165), and was received with enthusiasm. The kings of

France and England, Louis VII. and Henry II., walked on either side of

his horse, holding the bridle, and conducting him into the town of

Courcy on the Loire. Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Norway, and Sweden

supported Victor. Italy was divided: Rome and Tuscany were under the

power of the emperor; Sicily favored the Gregorian pope; the

flourishing commercial and manufacturing cities of Lombardy were

discontented with the despotic rule of Barbarossa, who was called the

destroyer of cities. He put down the revolt with an iron hand; he razed

Milan to the ground after a long and atrocious siege, scattered the

population, and sent the venerated relics of the Magi to the cathedral

of Cologne, March, 1162.

Victor IV. died in April, 1164. Pascal III. was elected his successor

without regard to the canonical rules. At the request of the emperor,

he canonized Charles the Great (1165).

Alexander III. put himself at the head of the Lombard league against

the emperor; city after city declared itself for him. In September,

1165, he returned to Italy with the help of Sicily, and French and

English gold, and took possession of Rome.

In November, 1166, Frederick crossed the Alps a fourth time, with a

strong army, marched to Rome, captured the Leonine city, put Pascal

III. in possession of St. Peter's, and was crowned again, with

Beatrice, Aug. 1, 1167. Alexander defended the city on the other side

of the Tiber, but soon withdrew to Benevento. The emperor, victorious

over armies, found a more formidable enemy in the Roman fever, which

made fearful ravages among his bishops, noblemen, and soldiers. He lost

in a few weeks his bravest knights and two thousand men by the plague.

He broke up his camp in great haste, and marched to Pavia (September,

1167). [138]

The second anti-pope died, Sept. 20, 1168, and with him the power of

the schism collapsed. Calixtus III. was elected his successor, but he

was a mere shadow, 1168-1178. [139]

Barbarossa undertook a fifth campaign to Italy in 1174. He destroyed

Susa, and, descending through Piedmont, besieged the new city of

Alessandria, which was named in honor of Alexander III., and strongly

fortified. Here he found determined resistance. His forces were

weakened by a severe winter. He was forsaken by his strongest ally, the

Saxon duke, Henry the Lion. He fought a pitched battle against the

Lombards, near Legnano, May 29, 1176. He rushed, as usual, into the

thickest of the fight, but was defeated after terrible slaughter, and

lost his shield, banner, cross, lance, and coffers of silver and gold.

He retired with the remnant of his army to Pavia. He was left without a

single ally, and threatened in Germany by the dangerous rivalry of

Henry the Lion. He now took serious steps towards a reconciliation with

Alexander, the spiritual head of his enemies.

The emperor sent Archbishop Christian of Mainz (his chancellor, ablest

general, and diplomat), Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg, Bishop Conrad

of Worms, and Protonotary Wortwin to Anagni, with full powers to treat

with the pope (October, 1176). Alexander received the commissioners

with marked respect, and in private conferences, lasting over a

fortnight, he arranged with them the preliminary terms of peace, which

were to be ratified at Venice during a personal interview between him

and the emperor.

The pope, provided with a safe-conduct by the emperor, left Anagni on

Christmas, 1176, in company with his cardinals and the two

commissioners of the kingdom of Sicily, Archbishop Romuald of Salerno

and Count Roger of Andria, and arrived at Venice, March 24, 1177. The

emperor tarried at Chioggia, near Venice, till July 23. The peace

negotiations between the pope and the imperial commissioners began in

May and lasted till July. They were conducted on the basis of the

previous negotiations in Anagni.

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[136] Octavian, according to the report of his enemies, plucked the

papal cope from the shoulders of Roland, and invested himself with such

indecent haste that the cope was reversed, and the back of it appeared

on his breast. The mistake created derisive laughter, and was construed

as a divine judgment.

[137] The document is given in Rahewin, Gesta Frid. IV. 64, and Mirbt,

Quellen, 121.

[138] Thomas � Becket, in a letter congratulating Alexander, compared

Frederick's discomfiture by pestilence to Sennacherib's defeat at

Jerusalem. 2 Chron. xxxii:21.

[139] His few acts are recorded in Jaff�-Wattenbach, Regesta, pp.

429-430. He submitted to Alexander, and was made archbishop of

Benevento. Of the fourth anti-pope, Lando Sitino, who called himself

Innocent III (1179-1180), nothing is recorded but his election and

imprisonment, ibid., p. 431.

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� 30. The Peace of Venice. 1177.

The negotiations resulted in the Peace of Venice, which was embodied in

twenty-eight articles. [140] ardinals were reduced to the positions

they had occupied before their appointment to the curia. Beatrice was

acknowledged as Frederick's legal wife, and his son Henry as king of

the Romans. Rome and the patrimonium were restored to the pope, and

Spoleto, the Romagna, and Ancona were recognized as a part of the

empire.

The peace was ratified by one of the most solemn congresses of the

Middle Ages. Absolved from the ban, and after eighteen years of

conflict, the emperor met the pope in front of St. Mark's, July 24,

1177. A vast multitude filled the public square. The pope in his

pontifical dress sitting upon a throne in front of the portal of the

cathedral must have had mingled with his feelings of satisfaction

reminiscences of his painful fortunes since the time he was elected to

the tiara. Cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries

occupied lower seats according to their rank.

The emperor, on arriving in the magnificent gondola of the doge, with a

train of prelates and nobles, was received by a procession of priests

with banners and crosses, and the shouts of the people. He slowly

proceeded to the cathedral. Overcome with feelings of reverence for the

venerable pope, he cast off his mantle, bowed, and fell at his feet.

[141] d him up, [142] [143]

Then the emperor, taking the hand of the pope, walked with him and the

doge into the church, made rich offerings at the altar, bent his knees,

and received again the apostolic benediction.

On the next day (the 25th), being the feast of St. James, the pope, at

the emperor's request, celebrated high mass, and preached a sermon

which he ordered the patriarch of Aquileia to translate at once into

German. The emperor accompanied him from the altar to the door, and

paid him the customary homage of holding the stirrup. [144] e of a

groom, taking the will for the deed, and gave him again his

benediction.

This is the authentic account of contemporary writers and

eye-witnesses. They make no mention of the story that the emperor said

to the pope, "I do this homage to Peter, not to thee," and that the

pope quickly replied, "To Peter and to me."

The hierarchical imagination has represented this interview as a second

Canossa. In Venetian pictures the pope is seen seated on a throne, and

planting his foot on the neck of the prostrate emperor, with the words

of Ps. 91:13: --

"Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder:

The young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under feet." [145]

There is as much difference between the scenes of Venice and Canossa as

there is between the characters of Barbarossa and Henry IV. Barbarossa

was far superior, morally as well as intellectually, to his Salian

predecessor, and commanded the respect of his enemies, even in his

defeat. He maintained his dignity and honorably kept his word.

Delegates and letters were sent to all parts of Christendom with the

glad tidings of peace. The emperor left Venice toward the end of

September for Germany by a roundabout way, and the pope for Anagni on

the 15th of October. After an exile of ten years, Alexander made a

triumphal entry into Rome, March 12, 1178.

He convened, according to previous agreement with the emperor, a synod

to ratify the pacification of Christendom, and to remove certain evils

which had multiplied during the schism. The Third Lateran or the

Eleventh Oecumenical Council was held in the Constantinian Basilica at

Rome during Lent, 1179. It numbered about three hundred bishops,

besides many abbots and other dignitaries, [146] oman hierarchy in its

glory, though it was eclipsed afterwards by the Fourth Lateran Council

of 1215. The details of the transactions are unknown, except

twenty-seven chapters which were adopted in the third and last session.

The council, in order to prevent rival elections, placed the election

of popes exclusively in the hands of cardinals, to be decided by a

majority of two-thirds, and threatened with excommunication and

deposition any one who should dare to accept an election by a smaller

number of votes. [147] journeys, the archbishops were limited to forty

or fifty horses on those occasions, the cardinals to twenty-five, the

bishops to twenty or thirty, the archdeacons to five or seven. Ordained

clergymen must dismiss their concubines, or forfeit their benefices.

Unnatural licentiousness was to be punished by expulsion from the

priesthood and confinement in a convent. The council prepared the way

for a crusade against the heretics in the South of France, and promised

to those who should engage in it the same plenary indulgence for two

years as had been granted to the crusaders against the Moslems.

Soon after the synod, Alexander was again driven into exile by the

Roman republic. He died at Civit� Castellana, Aug. 30, 1181, having

reigned longer than any pope before or after him, except Sylvester I.,

314-385, Adrian I., 772-795, Pius VII., 1800-1823, Pius IX., 1846-1878,

and Leo XIII., 1878-1903. When Alexander's remains were being carried

to Rome for burial, the populace insulted his memory by pelting the

coffin with stones and mud. [148] ecause of the refusal of its king,

William, to acknowledge the canonical election of John to the see of

St. Andrews. Upon Louis VII. of France he conferred the Red Rose for

the support he had received from that sovereign in the days of his

early exile. He presided over the Third Lateran Council and prepared

the way for the crusade against the Cathari and Albigenses.

His aged and feeble successor, Lucius III., was elected, Sept. 1, 1181,

by the cardinals alone. The Romans, deprived of their former share in

the election, treated him with barbarous cruelty; they captured twenty

or twenty-six of his partisans at Tusculum, blinded them, except one,

crowned them with paper mitres inscribed with the names of cardinals,

mounted them on asses, and forced the priest whom they had spared to

lead them in this condition to "Lucius, the wicked simoniac." He died

in exile at Verona where he held an important synod.

It is a remarkable fact that some of the greatest popes--as Gregory

VII., Urban II., Innocent II., Eugene III., Adrian IV., Alexander III.,

and three of his successors--could not secure the loyalty of their own

subjects, and were besieged in Rome or compelled to flee. Adrian IV.

said to his countryman and friend, John of Salisbury, "Rome is not the

mother, but the stepmother of the Churches." The Romans were always

fluctuating between memories of the old republic and memories of the

empire; now setting up a consul, a senator, a tribune; now welcoming

the German emperor as the true Augustus Caesar; now loyal to the pope,

now driving him into exile, and ever selling themselves to the highest

bidder. The papal court was very consistent in its principles and aims,

but as to the choice of means for its end it was subject to the same

charge of avarice and venality, whether at Rome or in exile. Even

Thomas Becket, the staunchest adherent of Alexander III., indignantly

rebuked the cardinals for their love of gold.

Emperor Frederick survived his great rival nearly ten years, and died

by drowning in a little river of Asia Minor, 1190, while marching on

the third crusade.

Barbarossa was a man of middle size, bright countenance, fair

complexion, yellow hair and reddish beard, a kind friend and placable

enemy, strictly just, though often too severe, liberal in almsgiving,

attentive to his religious duties, happy in his second marriage, of the

noblest type of mediaeval chivalry, the greatest sovereign of the

twelfth century, a hero in fact and a hero in romance. [149] nian code

in the other, but failed in subduing the political independence of the

Lombard cities, and in his contest with the spiritual power of

Alexander. The German imagination has cherished his memory in song and

story, placing him next in rank to Charles the Great among the Roman

emperors, exaggerating his virtues, condoning his faults, which were

those of his age, and hoping for his return to restore the unity and

power of Germany.

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[140] For the text see Mirbt, Quellen, 121-124. The chief authorities

for the Peace of Venice are Alexander's Letters to Roger, archbishop of

York, in Migne, 200, 1160 sqq.; and Mansi, XXII. 180 sqq.; the

Chronicon of Romuald., archbishop of Salerno and commissioner from

Sicily, in Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Ital. VII. Mathews, pp. 99-105, also

gives the text.

[141] Vita Alex.: "prostravit se in terram."Chron. Romualdi

(Muratori,VII. 231): "totum se extenso corpore prostravit."

[142] Romuald. "quem Alexander papa cum lacrymis benigne elevans."

[143] Romuald.: "moxque a Teutonicis Te Deum laudamus est excelsa voce

cantatum." Vita Alex.: "Tunc repleti sunt omnes gaudio et prae nimia

laetitia vox conclamantium in Te Deum laudamus insonuit usque ad

sidera." Alexander writes to Roger of York: "innumera multitudine

virorum et mulierum praesente, alta voce reddente gratias et laudes

Altissimo."

[144] Alexander ad Rogerum (Migne, 200, 1 1131): "Cum ascenderemus

palafredum nostrum ibi paratum, stapham tenuit, et omnem honorem et

reverentiam nobis exhibuit, quam praedecessores ejus nostris

consueverunt antecessoribus." It is stated by Godfrey of Viterbo, an

attendant of the emperor, that the old pope, through the pressure of

the crowd, was thrown from his horse, and that the emperor assisted him

to remount. Pertz, Archiv, IV. 363, quoted by Milman, bk. VIII. ch. IX.

[145] "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis," etc. This and other

stories of the fourteenth century are irreconcilable with contemporary

records and are given up by nearly all modern historians. They may have

partly originated in the fresco paintings of Spinello described by Lord

Lindsay, History of Christian Art, II. 315. Milman, IV. 435 (Am. ed.),

says."As poetry has so often become, here painting for once became

history." Comp. Reuter, III. 758.

[146] The lists are defective, and the contemporary records vary

between 287, 300, 396 bishops, and 1000 members in all. See Mansi,

XXII. 213 sqq.; Hefele, V. 711; Reuter, III. 418 sqq.

[147] "Ille Romanus Pontifex habeatur, qui a duabus partibus fuerit

electus et receptus. Si quis autem de tertiae partis nominatione

confisus ... sibi nomen Episcopi usurpaverit: tam ipse, quam qui eum

recepuerint, excommunicationi subjaceant et totius sacri ordinis

privatione mulctentur," etc. Mansi, XXII. 217.

[148] Reuter, III. 495-499. A similar insult was offered by the Roman

populace to Pius IX. when his coffin was transported in the night from

the Vatican to its last resting-place in the basilica of S. Lorenzo.

He, too, spent some time in exile after the proclamation of the Roman

republic in 1849.

[149] Rahewin, in his Gesta Friderici, IV. 86, gives an animated

description of Frederick's appearance, habits, dress, achievements,

etc. He calls him the best of emperors.

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� 31. Thomas Becket and Henry II of England.

For the extensive Becket literature, see Robertson, in "The

Contemporary Review," 1866, I. (Jan.) 270-278, and Ulysse Chevalier, in

his R�pertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age (Paris, 1886), s.

v. "Thomas," fol. 2207-2209.

I. Sources: --

\*Materials for the History of Thomas `a Becket, Archbishop of

Canterbury. Edited by James Craigie Robertson (Canon of Canterbury, d.

1882) and J. Brigstocke Sheppard, LL. D. London, 1875-1885, 7 vols.

This magnificent work is part of a series of Rerum Britannic. Medii

Aevi Scriptores, or "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and

Ireland during the Middle Ages," published under direction of the

Master of the Rolls and popularly known as the "Rolls Series." It

embraces all the important contemporary materials for the history of

Thomas. Vols. I.-IV. contain the contemporary Vitae (by William of

Canterbury, Benedict of Peterborough, Edward Grim, Roger of Pontigny,

William Fitz-Stephen, John of Salisbury, Alan of Tewkesbury, and

Herbert of Bosham, etc.); vols. V.-VII., the Epistolae, i.e. the whole

correspondence relating to Thomas.

This collection is much more accurate, complete, and better arranged

(especially in the Epistles) than the older collection of Dr. Giles

(Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis, London, 1845-1846, 8 vols., reprinted in

Migne's Patrologia, Tom. 190), and the Quadrilogus or Historia

Quadripartita (Lives by four contemporary writers, composed by order of

Pope Gregory XI., first published, 1495, then by L. Christian Lupus or

Wolf, Brussels, 1682, and Venice, 1728).

Th�mas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archb. Th. Becket in Icelandic, with

Engl. transl., notes, and glossary, ed. by Eir�kr Magn�sson. London,

1875, and 1883, 2 vols. Part of the "Chronicles and Memorials," above

quoted.

Garnier of Pont Sainte-Maxence: La Vie de St. Thomas le martir. A

metrical life, in old French, written between 1172 and 1174, published

by Hippeau, and more recently by Professor Bekker, Berlin, 1844, and

Paris, 1859.

The Life And Martyrdom Of Thomas Becket by Robert of Gloucester. Ed. By

W. H. Black. London, 1845 (p. 141). A Biography In Alexandrine verse,

written in the thirteenth century.

II. Modern Works: --

Richard Hurrell Froude (one of the originators of the Oxford

Anglo-Catholic movement, d. 1836): Remains. London, 1838, 4 vols. The

second vol., part II., contains a history of the contest between Thomas

� Becket and Henry II., in vindication of the former. He was assisted

by J. H. (late Cardinal) Newman.

A. F. Ozanam: Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre, Bacon de Verulam et Saint

Thomas de Cantorb�ry. Paris, 1836.

J. A. Giles: The Life And Letters Of Thomas � Becket. London, 1846, 2

vols.

F. J. Buss (Rom. Cath.): Der heil. Thomas und sein Kampf f�r die

Freiheit der Kirche. Mainz, 1856.

John Morris (Rom. Cath. Canon of Northampton): The Life and Martyrdom

of Saint Thomas Becket. London, 1859.

\*James Craigie Robertson: Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. London,

1859. Accurate, but unfavorable to Becket.

\*Edw. A. Freeman: St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers. A

masterly article in the "National Review" for April, 1860, reprinted in

his "Historical Essays," London, 1871, pp. 99-114. Comp. the summary in

his History of the Norman Conquest, V. 660 sqq., and his articles

against Froude, noticed below.

\*James Anthony Froude: Life and Times of Thomas Becket. First published

in "The Nineteenth Century" for 1877, then in book form, London and New

York, 1878 (pp. 160). Against the Roman and Anglo-Catholic overestimate

of St. Thomas. This book is written in brilliant style, but takes a

very unfavorable view of Becket (opposite to that of his elder brother,

R. H. Froude), and led to a somewhat personal controversy with

Professor Freeman, who charged Froude with habitual inaccuracy,

unfairness, and hostility to the English Church, in, "The Contemporary

Review" for 1878 (March, April, June, and September). Froude defended

himself in "The Nineteenth Century" for April, 1879, pp. 618-637, to

which Freeman replied in Last Words on Mr. Froude, in "The Contemporary

Review" for May, 1879, pp. 214-236.

\*R. A. Thompson: Thomas Becket, Martyr, London, 1889.--A. S. Huillier:

St. Thomas de Cantorb�ry, 2 vols., Paris, 1892.

\*Edwin A. Abbott: St. Thomas of Canterbury. His Death and Miracles, 2

vols., London, 1888. This work grew out of studies in preparation of a

critical commentary of the Four Gospels. It takes the early narratives

of Thomas � Becket, sets them side by side, and seeks to show which are

to be accepted upon the basis of disagreements in regard to event or

verbal expression. It also presents the details in which Dean Stanley

and Tennyson are alleged to have been misled. The criticism is able,

stimulating, and marked by self-confidence in determining what events

really did occur, and how much is to be discarded as unhistoric. The

discussion has all the merits and demerits of the strict critical

method.

III. Becket is more or less fully treated by Milman: Latin

Christianity, bk. VIII. ch. VIII.--Dean Stanley: Historical Memorials

of Canterbury, Am. ed., 1889.--Reuter: Alexander III., I. 237 sqq., 530

sqq. Dean Hook: Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, II. 354-508.

Greenwood: Cathedra Petri, bk. XII. ch. VII.--William Stubbs: The

Constitutional Hist. of England, 6th ed., 3 vols., Oxford, 1897, and

Select Charters and Other Illustrations of the English Constit. Hist.,

8th ed., Oxford, 1900.--Gee and Hardy: Documents Illustrative of Engl.

Ch. Hist., London, 1896.--F. W. Maitland: Rom. Canon Late in the Ch. of

England, London, 1898, 134-147.--W. R. W. Stephens: The English Church

(1066-1272), London, 1901, 157-190. The Histories of Lingard, Green,

etc.

Lord Tennyson has made Becket the subject of a historical drama, 1884.

During the pontificate of Alexander III., the papal hierarchy achieved

an earlier and greater triumph over the king of England than over the

emperor of Germany.

Thomas Becket, or Thomas � Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, is,

next to Alexander and Barbarossa, the most prominent historical figure

in the twelfth century, and fills a chapter of thrilling interest in

the history of England. He resumed the conflict of Anselm with the

crown, and by his martyrdom became the most popular saint of the later

Middle Ages.

The materials for his history, from his birth in London to his murder

in his own cathedral by four knights of the royal household, are

abundant. We have six or seven contemporary biographies, besides

fragments, legends, and "Passions," state papers, private letters, and

a correspondence extending over the whole Latin Church. But his life is

surrounded by a mist of romantic legends and theological controversies.

He had extravagant admirers, like Herbert of Bosham, and fierce

opponents, like Gilbert Foliot, in his own day; and modern biographers

still differ in the estimate of his character, according to their creed

and their views on the question of Church and State, some regarding him

as a hero and a saint, others as a hypocrite and a traitor. We must

judge him from the standpoint of the twelfth century.

Becket was born in London, Dec. 21, 1118, during the reign of Henry I.

He was the son of Gilbert Becket, a merchant in Cheapside, originally

from Rouen, and of Matilda or Rose, a native of Caen in Normandy. [150]

In the later legend his father appears as a gallant crusader and his

mother as a Saracen princess, who met in the East and fell in love with

each other. Matilda helped Gilbert to escape from captivity, and then

followed him alone to England. Knowing only two English words, "London"

and "Gilbert," she wandered through the streets of the city, till at

last she found her beloved in Cheapside as by a miracle, was baptized

and married to him in St. Paul's with great splendor. She had dreams of

the future greatness and elevation of her infant son to the see of

Canterbury.

Becket was educated at Merton Abbey in Surrey and in the schools of

London. At a later period he attended the universities of Paris,

Bologna, and Auxerre, and studied there chiefly civil and canon law,

without attaining to special eminence in learning. He was not a

scholar, but a statesman and an ecclesiastic.

He made his mark in the world and the Church by the magnetism of his

personality. He was very handsome, of tall, commanding presence,

accomplished, brilliant, affable, cheerful in discourse, ready and

eloquent in debate, fond of hunting and hawking, and a proficient in

all the sports of a mediaeval cavalier. He could storm the strongest

castle and unhorse the stoutest knight.

Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, 1139-1161, took him into his

service, 1142; sent him to Bologna, where Gratian then taught canon

law; employed him in delicate missions with the papal court; made him

archdeacon (1154), and bestowed upon him other profitable benefices, as

the provostship of Beverly, a number of churches, and several prebends.

When charged, as archbishop, with ingratitude to the king, who had

raised him from "poverty," he proudly referred to this accumulation of

preferments, and made no attempt to abolish the crying evil of

plurality, which continued till the Reformation. Many a prosperous

ecclesiastic regarded his parishes simply as sources of income, and

discharged the duties by proxy through ignorant and ill-paid priests.

King Henry II., 1154-1189, in the second year of his reign, raised

Becket, then only thirty-seven years of age, at Theobald's instance, to

the chancellorship of England. The chancellor was the highest civil

dignitary, and held the custody of nearly all the royal grants and

favors, including vacant bishoprics, abbacies, chaplaincies, and other

ecclesiastical benefices.

Henry, the first of the proud Plantagenets, was an able, stirring, and

energetic monarch. He kept on his feet from morning till evening, and

rarely sat down. He introduced a reign of law and severe justice after

the lawless violence and anarchy which had disturbed the reign of the

unfortunate Stephen. [151] nental dominions were more extensive than

those of the king of France, and embraced Maine and Normandy, Anjou and

Aquitaine, reaching from Flanders to the foot of the Pyrenees. He

afterwards (1171) added Ireland by conquest, with the authority of

Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III. His marriage to Queen Eleanor of

Aquitaine, who had been divorced for infidelity from King Louis VII. of

France, enriched his realm, but involved him in protracted wars with

France and in domestic troubles. Eleanor was jealous of her rivals,

[152] afterwards retired to the abbey of Fontevrault, and died about

1203.

Becket occupied the chancellorship for seven years (1155-1162). He

aided the king in the restoration of order and peace. He improved the

administration of justice. He was vigorous and impartial, and preferred

the interests of the crown to those of the clergy, yet without being

hostile to the Church. He was thoroughly loyal to the king, and served

him as faithfully as he had served Theobald, and as he afterwards

served the pope. Thorough devotion to official duty characterized him

in all the stations of his career.

He gave to his high office a prominence and splendor which it never had

before. He was as magnificent and omnipotent as Wolsey under Henry

VIII. He was king in fact, though not in name, and acted as regent

during Henry's frequent absences on the Continent. He dressed after the

best fashion, surrounded himself with a brilliant retinue of a hundred

and forty knights, exercised a prodigal hospitality, and spent enormous

sums upon his household and public festivities, using in part the

income of his various ecclesiastical benefices, which he retained

without a scruple. He presided at royal banquets in Westminster Hall.

His tables were adorned with vessels of gold, with the most delicate

and sumptuous food, and with wine of the choicest vintage. He

superintended the training of English and foreign nobles, and of the

young Prince Henry. He was the favorite of the king, the army, the

nobility, the clergy, and the people.

The chancellor negotiated in person a matrimonial alliance (three years

before it was consummated) between the heir of the crown (then a boy of

seven years) and a daughter of the king of France (a little lady of

three). He took with him on that mission two hundred knights, priests,

standard-bearers, all festively arrayed in new attire, twenty-four

changes of raiment, all kinds of dogs and birds for field sports, eight

wagons, each drawn by five horses, each horse in charge of a stout

young man dressed in a new tunic. Coffers and chests contained the

chancellor's money and presents. One horse, which preceded all the

rest, carried the holy vessels of his chapel, the holy books, and the

ornaments of the altar. The Frenchmen, seeing this train, exclaimed,

"How wonderful must be the king of England, whose chancellor travels in

such state!" In Paris he freely distributed his gold and silver plate

and changes of raiment,--to one a robe, to another a furred cloak, to a

third a pelisse, to a fourth a war-horse. He gained his object and

universal popularity.

When, notwithstanding his efforts to maintain peace, war broke out

between France and England, the chancellor was the bravest warrior at

the head of seven hundred knights, whom he had enlisted at his own

expense, and he offered to lead the storming party at the siege of

Toulouse, where King Louis was shut up; but the scruples of Henry

prevented him from offering violence to the king of France. He

afterwards took three castles which were deemed impregnable, and

returned triumphant to England. One of his eulogists, Edward Grim,

reports to his credit: "Who can recount the carnage, the desolation,

which he made at the head of a strong body of soldiers? He attacked

castles, razed towns and cities to the ground, burned down houses and

farms without a touch of pity, and never showed the slightest mercy to

any one who rose in insurrection against his master's authority." Such

cruelty was quite compatible with mediaeval conceptions of piety and

charity, as the history of the crusades shows.

Becket was made for the court and the camp. Yet, though his life was

purely secular, it was not immoral. He joined the king in his

diversions, but not in his debaucheries. Being in deacon's orders, he

was debarred from marriage, but preserved his chastity at a profligate

court. This point is especially mentioned to his credit; for chastity

was a rare virtue in the Middle Ages.

All together, his public life as chancellor was honorable and

brilliant, and secures him a place among the distinguished statesmen of

England. But a still more important career awaited him. [153]

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[150] The Norman descent of Becket rests on contemporary testimony, and

is accepted by Giles, Lingard, Robertson, Milman, Hook, Freeman,

Reuter, Hefele. The commercial advantages of London attracted emigrants

from Normandy. Lord Lyttleton, Thierry, Campbell, and J. A. Froude make

Becket a Saxon, but without authority. Becket is a surname, and may be

Norman as well as Saxon. The prefix � seems to be of later date, and to

have its origin (according to Robertson and Hook) in vulgar colloquial

usage.

[151] Tennyson describes Stephen's reign as-- "A reign which was no

reign, when none could sit By his own hearth in peace; when murder

common As nature'death, like Egypt's plague, had filled All things with

blood."

[152] The tradition ran that she poisoned his favorite concubine,

Rosamund de Clifford, who, with her labyrinthine bower, figures largely

in the literature of romance, also in Tennyson's Becket. On her tomb

were inscribed the lines:-- "Hic jacet in tumba Rosa Mundi, non Rosa

Munda, Non redolet, sed olet, quae redolere solet." "Here Rose the

graced, not Rose the chaste, reposes; The smell that rises is no smell

of roses."

[153] Freeman, who exalts him as chancellor, thinks that he failed as

archbishop; but his martyrdom was his greatest triumph.

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� 32. The Archbishop and the King.

Compare �� 22-24 (pp. 80 sqq.).

A year after the death of Theobald, April 18, 1161, Becket was

appointed by the king archbishop of Canterbury. He accepted

reluctantly, and warned the king, with a smile, that he would lose a

servant and a friend. [154] t of Hereford (afterwards of London)

remarked sarcastically, perhaps from disappointed ambition, that "the

king had wrought a miracle in turning a layman into an archbishop, and

a soldier into a saint."

Becket was ordained priest on the Saturday after Pentecost, and

consecrated archbishop on the following day with great magnificence in

Westminster Abbey, June 3, 1162. His first act was to appoint the

Sunday after Whitsunday as a festival of the Holy Trinity in the Church

of England. He acknowledged Alexander III. as the rightful pope, and

received from him the pallium through his friend, John of Salisbury.

He was the first native Englishman who occupied the seat of the primate

since the Norman Conquest; for Lanfranc and Anselm were Italians; Ralph

of Escures, William Of Corbeuil, and Theobald of Bec were Normans or

Frenchmen. There is, however, no ground for the misleading theory of

Thierry that Becket asserted the cause of the Saxon against the Norman.

His contest with the king was not a contest between two nationalities,

but between Church and State. He took the same position on this

question as his Norman predecessors, only with more zeal and energy. He

was a thorough Englishman. The two nations had at that time, by

intermarriage, social and commercial intercourse, pretty well

coalesced, at least among the middle classes, to which he belonged.

[155]

With the change of office, Becket underwent a radical and almost sudden

transformation. The foremost champion of kingcraft became the foremost

champion of priestcraft; the most devoted friend of the king, his most

dangerous rival and enemy; the brilliant chancellor, an austere and

squalid monk. He exchanged the showy court dress for haircloth infested

with vermin, fed on roots, and drank nauseous water. He daily washed,

with proud humility and ostentatious charity, the feet of thirteen

dirty beggars, and gave each of them four pieces of silver. He doubled

the charities of Theobald, as Theobald had doubled the charities of his

predecessor. He wandered alone in his cloister, shedding tears of

repentance for past sins, frequently inflicted stripes on his naked

back, and spent much time in prayer and reading of the Scriptures. He

successfully strove to realize the ideal of a mediaeval bishop, which

combines the loftiest ecclesiastical pretensions with personal

humility, profuse charity, and ascetic self-mortification. He was no

hypocrite, but his sanctity, viewed from the biblical and Protestant

standpoint, was artificial and unnatural.

His relation to the king was that of the pope to the emperor. Yea, we

may say, as he had outkinged the king as chancellor, so he outpoped the

pope as archbishop. He censured the pope for his temporizing policy. He

wielded the spiritual sword against Henry with the same gallantry with

which he had wielded the temporal sword for him. He took up the cause

of Anselm against William Rufus, and of Gregory VII. against Henry IV.,

but with this great difference, that he was not zealous for a moral

reformation of the Church and the clergy, like Hildebrand and Anselm,

but only for the temporal power of the Church and the rights and

immunities of the clergy. He made no attempt to remove the scandal of

pluralities of which he had himself been guilty as archdeacon and

chancellor, and did not rebuke Henry for his many sins against God, but

only for his sins against the supremacy of the hierarchy.

The new archbishop was summoned by Pope Alexander III. to a council at

Tours in France, and was received with unusual distinction (May, 1163).

The council consisted of seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four

bishops, four hundred and fourteen abbots; the pope presided in person;

Becket sat at his right, Roger of York at his left. Arnolf of Lisieux

in Normandy preached the opening sermon on the unity and freedom of the

Church, which were the burning questions of the day. The council

unanimously acknowledged the claims of Alexander, asserted the rights

and privileges of the clergy, and severely condemned all encroachments

on the property of the Church.

This was the point which kindled the controversy between the sceptre

and the crozier in England. The dignity of the crown was the sole aim

of the king; the dignity of the Church was the sole aim of the

archbishop. The first rupture occurred over the question of secular

taxation.

Henry determined to transfer the customary payment of two shillings on

every hide of land to his own exchequer. Becket opposed the enrolment

of the decree on the ground that the tax was voluntary, not of right.

Henry protested, in a fit of passion, "By the eyes of God, it shall be

enrolled!" Becket replied, "By the eyes of God, by which you swear, it

shall never be levied on my lands while I live!"

Another cause of dispute was the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical

courts. The king demanded that all clerics accused of gross

misdemeanors be tried by the civil court. A certain clerk, Philip of

Broi, had been acquitted of murder in the bishop's court. The king was

indignant, but Philip refused to plead in the civil court. The matter

was taken up by the archbishop, but a light sentence imposed.

The king summoned a Parliament at Westminster, and demanded in the name

of equal justice, and in accordance with "ancient customs" (of the

Norman kings), that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be

immediately degraded, and be dealt with according to law, instead of

being shielded by their office. This was contrary to the right of the

priest to be tried only in the court of his bishop, where flagellation,

imprisonment, and degradation might be awarded, but not capital

punishment.

Becket and the bishops agreed that the king's demand was an

infringement of the canon law and argued the case from Scripture. Joab,

and Abiathar the priest, were guilty of putting Adonijah to death. Joab

was punished, but the priest suffered no other punishment than

deposition from office. Nahum 1:9 was quoted as against a double

tribunal for clerks. According to the Septuagint version, this passage

declares that God does not give two judgments in the same case.

The king hastily broke up the Parliament, deprived Becket of the

custody of the royal castles, and of the education of his son. The

bishops advised the archbishop to yield; at first he refused, though an

angel from heaven should counsel such weakness; but at last he made a

concession to the king at Woodstock, and promised to obey in good faith

the customs of the realm. He yielded at the persuasion of the pope's

almoner, Philip de Eleeomosyna, who was bribed by English gold. [156]

The king summoned a great council of the realm to Clarendon, a royal

palace a few miles from Salisbury, for the ratification of the

concession (Jan. 25, 1164). The two archbishops, twelve bishops, and

thirty-nine lay-barons were present. Sixteen famous statutes were

enacted, under the name of The Clarendon Constitutions, as laws of

England. They are as follows: [157]

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

I. Of the advowson and presentation (de advocatione et presentatione)

to churches: if any dispute shall arise between laics, or between

clerks and laics, or between clerks, let it be tried and decided in the

court of our lord the king.

II. Churches in the king's fee (de feudo domini Regis) shall not be

given in perpetuity without his consent and license.

III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the king's

justiciaries into the king's court to answer there for whatever the

king's court shall determine they ought to answer there; and in the

ecclesiastical court, for whatever it shall be determined that they

ought to answer there; yet so that the king's justiciaries shall send

into the court of holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there

be handled; and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church

for the future shall not protect him. [158]

IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person shall leave the

kingdom without the king's license; and if they wish to leave it, the

king shall be empowered, if he pleases, to take security from them,

that they will do no harm to the king or kingdom, either in going or

remaining, or in returning.

V. Persons excommunicated are not to give bail, ad remanentiam, nor to

make oath, but only to give bail and pledge that they will stand by the

judgment of the Church where they are absolved.

VI. Laics shall not be accused, save by certain and legal accusers and

witnesses in presence of the bishop, so that the archdeacon may not

lose his rights, or anything which accrues to him therefrom. And if

those who are arraigned are such that no one is willing or dares to

accuse them, the sheriff, on demand from the bishop, shall cause twelve

loyal men of the village to swear before the bishop that they will

declare the truth in that matter according to their conscience.

VII. No one who holds of the king in chief, nor any of his domestic

servants, shall be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an

interdict, until the king shall be consulted, if he is in the kingdom;

or, if he is abroad, his justiciary, that he may do what is right in

that matter, and so that whatever belongs to the king's court may

therein be settled, and the same on the other hand of the

ecclesiastical court.

VIII. Appeals, if they arise, must be made from the archdeacon to the

bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop

shall fail in administering justice, the parties shall come before our

lord the king, that by his precept the controversy may be terminated in

the archbishop's court, so that it may not proceed further without the

consent of our lord the king.

IX. If a dispute shall arise between a clerk and a laic, or between a

laic and a clerk, about a tenement, which the clerk wishes to claim as

eleemosynary, but the laic claims as lay fee, it shall be settled by

the declaration of twelve qualified men, through the agency of the

king's capital judiciary, whether the tenement is eleemosynary or lay

fee, in presence of the king's judiciaries. And if it shall be declared

that it is eleemosynary, it shall be pleaded in the ecclesiastical

court; but, if a lay fee, unless both shall claim the tenement of the

same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in the king's court; but if

both shall claim of that fee from the same bishop or baron, it shall be

pleaded in his court, yet so that the same declaration above-named

shall not deprive of seizing him who before was seized, until he shall

be divested by the pleadings.

X. If any man belonging to a city, castle, borough, or king's royal

manor shall be summoned by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for a

crime, and shall not comply with the summons, it shall be lawful to

place him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, until the

king's principal officer of that place be informed thereof, that he may

justify his appearing to the summons; and if the king's officer shall

fail in that matter, he shall be at the king's mercy, and the bishop

shall forthwith coerce the party accused with ecclesiastical

discipline.

XI. The archbishops, bishops, and all other persons of the kingdom, who

hold of the king in chief, shall hold their possessions of the king as

barony, and answer for the same to the king's justiciaries and

officers, and follow and observe all the king's customs and rectitudes;

and be bound to be present, in the judgment of the king's court with

the barons, like other barons, until the judgment proceeds to

mutilation or death.

XII. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory on the king's

domain shall be vacant, it shall be in his hand, and he shall receive

from it all the revenues and proceeds, as of his domains. And when the

time shall come for providing for that church, our lord the king shall

recommend the best persons to that church, and the election shall be

made in the king's chapel, with the king's consent, and the advice of

the persons of the kingdom whom he shall have summoned for that

purpose. And the person elected shall there do homage and fealty to our

lord the king, as to his liege lord, of life and limb, and of his

earthly honors saving his orders, before he is consecrated.

XIII. If any of the king's nobles shall have refused to render justice

to an archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, for himself or any of his

men, our lord the king shall justice them. And if by chance any one

shall have deforced our lord the king of his rights, the archbishops,

bishops, and archdeacons shall justice him that he may render

satisfaction to the king.

XIV. The chattels of those who are in forfeiture to the king shall not

be detained by the Church or the cemetery, in opposition to the king's

justice, for they belong to the king, whether they are found in the

Church or without.

XV. Pleas for debts which are due, whether with the interposition of a

pledge of faith or not, belong to the king's court.

XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of

the lord, in whose land they are known to have been born.

These Constitutions were drawn up in the spirit and language of

feudalism, under the inspiration of the king, by Archbishop Roger of

York, Bishop Foliot of London (the chief enemies of Becket), Bishop

Joceline of Salisbury, Richard de Luci (the king's chief judiciary),

and Joceline of Baliol. They are restrictions on the immunities of the

clergy; the last is an invasion of the rights of the people, but is

based on the canonical exclusion of slaves from the clerical order

without the consent of their masters. They subject the clergy equally

with the laity to the crown and the laws of the land. They reduce the

Church to an imperium in imperio, instead of recognizing her as a

distinct and independent imperium. They formulate in the shape of legal

enactments certain "ancient customs" (consuetudines) which date from

the time of William the Conqueror, and were conceded by Lanfranc; but

they infringe at many points on the ancient privileges of the Church,

and are inconsistent with the hierarchical principle of the exemption

of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction. And this was the chief point

of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop.

In the present state of civilization there can be no doubt that the

clergy should obey the same laws and be subject to the same penalties

as the laity. But we must not overlook the fact that in the Middle Ages

the clerical exemption had a humanitarian as well as a hierarchical

feature, and involved a protest against barbarous punishments by

mutilation of the human body, man being made in the image of God. It

prepared the way for a mitigation of the criminal code for the benefit

of the whole people, the laity as well as the clergy. This explains the

large amount of popular sympathy with the cause of Becket.

Becket gave a qualified assent. On his return to Canterbury he changed

his mind and imposed upon himself severe penances, and sought and

obtained the pope's absolution from his oath. But Alexander, hard

pressed by Barbarossa and the anti-pope, and anxious to keep the good

will of Henry, tried to please both parties. He granted, at the request

of Henry, legatine commission over all England to Archbishop Roger of

York, the rival of the primate of Canterbury. He also afterwards

authorized the coronation of Henry's eldest son by the archbishop of

York in the Abbey of Westminster (June 18, 1170), although such

coronation was the exclusive privilege of the archbishop of Canterbury.

This aggravated the difficulty with the king, and brought on the final

crisis.

In the meantime the Clarendon Constitutions were carried out. Clergymen

convicted of crime in the king's court were condemned and punished like

laymen.

Becket attempted to flee to the pope, and sailed for the Continent, but

was brought back by the sailors on account of adverse winds. This was a

violation of the law which forbade bishops to leave the country without

royal permission.

He was summoned before a great council of bishops and nobles at the

royal castle of Northampton in the autumn of 1164, and charged with

misconduct in secular affairs while chancellor and archbishop. But his

courage rose with the danger. He refused to answer, and appealed to the

pope. The council ordered him cited to Rome on the charges of perjury

at Clarendon and of commanding his suffragans to disregard the

Constitutions. The bishops he met with a haughty refusal when they

advised him to resign. He was to be arrested, but he threatened the

peers with excommunication if they pronounced the sentence. He took the

bold course of making his escape to the Continent in the disguise of a

monk, at midnight, accompanied by two monks and a servant, and provided

with his episcopal pall and seal.

The king seized the revenues of the archbishop, forbade public prayers

for him, and banished him from the kingdom, ordered the banishment of

all his kinsmen and friends, including four hundred persons of both

sexes, and suspended the payment of Peter's pence to the pope.

Becket spent fully six years in exile, from October, 1164, to December,

1170. King Louis of France, an enemy of Henry and admirer of Becket,

received him with distinction and recommended him to the pope, who,

himself in exile, resided at Sens. Becket met Alexander, laid before

him the Constitutions of Clarendon, and tendered his resignation. The

pope condemned ten as a violation of ecclesiastical privileges, and

tolerated six as less evil than the rest. He tenderly rebuked Becket

for his weakness in swearing to them, but consoled him with the

assurance that he had atoned for it by his sufferings. He restored to

him the archiepiscopal ring, thus ratifying his primacy, promised him

his protection, and committed him to the hospitable care of the abbot

of Pontigny, a Cistercian monastery about twelve leagues distant from

Sens. Here Becket lived till 1166, like a stern monk, on pulse and

gruel, slept on a bed of straw, and submitted at midnight to the

flagellation of his chaplain, but occasionally indulged in better diet,

and retained some of his former magnificence in his surroundings. His

sober friend, John of Salisbury, remonstrated against the profuse

expenditure.

Becket proceeded to the last extremity of pronouncing, in the church of

Vezelay, on Whitsuntide, 1166, the sentence of excommunication on all

the authors and defenders of the Constitutions of Clarendon. He spared

the king, who then was dangerously ill, but in a lower tone, half

choked with tears, he threatened him with the vengeance of God, and his

realm with the interdict. He announced the sentence to the pope and all

the clergy of England, saying to the latter, "Who presumes to doubt

that the priests of God are the fathers and masters of kings, princes,

and all the faithful?"

The wrath of Henry knew no bounds. He closed the ports of England

against the bearers of the instrument of excommunication, threatening

them with shameful mutilation, hanging, and burning. He procured the

expulsion of Becket from Pontigny, who withdrew to a monastery near the

archiepiscopal city of Sens. He secured through his ambassadors several

concessions from Alexander, who was then in exile at Benevento. The

pope was anxious to retain the support of the king, and yet he wrote

soothing letters to Becket, assuring him that the concessions were to

be only temporary. Becket answered with indignation, and denounced the

papal court for its venality and rapacity. "Your gold and silver," he

wrote to the cardinals, "will not deliver you in the day of the wrath

of the Lord."

The king now determined to use the permission received from the pope

several years before, but afterwards revoked, [159] tion. Like Gregory

VII., he applied the words, "Cursed is he that refraineth his sword

from blood," to the spiritual weapon. He even commanded the bishops of

England to lay the whole kingdom under interdict and to suspend the

offices of religion (except baptism, penance, and extreme unction),

unless the king should give full satisfaction before the feast of

purification, Nov. 2, 1170. [160]

These extreme measures were not without effect. Several bishops began

to waver and change from the king's cause to that of the archbishop.

The king himself was alarmed at the menace of the interdict. The pope

pursued his temporizing policy, and counselled concessions by both

parties.

The king and the archbishop suddenly made peace in a respectful

personal interview at Fretteville (Freteval), a castle between Tours

and Chartres, July 22, 1170. Henry said nothing about the Clarendon

Constitutions, but made the offer that Becket should crown his

daughter-in-law (the daughter of the king of France), and should on

that occasion repeat the coronation of his son. Becket laid the blame

on the shoulders of Henry's counsellors, and showed moderation and

prudence. The king did not offer the kiss of peace, nor did the

archbishop demand it.

But while Becket was willing to pardon the king, he meant to exercise

his spiritual authority over his evil counsellors, and especially over

the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury. These

prelates had recently officiated at the coronation of Henry's son. And

it was this coronation, even more than the original and more important

dispute about the immunity of the clergy, that led to the catastrophe.

After prolonged negotiations with the papal court and the king, Becket

returned to his long-neglected flock, Dec. 1, 1170. On landing at

Sandwich (instead of Dover, where he was expected), he was surprised by

enemies, who searched his baggage, and demanded that he should withdraw

his excommunication of the bishops who were then at Dover. He refused.

On his way to Canterbury the country clergy and people met him, cast

down their garments, chanting, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name

of the Lord." He rode to the cathedral with a vast procession, amid the

ringing of the bells, and preached on the text, "Here we have no

abiding city."

The excommunicated prelates of York, London, and Salisbury sought the

protection of the king, who was then at a castle near Bayeux in

Normandy. He said: "If all are to be excommunicated who officiated at

my son's coronation, by the eyes of God, I am equally guilty." One of

the prelates (perhaps Roger of York) remarked, "As long as Thomas

lives, you will never be at peace." Henry broke out into one of his

constitutional fits of passion, and dropped the fatal words: "A fellow

that has eaten my bread, has lifted up his heel against me; a fellow

that I loaded with benefits, dares insult the king; a fellow that came

to court on a lame horse, with a cloak for a saddle, sits without

hindrance on the throne itself. By the eyes of God, is there none of my

thankless and cowardly courtiers who will deliver me from the insults

of this low-born and turbulent priest?" With these words he rushed out

of the room.

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[154] Tennyson ingeniously introduces his drama with a game of chess

between Henry and Becket, during which the king informs the chancellor

of the fatal illness of Theobald, and speaks of the need of a mightier

successor, who would punish guilty clerks; while the chancellor quietly

moves his bishop and checkmates the king; whereupon Henry kicks over

the board, saying-- "Why, there then--down go bishop and king

together."

[155] "Though of Norman blood, his whole feeling, his whole character

is English, and it is clear that no man looked on him as a stranger."

Freeman (l.c., pp. 101 sq.).

[156] Tennyson makes Becket say:-- "This Almoner hath tasted Henry's

gold. The cardinals have fingered Henry's gold. And Rome is venal even

to rottenness."

[157] They are found in Matthew Paris, ad ann. 1164; Mansi, XXI. 1187;

Wilkins, Concilia M. Britanniae, vol. I. Gieseler, II. 89 sqq. (Am. ed.

II. 289 sq.); Reuter, I. 371-375, 573-577; Hefele-Kn�pfler, V. 623-628

(in German); Stubbs, 135-140 (in Latin); Gee and Hardy, 68-73.

[158] Maitland, p. 135 sqq., has thrown light upon this article, and

interprets it to mean that a clerk is first to be accused and plead in

the temporal court, then to be taken to the ecclesiastical court, and

if found guilty and degraded he is to be returned to the temporal court

and receive sentence to the layman's punishment. This procedure was for

civil crimes, such as robbery, rape, murder.

[159] See the pope's letter to the archbishop of York in the

"Materials," vol. VI. 206 sq., and Robertson's note; also Reuter, II.

683 sq. The letter is not in the Vatican, but in other MSS., and is

admitted as genuine by Jaff�. It was probably written in the beginning

of 1170, when Alexander was hard pressed by Barbarossa in the siege of

Rome. See the other letters on the subject in "Materials," VII. 257,

305 sqq., 399.

[160] In 1169 Henry proposed to marry one of his daughters to the young

king of Sicily, and to give a sum of money to the cities of the Lombard

League for the erection of fortifications, provided they would

influence Alexander to depose or transfer Becket. See Stubbs, ed. of

Hoveden, II. xci sq.

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� 33. The Martyrdom of Thomas Becket. Dec. 29, 1170.

On the murder of Becket we have the reports of five eye-witnesses,

Edward Grim (a Saxon monk of Cambridge), William Fitz-Stephen (Becket's

chaplain), John of Salisbury (his faithful friend), William of

Canterbury, and the anonymous author of a Lambeth MS. Two other

biographers, Herbert of Bosham and Roger of Pontigny, though absent

from England at that time, were on intimate terms with Becket, and took

great pains to ascertain the facts to the minutest details.

Four warlike knights of high birth and large estate, chamberlains to

the king, [161] royal blood), Hugh de Moreville (judiciary of

Northumberland and Cumberland), and Sir Richard le Bret or Breton

(commonly known as Brito [162] ir own risk, as best they could, by

imprisonment, or exile, or, if necessary, by murder. They seem to have

had no premeditated plan except that of signal vengeance. Without

waiting for instructions, they at once departed on separate routes for

England, and met at the castle of Saltwood, which belonged to the see

of Canterbury, but was then occupied by Randulf of Broc. They collected

a band of about a dozen armed men, and reached St. Augustine's abbey

outside of the walls of Canterbury, early on the 29th of December,

which was a Tuesday.

On the morning of that fatal day, Becket had forebodings of his death,

and advised the clergy to escape to Sandwich before daylight. He

attended mass in the cathedral, confessed to two monks, and received

three scourgings, as was his custom. At the banquet he drank more

freely than usual, and said to the cupbearer, "He who has much blood to

shed, must drink much." After dinner he retired to his private room and

sat on his bed, talking to his friends, John of Salisbury, William

Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim. He was then still in full vigor, being

in the fifty-third year of his age, retaining his dignified aspect and

the lustre of his large eyes.

At about four that afternoon, the knights went to the archbishop's

palace, leaving their weapons behind, and concealing their coats of

mail by the ordinary cloak and gown. They demanded from him, in the

name of the king, the absolution of the excommunicated bishops and

courtiers. He refused, and referred them to the pope, who alone could

absolve them. He declared: "I will never spare a man who violates the

canons of Rome or the rights of the Church. My spirituals I hold from

God and the pope; my temporals, from the king. Render unto Caesar the

things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The

knights said, "You speak in peril of your life." Becket replied: "Come

ye to murder me in my own house? You cannot be more ready to kill me

than I am to die. You threaten me in vain; were all the swords in

England hanging over my head, you could not terrify me from my

obedience to God and my lord the pope. I defy you, and will meet you

foot to foot in the battle of the Lord." During the altercation, Becket

lost command over his fiery temper. His friend, John of Salisbury,

gently censured him for his exasperating tone. The knights quitted the

room and called their men to arms.

A few minutes before five the bell tolled for vespers. Urged by his

friends, the archbishop, with his cross carried before him, went

through the cloisters to the cathedral. The service had begun, the

monks were chanting the psalms in the choir, the church was filled with

people, when two boys rushed up the nave and created a panic by

announcing that armed men were breaking into the cloister. The

attendants of Becket, who had entered the church, shut the door and

urged him to move into the choir for safety. "Away, you cowards!" he

said, "by virtue of your obedience, I command you not to shut the door;

the church must not be turned into a fortress." He was evidently

prepared and eager for martyrdom. He himself reopened the door, and

dragged the excluded monks into the building, exclaiming, "Come in,

come in--faster, faster!" The monks and priests were terror-stricken

and fled in every direction, to the recesses and side-chapels, to the

roof above, and the crypt below. Three only remained faithful,--Canon

Robert of Merton, Chaplain William Fitz-Stephen, and the clerk Edward

Grim. [163] t would carry him.

Becket proceeded to the high altar and archiepiscopal chair, in which

he and all his predecessors from time immemorial had been enthroned.

There, no doubt, he wished to gain the crown of martyrdom. It was now

about five in the winter evening; the shades of night were gathering,

and the lamps on the altars shed only a dim light in the dark

cathedral. The tragedy which followed was finished in a few minutes.

In the meantime the knights, clad in mail which covered their faces up

to their eyes, and with drawn swords, followed by a motley group of

ruffians, provided with hatchets, rushed into the cathedral and

shouted: "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" [164] Behold

me, no traitor, but a priest of God!" They again demanded the

absolution of the bishops and his surrender to the king's justice. "I

cannot do otherwise than I have done," he said, and turning to

Fitz-Urse, who was armed with a sword and an axe, he added; "Reginald,

you have received many favors at my hands: come you to me and into my

church armed!" The knights tried to drag him out of the sanctuary, not

intending to kill him there; but he braced himself against the pillar

between the altars of the Virgin, his special patroness, and St.

Benedict, whose rule he followed, and said: "I am ready to die. May the

Church through my blood obtain peace and liberty! I charge you in the

name of God Almighty that you hurt no one here but me." In the

struggle, he grappled with De Tracy and threw him to the pavement. He

called Fitz-Urse (who had seized him by the collar of his long cloak) a

miserable wretch, and wrenched the cloak from his grasp, saying, "Off,

thou pander, thou!" [165] epithet, waving the sword over his head,

struck the first blow, and dashed off his cap. Tracy, rising from the

pavement, aimed at his head; but Edward Grim, standing by, interposed

his arm, which was almost severed, and then he sank back against the

wall. Becket received blow after blow in an attitude of prayer. As he

felt the blood trickling down his face, he bowed his neck for the

death-blow, clasped his hands, and said in a low voice: "I commend my

cause and the cause of the Church to God, to St. Denis, the martyr of

France, to St. Alfege, and to the saints of the Church. [166]

These were his last words. The next blow felled him to his knees, the

last laid him on the floor at the foot of the altar of St. Benedict.

His hands were still joined as if in prayer. Richard the Breton cut off

the upper part of his skull, which had received the sacred oil. Hugh of

Horsea, the subdeacon, trampled upon his neck, thrust his sword into

the ghastly wound, and scattered the blood and the brains over the

pavement. [167]

The murderers rushed from the church through the cloisters into the

palace for plunder; while a violent thunder-storm broke over the

cathedral. They stole about two thousand marks in gold and silver, and

rode off on Becket's fine horses in the thick darkness of the night.

The body of Thomas was buried in the crypt. The remains of his blood

and brains were sacredly kept. His monkish admirers discovered, to

their amazement and delight, that the martyr, who had once been arrayed

in purple and fine linen, wore on his skin under his many garments the

coarsest haircloth abounding with vermin. This seemed to betray the

perfection of ascetic sanctity according to mediaeval notions. [168]

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[161] Cubicularii, gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

[162] The biographers say he was more fit to be called "the Brute."

[163] Modern writers are in the habit of calling him a monk, and so he

may have been. In the contemporary narratives he is called simply

"clerk." Abbott, I. 42 sq.

[164] See Abbott, I. 89 sqq., on the words used, and Becket's reply.

[165] "Lenonem appellans." Becket was wont to use violent language. He

called Geoffrey Riddell, the archdeacon of Canterbury, "archdevil."

Three years after Becket's death, Riddell was made bishop of Ely.

[166] Abbott, I. 147, holds that these words must have been spoken

before the blow was struck which dislodged the cap from Becket's head.

The blow cut off a piece of the prelate's skull.

[167] All the authorities relate this brutal sacrilege.

[168] Grim, with whom the other original authorities agree, says that

those who saw this haircloth suit, covering the upper and lower parts

of Becket's body, put aside all their doubts and acknowledged him as a

martyr.

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� 34. The Effects of Becket's Murder.

The atrocious murder sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian

world. The moment of Becket's death was his triumph. His exalted

station, his personal virtues, the sacrilege,--all contributed to

deepen the impression. At first opinion was divided, as he had strong

enemies, even at Canterbury. A monk declared that Becket paid a just

penalty for his obstinacy others said, "He wished to be king and more

than king; the archbishop of York dared to preach that Becket

"perished, like Pharaoh, in his pride."

But the torrent of public admiration soon silenced all opposition.

Miracles took place at his tomb, and sealed his claim to the worship of

a saint and martyr. "The blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the

lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the devils are cast out, even the

dead are raised to life." Thus wrote John of Salisbury, his friend.

[169] ew years after the murder, two collections of his miracles were

published, one by Benedict, prior of Canterbury (afterwards abbot of

Peterborough), and one by William, monk of Canterbury. [170] night of

the archbishop's death. His blood had miraculous efficacy for those who

drank it. [171]

Two years after his death, Feb. 21, 1173, Becket was solemnly canonized

by Alexander III., who had given him only a lukewarm support in his

contest with the king. There is scarcely another example of such an

early recognition of saintship; but public sentiment had anticipated

it. At a council in Westminster the papal letters of canonization were

read. All the bishops who had opposed Becket were present, begged

pardon for their offence, and acquiesced in the pope's decision. The

29th of December was set apart as the feast of "St. Thomas of

Canterbury."

King Henry II., as the supposed author of the monstrous crime, was

branded with a popular excommunication. On the first news, he shut

himself up for three days in his chamber, rolled himself in sackcloth

and ashes, and obstinately refused food and comfort. He lived secluded

for five weeks, exclaiming again and again, "Alas, alas that it ever

happened!" He issued orders for the apprehension of the murderers, and

despatched envoys to the pope to exculpate, himself and to avert the

calamity of excommunication and, an interdict. After long delay a

reconciliation took place in the cathedral of Avranches in Normandy,

before the papal legates, the archbishop of Rouen, and many bishops and

noblemen, May 22, 1172. [172] r, and that he was ready to make full

satisfaction. He pledged himself to abrogate the Statutes of Clarendon;

to restore the church of Canterbury to all its rights and possessions;

to undertake, if the pope should require it, a three years' crusade to

Jerusalem or Spain, and to support two hundred knights in the Holy

Land. After these pledges he said aloud: "Behold, my lord legates, my

body is in your hands; be assured that whatever you order, whether to

go to Jerusalem or to Rome or to St. James [at Compostella in Spain], I

am ready to obey." He was led by the bishops into the church and

reconciled. His son, who was present, promised Cardinal Albert to make

good his father's pledges. This penance was followed by a deepest

humiliation at Canterbury.

Two years later, July 12, 1174, the king, depressed by disasters and

the rebellion of his wife and his sons, even made a pilgrimage to the

tomb of Becket. He dismounted from his horse as he came in sight of the

towers of Canterbury, walked as a penitent pilgrim in a woollen shirt,

with bare and bleeding feet, through the streets, knelt in the porch of

the cathedral, kissed the sacred stone on which the archbishop had

fallen, threw himself prostrate before the tomb in the crypt, and

confessed to the bishops with groans and tears his deep remorse for the

hasty words which had led to the murder. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of

London, once Becket's rival and enemy, announced to the monks and

bystanders the king's penitence and intention to restore the rights and

property of the Church, and to bestow forty marks yearly on the

monastery to keep lamps burning at the martyr's tomb. The king, placing

his head and shoulders on the tomb, submitted to the degrading

punishment of scourging, and received five stripes from each bishop and

abbot, and three stripes from each of the eighty monks. Fully absolved,

he spent the whole night on the bare ground of the crypt in tears and

prayers, imploring the forgiveness of the canonized saint in heaven

whom he had persecuted on earth.

No deeper humiliation of king before priest is recorded in history. It

throws into the shade the submission of Theodosius to Ambrose, of Edgar

to Dunstan, of Barbarossa to Alexander, and even the scene at Canossa.

Fifty years after the martyrdom, Becket's relics were translated with

extraordinary solemnity from the tomb in the crypt to the costly shrine

of Becket, which blazed with gold and jewels, in the reconstructed

Canterbury cathedral (1220). And now began on the largest scale that

long succession of pilgrimages, which for more than three hundred years

made Canterbury the greatest sacred resort of Western Christendom, next

to Jerusalem and Rome. It was more frequented than Loreto in Italy and

Einsiedeln in Switzerland. No less than a hundred thousand pilgrims

were registered at Canterbury in 1420. From all parts of England,

Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, from France and the far north, men and

women flocked to the shrine: priests, monks, princes, knights,

scholars, lawyers, merchants, mechanics, peasants. There was scarcely

an English king, from Henry II. to Henry VIII., who did not from

motives of piety or policy pay homage to the memory of the saint. Among

the last distinguished visitors were John Colet, dean of St. Paul's,

and Erasmus, who visited the shrine together between the years 1511 and

1513, and King Henry VIII. and Emperor Charles V., who attended the

last jubilee in 1520. Plenary indulgences were granted to the pilgrims.

Some went in December, the month of his martyrdom; a larger number in

July, the month of the translation of his relics. Every fiftieth year a

jubilee lasting fifteen days was celebrated in his honor. Six such

jubilees were celebrated,--1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470, 1520. The

offerings to St. Thomas exceeded those given to any other saint, even

to the holy Virgin.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, who lived two centuries

after Becket' martyrdom, has immortalized these pilgrimages in his

Canterbury Tales, and given us the best description of English society

at that time.

The pilgrimages promoted piety, social intercourse, superstition,

idleness, levity, and immorality, and aroused moral indignation among

many serious and spiritually minded men.

The superstitious idolatry of St. Thomas was continued down to the time

of the Reformation, when it was rudely but forever crushed out. Henry

VIII. cited Becket to appear in court to answer to the charges of

treason and rebellion. The case was formally argued at Westminster. His

guilt was proved, and on the 10th of June, 1538, St. Thomas was

condemned as a "rebel and a traitor to his prince." The rich shrine at

Canterbury was pillaged; the gold and jewels were carried off in two

strong coffers, and the rest of the treasure in twenty-six carts. The

jewels went into the hands of Henry VIII., who wore the most precious

of them, a diamond, the "Regale of France," in the ring on his thumb;

afterwards it glittered in the golden, "collar" of his daughter, the

bigoted Queen Mary. A royal proclamation explained the cause and mode

of Becket's death, and the reasons for his degradation. All festivals,

offices, and prayers in his name were forbidden. The site of his shrine

has remained vacant to this day.

The Reformation prepared the way for a more spiritual worship of God

and a more just appreciation of the virtues and faults of Thomas Becket

than was possible in the age in which he lived and died,--a hero and a

martyr of the papal hierarchy, but not of pure Christianity, as

recorded in the New Testament. To the most of his countrymen, as to the

English-speaking people at large, his name has remained the synonym for

priestly pride and pretension, for an arrogant invasion of the rights

of the civil estate. To a certain class of English High Churchmen he

remains, like Laud of a later age, the martyr of sacerdotal privilege,

the unselfish champion of the dowered rights of the Church. The

atrocity of his taking-off no one will choose to deny. But the haughty

assumption of the high prelate had afforded pretext enough for vehement

indignation and severe treatment. Priestly robes may for a time conceal

and even protect pride from violence, but sooner or later it meets its

just reward. The prelate's superiority involved in Becket's favorite

expression, "saving the honor of my order," was more than a king of

free blood could be expected to bear.

This dramatic chapter of English history may be fitly closed with a

scene from Lord Tennyson's tragedy which presents the personal quality

that brought about Thomas � Becket's fall. [173]

John of Salisbury.

Thomas, I would thou hadst returned to England

Like some wise prince of this world from his wars,

With more of olive-branch and amnesty

For foes at home--thou hast raised the world against thee.

Becket.

Why, John, my kingdom is not of this world.

John of Salisbury.

If it were more of this world it might be

More of the next. A policy of wise pardon

Wins here as well as there. To bless thine enemies --

Becket.

Ay, mine, not Heaven's.

John of Salisbury.

And may there not be something

Of this world's leaven in thee too, when crying

On Holy Church to thunder out her rights

And thine own wrong so piteously. Ah, Thomas,

The lightnings that we think are only Heaven's

Flash sometimes out of earth against the heavens.

The soldier, when he lets his whole self go

Lost in the common good, the common wrong,

Strikes truest ev'n for his own self. I crave

Thy pardon--I have still thy leave to speak.

Thou hast waged God's war against the King; and yet

We are self-uncertain creatures, and we may,

Yea, even when we know not, mix our spites

And private hates with our defence of Heaven.

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[169] See his Vita S.Th. in the "Materials," etc., II. 322: In loco

passionis eius ...paralytici curantur, caeci vident, surdi audiunt,

loquuntur muti, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur ...et quod a diebus

patrum nostrorum non est auditum, mortui resurgunt.

[170] William's long Vita et Passio S. Th. is printed in the

"Materials," vol. I. 173-546. The credulous Alban Butler, in his Lives

of the Saints, quotes from an old English MS. of a pretended

eye-witness, who records two hundred and sixty-three miracles wrought

by the intercession of St. Thomas,--many more than are found in the

whole Bible.

[171] Dr. Abbott devotes the main part of his work, I: 224 sqq., II. to

a detailed description and discussion of the miracles. His closing

chapter, II. 307-314, draws a parallel between these miracles and the

miraculous works of Christ. He makes a distinction between mighty works

wrought on human nature, such as the cure of diseases and the mighty

works wrought on "nonhuman nature," as on bread, water, trees. The

reality of the former he accepts, though he denies their supernatural

character. The latter "are not to be accepted as historical, but as

legends explicable from poetry taken as prose or from linguistic error

or from these two combined." He goes on to say the distinction between

Christ and Thomas is that "the spirit of St. Thomas had no power to

pass into the hearts of men with a permanent vivifying message of its

own. The Spirit of him whom we worship has both that power and that

message." This is not the place to make an argument for the miracles of

the New Testament, but two considerations place them and the miracles

of Thomas of Canterbury in different categories. Christ's miracles had

the purpose and worth of attesting his mission as the Saviour of the

world, and they were original. It was quite easy for the mediaeval mind

in its fear and love of the wonderful to associate miracles with its

saints, Christ's example being before them; but where it was original,

the miracles it believed were for the most part grotesque.

[172] A granite pillar in the Norman cathedral at Avranches bears an

inscription in memory of the event. It is given by Stanley, p. 136.

[173] Sir Henry Irving, the distinguished English actor, died Oct. 20,

1905, seven days after a performance of this drama, the last time he

appeared on the stage.

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CHAPTER V.

INNOCENT III. AND HIS AGE. A.D. 1198-1216.

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� 35. Literature.

Sources: Innocentii III. Opp. omnia, in Migne, 4 vols. 214-217; three

vols. contain Innocent's official letters; a 4th, his sermons, the de

contemptu mundi, and other works.--S. Baluzius: Epistolarum Inn. III.

libri undecim, 2 vols. Paris, 1682.--B�hmer: Regesta imperii 1198-1254,

new ed. by J. Ficker, Innsbruck, 1881.--Potthast: Regesta, pp. 1-467,

2041-2056--Gesta Innoc. III. auctore anonymo sed coaevo (a contemporary

Life, about 1220), in Migne, 214, pp. xvii-ccxxviii, and

Baluzius.--Mansi, XXII.--Mirbt: Quellen, 125-136, gives some of the

characteristic passages. For the older edd. of Inn.'s letters and other

works, see Potthast, Bibliotheca med. aevi, I. 520, 650.

Modern Works: Friedrich von Hurter (1787-1886): Geschichte Papst

Innocenz des Dritten und seiner Zeitgenossen, 2 vols. Hamburg,

1833-1835; 3d ed. 4 vols. 1841-1844 (trans. into French and Italian).

The last two volumes are devoted to the monastic orders and the Eccles.

and social conditions of the thirteenth century. An exhaustive work

full of enthusiastic admiration for Innocent and his age. Hurter wrote

it while antistes or pastor of the Reformed Church in Schaffhausen,

Switzerland, and was led by his studies to enter, with his family, the

Roman Catholic communion in 1844 and became imperial counsellor and

historiographer of Austria. Gfr�rer, likewise a Protestant, dazzled by

the splendor of the Gregorian papacy in the preparation of his Life of

Gregory VII., was also led to join the Roman communion.--Jorry: Hist.

du pape Inn. III.; Paris, 1853.--F. F. Reinlein: Papst Inn. III. und

seine Schrift de contemptu mundi, Erlangen, 1871; also Inn. III nach s.

Beziehung zur Unfehlbarkeitsfrage, Erlangen, 1872.--H. Elkan: Die Gesta

Inn. III. im Verh�ltniss zu d. Regesten desselben Papstes, Heidelberg,

1876.--Fr. Deutsch: Papst Inn. III. und s. Einfluss auf d. Kirche,

Bresl., 1876.--Leop. Delisle: M�moire sur les actes d'Inn. III, suivi

de l'itin�raire de ce pontife, Paris, 1877.--J. N. Brischar, Roman

Catholic: Papst Inn. III. und s. Zeit, Freib. im Br. 1883.--J. Langen:

Gesch. d. r�m. Kirche von Gregor. VII. bis Inn. III., Bonn, 1893; also

Hefele-Kn�pfler, vol. V.--the Works on the Hohenstaufen and the

Crusades.--Ranke: Weltgesch., VIII. 274 sqq.--the Histories of Rome by

Reumont, Bryce, and Gregorovius,--Hauck: Kirchengeschichte

Deutschlands, IV. 658-745.--T. F. Tout: The Empire and the Papacy,

918-1272, N. Y. 1898.--H. Fisher: The Med. Empire, 2 vols. London,

1898.--For fuller lit., see Chevalier; R�pertoire, pp. 1114 sq. and

Suppl. 2659, and art. Inn. III., by Z�pffel-Mirbt, in Herzog, IX.

112-122.

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� 36. Innocent's Training and Election.

The brilliant pontificate of Innocent III., 1198-1216, lasted as long

as the combined and uneventful reigns of his five predecessors: Lucius

III., 1181-1185; Urban III., 1185-1187; Gregory VIII. less than two

months, 1187; Clement III., 1187-1191; Coelestin III., 1191-1198. It

marks the golden age of the mediaeval papacy and one of the most

important eras in the history of the Catholic Church. No other mortal

has before or since wielded such extensive power. As the spiritual

sovereign of Latin Christendom, he had no rival. At the same time he

was the acknowledged arbiter of the political destinies of Europe from

Constantinople to Scotland. He successfully carried into execution the

highest theory of the papal theocracy and anticipated the Vatican

dogmas of papal absolutism and infallibility. To the papal title "vicar

of Christ," Innocent added for the first time the title "vicar of God."

He set aside the decisions of bishops and provincial councils, and

lifted up and cast down kings. He summoned and guided one of the most

important of the councils of the Western Church, the Fourth Lateran,

1215, whose acts established the Inquisition and fixed

transubstantiation as a dogma. He set on foot the Fourth Crusade, and

died making preparation for another. On the other hand he set Christian

against Christian, and by undertaking to extirpate religious dissent by

force drenched parts of Europe in Christian blood.

Lothario, Innocent's baptismal name, was born about 1160 at Anagni, a

favorite summer resort of the popes. He was the son of Count Trasmondo

of the house of the Conti de Segni, one of the ruling families of the

Latium. [174] dinals, he was rapidly promoted, and in 1190, at the age

of twenty-nine, was appointed cardinal-deacon by one of them, Pope

Clement III. Though the youngest member of the curia, he was at once

assigned a place of responsibility.

During the pontificate of Coelestin III., a member of the house of the

Orsini which was unfriendly to the Conti, Lothario withdrew into

retirement and devoted himself to literature. The chief fruit of this

seclusion is the work entitled The Contempt of the World or the Misery

of the Mortal Estate. [175] [176] t composed an Exposition of the Seven

Penitential Psalms. While pope he preached often both in Rome and on

his journeys. His sermons abound in mystical and allegorical figures.

Of his letters more than five hundred are preserved.

The Contempt of the World is an ascetic plaint over the sinfulness and

woes of this present life. It proceeds upon the basis of Augustine's

theory of total depravity. The misery of man is described from the

helplessness of infancy to the decrepitude of age and the sufferings of

the future estate. Pessimistic passages are quoted from Jeremiah,

Ecclesiastes, and Job, and also from Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal. Three

master passions are constantly tormenting man,--avarice, lust, and

ambition,--to which are added the innumerable ailments of the body and

troubles of the soul. The author deplores the fate of masters and

servants, of the married and the unmarried, of the good and the bad,

the rich and the poor. "It is just and natural that the wicked should

suffer; but are the righteous one whit better off? Here below is their

prison, not their home or their final destiny. As soon as a man rises

to a station of dignity, cares and trouble increase, fasting is

abridged, night watches are prolonged, nature's constitution is

undermined, sleep and appetite flee, the vigor of the body gives way to

weakness, and a sorrowful end is the close of a sorrowful life." [177]

e reader of the solemn cadences of the Dies Irae of Thomas of Celano

and Dante's Inferno. [178]

Called forth from retirement to the chief office in Christendom,

Innocent had an opportunity to show his contempt of the world by ruling

it with a strong and iron hand. The careers of the best of the popes of

the Middle Ages, as well as of ecclesiastics like Bernard of Clairvaux

and Thomas of Canterbury, reveal the intimate connection between the

hierarchical and ascetic tendencies. Innocent likewise displayed these

two tendencies. In his treatise on the mass he anticipated the haughty

assumption of the papacy, based on the rock-foundation of Peter's

primacy, which as pope he afterwards displayed.

On the very day of Coelestin's burial, the college of cardinals

unanimously chose Lothario pope. Like Gregory I., Gregory VII.,

Alexander III., and other popes, he made a show of yielding reluctantly

to the election. He was ordained priest, and the next day, February 22,

was consecrated bishop and formally ascended the throne in St. Peter's.

The coronation ceremonies were on a splendid scale. But the size of

Rome, whose population at this time may not have exceeded thirty-five

thousand, must be taken into account when we compare them with the

pageants of the ancient city. [179] At the enthronization in St.

Peter's, the tiara was used which Constantine is said to have presented

to Sylvester, and the words were said, "Take the tiara and know that

thou art the father of princes and kings, the ruler of the world, the

vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose honor and glory shall

endure throughout all eternity." Then followed the procession through

the city to the Lateran. The pope sat on a white palfrey and was

accompanied by the prefect of the city, the senators and other

municipal officials, the nobility, the cardinals, archbishops, and

other church dignitaries, the lesser clergy and the popular throng--all

amidst the ringing of bells, the chanting of psalms, and the

acclamations of the people. Along the route a singular scene was

presented at the Ghetto by a group of Jews, the rabbi at their head

carrying a roll of the Pentateuch, who bowed low as they saluted their

new ruler upon whose favor or frown depended their protection from the

populace, yea, their very life. Arrived at the Lateran, the pope threw

out handfuls of copper coins among the people with the words, "Silver

and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee." The silver key

of the palace and the golden key of the basilica were then put into his

hands, and the senate did him homage. A banquet followed, the pope

sitting at a table alone. [180] chief personality in the Christian

world.

When he ascended the fisherman's throne, Innocent was only thirty-seven

years old, the youngest in the line of popes up to that time. Walter

von der Vogelweide gave expression to the fear which his youth awakened

when he wrote, O w� der b�best ist ze june, hilf h�rre diner

kristenheit. "Alas! the pope is so young. Help, Lord, thy Christian

world." The new pontiff was well formed, medium in stature, [181] nd

fearless in action. He was a born ruler of men, a keen judge of human

nature, demanding unconditional submission to his will, yet considerate

in the use of power after submission was once given,--an imperial

personality towering high above the contemporary sovereigns in moral

force and in magnificent aims of world-wide dominion.

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[174] Like Hildebrand, Innocent may have combined Germanic with Italian

blood. Upon the basis of such family names among the Conti as Lothaire

and Richard, Gregorovius finds evidence of Lombard origin.

[175] The de contemptu mundi sive de miseria conditionis humanae was

first printed at Ulm, 1448, then at Lyons, 1473, N�rnberg, 1477, etc.

See Migne's ed. 217, 701-746.

[176] Mysterium evangelicae legis et sacramentum eucharistiae or de

missarum mysteriis.

[177] II. 29.

[178] The Dies Irae has been ascribed to Innocent. Here are the

concluding words of this famous treatise. "Ibi erit fletus et stridor

dentium (Matthew xiii.),gemitus et ululatus, luctus et cruciatus,

stridor et clamor, timor et tremor, dolor et labor, ardor et faetor,

obscuritas et anxietas, acerbitas et asperitas, calamitas et egestas,

angustia et tristitia, oblivio et confusio, torsiones et punctiones,

amaritudines et terrores, fames et sitis, frigus et cauma, sulphur et

ignis ardens in saecula saeculorum. Unde liberet nos Deus, qui est

benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen." III. 17; Migne, 217, 746.

[179] See Gregorovius, V. 7.

[180] Elaborate descriptions of the ceremonies are given by Hurter, I.

92 sqq.,and Gregorovius, V. 7-15.

[181] Statura mediocris, etc. See Gesta, Migne, 214, XVII. The portrait

prefixed in Hurter has no historic value. For Innocent's personal

habits and methods of conducting business, see Hurter, II 743 sqq.

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� 37. Innocent's Theory of the Papacy.

The pope with whom Innocent is naturally brought into comparison is

Hildebrand. They were equally distinguished for moral force,

intellectual energy, and proud assertion of prelatic prerogative.

Innocent was Hildebrand's superior in learning, diplomatic tact, and

success of administration, but in creative genius and heroic character

he was below his predecessor. He stands related to his great

predecessor as Augustus to Julius. He was heir to the astounding

programme of Hildebrand's scheme and enjoyed the fruits of his

struggles. Their personal fortunes were widely different. Gregory was

driven from Rome and died in exile. To Innocent's good fortune there

seemed to be no end, and he closed his pontificate in undisputed

possession of authority.

Innocent no sooner ascended the papal chair than he began to give

expression to his conception of the papal dignity. Throughout his

pontificate he forcibly and clearly expounded it in a tone of mingled

official pride and personal humility. At his coronation he preached on

the faithful and wise servant. "Ye see," he said, "what manner of

servant it is whom the Lord hath set over his people, no other than the

viceregent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst

between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than

man. He judges all and is judged by none. But he, whom the pre-eminence

of dignity exalts, is humbled by his vocation as a servant, that so

humility may be exalted and pride be cast down; for God is against the

high-minded, and to the lowly He shows mercy; and whoso exalteth

himself shall be abased."

Indeed, the papal theocracy was Innocent's all-absorbing idea. He was

fully convinced that it was established of God for the good of the

Church and the salvation of the world. As God gave to Christ all power

in heaven and on earth, so Christ delegated to Peter and his successors

the same authority. Not man but God founded the Apostolic see. [182]

[183] and had been given, "Feed my sheep." On him alone it had been

declared, "I will build my church." The pope is the vicar of Christ,

yea of God himself. [184] ike Melchizedek, he is at once king and

priest. All things in heaven and earth and in hell are subject to

Christ. So are they also to his vicar. He can depose princes and

absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance. He may enforce submission

by placing whole nations under the interdict. Peter alone went to Jesus

on the water and by so doing he gave illustration of the unique

privilege of the papacy to govern the whole earth. For the other

disciples stayed in the ship and so to them was given rule only over

single provinces. And as the waters were many on which Peter walked, so

over the many congregations and nations, which the waters represent,

was Peter given authority--yea over all nations whatsoever (universos

populos). [185] eaches papal infallibility and declares that Peter's

successor can never in any way depart from the Catholic faith.

Gregory VII.'s illustration, likening the priestly estate (sacerdotium)

to the sun, and the civil estate (regnum or imperium) to the moon,

Innocent amplified and emphasized. Two great lights, Innocent said,

were placed by God in the firmament of heaven, and to these correspond

the "pontifical authority and the regal authority," the one to rule

over souls as the sun rules over the day, the other to rule over the

bodies of men as the moon rules over the night. And as the moon gets

its light from the sun, and as it is also less than the sun both in

quality and in size, and in the effect produced, so the regal power

gets its dignity and splendor from the pontifical authority which has

in it more inherent virtue. [186] [187] ood came by divine creation;

the kingly power by man's manipulation and violence. [188] of the pope,

are lodged the terrible power of destruction and the genial mildness of

grace." Innocent reminded John that if he did not lift his foot from

off the Church, nothing would check his punishment and fall. [189]

Innocent's exposition and obeyed. His correspondence abounds with

letters to the emperor, the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Sicily, France,

England, the Danes, Aragon, and to other princes, teaching them their

duty and demanding their submission.

Under Innocent's rule, the subjection of the entire Christian world to

the Roman pontiff seemed to be near realization. But the measures of

force which were employed in the Latin conquest of Constantinople,

1204, had the opposite effect from what was intended. The overthrow of

the Byzantine empire and the establishment of a Latin empire in its

stead and the creation of a new hierarchy of Constantinople only

completed the final alienation of the Greek and Latin churches. To

Innocent III. may not be denied deep concern in the extension of

Christendom. But the rigorous system of the Inquisition which he set on

foot begat bitterness and war of churchman against Christian dissenter

and of Christian against Mohammedan. More blood was shed at the hand of

the Church during the pontificate of Innocent, and under his immediate

successors carrying out his policy, than in any other age except during

the papal counter-Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. The audacious papal claim to imperialism corrected itself by

the policy employed by Innocent and his successors to establish the

claim over the souls and bodies of men and the governments of the

earth. [190]

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[182] Apostolicae sedis primatus quem non homo sed Deus, imo verius

Deus homo constituit.

[183] Reg. II. 209; Migne, 214, 758-765.

[184] Cum non humana sed divina fiat auctoritate quod in hac parte per

summum pontificem adimpletur, qui non hominis puri sed veri Dei vere

vicarius appellatur. I. 326; Migne, 214, 292.

[185] Nam cum aquae multae sint, populi multi, congregationesque

aquarum sunt maria, per hoc quod Petrus super aquas maris incessit,

super universos populos se potestatem accepisse monstravit. II. 209;

Migne, 214, 760; Potthast, 82. In this letter Innocent quotes no less

than twenty-five passages of Scripture.

[186] Sicut luna lumen suum a sole sortitur, quae re vera minor est

isto quantitate simul et qualitate, situ pariter et effectu, sic

regalis potestas ab auctoritate pontificali suae sortitur dignitatis

splendorem, etc. See Mirbt, Quellen, 130.

[187] Minor est qui unguitur quam qui ungit, et dignior est unguens

quam unctus. Migne, 216, 1012, 1179; Potthast, 98.

[188] Sacerdotium per ordinationem divinam, regnum autem per

extorsionem humanam. He also speaks of the unity of the Church as the

product of grace and the divisions of the empire as the product of or

judgment of sin. Ecclesia per Dei gratiam in unitate consistit, et

imperium peccatis exigentibus est divisum. Migne, 216, 1179; Potthast,

98.

[189] Migne, 217, 922. Gregorovius pronounces this "probably the most

imperious document of the papal power." V. 104.

[190] Hauck, IV. 743, acknowledging the genius of Innocent, expresses

the somewhat disparaging judgment that "he was more of a rhetorician

than a theologian, and more of a jurist and administrator than a

statesman." Many Protestant writers of Germany show their national

feeling by a disposition to disparage Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

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� 38. Innocent and the German Empire.

Additional Literature.--Ed. Winkelmann: Philip von Schwaben und Otto

IV. von Braunschweig, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1873-1878.--R. Schwemer:

Innocent III. und d. deutsche Kirche w�hrend des Thronstreites von

1198-1208, Strassburg, 1882.

The political condition of Europe was favorable to Innocent's assertion

of power. With the sudden death of Henry VI., Sept. 28, 1197, at the

early age of thirty-two, the German empire was left without a ruler.

Frederick, the Emperor's only son, was a helpless child. Throughout

Italy a reaction set in against Henry's hard and oppressive rule. The

spirit of national freedom was showing itself, and a general effort was

begun to expel the German princes and counts from Italian soil.

Innocent III. has been called by Ranke Henry's real successor. [191] e

began his reign by abolishing the last vestiges of the authority of the

empire in the city of Rome. The city prefect, who had represented the

emperor, took the oath of allegiance to the pope, and Innocent invested

him with a mantle and silver cup. The senator likewise acknowledged

Innocent's authority and swore to protect the Roman see and the regalia

of St. Peter.

The pope quickly pushed his authority beyond the walls of Rome.

Spoleto, which for six centuries had been ruled by a line of German

dukes, Assisi, Perugia, and other cities, submitted. Mark of Anweiler,

the fierce soldier of Henry VI., could not withstand the fortunate

diplomacy and arms of Innocent, and the Romagna, with Ravenna as its

centre, yielded. A Tuscan league was formed which was favorably

disposed to the papal authority. Florence, Siena, Pisa, and other

cities, while refusing to renounce their civic freedom, granted

privileges to the pope. Everywhere Innocent had his legates. Such full

exercise of papal power over the State of the Church had not before

been known.

To confirm her son Frederick's title to the crown of Sicily, his mother

delivered the kingdom over to the pope as a papal fief. She survived

her imperial consort only a year, and left a will appointing Innocent

the guardian of her child. The intellectual training and political

destinies of the heir of the Hohenstaufen were thus intrusted to the

hereditary foe of that august house. Innocent was left a free hand to

prosecute his trust as he chose. [192]

In Germany, Innocent became the umpire of the imperial election. The

electors were divided between two aspirants to the throne, Philip of

Swabia, the brother of Henry VI., who was crowned at Mainz, and Otto,

the son of Henry the Lion, who was crowned at Aachen by Adolf,

archbishop of Cologne. Otto was the nephew of Richard Coeur de Lion and

John of England, who supported his claims with their gold and

diplomacy. Both parties made their appeal to Rome, and it is not a

matter of surprise that Innocent's sympathies were with the Guelf,

Otto, rather than with the Hohenstaufen. Moreover, Philip had given

offence by occupying, as duke of Tuscany, the estates of Matilda.

Innocent made the high claim that the German throne depended for its

occupant "from the beginning and ultimately" upon the decision of the

papal see. Had not the Church transferred the empire from the East to

the West? And had not the Church itself conferred the imperial crown,

[193] n 1201 in favor of Otto, "his dearest son in Christ who was

himself devoted to the Church and on both sides was descended from

devout stock." The decision inured to Rome's advantage. By the

stipulation of Neuss, subsequently repeated at Spires, 1209, Otto

promised obedience to the pope and renounced all claim to dominion in

the State of the Church and also to Naples and Sicily. This written

document was a dangerous ratification of the real or pretended

territorial rights and privileges of the papacy from Constantine and

Pepin down.

Civil war broke out, and when the tide of success turned in Philip's

favor, the pope released him from the sentence of excommunication and

was about to acknowledge him as emperor [194] in 1208, brought Philip's

career to a tragic end. The year following Otto was crowned in St.

Peter's, but he forgot his promises and proceeded to act out the

independent policy of the rival house of the Hohenstaufen. [195] ly,

distributing rich estates and provinces among his vassals and

sequestrating the revenues of the clergy. He then marched to Southern

Italy, the territory of Frederick, and received the surrender of

Naples.

All that Innocent had gained seemed in danger of being lost. Prompt

measures showed him equal to the emergency. He wrote that the stone he

had erected to be the head of the corner had become a rock of offence.

Like Rachel he mourned over his son whom he lamented to have made king.

Otto was excommunicated and a meeting of magnates at N�rnberg, 1211,

declared him deposed, and, pronouncing in favor of Frederick, sent

envoys to Palermo to convey to him the intelligence. Otto crossed the

Alps to reclaim his power, but it was too late. Frederick started

north, stopping at Rome, where Innocent saw him for the first and last

time, April, 1212. He was elected and crowned king at Frankfurt,

December, 1212, and was recognized by nearly all the princes at Eger

the year following. Before setting out from Italy he had again

recognized Sicily as a fief of Rome. At Eger he disavowed all imperial

right to the State of the Church. [196]

Otto joined in league with John of England and the Flemish princes

against Philip Augustus of France; but his hopes were dashed to the

ground on the battlefield of Bouvines, Belgium, 1415. His authority was

thenceforth confined to his ancestral estate. He died 1218. Innocent

had gained the day. His successors were to be defied by the young king,

Frederick, for nearly half a century.

With equal spirit and decision, Innocent mingled in the affairs of the

other states of Europe. In France, the controversy was over the

sanctity of the marriage vow. Philip Augustus put away his second wife,

[197] e, and took the fair Agnes of Meran in her stead. The French

bishops, on the plea of remote consanguinity, justified the divorce.

But Innocent, listening to the appeals of Ingeborg, and placing France

under the interdict, forced the king to take her back. [198]

The Christian states of the Spanish peninsula felt the pontiff's strong

hand. The kingdom of Leon was kept under the interdict five years till

Alfonso IX. consented to dismiss his wife on account of blood

relationship. Pedro, king of Aragon, a model of Spanish chivalry,

received his crown at Rome in 1204 and made his realm a fief of the

Apostolic see. Sancho, king of the newly risen kingdom of Portugal, was

defeated in his effort to break away from the pope's suzerainty.

In the North, Sweden accepted Innocent's decision in favor of the house

of Schwerker, and the Danish king, who was attempting to reduce the

tribes along the Baltic to Christianity, was protected by the pope's

threat of interdict upon all molesting his realm. The king of England

was humbled to the dust by Innocent's word. To the king of Scotland a

legate was sent and a valuable sword. Even Iceland is said to have been

the subject of Innocent's thought and action.

In the Southeast, Johannitius of Bulgaria received from Innocent his

crown after bowing before his rebuke for having ventured to accept it

from Philip of Swabia. Ottoker, prince of Bohemia, was anointed by the

papal legate, and Emmeric of Hungary made a vow to lead a crusade,

which his brother Andrew executed. Thus all the states of Europe west

of Russia were made to feel the supremacy of the papal power. The

conquest of Constantinople and the Holy Land, as we shall see, occupied

an equal share of attention from this tireless and masterful ruler, and

the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1205, was

regarded as a signal triumph for the papal policy.

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[191] Weltgeschichte, VIII. 274. Matthews, 105 sq. gives Henry VI.'s

Testament.

[192] One of Frederick's first acts was to release a portion of his

patrimony to the pope's brother, Count Richard. At a later period,

under Honorius, Frederick recalled his gift.

[193] Imperium principaliter et finaliter dignoscitur pertinere,

principaliter quia ipsa transtulit imperium ab Oriente ad Occidentem;

finaliter quia ipsa concedit coronam imperii. Migne, 216, 1182;

Potthast, 98; also Migne, 216, 1048; Potthast, 119.

[194] The very archbishop of Cologne who had crowned Otto now put the

crown on Philip's head.

[195] Otto had sought to join the fortunes of the two houses by

marrying Philip's daughter, Beatrice, who died soon after the nuptials.

[196] This was the so-called Golden Bull of Eger, July 12, 1213.

Frederick calls himself in it, "King of the Romans and of Sicily." He

promised to defend Sicily for the Roman Church as a "devoted son and

Catholic prince,"devotus filius et Catholicus princeps. Mirbt, Quellen,

131 sqq.; Matthews, 115 sqq.

[197] Migne, 215, 1493, etc.

[198] The pope legitimatized the children of Agnes, who died in 1201.

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� 39. Innocent and King John of England.

"This royal throne of kings, this sceptr'd isle,

This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

This other Eden, demi-paradise;

This fortress, built by nature for herself,

Against infection, and the hand of war;

This happy breed of men, this little world,

This precious stone set in the silver sea,

Which serves it in the office of a wall,

Or as a moat defensive to a house,

Against the envy of less happier lands;

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,

This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,

Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth."

--Shakespeare, Richard II., Act II. Sc. 1.

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of the St. Alban annalists) and the revision and continuation of the

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Lingard (R. C.), Green, Milman, Freeman (Norman Conquest, vol.

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Dict. of Natl. Biog. XXIX. 402-417.--Sir James H. Ramsey: The Angevin

Empire, 1154-1216, London, 1903. He calls John a brutal tyrant,

hopelessly depraved, without ability in war or politics.

Under Innocent, England comes, if possible, into greater prominence in

the history of the papacy than during the controversy in the reign of

Alexander III., a generation before. Then the English actors were Henry

II. and Thomas � Becket. Now they are Henry's son John and Becket's

successor Stephen Langton. The pope was victorious, inflicting the

deepest humiliation upon the English king; but he afterwards lost the

advantage he had gained by supporting John against his barons and

denouncing the Magna Charta of English popular rights. The controversy

forms one of the most interesting episodes of English history.

John, surnamed Sansterre or Lackland, 1167-1216, succeeded his brother

Richard I. on the throne, 1199. A man of decided ability and rapid in

action but of ignoble spirit, low morals, and despotic temper, he

brought upon his realm such disgrace as England before or since has not

suffered. His reign was a succession of wrongs and insults to the

English people and the English church.

John had joined Richard in a revolt against their father, sought to

displace his brother on the throne during his captivity after the Third

Crusade, and was generally believed by contemporaries to have put to

death his brother Geoffrey's son, Arthur of Brittany, who would have

been Richard's successor if the law of primogeniture had been followed.

He lost Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Aquitaine to the English. Perjury

was no barrier to the accomplishment of his plans. He set aside one

wife and was faithless to another. No woman was too well born to be

safe against his advances. He plundered churches and convents to pay

his debts and satisfy his avarice, and yet he never undertook a journey

without hanging charms around his neck. [199]

Innocent came into collision with John over the selection of a

successor to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury, who died 1205. [200] The

monks of Canterbury, exercising an ancient privilege, chose Reginald

one of their number. With the king's support, a minority proceeded to

another election and chose the king's nominee, John de Grey, bishop of

Norwich. John was recognized by the suffragan-bishops and put into

possession by the king.

An appeal was made by both parties to Rome, Reginald appearing there in

person. After a delay of a year, Innocent set aside both elections and

ordered the Canterbury monks, present in Rome, to proceed to the choice

of another candidate. The choice fell upon Stephen Langton, cardinal of

Chrysogonus. Born on English soil, Stephen was a man of indisputable

learning and moral worth. He had studied in Paris and won by his merits

prebends in the cathedral churches of Paris and York. The metropolitan

dignity could have been intrusted to no shoulders more worthy of

wearing it. [201] most of England's primates as a faithful

administrator and the advocate of English popular liberties.

The new archbishop received consecration at the pope's own hand, June

17, 1207, and held his office till his death, 1228. [202] fication with

fierce resistance, confiscated the property of the Canterbury chapter,

and expelled the monks as guilty of treason. Innocent replied with the

threat of the interdict. The king swore by God's teeth [203] the

mutilation of every Italian in the realm appointed by Innocent, and the

expulsion of all the prelates and clergy. The sentence was published by

the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, March 22, 1208. [204]

The interdict at once took effect, casting a deep gloom over the

nation. The church bells remained unrung. The church buildings were

closed. The usual ministrations of the priesthood remained unperformed.

The great doors of the monasteries were left unopened, and worshippers

were only admitted by secret passages. Penance was inflicted upon the

innocent as well as the erring. Women, after childbirth, presented

themselves for purification outside the church walls. The dead were

refused burial in consecrated ground, and the service of the priest was

withheld.

John, although he had seen Philip Augustus bend under a similar

censure, affected unconcern, and retaliated by confiscating the

property of the higher clergy and convents and turning the inmates out

of doors with little more than the clothes on their backs. The

concubines of the priests were forcibly removed and purchased their

ransom at heavy expense. A Welshman accused of murdering a priest was

ordered by the king dismissed with the words, "Let him go, he has

killed my enemy." The relatives of the fugitive bishops were thrown

into prison.

In 1209 Innocent added to the interdict the solemn sentence of the

personal anathema against the king. [205] dogs not daring to bark."

[206] rwich, who had been in his service and now felt he could no

longer so remain, was thrown into prison and there allowed to languish

to death, covered from shoulders to feet with a cope of lead. [207]

One more weapon lay in the pope's power. In 1212 John was declared

unworthy of his throne, and deposed. His subjects were absolved from

the obligation of allegiance, and Christian princes were summoned to

execute the sentence and take the crown. Gregory VII. had resorted to

the same precarious measure with Henry IV. and been defeated. The bull

was published at Soissons by Langton and the exiled bishops. Philip of

France was quick to respond to the summons and collected an army. But

the success of the English fleet checked the fear of an immediate

invasion of the realm.

The nation's suspense, however, was taxed almost beyond the point of

endurance. The king's arbitrary taxes and his amours with the wives and

daughters of the barons aroused their determined hatred. Pressed from

different sides, John suddenly had a meeting at Dover with the pope's

special envoy, the subdeacon Pandulf. [208] checkmate the plans of the

French monarch, John gave in his submission, and on May 15, 1213, on

bended knee, delivered up to Pandulf his kingdom and consented to

receive it back again as a papal fief. Five months later the act was

renewed in the presence of Nicolas, cardinal-archbishop of Tusculum,

who had been sent to England with legatine authority. In the document

which John signed and swore to keep, he blasphemously represented

himself as imitating him "who humbled himself for us even unto death."

This notorious paper ran as follows: --

"We do freely offer and grant to God and the holy Apostles Peter and

Paul and the holy Roman Church, our mother, and to our Lord the pope

Innocent and his Catholic successors, the whole realm of England and

the whole realm of Ireland with all their rights and appurtenances for

the remission of our sins and those of all our race, as well quick as

dead; and from now receiving back and holding these, as a feudal

dependent, from God and the Roman Church, do and swear fealty for them

to our Lord the pope Innocent and his Catholic successors and the Roman

Church." [209]

John bound himself and England for all time to pay, in addition to the

usual Peter's pence, 1000 marks annually to the Apostolic see, 700 for

England and 300 for Ireland. The king's signature was witnessed by the

archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Norwich, and eleven noblemen. John

also promised to reimburse the outlawed bishops, the amount finally

settled upon being 40,000 marks.

Rightly does Matthew Paris call this the "detestable and lamentable

charter." [210] [211] As a political measure it succeeded, bringing as

it did keen disappointment to the warlike king of France. The interdict

was revoked in 1214, after having been in force more than six years.

The victory of Innocent was complete. But in after years the

remembrance of the dishonorable transaction encouraged steadfast

resistance to the papal rule in England. The voice of Robert

Grosseteste was lifted up against it, and Wyclif became champion of the

king who refused to be bound by John's pledge. Writing to one of John's

successors, the emperor Frederick II. called upon him to remember the

humiliation of his predecessor John and with other Christian princes

resist the intolerable encroachments of the Apostolic see.

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[199] The contemporary annalists know no words too black to describe

John's character. Lingard says, "John stands before us polluted with

meanness, cruelty, perjury, murder, and unbridled licentiousness."

Green, after quoting the words "foul as hell is, hell itself is defiled

with the foul presence of John," says, "In his inner soul John was the

worst outcome of the Angevins ... . But with the wickedness of his race

he inherited its profound abilities." III. chap. I. Hunt, in Dict. of

Nat'l. Biog., XXIX. 406, uses these words, "He was mean, false,

vindictive, abominably cruel, and scandalously immoral."

[200] He had before come into collision with John over the harsh

treatment of the archbishop of Dublin. Works of Innocent III., Reg.,

VI. 63; Migne, 215, 61; Potthast, 167.

[201] His scholarly tastes are attested by his sermons, poems, and

comments on books of the Bible which still exist in manuscript in the

libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Lambeth, and of France. He is falsely

credited by some with having been the first to divide the entire Bible

into chapters. See Hook, Archbishops of Canterbury, II. 678.

[202] Innocent, in his letter to John of May 26, 1207, declared he

would turn neither to the right nor to the left in confirming the

election. Potthast, 264.

[203] This and the expression "by God's feet" were John's favorite

forms of objurgation.

[204] See Migne, 217, 190; Potthast, 286.

[205] Potthast, 316.

[206] A favorite expression of Matthew Paris.

[207] Another example of John's unspeakable cruelty was his treatment

of a rich Jew of Bristol upon whom he had made a demand for 10,000

marks. On his refusing, John ordered ten teeth to be taken out, one

each day. The executioner dentist began with the molars. The sufferer

held out till he had been served this way seven times. He then yielded,

giving up the money, which, as Matthew Paris says, he might have done

seven days before, thus saving himself all his agony. Luard's ed., II.

528.

[208] Shakespeare is responsible for the popular mistake which makes

Pandulf a cardinal. King John, Act III. Sc. 1. He served as legate in

England, 1217-1221. The official documents call him "subdeacon and

familiar to our lord the pope Innocent."

[209] Potthast, 416. The Latin in Matthew Paris, Luard's ed. II.

541-546; a translation is given by Gee and Hardy, 75-79.

[210] IV. 479, carta detestabilis quam lacrimabilis memoriae Johannes

infeliciter confecit

[211] Henry II. had become the feudatory of Alexander III., and Richard

I., after resigning his crown to the emperor, had held it for the

payment of a yearly rent. Lingard offers extenuating considerations for

John's surrender, which, however, he denominates "certainly a

disgraceful act."

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� 40. Innocent and Magna Charta.

An original manuscript of the Magna Charta, shrivelled with age and

fire, but still showing the royal seal, is preserved in the British

Museum. A facsimile is given in the official edition of the Statutes of

the Realm. Stubbs gives the Latin text in Select Charters, etc.,

296-306.

In his treatment of the Great Charter, the venerable instrument of

English popular rights, Innocent, with monarchical instinct, turned to

the side of John and against the cause of popular liberty. Stephen

Langton, who had released John from the ban of excommunication,

espoused the popular cause, thereby incurring the condemnation of the

pope. The agreement into which the barons entered to resist the king's

despotism was treated by him with delay and subterfuge. Rebellion and

civil war followed. As he had before been unscrupulous in his treatment

of the Church, so now to win support he made fulsome religious promises

he probably had no intention of keeping. To the clergy he granted

freedom of election in the case of all prelates, greater and less. He

also made a vow to lead a crusade. After the battle of Bouvines, John

found himself forced to return to England, and was compelled by the

organized strength of the barons to meet them at Runnymede, an island

in the Thames near Windsor, where he signed and swore to keep the Magna

Charta, June 15, 1215.

This document, with the Declaration of Independence, the most important

contract in the civil history of the English-speaking peoples, meant

defined law as against uncertain tradition and the arbitrary will of

the monarch. It was the first act of the people, nobles, and Church in

combination, a compact of Englishmen with the king. By it the sovereign

agreed that justice should be denied or delayed to no one, and that

trial should be by the peers of the accused. No taxes were to be levied

without the vote of the common council of the realm, whose meetings

were fixed by rule. The single clause bearing directly upon the Church

confirmed the freedom of ecclesiastical elections.

After his first paroxysms of rage, when he gnawed sticks and straw like

a madman, [212] e barons with no intention of keeping his oath. The

pope made the fatal mistake of taking sides with perjured royalty

against the reasonable demands of the nation. In two bulls [213] man

race had, by his crafty arts, excited the barons against him." He

asserted that the "wicked audacity of the barons tended to the contempt

of the Apostolic see, the detriment of kingly prerogative, the disgrace

of the English nation, and the endangering of the cross." He praised

John for his Christian submission to the will of the supreme head of

Christendom, and the pledge of annual tribute, and for his vow to lead

a crusade. As for the document itself, he "utterly reprobated and

condemned it" as "a low and base instrument, yea, truly wicked and

deserving to be reprobated by all, especially because the king's assent

was secured by force." [214] " [215]

The sentence of excommunication which Innocent fulminated against the

refractory barons, Langton refused to publish. For his disobedience the

pope suspended him from his office, Nov. 4, 1215, and he was not

allowed to resume it till 1219, when Innocent had been in his grave

three years. London, which supported the popular cause, was placed

under the interdict, and the prelates of England who took the popular

side Innocent denounced, as worse than Saracens, worse than those open

enemies of the cross." [216]

The barons, in self-defence, called upon the Dauphin of France to

accept the crown. He landed in England, but was met by the papal ban.

[217] , John died at Newark, after suffering the loss of his goods in

crossing the Wash. He was thrown into a fever, but the probable cause

of his death was excess in eating and drinking. [218] ments he received

the sacrament and commended his children to the protection of the pope,

who had stood by him in his last conflict.

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[212] M. Paris, Luard's ed. II. 611.

[213] Aug. 24, 1215, Potthast, 435.

[214] Compositionen hujusmodi reprobamus penitus et damnamus compositio

non solum sit vilis et turpis, verum etiam illicita et iniqua ut merito

sit abomnibus reprobanda. M. Paris, Luard's ed., II. 619 sq. Another

ground given by Innocent for annulling the document was that he as

England's overlord had not been consulted before the king's signature

was attached.

[215] The language is the strongest: tam cartam quam obligationes

irritantes penitus et cassantes, ut nullo unquam tempore aliquam

habeant firmitatem. M. Paris, Luard's ed. II. 619. See Hurter, II. 656

sq. Some excuse has been found by advocates of papal infallibility for

this fierce sentence upon the ground that Innocent was condemning the

mode by which the king's consent was obtained. Innocent adduces three

considerations, the conspiracy of the barons to force the king, their

disregard of his Crusading vow, and the neglect of all parties to

consult the pope as overlord. He condemns, it is true, the document as

a document, and it has been said the contents were not aimed at

Innocent's mistake and official offence were that, passing by entirely,

the merits of the Charter, he should have espoused the despotism of the

iniquitous king.

[216] Potthast, 437; M. Paris, in Luard, II. 627. About the same time

at John's request, Innocent annulled the election of Simon Langton,

Stephen's brother, to the see of York.

[217] Thomas Fuller remarks that "the commonness of these curses caused

them to be contemned, so that they were a fright to few, a mock to

many, and a hurt to none."

[218] Roger of Wendover says he surfeited himself with peaches and new

cider. M. Paris, Luard's ed., II. 667. Shakespeare, following a later

tradition, represents him as dying of poison administered by a monk:--

"The king, I fear is poisoned by a monk, \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* It is too

late; the life of all his blood Is touched corruptibly; and his pure

brain Which some suppose the soul's frail dwelling-house) Doth, by the

idle comments that it makes, Foretell the ending of mortality." --King

John, Act V. Sc. 6 sq.

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� 41. The Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.

Literature.--Works of Innocent, Migne, 217.--Mansi, xxii.--Labbaeus,

xi.--Potthast, Regesta, I. 437 sqq., gives a summary of the canons of

the council.--Hefele-Kn�pfler, V. 872 sqq.--Hurter, II. 538 sqq.--Lea:

Hist. of the Inquisition, passim.

The Fourth Lateran, otherwise known as the Twelfth Oecumenical Council,

was the closing act of Innocent's pontificate, and marks the zenith of

the papal theocracy. In his letter of convocation, [219] and the

betterment of the Church. The council was held in the Lateran and had

three sittings, Nov. 11, 20, 30, 1215. It was the most largely attended

of the synods held up to that time in the west. The attendance included

412 bishops, 800 abbots and priors, and a large number of delegates

representing absent prelates. There were also present representatives

of the emperor Frederick II., the emperor Henry of Constantinople, and

the kings of England, France, Aragon, Hungary, Jerusalem, and other

crowned heads. [220]

The sessions were opened with a sermon by the pope on Luke 22:15, "With

desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer."

It was a fanciful interpretation of the word "Passover," to which a

threefold sense was given: a physical sense referring to the passage of

Jerusalem from a state of captivity to a state of liberty, a spiritual

sense referring to the passage of the Church from one state to a better

one, and a heavenly sense referring to the transition from the present

life to the eternal glory. The deliverances are grouped under seventy

beads, and a special decree bearing upon the recovery of Jerusalem. The

headings concern matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical and moral

practice. The council's two most notable acts were the definition of

the dogma of transubstantiation and the establishment of the

institution of the Inquisition against heretics.

The doctrinal decisions, contained in the first two chapters, give a

comprehensive statement of the orthodox faith as it concerns the nature

of God, the Incarnation, the unity of the Church, and the two greater

sacraments. Here transubstantiation is defined as the doctrine of the

eucharist in the universal Church, "outside of which there is no

possibility of salvation." [221]

The council expressly condemned the doctrine of Joachim of Flore, that

the substance of the Father, Son, and Spirit is not a real entity, but

a collective entity in the sense that a collection of men is called one

people, and a collection of believers one Church. It approved the view

of Peter the Lombard whom Joachim had opposed on the ground that his

definition would substitute a quaternity for the trinity in the

Godhead. [222]

Amaury of Bena, a teacher in Paris accused of pantheistic teachings,

was also condemned by name. He had been accused and appeared before the

pope at Rome in 1204, and recalled his alleged heresy. [223] and cannot

sin.

The treatment of heretics received elaborate consideration in the

important third decree. [224] place. [225] monastic rules, the

establishment of monastic orders was thenceforth forbidden. [226]

The clergy are warned against intemperance and incontinence and

forbidden the chase, hunting dogs and falcons, attendance upon

theatrical entertainments, and executions, duelling, and frequenting

inns. Prescriptions are given for their dress. Confession is made

compulsory at least once a year, and imprisonment fixed as the

punishment of priests revealing the secrets of the confessional. The

tenure of more than one benefice is forbidden except by the pope's

dispensation. New relics are forbidden as objects of worship, except as

they might receive the approbation of the pope. Physicians are bidden,

upon threat of excommunication, to urge their patients first of all to

summon a priest, as the well-being of the soul is of more value than

the health of the body. Jews and Saracens are enjoined to wear a

different dress from the Christians, lest unawares carnal intercourse

be had between them. The Jews are bidden to keep within doors during

passion week and excluded from holding civil office. [227]

The appointment of a new crusade was the council's last act, and it was

set to start in 1217. Christians were commanded to refrain from all

commercial dealings with the Saracens for four years. To all

contributing to the crusade, as well as to those participating in it,

full indulgence was promised, and added eternal bliss. [228] , count of

Toulouse, for redress from the rapacity of Simon de Montfort, the

fierce leader of the crusade against the Albigenses in Southern France.

The doctrinal statements and ecclesiastical rules bear witness to the

new conditions upon which the Church had entered, the Latin patriarchs

being in possession in the East, and heresy threatening its unity in

Southern France and other parts of the West.

Innocent III. survived the great council only a few months and died

scarcely fifty-six years old, without having outlived his authority or

his fame. He had been fortunate in all his undertakings. The acts of

statecraft, which brought Europe to his feet, were crowned in the last

scene at the Lateran Council by the pious concern of the priest. To his

successors he bequeathed a continent united in allegiance to the Holy

See and a Church strengthened in its doctrinal unity. Notwithstanding

his great achievements combining mental force and moral purpose, the

Church has found no place for Innocent among its canonized saints.

The following are a few testimonies to his greatness:--

Gregorovius declares [229]

"Not a creative genius like Gregory I. and Gregory VII., he was one of

the most important figures of the Middle Ages, a man of earnest,

sterling, austere intellect, a consummate ruler, a statesman of

penetrating judgment, a high-minded priest filled with religious

fervor, and at the same time with an unbounded ambition and appalling

force of will, a true idealist on the papal throne, yet an entirely

practical monarch and a cool-headed lawyer .... No pope has ever had so

lofty and yet so real consciousness of his power as Innocent III., the

creator and destroyer of emperors and kings."

Ranke says: [230]

"A superstitious reverence such as Friedrich Hurter renders to him in

his remarkable book I am not at all able to accord. Thus much, however,

is certain. He stands in the foremost rank of popes, having world-wide

significance. The task which he placed before himself he was thoroughly

equal to. Leaving out a few dialectic subtleties, one will not find in

him anything that is really small. In him was fulfilled the transition

of the times."

Baur gives this opinion: [231]

"With Innocent III. the papacy reached its height and in no other

period of its long history did it enjoy such an undisturbed peace and

such a glorious development of its power and splendor. He was

distinguished as no other in this high place not only by all the

qualities of the ruler but by personal virtues, by high birth and also

by mind, culture, and learning." [232]

Hagenbach: [233]

"Measured by the standard of the papacy, Innocent is beyond controversy

the greatest of all the popes. Measured by the eternal law of the

Gospel of Jesus Christ, that which here seems great and mighty in the

eyes of the world, seems little in the kingdom of heaven, and amongst

those things which call forth wonder and admiration, only that will

stand which the Spirit of God, who never wholly withdraws from the

Church, wrought in his soul. How far such operation went on, and with

what result, who but God can know? He alone is judge."

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[219] April 19, 1213.

[220] The invitation included the prelates of the East and West,

Christian emperors and kings, the grand-masters of the Military Orders,

and the heads of monastic establishments.

[221] In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus

corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini

veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in

sanguinem, etc. Mansi, XXII. 982; Mirbt, Quellen. 133.

[222] The Lombard had defined the substance of the three persons as a

real entity, quaedam summa res.

[223] See Hauck, art. Amalrich, in Herzog, I. 432 sq.

[224] See chapters on the Inquisition and the Cathari.

[225] The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople, of the Latin

succession, were conspicuous at the council, and also Antioch by a

representative, the Melchisite patriarch of Alexandria, and the

Maronite patriarch.

[226] Chapter XIII.

[227] A repetition of the decrees of the synod of Toledo, 681.

[228] Plenam suorum peccaminum de quibus fuerint corde contriti et ore

confessi veniam indulgemus et in retributione justorum salutis eternae

pollicemur augmentum.

[229] V: 102 sq. Gibbon, ch. LIX, after acknowledging Innocent's

talents and virtues, has this criticism of two of the most far-reaching

acts of his reign: "Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs

over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation, and

the origin of the Inquisition."

[230] Weltgeschichte, viii: 334.

[231] Geschichte des Mittelalters, p. 220.

[232] For judgments of mediaeval authors, see Potthast, Regesta, 461.

The contemporaneous author of the Gesta Innocentii, Migne, 214, p.

xviii., thus describes Innocent: "Fuit vir perspicacis ingenii et

tenacis memoriae, in divinis et humanis litteris eruditus, sermone tam

vulgari quam litterali disertus, exercitatus in cantilena et psalmodia,

statura mediocris et decorus aspectu, medius inter prodigalitatem et

avaritiam, sed in eleemosynis et victualibus magis largus, et in aliis

magis parcus, nisi cum necessitatis articulus exigebat severus contra

rebelles et contumaces, sed benignus erga humiles et devotos; fortis et

stabilis, magnanimus et astutus; fidei defensor, et haeresis

expugnator; in justitia rigidus, sed in misericordia pius; humilis in

prosperis, et patiens in adversis; naturae tamen aliquantulum

indignantis, sed facile ignoscentis."

[233] Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, ch. XIX.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE PAPACY FROM THE DEATH OF INNOCENT III. TO BONIFACE VIII. 1216-1294.

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� 42. The Papal Conflict with Frederick II Begun.

Between the death of Innocent III. and the election of Boniface VIII.,

a period of eighty years, sixteen popes sat on the throne, several of

whom were worthy successors of the greatest of the pontiffs. The

earlier half of the period, 1216-1250, was filled with the gigantic

struggle between the papacy and Frederick II., emperor of Germany and

king of Sicily. The latter half, 1250-1294, was marked by the

establishment of peace between the papacy and empire, and the dominance

of the French, or Norman, influence over the papacy.

Scarcely was Innocent in his grave when Frederick II. began to play his

distinguished r�le, and to engage the papacy in its last great struggle

with the empire--a desperate struggle, as it proved to be, in which the

empire was at last completely humbled. The struggle kept Europe in

turmoil for nearly forty years, and was waged with three

popes,--Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., the last two, men

of notable ability. During all this time Frederick was the most

conspicuous figure in Christendom. The struggle was carried on not only

in the usual ways of diplomacy and arms, but by written appeals to the

court of European opinion.

Frederick II., the grandson of Frederick Barbarossa, was born near

Ancona, 1194. His father, Henry VI., had joined Sicily to the empire by

his marriage with the Norman princess Constance, through whom Frederick

inherited the warm blood of the south. By preference and training, as

well as birth, he was a thorough Italian. He tarried on German soil

only long enough to insure his crown and to put down the rebellion of

his son. [234] child of Apulia," as Frederick was called, a boy then in

his fourth year, passed under the guardian care of Innocent III. After

Otto's star had set, he was crowned king at Frankfurt, 1212, and at

Aachen, 1215. Frederick was not twenty when Innocent's career came to

an end.

Honorius III., 1216-1227, was without the ambition or genius of his

predecessor Innocent III. He confirmed the rules and witnessed the

extraordinary growth of the two great mendicant orders of St. Francis

and St. Dominic. He crowned Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Byzantium,

the only Byzantine emperor to receive his crown in Rome. [235]

coronation, in 1215, to lead a crusade, was the main effort of his

pontificate. The year 1217, the date set for the crusade to start,

passed by. Honorius fixed date after date with Frederick, but the

emperor had other plans and found excuses for delay. In 1220 he and his

wife Constantia received the imperial crown at the hands of the pope in

Rome. [236] suppress heresy, and exempting all churches and clerics

from taxation. In the meantime his son Henry had been elected king of

the Romans, and by that act and the pope's subsequent ratification the

very thing was accomplished which it had been Innocent's shrewd policy

to prevent; namely, the renewal of the union of the empire and the

kingdom of Sicily in one hand. Frederick was pursuing his own course,

but to appease Honorius he renewed the pledge whereby Sicily was to

remain a fief of the papal see.

The fall of Damietta, [237] ng his zeal and hastening the departure of

the crusade, Honorius encouraged the emperor's marriage with Iolanthe,

daughter of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and heiress of the

crown. [238] title of king of Jerusalem; but he continued to show no

sign of making haste. His aggravating delays were enough to wear out a

more amiable disposition than even Honorius possessed. A final

agreement was made between them in 1225, which gave the emperor a

respite of two years more, and he swore upon penalty of excommunication

to set forth October, 1227. Four months before the date appointed for

the crusade Honorius died.

The last year of Honorius's reign, Frederick entered openly upon the

policy which involved him in repeated wars with the papacy and the

towns of Northern Italy. He renewed the imperial claims to the Lombard

cities. Upon these claims the Apostolic see could not look with

complacency, for, if realized, they would have made Frederick the

sovereign of Italy and cramped the temporal power of the papacy within

a limited and at best an uncertain area.

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[234] Ranke, VIII. 337, calls him a foreigner on German soil.

[235] The coronation took place outside the walls of the city. Peter

died in prison on his way to Constantinople.

[236] The coronation ceremonies passed off amidst the general good will

of the Roman populace and were interrupted by a single disturbance, a

dispute over a dog between the ambassadors of Florence and Pisa which

ultimately involved the cities in war. Villani, VI. 2.

[237] Damietta, an important harbor in Egypt, had been chosen by the

crusaders as their base of operations against Jerusalem and the point

from which Jerusalem was to be reached.

[238] On the ground that Iolanthe was immediate heir to the crown

through her mother.

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� 43. Gregory IX. and Frederick II. 1227-1241.

An antagonist of different metal was Gregory IX., 1227-1241. Innocent

III., whose nephew he was, seemed to have risen again from the grave in

him. Although in years he was more than twice as old as the emperor,

[239] untless bravery, and greatly his superior in moral purpose. In

asserting the exorbitant claims of the papacy he was not excelled by

any of the popes. He was famed for eloquence and was an expert in the

canon law.

Setting aside Frederick's spurious pretexts for delaying the crusade,

Gregory in the first days of his pontificate insisted upon his

fulfilling his double pledge made at his coronation in 1215 and his

coronation as emperor in Rome, 1220. [240] sembled at Brindisi, and

Frederick actually set off to sea accompanied by the pope's prayers.

Within three days of leaving port the expedition returned, driven back

by an epidemic, as Frederick asserted, or by Frederick's love of

pleasure, as Gregory maintained.

The pope's disappointment knew no bounds. He pronounced against

Frederick the excommunication threatened by Honorius. [241] ror's going

out into darkness. Gregory justified his action in a letter to the

Christian princes, and spoke of Frederick as "one whom the Holy See had

educated with much care, suckled at its breast, carried on its

shoulders, and whom it has frequently rescued from the hands of those

seeking his life, whom it has brought up to perfect manhood at much

trouble and expense, exalted to the honors of kingly dignity, and

finally advanced to the summit of the imperial station, trusting to

have him as a wand of defence and the staff of our old age." He

declared the plea of the epidemic a frivolous pretence and charged

Frederick with evading his promises, casting aside all fear of God,

having no respect for Jesus Christ. Heedless of the censures of the

Church, and enticed away to the usual pleasures of his kingdom, he had

abandoned the Christian army and left the Holy Land exposed to the

infidels. [242]

In a vigorous counter appeal to Christendom, Frederick made a bold

protest against the unbearable assumption of the papacy, and pointed to

the case of John of England as a warning to princes of what they might

expect. "She who calls herself my mother," he wrote, "treats me like a

stepmother." He denounced the secularization of the Church, and called

upon the bishops and clergy to cultivate the self-denial of the

Apostles.

In 1228 the excommunication was repeated and places put under the

interdict where the emperor might be. Gregory was not without his own

troubles at Rome, from which he was compelled to flee and seek refuse

at Perugia.

The same year, as if to show his independence of papal dictation and at

the same time the sincerity of his crusading purpose, the emperor

actually started upon a crusade, usually called the Fifth Crusade. On

being informed of the expedition, the pope excommunicated, him for the

third time and inhibited the patriarch of Jerusalem and the Military

Orders from giving him aid. The expedition was successful in spite of

the papal malediction, and entering Jerusalem Frederick crowned himself

king in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Thus we have the singular

spectacle of the chief monarch of Christendom conducting a crusade in

fulfillment of a vow to two popes while resting under the solemn ban of

a third. Yea, the second crusader who entered the Holy City as a

conqueror, and the last one to do so, was at the time not only resting

under a triple ban, but was excommunicated a fourth time on his return

from his expedition to Europe. He was excommunicated for not going, he

was excommunicated for going, and he was excommunicated on coming back,

though it was not in disgrace but in triumph.

The emperor's troops bearing the cross were met on their return to

Europe by the papal army whose banners were inscribed with the keys.

Frederick's army was victorious. Diplomacy, however, prevailed, and

emperor and pope dined together at Anagni (Sept. 1, 1230) and arranged

a treaty.

The truce lasted four years, Gregory in the meantime composing, with

the emperor's help, his difficulties with the municipality of Rome.

Again he addressed Frederick as "his beloved son in Christ." But formal

terms of endearment did not prevent the renewal of the conflict, this

time over Frederick's resolution to force his authority upon the

Lombard cities. This struggle engaged him in war with the papacy from

this time forward to his death, 1235-1250. After crushing the rebellion

of his son Henry in the North, and seeing his second son Conrad

crowned, the emperor hastened south to subdue Lombardy. [243] ests,

1236, "Italy is my heritage, as all the world well knows." His arms

seemed to be completely successful by the battle of Cortenuova, 1237.

But Gregory abated none of his opposition. "Priests are fathers and

masters of kings and princes," he wrote, "and to them is given

authority over men's bodies as well as over their souls." It was his

policy to thwart at all hazards Frederick's designs upon upper Italy,

which he wanted to keep independent of Sicily as a protection to the

papal state. The accession of the emperor's favorite son Enzio to the

throne of Sardinia, through his marriage with the princess Adelasia,

was a new cause of offence to Gregory. [244] ng to the marriage. And so

for the fifth time, in 1239, Gregory pronounced upon the emperor the

anathema. [245] he Ghibelline and Guelf parties, with seizing territory

belonging to the Holy See, and with violence towards prelates and

benefices. [246]

A conflict with the pen followed which has a unique place in the

history of the papacy. Both parties made appeal to public opinion, a

thing which was novel up to that time. The pope compared [247] other

parts, opens its mouth in blasphemies against God's name, his dwelling

place, and the saints in heaven. This beast strives to grind everything

to pieces with his claws and teeth of iron and to trample with his feet

on the universal world." He accused Frederick of lies and perjuries,

and called him "the son of lies, heaping falsehood on falsehood,

robber, blasphemer, a wolf in sheep's clothing, the dragon emitting

waters of persecution from his mouth like a river." He made the famous

declaration that "as the king of pestilence, Frederick had openly

asserted that the world had been deceived by three impostors, [248]

ibility of God's becoming incarnate of a virgin." [249]

This extensive document is, no doubt, one of the most vehement personal

fulminations which has ever proceeded from Rome. Epithets could go no

further. It is a proof of the great influence of Frederick's

personality and the growing spirit of democracy in the Italian cities

that the emperor was not wholly shunned by all men and crushed under

the dead weight of such fearful condemnations.

In his retort, [250] nd his antagonist in Scripture quotations,

Frederick compared Gregory to the rider on the red horse who destroyed

peace on the earth. As the pope had called him a beast, bestia, so he

would call him a wild beast, belua, antichrist, a second Balaam, who

used the prerogative of blessing and cursing for money. He declared

that, as God had placed the greater and lesser lights in the heavens,

so he had placed the priesthood, sacerdotium, and the empire, imperium,

on the earth. But the pope had sought to put the second light into

eclipse by denying the purity of Frederick's faith and comparing him to

the beast rising out of the sea. Indignantly denying the accusation of

the three impostors, he declared his faith in the "only Son of God as

coequal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, begotten from the

beginning of all worlds. Mohammed's body is suspended in the air, but

his soul is given over to the torments of hell."

Gregory went further than words and offered to the count of Artois the

imperial crown, which at the instance of his brother, Louis IX. of

France, the count declined. The German bishops espoused Frederick's

cause. On the other hand, the mendicant friars proved true allies of

the pope. The emperor drove the papal army behind the walls of Rome. In

spite of enemies within the city, the aged pontiff went forth from the

Lateran in solemn procession, supplicating deliverance and accompanied

by all the clergy, carrying the heads of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

[251] y had been delivered by a miracle. However untenable we may

regard the assumptions of the Apostolic see, we cannot withhold

admiration from the brave old pope.

Only one source of possible relief was left to Gregory, a council of

the whole Church, and this he summoned to meet in Rome in 1241.

Frederick was equal to the emergency, and with the aid of his son Enzio

checkmated the pope by a manoeuvre which, serious as it was for

Gregory, cannot fail to appeal to the sense of the ludicrous. The

Genoese fleet conveying the prelates to Rome, most of them from France,

Northern Italy, and Spain, was captured by Enzio, and the would-be

councillors, numbering nearly one hundred and including Cardinal Otto,

a papal legate, were taken to Naples and held in prison. [252] his

letter of condolence to the imprisoned dignitaries the pope represents

them as awaiting their sentence from the new Pharaoh. [253] upon the

prelates was at a later time made a chief charge against him.

Gregory died in the summer of 1241, at an age greater than the age of

Leo XIII. at that pope's death. But he died, as it were, with his armor

on and with his face turned towards his imperial antagonist, whose army

at the time lay within a few hours of the city. He had fought one of

the most strenuous conflicts of the Middle Ages. To the last moment his

intrepid courage remained unabated. A few weeks before his death he

wrote, in sublime confidence in the papal prerogative: "Ye faithful,

have trust in God and hear his dispensations with patience. The ship of

Peter will for a while be driven through storms and between rocks, but

soon, and at a time unexpected, it will rise again above the foaming

billows and sail on unharmed, over the placid surface."

The Roman communion owes to Gregory IX. the collection of decretals

which became a part of its statute book. [254] f Rome. He accorded the

honors of canonization to the founders of the mendicant orders, St.

Francis of Assisi and Dominic of Spain.

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[239] His exact age is not known. M. Paris, Luard's ed., IV. 162;

Giles's trans., I. 383, says that at the time of his death he was

almost a centenarian (fere centenarius).

[240] Frederick had received the cross at his coronation in Rome from

the hand of Gregory, then Cardinal Ugolino.

[241] "The English chronicler," speaking of the pope's act, uses his

favorite expression, "that he might not be like a dog unable to bark"

(ne canis videretur non valens latrare). Luard's ed., M. Paris, III.

145; Giles's trans. of Roger of Wendover, II. 499.

[242] Luard's ed., M. Paris, III. 145 sq. See Registres, p. 107.

[243] Henry died in an Italian prison. Conrad, whose mother was

Iolanthe, was nine years old at the time of his coronation. In 1235

Frederick married for the third time Isabella, sister of Henry III. of

England. This marriage explains Frederick's repeated appeals to the

clergy and people of England.

[244] Potthast, p. 952; Huillard-Br�holles, VI. 1, 136.

[245] In view of these repeated fulminations it is no wonder that the

papal legate, Albert of Bohemia., wrote from Bavaria that the clergy

did not care a bean (faba) for the sentence of excommunication.

Huillard-Br�holles, V. 1032; Potthast, 908.

[246] The document is given in full in M. Paris, Luard's ed., III. 553

sq.

[247] Br�holles, V. 327-340; Paris, III. 590-608.

[248] The charge is made in an encyclical of Gregory sent forth between

May 21 and July 1, 1239.

[249] Iste rex pestilentiae a tribus barotoribus, ut ejus verbis

utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse et Mohameto totum mundum fuisse

deceptum, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in ligno

suspensum manifeste proponens, etc.

[250] Br�holles, V. 348 sqq.

[251] Br�holles, V. 777 sqq.

[252] M. Paris with his usual vivacity says, "They were heaped together

like pigs."

[253] Br�holles, V. 1120-1138; G. C. Macaulay gives a lively account of

the proceeding in art. Capture of a General Council, Engl. Hist. Rev.,

1891, pp. l-17

[254] See section on The Canon Law.

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� 44. The First Council of Lyons and the Close of Frederick's Career.

1241-1250.

Additional Literature.--Mansi, XXIII. 605 sqq.; Hefele, V. 105 sqq.--

C. Rodenberg: Inn. IV. und das K�nigreich Sicilien, Halle, 1892.--H.

Weber: Der Kampf zwischen Inn. IV. und Fried. II. Berlin, 1900.--P.

Aldinger: Die Neubesetzung der deutschen Bisth�mer unter Papst Inn.

IV., Leipzig, 1900.--J. Maulbach: Die Kardin�le und ihre Politikum die

Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts, 1243-1268, Bonn, 1902.

Gregory's successor, Coelestin IV., survived his election less than

three weeks. A papal vacancy followed, lasting the unprecedented period

of twenty months. The next pope, Innocent IV., a Genoese, was an expert

in the canon law and proved himself to be more than the equal of

Frederick in shrewdness and quickness of action. At his election the

emperor is reported to have exclaimed that among the cardinals he had

lost a friend and in the pope gained an enemy. Frederick refused to

enter into negotiations looking to an agreement of peace until he

should be released from the ban. Innocent was prepared to take up

Gregory's conflict with great energy. All the weapons at the command of

the papacy were brought into requisition: excommunication, the decree

of a general council, deposition, the election of a rival emperor, and

the active fomenting of rebellion in Frederick's dominions. Under this

accumulation of burdens Frederick, like a giant, attempted to bear up,

but in vain. [255] cent's first move was to out-general his antagonist

by secretly leaving Rome. Alexander III. had set the precedent of

delivering himself by flight. In the garb of a knight he reached Civita

Vecchia, and there met by a Genoese galley proceeded to Genoa, where he

was received with the ringing of bells and the acclamation, "Our soul

is escaped like a bird out of the snare of the fowler." Joined by

cardinals, he continued his journey to Lyons, which, though nominally a

city of the empire, was by reason of its proximity to France a place of

safe retreat.

The pope's policy proved to be a master stroke. A deep impression in

his favor was made upon the Christian world by the sight of the supreme

pontiff in exile. [256] method which a priest of Paris resorted to in

publishing Innocent's sentence of excommunication against the emperor.

"I am not ignorant," he said, "of the serious controversy and

unquenchable hatred that has arisen between the emperor and the pope. I

also know that one has done harm to the other, but which is the

offender I do not know. Him, however, as far as my authority goes, I

denounce and excommunicate, that is, the one who harms the other,

whichever of the two it be, and I absolve the one which suffers under

the injury which is so hurtful to the cause of Christendom."

Innocent was now free to convoke again the council which Frederick's

forcible measures had prevented from assembling in Rome. It is known as

the First Council of Lyons, or the Thirteenth Oecumenical Council, and

met in Lyons, 1245. The measures the papal letter mentioned as calling

for action were the provision of relief for the Holy Land and of

resistance to the Mongols whose ravages had extended to Hungary, and

the settlement of matters in dispute between the Apostolic see and the

emperor. One hundred and forty prelates were present. With the

exception of a few representatives from England and one or two bishops

from Germany, the attendance was confined to ecclesiastics from

Southern Europe. [257]

Thaddeus promised for his master to restore Greece to the Roman

communion and proceed to the Holy Land in person. Innocent rejected the

promises as intended to deceive and to break up the council. The axe,

he said, was laid at the root, and the stroke was not to be delayed.

When Thaddeus offered the kings of England and France as sureties that

the emperor would keep his promise, the pope sagaciously replied that

in that case he would be in danger of having three princes to

antagonize. Innocent was plainly master of the situation. The council

was in sympathy with him. Many of its members had a grudge against

Frederick for having been subjected to the outrage of capture and

imprisonment by him.

At one of the first sessions the pope delivered a sermon from the text,

"See, ye who pass this way, was ever sorrow like unto my sorrow?" He

dwelt upon five sorrows of the Church corresponding to the five wounds

of Christ: the savage cruelty of the Mongols or Tartars, the schism of

the Greeks, the growth of heresy, the desolation of Jerusalem, and the

active persecution of the Church by the emperor. The charges against

Frederick were sacrilege and heresy. As for the charge of heresy,

Thaddeus maintained that it could be answered only by Frederick in

person, and a delay of two weeks was granted that he might have time to

appear. When he failed to appear, Innocent pronounced upon him the ban

and declared him deposed from his throne. The deliverance set forth

four grave offences; namely, the violation of his oath to keep peace

with the Church, sacrilege in seizing the prelates on their way to the

council, heresy, and withholding the tribute due from Sicily, a papal

fief. Among the grounds for the charge of heresy were Frederick's

contempt of the pope's prerogative of the keys, his treaty with the

Sultan on his crusade, allowing the name of Mohammed to be publicly

proclaimed day and night in the temple, having intercourse with

Saracens, keeping eunuchs over his women, and giving his daughter in

marriage to Battacius, an excommunicated prince. The words of the fell

sentence ran as follows: --

"Seeing that we, unworthy as we are, hold on earth the authority of our

Lord Jesus Christ, who said to us in the person of St. Peter,

'whatsoever ye shall bind on earth,' etc., do hereby declare Frederick,

who has rendered himself unworthy of the honors of sovereignty and for

his crimes has been deposed from his throne by God, to be bound by his

sins and cast off by the Lord and we do hereby sentence and depose him;

and all who are in any way bound to him by an oath of allegiance we

forever release and absolve from that oath; and by our apostolic

authority, we strictly forbid any one obeying him. We decree that any

who gives aid to him as emperor or king shall be excommunicated; and

those in the empire on whom the selection of an emperor devolves, have

full liberty to elect a successor in his place." [258]

Thaddeus appealed from the decision to another council. [259] ake a

plea for the emperor, finding, as the English chronicler said, "but

very little of that humility which he had hoped for in that servant of

the servants of God." Frederick's manifesto in reply to the council's

act was addressed to the king of England and other princes, and

reminded them of the low birth of the prelates who set themselves up

against lawful sovereigns, and denied the pope's temporal authority. He

warned them that his fate was likely to be theirs and announced it as

his purpose to fight against his oppressors. It had been his aim to

recall the clergy from lives of luxury and the use of arms to apostolic

simplicity of manners. When this summons was heeded, the world might

expect again to see miracles as of old. True as these principles were,

and bold and powerful as was their advocate, the time had not yet come

for Europe to espouse them, and the character of Frederick was

altogether too vulnerable to give moral weight to his words. [260]

The council's discussions of measures looking to a new crusade did not

have any immediate result. The clergy, besides being called upon to

give a twentieth for three years, were instructed to see to it that

wills contained bequests for the holy enterprise.

One of the interesting figures at the council was Robert Grosseteste,

bishop of Lincoln, who protected against ecclesiastical abuses in

England, such as the appointment of unworthy foreigners to benefices,

and the exorbitant exactions for the papal exchequer. The pope gave no

relief, and the English bishops were commanded to affix their seals

confirming King John's charter of tribute. [261] ssertion of the most

extravagant claims. The bishop of Rome was intrusted with authority to

judge kings. If, in the Old Testament, priests deposed unworthy

monarchs, how much more right had the vicar of Christ so to do.

Innocent stirred up the flames of rebellion in Sicily and through the

mendicant orders fanned the fires of discontent in Germany. Papal

legates practically usurped the government of the German Church from

1246 to 1254. In the conflict over the election of bishops to German

dioceses, Innocent usually gained his point, and in the year 1247-1248

thirteen of his nominees were elected. [262] .

In Italy civil war broke out. Here the mendicant orders were also

against him. He met the elements of revolt in the South and subdued

them. Turning to the North, success was at first on his side but soon

left him. One fatality followed another. Thaddeus of Suessa fell, 1248.

Peter de Vinea, another shrewd counsellor, had abandoned his master.

Enzio, the emperor's favorite son, was in prison. [263] s enough,

Innocent, in 1247, had once more launched the anathema against him.

Frederick's career was at an end. He retired to Southern Italy, a

broken man, and died near Lucera, an old Samnite town, Dec. 13, 1250.

His tomb is at the side of the tomb of his parents in the cathedral of

Palermo. He died absolved by the archbishop of Palermo and clothed in

the garb of the Cistercians. [264]

Stupor mundi, the Wonder of the World--this is the title which Matthew

Paris applies to Frederick II. [265] is equal as a ruler since the days

of Charlemagne. For his wide outlook, the diversity of his gifts, and

the vigor and versatility of his statecraft he is justly compared to

the great rulers. [266] k surpassed him in intellectual breadth and

culture. He is the most conspicuous political figure of his own age and

the most cosmopolitan of the Middle Ages. He was warrior, legislator,

statesman, man of letters. He won concessions in the East and was the

last Christian king of Jerusalem to enter his realm. He brought order

out of confusion in Sicily and Southern Italy and substituted the

uniform legislation of the Sicilian Constitutions for the irresponsible

jurisdiction of ecclesiastical court and baron. It has been said he

founded the system of centralized government [267] and Mohammedan.

In his conflict with the pope, he was governed, not by animosity to the

spiritual power, but by the determination to keep it within its own

realm. In genuine ideal opposition to the hierarchy he went farther

than any of his predecessors. [268] D�llinger pronounced him the

greatest and most dangerous foe the papacy ever had. [269] n anti-pope.

[270]

It has been surmised that Frederick was not a Christian. Gregory

charged him specifically with blasphemy. But Frederick as specifically

disavowed the charge of making Christ an impostor, and swore fealty to

the orthodox faith. [271] [272] losser withholds from him all religious

and moral faith. Ranke and Freeman leave the question of his religious

faith an open one. Hergenr�ther makes the distinction that as a man he

was an unbeliever, as a monarch a strict Catholic. Gregorovius holds

that he cherished convictions as sincerely catholic as those professed

by the Ghibelline Dante. Fisher emphasizes his singular detachment from

the current superstitious of his day. [273] to usurp the sovereign

pontificate and found a lay papacy and to combine in himself royalty

and papal functions.

Frederick was highly educated, a friend of art and learning. He was

familiar with Greek, Latin, German, French, and Arabic, as well as

Italian. He founded the University of Naples. He was a precursor of the

Renaissance and was himself given to rhyming. He wrote a book on

falconry. [274] concerning his forests and household concerns, thus

reminding us of Napoleon and his care for his capital while on his

Russian and other campaigns. Like other men of the age, he cultivated

astrology. Michael Scott was his favorite astrologer. To these worthy

traits, Frederick added the luxurious habits and apparently the cruelty

of an Oriental despot. Inheriting the island of which the Saracens had

once been masters, he showed them favor and did not hesitate to

appropriate some of their customs. He surrounded himself with a

Saracenic bodyguard [275] [276]

Freeman's judgment must be regarded as extravagant when he says that

"in mere genius, in mere accomplishments, Frederick was surely the

greatest prince that ever wore a crown." [277] es him "one of the

greatest personages in history." [278] . When the news of his death

reached Innocent IV., that pontiff wrote to the Sicilians that heaven

and hell rejoiced at it. A juster feeling was expressed by the

Freiburger Chronicle when it said, "If he had loved his soul, who would

have been his equal?" [279]

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[255] M. Paris says he had never heard of such bitter hatred as the

hatred between Innocent IV. and Frederick. Luard's ed., V. 193

[256] M. Paris, heretofore inclining to the side of Frederick, at this

point distinctly changes his tone. See, for example, Luard's ed., IV.

478.

[257] Two German bishops seem to have been present. Hefele, V. 982 sq.

Catholic historians have been concerned to increase the number of

attending prelates from the north.

[258] Mansi, XXIII. 612 sqq., 638; Luard's ed. of M. Paris, IV.

445-456. Gregorovius calls this decree "one of the most ominous events

in universal history," V. 244.

[259] Br�holles, VI. 318.

[260] Too much credit must not be given to Frederick for a far-seeing

policy based upon a love of truth or a perception of permanent

principles. The rights of conscience he nowhere hints at, and probably

did not dream of.

[261] M. Paris, Luard's ed., IV. 478.

[262] See Aldinger.

[263] The tragic career of this gifted man and consummate flower of

chivalry is deeply engraven in the romance and architecture of Bologna.

[264] This is the, more credible narrative. Villani, an. 1250, tells

the story that Manfred bribed Frederick's chamberlain, and stifled the

dying man with a wet cloth.

[265] Principum mundi maximus, stupor quoque mundi et immutator

mirabilis, "greatest of the princes of the earth, the wonder of the

world and the marvellous regulating genius [innovator] in its affairs."

Luard's M. Paris, V. 190, 196. In his letters Frederick styled himself

Fredericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper augustus, Jerusalem

et Siciliae rex.

[266] Kington, I. 475 sqq.

[267] Gregorovius, V. 271. This view is not discredited by the

decentralizing charters Frederick gave to German cities on which

Fisher, Mediaeval Empire, lays so much stress. See his good chapter on

"Imperial Legislation in Italy" (XI).

[268] Ranke, VIII. 369 sqq.

[269] Akademische Vortr�ge, III. 213.

[270] Cardinal Rainer's letter as given by M. Paris, Luard's ed., V.

61-67; Giles's trans., II. 298 sqq. Peter the Lombard, writing to one

of his presbyters, says ecclesia Romana totis viribus contra

imperatorem et ad ejus destructionem, Br�holles, V. 1226.

[271] For the charge, that he denied the incarnation by the Virgin Mary

and other charges, see above and Br�holles, V. 459 sq.; M. Paris,

Luard's ed., III. 521.

[272] The statement was floating about in the air. It is traced to

Simon Tornacensis, a professor of theology in Paris, d. 1201, as well

as to Frederick. A book under the title De tribus impostoribus can be

traced into the sixteenth century. It produced the extermination of the

Canaanites and other arguments against the revealed character of the

Bible and relegated the incarnation to the category of the myths of the

gods. See Herzog, Enc. IX. 72-75; and F. W. Genthe,De impostura

religionum, etc., Leipzig, 1833; Benrath's art. in Herzog, IX. 72-75;

Reuter. Gesch. der Aufkl�rung im M. A., II. 275 sqq.

[273] Med. Emp., II. 163.

[274] Ranke calls it one of the best treatments of the Middle Ages on

the subject. For Frederick's influence on culture and literature, see

Br�holles, I. ch. 9. Also Fisher's Med. Emp., II. ch. 14, "The Empire

and Culture."

[275] This bodyguard was with him on his last campaign and before

Parma.

[276] Of his cruelty and unrestrained morals, priestly chroniclers

could not say enough. See Kington, II. 474 sqq. He was legally married

four times; Amari, in his History of the Mohammedans in Sicily, calls

him a "baptized sultan." For Frederick's relation to the Mohammedans,

see Br�holles, I. 325-375.

[277] Hist. Essays, I. 286. He says again, p. 283, "It is probable

there never lived a human being endowed with greater natural gifts." We

may agree with Freeman's statement that in Frederick's career "are

found some of the most wonderful chapters in European history," p. 313.

[278] Holy Rom. Emp., ch. XIII.

[279] Herbert Fisher says, "Of all the mediaeval emperors, Frederick

II. alone seems to have the true temper of the legislator."Med. Emp.,

II. 167. Equal to his best generalizations is Gibbon's characterization

of Frederick's career, as "successively the pupil, the enemy, and the

victim of the Church," ch. LIX.

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� 45. The Last of the Hohenstaufen.

Additional Literature.--Letters of Urban IV. in Mansi, vol. XXIII.

Potthast: Regesta, 1161-1650.--Les Registres of Alexander IV., Recueil

des bulles de ce pape d'apr�s les MSS. originaux des archives du

Vatican, Paris, 1886, of Urban IV., Paris, 1892, of Clement IV., Paris,

1893-1904.--\*D�llinger: Der Uebergang des Papstthums an die Franzosen,

in Akademische Vortr�ge, III. pp. 212-222, Munich, 1891. Lives of the

popes in Muratori and Platina.

The death of Frederick did not satisfy the papacy. It had decreed the

ruin of the house of the Hohenstaufen. The popes denounced its

surviving representatives as "the viperous brood" and, "the poisonous

brood of a dragon of poisonous race."

In his will, Frederick bade his son Conrad accord to the Church her

just rights and to restore any he himself might have unjustly seized

but on condition that she, as a merciful and pious mother, acknowledge

the rights of the empire. His illegitimate son, the brilliant and

princely Manfred, he appointed his representative in Italy during

Conrad's absence.

Innocent broke up from Lyons in 1251, little dreaming that, a half

century later, the papacy would remove there to pass an exile of

seventy years. [280] ad descended to Italy and entered Naples, making

good his claim to his ancestral crown. But the pope met him with the

sentence of excommunication. Death, which seemed to be in league with

the papacy against the ill-fated German house, claimed Conrad in 1254

at the age of 26. He left an only son, Conradin, then two years old.

[281]

Conrad was soon followed by Innocent to the grave, 1254. Innocent lies

buried in Naples. He was the last of the great popes of an era that was

hastening to its end. During the reign, perhaps, of no other pope had

the exactions of Rome upon England been so exorbitant and brazen.

Matthew Paris charged him with making the Church a slave and turning

the papal court into a money changer's table. To his relatives, weeping

around his death-bed, he is reported to have exclaimed. "Why do you

weep, wretched creatures? Do I not leave you all rich?"

Under the mild reign of Alexander IV., 1254-1261, Manfred made himself

master of Sicily and was crowned king at Palermo, 1258.

Urban IV., 1261-1264, was consecrated at Viterbo and did not enter Rome

during his pontificate. He was a shoemaker's son and the first

Frenchman for one hundred and sixty years to occupy the papal throne.

With him the papacy came under French control, where it remained, with

brief intervals, for more than a century. Urban displayed his strong

national partisanship by his appointment of seven French cardinals in a

conclave of seventeen. The French influence was greatly strengthened by

his invitation to Charles of Anjou, youngest brother of Louis IX. of

France, to occupy the Sicilian throne, claiming the right to do so on

the basis of the inherent authority of the papacy and on the ground

that Sicily was a papal fief. For centuries the house of Anjou, with

Naples as its capital, was destined to be a disturbing element in the

affairs, not only of Italy, but of all Europe. [282] apacy, Charles of

Anjou became dictator of its policy and master of the political

situation in Italy.

Clement IV., 1265-1268, one of the French cardinals appointed by Urban,

had a family before he entered a Carthusian convent and upon a clerical

career. He preached a crusade against Manfred, who had dared to usurp

the Sicilian throne, and crowned Charles of Anjou in Rome, 1266.

Charles promised to pay yearly tribute to the Apostolic see. A month

later, Feb. 26, 1266, the possession of the crown of Sicily was decided

by the arbitrament of arms on the battlefield of Benevento, where

Manfred fell.

On the youthful Conradin, grandson of Frederick II., the hopes of the

proud German house now hung. His title to the imperial throne was

contested from the first. William of Holland had been succeeded, by the

rival emperors, the rich Duke Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry

III., elected in 1257 by four of the electors, and Alfonso of Castile,

elected by the remaining three. [283] rights, 1267, was met by the

papal ban, and, although received by popular enthusiasm even in Rome,

he was no match for the tried skill of Charles of Anjou. His fortunes

were shattered on the battlefield of Tagliacozzo, Aug. 23, 1268. Taken

prisoner, he was given a mock trial. The Bolognese lawyer, Guido of

Suzarra, made an ineffective plea that the young prince had come to

Italy, not as a robber but to claim his inheritance. The majority of

the judges were against the death penalty, but the spirit of Charles

knew no clemency, and at his instance Conradin was executed at Naples,

Oct. 29, 1268. The last words that fell from his lips, as he kneeled

for the fatal stroke, were words of attachment to his mother, "O

mother, what pain of heart do I make for you!"

With Conradin the male line of the Hohenstaufen became extinct. Its

tragic end was enacted on the soil which had always been so fatal to

the German rulers. Barbarossa again and again met defeat there; and in

Southern Italy Henry VI., Frederick II., Conrad, Manfred, and Conradin

were all laid in premature graves.

At Conradin's burial Charles accorded military honors, but not

religious rites. The Roman crozier had triumphed over the German eagle.

The Swabian hill, on which the proud castle of the Hohenstaufen once

stood, looks down in solemn silence upon the peaceful fields of

W�rttemberg and preaches the eloquent sermon that "all flesh is as

grass and all the glory of man is as the flower of grass." The colossal

claims of the papacy survived the blows struck again and again by this

imperial family, through a century. Italy had been exposed for three

generations and more to the sword, rapine, and urban strife. Europe was

weary of the conflict. The German minnesingers and the chroniclers of

England and the Continent were giving expression to the deep unrest.

Partly as a result of the distraction bordering on anarchy, the Mongols

were threatening to burst through the gates of Eastern Germany. It was

an eventful time. Antioch, one of the last relics of the Crusaders in

Asia Minor, fell back to the Mohammedans in 1268. Seven years earlier

the Latin empire of Constantinople finally reverted to its rightful

owners, the Greeks.

In the mighty duel which has been called by the last great Roman

historian [284] tacle of the ages, the empire had been humbled to the

dust. But ideas survive, and the principle of the sovereign right of

the civil power within its own sphere has won its way in one form or

another among European peoples and their descendants. And the fate of

young Conradin was not forgotten. Three centuries later it played its

part in the memories of the German nation, and through the pictures of

his execution distributed in Martin Luther's writings contributed to

strengthen the hand of the Protestant Reformer in his struggle with the

papacy, which did not fail.

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[280] M. Paris reports that a cardinal, after delivering a farewell

sermon in Innocent's name, said, "Since our arrival in the city, we

have done much good and bestowed alms. On our arrival we found three or

four brothels, but now, at our departure, we leave only one behind, but

that extends from the eastern to the western gate of the city." Luard's

ed., V. 237.

[281] A few months before, Henry, Frederick's son by Isabella of

England, had died. His son Enzio languished to his death in a Bologna

prison, 1272.

[282] See the pages on the last popes of this period and of the last

period of the Middle Ages, especially under Alexander VI. and Julius

II.

[283] Alfonso never visited Germany. Richard spent part of his time

there, but was destitute of political power. The threat of

excommunication deterred the electors from electing Conradin. For the

imperial electoral college, see Fisher, Med. Emp., I. 225 sq., and for

Richard, see Richard v. Cornwall seit sr. Wahl z. deutschen K�nig.,

1905.

[284] Gregorovius.

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� 46. The Empire and Papacy at Peace. 1271-1294.

Popes.--Gregory X., 1271-1276; Innocent V., Jan. 21-June 22, 1276;

Adrian V., July 12-Aug. 16, 1276; John XXI., 1276-1277; Nicolas III.,

1277-1280; Martin IV., 1281-1285; Honorius IV., 1285-1287; Nicolas IV.,

1288-1292; Coelestin V., July 5-Dec. 13, 1294.

Literature.--Potthast: Regest., pp. 1651-1922. Les Registres de

Gr�goire X. et Jean XXI., 3 vols., Paris, 1892-1898, de Nicolas III.,

Paris, 1904, d'Honorius IV., Paris, 1886, de Nicolas IV., Paris, 1880.

Lives of the above popes in Muratori: Rer. Ital. scr., vol.

III.--Mansi: Councils, XXIV.--Hefele, VI. 125 sqq.--Turinaaz, La patrie

et la famille de Pierre de Tarantaise, pape sous le nom d'Innocent V.,

Nancy, 1882.--H. Otto: Die Beziehungen Rudolfs von Hapsburg zu Papst

Gregor X., Innsbruck, 1895.--A. Demski: Papst Nicolas III., M�nster,

1903, pp. 364.--R. Sternfeld: Der Kardinal Johann Ga�tan Orsini, Papst

Nic. III., 1244-1277, Berlin, 1905, pp. 376. Reviewed at length by

Haller in "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1906, pp. 173-178.--H. Finke:

Concilienstudien zur Gesch. des 13ten Jahrhunderts, M�nster, 1891.--For

Coelestin V., Finke: Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII., M�nster, 1902; H.

Schulz, Peter von Murrhone, 1894; and Celidonio, Vita di S. Pietro del

Morrone, 1896.--The articles on the above popes in Wetzer-Welte and

Herzog (Gregory X, by Mirbt, Coelestin V., Innocent V., Honorius IV.,

etc., by Hans Schulz).--The Histories of Gregorovius, Ranke, etc.

The death of Clement IV. was followed by the longest interregnum the

papacy has known, lasting thirty-three months, Nov. 29, 1268, to Sept.

1, 1271. It was due largely to the conflict between the French and

Italian parties in the conclave and was prolonged in spite of the stern

measures taken by the municipality of Viterbo, where the election

occurred. Cardinals were even imprisoned. The new pope, Gregory X.,

archdeacon of Li�ge, was not an ordained priest. The news reached him

at Acre while he was engaged in a pilgrimage. A man of peaceful and

conciliatory spirit, he is one of the two popes of the thirteenth

century who have received canonization. Pursuing the policy of keeping

the empire and the kingdom of Southern Italy apart, and setting aside

the pretensions of Alfonso of Castile, [285]

The elevation of Rudolf inaugurated a period of peace in the relations

of the papacy and the empire. Gregory X. had gained a brilliant

victory. The emperor was crowned at Aachen, Oct. 24, 1273. The place of

the Hohenstaufen was thus taken by the Austrian house of Hapsburg,

which has continued to this day to be a reigning dynasty and loyal to

the Catholic hierarchy. In the present century its power has been

eclipsed by the Hohenzollern, whose original birth seat in W�rttemberg

is a short distance from that of the Hohenstaufen. [286] ction is

celebrated by Schiller in the famous lines: [287]

"Then was ended the long, the direful strife,

That time of terror, with no imperial lord."

Rudolf was a man of decided religious temper, was not ambitious to

extend his power, and became a just and safe ruler. He satisfied the

claims of the papacy by granting freedom to the chapters in the choice

of bishops, by promising to protect the Church in her rights, and by

renouncing all claim to Sicily and the State of the Church. In a tone

of moderation Gregory wrote: "It is incumbent on princes to protect the

liberties and rights of the Church and not to deprive her of her

temporal property. It is also the duty of the spiritual ruler to

maintain kings in the full integrity of their authority."

The emperor remained on good terms with Gregory's successors, Innocent

V., a Frenchman, Adrian V., a Genoese, who did not live to be

consecrated, and John XXI., the only priest from Portugal who has worn

the tiara. Their combined reigns lasted only eighteen months. John died

from the falling of a ceiling in his palace in Viterbo.

The second Council of Lyons, known also as the Fourteenth Oecumenical

Council, was called by Gregory and opened by him with a sermon. It is

famous for the attempt made to unite the Greek and Western Churches and

the presence of Greek delegates, among them Germanus, formerly

patriarch of Constantinople. His successor had temporarily been placed

in confinement for expressing himself as opposed to ecclesiastical

union. A termination of the schism seemed to be at hand. The delegates

announced the Greek emperor's full acceptance of the Latin creed,

including the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and the

primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Apostles' Creed was sung in Greek

and Latin. Papal delegates were sent to Constantinople to consummate

the union; but the agreement was rejected by the Greek clergy. It is

more than surmised that the Greek emperor, Michael Palaeologus, was

more concerned for the permanency of the Greek occupation of

Constantinople than for the ecclesiastical union of the East and the

West upon which the hearts of popes had been set so long.

Other important matters before the council were the rule for electing a

pope, and the reception of a delegation of Mongols who sought to effect

a union against the Mohammedans. Several members of the delegation

received baptism. The decree of the Fourth Lateran, prohibiting new

religious orders, was reaffirmed.

The firm and statesmanlike administration of Nicolas III. checked the

ambition of Charles of Anjou, who was plotting for the Greek crown. He

was obliged to abjure the senatorship of Rome, which he had held for

ten years, and to renounce the vicariate of Tuscany. Bologna for the

first time acknowledged the papal supremacy. Nicolas has been called

the father of papal nepotism, [288] [289]

"To enrich my whelps, I laid my schemes aside

My wealth I've stowed,--my person here."

Again, in 1281, the tiara passed to a Frenchman, a man of humble birth,

Martin IV. Charles was present at Viterbo when the election took place

and was active in securing it. [290] igns of the Angevin house and

Charles was once more elected to the Roman senatorship. Seldom had a

pope been so fully the tool of a monarch. [291] e a memorable rebuke.

In resentment at the hated French r�gime, the Sicilians rose up, during

Easter week, 1282, and enacted the bloody massacre known as the

Sicilian Vespers. All the Normans on the island, together with the

Sicilian wives of Normans, were victims of the merciless vengeance. The

number that fell is estimated at from eight to twenty thousand. The

tragedy gets its name from the tradition that the Sicilians fell to

their work at the ringing of the vesper bell. [292] rd at an end on the

Panormic isle. Peter of Aragon, who married Constance, the daughter of

Manfred and the granddaughter of Frederick II., was crowned king. For

nearly two hundred years thereafter the crowns of Sicily and Naples

were kept distinct.

Not to be untrue to Charles, Martin hurled the anathema at the rebels,

placed Aragon and Sicily under the interdict, and laid Christendom

under a tribute of one-tenth for a crusade against Peter. The measures

were in vain, and Charles's galleys met with defeat off the coast of

Calabria. Charles and Martin died the same year, 1285, the latter, like

Gregory X., at Perugia.

After an interregnum of ten months, Nicolas IV. ascended the papal

throne, the first Franciscan to be elevated to the office. His reign

witnessed the evacuation of Ptolemais or Acre, the last possession of

the Crusaders in Syria. Nicolas died in the midst of futile plans to

recover the Holy Places.

Another interregnum of twenty-seven months followed, April 4, 1292 to

July 5, 1294, when the hermit Peter de Murrhone, Coelestin V., was

raised to the papal throne, largely at the dictation of Charles II. of

Naples. His short reign forms a curious episode in the annals of the

papacy. His career shows the extremes of station from the solitude of

the mountain cell to the chief dignity of Europe. He enjoyed the fame

of sanctity and founded the order of St. Damian, which subsequently

honored him by taking the name of Coelestines. The story ran that he

had accomplished the unprecedented feat of hanging his cowl on a

sunbeam. At the time of his elevation to the papal throne Coelestin was

seventy-nine.

An eye-witness, Stefaneschi, has described the journey to the hermit's

retreat by three bishops who were appointed to notify him of his

election. They found him in a rude hut in the mountains, furnished with

a single barred window, his hair unkempt, his face pale, and his body

infirm. After announcing their errand they bent low and kissed his

sandals. Had Peter been able to go forth from his anchoret solitude,

like Anthony of old, on his visits to Alexandria, and preach repentance

and humility, he would have presented an exhilarating spectacle to

after generations. As it is, his career arouses pity for his frail and

unsophisticated incompetency to meet the demands which his high office

involved.

Clad in his monkish habit and riding on an ass, the bridle held by

Charles II. and his son, Peter proceeded to Aquila, where he was

crowned, only three cardinals being present. Completely under the

dominance of the king, Coelestin took up his residence in Naples.

Little was he able to battle with the world, to cope with the intrigues

of factions, and to resist the greedy scramble for office which besets

the path of those high in position. In simple confidence Coelestin gave

his ear to this counsellor and to that, and yielded easily to all

applicants for favors. His complaisancy to Charles is seen in his

appointment of cardinals. Out of twelve whom he created, seven were

Frenchmen, and three Neapolitans. It would seem as if he fell into

despair at the self-seeking and worldliness of the papal court, and he

exclaimed, "O God, while I rule over other men's souls, I am losing the

salvation of my own." He was clearly not equal to the duties of the

tiara. In vain did the Neapolitans seek by processions to dissuade him

from resigning. Clement I. had abjured his office, as had also Gregory

VI. though at the mandate of an, emperor. Peter issued a bull declaring

it to be the pope's right to abdicate. His own abdication he placed on

the ground "of his humbleness, the quest of a better life and an easy

conscience, on account of his frailty of body and want of knowledge,

the badness of men, and a desire to return to the quietness of his

former state." The real reason for his resigning is obscure. The story

went that the ambitious Cardinal Ga�tani, soon to become Coelestin's

successor, was responsible for it. He played upon the hermit's

credulity by speaking through a reed, inserted through the wall of the

hermit's chamber, and declared it to be heaven's will that his reign

should come to an end. [293]

In abandoning the papacy the departing pontiff forfeited all freedom of

movement. He attempted to flee across the Adriatic, but in vain. He was

kept in confinement by Boniface VIII. in the castle of Fumone, near

Anagni, until his death, May 19, 1296. What a world-wide contrast the

simplicity of the hermit's reign presents to the violent assertion and

ambitious designs of Boniface, the first pope of a new period!

Coelestin's sixth centenary was observed by pious admirers in Italy.

[294] owardice, the one who made the great renunciation.

"Behold! that abject one appeared in view

Who, mean of soul, the great refusal made." [295]

Vidi e cenobbi la ombra di colui

Che fece per viltate il gran rifuto.

A new era for the papacy was at hand.

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[285] Richard, duke of Cornwall, had died April 2, 1272.

[286] The ancient seat of the Hapsburgs was in Aarpu, Switzerland,

scarcely one hundred miles away from Zollern.

[287] "Dann geendigt nach langem verderblichen Streit, War die

kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit." --Der Graf von Hapsburg.

[288] See the elaborate art. Nepotismus in Wetzer-Welte, IX. 109 sqq.;

and Haller in Literaturzeitung, see above.

[289] Inferno, XIX. 72 sqq. The term "whelps" refers to the Orsini or

bear clan, to which Nicolas belonged.

[290] See the art. Martin by Kn�pfler in Wetzer-Welte, VIII. 919 sq.

[291] "He was led about by the nose by Charles," Muratori, XI. 492. So

Hergenr�ther, Kirchengesch., II. 310.

[292] See Ranke, VIII. 531 sqq.

[293] The author of the suggestion that Coelestin should abdicate has

given rise to a good deal of controversy in recent years. Was Benedict

Ga�tani (Boniface VIII.) the author, or did the suggestion come from

the senile old pope himself. Hans Schulz, a Protestant, has recently

called in question the old view that laid the blame on Benedict, and

regards it as probable that Coelestin was the first to propose

abdication, and that Benedict being called in gave the plan his

sanction. He says, however, that in the whole matter "Benedict's eye

was directed to the papal crown as his own prize." See Herzog's Enc.,

IV. 203. Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Kirchengesch., II. 312, and Finke, Aus

den Tagen Bonifaz VIII., p. 39 sqq., both Roman Catholic historians,

have adopted the same position, as does also Scholz, Publizistik zur

Zeit Philipp IV. und Bonifaz VIII., p. 3. The contemporary historians

differ about the matter, but upon the whole are against the cardinal.

The charge that he was at the bottom of the abdication and the main

promoter of it was one of the chief charges brought against him by his

enemy, Philip the Fair of France. One of the measures for humiliating

Boniface proposed by the king was the canonization of Coelestin as one

whom Boniface had abused. See Document of the year 1305, printed for

the first time by Finke, p, xcviii. A tract issued by one of Boniface's

party attempted to parry this suggestion by declaring that Boniface,

who was then dead, had merits which entitled him to canonization above

Coelestin. The author said, "si canonizatio Celestini petitur, multo

magis canonizacio sanctissimi patris domini Bonifacii, postulari debet

et approbari." He continues, "Coelestin's canonization is asked because

he profited himself and died in sua simplicitate; Boniface's ought to

be asked for because he profited others and died for the freedom of the

Church." See the document printed for the first time in Finke, p.

lxxxv, and which Finke puts in 1308. Coelestin was canonized 1313 by

Clement V.

[294] A memorial volume was published under the title Celestin V ed il

vi Centenario della sua incoronazione, Aquila, 1894.

[295] Inferno, III. 58 sq.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CRUSADES.

"No idle fancy was it when of yore

Pilgrims in countless numbers braved the seas,

And legions battled on the farthest shore,

Only to pray at Thy sepulchral bed,

Only in pious gratitude to kiss

The sacred earth on which Thy feet did tread."

Uhland, An den Unsichtbaren.

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� 47. Literature on the Crusades as a Whole.

Sources.--First printed collection of writers on the Crusades by Jac.

Bongars: Gesta Dei (and it might be added, et diaboli) per Francos,

sive orientalium expeditionum, etc., 2 vols. Hanover, 1611. Mostly

reports of the First Crusade and superseded.--The most complete

collection, edited at great expense and in magnificent style, Recueil

des Historiens des Croisades publi� par l'Acad�mie des Inscriptions et

Belles-Lettres, viz. Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols. Paris, 1841-1895;

Histt. Orientaux, 4 vols. 1872-1898; Histt. Grecs, 2 vols. 1875-1881;

Documents Arm�niens, 1869. The first series contains, in vols. I., II.,

the Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum of William of Tyre

and the free reproduction in French entitled L'Estoire de Eracles

Emp�reur et la Conqueste de la terre d' Outremer. Vol. III. contains

the Gesta Francorum; the Historia de Hierolosymitano itinere of Peter

Tudebodus, Hist. Francorum qui ceperunt Jherusalem of Raymund of

Aguilers or Argiles; Hist. Jherusolymitana or Gesta Francorum

Jherusalem perigrinantium 1095-1127, of Fulcher of Chartres; Hist.

Jherusol. of Robert the Monk, etc. Vol. IV. contains Hist. Jherusolem.

of Baldric of Dol (Ranke, VIII 82, speaks highly of Baldric as an

authority); Gesta Del per Francos of Guibert of Nogent; Hist. Hier. of

Albert of Aachen, etc. Vol. V. contains Ekkehardi Hierosolymita and a

number of other documents. Migne's Latin Patrology gives a number of

these authors, e.g., Fulcher and Petrus Tudebodus, vol. 155; Guibert,

vol. 156; Albert of Aachen and Baldric, vol. 166; William of Tyre, vol.

201.--Contemporary Chronicles of Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Hoveden,

Roger of Wendover, M. Paris, etc.--Reports of Pilgrimages, e.g., Count

Riant: Exp�ditions et p�lerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au

temps des Croisades, Paris, 1865, 1867; R. R�hricht: Die Pilgerfahrten

nach d. heil. Lande vor den Kreuzz�gen, 1875; Deutsche Pilgerreisen

nach dem heil. Lande, new ed. Innsbruck, 1900; H. Schrader: D.

Pilgerfahrten nach. d. heil. Lande im Zeitalter vor den Kreuzz�gen,

Merzig, 1897. Jaff�: Regesta.--Mansi: Concilia.--For criticism of the

contemporary writers see Sybel, Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzugs, 2d ed.

1881, pp. 1-143.--H. Prutz (Prof. in Nancy, France): Quellenbeitr�ge

zur Gesch. der Kreuzz�ge, Danzig, 1876.--R. R�hricht: Regesta regni

Hierosolymitani 1097-1291, Innsbruck, 1904, an analysis of 900

documents.

Modern Works.--\*Friedrich Wilken (Libr. and Prof. in Berlin, d. 1840):

Gesch. der Kreuzz�ge, 7 vols. Leipzig, 1807-1832.--J. F. Michaud: Hist.

des croisades, 3 vols. Paris, 1812, 7th ed. 4 vols. 1862. Engl. trans.

by W. Robson, 3 vols., London, 1854, New York, 1880.--\*R�hricht

(teacher in one of the Gymnasia of Berlin, d. 1905; he published eight

larger works on the Crusades): Beit�ge zur Gesch. der Kreuzz�ge, 2

vols. Berlin, 1874-1878; D. Deutschen im heil. lande, Innsbruck, 1894;

Gesch. d. Kreuzz�ge, Innsbruck, 1898.--B. Kugler (Prof. in T�bingen):

Gesch. der Kreuzz�ge, illustrated, Berlin, 1880, 2d ed. 1891.--A. De

Laporte: Les croisades et le pays latin de J�rusalem, Paris,

1881.--\*Prutz: Kulturgesch. der Kreuzz�ge, Berlin, 1883.--Ed. Heyck:

Die Kreuzz�ge und das heilige Land, Leipzig, 1900.--Histories in

English by Mills, London, 1822, 4th ed. 2 vols. 1828; Keightley,

London. 1847; Proctor, London, 1858; Edgar, London, 1860; W. E. Dutton,

London, 1877; G. W. Cox, London, 1878; J. I. Mombert, New York, 1891;

\*Archer and Kingsford: Story of the Crus., New York, 1895; J. M.

Ludlow: Age of the Crusades, New York, 1896; Art. Kreuzz�ge by Funk in

Wetzer-Welte, VII. 1142-1177.--Ph. Schaff in "Ref. Quarterly Rev."

1893, pp. 438-459.--J. L. Hahn: Ursachen und Folgen der Kreuzz�ge,

Greifswald, 1859.--Chalandon: Essai sur le r�gne d'Alexis Comn�ne,

Paris, 1900.--\*A. Gottlob: D. p�pstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuren des 13.

Jahrhunderts, Heiligenstadt, 1892, pp. 278; Kreuzablass und

Almosenablass, Stuttgart, 1906, pp. 314.--Essays on the Crusades by

Munro, Prutz, Diehl, Burlington, 1903.--H. C. Lea: Hist. of Auric.

Confession and Indulgences, vol. III.--See also \*Gibbon, LVIII-LIX;

Milman; Giesebrecht: Gesch. d. deutschen Kaiserzeit; Ranke: Weltgesch.,

VIII. pp. 88-111, 150-161, 223-262, 280-307; IX. 93-98; Finlay: Hist.

of the Byznt. and Gr. Empires, 1057-1453; Hopf: Gesch. Griechenlands

vom Beginn des Mittelalters, etc., Leipzig, 1868; Besant And Palmer:

Hist. of Jerusalem, London, 1890; Guy Le Strange: Palestine under the

Moslems, London, 1890.

The Poetry of the Crusades is represented chiefly by Raoul De Caen in

Gestes de Tancr�de; Torquato Tasso, the Homer of the Crusades, in La

Jerusalemme liberata; Walter Scott: Tales of the Crusades, Talisman,

Quentin Durward, etc. The older literature is given in full by Michaud;

Bibliographie des Croisades, 2 vols. Paris, 1822, which form vols. VI.,

VII, of his Histoire des Croisades.

The First Crusade.

Sources.--See Literature above. Gesta Francorum et aliorum

Hierosolymitorum by an anonymous writer who took part in the First

Crusade, in Bongars and Recueil des Croisades. See above. Also

Hagenmeyer's critical edition, Anonymi Gesta Francorum, Heidelberg,

1890.--Robertus, a monk of Rheims: Hist. Hierosolymitana, in Bongars,

Rec., and Migne, vol. 155.--Baldrich, abp. of Dol: Hist. Hierosol., in

Bongars, and Rec.--Raymund de Aguilers, chaplain to the count of

Toulouse: Hist. Francorum, 1095-1099, in Bongars, Rec., and Migne, vol.

155. See Clem. Klein: Raimund von Aguilers, Berlin, 1892.--Fulcher,

chaplain to the count of Chartres and then to Baldwin, second king of

Jerusalem: Gesta Francorum Jerusalem perigrinantium to 1125, in

Bongars, Rec., and Migne, vol. 155.--Guibert, abbot of Nogent: Gesta

Dei per Francos, to 1110, in Bongars, Rec., Migne, vol. 156.--Albertus

of Aachen (Aquensis): Hist. Hierosol. expeditionis, to 1121, in

Bongars, Rec., Migne, vol. 166. See B. Kugler: Albert von Aachen,

Stuttgart, 1885.--William of Tyre, abp. of Tyre, d. after 1184: Hist.

rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, Basel, 1549, under the title

of belli sacri historia, in Bongars, Rec., Migne, vol. 201, Engl.

trans. by Wm. Caxton, ed. by Mary N. Colvin, London, 1893.--Anna

Comnena (1083-1148): Alexias, a biogr. of her father, the Greek

emperor, Alexis I., in Rec., Migne, Pat. Graeca, vol. 131; also 2 vols.

Leipzig, 1884, ed. by Reifferscheid; also in part in Hagenmeyer, Peter

der Eremite, pp. 303-314.--Ekkehard of Urach: Hierosolymita seu

libellus de oppressione, liberatione ac restauratione sanctae

Hierosol., 1095-1187, in Rec., and Migne, vol. 154, and Hagenmeyer:

Ekkehard's Hierosolymita, T�bingen, 1877, also Das Verh�ltniss der

Gesta Francorum zu der Hiersol. Ekkehards in "Forschungen zur deutschen

Gesch.," G�ttingen, 1876, pp. 21-42.--Petrus Tudebodus, of the diocese

of Poitiers: Hist. de Hierosolymitano itinere, 1095-1099, largely

copied from the Gesta Francorum, in Migne, vol. 155, and

Recueil.--Radulphus Cadomensis (Raoul of Caen): Gesta Tancredi,

1099-1108, Migne, vol. 155, and Recueil.--Riant: Inventaire critique

des lettres Hist. des croisades, I., II., Paris, 1880.--H. Hagenmeyer:

Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae

supersunt, etc., 1088-1100, Innsbruck, 1901. See the translation of

contemporary documents in Trans. and Reprints, etc., published by

Department of History of Univ. of Penn., 1894.

The Poetry of the First Crusade: La Chanson d'Antioche, ed. by Paulin

Paris, 2 vols. Paris, 1848. He dates the poem 1125-1138, and Nouvelle

�tude sur la Chanson d'Antioche, Paris, 1878.--La Conqu�te de

J�rusalem, ed. by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1868. -- Roman du Chevalier au

Cygne et Godefroi de Bouillon.

Modern Works.--\*H. Von Sybel: Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzugs, D�sseldorf,

1841, 3d ed. Leipzig, 1900. The Introduction contains a valuable

critical estimate of the contemporary accounts. Engl. trans. of the

Introd. and four lectures by Sybel in 1858, under the title, The Hist.

and Lit. of Crusades, by Lady Duff Gordon, London, 1861.--J. F. A.

Peyre: Hist. de la premi�re croisade, Paris, 1859.--\*Hagenmeyer: Peter

der Eremite, Leipzig, 1879; Chron. de la premi�re croisade, 1094-1100,

Paris, 1901.--R�hricht: Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges, Innsbruck,

1901.--F. Chalandon: Essai sur le r�gne d'Alexis I. Comn�ne, 1081-1118,

Paris, 1900.--Paulot: Un pape Fran�ais, Urbain II., Paris, 1902.--D. C.

Munro: The Speech of Urban at Clermont. "Am. Hist. Rev." 1906, pp.

231-242.--Art. in Wetzer-Welte, by Funk, Petrus von Amiens, Vol. IX.

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� 48. Character and Causes of the Crusades.

"'O, holy Palmer!' she began, --

For sure he must be sainted man

Whose blessed feet have trod the ground

Where the Redeemer's tomb is found."

Marmion, V. 21.

The Crusades were armed pilgrimages to Jerusalem under the banner of

the cross. They form one of the most characteristic chapters of the

Middle Ages and have a romantic and sentimental, as well as a religious

and military, interest. They were a sublime product of the Christian

imagination, and constitute a chapter of rare interest in the history

of humanity. They exhibit the muscular Christianity of the new nations

of the West which were just emerging from barbarism and heathenism.

They made religion subservient to war and war subservient to religion.

They were a succession of tournaments between two continents and two

religions, struggling for supremacy,--Europe and Asia, Christianity and

Mohammedanism. Such a spectacle the world has never seen before nor

since, and may never see again. [296]

These expeditions occupied the attention of Europe for more than two

centuries, beginning with 1095. Yea, they continued to be the concern

of the popes until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Columbus

signed an agreement April 17, 1492, to devote the proceeds of his

undertaking beyond the Western seas to the recovery of the holy

sepulchre. Before his fourth and last journey to America he wrote to

Alexander VI., renewing his vow to furnish troops for the rescue of

that sacred locality. [297] ns, and of these not the least worthy of

attention were the tragic Crusades of the children.

The most famous men of their age were identified with these movements.

Emperors and kings went at the head of the armies,--Konrad III.,

Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick II., Richard I. of England, Louis VII.,

Philip Augustus and Louis IX. of France, Andrew of Hungary. Fair women

of high station accompanied their husbands or went alone to the seats

of war, such as Alice of Antioch, Queen Eleanor of France, Ida of

Austria, Berengaria, wife of Richard, and Margaret, queen of Louis IX.

Kings' sons shared the same risks, as Frederick of Swabia, Sigurd, and

Edward, son of Henry III., accompanied by Eleanor, his wife. Priests,

abbots, and higher ecclesiastics fought manfully in the ranks and at

the head of troops. [298] Hermit, St. Bernard, and Fulke of Neuilly,

stirred the flames of enthusiasm by their eloquence. But if some of the

best men of Europe and those most eminent in station went on the

Crusades, so also did the lowest elements of European

society,--thieves, murderers, perjurers, vagabonds, and scoundrels of

all sorts, as Bernard bears witness. [299]

The crusading armies were designated by such titles as the army "of the

cross," "of Christ," "of the Lord," "of the faith." [300] the badge of

the Crusaders and gave to them their favorite name. The Crusaders were

called the soldiers of Christ [301] cross" or, "taking the sign of the

cross." [302]

Contemporaries had no doubt of the Crusades being a holy undertaking,

and Guibert's account of the First Crusade is called, "The Deeds of

God, accomplished through the Franks," Gesta Dei per Francos.

Those who fell under Eastern skies or on their way to the East received

the benefits of special indulgence for sins committed and were esteemed

in the popular judgment as martyrs. John VIII., 872-882, pressed by the

Saracens who were devastating Italy, had promised to soldiers fighting

bravely against the pagans the rest of eternal life and, as far as it

belonged to him to give it, absolution from sins. [303] y should be

counted as a substitute for penance. [304] ry indulgence those who

built ships and contributed in any way, and promised to them "increase

of eternal life." God, said the abbot Guibert, chronicler of the First

Crusade, invented the Crusades as a new way for the laity to atone for

their sins, and to merit salvation. [305]

The rewards were not confined to spiritual privileges. Eugenius III.,

in his exhortations to the Second Crusade, placed the Crusaders in the

same category with clerics before the courts in the case of most

offences. [306] ce, from 1188 to 1270 joined with the Holy See in

granting to them temporal advantages, exemption from debt, freedom from

taxation and the payment of interest. Complaint was frequently made by

the kings of France that the Crusaders committed the most offensive

crimes under cover of ecclesiastical protection. These complaints

called forth from Innocent IV., 1246, and Alexander IV., 1260,

instructions to the bishops not to protect such offenders. William of

Tyre, in his account of the First Crusade, and probably reading into it

some of the experiences of a later date, says (bk. I. 16), "Many took

the cross to elude their creditors." [307]

If it is hard for us to unite the idea of war and bloodshed with the

achievement of a purely religious purpose, it must be remembered that

no such feeling prevailed in the Middle Ages. The wars of the period of

Joshua and the Judges still formed a stimulating example. Chrysostom,

Augustine, and other Church Fathers of the fifth century lifted up

their voices against the violent destruction of heathen temples which

went on in Egypt and Gaul; but whatever compunction might have been

felt for the wanton slaying of Saracens by Christian armies in an

attitude of aggression, the compunction was not felt when the Saracens

placed themselves in the position of holding the sacred sites of

Palestine.

Bernard of Clairvaux said, pagans must not be slain if they may by

other means be prevented from oppressing the faithful. However, it is

better they should be put to death than that the rod of the wicked

should rest on the lot of the righteous. The righteous fear no sin in

killing the enemy of Christ. Christ's soldier can securely kill and

more safely die. When he dies, it profits him; when he slays, it

profits Christ. The Christian exults in the death of the pagan because

Christ is glorified thereby. But when he himself is killed, he has

reached his goal. [308] f the preaching of the Apostles in that country

and its conquest by the Roman empire. [309]

In answer to the question whether clerics might go to war, Thomas

Aquinas replied in the affirmative when the prize was not worldly gain,

but the defence of the Church or the poor and oppressed. [310]

To other testimonies to the esteem in which the Crusaders were held may

be added the testimony of Matthew Paris. Summing up the events of the

half-century ending with 1250, he says: [311] country to fight

faithfully for Christ. All of these were manifest martyrs, and their

names are inscribed in indelible characters in the book of life." Women

forced their husbands to take the cross. [312] ffered evil consequences

for it. [313] find its last earthly resting-place in Jerusalem.

The Crusades began and ended in France. The French element was the

ruling factor, from Urban II., who was a native of Ch�tillon, near

Rheims, and Peter of Amiens, to St. Louis. [314] of the Crusades are

for the most part written by Frenchmen. Guibert of Nogent and other

chroniclers regard them as especially the work of their countrymen. The

French expression, outre-mer, was used for the goal of the Crusades.

[315] ough all Europe from Hungary to Scotland. Spain alone forms an

exception. She was engaged in a crusade of her own against the Moors;

and the crusades against the Saracens in the Holy Land and the Moors in

Spain were equally commended by an oecumenical council, the First

Lateran (can. 13). The Moors were finally expelled from Granada under

Ferdinand and Isabella, and then, unwearied, Spain entered upon a new

crusade against Jews and heretics at home and the pagan Indians of

Mexico and Peru. In Italy and Rome, where might have been expected the

most zeal in the holy cause, there was but little enthusiasm. [316]

The aim of the Crusades was the conquest of the Holy Land and the

defeat of Islam. Enthusiasm for Christ was the moving impulse, with

which, however, were joined the lower motives of ambition, avarice,

love of adventure, hope of earthly and heavenly reward. The whole

chivalry of Europe, aroused by a pale-faced monk and encouraged by a

Hildebrandian pope, threw itself steel-clad upon the Orient to execute

the vengeance of heaven upon the insults and barbarities of Moslems

heaped upon Christian pilgrims, and to rescue the grave of the Redeemer

of mankind from the grasp of the followers of the False Prophet. The

miraculous aid of heaven frequently intervened to help the Christians

and confound the Saracens. [317]

The Crusaders sought the living among the dead. They mistook the

visible for the invisible, confused the terrestrial and the celestial

Jerusalem, and returned disillusioned. [318] r after ages have learned

through them, that Christ is not there, that He is risen, and ascended

into heaven, where He sits at the head of a spiritual kingdom. They

conquered Jerusalem, 1099, and lost it, 1187; they reconquered, 1229,

and lost again, 1244, the city in which Christ was crucified. False

religions are not to be converted by violence, they can only be

converted by the slow but sure process of moral persuasion. Hatred

kindles hatred, and those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

St. Bernard learned from the failure of the Second Crusade that the

struggle is a better one which is waged against the sinful lusts of the

heart than was the struggle to conquer Jerusalem.

The immediate causes of the Crusades were the ill treatment of pilgrims

visiting Jerusalem and the appeal of the Greek emperor, who was hard

pressed by the Turks. Nor may we forget the feeling of revenge for the

Mohammedans begotten in the resistance offered to their invasions of

Italy and Gaul. [319] 's, and in 846 threatened Rome for the second

time, and a third time under John VIII. The Normans wrested a part of

Sicily from the Saracens at the battle of Cerame, 1063, took Palermo,

1072, Syracuse, 1085, and the rest of Sicily ten years later. A burning

desire took hold of the Christian world to be in possession of --

"those holy fields

Over whose acres walked those blessed feet

Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd

For our advantage on the bitter cross."

Shakespeare.

From an early day Jerusalem was the goal of Christian pilgrimage. The

mother of Constantine, Helena, according to the legend, found the cross

and certainly built the church over the supposed site of the tomb in

which the Lord lay. Jerome spent the last period of his life in

Bethlehem, translating the Scriptures and preparing for eternity. The

effect of such examples was equal to the station and fame of the pious

empress and the Christian scholar. In vain did such Fathers as Gregory

of Nyssa, [320] mphasize the nearness of God to believers wherever they

may be and the failure of those whose hearts are not imbued with His

spirit to find Him even at Jerusalem.

The movement steadily grew. The Holy Land became to the imagination a

land of wonders, filled with the divine presence of Christ. To have

visited it, to have seen Jerusalem, to have bathed in the Jordan, was

for a man to have about him a halo of sanctity. The accounts of

returning pilgrims were listened to in convent and on the street with

open-mouthed curiosity. To surmount the dangers of such a journey in a

pious frame of mind was a means of expiation for sins. [321] e main

route and in Jerusalem.

Other circumstances gave additional impulse to the movement, such as

the hope of securing relics of which Palestine and Constantinople were

the chief storehouses; and the opportunity of starting a profitable

trade in silk, paper, spices, and other products of the East.

These pilgrimages were not seriously interrupted by the Mohammedans

after their conquest of Jerusalem by Omar in 637, until Syria and

Palestine passed into the hands of the sultans of Egypt three centuries

later. Under Hakim, 1010, a fierce persecution broke out against the

Christian residents of Palestine and the pilgrims. It was, however, of

short duration and was followed by a larger stream of pilgrims than

before. The favorite route was through Rome and by the sea, a dangerous

avenue, as it was infested by Saracen pirates. The conversion of the

Hungarians in the tenth century opened up the route along the Danube.

Barons, princes, bishops, monks followed one after the other, some of

them leading large bodies of pious tourists. In 1035 Robert of Normandy

went at the head of a great company of nobles. He found many waiting at

the gates of Jerusalem, unable to pay the gold bezant demanded for

admission, and paid it for them. In 1054 Luitbert, bishop of Cambray,

is said to have led three thousand pilgrims. In 1064 Siegfried,

archbishop of Mainz, was accompanied by the bishops of Utrecht,

Bamberg, and Regensburg and twelve thousand pilgrims. [322] journey. A

sudden check was put upon the pilgrimages by the Seljukian Turks, who

conquered the Holy Land in 1076. A rude and savage tribe, they heaped,

with the intense fanaticism of new converts, all manner of insults and

injuries upon the Christians. Many were imprisoned or sold into

slavery. Those who returned to Europe carried with them a tale of woe

which aroused the religious feelings of all classes.

The other appeal, coming from the Greek emperors, was of less weight.

[323] fast losing its hold on its Asiatic possessions. Romanus Diogenes

was defeated in battle with the Turks and taken prisoner, 1071. During

the rule of his successor, an emir established himself in Nicaea, the

seat of the council called by the first Constantine, and extended his

rule as far as the shores of the sea of Marmora. Alexius Comnenus,

coming to the throne 1081, was less able to resist the advance of Islam

and lost Antioch and Edessa in 1086. Thus pressed by his Asiatic foes,

and seeing the very existence of his throne threatened, he applied for

help to the west. He dwelt, it is true, on the desolations of

Jerusalem; but it is in accordance with his imperial character to

surmise that he was more concerned for the defence of his own empire

than for the honor of religion.

This dual appeal met a response, not only in the religious spirit of

Europe, but in the warlike instincts of chivalry; and when the time

came for the chief figure in Christendom, Urban II., to lift up his

voice, his words acted upon the sensitive emotions as sparks upon dry

leaves. [324]

Three routes were chosen by the Crusaders to reach the Holy Land. The

first was the overland route by way of the Danube, Constantinople, and

Asia Minor. The second, adopted by Philip and Richard in the Third

Crusade, was by the Mediterranean to Acre. The route of the last two

Crusades, under Louis IX., was across the Mediterranean to Egypt, which

was to be made the base of operations from which to reach Jerusalem.

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[296] Gibbon, who treats with scorn the Crusades as a useless

exhibition of religious fanaticism, calls them the "world's debate,"

Ch. LIX.

[297] John Fiske, Discovery of America, I. 318, 419, 505.

[298] The Itinerary of Richard I., giving an account of the Third

Crusade, lays stress upon the good fighting qualities of the prelates

and clergy. It speaks of one priest who was incessantly active against

the enemy, hurling darts from a sling with indefatigable toil, I. 42.

The archbishop of Besan�on superintended the construction of a great

machine for battering down the walls of Acre and met its expense, I.

60. Two hundred knights and three hundred followers served under

archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, old man as he was, and "abbots and

bishops led their own troops, fighting manfully for the faith," I. 62.

[299] De militibus templi, V., Migne, 182, 928.

[300] Roger of Wendover, Luard's ed., M. Paris, III: 35.

[301] Milites Christi, Robert the Monk, VII., Rec., III. 867; Christi

Militia, Guibert, VII., II., Rec., IV. 229. The army was also called

crucifer exercitus, Ekkehard, Rec. V. 16.

[302] The French terms were se croiser, prendre la croix, prendre le

signe de la croix. See, for example, Villehardouin, 2, 8, 18, Wailly's

ed. pp. 3, 7, 13. This historian of the Fourth Crusade also calls the

Crusaders les crois�s, 38, Wailly's ed. p. 24.

[303] Quoniam illi, qui cum pietate catholicae religionis in belli

certamine cadunt, requies eos aeternae vitae suscipiet contra paganos

atque infideles strenue dimicantes, etc., Gottlob, Kreuzablass, 25.

[304] Quicumque pro sola devotione ...ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei

Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni paenitentia reputetur,

Gottlob, 72 sqq.; Mirbt. Quellen, 114.

[305] Gesta, I. 1; Rec., IV. 124.

[306] Lea, Hist. of Inquis., I. 44, says. "Crusaders were released from

earthly as well as heavenly justice by being classed with clerks and

subjected only to spiritual justice."

[307] See Origin of the Temporal Privileges of Crusaders, by Edith C.

Bramball, "Am Jour. of Theol." 1901, pp. 279-292, and Gottlob,

Kreuzablass, pp. 140 sqq.

[308] De militibus templi, II., III., Migne, 182, 923 sq.

[309] This is what Fulcher meant, Rec., III. 323, when he put into

Urban's mouth the words nunc jure contra barbaros pugnent qui olim

fratres dimicabant. Two hundred years later Alvarus Pelagius made the

same argument: quamvis Saraceni Palestinam possident, juste tamen

exinde depelluntur, etc. See Schwab, Joh. Gerson, 26.

[310] Summa, II. (2), 188, 3; Migne, III., 1366 sq.: militare propter

aliquid mundanum est omni religioni contrarium, non autem militare

propter obsequium Dei, etc: He adds that clerics going to war must act

under the command of princes or of the Church, and not at their own

suggestion.

[311] Luard's ed., V. 196.

[312] Baldric of Dol, Hist. Jerus., I. 8; Rec., IV. 17: gaudebant

uxores abeuntibus maritis dilectissimis, etc.

[313] Caesar of Heisterbach, Dial., X. 22, speaks of a woman suffering

with severe pains in childbirth who was delivered with ease, so soon as

she consented to her husband's going on a crusade.

[314] The name Franks became the current designation for Europeans in

the East, and remains so to this day. The crusading enthusiasm did not

fully take hold of Germany till the twelfth century. Hauck,

Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, IV. 80.

[315] The expression was a translation of the Latin ultra mare, used

for the East, and, so far as I know, for the first time by Gregory

VII., Reg. II. 37; Migne, 148, 390.

[316] Gregorovius, IV. 288, says no traces of enthusiasm can be found

in Rome. "Senate and people would probably have laughed in derision had

Urban summoned them to rise in religious enthusiasm to forsake the

ruins of Rome and advance to the rescue of Jerusalem." The Crusades

were a financial detriment to Rome by diverting pilgrimages from the

tombs of the Apostles to the tomb of the Saviour.

[317] Here is one such miracle. At the battle of Ramleh, 1177, there

was a miraculous extension of the cross borne by the bishop of

Bethlehem. It reached to heaven and extended its arms across the whole

horizon. The pagans saw it, were confused, and fled. Hoveden, II. 133

sq.

[318] Hegel, Philosophie der Gesch., 3d ed. 1848, p. 476, brings out

this idea most impressively.

[319] R�hricht, Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges, p. 6, says that in these

struggles "the crusading enthusiasm was born."

[320] See the beautiful testimony of Gregory, who advised a Cappadocian

abbot against going with his monks to Jerusalem, Schaff, Ch. Hist. III.

906.

[321] Fulke the Black, count of Anjou (987-1040), made three journeys

to Jerusalem in penance for sacrilege and other crimes. He had burned

his young wife at the stake dressed in her gayest attire, and caused

his son to crouch at his feet harnessed as an ass. At Jerusalem he

showed his devotion by going about with a halter about his neck. He bit

off a piece of the Lord's tombstone with his teeth and carried back to

Europe objects most sacred and priceless, such as the fingers of

Apostles and the lamp in which the holy fire was lit. Odolric, bishop

of Orleans, gave a pound of gold for the lamp and hung it up in the

church at Orleans, where its virtue cured multitudes of sick people.

[322] Hauck, IV. 79.

[323] Ekkehard, 5, Rec., V. 14, may exaggerate when he speaks of very

frequent letters and embassies from the Greek emperors to the West, per

legationes frequentissimas et epistolas etiam a nobis visas ...

lugubriter inclamanter, etc. The letter of Alexius to Robert of

Flanders, 1088, has been the subject of much inquiry. Hagenmeyer

pronounces it genuine, after a most careful investigation, Epistulae,

etc., 10-44.

[324] Diehl, in Essays on the Crusades, 92, seems even to deny that an

appeal was ever made by the Byzantine emperor Alexius for aid to the

West, and speaks of it as an invention of a later time. Certainly no

criticism could be more unwarranted unless all the testimonies of the

contemporary writers are to be ruthlessly set aside.

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� 49. The Call to the Crusades.

"the romance

Of many colored Life that Fortune pours

Round the Crusaders."

Wordsworth, Ecclesiastical Sonnets.

The call which resulted in the first expedition for the recovery of

Jerusalem was made by Pope Urban II. at the Council of Clermont, 1095.

Its chief popular advocate was Peter the Hermit.

The idea of such a movement was not born at the close of the eleventh

century. Gregory VII., appealed to by Michael VII. of Constantinople,

had, in two encyclicals, 1074, [325] ren like cattle. [326] was able to

announce to Henry IV. that fifty thousand Christian soldiers stood

ready to take up arms and follow him to the East, but Gregory was

prevented from executing his design by his quarrel with the emperor.

There is some evidence that more than half a century earlier Sergius

IV., d. 1012, suggested the idea of an armed expedition against the

Mohammedans who had "defiled Jerusalem and destroyed the church of the

Holy Sepulchre." Earlier still, Sylvester II., d. 1003, may have urged

the same project. [327]

Peter the Hermit, an otherwise unknown monk of Amiens, France, on

returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, spread its tale of woes and

horrors. [328] nst the indignities to which the Christians were

subjected. While asleep in the church of the Holy Sepulchre and after

prayer and fasting, Peter had a dream in which Christ appeared to him

and bade him go and quickly spread the appeal that the holy place might

be purged. [329] sade, and it is altogether likely that many a pilgrim,

looking upon the desolation of Jerusalem, heard within himself the same

call which Peter in imagination or in a real dream heard the Lord

making to him.

Urban listened to Peter's account as he had listened to the accounts of

other returning pilgrims. He had seen citizens of Jerusalem itself with

his own eyes, and exiles from Antioch, bewailing the plight of those

places and begging for alms. [330] [331] proclaimed the same message.

The time for action had come.

At the Council of Piacenza, in the spring of 1095, envoys were present

from the emperor Alexius Comnenus and made addresses, invoking aid

against the advancing Turks. [332] the famous Council of Clermont,

Southern France, was held, which decreed the First Crusade. [333]

ounted fourteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, and four

hundred abbots. Thousands of tents were pitched outside the walls. On

the ninth day, the pope addressed the multitude from a platform erected

in the open air. It was a fortunate moment for Urban, and has been

compared to Christmas Day, 800, when Charlemagne was crowned. [334]

ope. [335]

At Clermont, Urban was on his native soil and probably spoke in the

Proven�al tongue, though we have only Latin reports. When we recall the

general character of the age and the listening throng, with its mingled

feelings of love of adventure and credulous faith, we cannot wonder at

the response made to the impassioned appeals of the head of

Christendom. Urban reminded his hearers that they, as the elect of God,

must carry to their brethren in the East the succor for which they had

so often cried out. The Turks, a "Persian people, an accursed race,"

[336] ke. As the knights loved their souls, so they should fight

against the barbarians who had fought against their brothers and

kindred. [337] land fruitful above all others, a paradise of delights,

awaited them. [338] [339]

A Frenchman himself, Urban appealed to his hearers as Frenchmen,

distinguished above all other nations by remarkable glory in arms,

courage, and bodily prowess. He appealed to the deeds of Charlemagne

and his son Lewis, who had destroyed pagan kingdoms and extended the

territory of the Church.

To this moving appeal the answer came back from the whole throng, "God

will sit, God will sit." [340] en that His help will never fail you, as

the pledge of a vow never to be recalled." [341] n to go, and was

appointed papal legate. The next day envoys came announcing that

Raymund of Toulouse had taken the vow. The spring of 1096 was set for

the expedition to start. Urban discreetly declined to lead the army in

person. [342]

The example set at Clermont was followed by thousands throughout

Europe. Fiery preachers carried Urban's message. The foremost among

them, Peter the Hermit, traversed Southern France to the confines of

Spain and Lorraine and went along the Rhine. Judged by results, he was

one of the most successful of evangelists. His appearance was well

suited to strike the popular imagination. He rode on an ass, his face

emaciated and haggard, his feet bare, a slouched cowl on his head,

[343] a great cross. In stature he was short. [344] [345] [346] [347]

[348] y hairs from his ass' tail to be preserved as relics. A more

potent effect was wrought than mere temporary wonder. Reconciliations

between husbands and wives and persons living out of wedlock were

effected, and peace and concord established where there were feud and

litigation. Large gifts were made to the preacher. None of the other

preachers of the Crusade, Volkmar, Gottschalk, and Emich, [349] esteem

than prelates and abbots. [350] [351]

In a few months large companies were ready to march against the enemies

of the cross.

A new era in European history was begun. [352] ew passion had taken

hold of its people. A new arena of conquest was opened for the warlike

feudal lord, a tempting field of adventure and release for knight and

debtor, an opportunity of freedom for serf and villein. All classes,

lay and clerical, saw in the expedition to the cradle of their faith a

solace for sin, a satisfaction of Christian fancy, a heaven appointed

mission. The struggle of states with the papacy was for the moment at

an end. All Europe was suddenly united in a common and holy cause, of

which the supreme pontiff was beyond dispute the appointed leader.

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[325] Reg., I. 49; II. 37, Migne, 148, 329, 390.

[326] multa millia Christianorum quasi pecudes occidisse, Reg., I. 49

[327] See Jules Lair, �tudes crit. sur divers textes des Xeet

XIesi�cles. Bulle du pape Sergius IV., etc., Paris, 1899. Lair, in

opposition to Riant, Pflugk-Harttung, etc., gives reasons for accepting

as genuine Sergius's letter, found 1857. For Sylvester's letter see

Havet, Lettres de Gerbert, Paris, 1889. R�hricht, Gesch. d. ersten

Kreuzzuges, 8, pronounces Sylvester's letter a forgery, dating from

1095. Lair tries to prove it was written by Sergius IV.

[328] The date of the pilgrimage is not given, but may be accepted as

having fallen between 1092-1094. Peter is called "the Hermit" by all

the accounts, begining with the earliest, the Gesta Francorum. There is

no good ground for doubting that he was from Amiens, as Albert of

Aachen distinctly states. William of Tyre says from the "bishopric of

Amiens." Hagenmeyer, p. 39, accepts the latter as within the truth.

[329] William of Tyre, Bk. I. 12, Rec., I. 35, gives only a few lines

to the visions and the words spoken by the Lord. His account of the

meeting with Urban is equally simple and scarcely less brief. Peter

found, so he writes, "the Lord Pope Urban in the vicinity of Rome and

presented the letters from the patriarch and Christians of Jerusalem

and showed their misery and the abominations which the unclean races

wrought in the holy places. Thus prudently and faithfully he performed

the commission intrusted to him."

[330] At the Council of Clermont Urban made reference to the "very many

reports" which had come of the desolation of Jerusalem, Fulcher, Rec.,

III. 324. Robert the Monk, I. 1, Rec., III. 727, says relatio gravis

saepissime jam ad aures nostras pervenit. According to Baldric he

appealed to the many among his hearers who could vouch for the desolate

condition of the holy places from their own experience, Rec., IV. 14.

See Hagenmeyer, 74-77.

[331] So William of Tyre, Bk. I. 13. Later writers extend the journey

of Peter inordinately.

[332] William of Tyre does not mention this embassy. It may be because

of the low opinion he had of Alexius, whom (II. 5) he pronounces

scheming and perfidious.

[333] There is no statement that the council formally decreed the

Crusade. For the acts we are dependent upon scattered statements of

chroniclers and several other unofficial documents.

[334] Ranke, Weltgeschichte. According to William of Tyre, Peter the

Hermit was present at Clermont. The contemporary writers do not mention

his presence.

[335] Gregorovius, IV. 287, is right when he says, "the Importance of

Urban's speech in universal history outweighs the orations of

Demosthenes and Cicero."

[336] Robert the Monk, I. 1, Rec., III. 727. The contemporary writers,

giving an account of Urban's speech, are Baldric, Guibert, Fulcher, and

Robert the Monk. All of them were present at Clermont. William of Tyre

greatly elaborates the address, and R�hricht calls William's account an

invention which is a masterpiece of its kind,--eine Erdichtung die ein

Meisterst�ck seiner Art, etc., Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges, p. 20.

R�hricht, pp. 235-239, and Munro, "Am. Hist. Rev.," 1906, pp. 231-243,

make interesting attempts to reconstruct Urban's address. The different

accounts are not to be regarded as contradictory, but as supplementary

one of the other. R�hricht, p. 20, expresses the opinion that none of

the accounts of the address is "accurate." No doubt the spirit and

essential contents are preserved. Urban made prominent the appeals for

aid from the East, the desolations of Jerusalem, and the sufferings of

Christians in the East. See Munro.

[337] Fulcher, Rec., III. 324. I follow chiefly the accounts of Fulcher

and Robert. Robert represents the appeals for aid as coming from

Jerusalem and Constantinople.

[338] Robert the Monk, I. 2 Rec., III. 729. The expression "navel of

the earth,"umbilicus terrarum, used by Robert, was a common one for

Jerusalem.

[339] Baldric, Rec., IV. 15, via brevis est, labor permodicus est qui

tamen immarcescibilem vobis rependet coronam. Gregory VII., Reg., II.

37, Migne, 148, 390, had made the same promise, quoting 2 Cor. iv. 17,

that for the toils of a moment the Crusaders would secure an eternal

reward.

[340] Deus vult, Deos lo volt, Diex el volt. These are the different

forms in which the response is reported. For this response in its Latin

form, Robert the Monk is our earliest authority, I. 2, Rec., III. 729.

He says una vociferatio "Deus vult, Deus vult."

[341] In the First Crusade all the crosses were red. Afterwards green

and white colors came into use. Urban himself distributed crosses.

Guibert, II. 5, Rec., IV. 140, and Fulcher, I. 4, state that Urban had

the Crusaders wear the cross as a badge.

[342] Urban's letters, following up his speech at Clermont, are given

by Hagenmeyer, Epistulae, p. 136 sqq.

[343] Petrum more heremi vilissima cappa tegebat, Radulf of Caen. The

above description is taken from strictly contemporary accounts.

[344] The statura brevis of Radulf becomes in William of Tyre's account

pusillus, persona contemptibilis.

[345] I have thus translated Radulf's spiritus acer.

[346] Albert of Aachen: neminem invenerunt qui tam ferocissimo et

superbo loqui auderet quousque Petrus.

[347] So Guibert speaks of the crowds listening to him as tanta

populorum multitudo. Hagenmeyer, p. 114, accepting Guibert's statement,

refers to immense throngs, ungeheure Zahl.

[348] Guibert: quidquid agebat namque seu loquebatur quasi quiddam

subdivinum videbatur.

[349] So Ekkehard, XII., Rec., V. 20 sq. who has something derogatory

to say of all of these preachers and also of Peter's subsequent career.

Quem postea multi hypocritam esse dicebant.

[350] Robert the Monk, I. 5, Rec., III. 731. Super ipsos praesules et

abbates apice religionis efferebatur.

[351] Guibert: neminem meminerim similem honore haberi. Baldric speaks

of him as Petrus quidam magnus heremita, or as we would say, "that

great hermit, Peter."

[352] Hegel, Philosophie der Gesch., p. 444, calls the Crusades "the

culminating point of the Middle Ages." Contemporaries like Guibert of

Nogent, 123, could think of no movement equal in glory with the

Crusades. Ordericus Vitalis, III. 458, praised the union of peoples of

different tongues in a project so praiseworthy.

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� 50. The First Crusade and the Capture of Jerusalem.

"And what if my feet may not tread where He stood,

Nor my ears hear the dashing of Galilee's flood,

Nor my eyes see the cross which He bowed Him to bear,

Nor my knees press Gethsemane's garden of prayer,

Yet, Loved of the Father, Thy Spirit is near

To the meek and the lowly and penitent here;

And the voice of Thy Love is the same even now,

As at Bethany's tomb or on Olivet's brow."

Whittier.

The 15th of August, 1096, the Feast of the Assumption, fixed by the

Council of Clermont for the departure of the Crusaders, was slow in

coming. The excitement was too intense for the people to wait. As early

as March throngs of both sexes and all ages began to gather in Lorraine

and at Treves, and to demand of Peter the Hermit and other leaders to

lead them immediately to Jerusalem. [353] ent forth to make the journey

and to fight the Turk. At the villages along the route the children

cried out, "Is this Jerusalem, is this Jerusalem?" William of

Malmesbury wrote (IV. 2), "The Welshman left his hunting, the Scot his

fellowship with lice, the Dane his drinking party, the Norwegian his

raw fish. Fields were deserted of their husbandmen; whole cities

migrated .... God alone was placed before their eyes."

The unwieldy bands, or swarms, were held together loosely under

enthusiastic but incompetent leaders. The first swarm, comprising from

twelve thousand to twenty thousand under Walter the Penniless, [354]

glers were all that reached Constantinople.

The second swarm, comprising more than forty thousand, was led by the

Hermit himself. There were knights not a few, and among the

ecclesiastics were the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishops of Chur

and Strassburg. On their march through Hungary they were protected by

the Hungarian king; but when they reached the Bulgarian frontier, they

found one continuous track of blood and fire, robbery and massacre,

marking the route of their predecessors. Only a remnant of seven

thousand reached Constantinople, and they in the most pitiful

condition, July, 1096. Here they were well treated by the Emperor

Alexius, who transported them across the Bosphorus to Asia, where they

were to await the arrival of the regular army. But they preferred to

rove, marauding and plundering, through the rich provinces. Finally, a

false rumor that the vanguard had captured Nicaea, the capital of the

Turks in Asia Minor, allured the main body into the plain of Nicaea,

where large numbers were surrounded and massacred by the Turkish

cavalry. Their bones were piled into a ghastly pyramid, the first

monument of the Crusade. Walter fell in the battle; Peter the Hermit

had fled back to Constantinople before the battle began, unable to

control his followers. The defeat of Nicaea no doubt largely destroyed

Peter's reputation. [355]

A third swarm, comprising fifteen thousand, mostly Germans under the

lead of the monk Gottschalk, was massacred by the Hungarians.

Another band, under count Emich of Leiningen, began its career, May,

1096, by massacring and robbing the Jews in Mainz and other cities

along the Rhine. Albert of Aachan, [356] on in Hungary. This band was

probably a part of the swarm, estimated at the incredible number of two

hundred thousand, [357] [358] rsemen, headed by some noblemen, attended

them, and shared the spoils taken from the Jews. [359]

These preliminary expeditions of the first Crusade may have cost three

hundred thousand lives.

The regular army consisted, according to the lowest statements, of more

than three hundred thousand. It proceeded through Europe in sections

which met at Constantinople and Nicaea. Godfrey, starting from lower

Lorraine, had under him thirty thousand men on foot and ten thousand

horse. He proceeded along the Danube and by way of Sofia and

Philipoppolis, Hugh of Vermandois went by way of Rome, where he

received the golden banner, and then, taking ship from Bari to Durazzo,

made a junction with Godfrey in November, 1096, under the walls of

Constantinople. Bohemund, with a splendid following of one hundred

thousand horse and thirty thousand on foot, [360] e Adriatic. Raymund

of Toulouse, accompanied by his countess, Elvira, and the papal legate,

bishop Adhemar, [361] crossed the Alps, received the pope's blessing at

Lucca, and, passing through Rome, transported their men across the

Adriatic from Bari and Brindisi.

Godfrey of Bouillon [362] as a brother of Philip I. of France. Robert

of Normandy was the eldest son of William the Conqueror, and had made

provision for his expedition by pledging Normandy to his brother,

William Rufus, for ten thousand marks silver. Raymund, count of

Toulouse, was a veteran warrior, who had a hundred thousand horse and

foot at his command, and enjoyed a mingled reputation for wealth,

wisdom, pride, and greed. Bohemund, prince of Tarentum, was the son of

Robert Guiscard. His cousin, Tancred, was the model cavalier. Robert,

count of Flanders, was surnamed, "the Sword and Lance of the

Christians." Stephen, count of Chartres, Troyes, and Blois, was the

owner of three hundred and sixty-five castles. These and many other

noblemen constituted the flower of the French, Norman, and Italian

nobility.

The moral hero of the First Crusade is Godfrey of Bouillon, a

descendant of Charlemagne in the female line, but he had no definite

command. He had fought in the war of emperor Henry IV. against the

rebel king, Rudolf of Swabia, whom he slew in the battle of M�lsen,

1080. He had prodigious physical strength. With one blow of his sword

he clove asunder a horseman from head to saddle. He was as pious as he

was brave, and took the cross for the single purpose of rescuing

Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel. He used his prowess and bent

his ancestral pride to the general aim. Contemporary historians call

him a holy monk in military armor and ducal ornament. His purity and

disinterestedness were acknowledged by his rivals.

Tancred, his intimate friend, likewise engaged in the enterprise from

pure motives. He is the poetic hero of the First Crusade, and nearly

approached the standard of "the parfite gentil knyght" of Chaucer. He

distinguished himself at Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Antioch, and was one of the

first to climb the walls of Jerusalem. He died in Antioch, 1112. His

deeds were celebrated by Raoul de Caen and Torquato Tasso. [363]

The emperor Alexius, who had so urgently solicited the aid of Western

Europe, became alarmed when he saw the hosts arriving in his city. They

threatened to bring famine into the land and to disturb the order of

his realm. He had wished to reap the benefit of the Crusade, but now

was alarmed lest he should be overwhelmed by it. His subtle policy and

precautions were felt as an insult by the Western chieftains. In

diplomacy he was more than their match. They expected fair dealing and

they were met by duplicity. He held Hugh of Vermandois in easy custody

till he promised him fealty. Even Godfrey and Tancred, the latter after

delay, made the same pledge. Godfrey declined to receive the emperor's

presents for fear of receiving poison with his munificence.

The Crusaders had their successes. Nicaea was taken June 19, 1097, and

the Turks were routed a few weeks later in a disastrous action at

Dorylaeum in Phrygia, which turned into a more disastrous flight. But a

long year elapsed till they could master Antioch, and still another

year came to an end before Jerusalem yielded to their arms. The success

of the enterprise was retarded and its glory diminished by the selfish

jealousies and alienation of the leaders which culminated in

disgraceful conflicts at Antioch. The hardships and privations of the

way were terrible, almost beyond description. The Crusaders were forced

to eat horse flesh, camels, dogs, and mice, and even worse. [364] [365]

During the siege of Antioch, which had fallen to the Seljuks, 1084, the

ranks were decimated by famine, pestilence, and desertion, among the

deserters being Stephen of Chartres and his followers. Peter the Hermit

and William of Carpentarius were among those who attempted flight, but

were caught in the act of fleeing and severely reprimanded by Bohemund.

[366] usand under Kerboga of Mosul. Their languishing energies were

revived by the miraculous discovery of the holy lance, which pierced

the Saviour's side. This famous instrument was hidden under the altar

of St. Peter's church. The hiding place was revealed in a dream to

Peter Barthelemy, the chaplain of Raymund of Toulouse. [367] he

Crusaders' hands, June 28, 1098. [368] and went on independent

expeditions of conquest. Of those who died at Antioch was Adhemar.

The culmination of the First Crusade was the fall of Jerusalem, July

15, 1099. It was not till the spring following the capture of Antioch,

that the leaders were able to compose their quarrels and the main army

was able again to begin the march. The route was along the coast to

Caesarea and thence southeastward to Ramleh. Jerusalem was reached

early in June. The army was then reduced to twenty thousand fighting

men. [369] In one of his frescos in the museum at Berlin, representing

the six chief epochs in human history, Kaulbach has depicted with great

effect the moment when the Crusaders first caught sight of the Holy

City from the western hills. For the religious imagination it was among

the most picturesque moments in history as it was indeed one of the

most solemn in the history of the Middle Ages. The later narratives may

well have the essence of truth in them, which represent the warriors

falling upon their knees and kissing the sacred earth. Laying aside

their armor, in bare feet and amid tears, penitential prayers, and

chants, they approached the sacred precincts. [370]

A desperate but futile assault was made on the fifth day. Boiling pitch

and oil were used, with showers of stones and other missiles, to keep

the Crusaders at bay. The siege then took the usual course in such

cases. Ladders, scaling towers, and other engines of war were

constructed, but the wood had to be procured at a distance, from

Shechem. The trees around Jerusalem, cut down by Titus twelve centuries

before, had never been replaced. The city was invested on three sides

by Raymund of Toulouse, Godfrey, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and other

chiefs. The suffering due to the summer heat and the lack of water was

intense. The valley and the hills were strewn with dead horses, whose

putrefying carcasses made life in the camp almost unbearable. In vain

did the Crusaders with bare feet, the priests at their head, march in

procession around the walls, hoping to see them fall as the walls of

Jericho had fallen before Joshua. [371]

Friday, the day of the crucifixion, was chosen for the final assault. A

great tower surmounted by a golden cross was dragged alongside of the

walls and the drawbridge let down. At a critical moment, as the later

story went, a soldier of brilliant aspect [372] n on the Mount of

Olives, and Godfrey, encouraging the besiegers, exclaimed: "It is St.

George the martyr. He has come to our help." According to most of the

accounts, Letold of Tournay [373] this crowning feat was three o'clock,

the hour of the Saviour's death.

The scenes of carnage which followed belong to the many dark pages of

Jerusalem's history and showed how, in the quality of mercy, the

crusading knight was far below the ideal of Christian perfection. The

streets were choked with the bodies of the slain. The Jews were burnt

with their synagogues. The greatest slaughter was in the temple

enclosure. With an exaggeration which can hardly be credited, but

without a twinge of regret or a syllable of excuse, it is related that

the blood of the massacred in the temple area reached to the very knees

and bridles of the horses. [374] [375]

Penitential devotions followed easily upon the gory butchery of the

sword. Headed by Godfrey, clad in a suit of white lined, the Crusaders

proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre and offered up prayers

and thanksgivings. William of Tyre relates that Adhemar and others, who

had fallen by the way, were seen showing the path to the holy places.

The devotions over, the work of massacre was renewed. Neither the tears

of women, nor the cries of children, nor the protests of Tancred, who

for the honor of chivalry was concerned to save three hundred, to whom

he had promised protection--none of these availed to soften the

ferocity of the conquerors.

As if to enhance the spectacle of pitiless barbarity, Saracen prisoners

were forced to clear the streets of the dead bodies and blood to save

the city from pestilence. "They wept and transported the dead bodies

out of Jerusalem," is the heartless statement of Robert the Monk. [376]

Such was the piety of the Crusaders. The religion of the Middle Ages

combined self-denying asceticism with heartless cruelty to infidels,

Jews, and heretics. "They cut down with the sword," said William of

Tyre, "every one whom they found in Jerusalem, and spared no one. The

victors were covered with blood from head to foot." In the next breath,

speaking of the devotion of the Crusaders, the archbishop adds, "It was

a most affecting sight which filled the heart with holy joy to see the

people tread the holy places in the fervor of an excellent devotion."

The Crusaders had won the tomb of the Saviour and gazed upon a fragment

of the true cross, which some of the inhabitants were fortunate enough

to have kept concealed during the siege.

Before returning to Europe, Peter the Hermit received the homage of the

Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, who remembered his visit as a

pilgrim and his services in their behalf. This was the closing scene of

his connection with the Crusades. [377] une 29, 1854. He is represented

in the garb of a monk, a rosary at his waist, a cross in his right

hand, preaching the First Crusade.

Urban II. died two weeks after the fall of Jerusalem and before the

tidings of the event had time to reach his ears.

No more favorable moment could have been chosen for the Crusade. The

Seljukian power, which was at its height in the eleventh century, was

broken up into rival dynasties and factions by the death of Molik Shah,

1092. The Crusaders entered as a wedge before the new era of Moslem

conquest and union opened.

Note on the Relation of Peter the Hermit to the First Crusade.

The view of Peter the Hermit, presented in this work, does not accord

with the position taken by most of the modern writers on the Crusades.

It is based on the testimony of Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre,

historians of the First Crusade, and is, that Peter visited Jerusalem

as a pilgrim, conversed with the patriarch Simeon over the desolations

of the city, had a dream in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, returned

to Europe with letters from Simeon which he presented to the pope, and

then preached through Italy and beyond the Alps, and perhaps attended

the Council of Clermont, where, however, he took no prominent part.

The new view is that there occurrences were fictions. It was first set

forth by von Sybel in his work on the First Crusade, in 1841. Sybel's

work, which marks an epoch in the treatment of the Crusades, was

suggested by the lectures of Ranke, 1837. [378] omparison of the

earliest accounts, announced that there is no reliable evidence that

Peter was the immediate instigator of the First Crusade, and that not

to him but to Urban II. alone belongs the honor of having originated

the movement. Peter did not make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, meet Urban,

or preach about the woes of the Holy City prior to the assembling of

the Synod of Clermont.

These views, with some modification, have been advocated by Hagenmeyer

in his careful and scholarly work on Peter the Hermit and in other

writings on the First Crusade. [379] [380] is pilgrimage to Jerusalem,

his visions there, his journey to the pope at Rome, his successful

appeals to Urban to preach a crusade, and Peter's commanding position

as one of the great preachers and leaders of the Crusade, all are found

to be without the least foundation in fact." Dr. Dana C. Munro has

recently declared that the belief that Peter was the instigator of the

First Crusade has long since been abandoned. [381]

It is proper that the reasons should be given in brief which have led

to the retention of the old view in this volume. The author's view

agrees with the judgment expressed by Archer, Story of the Crusades, p.

27, that the account of Albert of Aachen "is no doubt true in the

main."

Albert of Aachen wrote his History of Jerusalem about 1120-1125, [382]

ll read in the Bible, as his quotations show, and travelled in Europe.

He is one of the ablest of the mediaeval historians, and his work is

the monumental history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He was by his

residence thoroughly acquainted with Palestine. It is not unworthy of

mention that William's History represents the "office of the historian

to be not to write what pleases him, but the material which the time

offers," bk. XXIII. From the sixteenth to the twenty-third book he

writes from personal observation. William stands between the credulous

enthusiasm of the first writers on the Crusades and the cold scepticism

of some modern historians.

The new view, setting aside these two witnesses, bases its conclusion

on the strictly contemporary accounts. These are silent about any part

Peter took in the movement leading to the First Crusade prior to the

Council of Clermont. They are: (1) the Gesta Francorum, written by an

unknown writer, who reached Jerusalem with the Crusaders, wrote his

account about 1099, and left the original, or a copy of it, in

Jerusalem. (2) Robert the Monk, who was in Jerusalem, saw a copy of the

Gesta, and copied from it. His work extends to 1099. He was present at

the Council of Clermont. (3) Raymund, canon of Agiles, who accompanied

the Crusaders to Jerusalem. (4) Fulcher of Chartres, who was present at

Clermont, continued the history to 1125, accompanied the Crusaders to

Jerusalem, and had much to do with the discovery of the holy lance. (5)

The priest Tudebodus, who copied from the Gesta before 1111 and added

very little of importance. (6) Ekkehard of Urach, who made a pilgrimage

to Jerusalem, 1101. (7) Radulph of Caen, who in 1107 joined Tancred and

related what he heard from him. (8) Guibert of Nogent, who was present

at Clermont and wrote about 1110. (9) Baldric of Dol, who was at

Clermont and copied from the Gesta in Jerusalem.

Another contemporary, Anna Comnena, b. 1083, is an exception and

reports the activity of Peter prior to the Council of Clermont, and

says he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was not permitted by the

Turks to enter. He then hastened to Europe and preached about the woes

of the city in order to provide a way to visit it again. Hagenmeyer is

constrained by Anna's testimony to concede that Peter actually set

forth on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but did not reach the city.

The silence of nine contemporary writers is certainly very noticeable.

They had the means of knowing the facts. Why, then, do we accept the

later statements of Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre? These are the

considerations.

1. The silence of contemporary writers is not a final argument against

events. Eusebius, the chief historian of the ancient Church, utterly

ignores the Catacombs. Silence, said Dr. Philip Schaff, referring to

the Crusades, "is certainly not conclusive," "Reformed Ch. Rev." 1893,

p. 449. There is nothing in the earlier accounts contradictory to

Peter's activity prior to the Clermont synod. One and another of the

writers omit important events of the First Crusade, but that is not a

sufficient reason for our setting those events aside as fictitious. The

Gesta has no account of Urban's speech at Clermont or reference to it.

Guibert and Fulcher leave out in their reports of Urban's speech all

reference to the appeal from Constantinople. Why does the Gesta pass

over with the slightest notice Peter's breaking away from Germany on

his march to Constantinople? This author's example is followed by

Baldric, Tudebod, Fulcher, and Raymund of Agiles. These writers have

not a word to say about Gottschalk, Volkmar, and Emich. As Hagenmeyer

says, pp. 129, 157, no reason can be assigned for these silences, and

yet the fact of these expeditions and the calamities in Hungary are not

doubted.

2. The accounts of Albert of Aachen and of William of Tyre are simply

told and not at all unreasonable in their essential content. William

definitely makes Peter the precursor of Urban. He was, he said, "of

essential service to our lord the pope, who determined to follow him

without delay across the mountains. He did him the service of a

forerunner and prepared the minds of men in advance so that he might

easily win them for himself." There is no indication in the

archbishop's words of any purpose to disparage Urban's part in

preparing for the Crusade. Urban followed after John the Baptist.

William makes Urban the centre of the assemblage at Clermont and gives

to his address great space, many times the space given to the

experiences of Peter, and all honor is accorded to the pope for the way

in which he did his part, bk. I. 16.

3. Serious difficulties are presented in the theory of the growth of

the legend of Peter's activity. They are these: (1) Albert of Aachen

lived close to the events, and at the most twenty-five years elapsed

between the capture of Jerusalem and his writing. (2) There is nothing

in Peter's conduct during the progress of the Crusade to justify the

growth of an heroic legend around him. The very contrary was the case.

Moreover, neither Albert nor William know anything about Peter before

his pilgrimage. Hagenmeyer has put the case in the proper light when he

says, "Not a single authority suggests that Peter enjoyed any

extraordinary repute before his connection with the Crusade. On the

contrary, every one that mentions his name connects it with the

Crusade," p. 120. (3) It is difficult to understand how the disposition

could arise on the part of any narrator to transfer the credit of being

the author of the Crusade from a pope to a monk, especially such a monk

as Peter turned out to be. In reference to this consideration, Archer,

p. 26, has well said, "There is little in the legend of Peter the

Hermit which may not very well be true, and the story, as it stands, is

more plausible than if we had to assume that tradition had transferred

the credit from a pope to a simple hermit." (4) We may very well

account for Anna Comnena's story of Peter's being turned back by the

Turks by her desire to parry the force of his conversation with the

Greek patriarch Simeon. It was her purpose to disparage the Crusade.

Had she admitted the message of Simeon through Peter to the pope, she

would have conceded a strong argument for the divine approval upon the

movement. As for Anna, she makes mistakes, confusing Peter once with

Adhemar and once with Peter Barthelemy.

(5) All the accounts mention Peter. He is altogether the most prominent

man in stirring up interest in the Crusade subsequent to the council.

Hagenmeyer goes even so far as to account for his success by the

assumption that Peter made telling use of his abortive pilgrimage,

missgl�ckte Pilgerfahrt. As already stated, Peter was listened to by

"in immense throngs;" no one in the memory of the abbot of Nogent had

enjoyed so much honor. "He was held in higher esteem than prelates and

abbots," says Robert the Monk. As if to counteract the impression upon

the reader, these writers emphasize that Peter's influence was over the

rude and lawless masses, and, as Guibert says, that the bands which

followed him were the dregs of France. Now it is difficult to

understand how a monk, before unknown, who had never been in Jerusalem,

and was not at the Council of Clermont, could at once work into his

imagination such vivid pictures of the woe and wails of the Christians

of the East as to attain a foremost pre-eminence as a preacher of the

Crusade.

(6) Good reasons can be given for the omission of Peter's conduct prior

to the Council of Clermont by the earliest writers. The Crusade was a

holy and heroic movement. The writers were interested in magnifying the

part taken by the chivalry of Europe. Some of them were with Peter in

the camp, and they found him heady, fanatical, impracticable, and

worse. He probably was spurned by the counts and princes. Many of the

writers were chaplains of these chieftains, -Raymund, Baldwin, Tancred,

Bohemund. The lawlessness of Peter's bands has been referred to. The

defeat at Nicaea robbed Peter of all glory and position he might

otherwise have had with the main army when it reached Asia. [383] ting

flight, being caught in the act by Tancred and Bohemund. The Gesta

gives a detailed account of this treachery, and Guibert [384]

ypocrite." [385] [386] was held by the princes, after his inglorious

campaign to Constantinople and Nicaea, the early writers had not the

heart to mention his services prior to the council. Far better for the

glory of the cause that those experiences should pass into eternal

forgetfulness.

Why should legend then come to be attached to his memory? Why should

not Adhemar have been chosen for the honor which was put upon this

unknown monk who made so many mistakes and occupied so subordinate a

position in the main crusading army? Why stain the origin of so

glorious a movement by making Peter with his infirmities and ignoble

birth responsible for the inception of the Crusade? It would seem as if

the theory were more probable that the things which led the great

Crusaders to disparage, if not to ridicule, Peter induced the earlier

writers to ignore his meritorious activity prior to the Council of

Clermont. After the lapse of time, when the memory of his follies was

not so fresh, the real services of Peter were again recognized. For

these reasons the older portrait of Peter has been regarded as the true

one in all its essential features.

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[353] For the account of these early expeditions, we are chiefly

dependent upon Albert of Aachen. Guibert makes no distinction of

sections, and has only a cursory notice of the expeditions before the

arrival of Peter in Constantinople.

[354] Sine Pecunia, Sansavoir, Habenichts. These preliminary

expeditions, R�hricht and other historians call Die Z�ge der Bauern,

the campaigns of the peasants.

[355] See Hagenmeyer, 204 sq. Peter apologized to the emperor for the

defeat on the ground of his inability to control his followers, who, he

declared, were unworthy to see Jerusalem. Anna Comnena calls Peter the

"inflated Latin."

[356] I. 26.

[357] Anna Comnena says the Crusaders flowed together from all

directions like rivers. She gives the number of Peter's army as eighty

thousand foot and one hundred thousand horse. Fulcher speaks of the

numbers setting out from the West as "an immense assemblage. The

islands of the sea and the whole earth were moved by God to make

contribution to the host. The sadness was for those who remained

behind, the joy for those who departed."

[358] This is upon the testimony of Albert of Aachen and Guibert. See

R�hricht, Erster Kreuzzug, 240 sq., and references there given.

[359] Mannheimer, Die Judenverfolgungen in Speier, Worms und Mainz im

Jahre 1096, w�hrend des ersten Kreuzzuges, Darmstadt, 1877. Hagenmeyer,

p. 139, clears Peter of Amiens of the shameful glory of initiating this

racial massacre, and properly claims it for count Emich and his mob.

See also R�hricht, Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges, 41-46.

[360] Albert of Aachen, II. 18.

[361] Gibbon calls him "a respectable prelate alike qualified for this

world and the next."

[362] Bouillon, not to be confounded with Boulogne-sur-mer, on the

English Channel, is a town in Belgian Luxemburg, and was formerly the

capital of the lordship of Bouillon, which Godfrey mortgaged to the

bishop of Li�ge in 1095. It has belonged to Belgium since 1831.

[363] Gibbon: "In the accomplished character of Tancred we discover all

the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry, which

inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man far better

than the base philosophy, or the baser religion, of the time."

[364] Fulcher, I. 13, Rec., III. 336.

[365] Raymund of Agiles says Alexius treated the crusading army in such

wise that so "long as ever he lives, the people will curse him and call

him a traitor."

[366] The contemporary authorities represent the reprimand as given to

Carpentarius. As Hagenmeyer suggests, Peter was included and

Carpentarius'name alone mentioned because he was of royal blood.

[367] Among those who helped to dig for the weapon was Raymund of

Agiles. Its authenticity was a matter of dispute, Adhemar being one of

those who doubted. Barthelemy went through the ordeal of fire to prove

the truth of his statements, but died in consequence of the injuries he

suffered.

[368] According to Robert the Monk, IV., Rec., III. 824, a heavenly

sign was granted on the eve of the final attack, a flame burning in the

western sky, ignis de coelo veniens ab occidente. One of the

interesting remains of the crusadal period are two letters written by

Stephen, count of Chartres, to his wife Adele, the one before Nicaea

and the other during the siege of Antioch. They are given in

Hagenmeyer, Epistulae, pp. 138, 149.

[369] The figures are differently given. See Sybel, 412, and R�hricht,

Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges, 183. William of Tyre gives the number as

twenty-one thousand, and the army defending Jerusalem as forty

thousand.

[370] Raymund of Agiles reports that the Crusaders forgot the

exhortation of Peter Barthelemy to make the last part of the journey

barefoot. "They remembered their weariness no more, and hastening their

steps reached the walls amidst tears and praises."

[371] On this occasion Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, afterwards

archbishop of Jerusalem, made addresses on the Mount of Olives to

restore unity among the crusading leaders, especially Tancred and

Raymund. Albert of Aachen, VI. 8, Rec., IV. 471, says, ad populos

sermones ... plurimam discordiam quae inter Peregrinos de diversis

causis excreverat exstinxerunt. Tancred had stirred up much jealousy by

raising his banner over Bethlehem. Hagenmeyer, p. 259, accepts Albert's

account as genuine against Sybel.

[372] Miles splendidus et refulgens.

[373] Guibert, VII. 7, Rec., IV. 226; Robert the Monk, VII., Rec., III.

867.

[374] So Raymund of Agiles, an eyewitness, usque ad genua et usque ad

frenos equorum, XX., Rec, III. 300. This he calls "the righteous

judgment of God."

[375] So the Gesta: tales occisiones de paganorum gente nullus unquam

audivit nec vidit ... nemo scit numerum eorum nisi solus deus. The

slain are variously estimated from forty thousand to one hundred

thousand. Guibert, Gesta, VII. 7, Rec., IV. 227, further says that in

the temple area there was such a sea of blood, sanguinis unda, as

almost to submerge the pedestrian.

[376] IX., Rec., III. 869. Robert gives an awful picture of the streets

filled with dismembered bodies and running with gore.

[377] William of Tyre is the earliest witness to this scene. Leaving

out embellishments, it does not seem to be at all unnatural.

Hagenmeyer, pp. 265-269, calls it the "sheer invention of William's

fancy."

[378] Sybel, Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzugs, p. ii.

[379] Hagenmeyer, Peter der Eremite, p. 102, says, Dem Papste allein

ist der Ruhm zu erhalten den ihm der Einsiedler von Amiens bis auf

unsere Tage zur gr�sseren H�lfte streitig gemacht hat.Also Sybel, p.

243.

[380] Report of the Am. Hist. Association, 1900, p. 504 sq. See also

the very emphatic statements of G. L.. Burr in art. The year 1000 and

the Antecedents of the Crusades in the "Am. Hist. Rev.," April, 1901,

pp. 429-439, and Trans. and Reprints of the Univ. of Pa., 1894, pp. 19

sqq.

[381] The Speech of Urban II. etc., in "Am. Hist. Rev.," 1906, p. 232.

[382] He says he reports what he heard, ex auditu et relatione.

[383] Nach einer solchen Katastrophe war ofenbar auch bei diesen alles

Ansehen f�r ihn dabei, Hagenmeyer, p. 204.

[384] Ut stellae quoque juxta Apocalypsim de coelo cadere viderentur,

Petrus ille, etc.

[385] Ekkehard XIII., Rec., V. 21, says that Peter's cohorts became the

object of derision to the Turks as soon as they reached Asia Minor,

cohortes ...paganis fuerant jam ludibrio factae.

[386] Hagenmeyer, pp. 220 sqq., 243, suggests that at the time of

William's writing such things were no longer told.

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� 51. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 1099-1187.

Literature.--G. T. De Thaumassi�re: Assises et bons usages du royaume

de J�rusalem, etc., Paris, 1690, 1712; Assises de J�rusalem, in Recueil

des Historiens des croisades, 2 vols., Paris, 1841-1843.--Hody:

Godefroy de Bouillon et les rois Latins de J�rus., 2d ed., Paris,

1859.--R�hricht: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, Innsbruck, 1893; Gesch.

des K�nigreichs Jerus. 1100-1291, Innsbruck, 1898.--Lane-Poole: Saladin

and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerus., N. Y., 1898. The first biography

of Saladin in English, written largely from the standpoint of the Arab

historians.--C. R. Conder: The Latin Kingd. of Jerus., London,

1899.--F. K�hn: Gesch. der ersten Patriarchen von Jerus., Leipzig,

1886.--Funk: art. Jerusalem, Christl. K�nigreich, in "Wetzer-Welte,"

VI. p. 1335 sqq.

Eight days after the capture of the Holy City a permanent government

was established, known as the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Godfrey was

elected king, but declined the title of royalty, unwilling to wear a

crown of gold where the Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. [387]

cements. [388]

Godfrey extended his realm, but survived the capture of Jerusalem only

a year, dying July 18, 1100. He was honored and lamented as the most

disinterested and devout among the chieftains of the First Crusade. His

body was laid away in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where his

reputed sword and spurs are still shown. On his tomb was the

inscription:, Here lies Godfrey of Bouillon, who conquered all this

territory for the Christian religion. May his soul be at rest with

Christ." [389]

With the Latin kingdom was established the Latin patriarchate of

Jerusalem. The election of Arnulf, chaplain to Robert of Normandy, was

declared irregular, and Dagobert, or Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, was

elected in his place Christmas Day, 1099. [390] nt of his kingdom as a

fief of the patriarch. After the fall of Jerusalem, in 1187, the

patriarchs lived in Acre. [391]

The constitution and judicial procedure of the new realm were fixed by

the Assizes of Jerusalem. These were deposited under seal in the church

of the Holy Sepulchre and are also called the Letters of the Holy

Sepulchre. [392] salem code.

These statutes reproduced the feudal system of Europe. The conquered

territory was distributed among the barons, who held their possessions

under the king of Jerusalem as overlord. The four chief fiefs were

Jaffa and Ascalon, Kerat, east of the Jordan, Galilee, and Sidon. The

counts of Tripoli and Edessa and the prince of Antioch were independent

of the kingdom of Jerusalem. A system of courts was provided, the

highest being presided over by the king. Trial by combat of arms was

recognized. A second court provided for justice among the burgesses. A

third gave it to the natives. Villeins or slaves were treated as

property according to the discretion of the master, but are also

mentioned as being subject to the courts of law. The slave and the

falcon were estimated as equal in value. Two slaves were held at the

price of a horse and three slaves at the price of twelve oxen. The man

became of age at twenty-five, the woman at twelve. The feudal system in

Europe was a natural product. In Palestine it was an exotic.

The Christian occupation of Palestine did not bring with it a reign of

peace. The kingdom was torn by the bitter intrigues of barons and

ecclesiastics, while it was being constantly threatened from without.

The inner strife was the chief source of weakness. The monks settled

down in swarms over the country, and the Franciscans became the

guardians of the holy places. The illegitimate offspring of the

Crusaders by Moslem women, called pullani, were a degenerate race,

marked by avarice, faithlessness, and debauchery. [393]

Godfrey was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, count of Edessa, who was

crowned at Bethlehem. He was a man of intelligence and the most

vigorous of the kings of Jerusalem. He died of a fever in Egypt, and

his body was laid at the side of his brother's in Jerusalem.

During Baldwin's reign, 1100-1118, the limits of the kingdom were

greatly extended. [394] gurd, son of the king of Norway, who had with

him ten thousand Crusaders. One-third of Asia Minor was reduced, a part

of the territory reverting to the Greek empire. Damascus never fell

into European hands. With the progress of their arms, the Crusaders

reared strong castles from Petra to the far North as well as on the

eastern side of the Jordan. Their ruins attest the firm purpose of

their builders to make their occupation permanent. "We who were

Westerners," said Fulcher of Chartres, "are now Easterners. We have

forgotten our native land." It is proof of the attractiveness of the

cause, if not also of the country, that so many Crusaders sought to

establish themselves there permanently. Many who went to Europe

returned a second time, and kings spent protracted periods in the East.

During Baldwin's reign most of the leaders of the First Crusade died or

returned to Europe. But the ranks were being continually recruited by

fresh expeditions. Pascal II., the successor of Urban II., sent forth a

call for recruits. The Italian cities furnished fleets, and did

important service in conjunction with the land forces. The Venetians,

Pisans, and Genoese established quarters of their own in Jerusalem,

Acre, and other cities. Thousands took the cross in Lombardy, France,

and Germany, and were led by Anselm, archbishop of Milan, Stephen, duke

of Burgundy, William, duke of Aquitaine, Ida of Austria, and others.

Hugh of Vermandois, who had gone to Europe, returned. Bohemund likewise

returned with thirty-four thousand men, and opposed the Greek emperor.

At least two Christian armies attempted to attack Islam in its

stronghold at Bagdad.

Under Baldwin II., 1118-1131, the nephew of Baldwin I., Tyre was taken,

1124. This event marks the apogee of the Crusaders' possessions and

power.

In the reign of Fulke of Anjou, 1131-1143, the husband of Millicent,

Baldwin II.'s daughter, Zengi, surnamed Imaded-din, the Pillar of the

Faith, threatened the very existence of the Frankish kingdom.

Baldwin III., 1143-1162, came to the throne in his youth. [395]

Amalric, or Amaury, 1162-1173, carried his arms and diplomacy into

Egypt, and saw the fall of the Fatimite dynasty which had been in power

for two centuries. The power in the South now became identified with

the splendid and warlike abilities of Saladin, who, with Nureddin,

healed the divisions of the Mohammedans, and compacted their power from

Bagdad to Cairo. Henceforth the kingdom of Jerusalem stood on the

defensive. The schism between the Abassidae and the Fatimites had made

the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 possible.

Baldwin IV., 1173-1184, a boy of thirteen at his accession, was, like

Uzziah, a leper. Among the regents who conducted the affairs of the

kingdom during his reign was the duke of Montferrat, who married

Sybilla, the king's sister. In 1174 Saladin, by the death of Nureddin,

became caliph of the whole realm from Damascus to the Nile, and started

on the path of God, the conquest of Jerusalem.

Baldwin V., 1184-1186, a child of five, and son of Sybilla, was

succeeded by Guy of Lusignan, Sybilla's second husband. Saladin met Guy

and the Crusaders at the village of Hattin, on the hill above Tiberius,

where tradition has placed the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount. The

Templars and Hospitallers were there in force, and the true cross was

carried by the bishop of Acre, clad in armor. On July 5, 1187, the

decisive battle was fought. The Crusaders were completely routed, and

thirty thousand are said to have perished. Guy of Lusignan, the masters

of the Temple [396] he enemy. Reginald was struck to death in Saladin's

tent, but the king and the other captives were treated with clemency.

[397]

On Oct. 2, 1187, Saladin entered Jerusalem after it had made a brave

resistance. The conditions of surrender were most creditable to the

chivalry of the great commander. There were no scenes of savage

butchery such as followed the entry of the Crusaders ninety years

before. The inhabitants were given their liberty for the payment of

money, and for forty days the procession of the departing continued.

The relics stored away in the church of the Holy Sepulchre were

delivered up by the conqueror for the sum of fifty thousand bezants,

paid by Richard I. [398]

Thus ended the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Since then the worship of

Islam has continued on Mount Moriah without interruption. The Christian

conquests were in constant danger through the interminable feuds of the

Crusaders themselves, and, in spite of the constant flow of recruits

and treasure from Europe, they fell easily before the unifying

leadership of Saladin.

After 1187 a line of nominal kings of Jerusalem presented a romantic

picture in European affairs. The last real king, Guy of Lusignan, was

released, and resumed his kingly pretension without a capital city.

Conrad of Montferrat, who had married Isabella, daughter of Amalric,

was granted the right of succession. He was murdered before reaching

the throne, and Henry of Champagne became king of Jerusalem on Guy's

accession to the crown of Cyprus. In 1197 the two crowns of Cyprus and

Jerusalem were united in Amalric II. At his death the crown passed to

Mary, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat. Mary's husband was John of

Brienne. At the marriage of their daughter, Iolanthe, to the emperor

Frederick II., that sovereign assumed the title, King of Jerusalem.

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[387] The official title of the kings was rex Latinorum in Hierusalem.

In rejecting the crown, says William of Tyre, "Godfrey did so as a

believing prince. He was the best of kings, the light and mirror of all

others,"lumen et speculum, IX. 9, Rec., I. 377. The clergy had dreamed

of the complete subjection of the civil government of Jerusalem to the

spiritual government under the patriarch. The first patriarch not only

secured for his jurisdiction one-fourth of Jerusalem and Jaffa, but the

promise from Godfrey of the whole of both cities, provided Godfrey was

successful in taking Cairo or some other large hostile city, or should

die without male heirs. See R�hricht, Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges, p.

218.

[388] See Dagobert's appeal in Hagenmeyer, Epistulae, 176 sq., 412 sqq.

He speaks of "Jerusalem as the most excellent of all places for

sanctity," and says that "for this reason it was oppressed by the

pagans and infidels." Fulcher, writing of the year 1100, declares that

there were only three hundred knights and as many footmen left for the

defence of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Ramleh. See quotation in Hagenmeyer,

415.

[389] Hic jacet inclitus dux Godefridus de Bouillon qui totam sitam

terram acquisivit cultui christiano, cujus anima regnet cum Christo.

[390] According to Raymund of Agiles, Arnulf was a man of loose life

and his amours subjects of camp songs.

[391] From the fall of Acre, 1291 to 1848, the patriarchs, with two

exceptions, lived in Rome. In 1848 Valerga, appointed patriarch by Pius

IX., took up his residence in Jerusalem.

[392] Wilken devotes a long treatment to the subject, I. pp. 307-424.

[393] Fulani, "anybodies." The designation fulan ibn fulan, "so and so,

the son of so and so," is a most opprobrious mode of address among the

Arabs.

[394] The following mode of reducing a tribe of robbers is

characteristic. The robbers took refuge in a cave. Baldwin resorted to

smoking them out. Two emerged; Baldwin spoke kindly to them, dressed

one up and sent him back with fair promises, while he put the other to

death. Ten others emerged. One was sent back and the other nine put to

death. The same method was employed till two hundred and thirty had

been induced to come forth and were put to death. The fires were then

started again till all came forth and met the same fate.

[395] From this point William of Tyre writes as an eye-witness, XVI.

sqq.

[396] According to the letter of Terricius, Master of the Temple, two

hundred and ninety Templars perished, and the Saracens covered the

whole land from Tyre to Gaza like swarms of ants. Richard of Hoveden,

an. 1187, says the Templars fought like lions.

[397] Saladin offered a glass of water to Guy. When Guy handed It to

Reginald, Saladin exclaimed, "I did not order that. You gave it," and

at once despatched Reginald by his own hand, or through a servant.

Reginald had plundered a caravan in which Saladin's sister was

travelling. Lane-Poole, Saladin, p. 215.

[398] The bezant was worth three dollars.

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� 52. The Fall of Edessa and the Second Crusade.

Literature.--Odo of Deuil (near Paris), chaplain of Louis VII.: De

profectione Ludovici VII. in Orientem 1147-1149 in Migne, 185,

translated by Guizot: Collection, XXIV. pp. 279-384.--Otto of Freising,

d. 1158, half brother of Konrad III. and uncle of Fred. Barbarossa:

Chronicon, bk. VII., translated in Pertz-Wattenbach, Geschichtschreiber

der Deutschen Vorzeit, Leipzig, 1881. Otto accompanied the

Crusade.--Kugler: Gesch. des 2ten Kreuzzuges, Stuttgart, 1866.--The De

consideratione and De militibus Christi of Bernard and the Biographies

of Bernard by Neander, ed. by Deutsch, II. 81-116; Morison, Pp.

366-400; Storrs, p. 416 sqq.; Vacandard, II. 270-318, 431 sqq. F.

Marion Crawford has written a novel on this Crusade: Via Crucis, a

Story of the Second Crusade, N. Y., 1899.

The Second Crusade was led by two sovereigns, the emperor Konrad III.

and Louis VII. of France, and owed its origin to the profound

impression made in Europe by the fall of Edessa and the zealous

eloquence of St. Bernard. Edessa, the outer citadel of the Crusader's

conquests, fell, December, 1144. Jocelyn II., whose father, Jocelyn I.,

succeeded Baldwin as proprietor of Edessa, was a weak and

pleasure-loving prince. The besiegers built a fire in a breach in the

wall, a piece of which, a hundred yards long, cracked with the flames

and fell. An appalling massacre followed the inrush of the Turks, under

Zengi, whom the Christians called the Sanguinary. [399]

Eugenius III. rightly regarded Zengi's victory as a threat to the

continuance of the Franks in Palestine, and called upon the king of

France to march to their relief. The forgiveness of all sins and life

eternal were promised to all embarking on the enterprise who should die

confessing their sins. [400] preach the crusade. Bernard, the most

conspicuous personage of his age, was in the zenith of his fame. He

regarded the summons as a call from God, [401]

At Easter tide, 1146, Louis, who had before, in remorse for his burning

the church at Vitry with thirteen hundred persons, promised to go on a

crusade, assembled a great council at V�zelai. Bernard was present and

made such an overpowering impression by his address that the bearers

pressed forward to receive crosses. He himself was obliged to out his

robe to pieces to meet the demand. [402] es. One man could hardly be

found for seven women, and the women were being everywhere widowed

while their husbands were still alive."

From France Bernard proceeded to Basel and Constance and the cities

along the Rhine, as far as Cologne. As in the case of the First

Crusade, a persecution was started against the Jews on the Rhine by a

monk, Radulph. Bernard firmly set himself against the fanaticism and

wrote that the Church should attempt to gain the Jews by discussion,

and not destroy them by the sword.

Thousands flocked to hear the fervent preacher, who added miraculous

healings to the impression of his eloquence. The emperor Konrad himself

was deeply moved and won. During Christmas week at Spires, Bernard

preached before him an impassionate discourse. "What is there, O man,"

he represented Christ as saying, seated in judgment upon the imperial

hearer at the last day,--"What is there which I ought to have done for

thee and have not done?" He contrasted the physical prowess, [403] he

emperor with the favor of the supreme judge of human actions. Bursting

into tears, the emperor exclaimed: "I shall henceforth not be found

ungrateful to God's mercy. I am ready to serve Him, seeing I am

admonished by Him." Of all his miracles Bernard esteemed the emperor's

decision the chief one.

Konrad at once prepared for the expedition. Seventy thousand armed men,

seven thousand of whom were knights, assembled at Regensburg, and

proceeded through Hungary to the Bosphorus, meeting with a poor

reception along the route. The Greek emperor Manuel and Konrad were

brothers-in-law, having married sisters, but this tie was no protection

to the Germans. Guides, provided by Manuel, "children of Belial" as

William of Tyre calls them, treacherously led them astray in the

Cappadocian mountains. [404]

Louis received the oriflamme from Eugenius's own hands at St. Denis,

Easter, 1147, and followed the same route taken by Konrad. His queen,

Eleanor, famed for her beauty, and many ladies of the court accompanied

the army. The two sovereigns met at Nicaea and proceeded together to

Ephesus. Konrad returned to Constantinople by ship, and Louis, after

reaching Attalia, left the body of his army to proceed by land, and

sailed to Antioch.

At Antioch, Eleanor laid herself open to the serious charge of levity,

if not to infidelity to her marriage vow. She and the king afterward

publicly separated at Jerusalem, and later were divorced by the pope.

Eleanor was then joined to Henry of Anjou, and later became the queen

of Henry II. of England. Konrad, who reached Acre by ship from

Constantinople, met Louis at Jerusalem, and in company with Baldwin

III. the two sovereigns from the West offered their devotions in the

church of the Holy Sepulchre. At a council of the three held under the

walls of Acre, [405] e distant Edessa. The route was by way of Lake

Tiberias and over the Hermon. The siege ended in complete failure,

owing to the disgraceful quarrels between the camps and the leaders,

and the claim of Thierry, count of Flanders, who had been in the East

twice before, to the city as his own. Konrad started back for Germany,

September, 1148. Louis, after spending the winter in Jerusalem, broke

away the following spring. Bernard felt the humiliation of the failure

keenly, and apologized for it by ascribing it to the judgment of God

for the sins of the Crusaders and of the Christian world. "The

judgments of the Lord are just," he wrote, "but this one is an abyss so

deep that I dare to pronounce him blessed who is not scandalized by

it." [406] he was responsible for the expedition, Bernard exclaimed,

"Was Moses to blame, in the wilderness, who promised to lead the

children of Israel to the Promised Land? Was it not rather the sins of

the people which interrupted the progress of their journey?"

Edessa remained lost to the Crusaders, and Damascus never fell into

their power.

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[399] See Otto of Freising, VII. 30.

[400] Gottlob, Kreuzablass, 106 sqq. Eugenius quoted Urban II's decree

of indulgence at Clermont.

[401] De consideratione, II. 1, Reinkens'translation, pp. 31-37. In

this chapter of his famous tract, Bernard explains and justifies his

course in the Crusade.

[402] Odo, I. 1, caeperunt undique conclamando cruces expetere ...

coactus est vestes suas in cruces scindere et seminare.

[403] As a proof of Konrad's strength, William of Tyre, XVII. 4,

relates that at the siege of Damascus he hewed a man clad in armor

through head, neck, and shoulder to the armpit with one stroke of his

blade.

[404] Bk. XVI. 20. William suggests that Manuel's jealousy was aroused

because Konrad asserted the title, king of the Romans. Diehl, Essays on

the Crusades, p. 107, doubts the statement that Manuel's guides

intentionally misled and betrayed the Germans. He, however,

acknowledges that Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor "fleeced or starved

the Latins."

[405] William of Tyre, XVII., gives a list of the distinguished

personages present, Bishop Otto of Freising, the emperor's brother,

being among them.

[406] De consideratione, II. 1.

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� 53. The Third Crusade. 1189-1192.

For Richard I.: Itinerarium perigrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi, ed. by

Stubbs, London, 1864, Rolls Series, formerly ascribed to Geoffrey de

Vinsauf, but, since Stubbs, to Richard de Templo or left anonymous.

Trans. in Chronicles of the Crusades, Bohn's Libr., 1870. The author

accompanied the Crusade.--De Hoveden, ed. by Stubbs, 4 vols., London,

1868-1871; Engl. trans. by Riley, vol. II. pp. 63-270.--Giraldus

Cambrensis: Itinerarium Cambriae, ed. by Brewer and Dimock, London, 7

vols. 1861-1877, vol. VI., trans. by R. C. Hoare, London,

1806.--Richard De Devizes: Chronicon de rebus gestis Ricardi, etc.,

London, 1838, trans. in Bohn's Chron. of the Crusades.--Roger

Wendover.--De Joinville: Crusade of St. Louis, trans. in Chron. of the

Crus.

For full list of authorities on Richard see art. Richard by Archer in

Dict. of Vat. Biog. -- G. P. R. James: Hist. of the Life of B. Coeur de

Lion, new ed. 2 vols. London, 1854. --T. A. Archer: The Crusade of

Richard I., being a collation of Richard de Devizes, etc., London,

1868.--Gruhn: Der Kreuzzug Richard I., Berlin, 1892.

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Frid., 1187-1196, ed. by Jos. Dobrowsky, Prague, 1827.--For other

sources, see Wattenbach: Deutsche Geschichtsquellen, II. 303 sqq., and

Potthast: Bibl. Hist., II. 1014, 1045, etc.--Karl Fischer: Gesch. des

Kreuzzugs Fried. I., Leipzig, 1870.--H. Prutz: Kaiser Fried. I., 3

vols. Dantzig, 1871-1873.--Von Raumer: Gesch. der Hohenstaufen, vol.

II. 5th ed. Leipzig, 1878.--Giesebrecht: Deutsche Kaiserzeit, vol. V.

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best Arabic Life, in the Recueil, Histt. Orientaux, etc., III., 1884,

and in Palestine, Pilgrim's Text Soc., ed. by Sir C. W. Wilson, London,

1897.--Marin: Hist. de Saladin, sulthan d'�gypte et de Syrie, Paris,

1758.--Lane-Poole: Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem, New York, 1898, a

full list and an estimate of Arab authorities are given, pp. iii-xvi.

See also the general Histories of the Crusades and Ranke: Weltgesch.,

VIII.

The Third Crusade was undertaken to regain Jerusalem, which had been

lost to Saladin, 1187. It enjoys the distinction of having had for its

leaders the three most powerful princess of Western Europe, the emperor

Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, king of France, and the English

king Richard I., surnamed Coeur de Lion, or the Lion-hearted. [407] in

romance than any of the other Crusades, from the songs of the mediaeval

minstrels to Lessing in his Nathan the Wise and Walter Scott in

Talisman. But in spite of the splendid armaments, the expedition was

almost a complete failure.

On the news of Saladin's victories, Urban III. is alleged to have died

of grief. [408] n readiness for a new expedition. A hundred years had

elapsed since the First Crusade, and its leaders were already invested

with a halo of romance and glory. The aged Gregory VIII., whose reign

lasted less than two months, 1187, spent his expiring breath in an

appeal to the princes to desist from their feuds. Under the influence

of William, archbishop of Tyre, and the archbishop of Rouen, Philip

Augustus of France and Henry II. of England laid aside their quarrels

and took the cross. At Henry's death his son Richard, then thirty-two

years of age, set about with impassioned zeal to make preparations for

the Crusade. The treasure which Henry had left, Richard augmented by

sums secured from the sale of castles and bishoprics. [409] sed William

of Scotland from homage, and he would have sold London itself, so he

said, if a purchaser rich enough had offered himself. [410] d the

expedition. [411]

Richard and Philip met at V�zelai. Among the great lords who joined

them were Hugh, duke of Burgundy, Henry II., count of Champagne, and

Philip of Flanders. As a badge for himself and his men, the French king

chose a red cross, Richard a white cross, and the duke of Flanders a

green cross.

In the meantime Frederick Barbarossa, who was on the verge of seventy,

had reached the Bosphorus. Mindful of his experiences with Konrad III.,

whom he accompanied on the Second Crusade, he avoided the mixed

character of Konrad's army by admitting to the ranks only those who

were physically strong and had at least three marks. The army numbered

one hundred thousand, of whom fifty thousand sat in the saddle.

Frederick of Swabia accompanied his father, the emperor.

Setting forth from Ratisbon in May, 1189, the German army had proceeded

by way of Hungary to Constantinople. The Greek emperor, Isaac Angelus,

far from regarding the Crusaders' approach with favor, threw

Barbarossa's commissioners into prison and made a treaty with Saladin.

[412] unity was afforded Frederick of uniting the East and West once

more under a single sceptre. Wallachians and Servians promised him

their support if he would dethrone Isaac and take the crown. But though

there was provocation enough, Frederick refused to turn aside from his

purpose, the reconquest of Jerusalem, [413] adnus river into which he

had plunged to cool himself. [414] the mighty monarch, and far removed

from those of his great predecessor, Charlemagne at Aachen! Scarcely

ever has a life so eminent had such a tragic and deplored ending. In

right imperial fashion, Frederick had sent messengers ahead, calling

upon Saladin to abandon Jerusalem and deliver up the true cross. With a

demoralized contingent, Frederick of Swabia reached the walls of Acre,

where he soon after became a victim of the plague, October, 1190.

Philip and Richard reached the Holy Land by the Mediterranean. They

sailed for Sicily, 1190, Philip from Genoa, Richard from Marseilles.

Richard found employment on the island in asserting the rights of his

sister Joan, widow of William II. of Sicily, who had been robbed of her

dower by William's illegitimate son, Tancred. "Quicker than priest can

chant matins did King Richard take Messina." [415] ent was one that

only knights and the clergy were to be allowed to play games for money,

and the amount staked on any one day was not to exceed twenty

shillings.

Leaving Sicily, [416] nd as a punishment for the ill treatment of

pilgrims and the stranding of his vessels, he wrested the kingdom in a

three weeks' campaign from Isaac Comnenus. The English at their

occupation of Cyprus, 1878, might well have recalled Richard's

conquest. On the island, Richard's nuptials were consummated with

Berengaria of Navarre, whom he preferred to Philip's sister Alice, to

whom he had been betrothed. In June he reached Acre. "For joy at his

coming," says Baha-ed-din, the Arab historian, "the Franks broke forth

in rejoicing, and lit fires in their camps all night through. The hosts

of the Mussulmans were filled with fear and dread." [417]

Acre, or Ptolemais, under Mount Carmel, had become the metropolis of

the Crusaders, as it was the key to the Holy Land. Christendom had few

capitals so gay in its fashions and thronged with such diverse types of

nationality. Merchants were there from the great commercial marts of

Europe. The houses, placed among gardens, were rich with painted glass.

The Hospitallers and Templars had extensive establishments.

Against Acre, Guy of Lusignan had been laying siege for two years.

Released by Saladin upon condition of renouncing all claim to his crown

and going beyond the seas, he had secured easy absolution from the

priest from this solemn oath. Baldwin of Canterbury, Hubert Walter,

bishop of Salisbury, and the justiciar Ranulf of Glanvill had arrived

on the scene before Richard. "We found our army," wrote the

archbishop's chaplain, [418] ease and lust, rather than encouraging

virtue. The Lord is not in the camp. Neither chastity, solemnity,

faith, nor charity are there--a state of things which, I call God to

witness, I would not have believed if I had not seen it with my own

eyes."

Saladin was watching the besiegers and protecting the garrison. The

horrors of the siege made it one of the memorable sieges of the Middle

Ages. [419] [420] truggle was participated in by women as well as the

men. Some Crusaders apostatized to get the means for prolonging life.

[421] to surrender, July, 1191. By the terms of the capitulation the

city's stores, two hundred thousand pieces of gold, fifteen hundred

prisoners, and the true cross were to pass into the hands of the

Crusaders.

The advance upon Jerusalem was delayed by rivalries between the armies

and their leaders. Richard's prowess, large means, and personal

popularity threw Philip into the shade, and he was soon on his way back

to France, leaving the duke of Burgundy as leader of the French. The

French and Germans also quarrelled. [422] ne, the nephew of both

Richard and Philip Augustus, as king of Jerusalem.

A dark blot rests upon Richard's memory for the murder in cold blood of

twenty-seven hundred prisoners in the full sight of Saladin's troops

and as a punishment for the non-payment of the ransom money. The

massacre, a few days before, of Christian captives, if it really

occurred, in part explains but cannot condone the crime. [423]

Jaffa and Ascalon became the next points of the Crusaders' attack, the

operations being drawn out to a wearisome length. Richard's feats of

physical strength and martial skill are vouched for by eye-witnesses,

who speak of him as cutting swathes through the enemy with his sword

and mowing them down, "as the reapers mow down the corn with their

sickles." So mighty was his strength that, when a Turkish admiral rode

at him in full charge, Richard severed his neck and one shoulder by a

single blow. But the king's dauntless though coarse courage was not

joined to the gifts of a leader fit for such a campaign. [424] ame up

to corrupt the army, while day after day "its manifold sins,

drunkenness, and luxury increased." Once and perhaps twice Richard came

so near the Holy City that he might have looked down into it had he so

chosen. [425] r passed through its gates, and after a signal victory at

Joppa he closed his military achievements in Palestine. A treaty,

concluded with Saladin, assured to the Christians for three years the

coast from Tyre to Joppa, and protection to pilgrims in Jerusalem and

on their way to the city. In October, 1192, the king, called back by

the perfidy of his brother John, set sail from Acre amid the laments of

those who remained behind, but not until he had sent word to Saladin

that he intended to return to renew the contest.

The exploits of the English king won even the admiration of the Arabs,

whose historian reports how he rode up and down in front of the Saracen

army defying them, and not a man dared to touch him. Presents passed

between him and Saladin. [426] ho accompanied the Third Crusade

ascribes to him the valor of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, the

prudence of Odysseus, the eloquence of Nestor, and equality with

Alexander. French writers of the thirteenth century tell how Saracen

mothers, long after Richard had returned to England, used to frighten

their children into obedience or silence by the spell of his name, so

great was the dread he had inspired. Destitute of the pious traits of

Godfrey and Louis IX., Richard nevertheless stands, by his valor,

muscular strength, and generous mind, in the very front rank of

conspicuous Crusaders.

On his way back to England he was seized by Leopold, duke of Austria,

whose enmity he had incurred before Joppa. The duke turned his captive

over to the emperor, Henry VI., who had a grudge to settle growing out

of Sicilian matters. Richard was released only on the humiliating terms

of paying an enormous ransom and consenting to hold his kingdom as a

fief of the empire. Saladin died March 4, 1193, by far the most famous

of the foes of the Crusaders. Christendom has joined with Arab writers

in praise of his chivalric courage, culture, and magnanimity. [427]

three churches of the Holy Sepulchre, Nazareth, and Bethlehem? [428]

The recapture of Acre and the grant of protection to the pilgrims on

their way to Jerusalem were paltry achievements in view of the loss of

life, the long months spent in making ready for the Crusade, the

expenditure of money, and the combination of the great nations of

Europe. In this case, as in the other Crusades, it was not so much the

Saracens, or even the splendid abilities of Saladin, which defeated the

Crusaders, but their feuds among themselves. Never again did so large

an army from the West contend for the cross on Syrian soil.

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[407] The story of Richard's seizing a lion and tearing out its

throbbing heart was a subject of English romance in the fourteenth

century and probably of French romance in the thirteenth century.

[408] It required at least fifteen days for a ship to go from Acre to

Marseilles, and about the same time for news to reach Rome from

Jerusalem. The indulgences offered to Crusaders by Alexander III., on

the news of Saladin's conquests in Egypt and his defeat of the

Christians at Banias, 1181, are quoted by Gottlob, 119 sq. Alexander

appealed to the examples of Urban II, and Eugenius III.

[409] He sold the archbishopric of York for 3,000 pounds. Henry is

reported to have left 900,000 pounds in gold and silver. Rog. of

Wendover, an. 1180.

[410] Richard of Devizes, X.

[411] Giraldus Cambrensis accompanied the archbishop and gathered the

materials for his itinerary on the way.

[412] Frederick announced his expedition in a letter to Saladin, in

which he enumerated the tribes that were to take part in it, from the

"tall Bavarian" to the sailors of Venice and Pisa. See Itin. reg.

Ricardi de Hoveden, etc.

[413] Ranke, VIII. 246 sqq., spicily speculates upon the possible

consequences of Isaac's dethronement, and, as a German, regrets that

Frederick did not take the prize, Es war ein Moment das nicht so leicht

wieder kommen konnte.

[414] Another account by one who accompanied the expedition was that in

his impatience to proceed, Barbarossa strove to swim the river and was

drowned. Ranke, VIII. 249, regards the view taken in the text as the

better one.

[415] Itinerary, III. 16.

[416] Richard's fleet, when he sailed from Messina, consisted of one

hundred and fifty large ships and fifty-three galleys.

[417] The Itinerary, III. 2, says Richard's arrival was welcomed with

transports of joy, shoutings, and blowing of trumpets. He was taken

ashore as if the desired of all nations had come, and the night was

made so bright with wax torches and flaming lights "that it seemed to

be usurped by the brightness of the day, and the Turks thought the

whole valley was on fire." Richard of Devizes, LXIII., says, "The

besiegers received Richard with as much joy as if it had been Christ

who had come again."

[418] The Itinerary, I., 66, says Baldwin was made sick unto death when

he saw "the army altogether dissolute and given up to drinking, women,

and dice."

[419] The loss before Acre was very heavy. The Itinerary gives a list

of 6 archbishops, 12 bishops, 40 counts, and 500 knights who lost their

lives. IV. 6. De Hoveden also gives a formidable list, in which are

included the names of the dukes of Swabia, Flanders, and Burgundy, the

archbishops of Besan�on, Arles, Montreal, etc. Baldwin died Nov. 19,

1190. The Itinerary compares the siege of Acre to the siege of Troy,

and says. (I. 32) "it would certainly obtain eternal fame as a city for

which the whole world contended."

[420] The Itinerary and other documents make frequent reference to its

deadly use. Among the machines used on both sides were the petrariae,

which hurled stones, and mangonels used for hurling stones and other

missiles. Itinerary, III. 7, etc. One of the grappling machines was

called a "cat." The battering ram was also used, and the sow, a

covering under which the assailants made their approach to the walls.

King Richard was an expert in the use of the arbalest, or cross-bow.

[421] The price of a loaf of bread rose from a penny to 40 shillings,

and a horseload of corn was sold for 60 marks. De Hoveden, etc. Horse

flesh was greedily eaten, even to the intestines, which were sold for

10 sols. Even grass was sought after to appease hunger. A vivid

description of the pitiful sufferings from famine is given in the

Itinerary, I. 67-83.

[422] Itinerary, I. 44.

[423] This pretext is upon the sole authority of de Hoveden, an. 1191.

He says, however, that Saladin did not execute the Christian captives

until Richard had declined to withdraw his threat and to give more time

for the payment of the ransom money and the delivery of the true cross.

Archer, Hist. of the Crusades, p. 331, thinks that Baba-ed-din's

account implies Saladin's massacre; but Lane-Poole, Life of Saladin, p.

307, is of the contrary opinion. The Itinerary, IV. 4, states that

Richard's followers, leapt forward to fulfil his commands, thankful to

the divine grace for the permission to take such vengeance for the

Christians whom the captives had slain with bolts and arrows."It has

nothing to say of a massacre by Saladin. Lane-Poole, carried away by

admiration for Saladin, takes occasion at this point to say that " in

the struggle of the Crusades the virtues of civilization, magnanimity,

toleration, real chivalry, and gentle culture were an on the side of

the Saracens."The duke of Burgundy was party to the massacre of the

Turkish captives.

[424] Itinerary, VI. 23. Here is a description of one of Richard's

frequent frays as given in the Itinerary, VI. 4: "Richard was

conspicuous above all the rest by his royal bearing. He was mounted on

a tall charger and charged the enemy singly. His ashen lance was

shivered by his repeated blows; but instantly drawing his sword, he

pressed upon the fugitive Turks and mowed them down, sweeping away the

hindmost and subduing the foremost. Thus he thundered on, cutting and

hewing. No kind of armor could resist his blows, for the edge of his

sword cut open the heads from the top to the teeth. Thus waving his

sword to and fro, he scared away the routed Turks as a wolf when he

pursues the flying sheep."

[425] De Joinville, Life of St. Louis , an. 1253, says no doubt with

the truth that Richard would have taken Jerusalem but for the envy and

treachery of the Duke of Burgundy. He repeats the saying of Richard,

which is almost too good not to be true. When an officer said, "Sire,

come here and I will show you Jerusalem," the king throwing down his

arms and looking up to heaven exclaimed, "I pray thee, O Lord God, that

I may never look on the Holy City until I can deliver it from thy

enemies." The Itinerary has nothing to say on the subject. Richard of

Devizes, XC., states that Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, after his

pilgrimage to Jerusalem, urged the king to go in as a pilgrim, but that

"the worthy indignation of his noble mind would not consent to receive

from the courtesy of the Gentiles what he could not obtain by the gift

of God."

[426] Baha-ed-din, as quoted by Lane-Poole, p. 354. De Hoveden speaks

of fruits, the Itinerary of horses. Later story ascribes to Saladin a

yearly grant of one thousand bezants of gold to the Knights of St. John

at Acre. In order to test the charity of the knights, the sultan had

gone to the hospital in disguise and found the reports of their

merciful treatment well founded. Of this and of the story of his

knighthood at the hands of Humphrey of Toron, and vouched for by the

contemporary Itinerary of King Richard, the Arab authorities know

nothing. See Lane-Poole,Life of Saladin, 387 sqq.

[427] A western legend given by Vincent de Beauvais relates that as

Saladin was dying he called to him his standard-bearer and bade him

carry through the streets of Damascus the banner of his death as he had

carried the banner of his wars; namely, a rag attached to a lance, and

cry out. "Lo, at his death, the king of the East can take nothing with

him but this cloth only."

[428] TheItinerary gives a story of Saladin and the notorious miracle

of the holy fire until recently shown in the church of the Holy

Sepulchre. It may well be true. When Saladin, on one occasion, saw the

holy flame descend and light a lamp, he ordered the lamp blown out to

show it was a fraud. But it was immediately rekindled as if by a

miracle. Extinguished a second and a third time, it was again and again

rekindled. "Oh, what use is it to resist the invisible Power!" exclaims

the author of the Itinerary, V. 16.

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� 54. The Children's Crusades.

"The rich East blooms fragrant before us;

All Fairy-land beckons us forth,

We must follow the crane in her flight o'er the main,

From the posts and the moors of the North."

Charles Kingsley, The Saint's Tragedy.

Literature.--For the sources, see Wilken: Gesch. der Kreuzz�ge, VI.

71-83.--Des Essards: La Croisade des enfants, Paris, 1875. -- R�hricht,

Die Kinderkreuzz�ge, in Sybel, Hist. Zeitschrift, vol. XXXVI.,

1876.--G. Z. Gray: The Children's Crusade, N. Y., 1872, new ed.

1896.--Isabel S. Stone: The Little Crusaders, N. Y., 1901.--Hurter:

Innocent III., II. 482-489.

The most tragic of the Crusader tragedies were the crusades of the

children. They were a slaughter of the innocents on a large scale, and

belong to those mysteries of Providence which the future only will

solve.

The crusading epidemic broke out among the children of France and

Germany in 1212. Begotten in enthusiasm, which was fanned by priestly

zeal, the movement ended in pitiful disaster.

The French expedition was led by Stephen, a shepherd lad of twelve,

living at Cloyes near Chartres. He had a vision, so the rumor went, in

which Christ appeared to him as a pilgrim and made an appeal for the

rescue of the holy places. Journeying to St. Denis, the boy retailed

the account of what he had seen. Other children gathered around him.

The enthusiasm spread from Brittany to the Pyrenees. In vain did the

king of France attempt to check the movement. The army increased to

thirty thousand, girls as well as boys, adults as well as children.

[429] , and seek for the holy cross beyond the sea." They reached

Marseilles, but the waves did not part and let them go through dryshod

as they expected. [430]

The centres of the movement in Germany were Nicholas, a child of ten,

and a second leader whose name has been lost. Cologne was the rallying

point. Children of noble families enlisted. Along with the boys and

girls went men and women, good and bad.

The army under the anonymous leader passed through Eastern Switzerland

and across the Alps to Brindisi, whence some of the children sailed,

never to be heard from again. The army of Nicholas reached Genoa in

August, 1212. The children sang songs on the way, and with them has

been wrongly associated the tender old German hymn:

"Fairest Lord Jesus,

Ruler of all nature,

O Thou of man and God, the son,

Thee will I cherish,

Thee will I honor,

Thou, my soul's glory, joy, and crown."

The numbers had been reduced by hardship, death, and moral shipwreck

from twenty to seven thousand. At Genoa the waters were as pitiless as

they were at Marseilles. Some of the children remained in the city and

became, it is said, the ancestors of distinguished families. [431] f

Brindisi refused to let them proceed farther. An uncertain report

declares Innocent III. declined to grant their appeal to be released

from their vow.

The fate of the French children was, if possible, still more pitiable.

At Marseilles they fell a prey to two slave dealers, who for "the sake

of God and without price" offered to convey them across the

Mediterranean. Their names are preserved,--Hugo Ferreus and William

Porcus. Seven vessels set sail. Two were shipwrecked on the little

island of San Pietro off the northwestern coast of Sardinia. The rest

reached the African shore, where the children were sold into slavery.

The shipwreck of the little Crusaders was commemorated by Gregory IX.,

in the chapel of the New Innocents, ecclesia novorum innocentium, which

he built on San Pietro. Innocent III. in summoning Europe to a new

crusade included in his appeal the spectacle of their sacrifice. "They

put us to shame. While they rush to the recovery of the Holy Land, we

sleep." [432] ht seem in our calculating age, it is attested by too

many good witnesses to permit its being relegated to the realm of

legend, [433] hildren of Bethlehem at the hand of Herod.

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[429] Hurter regards the numbers handed down as greatly exaggerated.

[430] An epigram, dwelling upon the folly of the movement, ran:-- "Ad

mare stultorum Tendebat iter puerorum."

"To the sea of the fools Led the path of the children."

[431] Wilken for this assertion quotes theHistory of the Genoese Senate

and People, by Peter Bizari, Antwerp, 1679. One of the families was the

house of the Vivaldi.

[432] See Wilken, VI. 83.

[433] So Wilken, Sie ist durch die Zeugnisse glaubw�rdiger

Geschichtschreiber so fest begr�ndet, dass ihre Wahrheit nicht

bezweifelt werden kann, p. 72. R�hricht, Hist. Zeitschrift, XXXVI. 5,

also insists upon the historical genuineness of the reports.

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� 55. The Fourth Crusade and the Capture of Constantinople. 1200-1204.

Literature.--Nicetas Acominatus, Byzantine patrician and grand

logothete. During the Crusaders' investment of Constantinople his

palace was burnt, and with his wife and daughter he fled to Nicaea:

Byzantina Historia, 1118-1206, in Recueil des historiens des Croisades,

histor. Grecs, vol. I., and in Migne, Patr. Gr., vols. 139,

140.--Geoffroi de Villehardouin, a prominent participant in the

Crusade, d. 1213?: Hist. de la Conqu�te de Constantinople avec la

continuation de Henri de Valenciennes, earliest ed., Paris, 1585, ed.

by Du Cange, Paris, 1857, and N. de Wailly, Paris, 1871, 3d ed. 1882,

and E. Bouchet, with new trans., Paris, 1891. For other editions, See

Potthast, II. 1094. Engl. trans. by T. Smith, London, 1829.--Robert de

Clary, d. after 1216, a participant in the Crusade: La Prise de

Constant., 1st ed. by P. Riant, Paris, 1868.--Guntherus Alemannus, a

Cistercian, d. 1220?: Historia Constantinopolitana, in Migne, Patr.

Lat., vol. 212, 221-265, and ed. by Riant, Geneva, 1875, and repeated

in his Exuviae Sacrae, a valuable description, based upon the relation

of his abbot, Martin, a participant in the Crusade.--Innocent III.

Letters, in Migne, vols. 214-217.--Charles Hopf: Chroniques

Graeco-Romanes in�dites ou peu connues, Berlin, 1873. Contains De

Clary, the Devastatio Constantinopolitana, etc.--C. Klimke: D. Quellen

zur Gesch. des 4ten Kreuzzuges, Breslau, 1875.--Short extracts from

Villehardouin and De Clary are given in Trans. and Reprints, published

by University of Pennsylvania, vol. III., Philadelphia, 1896.

Paul De Riant: Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, Geneva, 1877-1878,

2 vols.--Tessier: Quatri�me Croisade, la diversion sur Zara et

Constantinople, Paris, 1884.--E. Pears: The Fall of Constantinople,

being the Story of the Fourth Crusade, N. Y., 1886.--W. Nordau: Der

vierte Kreuzzug, 1898.--A. Charasson: Un cur� pl�b�ien au XIIe Si�cle,

Foulques, Pr�dicateur de la IVe Croisade, Paris, 1905.--Gibbon, LX.,

LXI.--Hurter: Life of Innocent III., vol. I.--Ranke: Weltgesch., VIII.

280-298.--C. W. C. Oman: The Byzantine Empire, 1895, pp. 274-306.--F.

C. Hodgson: The Early History of Venice, from the Foundation to the

Conquest of Constantinople, 1204, 1901. An appendix contains an

excursus on the historical sources of the Fourth Crusade.

It would be difficult to find in history a more notable diversion of a

scheme from its original purpose than the Fourth Crusade. Inaugurated

to strike a blow at the power which held the Holy Land, it destroyed

the Christian city of Zara and overthrew the Greek empire of

Constantinople. Its goals were determined by the blind doge, Henry

Dandolo of Venice. As the First Crusade resulted in the establishment

of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, so the Fourth Crusade resulted in

the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople.

Innocent III., on ascending the papal throne, threw himself with all

the energy of his nature into the effort of reviving the crusading

spirit. He issued letter after letter [434] [435] resist the Saracens

and subject the Greek church to its mother, Rome. [436] oss would have

disappeared like smoke or melting wax.

For the expense of a new expedition the pope set apart one-tenth of his

revenue, and he directed the cardinals to do the same. The clergy and

all Christians were urged to give liberally. The goods and lands of

Crusaders were to enjoy the special protection of the Holy See. Princes

were instructed to compel Jewish money-lenders to remit interest due

from those going on the expedition. Legates were despatched to Genoa,

Pisa, and Venice to stir up zeal for the project; and these cities were

forbidden to furnish to the Saracens supplies of arms, food, or other

material. A cardinal was appointed to make special prayers for the

Crusade, as Moses had prayed for Israel against the Amalekites.

The Cistercian abbot, Martin, preached in Germany; [437] [438] ing, in

1199, Count Thibaut of Champagne, [439] st Crusade, the armament was

led by nobles, and not by sovereigns.

The leaders, meeting at Soissons in 1200, sent a deputation to Venice

to secure transportation for the army. Egypt was chosen as the point of

landing and attack, it being held that a movement would be most apt to

be successful which cut off the Saracens' supplies at their base in the

land of the Nile. [440]

The Venetian Grand Council agreed to provide ships for 9000 esquires,

4500 knights, 20,000 foot-soldiers, and 4500 horses, and to furnish

provisions for nine months for the sum of 85,000 marks, or about

$1,000,000 in present money. [441] years, was in spite of his age and

blindness full of vigor and decision. [442]

The crusading forces mustered at Venice. The fleet was ready, but the

Crusaders were short of funds, and able to pay only 50,000 marks of the

stipulated sum. Dandolo took advantage of these straits to advance the

selfish aims of Venice, and proposed, as an equivalent for the balance

of the passage money, that the Crusaders aid in capturing Zara. [443]

tern coast of the Adriatic, belonged to the Christian king of Hungary.

Its predatory attacks upon Venetian vessels formed the pretext for its

reduction. [444] and after the solemn celebration of the mass, the

fleet set sail, with Dandolo as virtual commander.

The departure of four hundred and eighty gayly rigged vessels is

described by several eye-witnesses [445] the naval enterprise of the

queen of the Adriatic.

Zara was taken Nov. 24, 1202, given over to plunder, and razed to the

ground. No wonder Innocent wrote that Satan had been the instigator of

this destructive raid upon a Christian people and excommunicated the

participants in it. [446]

Organized to dislodge the Saracens and reduced to a filibustering

expedition, the Crusade was now to be directed against Constantinople.

The rightful emperor, Isaac Angelus, was languishing in prison with his

eyes put out by the hand of the usurper, Alexius III., his own brother.

Isaac's son, Alexius, had visited Innocent III. and Philip of Swabia,

appealing for aid in behalf of his father. Philip, claimant to the

German throne, had married the prince's sister. Greek messengers

appeared at Zara to appeal to Dandolo and the Crusaders to take up

Isaac's cause. The proposal suited the ambition of Venice, which could

not have wished for a more favorable opportunity to confirm her

superiority over the Pisans and Genoans, which had been threatened, if

not impaired, on the Bosphorus.

As a compensation, Alexius made the tempting offer of 200,000 marks

silver, the maintenance for a year of an army of 10,000 against the

Mohammedans, and of 500 knights for life as a guard for the Holy Land,

and the submission of the Eastern Church to the pope. The doge fell in

at once with the proposition, but it was met by strong voices of

dissent in the ranks of the Crusaders. Innocent's threat of continued

excommunication, if the expedition was turned against Constantinople,

was ignored. A few of the Crusaders, like Simon de Montfort, refused to

be used for private ends and withdrew from the expedition. [447]

Before reaching Corfu, the fleet was joined by Alexius in person. By

the end of June, 1203, it had passed through the Dardanelles and was

anchored opposite the Golden Horn. After prayers and exhortations by

the bishops and clergy, the Galata tower was taken. Alexius III. fled,

and Isaac was restored to the throne.

The agreements made with the Venetians, the Greeks found it impossible

to fulfil. Confusion reigned among them. Two disastrous conflagrations

devoured large portions of the city. One started in a mosque which

evoked the wrath of the Crusaders. [448] and the presence of the

Occidentals gave Alexius Dukas, surnamed Murzuphlos from his shaggy

eyebrows, opportunity to dethrone Isaac and his son and to seize the

reins of government. The prince was put to death, and Isaac soon

followed him to the grave.

The confusion within the palace and the failure to pay the promised

reward were a sufficient excuse for the invaders to assault the city,

which fell April 12, 1204. [449] om the orgies of unbridled lust.

Churches and altars were despoiled as well as palaces. Chalices were

turned into drinking cups. A prostitute placed in the chair of the

patriarchs in St. Sophia, sang ribald songs and danced for the

amusement of the soldiery. [450]

Innocent III., writing of the conquest of the city, says: --

"You have spared nothing that is sacred, neither age nor sex. You have

given yourselves up to prostitution, to adultery, and to debauchery in

the face of all the world. You have glutted your guilty passions, not

only on married women, but upon women and virgins dedicated to the

Saviour. You have not been content with the imperial treasures and the

goods of rich and poor, but you have seized even the wealth of the

Church and what belongs to it. You have pillaged the silver tables of

the altars, you have broken into the sacristies and stolen the

vessels." [451]

To the revolt at these orgies succeeding ages have added regret for the

irreparable loss which literature and art suffered in the wild and

protracted sack. For the first time in eight hundred years its

accumulated treasures were exposed to the ravages of the spoiler, who

broke up the altars in its churches, as in St. Sophia, or melted

priceless pieces of bronze statuary on the streets and highways. [452]

Constantinople proved to be the richest of sacred storehouses, full of

relics, which excited the cupidity and satisfied the superstition of

the Crusaders, who found nothing inconsistent in joining devout worship

and the violation of the eighth commandment in getting possession of

the objects of worship. [453] red and eagerly sent to Western Europe,

from the stone on which Jacob slept and Moses' rod which was turned

into a serpent, to the true cross and fragments of Mary's garments.

[454] e Transvaal have been to its supply of diamonds--that the capture

of Constantinople was to the supply of relics for Latin Christendom.

Towns and cities welcomed these relics, and convents were made famous

by their possession. In 1205 bishop Nivelon of Soissons sent to

Soissons the head of St. Stephen, the finger that Thomas thrust into

the Saviour's side, a thorn from the crown of thorns, a portion of the

sleeveless shirt of the Virgin Mary and her girdle, a portion of the

towel with which the Lord girded himself at the Last Supper, one of

John the Baptist's arms, and other antiquities scarcely less venerable.

The city of Halberstadt and its bishop, Konrad, were fortunate enough

to secure some of the blood shed on the cross, parts of the sponge and

reed and the purple robe, the head of James the Just, and many other

trophies. Sens received the crown of thorns. A tear of Christ was

conveyed to Seligencourt and led to a change of its name to the Convent

of the Sacred Tear. [455] ead; St. Albans, England, two of St.

Margaret's fingers. The true cross was divided by the grace of the

bishops among the barons. A piece was sent by Baldwin to Innocent III.

Perhaps no sacred relics were received with more outward demonstrations

of honor than the true crown of thorns, which Baldwin II. transferred

to the king of France for ten thousand marks of silver. [456] t of the

true cross and the swaddling clothes of Bethlehem were additional

acquisitions of Paris.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople, which followed the capture of the

city, lasted from 1204 to 1261. Six electors representing the Venetians

and six representing the Crusaders met in council and elected Baldwin

of Flanders, emperors. [457]

The attitude of Innocent III. to this remarkable transaction of

Christian soldiery exhibited at once his righteous indignation and his

politic acquiescence in the new responsibility thrust upon the

Apostolic see. [458] chate, established with him, has been perpetuated

to this day, and is an almost unbearable offence to the Greeks. [459]

The last of the Latin emperors, Baldwin III., 1237-1261, spent most of

his time in Western Europe making vain appeals for money. After his

dethronement, in l261, by Michael Palaeologus he presents a pitiable

spectacle, seeking to gain the ear of princes and ecclesiastics. For

two hundred years more the Greeks had an uncertain tenure on the

Bosphorus. The loss of Constantinople was bound to come sooner or later

in the absence of a moral and muscular revival of the Greek people. The

Latin conquest of the city was a romantic episode, and not a stage in

the progress of civilization in the East; nor did it hasten the coming

of the new era of letters in Western Europe. It widened the schism of

the Greek and the Latin churches. The only party to reap substantial

gain from the Fourth Crusade was the Venetians. [460]

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[434] See the ample description of Hurter, I. pp. 221-230, etc.

[435] Epp. of Innocent, I. 353, 354, etc., Migne, 214, 329 sqq.

[436] Ep. I. 353, Migne, 214, 325 sqq.

[437] Guntherus, Migne, 212, 225.

[438] A French translation of Innocent's letter commissioning Fulke to

preach the Crusade is given by Charasson, p. 99.

[439] Thibaut, then twenty-two, and Louis, then twenty-seven, were

nephews of the king of France, Villehardouin, 3; Wailly's ed., p. 5.

Thibaut died before the Crusaders started from France.

[440] Villehardouin, who was one of the six members of the commission

(Wailly's ed., p. 11), says, "The Turks could be more easily destroyed

there than in any other country." Egypt was often called by the

Crusaders, "the land of Babylon."

[441] Wailly's edition of Villehardouin, p. 452, makes the sum

4,420,000 francs. It reckons a mark as the equivalent of 52 francs. The

Grand Council added fifty armed galleys "for the love of God," on

condition that during the continuance of the alliance Venice should

have one-half the spoils of conquest.

[442] Villehardouin describes him as a man de bien grand coeur. He died

at ninety-seven, in 1205, and was buried in the Church of St. Sophia.

In his reply to the deputation, the doge recognized the high birth of

the Crusaders in the words, "we perceive that the lords are in the

highest rank of those who do not wear a crown" (Villehardouin, 16;

Wailly's ed., 13).

[443] Villehardouin, 56 sqq.; Wailly's ed., 33 sq.

[444] Villehardouin mentions only the proposition to go against Zara.

Robert of Clary and other writers state that Dandolo made a previous

proposition that the fleet should proceed to Mohammedan territory and

that the first booty should be used to pay the Crusaders'debt. He then

substituted the proposition to go against Zara, and the Crusaders were

forced by their circumstances to accept. There is some ground for the

charge that in May, 1202, Dandolo made a secret treaty with the sultan

of Egypt. See Pears, 271 sqq.

[445] Villehardouin and Robert de Clary. Clary's account is very

vivacious and much the more detailed of the two.

[446] A deputation afterwards visited Innocent and secured his

absolution, Villehardouin, 107; Wailly's ed., 61. The news of the death

of Fulke of Neuilly reached the Crusaders on the eve of their breaking

away from Venice. Villehardouin, 73; Wailly's ed., 43, calls him le

bon, le saint homme.

[447] Villehardouin, 109. Pears, p. 268, speaks pathetically of the

Crusaders as "about to commit the great crime of the Middle Ages, by

the destruction of the citadel against which the hitherto irresistible

wave of Moslem invasion had beaten and been broken." Not praiseworthy,

it is true, was the motive of the Crusaders, yet there is no occasion

for bemoaning the fate of Constantinople and the Greeks. The conquest

of the Latins prolonged the successful resistance to the Turks.

[448] Arabs were allowed to live in the city and granted the privileges

of their religious rites. Gibbon with characteristic irony says. "The

Flemish pilgrims were scandalized by the aspect of a mosque or a

synagogue in which one God was worshipped without a partner or a son."

[449] Villehardouin, 233, Wailly's ed. p. 137, pronounces the capture

of Constantinople one of the most difficult feats ever undertaken, une

des plus redoutables choses � faire qui jamais fut. A city of such

strong fortifications the Franks had not seen before.

[450] Hurter (I. p. 685), comparing the conquest of Constantinople with

the capture of Jerusalem, exalts the piety of Godfrey and the first

Crusaders over against the Venetians and their greed for booty. He

forgot the awful massacre in Jerusalem.

[451] Reg., VIII. Ep., 133.

[452] Nicetas gives a list of these losses. See Gibbon, LX., and

Hurter.

[453] Villehardouin, 191; Wailly's ed., 111, says des reliques it n'en

faut point parler, car en ce jour il y en avait autant dans la ville

que dans le reste du monde. The account of Guntherus, Migne, 212, 253

sqq., is the most elaborate. His informant the Abbot Martin, was an

insatiable relic hunter.

[454] See Riant; Hurter, I. 694-702; Pears, 365-370. A volume would

scarce contain the history, real and legendary, of these objects of

veneration.

[455] A curious account is given by Dalmatius of Sergy, of his

discovery of the head of St. Clement in answer to prayer, and the

deception he practised in making away with it. The relic went to Cluny

and was greatly prized. See Hurter. The successful stealth of Abbot

Martin is told at length by the German Guntherus, Migne, 212, 251 sq.

[456] Matthew Paris, in his account, says, "It was precious beyond gold

or topaz, and to the credit of the French kingdom, and indeed, of all

the Latins, it was solemnly and devoutly received in grand procession

amidst the ringing of bells and the devout prayers of the faithful

followers of Christ, and was placed in the king's chapel in Paris."

Luard's ed., IV. 75; Giles's trans., I. 311.

[457] The mode of election was fixed before the capture of the city,

Villehardouin, 234, 256-261; Wailly's ed., 137,152 sqq. The election

took place in a chamber of the palace. The leader of the French forces,

Boniface of Montferrat, married the widow of the emperor Isaac and was

made king of Salonica. Innocent III. (VIII. 134, Migne, 215, 714)

congratulated Isaac's widow upon her conversion to the Latin Church.

[458] He wrote to Baldwin that, while it was desirable the Eastern

Church should be subdued, he was more concerned that the Holy Land

should be rescued. He urged him and the Venetians to eat the bread of

repentance that they might fight the battle of the Lord with a pure

heart.

[459] The Greek patriarch had left the city reduced to a state of

apostolic poverty, of which Gibbon, LXI, says that "had it been

voluntary it might perhaps have been meritorious."

[460] Pears concludes his work, The Fall of Constantinople, by the

false judgment that the effects of the Fourth Crusade were altogether

disastrous for civilization. He surmises that, but for it, the city

would never have fallen into the hands of the Turks, and the Sea of

Marmora and the Black Sea would now be surrounded by "prosperous and

civilized nations," pp. 412 sqq. There was no movement of progress in

the Byzantine empire for the Crusaders to check.

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� 56. Frederick II. and the Fifth Crusade. 1229.

R�hricht: Studien zur Gesch. d. V. Kreuzzuges, Innsbruck, 1891.--Hauck,

IV. 752-764, and the lit., �� 42, 49.

Innocent III.'s ardor for the reconquest of Palestine continued

unabated till his death. A fresh crusade constituted one of the main

objects for which the Fourth Lateran Council was called. The date set

for it to start was June 1, 1217, and it is known as the Fifth Crusade.

The pope promised �30,000 from his private funds, and a ship to convey

the Crusaders going from Rome and its vicinity. The cardinals joined

him in promising to contribute one-tenth of their incomes and the

clergy were called upon to set apart one-twentieth of their revenues

for three years for the holy cause. To the penitent contributing money

to the crusade, as well as to those participating in it, full

indulgence for sins was offered. [461] of all merchandise and munitions

of war to the Saracens for four years, was ordered read every Sabbath

and fast day in Christian ports.

Innocent died without seeing the expedition start. For his successor

Honorius III., its promotion was a ruling passion, but he also died

without seeing it realized.

In 1217 Andreas of Hungary led an army to Syria, but accomplished

nothing. In 1219 William of Holland with his Germans, Norwegians, and

Danes helped John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, to take

Damietta. This city, situated on one of the mouths of the Nile, was a

place of prime commercial importance and regarded as the key of Egypt.

Egypt had come to be regarded as the proper way of military approach to

Palestine. Malik-al-Kameel, who in 1218 had succeeded to power in

Egypt, offered the Christians Jerusalem and all Palestine, except

Kerak, together with the release of all Christian prisoners, on

condition of the surrender of Damietta. It was a grand opportunity of

securing the objects for which the Crusaders had been fighting, but,

elated by victory and looking for help from the emperor, Frederick II.,

they rejected the offer. In 1221 Damietta fell back into the hands of

Mohammedans. [462]

The Fifth Crusade reached its results by diplomacy more than by the

sword. Its leader, Frederick II., had little of the crusading spirit,

and certainly the experiences of his ancestors Konrad and Barbarossa

were not adapted to encourage him. His vow, made at his coronation in

Aachen and repeated at his coronation in Rome, seems to have had little

binding force for him. His marriage with Iolanthe, granddaughter of

Conrad of Montferrat and heiress of the crown of Jerusalem, did not

accelerate his preparations to which he was urged by Honorius III. In

1227 he sailed from Brindisi; but, as has already been said, he

returned to port after three days on account of sickness among his men.

[463]

At last the emperor set forth with forty galleys and six hundred

knights, and arrived in Acre, Sept. 7,1228. The sultans of Egypt and

Damascus were at the time in bitter conflict. Taking advantage of the

situation, Frederick concluded with Malik-al-Kameel a treaty which was

to remain in force ten years and delivered up to the Christians

Jerusalem with the exception of the mosque of Omar and the Temple area,

Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the pilgrim route from Acre to Jerusalem.

[464] iarch of Jerusalem, the interdict over the city. [465]

Recalled probably by the dangers threatening his kingdom, Frederick

arrived in Europe in the spring of 1229, but only to find himself for

the fourth time put under the ban by his implacable antagonist,

Gregory. In 1235 Gregory was again appealing to Christendom to make

preparations for another expedition, and in his letter of 1239,

excommunicating the emperor for the fifth time, he pronounced him the

chief impediment in the way of a crusade. [466]

It was certainly a singular spectacle that the Holy City should be

gained by a diplomatic compact and not by hardship, heroic struggle,

and the intervention of miracle, whether real or imagined. It was still

more singular that the sacred goal should be reached without the aid of

ecclesiastical sanction, nay in the face of solemn papal denunciation.

Frederick II. has been called by Freeman an unwilling Crusader and the

conquest of Jerusalem a grotesque episode in his life. [467] t living

on terms of amity with Mohammedans in his kingdom, and he probably saw

no wisdom in endangering his relations with them at home by unsheathing

the sword against them abroad. [468] rusalem without making any protest

against its ritual. Perhaps, with his freedom of thought, he did not

regard the possession of Palestine after all as of much value. In any

case, Frederick's religion--whatever he had of religion--was not of a

kind to flame forth in enthusiasm for a pious scheme in which sentiment

formed a prevailing element.

Gregory's continued appeals in 1235 and the succeeding years called for

some minor expeditions, one of them led by Richard of Cornwall,

afterwards German emperor-elect. The condition of the Christians in

Palestine grew more and more deplorable and, in a battle with the

Chorasmians, Oct. 14, 1244, they met with a disastrous defeat, and

thenceforth Jerusalem was closed to them.

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[461] Plenam suorum peccaminum veniam indulgemus. See Mansi, XXII.

1067; Mirbt, Quellen, 126, Gottlob, 137 sq.

[462] For the text of Frederick's summons to his crusade of 1221, see

Mathews, Select Med. Documents, 120 sq.

[463] Funk, in Wetzer-Welte, VII. 1166, says that in view of

contemporary testimony, Frederick's sickness cannot be doubted. Roger

Wendover, an. 1227, however, doubted it. Funk is wrong in saying that

it was not till 1239 that Gregory, aggravated by the emperor's conduct,

impeached Frederick's plea of sickness. In his sentence of

excommunication of 1228, Gregory asserted that Frederick II "was

enticed away to the usual pleasures of his kingdom and made a frivolous

pretext of bodily infirmity." In 1235, at a time when emperor and pope

were reconciled, Gregory spoke of Jerusalem, "as being restored to our

well-beloved son in Christ, Frederick."

[464] See R�hricht, Regesta regni Hier., 262, and Br�holles, III.

86-90.

[465] Geroldus was patriarch of Jerusalem and notified Gregory IX. of

Frederick's "fraudulent pact with the Egyptian sultan." R�hricht, 263.

[466] In 1240 a petition signed by German bishops and princes and

addressed to Gregory urged him to cease from strife with Frederick as

it interfered with a crusade. Br�holles, V. 985.

[467] Hist. Essays, I. 283-313.

[468] Br�holles, V. 327-340.

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� 57. St. Louis and the Last Crusades. 1248, 1270.

Literature. --Jehan de Joinville, d. 1319, the next great historical

writer in old French after Villehardouin, companion of St. Louis on his

first Crusade: Hist. de St. Louis, 1st ed. Poitiers, 1547; by Du Cange,

1668; by Michaud in M�moires � l'hist. de France, Paris, 1857, I.

161-329, and by de Wailly, Paris, 1868. For other edd. see Potthast,

Bibl., I. 679-681. Engl. trans., M. Th. Johnes, Haford, 1807, included

in Chronicles of the Crusades, Bohn's Libr. 340-556, and J. Hutton,

London, 1868. Tillemont: Vie de St. Louis, publ. for the first time,

Paris, 1847-1851, 6 vols.--Scholten: Gesch. Ludwigs des Heiligen, ed.

by Junkemann and Janssen, 2 vols. M�nster, 1850-1855.--Guizot: St.

Louis and Calvin, Paris, 1868.--Mrs. Bray: Good St. Louis and his

Times, London, 1870.--Wallon: St. Louis et son Temps, 3d ed. Tours,

1879. -- St. Pathus: Vie de St. Louis, publi�e par F. Delaborde, Paris,

1899.--F. Perry: St. Louis, Most Christian King, London,

1901.--Lane-Poole: Hist. of Egypt in the M. A., N. Y., 1901.

One more great Crusader, one in whom genuine piety was a leading trait,

was yet to set his face towards the East and, by the abrupt termination

of his career through sickness, to furnish one of the most memorable

scenes in the long drama of the Crusades. The Sixth and Seventh

Crusades owe their origin to the devotion of Louis IX., king of France,

usually known as St. Louis. Louis combined the piety of the monk with

the chivalry of the knight, and stands in the front rank of Christian

sovereigns of all times. [469] eviate from his faith and in patient

resignation under the most trying adversity. A considerate regard for

the poor and the just treatment of his subjects were among his traits.

He washed the feet of beggars and, when a Dominican warned him against

carrying his humility too far, he replied, "If I spent twice as much

time in gaming and at the chase as in such services, no man would rise

up to find fault with me."

On one occasion, when he asked Joinville if he were called upon to

choose between being a leper and committing mortal sin, which his

choice would be, the seneschal replied, "he would rather commit thirty

mortal sins than be a leper." The next day the king said to him, "How

could you say what you did? There is no leper so hideous as he who is

in a state of mortal sin. The leprosy of the body will pass away at

death, but the leprosy of the soul may cling to it forever."

The sack of Jerusalem by the Chorasmians, [470] Ascalon. It was just

one hundred years since the news of the fall of Edessa had stirred

Europe, but the temper of men's minds was no longer the same. The news

of disasters in Palestine was a familiar thing. There was now no

Bernard to arouse the conscience and give directions to the feelings of

princes and people. The Council of Lyons in 1245 had for one of its

four objects the relief of the holy places. A summons was sent forth by

pope and council for a new expedition, and the usual gracious offers

were made to those who should participate in the movement. St. Louis

responded. During a sickness in 1245 and at the moment when the

attendants were about to put a cloth on his face thinking he was dead,

the king had the cross bound upon his breast.

On June 12, 1248, Louis received at St. Denis from the hand of the

papal legate the oriflamme, and the pilgrim's wallet and staff. He was

joined by his three brothers, Robert, count of Artois, Alphonso, count

of Poitiers, and Charles of Anjou. Among others to accompany the king

were Jean de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, whose graphic chronicle

has preserved the annals of the Crusade. [471] ad been made on a large

scale for their maintenance. Thence they sailed to Egypt. Damietta

fell, but after this first success, the campaign was a dismal disaster.

Louis' benevolence and ingenuousness were not combined with the force

of the leader. He was ready to share suffering with his troops but had

not the ability to organize them. [472] [473]

Leaving Alexandria to one side, and following the advice of the count

of Artois, who argued that whoso wanted to kill a snake should first

strike its head, Louis marched in the direction of the capital, Cairo,

or Babylon, as it was called. The army was harassed by a sleepless foe,

and reduced by fevers and dysentery. The Nile became polluted with the

bodies of the dead. [474] eep.

The king's patient fortitude shone brightly in these misfortunes.

Threatened with torture and death, he declined to deviate from his

faith or to yield up any of the places in Palestine. For the ransom of

his troops, he agreed to pay 500,000 livres, and for his own freedom to

give up Damietta and abandon Egypt. The sultan remitted a fifth part of

the ransom money on hearing of the readiness with which the king had

accepted the terms.

Clad in garments which were a gift from the sultan, and in a ship

meagrely furnished with comforts, the king sailed for Acre. On board

ship, hearing that his brother, the count of Anjou, and Walter de

Nemours were playing for money, he staggered from his bed of sickness

and throwing the dice, tables, and money into the sea, reprimanded the

count that he should be so soon forgetful of his brother's death and

the other disasters in Egypt, as to game. [475] of Blanche, his mother,

who had been acting as queen-regent during his absence, induced him to

return to his realm.

Like Richard the Lion-hearted, Louis did not look upon Jerusalem. The

sultan of Damascus offered him the opportunity and Louis would have

accepted it but for the advice of his councillors, [476] sail from Acre

in the spring of 1254. His queen, Margaret, and the three children born

to them in the East, were with him. It was a pitiful conclusion to an

expedition which once had given promise of a splendid consummation.

So complete a failure might have been expected to destroy all hope of

ever recovering Palestine. But the hold of the crusading idea upon the

mind of Europe was still great. Urban IV. and Clement III. made renewed

appeals to Christendom, and Louis did not forget the Holy Land. In

1267, with his hand upon the crown of thorns, he announced to his

assembled prelates and barons his purpose to go forth a second time in

holy crusade.

In the meantime the news from the East had been of continuous disaster

at the hand of the enemy and of discord among the Christians

themselves. In 1258 forty Venetian vessels engaged in conflict with a

Genoese fleet of fifty ships off Acre with a loss of seventeen hundred

men. A year later the Templars and Hospitallers had a pitched battle.

In 1263 Bibars, the founder of the Mameluke rule in Egypt, appeared

before Acre. In 1268 Antioch fell.

In spite of bodily weakness and the protest of his nobles, Louis sailed

in 1270. [477] [478] ples, who was bent upon forcing the sultan to meet

his tributary obligations to Sicily. [479] out. Among the victims was

the king's son, John Tristan, born at Damietta, and the king himself.

Louis died with a resignation accordant with the piety which had marked

his life. He ordered his body placed on a bed of ashes; and again and

again repeated the prayer, "Make us, we beseech thee, O Lord, to

despise the prosperity of this world and not to fear any of its

adversities." The night of August 24 his mind was upon Jerusalem, and

starting up from his fevered sleep, he exclaimed, "Jerusalem!

Jerusalem! we will go." His last words, according to the report of an

attendant, were, "I will enter into thy house, O Lord, I will worship

in thy holy sanctuary, I will glorify Thy name, O Lord." [480] ody was

taken to France and laid away in St. Denis. [481]

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[469] "Piety was his ruling passion." Guizot, p. 117. De Joinville

frequently calls him "the good king" and Matthew Paris "that most

Christian king."

[470] See the account in a letter from the prelates of the Holy Land in

Matthew Paris, an. 1244. The invaders were called Tartars by Robert,

patriarch of Jerusalem, in his letter to Innocent IV. R�hriclit, Reg.

regni Hier., p. 299.

[471] Joinville, accompanied by twenty knights, joined the king at

Cyprus. He was a man of religious fervor, made pilgrimages to all the

shrines in the vicinity of his castle before his departure, and never

failed in his long absence to confine himself to bread and water on

Fridays (History, an. 1250). One of his paragraphs gives a graphic

insight into the grief which must have been felt by thousands of

Crusaders as they left their homes for the long and uncertain journey

to the East. It runs: "In passing near the castle of Joinville, I dared

never turn my eyes that way for fear of feeling too great regret and

lest my courage should fail on leaving my children and my fair castle

of Joinville, which I loved in my heart."

[472] Joinville speaks of Louis having "as much trouble in keeping his

own people together in time of peace as in the time of his ill

fortunes."an. 1249.

[473] Within a stone's throw of the king's tent were several brothels.

A curious punishment was prescribed by the king for a knight caught

with a harlot at Acre. Joinville, pt. II. an. 1250, Bohn's trans. 484.

[474] See the appalling description of Joinville, an. 1249.

[475] Joinville, an. 1250.

[476] Joinville, an. 1253.

[477] Joinville declined the king's appeal to accompany him, and

advised against the expedition on the ground of the peaceable state of

France with the king at home, and of the king's physical weakness which

prevented him from wearing armor or sitting on horseback long at a

time.

[478] Since 1881 a dependency of France.

[479] The sultan had agreed to pay yearly tribute to Roger II. In the

treaty made at the close of the expedition, he agreed to make up the

arrearages of tribute to Charles.

[480] M. Paris, an. 1271

[481] The question whether the king's heart was deposited in the Sainte

Chapelle at Paris or not, led to a spirited discussion in 1843. See

Letronne, Examen critique de la d�couverte du pretendu coeur de St.

Louis faite a la Sainte Chapelle le 15 Mai 1843, Paris, 1844;

Lenormant, Preuves de la d�couverte du coeur de St. Louis, Paris, 1846.

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� 58. The Last Stronghold of the Crusaders in Palestine.

With Louis the last hope of Christian tenure of any part of Palestine

was gone. At his death the French army disbanded.

In 1271 Edward, son and heir of Henry III. of England, reached Acre by

way of Tunis. His expedition was but a wing of Louis's army. A loan of

30,000 marks from the French king enabled him to prepare the armament.

His consort Eleanor was with him, and a daughter born on the Syrian

coast was called Joan of Acre. Before returning to England to assume

the crown, he concluded an empty treaty of peace for ten years.

Attempts were made to again fan the embers of the once fervid

enthusiasm into a flame, but in vain. Gregory X., who was in the Holy

Land at the time of his election to the papal chair, carried with him

westward a passionate purpose to help the struggling Latin colonies in

Palestine. Before leaving Acre, 1272, he preached from Ps. 137:5, "If I

forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my

mouth." His appeals, issued a day or two after his coronation, met with

little response. The Council of Lyons, 1274, which he convened, had for

its chief object the arrangements for a Crusade. Two years later

Gregory died, and the enterprise was abandoned.

In 1289 Tripoli was lost, and the bitter rivalry between the Military

Orders hastened the surrender of Acre, 1291, [482] d. The Templars and

Hospitallers escaped. The population of sixty thousand was reduced to

slavery or put to the sword. For one hundred and fifty years Acre had

been the metropolis of Latin life in the East. It had furnished a camp

for army after army, and witnessed the entry and departure of kings and

queens from the chief states of Europe. But the city was also a byword

for turbulence and vice. Nicolas IV. had sent ships to aid the

besieged, and again called upon the princes of Europe for help; but his

call fell on closed ears.

As the Crusades progressed, a voice was lifted here and there calling

in question the religious propriety of such movements and their

ultimate value. At the close of the twelfth century, the abbot Joachim

complained that the popes were making them a pretext for their own

aggrandizement, and upon the basis of Joshua 6:26; 1 Kings 16:24, he

predicted a curse upon an attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

"Let the popes," he said, "mourn over their own Jerusalem--that is, the

universal Church not built with hands and purchased by divine blood,

and not over the fallen Jerusalem." [483] ist of matters to be handled

at the Council of Lyons, 1274, felt obliged to refute no less than

seven objections to the Crusades. They were such as these. It was

contrary to the precepts of the New Testament to advance religion by

the sword; Christians may defend themselves, but have no right to

invade the lands of another; it is wrong to shed the blood of

unbelievers and Saracens; and the disasters of the Crusades proved they

were contrary to the will of God. [484]

Raymundus Lullus, after returning from his mission to North Africa, in

1308, declared [485] d knights that have gone to the Promised Land with

a view to conquer it, but if this mode had been pleasing to the Lord,

they would assuredly have wrested it from the Saracens before this.

Thus it is manifest to pious monks that Thou art daily waiting for them

to do for love to Thee what Thou hast done from love to them."

The successors of Nicolas IV., however, continued to cling to the idea

of conquering the Holy Land by arms. During the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries they made repeated appeals to the piety and

chivalry of Western Europe, but these were voices as from another age.

The deliverance of Palestine by the sword was a dead issue. New

problems were engaging men's minds. The authority of the popes--now in

exile in Avignon, now given to a luxurious life at Rome, or engaged in

wars over papal territory--was incompetent to unite and direct the

energies of Europe as it had once done. They did not discern the signs

of the times. More important tasks there were for Christendom to

accomplish than to rescue the holy places of the East.

Erasmus struck the right note and expressed the view of a later age.

Writing at the very close of the Middle Ages making an appeal [486]

said, "Truly, it is not meet to declare ourselves Christian men by

killing very many but by saving very many, not if we send thousands of

heathen people to hell, but if we make many infidels Christian; not if

we cruelly curse and excommunicate, but if we with devout prayers and

with our hearts desire their health, and pray unto God, to send them

better minds." [487]

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[482] For a contemporary description of Acre, see Itin. regis Ricardi,

I. 32.

[483] Com. in Jerem., see Neander, Ch. Hist., IV. 189 sqq., Engl.

trans.

[484] Mansi, XXIV. 111-120.

[485] Contemplations of God. See Zwemer, Life of Raymund Lull, 52, 149.

[486] Enchiridion militis christiani, Methuen's ed. 1905, p. 8 sq.

[487] No appellation was too degrading to give to the enemies of the

cross. The most common one was dogs. The biographers of Richard I. have

no compunction in relating in one line gifts made by Saracens and in

the next calling them dogs. See Itin. Ricardi, etc. So Walter Map says

sepulchrum et crux Domini praeda sunt canum quorum fames in tantum

lassata fuit et sanguine martyrorum, etc., Wright's ed., I. 15, p. 229.

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� 59. Effects of the Crusades.

"... The knights' bones are dust

And their good swords are rust;

Their souls are with the saints, we trust."

Coleridge.

Literature.--A. R. L. Heeren: Versuch einer Entwickelung der Folgen der

Kreuzz�ge f�r Europa, G�ttingen, 1808; French trans., Paris,

1808.--Maxime de Choiseul-Daillecourt: De l'influence des croisades sur

l'�tat des peuples de l'Europe, Paris, 1809. Crowned by the French

Institute, it presents the Crusades as upon the whole favorable to

civil liberty, commerce, etc.--J. L. Hahn: Ursachen und Folgen der

Kreuzz�ge, Greifsw., 1859.--G. B. Adams: Civilization during the M. A.,

N. Y., 1894, 258-311. See the general treatments of the Crusades by

Gibbon, Wilken, Michaud, Archer-Kingsford, 425-451, etc., and

especially Prutz (Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzz�ge and The Economic

Development of Western Europe under the Influence of the Crusades in

Essays on the Crusades, Burlington, 1903), who in presenting the

social, political, commercial, and literary aspects and effects of the

Crusades lays relatively too much stress upon them.

The Crusades failed in three respects. The Holy Land was not won. The

advance of Islam was not permanently checked. The schism between the

East and the West was not healed. These were the primary objects of the

Crusades.

They were the cause of great evils. As a school of practical religion

and morals, they were no doubt disastrous for most of the Crusaders.

They were attended by all the usual demoralizing influences of war and

the sojourn of armies in an enemy's country. The vices of the Crusading

camps were a source of deep shame in Europe. Popes lamented them.

Bernard exposed them. Writers set forth the fatal mistake of those who

were eager to make conquest of the earthly Jerusalem and were forgetful

of the heavenly city. "Many wended their way to the holy city,

unmindful that our Jerusalem is not here." So wrote the Englishman,

Walter Map, after Saladin's victories in 1187.

The schism between the East and the West was widened by the insolent

action of the popes in establishing Latin patriarchates in the East and

their consent to the establishment of the Latin empire of

Constantinople. The memory of the indignities heaped upon Greek

emperors and ecclesiastics has not yet been forgotten.

Another evil was the deepening of the contempt and hatred in the minds

of the Mohammedans for the doctrines of Christianity. The savagery of

the Christian soldiery, their unscrupulous treatment of property, and

the bitter rancors in the Crusading camps were a disgraceful spectacle

which could have but one effect upon the peoples of the East. While the

Crusades were still in progress, the objection was made in Western

Europe, that they were not followed by spiritual fruits, but that on

the contrary the Saracens were converted to blasphemy rather than to

the faith. Being killed, they were sent to hell. [488]

Again, the Crusades gave occasion for the rapid development of the

system of papal indulgences, which became a dogma of the mediaeval

theologians. The practice, once begun by Urban II. at the very outset

of the movement, was extended further and further until indulgence for

sins was promised not only for the warrior who took up arms against the

Saracens in the East, but for those who were willing to fight against

Christian heretics in Western Europe. Indulgences became a part of the

very heart of the sacrament of penance, and did incalculable damage to

the moral sense of Christendom. To this evil was added the exorbitant

taxations levied by the popes and their emissaries. Matthew Paris

complains of this extortion for the expenses of Crusades as a stain

upon that holy cause. [489]

And yet the Crusades were not in vain. It is not possible to suppose

that Providence did not carry out some important, immediate and

ultimate purpose for the advancement of mankind through this long war,

extending over two hundred years, and involving some of the best vital

forces of two continents. It may not always be easy to distinguish

between the effects of the Crusades and the effects of other forces

active in this period, or to draw an even balance between them. But it

may be regarded as certain that they made far-reaching contributions to

the great moral, religious, and social change which the institutions of

Europe underwent in the latter half of the Middle Ages.

First, the Crusades engaged the minds of men in the contemplation of a

high and unselfish aim. The rescue of the Holy Sepulchre was a

religious passion, drawing attention away from the petty struggles of

ecclesiastics in the assertion of priestly prerogative, from the

violent conflict of papacy and empire, and from the humdrum casuistry

of scholastic and conventual dispute. [490] [491]

Considered in their effects upon the papacy, they offered it an

unexampled opportunity for the extension of its authority. But on the

other hand, by educating the laity and developing secular interests,

they also aided in undermining the power of the hierarchy.

As for the political institutions of Europe, they called forth and

developed that spirit of nationality which resulted in the

consolidation of the states of Europe in the form which they have since

retained with little change. When the Crusades began, feudalism

flourished. When the Crusades closed, feudalism was decadent throughout

Europe, and had largely disappeared from parts of it. The need petty

knights and great nobles had to furnish themselves with adequate

equipments, led to the pawn or sale of their estates and their

prolonged absence gave sovereigns a rare opportunity to extend their

authority. And in the adjoining camps of armies on Syrian soil, the

customs and pride of independent national life were fostered.

Upon the literature and individual intelligence of Western Europe, the

Crusades, no doubt, exerted a powerful influence, although it may not

be possible to weigh that influence in exact balances. It was a matter

of great importance that men of all classes, from the emperor to the

poorest serf, came into personal contact on the march and in the camp.

They were equals in a common cause, and learned that they possessed the

traits of a common humanity, of which the isolation of the baronial

hall kept them ignorant. The emancipating effect which travel may

always be expected to exert, was deeply felt. [492] earliest annalists

of the First Crusade, who wrote in Latin, to Villehardouin and John de

Joinville who wrote in French. The fountains of story and romance were

struck, and to posterity were contributed the inspiring figures of

Godfrey, Tancred, and St. Louis--soldiers who realized the ideal of

Christian chivalry.

As for commerce, it would be hazardous to say that the enterprise of

the Italian ports would not, in time, have developed by the usual

incentives of Eastern trade and the impulse of marine enterprise then

astir. It cannot be doubted, however, that the Crusades gave to

commerce an immense impetus. The fleets of Marseilles and the Italian

ports were greatly enlarged through the demands for the transportation

of tens of thousands of Crusaders; and the Pisans, Genoese, and

Venetians were busy in traffic at Acre, Damietta, and other ports.

[493]

In these various ways the spell of ignorance and narrowing prejudice

was broken, and to the mind of Western Europe a new horizon of thought

and acquisition was opened, and remotely within that horizon lay the

institutions and ambitions of our modern civilization.

After the lapse of six centuries and more, the Crusades still have

their stirring lessons of wisdom and warning, and these are not the

least important of their results. The elevating spectacle of devotion

to an unselfish aim has seldom been repeated in the history of religion

on so grand a scale. This spectacle continues to be an inspiration. The

very word "crusade" is synonymous with a lofty moral or religious

movement, as the word "gospel" has come to be used to signify every

message of good.

The Crusades also furnish the perpetual reminder that not in localities

is the Church to seek its holiest satisfaction and not by the sword is

the Church to win its way; but by the message of peace, by appeals to

the heart and conscience, and by teaching the ministries of prayer and

devout worship is she to accomplish her mission. The Crusader kneeling

in the church of the Holy Sepulchre learned the meaning of the words,

"Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, He is risen."

And all succeeding generations know the meaning of these words better

for his pilgrimage and his mistake.

Approaching the Crusades in enthusiasm, but differing from them as

widely as the East is from the West in methods and also in results, has

been the movement of modern Protestant missions to the heathen world

which has witnessed no shedding of blood, save the blood of its own

Christian emissaries, men and women, whose aims have been not the

conquest of territory, but the redemption of the race. [494]

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[488] So Humbert de Romanis, 1274; Mansi, XXIV. 116. A sixth objection

against the Crusades as stated and answered by him ran as follows: quod

ex ista pugna non sequitur fructus spiritualis quia Saraceni magis

convertuntur ad blasphemiam quam ad fidem; occisi autem ad infernum

mittuntur, etc.

[489] II. 338, etc.

[490] Archer, p. 447, well says: "They raised mankind above the ignoble

sphere of petty ambitions to seek after an ideal that was neither

sordid nor selfish. They called forth all that was heroic in human

nature, and filled the world with the inspiration of noble thoughts and

deeds."

[491] Decline and Fall, LVIII.

[492] This is clearly apparent from the English and other mediaeval

chronicles, such as the Chronicles of M. Paris, Hoveden, etc.

[493] The ships of the two great Military Orders alone carried great

numbers of pilgrims. In 1182 one of their ships was wrecked on the

Egyptian coast with 1500 pilgrims. In 1180 several vessels met the same

fate, 2500 pilgrims were drowned and 1500 sold into slavery. In 1246

their ships carried from the port of Marseilles alone 6000 pilgrims.

See Prutz in Essays, p. 54. This author, in laying weight upon the

economic influences of the Crusades, says properly, that they "had only

in part to do with religion, and particularly with the church," p. 77.

Arabic words, such as damask, tarif, and bazar, were introduced into

the vocabularies of European nations, and products, such as saffron,

maize, melons, and little onions, were carried back by the Crusaders.

The transfer of money made necessary the development of the system of

letters of credit.

[494] The Crusades, said the eloquent Dr. Richard S. Storrs, Bernard of

Clairvaux, p. 558, furnished "as truly an ideal enthusiasm as that of

any one who has sought to perform his missionary work in distant lands

or has wrought into permanent laws and Institutions the principles of

equity and the temper of love. And they must forever remain an example

resplendent and shining of what an enthusiasm that is careless of

obstacles and fearless of danger can accomplish."

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� 60. The Military Orders.

Literature.--The sources are the Rules of the orders and the scattered

notices of contemporary chroniclers. No attempt is made to give an

exhaustive list of the literature.--P. H. Helyot: Histoire des ordres

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Jerusalem, Berlin, 1859.--H. Von Ortenburg: Der Ritterorden des hl.

Johannis zu Jerusalem, 2 vols. Regensb. 1866.--Genl. Porter: Hist. of

the Knights of Malta of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, London,

1883.--Von Finck: Uebersicht �ber die Gesch. des ritterlichen Ordens

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Clairvaux: De laude novae militiae, ad milites templi, Migne, 182, pp.

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Philippe le Bel et les Templiers, Paris, 1874, and Documents in�dites

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Paris, 1886.--\*H. Prutz: Geheimlehre und Geheimstatuten des

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"And by the Holy Sepulchre

I've pledged my knightly sword

To Christ, His blessed church, and her,

The mother of our Lord."

Whittier, Knights of St. John.

A product of the Crusades and their most important adjunct were the

three great Military Orders, the Knights of St. John, the Knight

Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. They combined monastic vows with

the profession of arms. Their members were fighting monks and armed

almoners. They constituted a standing army of Crusaders and were the

vigilant guardians of Latin institutions in Palestine for nearly two

centuries. The Templars and the Knights of St. John did valiant service

on many a battle-field in Palestine and Asia Minor. [495] [496] , the

three orders retired to Europe, holding the Turks in check for two

centuries longer in the South and extending civilization to the

provinces on the Baltic in the North. They combined the element of

romance, corresponding to the chivalric spirit of the age, with the

element of philanthropy corresponding to its religious spirit.

These orders speedily attained to great popularity, wealth, and power.

Kings did them honor. Pope after pope extended their authority and

privileges. Their grand masters were recognized as among the chief

personages of Christendom. But with wealth and popularity came pride

and decay. The strength of the Knights of St. John and the Templars was

also reduced by their rivalry which became the scandal of Europe, and

broke out into open feuds and pitched battles as before Acre, 1241 to

1243 and in 1259. [497] [498] Teutonic Knights exclusively a German

order. The Templars were oecumenical in their constituency.

I. The order of the Knights of St. John, or the Hospitallers, [499]

[500] own out of a hospital in the city erected for the care of sick

and destitute pilgrims. As early as the time of Charlemagne a hospital

existed there. Before the year 1000 a cloister seems to have been

founded by the Normans close by the church of the Holy Sepulchre known

as St. Maria de Latina, with accommodations for the sick. [501] [502]

seems to have come from Southern France. [503] ed in 1120 and was

succeeded by Raymund du Puy, who gave the order great fame and presided

over it for forty years. [504]

The order increased with astonishing rapidity in numbers, influence,

and wealth. Gifts were received from all parts of Europe, the givers

being remembered in prayers offered up in Jerusalem. Raymund

systematized the rules of the brotherhood and gave it a compact

organization and in 1113 it gained papal sanction through Pascal II. At

that time there were affiliated houses at St. Giles, Asti, Pisa,

Otranto, and Tarentum. [505] eive the joys of the heavenly. Bull

followed bull, granting the order privileges. Innocent III. exempted

the members from excommunication at the hand of bishops and made the

order amenable solely to the pope. Anastasius IV., 1154, gave them the

right to build churches, chapels, and graveyards in any locality. [506]

The military feature of the organization was developed after the

philanthropic feature of nursing and caring for unfortunate pilgrims

and it quickly became the dominant feature. Raymund du Puy makes a

clear distinction in the order between cleric and lay brethren.

Innocent II., 1130, speaks of its members as priests, knights, and lay

brethren, the last taking no vows. In its perfected organization the

order was divided into three classes, knights, chaplains, and serving

brethren. The knights and chaplains were bound by the threefold pledge

of charity, poverty, and obedience. [507] [508] ork was not abandoned.

In 1160 John of Wizburg states from personal observation that more than

two thousand sick were cared for in the hospital of Jerusalem, and that

in a single day forty deaths occurred. After the transfer of the order

to Rhodes, the knights continued to carry on hospital work.

After Clement IV., 1267, the title of the chief official was "Grand

master of the Hospital of Jerusalem and Guardian of the Poor of Jesus

Christ." The distinctive dress of the order was, after 1259, a red

mantle with a white Maltese cross worn on the left breast that "God

through this emblem might give faith and obedience and protect us and

all our Christian benefactors from the power of the devil." Its motto

was pro fide, "for the faith." [509] ded about 1320 into seven langues

or provinces, Provence, France, Auvergne, Italy, Germany, Aragon,

England. Castile was added in 1464. Affiliated houses in Europe and the

East sent two-thirds of their income to Jerusalem. [510] f the order

was that the knights always went two and two and carried their own

light with them.

After the fall of Acre, the Hospitallers established themselves on the

island of Cyprus and in 1310 removed to the island of Rhodes, where

massive walls and foundations continue to attest the labor expended

upon their fortifications and other buildings. From Rhodes, as a base,

they did honorable service.

Under the grand master La Valette, the Knights bravely defended Malta

against the fleet of Suleymon the Magnificent until Europe felt the

thrill of relief caused by the memorable defeat of the Turkish fleet by

Don John at Lepanto, 1571. From that time the order continued to decay.

[511]

II. The Knight Templars [512] did fame than the Knights of St. John;

but the order had a singularly tragic ending in 1312, and was dissolved

under moral charges of the most serious nature. From the beginning they

were a military body. The order owes its origin to Hugo de Payens (or

Payns) and Godfrey St. Omer, who entered Jerusalem riding on one horse,

1119. They were joined by six others who united with them in making a

vow to the patriarch of Jerusalem to defend by force of arms pilgrims

on their way from the coast to Jerusalem.

Baldwin II. gave the brotherhood quarters in his palace on Mount

Moriah, near the site of Solomon's temple, whence the name Templars is

derived. Hugo appeared at the council of Troyes in 1128, [513] , and

Germany, that three hundred knights joined the order. St. Bernard wrote

a famous tract in praise of the "new soldiery." [514] rs allowed to go

unpunished. They take no pleasure in the absurd pastime of hawking.

Draughts and dice they abhor. Ribald songs and stage plays they eschew

as insane follies. They cut their hair close; they are begrimed with

dirt and swarthy from the weight of their armor and the heat of the

sun. They never dress gayly, and wash seldom. They strive to secure

swift and strong horses, but not garnished with ornaments or decked

with trappings, thinking of battle and victory, not of pomp and show.

Such has God chosen to vigilantly guard the Holy Sepulchre." [515]

The order spread with great rapidity. [516] [517] nues have been

estimated as high as 54,000,000 francs. [518] ngary, England, Upper and

Lower Germany, Sicily, and perhaps a twelfth, Bohemia. Popes, beginning

with Honorius II., heaped favors upon them. They were relieved from

paying taxes of all sorts. They might hold services twice a year in

churches where the interdict was in force. Their goods were placed

under the special protection of the Holy See. In 1163 Alexander III.

granted them permission to have their own priests. [519]

Like the Hospitallers, the Templars took the triple vow and, in

addition, the vow of military service and were divided into three

classes: the knights who were of noble birth, the men at arms or

serving brethren (fratres servientes, armigeri), and chaplains who were

directly amenable to the pope. The dress of the knights was a white

mantle with a red cross, of the serving brethren a dark habit with a

red cross. The knights cropped their hair short and allowed their

beards to grow. They were limited to three horses, except the grand

master who was allowed four, and were forbidden to hunt except the

lion, the symbol of the devil, who goes about seeking whom he may

devour. [520] [521] , and ate at a common table. If money was found in

the effects of a deceased brother, his body was denied all prayer and

funeral services and placed in unconsecrated ground like a slave. [522]

s a widow, virgin, mother, sister, or any other female. [523] [524]

The head of the order was called Grand Master, was granted the rank of

a prince, and included in the invitations to the oecumenical councils,

as, for example, the Fourth Lateran and the second council of Lyons.

The Master of the Temple in England was a baron with seat in

Parliament.

The Templars took part in all the Crusades except the first and the

crusade of Frederick II., from which they held aloof on account of the

papal prohibition. Their discipline was conspicuous on the disastrous

march of the French from Laodicea to Attalia and their valor at the

battle of Hattim, before Gaza [525] many other fields. [526] [527]

represent their real possessions.

A famous passage in the history of Richard of England set forth the

reputation the Templars had for pride. When Fulke of Neuilly was

preaching the Third Crusade, he told Richard he had three daughters and

called upon him to provide for them in marriage. The king exclaimed,

"Liar, I have no daughters." "Nay, thou hast three evil daughters,

Pride, Lust, and Luxury," was the priest's reply. Turning to his

courtiers, Richard retorted, "He bids me marry my three daughters.

Well, so be it. To the Templars, I give my first-born, Pride, to the

Cistercians my second-born, Lust, and to the prelates the third,

Luxury." [528]

The order survived the fall of Acre less than twenty years. After

finding a brief refuge in Cyprus the knights concentrated their

strength in France, where the once famous organization was suppressed

by the violent measures of Philip the Fair and Clement V. The story of

the suppression belongs to the next period.

III. The order of the Teutonic Knights [529] he prominence in Palestine

of the two older orders. During the first century of its existence, its

members devoted themselves to the maintenance and care of hospitals on

the field of battle. They seldom appeared until the historic mission of

the order opened in the provinces of what is now northeastern Germany

which were reduced to subjection and to a degree of civilization by its

arms and humanizing efforts.

The order dates from 1190, when a hospital was erected in a tent under

the walls of Acre by pilgrims from Bremen and L�beck. Frederick of

Swabia commended it, and Clement III. sanctioned it, 1191. [530] [531]

and Templars. The order was made up almost exclusively of German

elements. [532] der in Europe was a convent at Palermo, the gift of

Henry VI., 1197. Its first hospital in Germany was St. Kunigunde, at

Halle. Subsequently its hospitals extended from Bremen and L�beck to

N�rnberg and further south. Its territory was divided into bailiwicks,

balleyen, of which there were twelve in Germany. The chief officer,

called Grand Master, had the dignity of a prince of the empire.

Under Hermann von Salza (1210-1239), the fourth grand master, the order

grew with great rapidity. Von Salza was a trusted adviser of Frederick

II., and received the privilege of using the black eagle in the order's

banner. Following the invitation of the monk Christian and of Konrad of

Morovia, 1226, to come to their relief against the Prussians, he

diverted the attention and activity of the order from the Orient to

this new sphere. The order had the promise of Culmland and half of its

conquests for its assistance.

After the fall of Acre, the headquarters were transferred to Venice and

in 1309 to Marienburg on the Vistula, where a splendid castle was

erected. Henceforth the knights were occupied with the wild territories

along the Baltic and southwards, whose populations were still in a

semi-barbaric state. In the hour when the Templars were being

suppressed, this order was enjoying its greatest prosperity. In 1237 it

absorbed the Brothers of the Sword. [533]

At one time the possessions of the Teutonic knights included fifty

cities such as Culm, Marienburg, Thorn, and K�nigsberg, and lands with

a population of two million. Its missionary labors are recorded in

another chapter. With the rise of Poland began the shrinkage of the

order, and in the battle of Tannenberg, 1410, its power was greatly

shaken. In 1466 it gave up large blocks of territory to Poland,

including Marienburg, and the grand master swore fealty to the Polish

king. The order continued to hold Prussia and Sameland as fiefs. But

the discipline had become loose, as was indicated by the popular

saying, "Dressing and undressing, eating and drinking, and going to bed

are the work the German knights do." [534] laid the foundation of the

greatness of the duchy of Prussia, which he made hereditary in his

family, the Hohenzollern. [535] [536]

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[495] At the battle of Gaza with the Chorasmians, 1244, of two hundred

and sixteen Knights of St. John who entered the battle, two hundred

remained dead on the field.

[496] After the battle of Tiberias, the Knights of St. John, for a few

years, made their strong fortress, Margat, the base of their

operations.

[497] See M. Paris, an. 1259. The famous antithesis of Gibbon (chap.

LVIII.) pleases the ear and contains some truth, but makes a wrong

impression. "The Knights of the Temple and St. John neglected to live,

but they prepared to die in the service of Christ."

[498] The synod of Salzburg, 1292, decided in favor of the union.

[499] Fratres hospitalis S. Johannis, Hospitalarii, Johannitae, milites

hospitalis S. Johannis. From the fourteenth century they were also

known as the Knights of Rhodes and from the sixteenth as the Knights of

Malta. For a list of the houses of the female members of this order, Le

Roulx, Les Hospitaliers, 300 sq.

[500] The bull of Pascal, II. 1113, speaks of the hospital in Jerusalem

adjoining the church of the Baptist, xenodochium ... juxta Beati

Johannis Baptistae ecclesiam.

[501] William of Tyre, XVIII. 5; de Vitry, Hist. Jerus., 64. The Mary,

whose name the convent bore, was Mary Magdalene.

[502] Le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers, 33, connects the order with the

hospital founded by Maurus,nous croyons pouvoir persister � penser que

les Amalfitans furent les pr�curseurs des Hospitaliers

[503] William of Tyre, VII. 23, states that he was held in chains

during the siege of Jerusalem.

[504] See Le Roulx, pp. 44 sqq. Gerard is called in an old chronicle

"Guardian of the hospital of the poor in Jerusalem," guardianus

hospitalis pauperum, etc., Hurter, IV. 315, note

[505] Woodhouse, p. 20, gives a list of no less than fifty-four houses

belonging to the Hospital in England.

[506] The bull in Mansi, XXI. 780.

[507] They were monks. The order had no priests until the time of

Alexander III., who gave it the right to receive priests and clerics.

Priests became necessary in order that the new custom might be followed

which gave to priests alone the right of absolution. During the first

century of their existence, the members of military orders made

confession of their sins in the open chapters and were punished at the

order of the Master by public scourging or otherwise. The strict church

law of confession and of absolution by the priest was not defined till

later by the Fourth Lateran Council, and Thomas Aquinas. See Lea, The

Absolution Formula of the Templars.

[508] Le Roulx, 290 sq.

[509] For the formula of admission, see Le Roulx, 288 sq.

[510] See Uhlhorn for the amount of linen and other goods expected from

the various houses in Europe. There was a female branch of the order of

which, however, very little is known. In 1188 Sancha, queen of Aragon,

founded a rich convent for it at Sixena near Saragossa.

[511] On October 31, 1898, the emperor William II. of Germany, while on

a visit to Jerusalem, dedicated the Protestant church of the Redeemer,

built on the ancient site of the hospital of the Knights of St. John,

opposite the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

[512] Templarii, fratres militiae templi, equites templarii, pauperes

commilitiones Christi templique Salamonis, are some of the titles by

which they were known. There was not nearly as much resemblance between

the Hospitallers and Templars as between the Templars and Teutonic

knights. Curzon, p. xi.

[513] William of Tyre. See Hefele, V. 401 sq.

[514] De laude novae militiae.

[515] On St. Bernard's services to the order, see the biographies by

Morison, 141 sqq., and Storrs, 567-574.

[516] In England they settled at the old Temple outside of Holborn,

whence they removed to the new Temple on the Thames, 1185. The Temple

church was completed in 1240. M. Paris gives an account of the

dedication and the banquet which was provided by the Hospitallers.

Stephen and his queen gave the Templars several places about 1150.

Woodhouse, p. 260, gives a list of twenty-seven English houses.

[517] An. 1244.

[518] At the end of the thirteenth century. This is the estimate of de

Chambure. Schottm�ller estimates them at 40,000,000 francs. William of

Tyre, XII. 7, speaks of their possessions as "immense." Their wealth

and greed were proverbial.

[519] Funk calls Alexander's bull the Magna Charta of the order.

Wetzer-Welte, XI. 1315.

[520] With reference to 1 Pet. 5:8, Curzon, 58.

[521] Non nobis, Domine, non nobis sed tuo nomini da gloriam.

[522] Curzon, XXVII.

[523] Fugiat feminae oscula Christi militia, Mansi, XXI. 72; also

Schn�rer, 153.

[524] Schn�rer, Rule XI. p. 138.

[525] M. Paris, Luard's ed., IV. 337 sqq., gives the letters from the

patriarch of Jerusalem and the vice-master of the Temple, 1244. This

chronicler is very severe upon the Templars for their arrogant pride

and their jealous rivalry of the Hospitallers. An example of this

jealousy was their refusal to accompany King Amalric to Egypt because

to the Hospitallers had been assigned first place.

[526] Among their fortresses was the castle Pilgrim near Acre, built

1218, whose great size and splendor are described by James de Vitry.

[527] The houses of the order became important money centres in France

and England in the thirteenth century, and furnished to kings, bishops,

and nobles a safety-deposit for funds and treasures of plate, jewels,

and important records. Henry III. and other English kingss borrowed

from them, as did also French kings. The Templars also acted as

disbursers for monies loaned by Italian bankers or as trustees for

other monies, as, for example, the annual grant of one thousand marks

promised by John to his sister-in-law, Berengaria. John frequently

stopped at the house of the Templars in London. See Cunningham, Growth

of English Industries and Commerce, 3d ed. Leopold Delisle, Les

operationsfinanci�res des Templiers, Paris, 1889. Eleanor Ferris,

Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown, in

"Am. Hist. Rev.," October, 1902.

[528] Charasson, quoting Richard de Hoveden, Vie de Foulques de

Neuilly, 89 sq.

[529] Deutscher Orden, Ordo S. Mariae Theutonicorum.

[530] Under the name domus hospitalis S. Mariae Theutonicorum in

Jerusalem. A German hospital was dedicated in Jerusalem to St. Mary,

1128.

[531] At the council of Constance, 1416, the king of Poland protested

against their right to convert by the sword.

[532] In the conflict of Lewis the Bavarian with the papacy, the

Teutonic order espoused the emperor's cause and received from him

important gifts and privileges.

[533] Fratres militiae Christi, gladiferi, a military order founded in

1202.

[534] Kleider aus, Kleider an, Essen, Trinken, Schlafengehen, ist die

Arbeit so die Deutsche Herren han.

[535] Luther in 1523 wrote a tract calling upon the Teutonic knights to

abandon their false rule of celibacy and to practise the true chastity

of marriage. Ermahnung an die Herren Deutschen Ordens falsche

Keuschheit zu meiden und zur rechten ehelichen Keuschheit zu greifen.

Albrecht introduced the Lutheran reformation into Brandenburg. He

married the Danish princess Dorothea.

[536] Several orders combining military and religious vows existed in

Spain and Portugal and did service against the Moors. The order of Iago

of Campostella received the papal sanction in 1175 and protected

pilgrims to the shrine of Campostella. The order of Calatrava received

papal approval 1164, and took an active part in the struggle against

the Moors. The order of Alcantara was recognized by Lucius III., 1183.

The headship of the last two bodies was transferred to the crown under

Ferdinand the Catholic.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

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sq., draws in his treatment of monasticism, upon his great resources of

mediaeval scholarship.

The glorious period of monasticism fell in the Middle Ages, and more

especially in the period that is engaging our attention. The convent

was the chief centre of true religion as well as of dark superstition.

With all the imposing movements of the age, the absolute papacy, the

Crusades, the universities, the cathedrals and scholasticism, the monk

was efficiently associated. He was, with the popes, the chief promoter

of the Crusades. He was among the great builders. He furnished the

chief teachers to the universities and numbered in his order the

profoundest of the Schoolmen. The mediaeval monks were the Puritans,

the Pietists, the Methodists, the Evangelicals of their age. [537]

If it be compared with the monachism of the earlier period of the

Church, the mediaeval institution will be found to equal it in the

number of its great monks and to exceed it in useful activity. Among

the distinguished Fathers of the Post-Nicene period who advocated

monasticism were St. Anthony of Egypt, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of

Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Benedict of Nursia. In the

Middle Ages the list is certainly as imposing. There we have Anselm,

Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus among the

Schoolmen, St. Bernard and Hugo de St. Victor, Eckart, and Tauler among

the mystics, Hildegard and Joachim of Flore among the seers, the

authors of the Dies irae and Stabat mater and Adam de St. Victor among

the hymnists, Anthony of Padua, Bernardino of Siena, Berthold of

Regensburg and Savonarola among the preachers, and in a class by

himself, Francis d'Assisi.

Of the five epochs in the history of monasticism two belong to the

Middle Ages proper. [538] rsia of the sixth century, and his

well-systematized rule, mark the second epoch. The development of the

Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century marks the last epoch. The two

between are represented by the monastic revival, starting from the

convent of Cluny as a centre in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and

the rise and spread of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century.

Cluny was for a century almost the only reforming force in Western

Europe till the appearance of Hildebrand on the stage, and he himself

was probably trained in the mother convent. Through its offshoots and

allied orders Cluny continued to be a burning centre of religious zeal

for a century longer. Then, at a time of monastic declension, the

mendicant orders, brought into existence by St. Francis d'Assisi and

Dominic of Spain, became the chief promoters of one of the most notable

religious revivals that has ever swept over Europe.

The work done by men like William of Hirschau, Bruno and Norbert in

Germany, Bernard and Peter the Venerable in France, and St. Francis in

Italy, cannot be ignored in any true account of the onward progress of

mankind. However much we may decline to believe that monasticism is a

higher form of Christian life, we must give due credit to these men, or

deny to a series of centuries all progress and good whatsoever.

The times were favorable for the development of monastic communities.

If our own is the age of the laic, the mediaeval period was the age of

the monk. Society was unsettled and turbulent. The convent offered an

asylum of rest and of meditation. Bernard calls his monks "the order of

the Peaceful." Feud and war ruled without. Every baronial residence was

a fortress. The convent was the scene of brotherhood and co-operation.

It furnished to the age the ideal of a religious household on earth.

The epitaphs of monks betray the feeling of the time, pacificus, "the

peaceful"; tranquilla pace serenus, "in quiet and undisturbed repose";

fraternae pacis amicus, "friend of brotherly peace."

The circumstances are presented by Caesar of Heisterbach under which a

number of monks abandoned the world, and were "converted"--that is,

determined to enter a convent. Now the decision was made at a burial.

[539] rful things which occurred in convents. This was the case with a

young knight, Gerlach, [540] the seed which had been sown in his heart,

and entered upon the monastic novitiate. Sometimes the decision was

made in consequence of a sermon. [541] rbach, while they were on the

way to Cologne during the troublous times of Philip of Swabia and Otto

IV. Gerard described the appearance of the Virgin, her mother Anna, and

St. Mary Magdalene, who descended from the mountain and revealed

themselves to the monks of Clairvaux while they were engaged in the

harvest, dried the perspiration from their foreheads, and cooled them

by fanning. Within three months Caesar entered the convent of

Heisterbach. [542]

There were in reality only two careers in the Middle Ages, the career

of the knight and the career of the monk. It would be difficult to say

which held out the most attractions and rewards, even for the present

life. The monk himself was a soldier. The well-ordered convent offered

a daily drill, exercise following exercise with the regularity of

clockwork; and though the enemy was not drawn up in visible array on

open field, he was a constant reality. [543] ly the problem of their

salvation and fight their conflict with the devil. The Third Lateran,

1179, bears witness to the popularity of the conventual life among the

higher classes, and the tendency to restrict it to them, when it

forbade the practice of receiving motley as a price of admission to the

vow. [544]

By drawing to themselves the best spirits of the time, the convents

became in their good days, from the tenth well into the thirteenth

century, hearthstones of piety, and the chief centres of missionary and

civilizing agencies. When there was little preaching, the monastic

community preached the most powerful sermon, calling men's thoughts

away from riot and bloodshed to the state of brotherhood and religious

reflection. [545] he ground, and, after the most scientific fashion

then known, taught agriculture, the culture of the vine and fish, the

breeding of cattle, and the culture of wool. He built roads and the

best buildings. In intellectual and artistic concerns the convent was

the chief school of the times. It trained architects, painters, and

sculptors. There the deep problems of theology and philosophy were

studied; there manuscripts were copied, and when the universities

arose, the convent furnished them with their first and their most

renowned teachers. In northeastern Germany and other parts of Europe

and in Asia it was the outer citadel of church profession and church

activity.

So popular was the monastic life that religion seemed to be in danger

of running out into monkery and society of being transformed into an

aggregation of convents. The Fourth Lateran sought to counteract this

tendency by forbidding the establishment of new orders. [546] arcely in

his grave before the Dominicans and Franciscans received full papal

sanction.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the important change was

accomplished whereby all monks received priestly ordination. Before

that time it was the exception for a monk to be a priest. Extreme

unction and absolution had been administered in the convent by

unordained monks. [547] . The synod of Nismes, thirty years earlier,

1096, thought it answered objections to the new custom sufficiently by

pointing to Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, and Augustine as cases

of monks who had priestly ordination. On the other hand the active

movement within the convents to take a larger part in the affairs of

society was resisted by oecumenical councils, as, for example, the

Second Lateran, 1139, which forbade monks practising as physicians or

lawyers.

The monastic life was praised as the highest form of earthly existence.

The convent was compared to Canaan [548] d the monks converts,

conversi, or the religious. [549] [550]

Bishop Otto of Freising speaks of the monks as, spending their lives

like angels in heavenly purity and holiness. They live together one in

heart and soul, give themselves at one signal to sleep, lift up as by

one impulse their lips in prayer and their voices in reading.... They

go so far, that while they are refreshing the body at table, they

listen to the reading of the Scriptures.... They give up their own

wills, their earthly possessions, and their parents, and, following the

command of the Gospel and Christ, constantly bear their cross by

mortifying the flesh, being all the while full of heavenly

homesickness." [551]

The enthusiastic advocacy of the monastic life can only be explained by

a desire to get relief from the turbulence of the social world and a

sincere search after holiness. There is scarcely a letter of Anselm in

which he does not advocate its superior advantages. It was not

essential to become a monk to reach salvation, but who, he writes, "can

attain to it in a safer or nobler way, he who seeks to love God alone

or he who joins the love of the world with the love of God?" [552]

[553]

Bernard was not at peace till he had all his brothers and his married

sister within cloistral walls.

Honorius of Autun, in his tract on the cloistral life, [554] the cold

and anxieties of the world, a bed for the weary to rest on, an asylum

for those fleeing from the turmoils of the state, a school for infants

learning the rule of Christ, a gymnasium for those who would fight

against vices, a prison career for the criminal from the broad way till

he goes into the wide hall of heaven, a paradise with different trees

full of fruits and the delights of Scripture.

The monastic life was the angelic life. "Are ye not already like the

angels of God, having abstained from marriage," exclaimed St. Bernard,

in preaching to his monks, [555]

Kings and princes desired to be clad in the monastic habit as they

passed into the untried scenes of the future. So Frederick II., foe of

the temporal claims of the papacy as he was, is said to have died in

the garb of the Cistercians. So did Roger II. of Sicily, 1163, and

Roger III., 1265. William of Nevers was clad in the garb of the

Carthusian order before he expired. Louis VI. of France passed away

stretched on ashes sprinkled in the form of a cross. So did Henry, son

of Henry II. of England, expire, laid on a bed of ashes, 1184. William

the Conqueror died in a priory with a bishop and abbot standing by.

[556]

It was the custom in some convents, if not in all, to lay out the monks

about to die on the floor, which was sometimes covered with matting.

First they rapped on the death table. Waiting the approach of death,

the dying often had wonderful visions of Christ, the Virgin, and the

saints. The imagination at such times was very vivid, and the reports

which the dying gave on returning for a moment to consciousness seem to

have been generally accepted. [557]

The miraculous belonged to the monk's daily food. He was surrounded by

spirits. Visions and revelations occurred by day and by night. [558]

espectable accounts of monks, so beset, are given by Peter the

Venerable in his work on Miracles, by Caesar of Heisterbach, and

Jacobus de Voragine. Caesar's Dialogue of Miracles and Voragine's

Golden Legend are among the most entertaining storybooks ever written.

They teem with legends which are accepted as true. They simply reflect

the feeling of the age, which did not for a moment doubt the constant

manifestation of the supernatural, especially the pranks and

misdemeanors of the evil one and his emissaries.

Peter the Venerable gives a graphic picture of how these restless foes

pulled the bedclothes off from sleeping monks and, chuckling, carried

them to a distance, how they impudently stood by, making fun while the

modest monastic attended to the necessities of nature, [559] [560]

edside, who with difficulty bore his weight with his wings. Two others

appeared at once and exclaimed to the first, "What are you doing here?"

"I can do nothing," was the reply, "on account of the protection which

is given by the cross and the holy water and the singing of psalms. I

have labored all night and can do nothing." The two replied, "We have

come from forcing a certain Gaufrid to commit adultery and the head of

a monastery to fornicate with a boy, and you, idle rogue, do something,

too, and cut off the foot of this monk which is hanging outside his

bed." Seizing a pickaxe which was lying under the bed, the demon struck

with all his might, but the monk with equal celerity drew in his foot

and turned to the back side of the bed and so escaped the blow.

Thereupon the demons took their departure. [561]

It is fair to suppose that many of these experiences were mere fancies

of the brain growing out of attacks of indigestion or of headache,

which was a common malady of convents. [562]

The assaults of the devil were especially directed to induce the monk

to abandon his sacred vow. Writing to a certain Helinand, Anselm

mentions the four kinds of assault he was wont to make. The first was

the assault through lust of the pleasures of the world, when the

novice, having recently entered the convent, began to feel the monotony

of its retired life. In the second, he pushed the question why the monk

had chosen that form of life rather than the life of the parish priest.

In the third, he pestered him with the question why he had not put off

till late in life the assumption of the vow, in the meantime having a

good time, and yet in the end getting all the benefits and the reward

of monkery. And last of all, the devil argued why the monk had bound

himself at all by a vow, seeing it was possible to serve God just as

acceptably without a vow. Anselm answered the last objection by quoting

Ps. 76:11, and declaring the vow to be in itself well pleasing to God.

[563]

It is unfair to any institution to base our judgment of its merits and

utility upon its perversions. The ideal Benedictine and Franciscan

monk, we should be glad to believe, was a man who divided his time

between religious exercises and some useful work, whether it was manual

labor or teaching or practical toil of some other kind. There were, no

doubt, multitudes of worthy men who corresponded to this ideal. But

there was another ideal, and that ideal was one from which this modern

age turns away with unalloyed repugnance. The pages of Voragine and the

other retailers of the conventual life are full of repulsive

descriptions which were believed in their day, and presented not only a

morbid view of life but a view utterly repulsive to sound morality and

to the ideal. A single instance will suffice. In the curious legend of

St. Brandon the Irish saint, whose wanderings on the ocean have been

connected with America, we have it reported that he found an island

whereon was an abbey in which twenty-four monks lived. They had come

from Ireland and had been living on the island eighty years when they

welcomed St. Brandon and his twelve companions. In all this time they

had been served from above every week day with twelve loaves of bread,

and on Sabbaths with double that number, and they had the same

monotonous fare each day, bread and herbs. None of them had ever been

sick. They had royal copes of cloth of gold and went in processions.

They celebrated mass with lighted tapers, and they said evensong. And

in all those eighty years they had never spoken to one another a single

word! What an ideal that was to set up for a mortal man! Saying mass,

keeping silence, going in processions with golden copes day in and day

out for eighty long years, every proper instinct of nature thus buried,

the gifts of God despised, and life turned into an indolent, selfish

seclusion! And yet Voragine, himself an archbishop, relates that

"Brandon wept for joy of their holy conversation." [564]

Gifts of lands to monastic institutions were common, especially during

the Crusades. He who built a convent was looked upon as setting up a

ladder to heaven. [565] by Anselm, 1094. The Vale Royal in Cheshire,

the last Cistercian home founded in England, was established by Edward

I. in fulfilment of a vow made in time of danger by sea on his return

from Palestine. He laid the first stone, 1277, and presented the home

with a fragment of the true cross and other relics.

Most of the monastic houses which became famous, began with humble

beginnings and a severe discipline, as Clairvaux, Citeaux, Hirschau,

and the Chartreuse. The colonies were planted for the most part in

lonely regions, places difficult of access, in valley or on mountain or

in swamp. The Franciscans and Dominicans set a different example by

going into the cities and to the haunts of population, howbeit also

choosing the worst quarters. The beautiful names often assumed show the

change which was expected to take place in the surroundings, such as

Bright Valley or Clairvaux, Good Place or Bon Lieu, the Delights or Les

Delices (near Bourges), Happy Meadow or Felix Pr�, Crown of Heaven or

Himmelskrone, Path to Heaven or Voie du Ciel. [566] etc. [567]

With wealth came the great abbeys of stone, exhibiting the highest

architecture of the day. The establishments of Citeaux, Cluny, the

Grande Chartreuse, and the great houses of Great Britain were on an

elaborate scale. No pains or money were spared in their erection and

equipment. Stained glass, sculpture, embroidery, rich vestments, were

freely used. [568] spital. [569] etinues. Matthew Paris says

Dunfermline Abbey, Scotland, was ample enough to entertain, at the same

time, three sovereigns without inconvenience the one to the other. The

latest conveniences were introduced into these houses, the latest news

there retailed. A convent was, upon the whole, a pretty good place to

be in, from the standpoint of worldly well-being. What the modern club

house is to the city, that the mediaeval convent was apt to be, so far

as material appointments went. In its vaults the rich deposited their

valuables. To its protection the oppressed fled for refuge. There, as

at Westminster, St. Denis, and Dunfermline, kings and princes chose to

be buried. And there, while living, they were often glad to sojourn, as

the most notable place of comfort and ease they could find on their

journeys.

The conventual establishment was intended to be a self-sufficient

corporation, a sort of socialistic community doing all its own work and

supplying all its own stuffs and food. [570] supposed to rule. They had

their orchards and fields, and owned their own cattle. Some of them

gathered honey from their own hives, had the fattest fish ponds,

sheared and spun their own wool, made their own wine, and brewed their

own beer. In their best days the monks set a good example of thrift.

The list of minor officials in a convent was complete, from the

cellarer to look after the cooking and the chamberlain to look after

the dress of the brethren, to the cantor to direct the singing and the

sacristan to care for the church ornaments. In the eleventh century the

custom was introduced of associating lay brethren with the monasteries,

so that in all particulars these institutions might be completely

independent. Nor was the convent always indifferent to the poor. [571]

Like many other earthly ideals, the ideal of peace, virtue, and happy

contentment aimed at by the convent was not reached, or, if approached

in the first moments of overflowing ardor, was soon forfeited. For the

method of monasticism is radically wrong. Here and there the cloister

was the "audience chamber of God." But it was well understood that

convent walls did not of themselves make holy. As, before, Jerome,

Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine had borne testimony to that effect, so

now also did different voices. Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116) condemns the

monks who were filled with the leaven of pride and boast of their

ascetic practices and refers to such passages as 1 Tim. 4:8 and Rom.

14:17. The solitudes of the mountains and forests, he says, will not

make men holy, who do not carry with them rest of soul, the Sabbath of

the heart, and elevation of mind. Peter of Cluny wrote to a hermit that

his separation from the world would not profit unless he built a strong

wall against evil in his own heart, and that wall was Christ the

Saviour. Without this protection, retirement to solitude,

mortifications of the body, and journeyings in distant lands, instead

of availing, would bring temptations yet more violent. Every mode of

life, lay and clerical, monastic and eremitic, has its own temptations.

But prosperity was invariably followed by rivalry, arrogance, idleness,

and low morals. If Otto of Freising gives unstinted praise to the

cloistral communities, his contemporary, Anselm of Havelberg, [572] far

from ideal in the lives of monks and nuns. [573] r III., asking him to

dissolve the abbey of Grestian, the bishop of the diocese, Arnulf,

spoke of all kinds of abuses, avarice, quarrelling, murder, profligacy.

William of Malmesbury, [574] convent of Brittany, of which Abaelard was

abbot, revealed, as he reports in his autobiography, a rude and

shocking state of affairs. Things got rapidly worse after the first

fervor of the orders of St. Francis and Dominic was cooled. Teachers at

the universities, like William of St. Amour of Paris (d. 1270), had

scathing words for the monkish insolence and profligacy of his day, as

will appear when we consider the mendicant orders. Did not a bishop

during the Avignon captivity of the papacy declare that from personal

examination he knew a convent where all the nuns had carnal intercourse

with demons? The revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden (d. 1375),

approved at the councils of Constance and Basel, reveal the same low

condition of monastic virtue. Nicolas of Clemanges (d. 1440) wrote

vigorous protests against the decay of the orders, and describes in

darkest colors their waste, gluttony, idleness, and profligacy. He says

a girl going into a convent might as well be regarded as an abandoned

woman at once. It was true, as Caesar of Heisterbach had said in a

homily several centuries before, "Religion brought riches and riches

destroyed religion." [575]

The institution of monasticism, which had included the warmest piety

and the highest intelligence of the Middle Ages in their period of

glory, came to be, in the period of their decline, the synonym for

superstition and the irreconcilable foe of human progress. And this was

because there is something pernicious in the monastic method of

attempting to secure holiness, and something false in its ideal of

holiness. The monks crushed out the heretical sects and resented the

Renaissance. Their example in the period of early fervor, adapted to

encourage thrift, later promoted laziness and insolence. Once

praiseworthy as educators, they became champions of obscurantism and

ignorance. Chaucer's prior, who went on the pilgrimage to the tomb of

Thomas � Becket, is a familiar illustration of the popular opinion of

the monks in England in the fourteenth century: --

"He was a lord full fat and in good point;

His eyen stepe and rolling in his head

That stemed as a fornice of a led;

His botes souple, his hors in gret estat,

Now certainly he was a sayre prelat.

He was not pale as a forpined gost;

A fat swan loved he best of any rost;

His palfrey was as broune as is a bery."

And yet it would be most unjust to forget the services which the

monastery performed at certain periods in the history of mediaeval

Europe, or to deny the holy purpose of their founders. The hymns, the

rituals, and the manuscripts prepared by mediaeval monks continue to

make contribution to our body of literature and our Church services. An

age like our own may congratulate itself upon its methods of Church

activity, and yet acknowledge the utility of the different methods

practised by the Church in another age. We study the movements of the

past, not to find fault with methods which the best men of their time

advocated and which are not our own, but to learn, and become, if

possible, better fitted for grappling with the problems of our own

time.

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[537] Thomas Aquinas, Summa, II. (2), 188, 6 sqq., Migne, III. 1372

sqq., combines the active and contemplative features of the monastic

life, as did Benedict of Nursia, but laying more stress than the latter

upon the active feature. It must be remembered that Thomas was a

Dominican, and had had full experience of the practical activity of the

two great mendicant orders.

[538] This is the classification of Harnack, Monasticism, 44 sqq.

Denifle, Luther und Lutherthum, I. 199 sqq., who fiercely combats

Harnack, says "it is the height of misunderstanding, Unverstand, to

speak of Jesuitism as monastic."

[539] Dial., I. 21; Strange ed. I. 28.

[540] Dial., I. 18.

[541] Dial., I. 24.

[542] Dial., I. 17; Strange ed. I. 24.

[543] See Church, Life of St. Anselm, chap. III., The Discipline of a

Norman Monastery.

[544] In England the gentry class was especially drawn upon. See

Jessopp, p 161. At Morimond, Otto son of the margrave of Austria

stopped overnight with fifteen young nobles. The sound of the bells and

the devotions of the monks made such an impression that they prayed to

be received into the brotherhood. Henry, son of Louis VI., was so moved

by what he saw on a visit to Clairvaux that he determined to take the

vow. See Morison, Life of St. Bernard, p. 195.

[545] Montalembert lays stress upon intercessory prayer as the chief

service rendered by the monastery of the West. "They prayed much, they

prayed always for those whose prayers were evil or who prayed not at

all."Monks of the West, Engl. trans., I. 42 sq.

[546] Canon 13.

[547] This has been sufficiently shown by Lea, Absolution Formula of

the Templars, in Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., vol. V.; also Hefele,

V. 381. As late, however, as the thirteenth century there were monks in

England who had not received priestly ordination. See Stevenson, Life

of Grosseteste, 158.In the fifth century the consecration of the monk

was treated in some quarters as a distinct sacrament.

[548] It would be difficult to find more attractive pictures of earthly

happiness than are given in the descriptions of mediaeval convents by

eye-witnesses, as of the convent of Clairvaux by William of St.

Thierry, Migne, 185, 248, and Peter de Roya, Migne, 182, 710.

[549] It was even compared to the conversion of St. Paul. See Eicken,

324. Caesar of Heisterbach devotes a chapter of his Dialogus to

conversion, that is, the assumption of the monastic vow. Canon 13 of

the Fourth Lateran, Mansi, XXII. 1002, speaks of monastics as "the

religious," of the orders as "religions," and of entering a convent as

"being converted to religion." So Martin V. at the Council of

Constance, 1418, charges Wyclif with declaring that "all religions owe

their origin to the devil," that is, all orders. Mirbt, Quellen, 158.

[550] St. Bernard, Ep.; 112; Migne, 182, 255 sq.

[551] Chronicle, VII. 35, where he passes a lengthy panegyric upon

monks. For another pleasing description of a convent and its

appointments, see the account which Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, gives

of the burning of his abbey in 1091. He does not forget to mention that

"the very casks full of beer in the cellar were destroyed." See

Maitland, 286-292.

[552] Ep., II. 29; Migne, 158, 1182.

[553] Ep., II. 28; Migne, 1180, conspirituales as well as consanguinei.

A similar exhortation he directs to his two uncles. Ep., I. 45. See

Hasse, Life of Anselm, I. 93 sqq. Anselm, however, knew how to make, an

exception where a layman was devoting himself entirely to religious

works. Visiting the Countess Matilda, shortly before her death, he

recommended her not to take the veil, as she was doing more good in

administering her estates than she might be able to do behind convent

walls. Nevertheless he recommended her to have a nun's dress within

reach so that she might put it on when dying.

[554] De vita claustrali, Migne, 172, 1247.

[555] Sermo de diversis 37, quomodo non jam nunc estis sicut angeli Dei

in caelo, a nuptiis penitus abstinentes, etc. Migne, 183, 641. Comp.

184, 703 sq.

[556] Ordericus Vitalis, VII. 14. For the case of Hugh of Grantmesnil,

see Order. Vit., VII. 28.

[557] See Caesar of Heisterbach, Dial., XI. 6, 19, etc.; pulsata est

tabula defunctorum pro eo. Strange ed. II. 274, also Hodges, Fountains

Abbey, p. 115.

[558] Guido said of his brother St. Bernard, "One thing I know and am

assured of by experience that many things have been revealed to him in

prayer." Migne, 185, 262.

[559] Eos sibi derisiorie astitisse.

[560] Praeterea quosdam nocturnis horis, aliis quiescentibus sancta

orationum furta quaerentes et eadem causa claustrum et ecclesiam

peragrantes, multis aliquando terroribus appetebant ita ut in eorum

aliquos visibiliter, irruerent et ad terram verberando prosternerent.

De miraculis, I. 17; Migne, 189, 883.

[561] De mirac., I. 14; Migne, 189, 877.

[562] Caesar of Heisterbach, Dial., IV. 30, VII. 24. See Kaufmaun's

ed., II. 87, note.

[563] Ep., II. 12; Migne, 158, 1161 sqq.

[564] Temple Classics ed., vol. VII.

[565] Qui claustra construit vel delapsa reparat coelum ascensurus

scalam sibi facie, quoted by Hurter, IV. 450. The Norman convent Les

deux Amoureux got its name and foundation from the disappointed love of

a poor knight and a young lady whose father refused her to the lover

except on condition of his carrying her to the top of a distant hill.

The knight made the attempt and fell dead on accomplishing the task,

she quickly following him.

[566] See Montalembert, I. 66.

[567] Casa Dei, House of God; Vallis Domini, the Lord's Valley, Portus

Salutis, Gate of Salvation; Ascende Coelum, Ascent of Heaven; Lucerna;

Claravallis, etc. Map, I. 24; Wright's ed., p. 40.

[568] The luxury and pomp of Cluny called forth the well-known protest

of St. Bernard.

[569] See art. Abbey, in "Enc. Brit.," by Dr. Venable, and also

Jessopp, and especially Gasquet, pp. 13-37.

[570] The term "convent" primarily means a society of persons. In legal

instruments the usual form in England in the Middle Ages was "the prior

and convent of." See Jessopp, p. 119, who calls attention to the

endless bickerings and lawsuits in which the mediaeval convents of

England were engaged. For the monk in his monastery, see Taunton, I.

65-96.

[571] At one time Cluny cared for 17,000 poor. In the famine of 1117

the convent of Heisterbach, near Cologne, fed 1500 a day. In a time of

scarcity Bernard supported 2000 peasants till the time of harvest

[572] Hauck, IV. 312.

[573] Hauck, IV. 401 sqq., says that there were not many abbesses in

Germany like Hildegard and Elizabeth of Sch�nau. The complaints of

corrupt monks and nuns came from Saxony, Swabia, Lorraine, the Rhine

land, and Switzerland. See quotations in Hauck.

[574] Gesta pontificum, Rolls Series, p. 70, as quoted by Taunton, I.

22. William says, "The monks of Canterbury, like all then in England,

amused themselves with hunting, falconry, and horse racing. They loved

the rattle of dice, drink, and fine clothes, and had such a retinue of

servants that they were more like seculars than monks."

[575] Religio peperit divitias, divitiae, religionem destruxerunt, Hom.

III. 96. Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, says that in England the monks

of the thirteenth century were better than their age, which is not

difficult of belief.

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� 62. Monasticism and the Papacy.

Monasticism and the papacy, representing the opposite extremes of

abandonment of the world and lordship over the world, strange to say,

entered into the closest alliance. The monks came to be the standing

army of the popes, and were their obedient and valorous champions in

the battles the popes waged with secular rulers. Some of the best popes

were monastic in their training, or their habits, or both. Gregory VII.

was trained in the Benedictine convent on the Aventine, Victor III.

proceeded from Monte Cassino, Urban II. and Pascal II. from Cluny,

Adrian IV. from St. Albans. Eugenius III., the pupil of St. Bernard,

continued after he was made pope to wear the shirt of the monks of

Citeaux next to his body. Innocent III. wrote the ascetic work,

Contempt of the World. [576]

One monastic order after the other was founded from the eleventh to the

thirteenth century. The organizing instinct and a pious impulse dotted

Christendom with new convents or rebuilt old ones from Mt. Carmel to

northern Scotland. [577] ns of Protestantism, likened these various

orders to troops clad in different kinds of armor and belonging to the

same army. "Such variety, " he said, "does not imply any division of

allegiance to Christ, but rather one mind under a diversity of form."

[578] So Peter of Blois writing to the abbot of Eversham said, that as

out of the various strings of the harp, harmony comes forth, so out of

the variety of religious orders comes unity of service. One should no

less expect to find unity among a number of orders than among the

angels or heavenly bodies. A vineyard bears grapes both black and

white. A Christian is described in Holy Writ as a cedar, a cypress, a

rose, an olive tree, a palm, a terebinth, yet they form one group in

the Lord's garden. [579]

It was the shrewd wisdom of the popes to encourage the orders, and to

use them to further the centralization of ecclesiastical power in Rome.

Each order had its own monastic code, its own distinctive customs.

These codes, as well as the orders, were authorized and confirmed by

the pope, and made, immediately or more loosely, subject to his

sovereign jurisdiction. The mendicant orders of Sts. Francis and

Dominic were directly amenable to the Holy See. The Fourth Lateran, in

forbidding the creation of new orders, was moved to do so by the desire

to avoid confusion in the Church by the multiplication of different

rules. It commanded all who wished to be monks to join one of the

orders already existing. The orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic,

founded in the face of this rule, became the most faithful adherents

the papacy ever had, until the Society of Jesus arose three centuries

later.

The papal favor, shown to the monastic orders, tended to weaken the

authority of the bishops, and to make the papacy independent of the

episcopal system. Duns Scotus went so far as to declare that, as faith

is more necessary for the world than sacramental ablution in water, so

the body of monks is more important than the order of prelates. The

monks constitute the heart, the substance of the Church. By preaching

they start new life, and they preach without money and without price.

The prelates are paid. [580]

Papal privileges and exemptions were freely poured out upon the orders,

especially upon the Mendicants. They were the pets of the popes. They

were practically given freedom to preach and dispense the sacrament in

all places and at all times, irrespective of the bishops and their

jurisdiction. The constant complaints and clashing which resulted, led

to endless appeals of monasteries against the decisions of bishops,

which flowed in a constant stream to Rome, and gave the members of the

curia a rare chance to ply their trade. [581] nd spend an indefinite

time there, were able to harass and to wear out the patience of their

opponents, the bishops, or prolong the cases till their death. [582]

The riches, luxury, [583] arts of Europe they were the leading

influence. [584] [585] provincial councils.

A little earlier than our period the abbot of Weissenburg was able to

muster as many men as his diocesan bishop of Spires, and the three

abbots of Reichenau, St. Gall, and Kempten, three times as many as the

bishop of the extensive diocese of Constance. [586] of St. Albans,

Bardney, Westminster, and the heads of other English abbeys were

mitred. [587] entertained on an elaborate scale. The abbot of St.

Albans ate from a silver plate, and even ladies of rank were invited to

share the pleasures of repasts at English abbeys.

Thus, by wealth and organization and by papal favor, the monastic

orders were in a position to overshadow the episcopate. Backed by the

pope they bade defiance to bishops, and in turn they enabled the papacy

most effectually to exercise lordship over the episcopate.

In the struggle with the heretical sects the orders were the

uncompromising champions of orthodoxy, and rendered the most effective

assistance to the popes in carrying out their policy of repression. In

the Inquisition they were the chief agents which the papacy had. They

preached crusades against the Albigenses and were prominent in the

ranks of the crusaders. In the work of bloody destruction, they were

often in the lead, as was Arnold of Citeaux. Everywhere from Germany to

Spain the leading Inquisitors were monks.

Again, in the relentless struggle of the papacy with princes and kings,

they were always to be relied upon. Here they did valiant service for

the papacy, as notably in the struggle against the emperor, Frederick

II., when they sowed sedition and organized revolt in Germany and other

parts of his empire.

Once more, as agents to fill the papal treasury, they did efficient and

welcome service to the Holy See. In this interest they were active all

over Europe. The pages of English chroniclers are filled with protests

against them on the score of their exactions from the people. [588]

The orders of this period may be grouped in five main families: the

family which followed the Benedictine rule, the family which followed

the so-called Augustinian rule, the Carmelites, the hermit orders of

which the Carthusians were the chief, and the original mendicant

orders, [589]

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[576] Monks, were declared by the synod of Nismes, 1096, to be better

qualified for ruling than the secular clergy. Hefele, V. 244.

[577] For lists, see Helyot and Dr. Littledale's art. Monachism, "Enc.

Brit."

[578] Ep., III. 38; Migne, 214, 921.

[579] Ep., 97; Migne, 207, 304 sq. Speaking of the variety of

expression which Christ allows, he says in a way worthy of a modern

advocate of the Evangelical Alliance, ipsa varietas est uniformitatis

causa.

[580] See the remarkable passage quoted by Seeberg, Duns Scotus, 478

sq.

[581] Matthew Paris gives one case after the other, as do the other

English chroniclers. Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, says that the

history of mediaeval English monasticism is made up of stories of

everlasting litigation. The convents were always in trouble with their

bishops.

[582] Bishop Stubbs, Const. Hist., III. 329, says of the English

monasteries that they were the stronghold of papal influence which the

pope supported as a counterpoise to that of the diocesan bishops. For

this reason the popes never made appointments of English abbots, and

seldom, if ever, interfered with the elections by the monks

[583] Dr. Jessopp, p. 155, says of the English monks: "After all, it

must be confessed that the greatest of all delights to the

thirteenth-century monks was eating and drinking. The dinner in a great

abbey was clearly a very important event of the day. It must strike any

one who knows much of the literature of this age, that the weak point

in the monastic life of the thirteenth century was the gormandizing."

He says, however, that little is heard of drunkenness. The ale brewed

in the convents was an important item in the year's menu. Richard of

Marisco, bishop of Durham, gave the Abbey of St. Albans the tithes of

Eglingham, Northumberland, to help the monks make a better ale, "taking

compassion upon the weakness of the convent's drink."

[584] See Hauck, III. 493. "Das M�nchthum," he says, "war in Lothringen

die f�hrende Macht."

[585] The Fourth Lateran instructed them to meet every three years.

[586] Hauck, III. 442.

[587] So also were the abbots of Bury St. Edmunds, St. Augustine at

Canterbury, Croyland, Peterborough, Evesham, Glastonbury, and

Gloucester; but the abbot of Glastonbury had the precedence, till

Adrian IV. gave it to the abbot of St. Albans.

[588] M. Paris and other English chroniclers are continually damning

these Mendicant tax gatherers for their extortion. They were raising

money for the pope in England as early as 1234.

[589] Hurter, Innocent III., IV. 238. Gasquet gives an elaborate list

of the monastic houses of England, pp. 251-318, and an account of the

religious orders represented in England, together with instructive

engravings, 211 sqq. According to Gasquet's list there were more than

fifteen hundred conventual houses in England alone.

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� 63. The Monks of Cluny.

Literature.--See Lit. vol. IV, pp. 367 and 861; Mabillon: Ann. ord. S.

Bened., III.-V., Paris, 1706-1708; Statuta Cluniacensia, Migne, 189,

1023-47.--Bernard et Bruel: Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluni,

to 1300, 6 vols. Paris, 1876-93; Consuetudines monasticae, vol. I.;

Consuet. Farfenses, ed. by Albers, Stuttgart, 1900. The consuetudines

are statutes and customs which convents adopted supplementary to the

Rules of their orders. These of Farfa, a convent in Italy, were taken

down from Odilo of Cluny and enforced at Farfa.

The Lives of St. Bernard.--C. A. Wilkens: Petrus der Ehrw�rdige,

Leipzig, 1857, 277 pp.--M. Kerker; Wilhelm der Selige, Abt zu Hirschau,

T�bingen, 1863.--Witten: Der Selige Wilhelm, Abt von Hirschau, Bonn,

1890.--Champly: Hist. de l'abbaye de Cluny, M�con, 1866.--L'Huillier:

Vie de Hugo, Solesmes, 1887.--K. Sackur: Die Cluniacenser bis zur Mitte

des 11ten Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. Halle, 1892-94.--H. Kutter: Wilhelm von

St. Thierry, ein Representant der mittelalterlichen Fr�mmigkeit,

Giessen, 1898.--Maitland: The Dark Ages, 1890, pp. 350-491.--Hauck,

vol. III.--Art. Hirschau, in Herzog, VIII. 138 sqq.

The convent of Cluny, [590] ht of its influence in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries. Founded in 910 by Duke William of Aquitaine, and

directed by a succession of wise abbots, it gained an eminence, second

only to that of Monte Cassino among the monasteries of the West, and

became the nursery of a monastic revival which spread over Europe from

the Adriatic to Scotland.

No religious locality in the Latin church enjoyed a purer fame than

Cluny. Four of its abbots, Odo, Majolus, Odilo, and Hugh, attained the

dignity of canonized saints. Three popes were among its monks, Gregory

VII., [591] Calixtus II., his successor, met at Cluny. Kings joined

with popes in doing it honor.

The Cluniacs re-enforced the rule of St. Benedict in the direction of

greater austerity. In Lorraine and Germany the Cluny influence began to

be felt after the monastic reform, led by such men as Abbot Gerhard of

Brogne in the tenth century, had run its course. [592] d were in full

sympathy with Cluny. Hirschau in the Black Forest became a centre of

Cluniac influence in Southern Germany and one of the chief centres of

intelligence of the age. [593] ceived a thorough scholastic training at

the convent of St. Emmeram, Regensburg. He was in correspondence with

Anselm and visited Gregory VII. in Rome about the year 1075. The

convent became a Gregorian stronghold in the controversy over the right

of investiture. With the rule of Cluny before him William, in 1077,

drew up a similar code for Hirschau, known as the Constitutiones

Hirsaugienses, and introduced the white dress of the Cluniacs which

gave rise to the sneer that the monks were cleansing their garments

instead of their hearts. [594] The second house in England was the

important establishment, St. Pancras at Lewes, set up by Gundrada and

the Earl of Warren, the Conqueror's son-in-law, 1077. [595] were called

priories and their heads priors or deans. [596] he adjournment of the

synod of Clermont. Hugo began the erection of the great basilica in

1089, which was dedicated by Innocent II. in 1131. It was the next

greatest church after St. Peter's in the West.

Under Pontius, the seventh abbot, 1109-22, the current of decay ran

deep and strong. The convent had become rich in lands and goods. The

plain furnishings had been discarded for rich appointments, and

austerity of habits gave way to self-indulgence. Papal favors were

heaped upon Pontius, and Pascal, his godfather, sent him the dalmatic.

[597] e diocese.

Pontius gave way completely to worldly ambition, and assumed the title

of archabbot, which was the exclusive prerogative of the head of the

convent of Monte Cassino. Charges were made against him by the bishop

of Macon and, forced to resign, he set his face towards Jerusalem as a

pilgrim. The pilgrimage did not arouse any feelings of submission, and

on his return the deposed abbot made an effort to seize his former

charge. He forced the convent gates and compelled the monks to swear

him fealty. The sacred vessels of gold and silver were melted down and

divided among the wild intruders. The devastation was then carried

beyond the convent walls to the neighboring estates. The anathema was

laid upon Pontius by Honorius II., and, summoned to Rome, he was thrown

into prison, where he died, impenitent, 1126. This was one of the most

notorious cases of monastic malversation of office in the Middle Ages.

Peter the Venerable had been elected abbot of Cluny during Pontius'

absence in the East and filled the office for nearly forty years,

1122-57. He was the friend of St. Bernard, one of the most eminent of

the mediaeval monks and one of the most attractive ecclesiastical

personages of his age. Born in Auvergne and trained in a Cistercian

convent, he was only twenty-eight when he was made abbot. Under his

administration Cluny regained its renown. In addition to the study of

the Bible, Peter also encouraged the study of the classics, a course

which drew upon him bitter attacks. He visited the Cluniac houses

abroad in England and Spain.

On the tenth anniversary of his official primacy, Peter welcomed two

hundred priors and twelve hundred and twelve members of the order at

Cluny. Four hundred and sixty monks constituted the family of the

mother house. No less than two thousand convents are said to have

acknowledged the Cluniac rule, two of which were at Jerusalem and Mt.

Tabor. In 1246 Peter introduced through a General Chapter seventy six

new rules, re-enforcing and elaborating the Benedictine code already in

force. [598]

To the labors of abbot Peter added the activity of an author. He wrote

famous tracts to persuade the Jews and Mohammedans, and against the

heretic Peter de Bruys. His last work was on miracles, [599]

It was while this mild and wise man held office, that Abaelard knocked

at Cluny for admission and by his hearty permission spent within its

walls the last weary hours of his life.

During Peter's incumbency St. Bernard made his famous attack against

the self-indulgence of the Cluniacs. Robert, a young kinsman of

Bernard, had transferred his allegiance from the Cistercian order to

Cluny. Bernard's request that he be given up Pontius declined to grant.

What his predecessor had declined to do, Peter did. Perhaps it was not

without feeling over the memory of Pontius' action that Bernard wrote,

comparing [600]

This tract, famous in the annals of monastic controversial literature,

Bernard opened by condemning the lack of spirituality among his own

brethren, the Cistercians. "How can we," he exclaims, "with our bellies

full of beans and our minds full of pride, condemn those who are full

of meat, as if it were not better to eat on occasion a little fat, than

be gorged even to belching with windy vegetables!" He then passed to an

arraignment of the Cluniacs for self-indulgence in diet, small talk,

and jocularity. At meals, he said, dish was added to dish and eggs were

served, cooked in many forms, and more than one kind of wine was drunk

at a sitting. The monks preferred to look on marble rather than to read

the Scriptures. Candelabra and altar cloths were elaborate. The art and

architecture were excessive. The outward ornamentations were the proof

of avarice and love of show, not of a contrite and penitent heart. He

had seen one of them followed by a retinue of sixty horsemen and having

none of the appearance of a pastor of souls. He charged them with

taking gifts of castles, villas, peasants, and slaves, and holding them

against just complainants. [601] In spite of these sharp criticisms

Peter remained on terms of intimacy with Bernard. He replied without

recrimination, and called Bernard the shining pillar of the Church. A

modification of the rule of St. Benedict, when it was prompted by love,

he pronounced proper. But he and Bernard, he wrote, belonged to one

Master, were the soldiers of one King, confessors of one faith. As

different paths lead to the same land, so different customs and

costumes, with one inspiring love, lead to the Jerusalem above, the

mother of us all. Cluniacs and Cistercians should admonish one another

if they discerned errors one in the other, for they were pursuing after

one inheritance and following one command. He called upon himself and

Bernard to remember the fine words of Augustine, "have charity, and

then do what you will, "habe charitatem et fac quicquid vis. [602]

After Peter's death the glory of Cluny declined. [603] ater, 1790, the

order was dissolved by the French Government. The Hotel de Cluny, the

Cluniac house in Paris, once occupied by the abbot, now serves as a

museum of Mediaeval Art and Industry under the charge of the French

government. [604]

The piety of Western Christendom owes a lasting debt to Cluny for the

hymn "Jerusalem the Golden," taken from the de contemptu mundi written

by Bernard of Cluny, a contemporary of Peter the Venerable and St.

Bernard of Clairvaux. [605]

Jerusalem the Golden,

With milk and honey blest,

Beneath thy contemplation

Sink heart and voice opprest.

I know not, oh, I know not

What social joys are there,

What radiancy of glory,

What light beyond compare.

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[590] The town now has four thousand inhabitants.

[591] Hauck, III. 596, thinks there is no doubt Gregory was a Cluniac.

[592] Hauck, III. 345 sqq.

[593] A list of the German convents adopting the rule of Cluny, or a

modified form of it, is given by Hauck, III. 863.

[594] William erected new buildings at Hirschau to accommodate the

large accessions of monks and founded a scriptorum and a library. Among

his writings was a work on music, de musica et tonis. Hirschau was

turned into a Protestant school by Duke Christoph, 1556. Its buildings

were destroyed by the army of Louis XIV. The ruins are among the most

venerable monuments of W�rttemberg.

[595] Gundrada had visited Cluny. On her tombstone was placed the

inscription Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum, "she brought the

balm of good manners to the churches of England." See Stephens, p. 254.

[596] When the monasteries were repressed by Henry VIII., there were

thirty-two Cluniac houses in England. Gasquet, 218. Taunton, I. 27,

speaks of thirty-eight houses and three hospitals in London belonging

to the Cluniacs.

[597] The wide-sleeved over-garment stretching to the feet. The mitre,

the distinctive cap of the bishop, was also frequently sent to abbots.

One of the first instances was its presentation by Alexander II. to the

abbot of St. Augustine of Canterbury. The abbot of Fulda received it

and also the ring from Innocent II., 1137.

[598] See Migne, 189, 1026 sqq. The volume contains Peter's works.

[599] Liber duo illustrium miraculorum. A translation of the Koran was

made under Peter's patronage. A revised edition by Bibliander was

published at Basel, 1543. These works are contained in Migne, vol. 189,

507-903, which also prints Peter's letters and sermons, and the hymns

which are ascribed to him.

[600] Apologia ad Guillelmum. Migne, 182, 895-918.

[601] To this charge Peter replied that such property was much better

in the hands of the monks than of wild laymen.

[602] Ep., I. 28; Migne, 189, 156. A number of Peter's letters to

Bernard are preserved, all of them laying stress upon the exercise of

brotherly affection. In strange contrast to his usual gentleness,

stands his sharp arraignment of the Jews. See � 77 on Missions to the

Jews.

[603] The election of the abbot was taken out of the hands of the

monks. During the Avignon captivity the popes, and later the French

king, claimed the right to appoint that official. The Guises had the

patronage of the abbey for nearly a hundred years. In 1627 Richelieu

was appointed abbot.

[604] The Hotel de Cluny was a stopping place for distinguished people.

There Mary, sister of Henry VIII. of England, resided during her

widowhood and there James V. of Scotland was married, 1537, to

Madeleine, daughter of Francis I. The municipality of Cluny purchased

the abbey buildings and in part dismantled them.

[605] See Schaff, Christ in Song, and Julian, Hymnology.

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� 64. The Cistercians.

Literature.--Exordium parvum ordinis Cisterciensiae, Migne, 166.

Exordium magnum ord. Cisterc., by Conrad of Eberbach, d. 1220; Migne,

185.--Manriquez: Ann. ord. Cisterc., 4 vols. Lyons, 1642.--Mabillon:

Ann. ord. St. Benedict, Paris, 1706-1708.--P. Guignard: Les monuments

primitifs de la r�gle Cistercienne, publi�s d'apr�s les manuscripts de

l'abbaye de Citeaux, Dijon, 1878, pp. cxii. 656.--Pierre le Nain: Essai

de l'hist. de l'ordre de Citeaux, Paris, 1696.--J. H. Newman: The

Cistercian Saints of England, London, 1844.--Franz Winter: Die

Cistercienser des nord-�stlichen Deutschlands bis zum Auftreten der

Bettelorden, 3 vols. Gotha, 1868-1871.--L. Janauschek: Origines

Cisterciensium, Vienna, 1877.--B. Albers: Untersuchungen zu den

�ltesten M�nchsgewohnheiten. Ein Beitrag zur Benedictinerordensregel

der X-XIIten Jahrhunderte, Munich, 1905.--Sharpe: Architecture of the

Cisterc., London, 1874.--Cisterc. Abbeys of Yorkshire, in "Fraser's

Mag.," September, 1876.--Dean Hodges: Fountains Abbey, The Story of a

Mediaeval Monastery, London, 1904.--Deutsch: art. Cistercienser, in

Herzog, IV. 116-127; art. Harding, in "Dict. Natl. Biogr.," XXIV.

333-335; the Biographies of St. Bernard. For extended Lit. see the work

of Janauschek.

With the Cluniac monks the Cistercians divide the distinction of being

the most numerous and most useful monastic order of the Middle Ages,

[606] ernardins in France. Two popes, Eugenius III. and Benedict XII.,

proceeded from the order. Europe owes it a large debt for its service

among the half-barbarian peasants of Eastern France, Southern Germany,

and especially in the provinces of Northeastern Germany. Its convents

set an example of skilled industry in field and garden, in the training

of the vine, the culture of fish, the cultivation of orchards, and in

the care of cattle. [607]

The founder, Robert Mol�sme, was born in Champagne, 1024, and after

attempting in vain to introduce a more rigorous discipline in several

Benedictine convents, retired to the woods of Mol�sme and in 1098

settled with twenty companions on some swampy ground near Citeaux,

[608] , [609]

Alberic, Robert's successor, received for the new establishment the

sanction of Pascal II., and placed it under the special care of the

Virgin. She is said to have appeared to him in the white dress of the

order. [610]

Under the third abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, known as St.

Stephen, who filled the office twenty-five years (1110-1134), [611]

anions entered the convent, and the foundation of four houses followed,

1113-1115,--La Fert�, Potigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond,--which

continued to have a rank above all the other Cistercian houses

subsequently founded.

New houses followed rapidly. In 1130 there were 30 Cistercian convents,

in 1168, 288. A rule was framed forbidding the erection of new

establishments, but without avail, and their number in the fourteenth

century had risen to 738. [612] were dispensed to Cluny, was highly

honored by some of the popes. Innocent III. showed them special favor,

and promised them the precedence in audiences at Rome. [613]

The carta charitatis, the Rule of Love, the code of the Cistercians,

dates from Harding's administration and was confirmed by Calixtus

II.--1119. It commanded the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule,

but introduced a new method of organization for the whole body. In

contrast to the relaxed habits of the Cluniacs, the mode of life was

made austerely simple. The rule of silence was emphasized and flesh

forbidden, except in the case of severe illness. The conventual menu

was confined to two dishes. All unnecessary adornment of the churches

was avoided, so that nothing should remain in the house of God which

savored of pride or superfluity. The crosses were of wood till the

statutes of 1157 allowed them to be of gold. Emphasis was placed upon

manual labor as an essential part of monastic life. A novice at

Clairvaux writes enthusiastically of the employment of the monks, whom

he found with hoes in the gardens, forks and rakes in the meadows,

sickles in the fields, and axes in the forest. [614] [615] r period

they gave themselves to copying manuscripts. [616] s did the mendicant

orders. [617] [618] lous servants of the pope and foes of heresy. The

abbot Arnold was a fierce leader of the Crusades against the

Albigenses.

Following the practice introduced at the convent of Hirschau, the

Cistercians constituted an adjunct body of laymen, or conversi. [619]

They were denied the tonsure and were debarred from ever becoming

monks. The Cistercian dress was at first brown and then white, whence

the name Gray Monks, grisei. The brethren slept on straw in cowl and

their usual day dress.

The administration of the Cistercians was an oligarchy as compared with

that of the Cluniacs. The abbot of Cluny was supreme in his order, and

the subordinate houses received their priors by his appointment. Among

the Cistercians each convent chose its own head. At the same time the

community of all the houses was insured by the observance of the Rule

of 1119, and by yearly chapters, which were the ultimate arbiters of

questions in dispute. The five earliest houses exercised the right of

annual visitation, which was performed by their abbots over five

respective groups. A General Council of twenty-five consisted of these

five abbots and of four others from each of the five groups. The

General Chapters were held yearly and were attended by all the abbots

within a certain district. Those at remote distances attended less

frequently: the abbots from Spain, every two years; from Sweden and

Norway, every three years; from Scotland, Ireland, Hungary, and Greece,

every four years; and from the Orient, every seven years. It became a

proverb that "The gray monks were always on their feet."

The Cistercians spread over all Western Europe. The Spanish orders of

Alcantara and Calatrava adopted their rule. The first Cistercian house

in Italy was founded 1120 at Tiglieto, Liguria, and in Germany at

Altenkamp about 1123. [620] [621] Fountains, [622] [623]

Of all the Cistercian convents, Port Royal has the most romantic

history. Founded in 1204 by Mathilda de Garlande in commemoration of

the safe return of her husband from the Fourth Crusade, it became in

the seventeenth century a famous centre of piety and scholarship. Its

association with the tenets of the Jansenists, and the attacks of

Pascal upon the Jesuits, brought on its tragic downfall. The famous

hospice, among the snows of St. Gotthard, is under the care of St.

Bernard monks.

In the thirteenth century the power of the Cistercians yielded to the

energy of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic. It was not a rare

thing for them to pass over to the newer monastic organizations. [624]

nstitute a rigid reform. With the Reformation many of the houses were

lost to the order in England and Germany. The Trappists started a new

movement towards severity within the order. The French Revolution

suppressed the venerable organization in 1790. The buildings at

Citeaux, presided over by a succession of sixty-two abbots, are now

used as a reformatory institution.

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[606] Cardinal Hergenr�ther says, "The Cistercians reached a much

higher distinction than the order of Cluny." Kirchengesch., II. 351.

[607] In England they were careful breeders of horses (Giraldus

Cambrensis, Speculum ecclesiae, IV. 130, and Brewer's Preface, IV. 24)

and were noted for their sheep and wool. Their wool was a popular

article of royal taxation. John seized a year's product to meet the

payment of Richard's ransom. M. Paris, Luard's ed., II. 399. Henry III.

forbade the monks to sell their wool. Henry II., 1257, taxed it

heavily, etc. M. Paris, IV. 324, V. 610. See Stubbs, Const. Hist.,

I.541, II. 181, 200.

[608] The name comes from the stagnant pools in the neighborhood.

[609] He died on a Crusade. At his request his bones were taken back

and buried at Citeaux, which became the burial place of his successors.

[610] See Helyot, V. 404. According to Hauck, IV. 337, the Cistercians

were the first to introduce into Germany the exaggerated cult of the

Virgin.

[611] He was a man of much administrative ability. William of

Malmesbury, IV. 1, speaks of Stephen as "the original contriver of the

whole scheme, the especial and celebrated ornament of our times." It is

related that on a journey to Rome, and before entering Citeaux, he

repeated the whole Psalter. Basil had enjoined the memorizing of the

Psalter. According to the biographer of abbot Odo of Cluny, the monks

of Cluny daily repeated 138 Psalms. Maitland, p. 375.

[612] Janauschek has shown that 1800, the number formerly given, is an

exaggeration.

[613] Hurter, IV. 184 sqq.

[614] Peter de Roya, Ep. St. Bernard, 492; Migne, 182, 711.

[615] Hauck, IV. 336.

[616] One of the regulations of the chapter of 1134 enjoined silence in

the scriptorium. In omnibus scriptoriis ubicunque ex consuetudine

monachi scribunt silentium teneatur sicut in claustro. Maitland, p.

450.

[617] The Cistercians are said to have produced the first Swedish

translation of the Bible. Hurter, IV. 180.

[618] St. Bernard declared that the office of the monk is not to

preach, but to be an ascetic, and that the town should be to him as a

prison, and solitude as paradise, quod monachus non habet docentis sed

plangentis officium, quippe cui oppidum carcer esse debet et solitudo

paradisus. A monk who goes out into the world, he said, turns things

round and makes his solitude a prison and the town paradise. Ep., 365;

Migne, 182, 570.

[619] Called at Hirschau also barbati, the bearded.

[620] See Hauck, IV. 326 sqq., for the names of the German houses.

[621] Shortly after Harding's death, William of Malmesbury, IV. I,

Rolls ed., II. 385, describes the order "as a model for all monks, a

mirror to the studious, and a goad to the slothful." Gasquet, p. 221,

says that three-fourths of the hundred Cistercian houses suppressed by

Henry VIII. were founded in the 12th century.

[622] The ruins of Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire is described by Motley

(correspondence, I. 359) as "most picturesque, and the most exquisite,

and by far the most impressive ruins I have ever seen, and much more

beautiful than Melrose Abbey." For the ground plan, see Dr. Venables,

art. Abbey, in Enc. Brit.," I. 19, and photographs of the walls (as

they are). Hodges.

[623] Stephens, Hist. of Engl. Church, p. 201.

[624] As early as 1223 such Cistercians are called fugitives by the

General Chapter. Contrasting the Cistercians with the Dominicans,

Matthew Paris, an. 1255, Luard's ed., V. 529, says of them, "They do

not wander through the cities and towns, but they remain quietly shut

up within the walls of their domiciles, obeying their superior."

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� 65. St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Virtus in pace acquiritur, in pressura probatur, approbatur in

victoria, St. Bernard. [625]

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623-639. Also H. Kutter: Wilhelm von St. Thierry, ein Representant der

mittelalterlichen Fr�mmigkeit, Giessen, 1898. For other literature see

chapters, Mystical Theology and Hymns.

St. Bernard, 1090-1153, founder and abbot of the convent of Clairvaux,

was the model monk of the Middle Ages, the most imposing figure of his

time, and one of the best men of all the Christian centuries. He

possessed a magnetic personality, a lively imagination, a rich culture,

and a heart glowing with love for God and man. Although not free from

what might now be called ecclesiastical rigor, he was not equalled by

any of his contemporaries in services for the Church and man. "In his

countenance," according to the contemporary biographer who knew him

well, "there shone forth a pureness not of earth but of heaven, and his

eyes had the clearness of an angel's and the mildness of a dove's

eyes." [626] ss as any man of his century. [627]

In the twelfth century there were at least two other ecclesiastics of

the first order of genius, Anselm and Innocent III. The former passed

away a few years after the century opened. Innocent began his papal

reign two years before it went out. Anselm has pre-eminence as a

profound theological thinker and dialectician. Innocent ruled the

world, as pope never ruled it before or since. Between the two fall the

intellectual genius and activity of Bernard, combining some of the

qualities of Anselm and Innocent. As a mystical theologian he is allied

to Anselm, whose Meditations give him a high place in the annals of

devotional literature. And Bernard was also a statesman, although he

did not attain the eminence of Innocent and shrank from participation

in public affairs which were so much to the taste of the great pope.

Contemporary with himself was Peter Abaelard, whose brilliant mind won

for him enviable fame as a teacher and thinker. But Abaelard never won

the confidence of his own age, and is not to be compared with Bernard

in moral dignity.

By preference a monk, Bernard figured, with almost equal prominence, in

the history of the papacy, the Crusades, mysticism, monasticism, and

hymnology. In the annals of monasticism, the pulpit, and devotional

literature he easily occupies a place in the front rank. He was called

the "honey-flowing doctor," doctor mellifluus. Twenty years after his

death he was canonized by Alexander III. as "shining preeminently in

his own person by virtue of sanctity and religion, and in the whole

Church by the light of his doctrine and faith." [628] regard. [629]

Bernard was descended from a noble family of Burgundy, and was born at

Fontaines near Dijon. He was one of seven children, six of whom were

sons. His mother, Aletha, like Nonna and Monica, was a deeply pious

woman and planted in the son the seeds of religious faith. [630] nvent

of Citeaux, two of his brothers following him at once, and the rest

later into the monastic life.

This was in 1113 that Bernard cast in his lot with the Cistercians, and

the event proved to be an epoch in the history of that new community.

His diet was bread and milk or a decoction of herbs. [631] eproached

himself for this intemperate self-mortification which unfitted his body

for the proper service of the Lord. But his spirit triumphed over his

physical infirmities. [632] He studied the Scriptures and the Fathers.

His writings betray acquaintance with the classics and he quotes

Seneca, Ovid, Horace, and other classical writers. The works of nature

also furnished him with lessons, and he seems to have approached the

modern estimate of nature as an aid to spiritual attainment. "Thou wilt

find," he wrote, [633] ney from the rocks and oil from the hardest

stones!" This seems to lose its weight in view of what one of Bernard's

biographers relates. Bernard travelled the whole day alongside the Lake

of Geneva, and was so oblivious to the scenery that in the evening, at

Lausanne, he was obliged to inquire what they had seen on the journey.

We are probably justified in this case in ascribing an ascetic purpose

to the monkish writer. [634]

In 1115, in company with twelve companions, Bernard founded

Clairvaux--Claravallis, Clear Valley--in a locality which before had

been called Wormwood, and been the seat of robbers. William of St.

Thierry, Bernard's close friend and biographer, is in doubt whether the

name vallis absinthialis came from the amount of wormwood which grew

there or from the bitter sufferings sustained by the victims of the

robbers. [635] up their simple house. Then he says, "the hills began to

distil sweetness, and fields, before sterile, blossomed and became fat

under the divine benediction." [636]

In this new cloistral retreat Bernard preached, wrought miracles, wrote

innumerable letters, [637] received princes and high ecclesiastics.

From there he went forth on errands of high import to his age. The

convent soon had wide fame, and sent off many shoots. [638]

William of St. Thierry [639] stance compels a feeling of rest. William

says: --

I tarried with him a few days, unworthy though I was, and whichever way

I turned my eyes, I marvelled and thought I saw a new heaven and a new

earth, and also the old pathways of the Egyptian monks, our fathers,

marked with the recent footsteps of the men of our time left in them.

The golden ages seemed to have returned and revisited the world there

at Clairvaux.... At the first glance, as you entered, after descending

the hill, you could feel that God was in the place; and the silent

valley bespoke, in the simplicity of its buildings, the genuine

humility of the poor of Christ dwelling there. The silence of the noon

was as the silence of the midnight, broken only by the chants of the

choral service, and the sound of garden and field implements. No one

was idle. In the hours not devoted to sleep or prayer, the brethren

kept busy with hoe, scythe, and axe, taming the wild land and clearing

the forest. And although there was such a number in the valley, yet

each seemed to be a solitary. [640]

Here is another description by the novice, Peter de Roya, writing from

Clairvaux: [641]

"Its monks have found a Jacob's ladder with angels upon it, descending

to provide help to the bodies of the monks that they fail not in the

way, and also ascending, and so controlling the monks' minds that their

bodies may be glorified. Their song seems to be little less than

angelic, but much more than human.... It seems to me I am hardly

looking upon men when I see them in the gardens with hoe, in the fields

with forks and rakes and sickles, in the woods with axe, clad in

disordered garments--but that I am looking on a race of fools without

speech and sense, the reproach of mankind. However, my reason assures

me that their life is with Christ in the heavens."

Bernard, to whom monastic seclusion was the highest ideal of the

Christian life, bent his energies to induce his friends to take the

vow. Its vigils and mortifications were the best means for developing

the two cardinal virtues of love and humility. [642] t of Nursia.

Humblina was married to a husband of rank and had a family. When she

appeared one day at Clairvaux, Bernard refused to go down to see her,

for he had insisted before on her taking the veil and she had declined.

Now she finally communicated to him the bitter cry, "If my brother

despises my body, let not the servant of God despise my soul." [643]

sehold, Humblina, after two years, and with her husband's consent,

retired to the convent of Juilly, where she spent the remainder of her

days.

Bernard's attack upon the conventual establishment of Cluny was born of

mistaken zeal. If of the two men Peter the Venerable appears to much

better advantage in that controversy, it was different when it came to

the treatment of the Jews. Here Peter seems to have completely laid

aside his mild spirit, while Bernard displays a spirit of humaneness

and Christian charity far beyond his age. In the controversy with

Abaelard, a subject which belongs to another chapter, the abbot of

Clairvaux stands forth as the churchman who saw only evil in views

which did not conform strictly to the doctrinal system of the Church.

Bernard was a man of his age as well as a monastic. He fully shared the

feelings of his time about the Crusades. In 1128, at the Synod of

Troyes, his voice secured recognition for the Knight Templars, "the new

soldiery." The ignoble failure of the Second Crusade, which he had

preached with such warmth, 1146, called forth from him a passionate

lament over the sins of the Crusaders, and he has given us a glimpse

into the keen pangs he felt over the detractions that undertaking

called forth. [644] t his fault. He himself was like Moses, who led the

people towards the Holy Land and not into it. The Hebrews were

stiff-necked. Were not the Crusaders stiff-necked also and unbelieving,

who in their hearts looked back and hankered after Europe? Is it any

wonder that those who were equally guilty should suffer a like

punishment with the Israelites? To the taunt that he had falsely

represented himself as having delivered a message from God in preaching

the Crusade, he declared the testimony of his conscience was his best

reply. Eugenius, too, could answer that taunt by what he had seen and

heard. But, after all was said, it was a great honor to have the same

lot with Christ and suffer being unjustly condemned (Ps. 69:9).

When, at a later time, Bernard was chosen at Chartres to lead another

Crusade, the choice was confirmed by the pope, but the Cistercians

refused to give their consent. [645]

In the reigns of Innocent II. and Eugenius III. Bernard stood very near

the papacy. He did more than any other single individual to secure the

general recognition of Innocent II. as the rightful pope over his

rival, Anacletus II. He induced the king of France to pronounce in

favor of Innocent. Bent on the same mission, he had interviews with

Henry I. of England at Chartres, and the German emperor at Li�ge. He

entertained Innocent at Clairvaux, and accompanied him to Italy. It was

on this journey that so profound were the impressions of Bernard's

personality and miracles that the people of Milan fell at his feet and

would fain have compelled him to ascend the chair of St. Ambrose. On

his third journey to Rome, in 1138, [646] the ark for the Church, in

which Innocent, all the religious orders, and all Europe were found

except Anacletus and his two supporters, Roger of Sicily and Peter of

Pisa. But an attempt, he said, was being made to build another ark by

Peter of Pisa. If the ark of Innocent was not the true ark, it would be

lost and all in it. Then would the Church of the East and the Church of

the West perish. France and Germany would perish, the Spaniards and the

English would perish, for they were with Innocent. Then Roger, alone of

all the princes of the earth, would be saved and no other. [647]

Eugenius III. had been an inmate of Clairvaux and one of Bernard's

special wards. The tract de consideratione [648] d functions is unique

in literature, and, upon the whole, one of the most interesting

treatises of the Middle Ages. Vacandard calls it "an examination, as it

were, of the pope's conscience." [649] s "most holy father," and whom

he loves so warmly, that he would follow him into the heavens or to the

depths, whom he received in poverty and now beholds surrounded with

pomp and riches. Here he pours out his concern for the welfare of

Eugenius's soul and the welfare of the Church under his administration.

He adduces the distractions of the papal court, its endless din of

business and legal arbitrament, and calls upon Eugenius to remember

that prayer, meditation, and the edification of the Church are the

important matters for him to devote himself to. Was not Gregory piously

writing upon Ezekiel while Rome was exposed to siege from the

barbarians! Teacher never had opportunity to impress lessons upon a

scholar more elevated in dignity, and Bernard approached it with a high

sense of his responsibility. [650]

As a preacher, Bernard excels in the glow of his imagination and the

fervor of his passion. Luther said, "Bernard is superior to all the

doctors in his sermons, even to Augustine himself, because he preaches

Christ most excellently." [651] [652] pulses of the religious nature.

His discourse on the death of his brother Gerard is a model of tender

treatment [653] [654] gory, but also in burning love to the Saviour.

One of the most brilliant of modern pulpit orators has said, "the

constant shadow of things eternal is over all Bernard's sermons." [655]

nditions of his hearers. To rustic people he preached as though he had

always been living in the country and to all other classes as though he

were most carefully studying their occupations. To the erudite he was

scholarly; to the uneducated, simple. To the spiritually minded he was

rich in wise counsels. He adapted himself to all, desiring to bring to

all the light of Christ. [656]

The miraculous power of Bernard is so well attested by contemporary

accounts that it is not easy to deny it except on the assumption that

all the miraculous of the Middle Ages is to be ascribed to mediaeval

credulity. Miracles meet us in almost every religious biographer of the

Middle Ages. The biographer of Boniface, the apostle of Germany, found

it necessary to apologize for not having miracles to relate of him. But

the miracles of Bernard seem to be vouched for as are no other

mediaeval works of power. The cases given are very numerous. They

occurred on Bernard's journeys in Toulouse and Italy, nearer home in

France, and along the Rhine from Basel northward. William of St.

Thierry, Gaufrid, and other contemporaries relate them in detail. His

brothers, the monks Gerard and Guido, agree that he had more than human

power. Walter Map, the Englishman who flourished in the latter years of

Bernard's life and later, speaks in the same breath of Bernard's

miracles and his eloquence. [657] ld by saintly men and also by

deceivers, but he was conscious neither of saintliness nor of fraud.

[658] [659] ed them that the truth had been made manifest in their

midst through him, not only in speech but in power. [660] ng them.

[661]

These miracles were performed at different periods of Bernard's life

and, as has been said, in different localities. The bishop of Langres,

a near relative, says that the first miracle he saw Bernard perform was

upon a boy with an ulcer on his foot. In answer to the boy's appeal,

Bernard made the sign of the cross and the child was healed. A mother

met him carrying her child which had a withered hand and crooked arm.

The useless members were restored and the child embraced its mother

before the bystanders. [662]

Sometimes Bernard placed his hand upon the patient, sometimes made the

sign of the cross, sometimes offered prayer, sometimes used the

consecrated wafer or holy water. [663] [664] aching the Second Crusade,

Hermann, bishop of Constance, with nine others kept a record of them,

declaring the very stones would cry out if they were not recorded.

[665] r he had uttered a prayer, she spoke. A lame man walked and a

blind man received his sight. [666] [667]

Abaelard and his pupil, Berengar, were exceptions to their age in

expressing doubts about the genuineness of contemporary miracles, but

they do not charge Bernard by name with being self-deceived or

deceiving others. Morison, a writer of little enthusiasm, no credulity,

and a large amount of cool, critical common sense, says that Bernard's

"miracles are neither to be accepted with credulity nor denied with

fury." [668] [669] , and seeks to explain them by the conditions of the

age and the imposing personality of Bernard as in the case of those

possessed with evil spirits. [670] cles in the mediaeval convent and in

the lives of eminent men like Norbert, not to speak of the miracles

wrought at shrines, as at the shrine of Thomas � Becket and by contact

with relics. On the other hand, there are few mortal men whom miracles

would so befit as Bernard.

Bernard's activity was marked, all through, by a practical

consideration for the needs of life, and his writings are full of

useful suggestions adapted to help and ameliorate human conditions. He

was a student by preference, but there were men in his day of more

scholastic attainments than he. And yet in the department of

speculative and controversial theology his writings also have their

value. In his work on the Freedom of the Will [671] as lost by sin, and

prevenient grace is required to incline the will to holiness. In his

controversy with Abaelard he developed his views on the Trinity and the

atonement. In some of his positions he was out of accord with the

theology and practice of the Roman Communion. He denied the immaculate

conception of Mary [672] he opportunity is not afforded. [673]

Severe at times as Bernard, the Churchman, from the standpoint of this

tolerant age seems to be, the testimonies to his exalted moral eminence

are too weighty to be set aside. Bernard's own writings give the final

and abundant proof of his ethical quality. It shines through his works

on personal religion, all those treatises and sermons which give him a

place in the front rank of the mystics of all ages. [674]

William of St. Thierry, himself no mean theological writer, felt that

in visiting Bernard's cell he had been "at the very altar of God."

[675] [676] [677] In his Memoir of St. Malachy, Bernard, as has been

said, put, an image of his own beautiful and ardent soul." [678] d

visit he remained to die, 1148. Bernard wrote:--

"Though he came from the West, he was truly the dayspring on high to

us. With psalms and hymns and spiritual songs we followed our friend on

his heavenward journey. He was taken by angels out of our hands. Truly

he fell asleep. All eyes were fixed upon him, yet none could say when

the spirit took its flight. When he was dead, we thought him to be

alive; while yet alive, we thought him to be dead. [679] w was changed

into joy, faith had triumphed. He has entered into the joy of the Lord,

and who am I to make lamentation over him? We pray, O Lord, that he who

was our guest may be our leader, that we may reign with Thee and him

for evermore. Amen."

Bernard's sense of personal unworthiness was a controlling element in

his religious experience. In this regard he forms a striking contrast

to the self-confidence and swagger of Abaelard. He relied with

childlike trust upon the divine grace. In one of his very last letters

he begged his friend the abbot of Bonneval to be solicitous in prayer

to the Saviour of sinners in his behalf. His last days were not without

sorrow. His trusted secretary was found to have betrayed his

confidence, and used his seal for his own purposes. William of St.

Thierry and other friends had been passing away. Bernard's last journey

was to Metz to compose a dispute between bishop Stephen and the duke of

Lorraine. Deutsch, perhaps the chief living authority on Bernard, says:

"Religious warmth, Genialitaet, is the chief thing in his character and

among his gifts." [680] [681] deceived by monkish pretension,--"Bernard

loved Jesus as much as any one can." [682]

"Jesus, Thou Joy of loving hearts,

Thou Fount of life, Thou Light of men,

From the best bliss which earth imparts

We turn unfilled to Thee again."

The encomium of Bernard's early biographer Alanus is high praise, but

probably no man since the Apostles has deserved it more: "The majesty

of his name was surpassed by his lowliness of heart," [683]

vincebat tamen sublimitatem nominis humilitas cordis.

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[625] Ep., 126; Migne, 182, 271.

[626] Vita prima, III. 1; Migne, 185, 303. Gaufrid, the biographer,

presents an elaborate description of his qualities. He says, Bernard

was magnanimus in fide, longanimis in spe, profusus in charitate,

summur in humilitate, praecipuus in pietate. Alanus in Vita secunda,

XVII. 47, Migne, 185, 497, gives this high praise, humanissimus in

affectione, magis tamen forte in fide.

[627] This was the judgment of Philip Schaff, Literature and Poetry, p.

282. Bernard not seldom used in his letters such expressions as this,

Nonne ego puer parvulus, Am I not as a little child? Ep., 365; Migne,

182, 570.

[628] The document is given in Migne, 185, 622 sq.

[629] Calvin says, Inst. IV. 2, 11, "in his de consideratione Bernard

speaks as though the very truth itself were speaking." Luther, directed

to Bernard by Staupitz, studied his works, and often appealed to his

words. K�stlin, Life of Luther, I. 81. He praised Bernard for not

having depended upon his monk's vow, but upon the free grace of Christ

for salvation. Denifle, Luther und Lutherthum, I. 56-64, tries to make

out that Luther falsified when he represented Bernard as putting aside,

as it were, his monastic profession as a thing meritorious. Luther, in

an animated passage, declared that at the close of his life Bernard had

exclaimed, tempus meum perdidi quia perdite vixi, "I have lost my time

because I have lived badly, but there is one thing that consoles me, a

contrite and broken heart Thou dost not despise." You see, said Luther,

how Bernard hung his cowl on the hook and returned to Christ. It seems,

according to Denifle, that the two clauses were not uttered at the same

time by Bernard. The exclamation, "I have lost my life," was made in a

sermon on the Canticles, Migne, 183, 867, and the other part was said

by Bernard in a time of severe sickness. This is not the place to take

up Denifle's charge that Luther was playing fast and loose with

Bernard's ut-terances to make out a case, but it is sufficient to say

that Luther was inten-ding to emphasize that Bernard depended solely

upon grace for salvation, and this position is justified by expressions

enough in Bernard's writings.

[630] Her piety is greatly praised by contemporaries. The abbot of St.

Benignus at Dijon begged her body for his convent. William of St.

Thierry said of her that "she ruled her household in the fear of God,

was urgent in works of mercy, and brought up her sons in all

obedience," enutriens filios in omni disciplina. Vita prima, I. 1.

[631] Migne, 185, 260.

[632] Virtus vehementius in infirmitate ejus refulgens, etc. Vita

prima, VIII. 41; Migne, 185, 251.

[633] To an Englishman, Henry Murdoch, Ep., 106; Migne, 182, 242.

Aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides

docebunt te, quod a magistris audire non possis. An non putas posse te

sugere mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo? etc. The words remind

us of Shakespeare's oft-quoted lines: books in the running brooks,

Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

[634] Vita prima, III. 2; Migne, 185, 306. A mediaeval description of

the beauties of nature is a rare thing. The Canticle of the Sun, by

Francis d'Assisi, is an exception. Otto of Freising accompanied

Frederick Barbarossa on his journey to Rome to receive the imperial

crown, and speaks with much enthusiasm about the military display of

the Germans, but had not a word to say about the glories of Rome or its

monuments. See Fisher, Med. Empire, II. 229.

[635] Vita prima, I. 5.

[636] Apud vallem quae prius dicebatur vallis absinthialis et amara,

coeperunt montes stillare dulcedinem, etc. Vita prima, XIII. 61; Migne,

185, 260. See also Alanus, Vita secunda, VI. 18.

[637] His letters include long compositions abounding in allegory and

moralizations and brief pithy statements, which approach the subject in

hand with modern directness. Alanus gives a list of churchmen high in

position going forth from Clairvaux. Vita secunda, XX. 54; Migne, 185,

154

[638] Vacandard, vol. II., Appendix, gives a list of sixty-eight

convents founded by Bernard.

[639] William was born at Li�ge about 1085, and died about 1149. In

1119 he was made abbot of the Cistercian convent of Thierry near

Rheims. We meet him frequently in the company of Bernard, and in the

controversies over Abaelard and Gilbert of Poitiers.

[640] Vita prima, I. 7; Migne, 182, 268.

[641] The genuineness of the letter is questionable. Ep., 492; Migne,

182, 706-713.

[642] Ep., 142; Migne, 182, 297.

[643] Si despicit frater meus carnem meam, ne despiciat servus Dei

animam meam. Veniat, proecipiat, quicquid praecperit, facere parata

sum. Vita secunda, VII. 22; Migne, 185, 482. Was ever sister's appeal

more tender?

[644] De consideratione, II. 1; Migne, 182, 743.

[645] Bernard refers to this election in a letter to Eugenius, Ep.,

256. "Who am I," he writes, "to establish camps and march at the head

of armed men?"

[646] It was on this journey that St. Bernard performed the miracle

which has a humorous side. While he was crossing the Alps, the devil

broke one of his carriage wheels. Bernard repaired the damage by

commanding the devil to take the place of the broken wheel, which he

did, and the wagon moved on again to the traveller's comfort.

[647] Vita prima, II. 7, 45; Migne, 185, 294 sq.

[648] Migne, 182, 727-808.

[649] "Une sorte d'examen de conscience d'un pape." Vie de S. Bernard,

II. 454.

[650] Bernard's view of the functions of the papacy is given in the

chapter on the Papacy.

[651] Bindseil, Colloquia, III. 134.

[652] Deutsch, Herzog, II. 634, says Er besass eine Bibelerkenntniss

wie wenige.

[653] For translation see Morison, p. 227 sqq., who calls it, "among

funeral sermons assuredly one of the most remarkable on record."

[654] See Dr. Storrs's description, p. 461 sqq.

[655] Storrs, p. 388.

[656] Vita prima, III. 13; Migne, 185, 306,

[657] I. 24, Wright's ed., p. 20.

[658] Ego mihi nec perfectionis conscius sum nec fictionis. Vita prima,

III. 7; Migne, 185, 314 sq

[659] Vita prima, I. 13; Migne, 185, 262.

[660] Ep., 242; Migne, 182, 436.

[661] Verecundia, de consid. II. 1; Migne, 185, 744. The word used here

is signa. See also Vita prima, I. 9; Migne, 185, 252.

[662] William of St. Thierry, in Vita prima, I. 9; Migne, 186, 253.

[663] Febricitantibus multis sanctus manus imponens et aquam benedictam

porrigens ad bibendum, sanitatem o btinuit, etc., Migne, 185, 278.

[664] The only case I have found which was not a case of healing in

Bernard's miracles occurred at the dedication of the church of Foigny,

where the congregation was pestered by swarms of flies. Bernard

pronounced the words of excommunication against them and the next

morning they were found dead and people shovelled them out with spades.

[665] Vita prima, VI.; Migne, 185, 374 sqq.

[666] Vita prima, IV. 5 sqq.; Migne, 185, 338-359. See Morison's

remarks, 372 sqq.

[667] A strange story is told of Bernard's throwing dice with a

gambler. The stake was Bernard's horse or the gambler's soul. Bernard

entered into the proposition heartily and won. The gambler is said to

have led a saintly life thereafter. Gesta Romanorum, Engl. trans. by

Swan, p. 317.

[668] Life of Bernard, p. 66. Dr. Morison died 1905.

[669] Der Heilige Bernhard, I. 135-141; II. 92-95. See also Neander's

Ch. Hist, Engl. trans. IV. 256 sq.

[670] "When such works," Neander says in his history, "appear in

connection with a governing Christian temper actuated by the spirit of

love, they may perhaps be properly regarded as solitary workings of

that higher power of life which Christ introduced into human nature."

These words are adopted by Dr. Storrs, who says "it cannot be doubted

that a most extraordinary force operated through Bernard on those who

sought his assistance." Life of Bernard, p. 199 sq.

[671] De gratia et libero arbitrio.

[672] Ep., 174; Migne, 182, 332.

[673] De baptismo aliisque questionibus.

[674] See chapter on Mysticism.

[675] Domus ipsa incutiebat reverentiam sui ac si ingrederer ad altare

Dei, Vita prima, VII. 33; Migne, 185, 246.

[676] Concordia, V. 38. See Schott, Die Gedanken des Abtes Joachim,

Brieger's Zeitschrift, 1902, 171.

[677] Hildegard's Works, Ep., 29; Migne, 197, 189.

[678] Morison, p. 242.

[679] Mortuus vivere et vivens mortuus putabatur, Vita St. Malachy,

XXXI. 74; Migne, 185, 1116. Tender as he is to his Irish friend,

Bernard described the Irish people as utter barbarians in that age.

[680] Herzog, II. 634.

[681] Dogmengeschichte, III. 301.

[682] Bindseil, Colloquia, III. 152. Bernhardus hat den Jesus so lieb

als einer sein mag.

[683] Vita secunda, XVII.; Migne, 185, 498.

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� 66. The Augustinians, Carthusians, Carmelites, and other Orders.

Among the greater orders which came into existence before 1200 are the

Augustinians, the Premonstrants, the Carthusians, and the Carmelites.

1. The Augustinians were a distinct family from the Benedictines,

followed the so-called rule of St. Augustine, and were divided into the

canons regular of St. Augustine and the mendicant friars of St.

Augustine.

The bodies of canons regular were numerous, but their organization was

not compact like that of the stricter monastic orders. [684] te. As

early as the eleventh century a rule, ascribed to St. Augustine,

appeared in several forms. It was professed by the clerical groups

forming the cathedral chapters, and by bodies of priests associated

with other churches of prominence. [685] church services, as, for

example, the service of song, and the enforced rule of celibacy,

encouraged or demanded a plurality of clergymen for a church.

Moved by the strong impulse in the direction of conventual communities,

these groups inclined to the communal life and sought some common rule

of discipline. For it they looked back to Augustine of Hippo, and took

his household as their model. We know that Augustine had living with

him a group of clerics. We also know that he commended his sister for

associating herself with other women and withdrawing from the world,

and gave her some advice. But so far as is known Augustine prescribed

no definite code such as Benedict afterwards drew up, either for his

own household or for any other community.

About 750 Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, drew up a code for his cathedral

chapter, whom he enjoined to live together in common, [686]

In the twelfth century we find many groups of clerics who adopted what

began to be known as the rule of St. Augustine. [687] [688] IV., 1256,

definitely recognized the rule.

The Augustinian rule established a community of goods. Even gifts went

into the common fund. The clerics ate together and slept in one

dormitory. They wore a common dress, and no one on returning his suit

to the clothing room retained any peculiar right to it. The papal

attempts to unite these groups into a close organization proved to be

in vain. [689]

The Augustinian hermits, or Austin friars, as they were called in

England, were monastics in the true sense. They arose after the canons

regular, [690] aupitz and Luther belonged. [691]

The rule of St. Augustine was also adopted with modification by the

Premonstrants, the Gilbertines of England, [692]

2. The Premonstrants adopted the Augustinian rule, were called from

their dress White Canons, and grew with great rapidity. [693] nd one of

the most influential men of his age. Thrown from his horse during a

storm, he determined to devote himself in earnest to religion. He gave

up his position in the Cologne Cathedral and entered the Benedictine

Convent of Sigeberg. Norbert then travelled about in Germany and France

as a preacher of repentance, [694] Pr�montr�, the designated field,

[695] Premonstrants as he did that of the Cistercians. The first rule

forbade meat and eggs, cheese and milk. As in the case of the

Cistercians, their meals were limited to two dishes. At a later date

the rule against meat was modified. Lay brethren were introduced and

expected to do the work of the kitchen and other manual services. The

theological instruction was confined to a few prayers, and the members

were not allowed to read books. [696]

Norbert in 1126 was made archbishop of Magdeburg and welcomed the

opportunity to introduce the order in Northeastern Germany. He joined

Bernard in supporting Innocent II. against the antipope Anacletus II.

He died 1134, at Magdeburg, and was canonized in 1582. Peter the

Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux praised the order and Norbert

himself as a man who stood near to God. [697]

The almost incredible number of one thousand houses is claimed for this

order in its flourishing period. There was also an order of

Premonstrant nuns, which is said to have numbered ten thousand women

during Norbert's lifetime. [698] n this period. [699]

3. More original and strict were the Carthusians, [700] g in severity

any of the other orders of the time. [701] [702] Fontaine, in the

diocese of Langres, which he subsequently exchanged for Chartreuse.

[703] cting as papal adviser, retired to the Calabrian Mountains and

established a house. There he died, 1101. He was canonized 1514. In

1151 the number of Carthusian houses was fourteen, and they gradually

increased to one hundred and sixty-eight. The order was formally

recognized by Alexander III., 1170.

The first Carthusian statutes were committed to writing by the fifth

prior Guigo, d. 1137. The rule now in force was fixed in 1578, and

reconfirmed by Innocent XI., 1682. [704] ntral church, at first two and

two, and then singly. [705] other devotions were performed by each in

seclusion. The prayers were made in a whisper so as to avoid

interfering with others. They sought to imitate the Thebaid anchorites

in rigid self-mortification. Peter the Venerable has left a description

of their severe austerities. Their dress was thin and coarse above the

dress of all other monks. [706] fore Easter, and the thirty days before

Christmas. When one of their number died, each of the survivors said

two psalms, and the whole community met and took two meals together to

console one another for the loss. [707] hold. For hygienic purposes,

the monks bled themselves five times a year, and were shaved six times

a year. [708] [709] em. [710] y letters, and lauded their devotion to

God. So at a later time Petrarch, after a visit to their convent in

Paris, penned a panegyric of the order.

In England the Carthusians were not popular. [711] ent was founded by

Henry II., at Witham, 1180. The famous Charterhouse in London (a

corruption of the French Chartreuse), founded in 1371, was turned into

a public school, 1611. In Italy the more elaborate houses of the order

were the Certosa di San Casciano near Florence, the Certosa at Pisa,

and the Certosa Maria degli Angeli in Rome. [712]

In recent times the monks of the Chartreuse became famous for the

Chartreuse liqueur which they distilled. In its preparation the young

buds of pine trees were used.

4. The Carmelites, or the Order of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of Mt.

Carmel, had their origin during the Crusades, 1156. [713] bbess of the

female community. Their history has been marked by much division within

the order and bitter controversies with other orders.

Our first trustworthy notice is derived from Phocas, a Greek monk, who

visited Mt. Carmel in 1185. Berthold of Calabria, a Crusader, made a

vow under the walls of Antioch that in case the Christians were

victorious over Zenki, he would devote himself to the monastic life.

The prayer was answered, and Berthold with ten companions established

himself on Mt. Carmel. [714] origin of the order became the subject of

a violent dispute between the Carmelites and the Jesuits. The Jesuit

Papebroch precipitated it in 1668 by declaring that Berthold was the

founder. He was answered by the Carmelite Daniel [715] he origin back

to Elijah. Appeal was made to Innocent XII., who, in 1698, in the bull

redemptoris, commanded the two orders to maintain silence till the

papal chair should render a decision. This has not yet been done. [716]

The community received its rule about 1208 from Albert, afterwards

patriarch of Constantinople. It was confirmed by Honorius III., 1226.

Its original sixteen articles gave the usual regulations against eating

meat, enjoined daily silence, from vespers to tierce (6 P. M. to 9 A.

M.), and provided that the monks live the hermit's life in cells like

the Carthusians. The dress was at first a striped garment, white and

black, which was afterwards changed for brown.

With the Christian losses in Palestine, the Carmelites began to migrate

westwards. In 1238 they were in Cyprus, and before the middle of the

thirteenth century they were settled in far Western Europe. The first

English house was at Alnwick, and a general chapter was held at

Aylesford, 1246.

From the general of the order, Simon Stock, an Englishman (1245-65),

dates the veneration of the scapulary, [717] nd release those who have

worn it. The story is included in the Breviary, [718] the order,

deliverance from purgatory by Mary, the first Saturday after their

decease. [719]

After the success of the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Carmelites,

with the sanction of Innocent IV., adopted the practice of mendicancy,

1245, and the coenobite life was substituted for life in solitary

cells. The rules concerning clothing and food were relaxed to meet the

climatic conditions of Europe.

A division took place in the order in 1378. The wing, holding to the

stricter rule as confirmed by Innocent IV., is known as the Carmelites

of the Ancient Observance. Both wings have their respective generals.

The Carmelite name most famous in the annals of piety is that of St.

Theresa, the Spanish saint who joined herself to the Carmelites, 1533.

She aided in founding seventeen convents for women and fourteen for

monks. This new branch, the Barefoot Carmelites, spread to different

parts of Europe, Mt. Carmel, Africa, Mexico, and other countries. The

monks wear leathern sandals, and the nuns a light shoe. [720]

Of the other numerous monastic orders, the following may be mentioned.

The Antonites, or Brothers of the Hospital of St. Antonius [721] om a

disease, then widely prevalent, and called St. Anthony's fire, morbus

sacer. The prayer was answered, and the father and his son devoted

themselves to a religious life. The order was sanctioned by Urban II.,

1095, and was intended to care for the sick and poor. In 1118 it

received from Calixtus II. the church of St. Didier de Mothe,

containing St. Anthony's bones. In 1218 Honorius III. gave the members

permission to take monastic vows, and in 1296 Boniface VIII. imposed on

them the Augustinian rule. They had houses in France, Germany, Hungary,

and Italy. It used to be the custom on St. Anthony's day to lead horses

and cattle in front of their convent in Rome to receive a form of

blessing. [722]

The Trinitarians, ordo sanctissima Trinitatis de redemptione

captivorum, had for their mission the redemption of Christian captives

out of the hands of the Saracens and Moors. Their founder was John of

Matha (1160-1213). The order was also called the ordo asinorum, Order

of the Asses, from the fact that its members rode on asses and never on

horseback. [723] d as the representative of the Virgin Mary, and the

arrangement as in conformity with the word of Christ, placing John

under the care of Mary. A church built between the male and female

cloisters was used in common. The order was founded by Robert d'

Abrissel (d. 1117), whom Urban II. heard preach, and commissioned as a

preacher, 1096. Robert was born in Brittany, and founded, 1095, a

convent at Craon. He was a preacher of great popular power. The nuns

devoted themselves especially to the reclamation of fallen women. [724]

[725]

The Order of Grammont, founded by Stephen of Auvergne, deserves mention

for the high rank it once held in France. It enjoyed the special

patronage of Louis VII. and other French sovereigns, and had sixty

houses in France. It was an order of hermits. Arrested while on a

pilgrimage, by sickness, Stephen was led by the example of the hermits

of Calabria to devote himself to the hermit life. These monks went as

far in denying themselves the necessities of life as it is possible to

do and yet survive, [726] [727]

The Brothers of the Sack [728] of rough material cut in the shape of a

bag. They had convents in different countries, including England, where

they continued to have houses till the suppression of the monasteries.

They abstained entirely from meat, and drunk only water. The

Franciscans derisively called them Bushmen (Boscarioli). They were

indefatigable beggars. The Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, [729]

gars."

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[684] See art. Augustiner, in Herzog, II. 254 sqq., and in

Wetzer-Welte, I. 1655 sqq. Theod. Kolde, D. deutsche Augustiner

Congregation und Joh. von Staupitz, Gotha, 1879.

[685] At Campell, near Paris, there were not less than fifty priests,

whose number was reduced by Innocent III. to twenty-two. See Hurter,

III. 375. The terms canonicus saecularis and regularis do not occur

before the twelfth century. Up to that time they were known as clerici

religiosi, clerici regulares, clerici professi, clerici communiter

viventes, etc. So Denifle, Archiv f�r Lit. und Kirchengeschichte for

1886, p. 174. He quotes Amort, Vetus disciplina canonicorum regul et

saecul., Venice, 1747, I. 333.

[686] Chrodegana provided a common table for the clergy of his chapter,

and a common dormitory. The Roman synods of 1059, 1063, recommended

priests to have their revenues in common.

[687] The tradition runs that this rule was prescribed by Innocent II.,

1139, for all canons regular. Helyot, II. 21.

[688] In a bull, Dec. 16, 1243, Innocent speaks of the regula S.

Augustini et ordo. See Potthast, p. 954. The most distinguished convent

of regular canons in France was the convent of St. Victor.

[689] The cathedral of Bristol is built up from the old abbey of St.

Augustine. The Augustinian, or Austin, canons were also called the

Black Canons in England. They were very popular there. St. Botolph's,

Colchester, their first English house, was established about 1100. At

the suppression of the monasteries there were one hundred and seventy

houses in England, and a much larger number in Ireland. Gasquet, p.

225. See W. G. D. Fletcher, The Blackfriars in Oxford.

[690] See Hurter, III. 238.

[691] In England they had thirty-two friaries at the time of the

dissolution. Gasquet, 241.

[692] The Gilbertines, founded by St. Gilbert, rector of Sandringham,

about 1140, were confined to England. There were twenty-six houses at

the time of the suppression of the monasteries. The convents for men

and women used a common church.

[693] Norbert's Works and Life are given in Migne, vol. 170, and his

Life in Mon. Ger. XII., 670 sqq.; Germ. trans. by Hertel, in

Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, Leipzig, 1881. See also

Hauck, IV. 350-66; J. von Walter, Die ersten Wanderprediger

Frankreichs, vol. II. Leipzig, 1906, pp. 119-129, and the art.

Praemonstratenser, X. 267 sqq., and Norbert, IX. 448 sqq., in

Wetzer-Welte, and Praemonstratenser, in Herzog, XV. 606 sqq., and the

literature there given; and Gasquet, The Engl. Praemonstratensians, in

transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc., vol. XVII. London, 1903.

[694] Walter puts Norbert in the group of the itinerant preachers of

the age.

[695] Pratum monstratum.

[696] Hurter, IV. 206.

[697] Bernard, Sermon, XXII.; Ep., 56

[698] See Hurter, IV. 208.

[699] In England there were more than thirty Premonstrant convents at

the suppression of the monasteries. Bayham and Easley are their best

preserved abbeys.

[700] Consuetudines Carthusienses, printed among Bruno's Works in

Migne, 153, 651-759. Peter Dorland, Chronicon Carthusianae, Col. 1608.

For literature see Wetzer-Welte, art. Karth�user, VII. 203, and the

art. Bruno, vol. II. 1356-63. Bruno's Works in Migne, 152, 153. In his

Com. on the Romans he anticipates Luther by inserting sola, "alone" in

Rom. 3:28, "a man is justified by faith alone, without the works of the

law." See Dr. Fr. Duesterdieck, Studien u. Kritiken, 1903, p. 506.

[701] The device of the order is a globe surmounted by a lion with the

motto Stat crux dum volvitur orbis, "The cross stands while the globe

turns."

[702] The following legend was invented to account for Bruno's

decision. In 1082 he was present at the mortuary services over Raymond,

canon of Notre Dame, Paris. When the words were said, "Quantas habes

iniquitates et peccata?""how many sins and iniquities hast thou?" the

dead man rose up and replied, "justo dei judicio accusatus sum," "I am

accused by the just judgment of God." The next day at the repetition of

the words, the dead rose again and exclaimed, "justo dei judicio

judicatus sum," "I am judged by the just judgment of God." The third

day the dead man rose for the third time and cried out, "justo dei

judicio condemnatus sum," "I am condemned by the just judgment of God."

This incident was inserted into the Roman Breviary, but removed by

order of Urban VIII., 1631. Hergenr�ther says the legend is still

defended by the Carthusians. Kirchengesch., II. 353.

[703] Peter the Venerable says of a visit to Chartreuse, Ep., VI. 24,

inaccessibiles pene nivibus et glacie altissimas rupes non abhorrui, "I

shrank not back from the high rocks made inaccessible by snow and ice."

Hurter's description, IV. 150, makes the location attractive.

[704] Nova collectio statutorum Ord. Carthusiensis, Paris, 1682.

[705] For the plan of a Carthusian monastery, see Dr. Venables' art.

Abbey, in "Enc. Brit.," I. 20 sq.

[706] Vestes vilissimas ac super omne religionis propositum

abjectissimas ipsoque visu horrendas assumpserunt. Pet. Ven., De

miraculis, II. 28.

[707] A movement among the Carthusians to pass over into other orders,

where the discipline was less rigid, was severely rebuked by Innocent

III. Hurter, IV. 161.

[708] Medicinis, excepto cauterio et sanguinis minutione perraro

utimur, quoted by Hurter, IV. 154, from the Constitutions of Guigo.

Bleeding for medicinal purposes seems to have been common in convents.

It was practised in the convent of Heisterbach, Caesar of Heisterbach,

Dial., XI. 2. According to the life of Bernard of Thiron, it was the

custom in some convents for monks suffering from headache or other

physical ailments to have the abbot place his hands on their bodies,

trusting to his miraculous power for healing. See Walter, Die ersten

Wanderprediger Frankreichs, Leipzig, 1906, II. p. 50.

[709] And yet they have furnished at least four cardinals, seventy

archbishops and bishops, and have had rich churches noted for their

works of art like the one in Naples, or the church at Pavia, where

lapis lazuli is freely used. See Hurter, IV. 158.

[710] Pet. Ven., Epp., I. 24, IV. 38. Peter gives a list of the books

he sent.

[711] "The discipline was too rigid, the loneliness too dreadful for

our tastes and climate." Jessopp, The Coming of the Friars, p. 125.

[712] The order was suppressed in France at the time of the Revolution.

The monks, however, were permitted to return to Grand Chartreuse in

1816, paying a rental of 3000 francs to the government. The mother

convent has again been broken up by the Associations Law of 1903. There

were at that time one hundred and fifty monks in the house. Some of

them went to Piedmont, and others to Tarragona, Spain, where they have

set up a distillery for their precious liqueur.

[713] Ordo B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo is the name given by Innocent IV.

The brethren are called fratres eremiti de monte Carmelo, by Honorius

III., in his sanction of the order, 1226. The art. Carmelite, in

Wetzer-Welte, II. 1966-1976, and Karmeliter, in Herzog, X. 84-88, give

a good account and contain lists of literature. Potthast, I. No. 7524.

[714] The convent on Mt. Carmel is a conspicuous object as you approach

the coast from the Mediterranean, and from the hills round about

Nazareth. The present building was erected in 1828, and is an hour's

walk from Haifa. Napoleon used the former buildings for a hospital

during his Syrian campaign.

[715] Speculum Carmelitarum seu historia Eliani ordinis, 4 vols.

Antwerp, 1680.

[716] Benedict XIII., in 1725, gave quasi-sanction to the order's claim

by permitting it to erect a statue to Elijah in St. Peter's. It bears

the inscription Universus ordo Carmelitarum fundatori suo St. Eliae

prophetae erexit.

[717] The Carmelites are often called the Brotherhood of the Scapulary.

The scapulary is a sleeveless jacket covering the breast and back, and

was originally worn over the other garments when the monk was at work.

The garment has been the frequent subject of papal decree down to Leo

XIII., 1892. July 16 has been set apart since 1587 as a special

festival of the scapulary, and is one of the feasts of the Virgin. A

work has been written on the proper use of the scapulary, by Brocard:

Recueil des instructions sur la devotion au St. Scapulaire de Notre

Dame de Monte Carmelo, Gand, 4th ed. 1875. Simon Stock was one hundred

when he died.

[718] Hergenr�ther-Kirsch, Kirchengesch., II. 362, says it is

introduced as a matter of "pious opinion," fromme Meinung.

[719] The original bull has not been found, and its authenticity has

been a subject of warm dispute, in the Catholic church. The pertinent

words of Mary are Ego mater gratiose descendam sabbato post eorum

mortem et, quot inveniam in purgatorio, liberabo. "I, mother, will

graciously descend on the Sabbath after their death, and whomever I

find in purgatory I will free." One ground for doubting the

authenticity of the bull is that Mary promises to forgive sins. Paul

V., in 1613, decreed that this "pious faith" should be preached. See

art. Sabbatina, in Wetzer-Welte, X. 1444-1447

[720] By the decision of Clement VIII., 1593, the Barefoot monks became

an independent order, and elect their own general superior. Hurter, IV.

213, concludes his short account of the Carmelites by saying, that

among other things which they used to exaggerate to a ridiculous extent

was the number of their houses, which they gave at 7500, and of their

monks, which they gave as 180,000.

[721] Falco, Antonianae Hist. compendium, Lyons, 1534. Uhlhorn, D.

christl. Liebesth�tigkeit d. Mittelalters, Stuttg. 1884, 178-186, 343

sqq.

[722] The Antonites regarded St. Anthony as the patron of stable

animals, a view popularly held in Italy. An example of this belief is

given in the Life of Philip Schaff, 56 sq.

[723] The Trinitarians were also called Maturines, from their house in

Paris near St. Mathurine's chapel. They had a few houses in England. A

Spanish order with the same design, the Ordo B. V. M. de Mercede

redemptionis captivorum, was founded by Peter Nolasco and Raymond of

Pennaforte. See Hurter, IV. 219.

[724] The last abbess died 1799. Since 1804 the abbey of Font Evraud

has been used as a house for the detention of convicts. Henry II. of

England and Richard Coeur de Lion were buried at Font Evraud. For the

literature of the order, see Herzog, VI. 125, and J. von Walter, Die

ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs, Studien zur Gesch. des M�nchthums,

Robert von Abrissel, I. Leipzig, 1903.

[725] Ut capillos non nutriant suos. Walter, Wanderprediger, II. 112.

[726] Hurter, IV. 140. See art. Grammont, in Wetzer-Welte, VI. 990 sqq.

[727] Walter, II. 143.

[728] Fratres saccati, fratres de sacco, saccophori, etc. See art.

Sackbr�der, in Herzog, XVII. 327. Gasquet, 241 sq.

[729] See Coulton, p. 301.

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� 67. Monastic Prophets.

St. Hildegard and Joachim of Flore.

Literature.--Hildegard's works in Migne, vol. 197, and some not there

given in Pitra: Analecta sacra. For a list see Preger: Geschichte der

deutschen Mystik, I. 13-36.--Lives by Godefrid and Theodorich,

contemporaries in Migne.--Dahl, Mainz, 1832.--Clarius, with translation

of Hildegard's letters, 2 vols. Regensburg, 1854.--Richaud, Aix,

1876.--J. P. Schmelzeis, Freiburg, 1897.--P. Franche, Paris,

1903.--Benrath, in Herzog, VIII. 71 sq.--Hildegard's Causae et curae,

ed. by Kaiser, Leipzig, 1903, is a sort of mediaeval manual of

medicine.

Joachim's published works, Liber concordiae novi et veteris Testamenti,

Venice, 1519; Expositio in Apocalypsin and Psalterium decem chordarum,

Venice, 1527. The errors of Joachim are given in Mansi, xxii. 981 and

Denifle: Chartularium Univ., Par I. 272-275.--Salimbene: Chronicon,

Parma, 1857; Coulton's trans., London, 1906.--Luna Consentinus, d.

1224, perhaps an amanuensis: Synopsis virtutum b. Joach. in Ughelli,

Italia sacra, IX. 205 sqq.--Gervaise: Hist. de l'abb� Joachim, 2 vols.

Paris, 1745.--Reuter: Gesch. der Aufkl�rung, 1877, pp. 191-218.--Renan

in Nouvelles �tudes d'hist. rel., Paris, 1884, pp. 217-323.--\*Denifle:

Das Evangelium aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni, in Archiv f�r

Lit.- und Kirchengesch., 1885, pp. 49-142. \*D�llinger: Die Papstfabeln

des Mittelalters, 2d ed. by J. Friedrich, Stuttgart, 1890; Engl. trans.

of 1st ed. by H. B. Smith, N. Y., 1872, pp. 364-391.--\*Artt: Joachim,

in Wetzer-Welte by Ehrle, VI. 1471-1480, and in Herzog by Deutsch, IX.

227-232.--\*E. Schott: Die Gedanken Joachims in Brieger's Zeitschrift,

1902, pp. 157-187.

The monasteries also had their prophets. Men's minds, stirred by the

disasters in Palestine, and by the spread of heresy in Europe, here and

there saw beyond the prevailing ritual of church and convent to a new

era in which, however, neither hierarchy nor convent would be given up.

In the twelfth century the spirit of prophecy broke out almost

simultaneously in convents on the Rhine and in Southern Italy. Its

chief exponents were Hildegard of Bingen, Elizabeth of Schoenau, and

Joachim, the abbot of Flore. [730] saw visions, and Joachim was the

seer of a new age.

Hildegard (1098-1179), abbess of the Benedictine convent of

Disebodenberg, near Bingen on the Rhine, was the most prominent woman

in the church of her day. [731] t, though in a lesser degree, she was

to Germany. She received letters from four popes, Eugenius, Anastasius,

Adrian, and Alexander III., from the emperors Konrad III. and Frederick

Barbarossa, from Bernard and many ecclesiastics in high office as well

as from persons of humble position. Her intercessions were invoked by

Frederick, by Konrad for his son, [732] nd through her." [733]

Infirm of body, Hildegard was, by her own statement, the recipient of

visions from her childhood. As she wrote to St. Bernard, she saw them

"not with the external eye of sense but with the inner eye." The deeper

meanings of Scripture touched her breast and burnt into her soul like a

flame." [734] tness, coming from the open heavens, transfused her brain

and inflamed her whole heart and breast like a flame, as the sun

lightens everything upon which his rays fall. [735] en places but while

she was awake and in pure consciousness, using the eyes and ears of her

inner man according to the will of God. [736] encouraged her to

continue in her course. [737]

It is reported by contemporaries of this godly woman that scarcely a

sick person came to her without being healed. [738] er which, as in one

case, healed paralysis of the tongue.

As a censor of the Church, Hildegard lamented the low condition of the

clergy, announced that the Cathari would be used to stir up Christendom

to self-purification, called attention to the Scriptures and the

Catholic faith as the supreme fonts of authority, and bade men look for

salvation not to priests but to Christ.

She was also an enthusiastic student of nature. Her treatises on herbs,

trees, and fishes are among the most elaborate on natural objects of

the Middle Ages. She gives the properties of no less than two hundred

and thirteen herbs or their products, and regarded heat and cold as

very important qualities of plant life. They are treated with an eye to

their medicinal virtue. Butter, she says, is good for persons in ill

health and suffering from feverish blood and the butter of cows is more

wholesome than the butter of sheep and goats. Licorice, [739] the

stomach for the process of digestion. The "basilisca," which is cold,

if placed under the tongue, restores the power of speech to the palsied

and, when cooked in wine with honey added, will cure fevers provided it

is drunk frequently during the night. [740]

A kindred spirit to Hildegard was Elizabeth of Schoenau, who died 1165

at the age of thirty-six. [741] he saw Stephen, Laurentius, and many of

the other saints. In the midst of them usually stood "the virgin of

virgins, the most glorious mother of God, Mary." [742] represented

herself as being "rapt out of the body into an ecstasy." [743] and

impiety. On one occasion she saw Christ sitting at the judgment with

Pilate, Judas, and those who crucified him on his left hand and also,

alas! a great company of men and women whom she recognized as being of

her order. [744] a place in the annals of German mysticism.

Joachim of Flore, [745] s first abbot of the Cistercian convent of

Corazza in Calabria, and then became the founder and abbot of St. John

in Flore. Into this convent he introduced a stricter rule than the rule

of the Cistercians. It became the centre of a new order which was

sanctioned by Coelestin III., 1196.

Joachim enjoyed the reputation of a prophet during his lifetime. [746]

conciliar and papal examination. The Fourth Lateran condemned his

treatment of the Trinity as defined by Peter the Lombard. Peter had

declared that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit constitute a certain

supreme essence, quaedam summa res, and this, according to Joachim,

involved a substitution of a quaternity for the Trinity. Those who

adopted Joachim's view were condemned as heretics, but Joachim and the

convent of Flore were distinctly excepted from condemnation. [747]

Joachim's views on the doctrine of the Trinity are of slight

importance. The abbot has a place in history by his theory of

historical development and his eschatology. His opinions are set forth

in three writings of whose genuineness there is no question, an

exposition of the Psalms, an exposition of the Apocalypse, and a

Concord of the Old and New Testaments. [748]

Interwoven with his prophecies is Joachim's theory of historical

development. There are three ages in history. The Old Testament age has

its time of beginning and bloom. So has that of the New Testament. But

a third age is to follow. The basis for this theory of three periods is

found in a comparison of the Old and New Testaments, a comparison which

reveals a parallelism between the leading periods of the history of

Israel and the periods of Christian history. This parallelism was

disclosed to Joachim on an Easter night, and made as clear as day.

The first of the three ages was the age of the Father, the second the

age of the Son, of the Gospel, and the sacraments, the third, the age

of the Holy Spirit which was yet to come. The three were represented by

Peter, Paul, and John. The first was an age of law, the second of

grace, the third of more grace. The first was characterized by fear,

the second by faith, the third was to be marked by charity. The first

was the age of servants, the second of freedmen, the third of friends.

The first brought forth water, the second wine, the third was to bring

forth oil. The first was as the light of the stars, the second of the

dawn, the third of the perfect day. The first was the age of the

married, and corresponded to the flesh; the second of priests, with the

elements of the flesh and the Spirit mixed; the third of monks, and was

to be wholly spiritual. Each of these ages had a beginning, a maturity,

and an end. [749] begun in the days of Joachim himself. The

consummation was to begin in 1260.

The Gospel of the letter is temporal not eternal, and gives way in the

third period to the Eternal Gospel, Rev. 14:6. Then the spiritual

meaning of the Gospel will be fully known. Joachim did not mean to deny

the permanent authority of the two Testaments, when he put into his

third period the full understanding of them, in the spiritual sense,

and the complete embodiment of their teachings in life and conduct. The

Eternal Gospel he described, not as a newly written revelation, but as

the spiritual and permanent message of Christ's Gospel, which is hidden

under the surface of the letter. This Gospel he also called the

Spiritual Gospel, and the Gospel of the Kingdom. [750] [751] urified.

The Eternal Gospel was to be proclaimed by a new order, the "little

ones of Christ." [752] [753]

It was in the conception of the maturition of the periods as much as in

the succession of the periods that the theory of development is brought

out. [754] to correspond to the seven seals of the Apocalypse. The

first seal is indicated in the Old Testament by the deliverance from

Egypt, in the New by the resurrection of Christ; the second seal

respectively by the experiences in the wilderness and the persecutions

of the ante-Nicene Church; the third by the wars against the Canaanites

and the conflict with heresy from Constantine to Justinian; the fourth

by the peril from the Assyrians and the age lasting to Gregory III., d.

741 the fifth by the Babylonian oppression and the troubles under the

German emperors; and the sixth by the exile, and the twelfth Christian

century with all the miseries of that age, including the violence of

the Saracens, and the rise of heretics. The opening of the seventh seal

was near at hand, and was to be followed by the Sabbatic rest.

Joachim was no sectary. He was not even a reformer. Like many of his

contemporaries he was severe upon the vices of the clergy of his day.

"Where is quarrelling," he exclaims, "where fraud, except among the

sons of Juda, except among the clergy of the Lord? Where is crime,

where ambition, except among the clergy of the Lord?" [755] [756] f and

his writings dutifully to the Church, [757] [758] empt from empty

formalism and bitter disputes.

An ecclesiastical judgment upon Joachim's views was precipitated by the

Franciscan Gerardus of Borgo San Donnino, who wrote a tract called the

Introduction to the Eternal Gospel, [759] expounding what he considered

to be Joachim's teachings. He declared that Joachim's writings were

themselves the written code of the Eternal Gospel, [760] the ages of

the Father and the Son. Of this last age the abbot of Flore was the

evangelist.

When Gerard's work appeared, in 1254, it created a great stir and was

condemned by professors at Paris, the enemies of the Franciscans,

William of St. Amour among the number. The strict wing of the

Franciscans, the Spirituals, adopted some of Joachim's views and looked

upon him as the prophet of their order. Articles of accusation were

brought before Innocent IV. His successor, Alexander IV., in 1255

condemned Gerardo and his book without, however, passing judgment upon

Joachim. [761] Franciscan chronicler Salimbene was also for a while a

disciple of Joachim, and reports that the prophet predicted that the

order of the Friars Minor should endure to the end while the order of

Preachers should pass away. [762] ned the writings of Joachim. A

century after Joachim's death, the Franciscan Spirituals, John Peter

Olivi and Ubertino da Casale, were identified with his views. The

traces of Joachimism are found throughout the Middle Ages to their

close. Joachim was the millenarian prophet of the Middle Ages.

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[730] Among others who were expecting the millennium soon to dawn, was

Norbert, who wrote to St. Bernard that the age in which he lived was

the age of antichrist. Bernard, Ep., 56; Migne, 182, 50, wrote back

taking a contrary view.

[731] The name of H�lo�se was perhaps as widely known, but it was for

her connection with Abelard, not for her works in the Church. The Latin

form of Hildegard is Hildegardis. M. Paris, Luard's Ed., V. 195, in his

summary of the events of 1200-1250, mentions Hildegard and Elizabeth of

Thuringia as the prominent religious female characters of the period,

but Hildegard died 1177.

[732] Ep., XXVI. sq.; Migne, 197, 185 sq.

[733] Ep., XXII. On the other hand, Hildegard asked Bernard to pray for

her.

[734] animam meam sicut flammam comburens, Migne, 197, 190. St.

Bernard, writing to Hildegard, spoke of the "sweetness of her holy

love," and Hildegard compares the abbot of Clairvaux to the eagle and

addresses him as the most mild of fathers, mitissime pater.

[735] non visiones in somnis, nec dormiens, nec in phrenesi, nec

corporeis oculis aut auribus exterioris, nec in abditis locis percepi,

sed eas vigilans, circumspiciens in pura mente oculis et auribus

interioris hominis, etc. Scivias, I. Praefatio, Migne, 197, 384.

[736] Scivias. See Migne, 197, 93. This is the chief collection of her

visions. Migne, 197, 383-739.

[737] Ep., I.; Migne, 197, 146.

[738] Migne, 197, 117.

[739] de plantis, Migne, 197, 1139.

[740] Migne, 197, 1210.

[741] Her writings are given in Migne, 195, 119-196. First complete

edition by F. W. C. Roth: Die Visionen der heiligen Elizabeth, Br�nn,

1884. See Preger: Gesch. d. deutschen Mystik, 1, 37-43.

[742] Migne, 195, 146.

[743] acorpore rapta sum in exstasim, p. 135, oreram in exstasi et

vidi, p. 145.

[744] Migne, 195, 146.

[745] After the convent St. Johannes in Flore, which he founded. The

members of Joachim's order are called in the papal bull, Florentii

fratres, Potthast, No. 2092, vol. I. 182.

[746] When Richard Coeur de Lion was in Sicily on his way to Palestine

in 1190, he was moved by Joachim's fame to send for him. The abbot

interpreted to him John's prophecy of anti-christ, whom he declared was

already born, and would in time be elevated to the Apostolic chair and

strive against everything called of God. De Hoveden, Engl. trans., II.

pp. 177 sqq.

[747] Joachim had set forth his views against the Lombard in a tract to

which the council referred. See Mansi, xxii., and Hefele-Kn�pfler, V.

880 sq.

[748] Joachim, in a list, 1200, gives these three writings and also

mentions works against the Jews and on the articles of the Christian

faith. Schott, p. 170, counts twenty-four works, genuine and ungenuine,

which are ascribed to him. Among those pronounced ungenuine are the

commentaries on Jeremiah and Isaiah which were much used by the

Franciscans from the middle of the thirteenth century on. They call

Rome, Babylon and show a bitter hostility to the pope, representations

which are in conflict with Joachim's genuine writings. They also abound

in detailed prophecies of events which actually occur-red. "If these

books were genuine," says D�llinger, p. 369, "the exact fulfilment of

the many predictions would present the most wonderful phenomenon in the

history of prophecy."

[749] principium, fructificatio, finis.

[750] See Denifle, pp. 53 sqq.

[751] spiritualis ecclesia, also called ecclesia contemplativa,

Denifle, pp. 56 sqq.

[752] Parvuli Christi or parvuli de latina ecclesia, a name for monks.

[753] In some passages Joachim also speaks of two orders. See

D�llinger, 376.

[754] So Schott, p. 180, Die Fructification ist nichts anders als ein

neuer Ausdruck f�r den Entwicklungsgedanken.

[755] See Schott, 175.

[756] D�llinger, 379; Schott, 178, etc.

[757] The Fourth Lateran Council, Canon II.

[758] He also quotes freely from Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great,

and other Fathers.

[759] Introductorius in Evangelium aeternum.

[760] Or the "Gospel of the Holy Spirit." See Denifle, p. 60.

[761] The practical English monk, M. Paris, speaks of Joachim's

doctrines as "new and absurd." III. p. 206.

[762] Coulton's Reproduction, pp. 105, 163.

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� 68. The Mendicant Orders.

For literature, see �� 69, 72.

A powerful impulse was imported into monasticism and the life of the

mediaeval Church by the two great mendicant orders, [763] though not

without a struggle. [764] which they rendered in the first years of

their career are not more than counterbalanced by their evil activity

in later periods when their convents became a synonym for idleness,

insolence, and ignorance.

The appearance of these two organizations was without question one of

the most momentous events of the Middle Ages, [765] . At the time when

the spirit of the Crusades was waning and heresies were threatening to

sweep away the authority, if not the very existence of the hierarchy,

Francis d'Assisi and Dominic de Guzman, an Italian and a Spaniard,

united in reviving the religious energies and strengthening the

religious organization of the Western Church. As is usually the case in

human affairs, the personalities of these great leaders were more

powerful than solemnly enacted codes of rules. They started monasticism

on a new career. They embodied Christian philanthropy so that it had a

novel aspect. They were the sociological reformers of their age. They

supplied the universities and scholastic theology with some of their

most brilliant lights. The prophecies of Joachim of Flore were regarded

as fulfilled in Francis and Dominic, who were the two trumpets of Moses

to arouse the world from its slumber, the two pillars appointed to

support the Church. The two orders received papal recognition in the

face of the recent decree of the Fourth Lateran against new monastic

orders.

Two temperaments could scarcely have differed more widely than the

temperaments of Francis and Dominic. Dante has described Francis as an

Ardor, inflaming the world with love; Dominic as a Brightness, filling

it with light.

The one was all seraphical in Ardor,

The other by his wisdom upon earth

A Splendor was of light cherubical. [766]

Neither touched life on so many sides as did Bernard. They were not

involved in the external policies of states. They were not called upon

to heal papal schisms, nor were they brought into a position to

influence the papal policy. But each excelled the monk of Clairvaux as

the fathers of well-disciplined and permanent organizations.

Francis is the most unpretentious, gentle, and lovable of all monastic

saints. [767] the elements of a Christian apostle, Dominic of an

ecclesiastical statesman. Francis we can only think of as mingling with

the people and breathing the free air of the fields; Dominic we think

of easily as lingering in courts and serving in the papal household.

Francis' lifework was to save the souls of men; Dominic's lifework was

to increase the power of the Church. The one sought to carry the

ministries of the Gospel to the masses; the other to perpetuate the

integrity of Catholic doctrine. Francis has been celebrated for the

humbleness of his mind and walk; Dominic was called the hammer of the

heretics.

It is probable that on at least three occasions the two leaders met.

[768] erhoods in one organization. Dominic asked Francis for his cord,

and bound himself with it, saying he desired the two orders to be one.

Again, 1218, they met at the Portiuncula, Francis' beloved church in

Assisi, and on the basis of what he saw, Dominic decided to embrace

mendicancy, which his order adopted in 1220. Again in 1221 they met at

Rome, when Cardinal Ugolino sought to manipulate the orders in the

interest of the hierarchy. This Francis resented, but in vain,

It was the purpose neither of Francis nor Dominic to reform existing

orders, or to revive the rigor of rules half-obeyed. It may be doubted

whether Francis, at the outset, had any intention of founding an

organization. His object was rather to start a movement to transform

the world as with leaven. They both sought to revive Apostolic

practice.

The Franciscan and Dominican orders differed from the older orders in

five important particulars.

The first characteristic feature was absolute poverty. Mendicancy was a

primal principle of their platforms. The rules of both orders, the

Franciscans leading the way, forbade the possession of property. The

corporation, as well as the individual monk, was pledged to poverty.

The intention of Francis was to prohibit forever the holding of

corporate property as well as individual property among his followers.

[769]

The practice of absolute poverty had been emphasized by preachers and

sects in the century before Francis and Dominic began their careers,

and sects, such as the Humiliati, the Poor Men of Lombardy, and the

Poor Men of Lyons, were advocating it in their time. Robert d'Abrissel,

d. 1117, had for his ideal to follow "the bare Christ on the cross,

without any goods of his own." [770] r man," pauper Christi, and says

that this "man, poor in spirit, followed unto death the Poor Lord."

[771] reacher, Vitalis of Savigny, who lived about the same time, his

biographer said that he decided to bear Christ's light yoke by walking

in the steps of the Apostles. [772] o follow closely the example of the

Apostles, and they regarded Christ as having taught and practised

absolute poverty. Arnold of Brescia's mind worked in the same

direction, as did also the heretical sects of Southern France and

Northern Italy. The imitation of Christ lay near to their hearts, and

it remained for Francis of Assisi to realize most fully this pious

ideal of the thirteenth century. [773]

The second feature was their devotion to practical activities in

society. The monk had fled into solitude from the day when St. Anthony

retired to the Thebaid desert. The Black and Gray Friars, as the

Dominicans and Franciscans were called from the colors of their dress,

threw themselves into the currents of the busy world. To lonely

contemplation they joined itinerancy in the marts and on the

thoroughfares. [774] ed. [775]

A third characteristic of the orders was the lay brotherhoods which

they developed, the third order, called Tertiaries, or the penitential

brothers, fratres de poenitentia. [776] e. But the third order of the

Franciscans and Dominicans were lay folk who, while continuing at their

usual avocations, were bound by oath to practise the chief virtues of

the Gospel. There was thus opened to laymen the opportunity of

realizing some of that higher merit belonging theretofore only to the

monastic profession. Religion was given back to common life.

A fourth feature was their activity as teachers in the universities.

They recognized that these new centres of education were centres of

powerful influence, and they adapted themselves to the situation.

Twenty years had scarcely elapsed before the Franciscans and Dominicans

entered upon a career of great distinction at these universities.

Francis, it is true, had set his face against learning, and said that

demons had more knowledge of the stars than men could have. Knowledge

puffeth up, but charity edifieth. To a novice he said, "If you have a

psaltery, you will want a breviary; and if you have a breviary, you

will sit on a high chair like a prelate, and say to your brother,

'Bring me a breviary.' " To another he said, "The time of tribulation

will come when books will be useless and be thrown away." [777] hing

schools, and, in spite of vigorous opposition, both orders gained

entrance to the University of Paris. The Dominicans led the way, and

established themselves very early at the seats of the two great

continental universities, Paris and Bologna. [778] r convent at Paris,

St. Jacques, established in 1217, they turned into a theological

school. Carrying letters of recommendation from Honorius III., they

were at first well received by the authorities of the university. The

Franciscans established their convent in Paris, 1230. Both orders

received from the chancellor of Paris license to confer degrees, but

their arrogance and refusal to submit to the university regulations

soon brought on bitter opposition. The popes took their part, and

Alexander IV. [779] manded the authorities to receive them to the

faculty. Compliance with this bull was exceedingly distasteful, for the

friars acknowledged the supreme authority of a foreign body. The

populace of Paris and the students hooted them on the streets and

pelted them with missiles. It seemed to Humbert, the general of the

Dominicans, as if Satan, Leviathan, and Belial had broken loose and

agreed to beset the friars round about and destroy, if possible, the

fruitful olive which Dominic, of most glorious memory, had planted in

the field of the Church. [780] [781]

At Paris and Oxford, Cologne, and other universities, they furnished

the greatest of the Schoolmen. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus,

Durandus, were Dominicans; John of St. Giles, Alexander Hales, Adam

Marsh, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Ockham, and Roger Bacon were of the

order of St. Francis. Among other distinguished Franciscans of the

Middle Ages were the exegete Nicolas of Lyra, the preachers Anthony of

Padua, David of Augsburg, Bernardino of Siena, and Bertholdt of

Regensburg (d. 1272); the missionaries, Rubruquis and John of Monte

Corvino; the hymn-writers, Thomas of Celano and Jacopone da Todi. Among

Dominicans were the mystics, Eckhart and Tauler, Las Casas, the

missionary of Mexico, and Savonarola.

The fifth notable feature was the immediate subjection of the two

orders to the Apostolic see. The Franciscans and Dominicans were the

first monastic bodies to vow allegiance directly to the pope. No

bishop, abbot, or general chapter intervened between them and him. The

two orders became his bodyguard and proved themselves to be the bulwark

of the papacy. Such organized support the papacy had never had before.

The legend represents Innocent III. as having seen in a vision the

structure of the Lateran supported by two monks. [782] [783] d wherever

they went, and they were omnipresent in Europe, they made it their

business to propound the principle of the supremacy of the Holy See

over princes and nations and were active in strengthening this

supremacy. In the struggle of the empire with the papacy, they became

the persistent enemies of Frederick II. who, as early as 1229, banished

the Franciscans from Naples. When Gregory IX. excommunicated Frederick

in 1239, he confided to the Franciscans the duty of publishing the

decree amidst the ringing of bells on every Sunday and festival day.

And when, in 1245, Innocent IV. issued his decree against Frederick,

its announcement to the public ear was confided to the Dominicans.

Favor followed favor from the Roman court. In 1222 Honorius III.

granted, first to the Dominicans and then to the Franciscans, the

notable privilege of conducting services in their churches in

localities where the interdict was in force. [784] ing his followers

not to seek favors from the pope, was set aside. In 1227 Gregory IX.

granted his order the right of general burial in their churches [785]

[786] mass in all their oratories and churches. [787] [788]

Orthodoxy had no more zealous champions than the Franciscans and

Dominicans. They excelled all other orders as promoters of religious

persecution and hunters of heretics. In Southern France they wiped out

the stain of heresy with the streams of blood which flowed from the

victims of their crusading fanaticism. They were the leading

instruments of the Inquisition. Torquemada was a Dominican, and so was

Konrad of Marburg. As early as 1232 Gregory IX. confided the execution

of the Inquisition to the Dominicans, but the order of Francis demanded

and secured a share in the gruesome work. Under the lead of Duns Scotus

the Franciscans became the unflagging champions of the doctrine of the

immaculate conception of Mary which was pronounced a dogma in 1854, as

later the Jesuits became the unflagging champions of the dogma of papal

infallibility.

The rapid growth of the two orders in number and influence was

accompanied by bitter rivalry. The disputes between them were so

violent that in 1255 their respective generals had to call upon their

monks to avoid strife. The papal privileges were a bone of contention,

one order being constantly suspicious lest the other should enjoy more

favor at the hand of the pope than itself.

Their abuse of power called forth papal briefs restricting their

privileges. Innocent IV. in 1254, in what is known among the orders as

the "terrible bull," [789] n except as the parochial priest gave his

consent. Innocent, however, was no sooner in his grave than his

successor, Alexander IV., announced himself as the friend of the

orders, and the old privileges were renewed.

The pretensions of the mendicant friars soon became unbearable to the

church at large. They intruded themselves into every parish and

incurred the bitter hostility of the secular clergy whose rights they

usurped, exercising with free hand the privilege of hearing confessions

and granting absolution. It was not praise that Chaucer intended when

he said of the Franciscan in his Canterbury Tales,--He was an easy man

to give penance.

These monks also delayed a thorough reformation of the Church. They

were at first reformers themselves and offered an offset to the Cathari

and the Poor Men of Lyons by their Apostolic self-denial and popular

sympathies. But they degenerated into obstinate obstructors of progress

in theology and civilization. From being the advocates of learning,

they became the props of popular ignorance. The virtue of poverty was

made the cloak for vulgar idleness and mendicancy for insolence.

These changes set in long before the century closed in which the two

orders had their birth. Bishops opposed them. The secular clergy

complained of them. The universities ridiculed and denounced them for

their mock piety and vices. William of St. Amour took the lead in the

opposition in Paris. His sharp pen compared the mendicants to the

Pharisees and Scribes and declared that Christ and his Apostles did not

go around begging. To work was more scriptural than to beg. [790] r

intrusive insolence, but, as a rule, the popes were on their side.

The time came in the early part of the fifteenth century when the great

teacher Gerson, in a public sermon, enumerated as the four persecutors

of the Church, tyrants, heretics, antichrist, and the Mendicants. [791]

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[763] Ordines mendicantium..

[764] The practice of mendicancy was subsequently adopted by the

Carmelites, 1245, the Augustinian friars, 1256, and several other

orders. In 1274 Gregory X. abolished all mendicant orders except the

Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinian friars, and Carmelites.

[765] Wilhelm Kothe: Kirchliche Zust�nde Strassburgs im 14ten

Jahrhundert, Freib. im Br., 1903, says the mendicant monks were

distrusted in Strassburg from the beginning and the Dominicans had to

remain outside of the walls till 1250, and their attempt at that time

to build a chapel stirred up a warm conflict.

[766] Paradiso, canto XI. Longfellow's trans.

[767] Harnack says: "If ever man practised what he preached, that man

was Francis." Monachism, p. 68.

[768] Karl M�ller accepts the evidence which Sabatier gives. See

Literatur-Zeitung, 1895, p. 181.

[769] This does not mean that the Franciscans in their early period

were idlers. They were expected to work. Sabatier, S. Fran�ois, VIII.

p. 138.

[770] nudus nudum Christum in cruce sequi, Walter, Wanderprediger.

[771] Pauperem dominum ad mortem pauper spiritu pauper sequebatur,

Walter, II. 44.

[772] Leve jugum Christi per apostolorum vestigia ferre decrevit,

Walter, II. 83.

[773] Walter, Wanderprediger Frankreichs, p. 168, has brought this out

well.

[774] Hergenr�ther says, "Chivalry reappeared in them in a new form. In

happy unison were blended peace and battle, contemplation and active

life, faith and love, prudent moderation and flaming enthusiasm."

Kirchengeschichte, II. 369.

[775] "Of one thing," says Trevelyan, "the friar was never accused. He

is never taunted with living at home in his cloister and allowing souls

to perish for want of food." England in the Age of Wycliffe, p. 144.

[776] So called in the bull of Gregory IX., 1228; Potthast, I. p. 703.

[777] See the quotations from the Speculum andVita secunda of Celano,

in Seppelt, pp. 234 sqq. Also Sabatier, S. Fran�ois, ch. XVI.

[778] For the relations of the mendicant orders with the University of

Paris, see Denifle, Chartularium Univ. Parisiensis, I.; Seppelt, Der

Kampf der Bettelorden an der Univ. Paris in der Mitte des 13ten Jahrh.;

Felder, Gesch. der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franciskanerorden bis

c. 1250.

[779] Chartul., I. 285.

[780] Chartul., I. 309-313, gives Humbert's long letter.

[781] Chartul., I. 381. See chapter on Universities.

[782] Villani, V. 25, says, "This vision was true, for it was evident

the Church of God was falling through licentiousness and many errors,

not fearing God."

[783] Bishop Creighton, Hist. Lectures, p., 112, says, "The friars were

far more destructive to ecclesiastical jurisdiction than any

Nonconformist body could be, at the present day, to the influence of

any sensible clergyman." He is speaking of the Anglican Church.

[784] The bulls are dated March 7 and 29. See Potthast, I. 590. The

same privilege was conceded to the Carmelites, April 9, 1229.

[785] Potthast, I. 697, 721.

[786] Potthast, I. 701, 706.

[787] June 10, 1228, Potthast, I. 707.

[788] See Potthast, Nos. 6508, 6542, 6654, etc.

[789] Potthast, II. 1280. Innocent died a few weeks after issuing this

bull and, as is said, in answer to the prayers of the mendicants. Hence

came the saying, "from the prayers of the Preachers, good Lord, deliver

us." A litanis praedicatorum libera nos, Domine.

[790] In his treatise de periculis novissorum temporum, "The Perils of

the Last Times," Basel, 1555, William has been held up as a precursor

of Rabelais and Pascal on account of his keen satire. He was answered

by Bonaventura and by Thomas Aquinas in hiscontra impugnantes

religionem. Alexander IV. ordered William's treatise burnt, and in the

bull, dated Oct. 5, 1256, declared it to be "most dangerous and

detestable," valde perniciosum et detestabilem. See Potthast, II. 1357.

When an edition of Williaim's treatise appeared at Paris, 1632, the

Mendicants secured an order from Louis XIII. suppressing it. William

was inhibited from preaching and teaching and retired to Franche-Comte,

where he died. See Chartularium Univ. Parisiensis, I. Nos. 295, 296,

314, 318, 321, 332, 339, 343, 315, etc.

[791] Matthew Paris in his r�sum� of the chief events of 1200-1250 has

this to say of the decay of the orders, "These Preachers and Minorites

at first led the life of poverty and greatest sanctity and devoted

themselves assiduously to preaching, confessions, divine duties in the

church, reading and study, and abandoned many revenues, embracing

voluntary poverty in the service of God and reserving nothing in the

way of food for themselves for the morrow, but within a few years, they

got themselves into excellent condition and constructed most costly

houses, etc." Luard's ed., V. 194.

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� 69. Franciscan Literature.

I. St. Francis: Works in Latin text, ed. by Wadding, Antwerp, 1623, by

de la Haye, Paris, 1841, Col., 1849, Paris, 1880-Quaracchi,

1904.--Bernardo da Fivizzano: Oposcoli di S. Fr. d'Assise, Florence,

1880. Gives the Latin text and Ital. trans., the Rule of 1223, St.

Francis' will, letters, etc.--French trans. by Ed. d'Alencon: Les

Opuscules de S. Fran�ois, Paris, 1905.--H. B�hmer: Analekten zur Gesch.

des Franc. von Assisi, Francisci opuscula, regula poenitentium, etc.,

mit einer Einleittung, T�bingen, 1904.--Writings of St. Francis of

Assisi, trans. by Father Paschal Robinson, Phil., 1906.

Lives.--1. Thomas of Celano: Vita prima, written 1228 at the command of

Gregory IX., to justify the canonization of Francis, Rome, 1880.--2.

Th. of Celano: Vita secunda, written about 1247 and revealing the

struggles within the Franciscan order, ed. by Fivizzano, Rome, 1880.

Both lives ed. by H. G. Rosedale: Thomas de Celano, St. F. d'Assisi

with a crit. Introd. containing a description with every extant version

in the original Latin, N. Y., 1904. Also Ed. d'Alen�on: Th. a Celano,

S. Franc. Assisiensis vita et miracula, etc., pp. lxxxvii, 481, Rome,

1906.--Fr. of Assisi according to Th. of Celano. His descriptions of

the Seraphic Father, 1229-1257, Introd. by H. G. Rosedale, Lond.,

1904.--3. Legenda trium sociorum, the Legend of the Three Companions,

Leo, Angelo, and Rufino, intimate associates of Francis. Written in

1246 and first publ. in full by the Bollandists as an appendix to

Celano's Lives, Louvaine, 1768, Rome, 1880. It has been preserved in a

mutilated condition. The disputes within the order account for the

expurgation of parts to suit the lax or papal wing.--4. Speculum

perfectionis seu S. Francesci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima, auctore

fratre Leone, nunc primum edidit, Paul Sabatier, Paris, 1898; also ed.

by Ed. Lemmens, Quaracchi, 1901. Sabatier dates it 1227. Eng. trans. by

Constance, Countess de la Warr, Lond., 1902. See note below.--5.

Legenda major, or Aurea legenda major, by Bonaventura, in Peltier's

ed., and Quaracchi, 1898, Engl. trans., Douai, 1610, and by Miss

Lockhart with Pref. by Card. Manning, Lond., 3d ed., 1889. Written in

obedience to the order of the Franciscan Chapter and approved by it at

Pisa, 1263. Here the legendary element is greatly enlarged. Once

treated as the chief authority, it is now relegated to a subordinate

place, as it suppresses the distinctive element represented by Francis'

will.--6. Liber conformitatum, by Bartholomew Albericus of Pisa, d.

1401. Institutes forty comparisons between Francis and Christ. Luther

called it der Barfussm�nche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran, The owls'

looking-glass and Koran of the Barefoot monks.--7. Actus B. Francesci

et sociorum ejus, ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1902. A collection of sayings

and acts of Francis, handed down from eye-witnesses and others,

hitherto unpubl. and to be dated not later than 1328.--8. Legenda of

Julian of Spires. About 1230.--9. Legenda of Bernard of Bess, publ. in

the Analecta Franciscana III., Quaracchi, near Florence. A

compilation.--10. Francisci beati sacrum commercium cum domina

paupertate, with an Ital. trans. by Ed. d'Alen�on, Rome, 1900. Engl.

trans., The Lady Poverty, by Montgomery Carmichael, N. Y., 1902. Goes

back, at least, to the 13th century, as Ubertino da Casale was

acquainted with it.--11. The Fioretti, or Little Flowers of St.

Francis, first publ., 1476, ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1902, pp. xvi., 250.

Engl. trans. by Abby L. Alger, Boston, 1887, and Woodroffe, London,

1905. Belongs to the 14th century. A collection of legends very popular

in Italy. Sabatier says none of them are genuine, but that they

perfectly reveal the soul of St. Francis,--12. Fratris Fr. Bartholi de

Assisio Tractatus de indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula, ed.

Sabatier, Paris, 1900. Belongs to the 14th century. See Lit.-zeitung,

1901, 110 sqq.--13. Regula antiqua fratrum et sororum de poenitentia

seu tertii ordinis S. Francisci, nunc primum ed., Sabatier, Paris,

1901. See S. Minocchi: La Leggenda antica. Nuova fonte biogr. di S.

Francesco d'Assisi tratto da un codice Vaticana, Florence, 1905, pp.

184. Unfavorably noticed by Lempp, in Lit.-zeitung, 1906, p. 509, who

says that the contents of the MS. were for the most part drawn from the

Speculum perfectionis.

Modern Biographies.--By Chavin De Malan, Paris, 1841, 2d ed., 1845.--K.

Hase, Leip. 1856, 2d ed., 1892. First crit. biog.--Mrs. Oliphant,

Lond., 1870.--Magliano, 2 vols., Rome, 1874, Eng. trans., N. Y.,

1887.--L. de Ch�ranc�, Paris, 1892, Engl. trans., 1901.--Henry Thode,

Berlin, 1885, 1904.--\*Paul Sabatier, a Protestant pastor: Vie de S.

Fran�ois d'Assise, Paris, 1894. 33d ed., 1906. Crowned by the French

Academy. Engl. trans. by L. S. Houghton, N. Y., 1894. I use the 27th

ed.--W. J. Knox-Little, Lond., 1896.--P. Doreau, Paris, 1903, p.

648.--A. Barine: S. Fr. d'Assisi et le l�gende des trois Compagnons,

Paris, 1901.--J. Herkless: Francis and Dominic, N. Y., 1904.--H. v.

Redern, Schwerin, 1905.--\*G. Schn�rer: Franz von Assisi. Die Vertiefung

des religi�sen Lebens im Abendlande zur Zeit der Kreuzz�ge, Munich,

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1906, p. 216.--F. Van Ortroy: Julien de Spire, biographe de St.

Fran�ois, Brussels, 1890.--J. E. Weis: Julian von Speier, d. 1285,

Munich, 1900.--Ed. Lempp: Fr�re Elie de Cortona, Paris, 1901.--H.

Tilemann: Speculum perfectionis und Legenda trium sociorum, Ein Beitrag

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1902.--Potthast: Bibl. Hist., II. 1319 sqq. gives a list of ninety

biographies. For further Lit. see Z�ckler in Herzog, VI. 197-222, and

"Engl. Hist. Rev." 1903, 165 sqq., for a list and critical estimate of

the lit., W. Goetz: Die Quellen zur Gesch. des hl. Franz von Assisi,

Gotha, 1904. First published in Brieger's Zeitschrift and reviewed in

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II. The Franciscans: Earliest Chronicles.--Jordanus Da Giano: de

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1-19.--Thomas of Eccleston, a Franciscan: de adventu Minorum in

Angliam, 1224-1250 in the Analecta Franciscana and best in Monumenta

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Letters of Adam de Marisco, etc.; vol. II., ed. by Richard Howlett,

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Eubel; the collection extends to 1378.--Seraphicae legationis textus

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valuable materials and criticisms in Archiv f�r Lit. und

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in Lectures and Addresses, pp. 69-84.--A. Jessopp: The Coming of the

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59-87.--Hauck, IV. 366-483.

Note on the recent literature on St. Francis. A phenomenal impulse was

given to the study of the life of St. Francis by the publication of

Sabatier's biography in 1804. This biography, Karl M�ller placed "at

the summit of modern historical workmanship.," Lit.-zeitung, 1895, pp.

179-186. It showed a mastery of the literature before unknown and a

profound sympathy with the spirit of the Italian saint. It has

revolutionized the opinion of Protestants in regard to him, and has

given to the world a correct picture of the real Francis. Strange that

a Protestant pastor should have proved himself the leading modern

student of Francis and one of his most devoted admirers! Sabatier has

followed up his first work with tireless investigations into the early

literature and history of St. Francis and the Franciscans, giving up

his pastorate, making tour after tour to Italy, and spending much time

in Assisi, where he is held in high esteem, and is pointed out as one

of the chief sights of the place. He has been fortunate in his

discoveries of documents and, as an editor, he has created a new

Franciscan literature. His enthusiasm and labors have stimulated a

number of scholars in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland to make a

specialty of the early Franciscan literature such as Minocchi,

Madonnet, M�ller, Lempp, and Schn�rer. His Life of St. Francis has been

put on the Index because it is said to misrepresent Catholic customs.

While Sabatier's presentation of Francis' career and character may be

said to have gained general acceptance, except among Franciscans, there

is a large difference of opinion in regard to the dates of the early

documents and their original contents. This literary aspect of the

subject has become greatly complicated by the publication of

manuscripts which differ widely from one another and the divergent

criticisms of scholars. This confusion has been likened by M�ller,

Lit.-zeitung, 1902, p. 593, and Lempp, Lit. zeitung, 1906, p. 509, to a

thicket through which it is almost impossible to see a path. The

confusion grows out of the determined policy of Gregory IX. and the

conventual wing of the early Franciscans to destroy all materials which

show that Francis was opposed to a strict discipline within the order

and insisted upon the rule of absolute poverty. The Franciscan chapter

of 1264 ordered all biographies of Francis, written up to that time,

destroyed, except the biography by Bonaventura. St. Francis' insistence

upon the rule of absolute poverty, the original Rule, and his will,

were to be utterly effaced. The new study, introduced by the clear eye

of Sabatier, has gone back of this date, 1264, and rescued the portrait

of the real Francis.

The attention of scholars is chiefly concentrated on the Speculum

perfectionis published by Sabatier, 1898, and the original Rule of the

Franciscan Tertiaries. The Speculum perfectionis is a life of Francis

and, according to Sabatier (Introd. li.), is the first biography,

dating back to 1227. The discovery of the document is one of the most

interesting and remarkable of recent historical discoveries. The way it

came to be found was this:--

Materials for the Life of Francis are contained in a volume entitled

Speculum vitae St. Francisci et sociorum ejus, published first at

Venice, 1504, and next at Paris, 1509. In studying the Paris edition of

1509, Sabatier discovered 118 chapters ascribed to no author and

differing in spirit and style from the other parts. He used the

document in the construction of his biography and was inclined to

ascribe it to the three companions of Francis,--Leo, Angelo, and

Rufino. See Vie de S. Fran�ois, pp. lxxii. sq. At a later time he found

that in several MSS. these chapters were marked as a distinct document.

In the MS. in the Mazarin library he found 124 distinctive chapters. In

these are included the 16 of the Paris edition of 1509. These chapters

Sabatier regards as a distinct volume, the Speculum perfectionis,

written by Leo, the primary composition bearing on Francis' career and

teachings. The date for its composition is derived from the Mazarin MS.

which gives the date as MCCXXVIII. This date Sabatier finds confirmed

by indications in the document itself, p. xxii. etc.

This sympathetic, lucid, and frank narrative puts Francis in a new

light, as a martyr to the ambitious designs of Gregory IX. who set

aside the rule of absolute poverty which was most dear to Francis'

heart and placed over him a representative of his own papal views. Leo,

so Sabatier contends (Introd. p. li.), wrote his work immediately after

the announcement by Elias of Cortona of the intention to erect an

imposing cathedral over the "Little Poor Man." Leo was unable to

suppress his indignation and so uttered his protest against the violent

manipulation of Francis' plan and memory.

Serious objection has been raised to Sabatier's date of the Speculum

perfectionis. In agreement with Minocchi,--Tilemann, Goetz, and others

have adopted the date given in the Ognissanti (a convent in Florence)

MS. namely MCCCXVII, and by a careful study of the other lives of

Francis conclude that the Speculum is a compilation. Some of its

contents, however, they agree, antedate Thomas a Celano's Vita secunda

or second Life of Francis or are still older. M�ller, Lit.-zeitung,

1899, 49-52, 1902, p. 598, and Lempp, while not accepting the early

date of 1227, place the document in the first half of the 13th century

and regard it as an authority of the first rank, eine Quelle ersten

Ranges. It shows a deep penetration into the real mind and soul of

Francis, says Lempp, Lit.-zeitung, 1905, pp. 9 sq. Tilemann also

ascribes to the document the highest value. For the numerous articles

in Reviews, by Minocchi, van Ortroy, etc., see Tilemann, Speculum

perfectionis, p. 4.

If Sabatier has given us the real Francis of history, as there is

reason to believe he has, then the spectacle of Francis' loss of

authority by the skilled hand of Cardinal Ugolino, Gregory IX., is one

of the most pathetic spectacles in history and Francis stands out as

one of the most unselfish and pure-minded men of the Christian

centuries.

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� 70. St. Francis d'Assisi.

"Not long the period from his glorious birth,

When, with extraordinary virtue blest,

This wondrous sun began to comfort earth,

Bearing, while yet a child, his father's ire,

For sake of her whom all as death detest,

And banish from the gate of their desire,

Before the court of heaven, before

His father, too, he took her for his own;

From day to day, then loved her more and more,

Twelve hundred years had she remained, deprived

Of her first spouse, deserted and unknown,

And unsolicited till he arrived.

But lest my language be not clearly seen,

Know, that in speaking of these lovers twain,

Francis and Poverty henceforth, I mean."

--Dante, Paradiso XI., Wright's trans.

High up in the list of hagiography stands the name of Francis of

Assisi, the founder of the order of the Franciscans. Of all the Italian

saints, he is the most popular in Italy and beyond it. [792]

Francesco,--Francis,--Bernardone, 1182-1226, was born and died in

Assisi. His baptismal name was Giovanni, John, and the name Francis

seems to have been given him by his father, Pietro Bernardone, a rich

dealer in textile fabrics, with reference to France, to which he made

business journeys. Francis studied Latin and was imperfectly acquainted

with the art of writing. He had money to spend, and spent it in

gayeties. In a war between Assisi and Perugia he joined the ranks, and

was taken prisoner. When released, he was twenty-two. During an illness

which ensued, his religious nature began to be stirred. He arose from

his bed disgusted with himself and unsatisfied with the world. Again he

enlisted, and, starting to join Walter of Brienne in Southern Italy, he

proceeded as far as Spoleto. But he was destined for another than a

soldier's career. Turning back, and moved by serious convictions, he

retired to a grotto near Assisi for seclusion. He made a pilgrimage to

Rome, whether to do penance or not, is not known. His sympathies began

to go out to the poor. He met a leper and shrank back in horror at

first, but, turning about, kissed the leper's hand, and left in it all

the money he had. He frequented the chapels in the suburbs of his

native city, but lingered most at St. Damian, an humble chapel, rudely

furnished, and served by a single priest. This became to his soul a

Bethel. At the rude altar he seemed to hear the voice of Christ. In his

zeal he took goods from his father and gave them to the priest. So far

as we know, Francis never felt called upon to repent of this act. Here

we have an instance of a different moral standard from our own. How

different, for example, was the feeling of Dr. Samuel Johnson, when,

for an act of disobedience to his father, he stood, as a full-grown

man, a penitent in the rain in the open square of Litchfield, his head

uncovered!

The change which had overcome the gay votary of pleasure brought upon

Francis the ridicule of the city and his father's relentless

indignation. He was cast out of his father's house. Without any of

those expressions of regret which we would expect from a son under

similar circumstances, he renounced his filial obligation in public in

these words: "Up to this time I have called Pietro Bernardone father,

but now I desire to serve God and to say nothing else than 'Our Father

which art in heaven.' " Henceforth Francis was devoted to the religious

life. He dressed scantily, took up his abode among the lepers, washing

their sores, and restored St. Damian, begging the stones on the squares

and streets of the city. This was in 1208.

Francis now received from the Benedictine abbot of Mt. Subasio the gift

of the little chapel, Santa Maria degli Angeli. [793] [794] ter years

he secured from Honorius III. the remarkable concession of plenary

indulgence for every one visiting the chapel between vespers of Aug. 1

to vespers of Aug. 2 each year. This made the Portiuncula a shrine of

the first rank.

In 1209 Francis heard the words, "Preach, the kingdom of heaven is at

hand, heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Provide

neither silver nor gold, nor brass in your purses." Throwing away his

staff, purse, and, shoes, he made these Apostolic injunctions the rule

of his life. He preached repentance and gathered about him Bernardo di

Quintavallo, Egidio, and other companions. The three passages

commanding poverty and taking up the cross, Matt. xvi:24-26; xix:21;

Luke ix:1-6, were made their Rule. [795] ould not earn their bread,

went barefoot [796]

They were to preach, but especially were they to exemplify the precepts

of the Gospel in their lives. Living was the most important concern,

more important than sermons and than learning. Learning, Francis

feared, would destroy humility. To a woman who came to him for alms he

gave a copy of the New Testament, which they read at matins, the only

book in the convent at the time. The convent did not even possess a

breviary. [797] had the double sense of a man without education and a

man with little more than a primary education. It was also used of

laymen in contrast to clerics. Francis' education was confined to

elemental studies, and his biographers are persistent in emphasizing

that he was taught directly of God. [798] [799]

In 1210 Francis and some of his companions went to Rome, and were

received by Innocent III. [800] s that the pope, in order to test his

sincerity, said, "Go, brother, go to the pigs, to whom you are more fit

to be compared than to men, and roll with them, and to them preach the

rules you have so ably set forth." Francis obeyed, and returning said,

"My Lord, I have done so." [801]

The brotherhood increased rapidly. The members were expected to work.

In his will Francis urged the brethren to work at some trade as he had

done. He compared an idle monk to a drone. [802] to sell the very

ornaments of the altar rather than refuse an appeal for aid. He felt

ashamed when he saw any one poorer than himself. [803] e called Poverty

his bride, mother, sister, and remained devoted to her with the

devotion of a knight. [804] , seated "on the throne of her neediness,"

received them and Francis praised her as the inseparable companion of

the Lord, and "the mistress and queen of the virtues." Poverty replied

that she had been with Adam in paradise, but had become a homeless

wanderer after the fall until the Lord came and made her over to his

elect. By her agency the number of believers was greatly increased, but

after a while her sister Lady Persecution withdrew from her. Believers

lost their fortitude. Then monks came and joined her, but her enemy

Avarice, under the name of Discretion, made the monks rich. Finally

monasticism yielded completely to worldliness, and Poverty removed

wholly from it. Francis now joined himself to Poverty, who gave him and

his companions the kiss of peace and descended the mountain with them.

A new era was begun. Henceforth the pillow of the friends was a stone,

their diet bread and water, and their convent the world. [805]

In 1212 Clara of Sciffi entered into the horizon of Francis' life. She

was twelve years his junior and sixteen when she first heard him preach

at the Cathedral of Assisi. The sermon entered her soul. With Francis'

aid she escaped from her father's house, and was admitted to vows by

him. [806] A younger sister, Agnes, followed Clara. The Chapel of St.

Damian was set apart for them, and there the order of Clarisses was

inaugurated. Clara outlived Francis, and in 1253 expired in the

presence of brothers Leo, Angelo, and Ginefro.

In 1217 Francis was presented to Honorius III. and the curia. At the

advice of Cardinal Ugolino, later Gregory IX., he prepared himself and

memorized the sermon. Arrived in the pontiff's presence, he forgot what

he had prepared and delivered an impromptu discourse, which won the

assembly.

Francis made evangelistic tours through Italy which were extended to

Egypt and Syria 1219. Returning from the East the little Poor Man, il

poverello, found a new element had been introduced into the brotherhood

through the influence of the stern disciplinarian Ugolino. This violent

change made the rest of the years a time of bitter, though scarcely

expressed, sorrow for him. Passing through Bologna in 1220, he was

pained to the depths at seeing a house being erected for the brothers.

Cardinal Ugolino had determined to manipulate the society in the

interest of the curia. He had offered Francis his help, and Francis had

accepted the offer. Under the cardinal's influence, a new code was

adopted in 1221, and still a third in 1223 in which Francis'

distinctive wishes were set aside. The original Rule of poverty was

modified, the old ideas of monastic discipline introduced, and a new

element of absolute submission to the pope added. The mind of Francis

was too simple and unsophisticated for the shrewd rulers of the church.

The policy of the ecclesiastic henceforth had control of the order.

[807] This was the condition of affairs Francis found on his return

from Syria. He accepted it and said to his brethren, "From henceforth I

am dead for you. Here is brother Peter di Catana whom you and I will

obey," and prostrating himself, he promised the man who had superseded

him obedience and submission. [808]

This forced self-subordination of Francis offers one of the most

touching spectacles of mediaeval biography. Francis had withheld

himself from papal privileges. He had favored freedom of movement. The

skilled hand of Ugolino substituted strict monastic obedience.

Organization was to take the place of spontaneous devotion. Ugolino

was, no doubt, Francis' real as well as professed friend. He laid the

foundation of the cathedral in Assisi to his honor, and canonized him

two years after his death. But Francis' spirit he did not appreciate.

Francis was henceforth helpless to carry out his original ideas, [809]

These ideas are reaffirmed in Francis' famous will. This document is

one of the most affecting pieces in Christian literature. Here Francis

calls himself "little brother," frater parvulus. All he had to leave

the brothers was his benediction, the memory of the early days of the

brotherhood, and counsels to abide by the first Rule. This Rule he had

received from no human teacher. The Almighty God himself had revealed

it unto him, that he ought to live according to the mode of the Holy

Gospel. He reminded them how the first members loved to live in poor

and abandoned churches. He bade them not accept churches or houses,

except as it might be in accordance with the rule of holy poverty they

had professed. He forbade their receiving bulls from the papal court,

even for their personal protection. At the same time, he pledged his

obedience to the minister-general and expressed his purpose to go

nowhere and do nothing against his will "for he is my lord." Through

the whole of the document there runs a chord of anguish. [810]

Francis' heart was broken. Never strong, his last years were full of

infirmities. Change of locality brought only temporary relief. The

remedial measures of the physician, such as the age knew, were

employed. An iron, heated to white heat, was applied to Francis'

forehead. Francis shrank at first, but submitted to the treatment,

saying, "Brother Fire, you are beautiful above all creatures, be

favorable to me in this hour." He jocosely called his body, Brother

Ass. [811] all bounds. They fought for fragments of his clothing, hairs

from his head, and even the parings of his nails.

Two years before his death Francis composed the Canticle to the Sun,

which Renan has called the most perfect expression of modern religious

feeling. [812] in the records of his age, and puts him into

companionship with that large modern company who see poems in the

clouds and hear symphonies in flowers. He loved the trees, the stones,

birds, and the plants of the field. Above all things he loved the sun,

created to illuminate our eyes by day, and the fire which gives us

light in the night time, for "God has illuminated our eyes by these

two, our brothers."

Francis had a message for the brute creation and preached to the birds.

"Brother birds," he said on one occasion, "you ought to love and praise

your Creator very much. He has given you feathers for clothing, wings

for flying, and all things that can be of use to you. You have neither

to sow, nor to reap, and yet He takes care of you." And the birds

curved their necks and looked at him as if to thank him. He would have

had the emperor make a special law against killing or doing any injury

to, our sisters, the birds." [813] [814] ple the taming of the fierce

wolf of Gubbio. He was the terror of the neighborhood. He ran at

Francis with open mouth, but laid himself down at Francis' feet like a

lamb at his words, "Brother Wolf, in the name of Jesus Christ, I

command you to do no evil to me or to any man." Francis promised him

forgiveness for all past offences on condition of his never doing harm

again to human being. The beast assented to the compact by lowering his

head and kneeling before him. He became the pet of Gubbio.

The last week of his life, the saint had repeated to him again and

again the 142d Psalm, beginning with the words, "I cry with my voice

unto Jehovah," and also his Canticle to the Sun. He called in brothers

Angelo and Leo to sing to him about sister Death. [815] f Cortona, who

had aided the Roman curia in setting aside Francis' original Rule,

remonstrated on the plea that the people would regard such hilarity in

the hour of death as inconsistent with saintship. But Francis replied

that he had been thinking of death for two years, and now he was so

united with the Lord, that he might well be joyful in Him. [816] [817]

ed so that once more his face might be towards Assisi. He could no

longer see, but he could pray, and so he made a supplication to heaven

for the city. [818] Oct. 3, 1226, to use Brother Leo's words, he

"migrated to the Lord Jesus Christ whom he had loved with his whole

heart, and followed most perfectly."

Before the coffin was closed, great honors began to be heaped upon the

saintly man. The citizens of Assisi took possession of the body, and

Francis' name has become the chief attraction of the picturesque and

somnolent old town. He was canonized two years later. [819] the pontiff

laid the corner stone of the new cathedral to Francis' memory. It was

dedicated by Innocent IV. in 1243, and Francis' body was laid under the

main altar. [820] ern sculptor, Dupr�, in front, represents the great

mendicant in the garb of his order with arms crossed over his chest,

and his head bowed. Francis was scarcely dead when Elias of Cortona

made the astounding announcement of the stigmata. These were the marks

which Francis is reported to have borne on his body, corresponding to

the five wounds on Christ's crucified body. In Francis' case they were

fleshy, but not bloody excrescences. The account is as follows. During

a period of fasting and the most absorbed devotion, Christ appeared to

Francis on the morning of the festival of the Holy Cross, in the rising

sun in the form of a seraph with outstretched wings, nailed to the

cross. The vision gone, Francis felt pains in his hands and side. He

had received the stigmata. This occurred in 1224 on the Verna, [821]

The historical evidence for the reality of these marks is as follows.

It was the day after Francis' death that Elias of Cortona, as vicar of

the order, sent letters in all directions to the Franciscans,

announcing the fact that he had seen the stigmata on Francis' body. His

letter contained these words: "Never has the world seen such a sign

except on the Son of God. For a long time before his death, our brother

had in his body five wounds which were truly the stigmata of Christ,

for his hands and feet have marks as of nails, without and within, a

kind of scars, while from his side, as if pierced by a lance, a little

blood oozed." The Speculum Perfectionis, perhaps the first biography of

Francis, refers to them incidentally, but distinctly, in the course of

a description of the severe temptations by which Francis was beset.

[822] declares that a few saw them while Francis was still alive.

Gregory IX. in 1237 called upon the whole Church to accept them, and

condemned the Dominicans for calling their reality in question. [823] e

marks.

On the other hand, a very strong argument against their genuineness is

the omission of all reference to them by Gregory IX. in his bull

canonizing Francis, 1228. Francis' claim to saintship, we would think,

could have had no better authentication, and the omission is

inexplicable. [824]

Three explanations have been given of the stigmata on the supposition

that Francis' body really bore the scars. 1. They were due to

supernatural miracle. This is the Catholic view. In 1304 Benedict XI.

established a festival of the stigmata. 2. They were the product of a

highly wrought mental state proceeding from the contemplation of Christ

on the cross. This is the view of Sabatier. [825] who from a desire to

feel all the pains Christ felt, picked the marks with his own fingers.

[826] them. On the other hand, the historical attestation is such that

an effort is required to deny them. So far as we know, Francis never

used the stigmata to attest his mission. [827]

The study of the career of Francis d'Assisi, as told by his

contemporaries, and as his spirit is revealed in his own last

testament, makes the impression of purity of purpose and humility of

spirit,--of genuine saintliness. He sought not positions of honor nor a

place with the great. With simple mind, he sought to serve his

fellow-men by republishing the precepts of the Gospel, and living them

out in his own example. He sought once more to give the Gospel to the

common people, and the common people heard him gladly. He may not have

possessed great strength of intellect. He lacked the gifts of the

ecclesiastical diplomat, but he certainly possessed glowing fervor of

heart and a magnetic personality, due to consuming love for men. He was

not a theological thinker, but he was a man of practical religious

sympathies to which his deeds corresponded. He spoke and acted as one

who feels full confidence in his divinely appointed mission. [828]

Few men of history have made so profound an impression as did Francis.

His personality shed light far and near in his own time. But his

mission extends to all the centuries. He was not a foreigner in his own

age by any protest in matters of ritual or dogma, but he is at home in

all ages by reason of his Apostolic simplicity and his artless

gentleness. Our admiration for him turns not to devotion as for a

perfect model of the ideal life. Francis' piety, after all, has a

mediaeval glow. But, so far as we can know, he stands well among those

of all time who have discerned the meaning of Christ's words and

breathed His spirit. So Harnack can call him the "wonderful saint of

Assisi," and Sabatier utter the lofty praise, that it was given to him

to divine the superiority of the spiritual priesthood." [829]

The Canticle of The Sun

O most high, almighty, good Lord God, to Thee belong praise, glory,

honor, and all blessing!

Praised be my Lord God with all His creatures, and specially our

brother the sun, who brings us the day and who brings us the light;

fair is he and shines with a very great splendor: O Lord he signifies

to us Thee!

Praised be my Lord for our sister the moon, and for the stars, the

which He has set clear and lovely in heaven.

Praised be my Lord for our brother the wind and for air and cloud,

calms and all weather by the which Thou upholdest life in all

creatures.

Praised be my Lord for our sister water, who is very serviceable unto

us and humble and precious and clean.

Praised be my Lord for our brother fire, through whom Thou givest us

light in the darkness; and he is bright and pleasant and very mighty

and strong.

Praised be my Lord for our mother the earth, the which doth sustain us

and keep us, and bringeth forth divers fruits and flowers of many

colors, and grass.

Praised be my Lord for all those who pardon one another for His love's

sake, and who endure weakness and tribulation; blessed are they who

peaceably shall endure, for Thou, O most Highest, shalt give them a

crown.

Praised be my Lord for our sister, the death of the body, from which no

man escapeth. Woe to him who dieth in mortal sin! Blessed are they who

are found walking by the most holy will, for the second death shall

have no power to do them harm.

Praise ye and bless the Lord, and give thanks unto Him and serve Him

with great humility. [830]

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[792] The former unfavorable view of most Protestant historians

concerning Francis is no longer held. Hallam, Middle Ages, II. 197,

called him "a harmless enthusiast, pious and sincere, but hardly of

sane mind." Lea, representing the present tendency, goes far, when he

says. "No human creature since Christ has more fully incarnated the

ideal of Christianity than Francis." Hist. of Inquis., I. 260. Harnack

says, "If ever a man practised what he preached, it was St. Francis."

An anonymous writer, reviewing some of the Franciscan literature in the

Independent, 1901, p. 2044, seriously pronounced the judgment that

"Since the Apostles, Francis received into his being the love of Christ

toward men and the lower creatures more fully than any other man, and

his appearance has been an epoch of spiritual history only less

significant than that of the original Good Tidings." More judicious is

Sabatier's verdict, Vie de S. Franc., p. viii., "that Francis is

pre-eminently the saint of the Middle Ages. Owing nothing to the

Church, he was truly theodidact."

[793] The Speculum perfectionis, pp. 94 sqq., leaves no room for

doubting the gift of the church to Francis. The gift was made on

condition that the chapel should always remain the centre of the

brotherhood.

[794] That is, in the cell a few yards from Portiuncula. Both

Portiuncula and the cell, which has been turned into a chapel, are now

under the roof of the basilica.

[795] Sabatier limits the Rule to these passages of Scripture. Thomas

of Celano, Vita sec., II. 10, says that Francis "used chiefly the words

of the Holy Gospel" but says further that "he added a few other things

which were necessary for a holy life pauca tamen inseruit alia."

[796] In case of necessity the wearing of sandals was permitted.

Speculum, p. 8.

[797] Speculum, 38; 2 Cel. 3, 35. The woman was expected to sell the

book.

[798] On the meaning of idiota, see Felder, p. 61, and B�hmer, p. xi.

Felder, pp. 59 sqq., makes an effort to parry the charges that Francis

lacked education and disparaged education for his order. Celano calls

him vir idiota and says nullis fuit scientiae studiis innutritus. He

also speaks of him as singing in French as he walked through a forest.

See the notes in Felder.

[799] See B�hmer, pp. xiii. sq., 69 sq.

[800] Giotto has made the meeting with Innocent seated on his throne

the subject of one of his frescoes. A splendid contrast indeed, the

sovereign of kings and potentates and yet the successor of Peter,

recognizing the humble devotee, whose fame was destined to equal his

own! The date usually given is 1209. Sabatier gives reasons for the

change to 1210. St. Fran�ois, p. 100.

[801] M. Paris, Luard's ed., III. 132. Sabatier remarks that the

incident has a real Franciscan color and is to be regarded as having

some historic basis.

[802] Spectulum, p. 49. See also Cel. 10; 2 Cel. 97. Sabatier insists

that Francis had "no intention of creating a mendicant order, but a

working order." S. Fran�ois, p.138. Denifle also called attention to

this feature, Archiv, 1885, p. 482.

[803] Speculum, xvii.

[804] Celano in his first Life speaks of the sacred intercourse between

Francis and holy Poverty, commercium cum sancta paupertate. The work

entitled Sacrum commercium, etc., relates in full the story accounting

for Francis' espousal of Poverty.

[805] Jacopone da Todi took up the idea and represented Poverty going

through the earth and knocking at the door of convent after convent,

and being turned away. Hase, with reference to Francis' apotheosis of

Poverty, says, that Diogenes was called a mad Socrates, and so Francis

was a mad Christ, ein verr�ckter Christus. KirchenGesch. II. 382. In

its opening chapter the Commercium explains the beatitude, "Blessed are

the poor in spirit," to refer to the renunciation of worldly goods, and

puts into the hands of Poverty the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

[806] Francis was a deacon and never a priest. According to Thomas �

Celano, Francis was austere in his relations to women, and knew only

two women by sight. Sabatier, pp. 169 sq., pronounces this portraiture

false and speaks of "the love of St. Francis and St. Clara." Here, as

in other places, the biographer allows himself the license of the

idealist. Francis' last message to Clara is given in the Speculum

Perfectionis, pp. 180 sqq. The Franciscan Rule of 1223 forbids,

suspicious conferences with women, "but allows the friars to enter

monastaries of nuns by permission of the Holy See. See Robinson, p. 73.

[807] According to the Speculum, pp. 1-4, 76, Francis made three Rules.

Sabatier defines them as the Rule of 1210, confirmed by Innocent III.,

the Rule of 1221, confirmed by Honorius III., which in part

misrepresented Francis' views. The Rule of 1223 went further in this

direction and completely overthrew Francis' original intention. The

first clause of the Rule of 1228 runs, "Brother Francis promises

obedience and reverence to the lord pope, Honorius, and his

successors." This rule is still in force in the first Franciscan order.

Madonnet substantially agrees with Sabatier as does Karl M�ller. Father

Robinson, himself a Franciscan friar, pp. 25-31, 182, following the

Quaracchi editors, who are Franciscans also, denies the genuineness of

the Rule of 1221, and holds that there were only two Rules, and that

there is no conflict between them. This conclusion is in the face of

Francis' will and the plain statement of Leo's Legenda which, however,

Robinson pays little attention to.

[808] See Sabatier, S. Fran�ois, p. 23. Peter of Catana died March 10,

1221, a year after his elevation.

[809] Almost everything done in the order after 1221 was done either

"without Francis' knowledge or against his, will and mind," are the

words of Sabatier. S. Fran�ois, p. 316.

[810] For the Latin text of this remarkable writing see Speculum,

309-313. Sabatier gives a French trans., in his S. Francois, 389 sqq.

[811] This designation was not original with Francis. In the fourth

century Hilarion called his body the ass which ought to have chaff and

not barley. Schaff, Ch. Hist. III., 190.

[812] Nouvelles Etudes d'hist. rel., 2d ed., Paris, 1844, pp. 333-35l.

No reasonable doubt is possible that Francis was the author of the

Canticle, now that the Speculum has been published (pp. 234 sqq., and

Sabatier's remarks, 278-288).

[813] Speculum, 223-226. See Longfellow's poem, The Sermon of St.

Francis.

[814] Little Flowers of Francis, 93-99. Anthony of Padua, also a

Franciscan, according to the same authority, pp. 166 sqq., preached to

the fishes at Rimini and called upon them to praise God, seeing they

had been preserved in the flood and saved Jonah. The fishes ascended

above the water and opened their mouths and bowed their heads. The

people of the city were attracted and Anthony used the occasion to

preach a powerful sermon. In the legend of St. Brandon, it is narrated

that when St. Brandon sang, the fishes lay as though they slept. Aurea

Legenda, Temple Classics, vol. V.

[815] Speculum, p. 241.

[816] Quoniam, gratia Spiritus sancti cooperante, ita sum unitus et

conjunctus cum Domino meo quod per misericordiam suam bene possum In

ipso altissimo jocundari. Speculum, p. 237.

[817] Mortem cantando suscepit. 2 Cel., 3, 139.

[818] Speculum, 244 sq.

[819] Potthast, 8236, 8240, vol. I. 709-710.

[820] There, after much searching, it is said to have been found, 1818.

Plus VII., in 1822, declared it to be the genuine body of Francis.

[821] Sabatier gives a charming description of the region, showing his

own intense sympathy with nature.

[822] p. 194. It is at first sight striking that the author does not

give a detailed description of this wonderful event. From another

standpoint the passing reference may be regarded as a stronger

testimony to its reality. See Sabatier's observations, Speculum, pp.

lxvi. sqq. It will be remembered that Sabatier places this document in

1227, only seven months after Francis' death.

[823] In three bulls, Potthast, 10307, 10308, 10309, vol. I. 875.

[824] The evidence for the genuineness is accepted by Sabatier, S.

Fran�ois, 401 sqq. Among other testimonies he adduces a Benediction

upon Leo ostensibly written by Francis' own hand, and found among the

archives of Assisi. See Speculum, p. lxvii. sq. On the margin of this

document Leo has written his authentication. He vouches for the scene

on the Verna and the stigmata. If this document be genuine, as Sabatier

insists, it is the most weighty of all the testimonies. Hase stated, as

strongly as it can be stated, the view that the whole tale was a fraud,

invented by Elias, Francis of Assisi, 143-202, and Kirchengeschichte,

II. 385 sqq. Elias was the only eye-witness, and it is contrary to all

laws that he should have denied the people the privilege of looking at

the marks, after the saint was dead, if they had really been there. On

the contrary, he hurried the body to the grave. Hase makes a strong

case, but it must be remembered that he wrote without having before him

the later evidence brought to light by Sabatier

[825] S. Fran�ois, 401 sqq. Sabatier does not regard them as miraculous

but as unusual, as, for example, are the mathematical powers and

musical genius of youthful prodigies. According to Hase, this was also

Tholuck's explanation. See art. Stigmatization, in Herzog, XIV.

728-734, which takes the same view and compares the scars to the

effects of parental states before childbirth.

[826] So Hausrath. The first Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, d. 1287,

no doubt expressed the feeling of his age when he said, "Never man on

earth but Francis has had the five wounds of Christ." The Dominicans

claimed the stigmata for St. Catherine of Siena, but Sixtus IV., in

1475, prohibited her being represented with them.

[827] Bonaventura's legendary Life makes Francis a witness to the

stigmata, but he evidently is seeking to establish the fact against

doubts.

[828] In his will he refers again and again to his divine appointment

Deus mihi dedit, "God has given to me."

[829] Monasticism, Engl. trans., p. 67, and S. Fran�ois, p. viii.

[830] The version of Matthew Arnold, Essays in Criticism, 1st series. A

recent translation is given in Robinson; the Writings of St. Francis,

pp. 150 sqq., by the Franciscan, Stephen Donovan. B�hmer, p. 65, gives

the Latin text.

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� 71. The Franciscans.

"Sweet Francis of Assisi, would that he were here again!"

--Tennyson.

The Brethren Minor--fratres minores, or Minorites, the official title

of the Franciscans--got their name from the democratic faction in

Assisi, the Minores, whom Francis at a time of feud reconciled to the

party of the aristocrats. Before the curia at Rome, Francis insisted

upon the application of the name as a warning to the members not to

aspire after positions of distinction. [831] hey spread rapidly in

Italy and beyond; but before the generation had passed away to which

Francis belonged, the order was torn by internal strife, growing out of

the attempt to conserve the principles originally laid down by Francis.

The history of no other order has anything to show like this protracted

conflict within its own membership over a question of principle. The

protracted dispute has an almost unique place in the polemic theology

of the Middle Ages.

According to the Rule of 1210 and Francis' last will they were to be a

free brotherhood devoted to evangelical poverty and Apostolic practice,

rather than a close organization bound by precise rules. [832] ed and

went his own path. He builded upon a few texts of Scripture. From 1216,

when Cardinal Ugolino became associated with the order as patron and

counsellor, a new influence was felt, and rigid discipline was

substituted for the freer organization of Francis.

At the chapter of 1217, the decision was made to send missionaries

beyond the confines of Italy. Elias of Cortona, once a mattress-maker

in Assisi and destined to be notorious for setting aside Francis'

original plan, led a band of missionaries to Syria. Others went to

Germany, Hungary, France, Spain and England. As foreign missionaries,

the Franciscans showed dauntless enterprise, going south to Morocco and

east as far as Pekin. They enjoy the distinction of having accompanied

Columbus on his second journey to the New World and were subsequently

most active in the early American missions from Florida to California

and from Quebec along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and

southward to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Rule of 1221, by its lack of unity and decision, betrays two

influences at work, one proceeding from Ugolino and one from Francis.

There are signs of the struggle which had already begun several years

before. The Rule placed a general at the head of the order and a

governing body was constituted, consisting of the heads of the

different houses. Poverty, however, is still enjoined and the duty of

labor is emphasized that the members might be saved from becoming

idlers. The sale of the products of their labor was forbidden except as

it might benefit the sick.

The Rule of 1223, which is briefer and consists of twelve chapters,

repeats the preceding code and was solemnly approved by the pope

November 29 of the same year. This code goes still further in setting

aside the distinguished will of Francis. The mendicant character of the

order is strongly emphasized. But obedience to the pope is introduced

and a cardinal is made its protector and guardian. The Roman Breviary

is ordered to be used as the book of daily worship. Monastic discipline

has taken the place of biblical liberty. The strong hand of the

hierarchy is evident. The freedom of the Rule of 1210 has disappeared.

[833] last testament to the original freedom of his brotherhood and

against the new order of things, the papal party did all in its power

to suppress altogether.

The Clarisses, the Minorite nuns, getting their name from Clara of

Sciffi who was canonized in 1255, were also called Sisters of St.

Damian from the Church of St. Damian. Francis wrote a Rule for them

which enforced poverty [834] by Francis' advice soon came to depend

upon alms. [835] [836]

The Tertiaries, or Brothers and Sisters of Penitence, [837] arisses

being reckoned as the second, and received papal recognition for the

first time in the bull of Nicolas IV., 1289. [838] s no doubt. They are

called by Gregory IX. in 1228 the Brothers of the Third Order of St.

Francis. [839] cis included all classes of laics, men and women,

married and unmarried. His object was to put within the reach of laymen

the higher practice of virtue and order of merit associated with the

monastic life. It is quite probable that Francis took his idea from the

Humiliati, known as the Poor Men of Lombardy, Pauperes Lombardici, or

perhaps from the Waldenses, known as the Poor Men of Lyons and also

well known in Northern Italy in Francis' day. The Humiliati had groups

of laymen in the twelfth century living according to semi-conventual

rules. In 1184 they were condemned by Lucius III. There seem to have

been three grades, the lay Humiliati, who in the ordinary avenues of

life observed specific ascetic practices; second, those who were living

in convents as monks or nuns; and third, canons, who were priests and

lived together in common. These three grades were sanctioned by

Innocent III. in 1201 and were protected by later popes, as for example

Innocent IV. [840]

It is possible that Francis' first plan was for an organization of

laymen, and that the idea of an organization of monks developed later

in his mind. The division of the Franciscans into three grades was

permanently established by the chapter of 1221. [841] ters sets forth

the required style of dress, the asceticisms they were to practise, and

the other regulations they were to observe. They were to abstain from

all oaths except in exceptional cases, provided for by the pope, to

make confession three times a year, have if possible the advice of the

diocesan in making their wills, receive to their number no one accused

of heresy, and were neither to use deadly weapons nor to carry them.

[842] husbands, and all who had families were enjoined to care for them

as a part of the service of God (VI. 6). [843]

To follow the history of the Franciscans from 1223, the stricter party,

who sought to carry out Francis' practice of strict Apostolic poverty

and his views as set forth in his last will, were known as the

Observants, or Spirituals, or Zealots. The party, favoring a relaxation

of Francis' Rule and supported by Gregory IX., were often called the

Conventuals from occupying convents of their own, especially more

pretentious buildings in cities. [844] and far into the fourteenth

[845] r lives as martyrs for their principles.

The matter in dispute among the Franciscans was the right of the order

as a corporation to hold property in fee simple. The papal decisions in

favor of such tenure began with the bull of Gregory IX., 1230. It

allowed the order to collect money through "faithful men" appointed for

districts, these monies to be applied to the rearing of conventual

buildings, to missions, and other objects, and to be held in trust for

the givers. This privilege was elaborated by Innocent IV., 1245, and

was made to include the possession of books, tools, houses, and lands.

Innocent made the clear distinction between tenure in fee simple and

tenure for use and granted the right of tenure for use. By this was

meant that the order might receive gifts and bequests and hold them

indefinitely as for the donors. This was equivalent to perpetual

ownership, and might be compared to modern thousand-year leases.

Innocent also made the tenure of all property within the order subject

to the immediate supervision of the pope.

Determined resistance was offered by the Observants to these papal

decrees, and they were persecuted by Elias of Cortona, who vigorously

pushed the papal policy. But they were strong and Elias was deposed

from the headship of the order by the chapter of 1227. He was

reinstated in 1232, but again deposed in 1239. He espoused the cause of

Frederick II., and died 1253.

One of the leading men of the wing true to Francis was Brother Leo, the

author of what is probably the first biography of Francis, the Speculum

Perfectionis, the Mirror of Perfection. When the project was bruited of

erecting the great church at Assisi over Francis' remains and Elias

placed a marble vessel on the site to receive contributions, Leo, who

regarded the project as a profanation of the memory of the saint,

dashed the vessel to pieces. For this act he was banished, amidst

tumult, from Assisi. [846]

It seemed for a while doubtful which party would gain the upper hand.

The Observants were in power under John of Parma, general of the order

for ten years, 1247-1257, when he was obliged to resign and retire into

strict monastic seclusion. John was followed by Bonaventura, 1257-1274,

the great Schoolman, who, in the main, cast his influence on the side

of the Conventuals. The Observants became identified with the dreams of

Joachim of Flore and applied his prophecy of a new religious order to

themselves. These views became a new source of discord and strife

lasting for more than a century. Bonaventura pronounced against the

adoption of Joachim's views by condemning Gerardo Borgo's Introduction

to Joachim's writings. The Life of St. Francis, written by Bonaventura

at the mandate of the General Chapter of Narbonne, 1260, and declared

the authoritative biography of the saint by the Chapter of 1263,

suppressed Francis' will and other materials favorable to the

contention of the Observants, and emphasized the churchly and

disciplinary elements of the order. The Observants, from this time on,

fought a brave but hopeless battle. They could not successfully wage

war against the policy pushed by the papal court.

The report that Gregory X., through the acts of the council of Lyons,

1274, intended to force the order to hold property, stirred opposition

into a flame and a number of the Observants were thrown into prison,

including Angelo Clareno, an influential author. Nicholas III., in the

bull Exiit qui seminat, [847] ht. He insisted upon the principle that

the pope is the ultimate owner of the property of the order. The bull

expressly annulled St. Francis' prohibition forbidding the order to

seek privileges from the pope. The Franciscan general, Bonagratia, and

his two successors, accepted the bull, but Peter Olivi, d. 1298, who

had acquired wide influence through his writings, violently opposed it.

Coelestin V. sought to heal the division by inviting the Observants to

join the order of the Coelestin hermits which he had founded, and

Angelo Clareno, who had been released from prison, took this course. It

was opposed by Olivi and the Observant preacher Ubertino da Casale,

[848]

And so the century in which Francis was born went out with the

controversy still going on with unabated warmth. A somewhat new aspect

was given to the controversy in the fourteenth century. The dogmatic

question was then put into the foreground, whether Christ and his

Apostles practised absolute poverty or not. In 1323 John XXII. sought

to put a final stop to the dissension by giving papal authority to the

statement that they did not practise absolute poverty. Thus the

underlying foundation of the strict Franciscan Rule was taken away.

In another respect the Franciscans departed from the mind of their

founder. Francis disparaged learning. In 1220 he reprimanded and then

cursed Pietro Staccia, a doctor of laws, for establishing a Franciscan

school at Bologna. On hearing of a famous doctor, who had entered the

order, he is reported to have said, "I am afraid such doctors will be

the destruction of my vineyard. True doctors are they who with the

meekness of wisdom exhibit good works for the betterment of their

neighbors." To Anthony of Padua, Francis wrote--and the genuineness of

the letter is not disputed--"I am agreed that you continue reading

lectures on theology to the brethren provided that kind of study does

not extinguish in them the spirit of humility and prayer." [849]

university culture. In 1255 an order called upon Franciscans, going out

as missionaries, to study Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and other languages.

The order spread rapidly from Palestine to Ireland. [850] eaujolais, a

brother-in-law of the French king. The first successful attempt to

establish branches in Germany was made, 1221, by Caesar of Spires, who

had been converted by Elias of Cortona on his journey to Syria. He was

accompanied by twelve priests and thirteen laymen, among them, Thomas

of Celano and Jordan of Giano upon whose account we depend for the

facts. The company separated at Trent, met again at Augsburg, and then

separated once more, carrying their propaganda along the Rhine and to

other parts of the country. Houses were established at Mainz, Worms,

Spires, and Cologne which in 1522 were united into a custody. The year

following four German custodies were added. [851] servant wing, and had

to suffer severe persecution and was put to death in prison.

As for England, nine Franciscans, four of them clerics, only one of

whom was in priest's orders, landed at Dover, 1224, and went to

Canterbury, and then to London. The account of their early labors on

English soil, by Thomas of Eccleston, a contemporary, [852] e Black

Friars. At Oxford they received a warm welcome. Grosseteste announced

their advent with a sermon from the words, "They that sat in darkness

have seen a great light." It was as if the door to a new religious era

had been opened. Of their settlement in St. Ebbe's parish, Oxford, it

was said that "there was sown a grain of mustard seed which grew to be

greater than all the trees." They were quickly settled at Cambridge,

Norwich, Northampton, Yarmouth, and other centres. They were the first

popular preachers that England had seen, and the first to embody a

practical philanthropy. [853] rapidity. Sanitary precautions were

unknown. Stagnant pools and piles of refuse abounded. [854]

Partly from necessity and partly from pure choice these ardent

religionists made choice of quarters in the poorest and most neglected

parts of the towns. In Norwich they settled in a swamp through which

the city sewerage passed. At Newgate, now a part of London, they betook

themselves to Stinking Lane. At Cambridge they occupied the decayed

gaol.

No wonder that such zeal received recognition. The people soon learned

to respect the new apostles. Adam Marsh joined them, and he and

Grosseteste, the most influential English ecclesiastic of his day,

lectured in the Franciscan school at Oxford. The burgesses of London

and other towns gave them lands, as did also the king, at Shrewsbury.

In 1256 the number of English friars had increased to 1242, settled in

forty-nine different localities. [855] hem. Most of the great English

Schoolmen belonged to the Franciscan order. Eccleston describes the

godly lives of the early English Franciscans, their abstinence, and

their lightheartedness. [856] Robert Kilwarby, was sitting in the

archepiscopal chair of Canterbury; to another Franciscan, Bonaventura,

was offered the see of York, which he declined.

In time, the history of the Franciscans followed the usual course of

human prosperity. [857] from their first estate. With honors and lands

came demoralization. They gained an unsavory reputation as collectors

of papal revenues. Matthew Paris' rebukes of their arrogance date back

as far as 1235, and he said that Innocent IV. turned them from fishers

of men into fishers of pennies. At the sequestration of the religious

houses by Henry VIII., the Franciscan convent of Christ's Church,

London, was the first to fall, 1532. [858]

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[831] Speculum, p. 76. Domine, said Francis, minores ideo vocati sunt

fratres mei ut majores fieri non proesumant.

[832] See Sabatier, S. Fran�ois, pp. 80 sqq. Also Madonnet, Les

Origines de l'ordo de Poenitentia, pp. 4, 21 sq. etc., who presents

this feature of Francis' society in its early days in a clear light.

[833] See Sabatier, Vie de S. Fran�ois, pp. 273 sqq.

[834] This Rule has only recently been found and published in the

Seraphicae legislationis textus originales, Quaracchi, 1897. See

Robinson, pp. 76sqq.

[835] See Speculum, p. 181 and note.

[836] Finally by Urban IV., 1263. See Potthast, II. 1515. Affiliated

houses were erected at Burgos, Spain, 1219; Rheims, France, 1220;

Prague, 1235, etc.

[837] Frates et sorores de poenitentia.

[838] See Potthast, II. 1856.

[839] Potthast, I. 703. Nicolas IV., however, speaks of a rule given by

Francis.

[840] See the art. Humiliaten in Herzog, VIII. 447-449, by Z�ckler who

quotes H. Tiraboschi, Memorie degli Humiliati, 3 vols. Modena, 1766.

Sabatier, Regula antique, p. 15, upon the basis of Jacques de Vitry and

other authorities, says the Humiliati were at the height of their zeal

and activity in 1220. He confesses that the Tertiary Rule, the Regula

Antiqua, is probably in part a copy of the Rule of the Humiliati

sanctioned by Innocent III. and says, "Perhaps we have heretofore

ascribed an undue originality to the Franciscan movement."

[841] See Walter Goetz, Die Regel des Tertiarierordens, in Brieger's

Zeitschrift, 1902, pp. 97 sqq.

[842] VI. 3, arma mortalia contra quempiam non recipiant vel secum

ferant. This most interesting statement was changed by Nicolas IV. in

1289 so that it read, "The brethren shall not carry arms of attack

except for the defence of the Roman Church, the Christian faith, or

their country, or unless they have authority from their superiors." The

Humiliati received papal exemption from Honorius III. against going to

war. See Sabatier, Regula antiq., p. 22, Note.

[843] The development of the Tertiary order is a matter of dispute.

Sabatier has recently made known two rules of the Tertiary order; the

first, found in Florence, the second which he himself discovered in the

convent of Capistrano in the Abruzzi. To compare them with the Rule

contained in Nicolas IV.'s bull, supra montem, 1289, the Rule of

Nicolas has 20 chapters, the Florentine 19, that of Capistrano 13. See

the table given by Walter Goetz, p. 100. Sabatier in his edition of the

Capistrano Rule, Regula Antiqua, p. 12, puts it very close to the death

of Francis, between 1228 and 1234. Les R�gles, etc., p. 153, goes

further and puts it back to 1221, thus making it the second Rule of St.

Francis. At any rate, it must for the present be regarded as the oldest

form of the Rule. Goetz, p. 105, while dating the Regula Antiqua much

earlier than 1289, is inclined to regard it as a compilation. In 1517

Leo X. perfected the regulations concerning Tertiary orders and divided

the members into two classes, those taking no vows and living in the

ordinary walks of life and those who live in convents. The best general

treatment of the subject is furnished by Karl M�ller, Die Anf1nge des

Minoritenordens., pp. 115-171, and Madonnet who gives a convenient list

of the papal utterances on the Tertiaries, Les R�gles, etc., pp. 146

sq.

[844] The Observants looked to Portiuncula as the centre of the order,

the Conventuals to the cathedral of Assisi.

[845] Ubertino da Casale's interpretation of Francis' purpose is given

by Knoth, pp. 99 sq.

[846] Sabatier, Speculum, pp. li sq.

[847] Potthast, II. 1746.

[848] Ubertino, during seven days of rigid seclusion on the Verna,

wrote the ascetic workArbor vitae crucifixae. See Knoth, 9-14.

[849] 2 Lempp, Anthony of Padua, p. 439.

[850] The Franciscans became guardians of the holy places in Palestine.

In answer to my question put to a Franciscan in Nazareth, whether the

Church of the Annunciation there was the veritable place where Mary had

received the message of the angel, he replied, "Most certainly! We

Franciscans have been in this land 600 years and have thoroughly

investigated all these matters."

[851] See Hauck, IV. pp. 378 sq.

[852] All that we know about his life is gotten from his account of the

Franciscans in England. He died about 1260. Eccleston gives the names

of the nine first missionaries. Mon. Franc., pp. 5 sqq. Agnellus of

Pisa stood at their head. Three of the clerics were Englishmen.

[853] Creighton, p. 107.

[854] See the descriptions of Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, pp. 21

sqq., and Brewer's Mon. Franc., pp. xv. sq.

[855] 54 Mon. Franc., p. xli.

[856] He tells a comic story of William de Madeley, at Oxford, who,

finding a pair of shoes, put them on and went to matins. Going to sleep

be dreamt he was attacked by thieves, and thrust out his feet to show

that he was a friar. But lo! the shoes were still on, and starting up

he flung them out of the window. Another poor friar, Gilbert de Vyz, so

he relates, was badly treated by the devil. It happened at Cornhill.

The devil at his final visit exclaimed, "Sir, do you think you have

escaped me?" De Vyz picked up a handful of lice and threw it at the

devil, and he vanished. p. 13.

[857] John L'Estrange says that, at the time they were falling out of

favor, one English will out of every three conveyed property to the

Franciscans. Quoted by Howlett in his Preface to Mon. Franc., II. p.

xxvii.

[858] According to Gasquet, p. 237, there were sixty-six Franciscan

houses. Addis and Scannell's Catholic Dict., p.388, gives a list of

sixty-four. The first house of the Franciscan nuns, or Poor Clares, was

founded outside of Aldgate, London, 1293, and was known as "the

Minories," a name the locality still retains. At the time of the

dissolution of the monasteries they had three houses in England.

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� 72. St. Dominic and the Dominicans.

Literature.--The earliest Life by Jordanus, Dominic's successor as head

of the order: de principiis ordinis praedicatorum in Qu�tif-Echard, who

gives five other early biographies (Bartholomew of Trent, 1244-1251,

Humbert de Romanis, 1250, etc.), and ed. by J. J. Berthier, Freib., i.

Schw., 1892.--H. D. Lacordaire, d. 1861: Vie de S. Dominique, Paris,

1840, 8th ed. 1882. Also Hist. Studies of the Order of S. Dom.

1170-1221, Engl. trans., N. Y., 1869.--E. Caro: S. Dom. et les

Dominicains, Paris, 1853.--A. T. Drane: Hist. of St. Dom., Founder of

the Friar Preachers, London, 1891.--Balme et Lelaidier: Cartulaire ou

hist. diplomatique de S. Dom., Paris, 1892.--J. Guiraud: S. Dom.,

Paris, 2d ed., 1899.--For titles of about thirty lives, see Potthast,

II. 1272.--Qu�tif-Echard: Script. ord. Praedicatorum, 2 vols. Paris,

1719-1721.--Ripoll and Bermond: Bullarium ord. Praed., 8 vols. Rome,

1737 sqq.--Mamachi: Annal. ord. Praed., Rome, 1756.--Monumenta ord.

fratrum Praed. hist., ed. by B. M. Reichert, Louvaine and Rome, 10

vols., 1897-1901. Vol. III. gives the acts of the general chapters of

the order, 1220-1308.--A. Danzas: Etudes sur les temps primitifs de

l'ordre de S. Dom., Paris, 1873-1885.--\*Denifle: Die Constitutionen des

Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228, and Die Constitutionen des Raymunds von

Pe�aforte 1238-1241 in Archiv f�r Lit. und Kirchengesch., 1885, pp.

165-227 and 1889, 530-565.--Helyot: Bel. Orders.--Lea: Hist. of

Inquisition, I. 242-304, etc. Wetzer-Welte, art. Dominicus, III.

1931-1945.--W. Lescher: St. Dominic and the Rosary, London, 1902.--H.

Holzapfel: S. Dom. und der Rosenkranz, Munich, 1903.

The Spaniard, Dominic, founder of the order of preachers, usually

called the Dominicans, [859] int of Assisi, and his career has little

to correspond to the romantic features of his contemporary's career.

Dominic was of resolute purpose, zealous for propagating the orthodox

faith, and devoted to the Church and hierarchy. His influence has been

through the organization he created, and not through his personal

experiences and contact with the people of his age. This accounts for

the small number of biographies of him as compared with the large

number of Francis.

Domingo, or Dominic, was born 1170 at Calaroga, Spain, and died Aug. 6,

1121, in Bologna. [860] of philosophy and theology, and he is said to

have excelled as a student. About 1195, he was made canon at Osma,

which gives its name to the episcopal diocese, within whose bounds he

was born. In 1203 he accompanied his bishop, Diego d'Azeveda, to France

[861] on a mission to secure a bride for the son of Alfonzo VIII. of

Castile. This and subsequent journeys across the Pyrenees brought him

into contact with the Albigenses and the legates despatched by Innocent

III. to take measures to suppress heresy in Southern France. Dominic

threw himself into the movement for suppressing heresy and started upon

a tour of preaching. At Prouille in the diocese of Toulouse, he erected

an asylum for girls to offset the schools established by the

Albigenses, for the training of the daughters of impoverished noblemen.

He was on intimate terms with Simon de Montfort, but, so far as is

known, he took no active part in the Albigensian crusade except as a

spiritual adviser. [862] heretics received the support of Fulke, bishop

of Toulouse, who in 1215 granted him one-sixth of the tithes of his

diocese. Among the first to ally themselves to Dominic was Peter

Cellani, a citizen of Toulouse, who gave him a house.

An epoch in Dominic's career was his visit in Rome during the sessions

of the Fourth Lateran Council, when he received encouragement from

Innocent III. who declined to assent to the proposal of a new order and

bade him adopt one of the existing monastic constitutions. [863] c

chose the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustine, [864] ation, and

confirmed it in the possession of goods and houses. An unreliable

tradition states that Honorius also conferred upon Dominic the

important office of Master of the Palace, magister palatii. The office

cannot be traced far beyond Gregory IX. [865]

The legendary accounts of his life represent the saint at this time as

engaged in endless scourgings and other most rigorous asceticisms.

Miracles, even to the raising of the dead, were ascribed to him.

In 1217 Dominic sent out monks to start colonies. The order took quick

root in large cities,--Paris, Bologna, and Rome,--the famous professor

of canon law at Paris, Reginald, taking its vows. Dominic himself in

1218 established two convents in Spain, one for women in Madrid and one

for men at Seville. The first Dominican house in Paris, the convent of

St. Jacques, gave the name Jacobins to the Dominicans in France and

Jacobites to the party in the French Revolution which held its meetings

there. In 1224 St. Jacques had one hundred and twenty inmates. The

order had a strong French element and included in its prayers a prayer

for the French king. From France, the Dominicans went into Germany.

Jordanus and other inmates of St. Jacques were Germans. They quickly

established themselves, in spite of episcopal prohibitions and

opposition from other orders, in Cologne, Worms, Strassburg, Basel, and

other German cities. [866] [867] great friary in that city.

The first General Chapter was held 1220 in Bologna. Dominic preached

with much zeal in Northern Italy. He died, lying on ashes, at Bologna,

Aug. 6, 1221, and lies buried there in the convent of St. Nicholas,

which has been adorned by the art of Nicholas of Pisa and Michael

Angelo. As compared with the speedy papal recognition of Francis and

Anthony of Padua, the canonization of the Spanish saint followed

tardily, thirteen years after his death, July 13, 1234. [868]

At the time of Dominic's death, the preaching friars had sixty convents

scattered in the provinces of Provence, Northern France, Spain,

Lombardy, Italy, England, Germany, and Hungary, each of which held its

own chapter yearly. To these eight provinces, by 1228, four others had

been added, Poland, Denmark, Greece, and Jerusalem. [869] not assumed.

At the head of the whole body stands a grand-master. [870] [871] ey are

not the oldest. They were revised under Raymund de Pe�aforte, the third

general. [872]

Mendicancy was made the rule of the order at the first General Chapter,

1220. [873] nk, renounced all right to possess property. The mendicant

feature was, however, never emphasized as among the Franciscans. It was

not a matter of conscience with the Dominicans, and the order was never

involved in divisions over the question of holding property. The

obligation of corporate poverty was wholly removed by Sixtus IV., 1477.

Dominic's last exhortation to his followers was that, they should have

love, do humble service, and live in voluntary poverty." [874] taken

much to heart by them.

Unlike the man of Assisi, Dominic did not combine manual labor with the

other employments of his monks. For work with their hands he

substituted study and preaching. The Dominicans were the first

monastics to adopt definite rules of study. When Dominic founded St.

Jacques in Paris, and sent seventeen of his order to man that convent,

he instructed them to "study and preach." Cells were constructed at

Toulouse for study. [875] ology was required before a license was given

to preach, [876]

Preaching and the saving of souls were defined as the chief aim of the

order. [877] of the order was not study, but that study was most

necessary for preaching and the salvation of souls. Study, said

another, is ordained for preaching, and preaching for the salvation of

men, and this is the final end. [878] tside the cloister until he was

twenty-five. [879] t renowned orator in the nineteenth century. The

mission of the Dominicans was predominantly with the upper classes.

They represented the patrician element among the orders.

The annals of the Inquisition give to the Dominican order large space.

The Dominicans were the most prominent and zealous, "inquisitors of

heretical depravity." Dante had this in mind when he characterized

Dominic as "Good to his friends, dreadful, to his enemies," "Benigno ai

suoi ed ai nimici crudo." [880]

In 1232 the conduct of the Inquisition was largely committed to their

care. Northern France, Spain, and Germany fell to their lot. [881] n

indelible blot upon the name of the order. The student of history must

regard those efforts to maintain the orthodox faith as heartless, even

though it may not have occurred to the participants to so consider

them. The order's device, given by Honorius, was a dog bearing a

lighted torch in his mouth, the dog to watch, the torch to illuminate

the world. The picture in their convent S. Maria Novella, at Florence,

represents the place the order came to occupy as hunters of heretics.

It portrays dogs dressed in the Dominican colors, black and white,

chasing away foxes, which stand for heretics, while pope and emperor,

enthroned and surrounded by counsellors, look on with satisfaction at

the scene. It was in connection with his effort to exterminate heresy

that Dominic founded, in 1220, the "soldiery of Christ," composed of

men and women, married and unmarried. Later, the order called itself

the Brothers and Sisters of Penitence, or the Third Order, or

Tertiaries of St. Dominic. As was the case with the Franciscan

Tertiaries, some of them lived a conventual life.

The rosary also had a prominent place in the history of the Dominicans.

An untrustworthy tradition assigns to Dominic its first use. During the

crusades against the Albigenses, Mary, so the story runs, appeared to

Dominic, and bade him use the rosary as a means for the conversion of

the heretics. It consists of fifteen pater nosters and one hundred and

fifty ave Marias, told off in beads. The Dominicans early became

devotees of the rosary, but soon had rivals in the Carmelites for the

honor of being the first to introduce it. The notorious Dominican

inquisitor and hunter of witches, Jacob Sprenger, founded the first

confraternity of the rosary. Pius V. ascribed the victory of Lepanto,

157l, to its use. In recent times Pius IX. and Leo XIII. have been

ardent devotees of the rosary. Leo, in his encyclical of Sept. 1, 1883,

ascribed its introduction to the great Dominic, as a balm for the

wounds of his contemporaries." This encyclical represents Mary as

"placed on the highest summit of power and glory in heaven ... who is

to be besought that, by her intercession, her devout Son may be

appeased and softened as to the evils which afflict us." [882]

Leo XIII. paid highest honor to the Dominicans when he pronounced

Thomas Aquinas the authoritative teacher of Catholic theology and

morals, and the patron of Catholic schools.

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[859] Ordo praedicatorum, fratres praedicatores, or simply

praedicatores, as in the papal bulls and the constitutions of the

order.

[860] His descent from the noble family of Guzman has been disputed by

the Bollandists.

[861] Jordanus says, they went ad Marchias, which probably refers to

the domain of Hugo of Lusignan, Count de la Marche, and not to Denmark,

as often represented.

[862] The bull canonizing Dominic says, haereticos caritative ad

poenitentiam et conversionem fidei hortabatur, he affectionately

exhorted heretics to return to the faith.

[863] Potthast, I. 436.

[864] See Denifle, Archiv, 1885, p. 169, who says that Dominic took as

the basis of his rule the rule of the Premonstrants and insists that

his followers were canons regular. Denifle was a Dominican, and in his

able article gives too much credit to Dominic for originality.

[865] This important office according to Echard at first gave to the

incumbent the right to fix the meaning of Scripture at the Pontifical

court. It has since come to have the duty of comparing all matters with

the catholic doctrine before they are presented to the pope, selecting

preachers for certain occasions, conferring the doctors'degree, etc.

Wetzer-Welte avoids giving offence to the Dominicans by making the

ambiguous statement, III. 1934, that Dominicgewissermassen der erste

Mag. palatii wurde.

[866] Hauck, IV. 391-394.

[867] At the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII., the

Dominicans had 68 houses in England (Gasquet, p. 237), or 57 according

to Addis and Scannell, Dict., p. 301.

[868] Potthast, I. 810.

[869] See the Constitution of 1228, Denifle, pp. 212, 215.

[870] Magister generalis. In 1862 Pius IX. limited his tenure of office

to twelve years. Since 1272 he has lived at St. Maria sopra Minerva in

Rome.

[871] May 16, 1227. See Potthast, I. 684. Denifle makes much of this

point, pp. 176-180.

[872] Denifle gives the best edition in Archiv for 1885, pp. 193-227.

[873] Denifle, pp. 181 sqq., states that the idea of poverty was in

Dominic's mind before Honorius sanctioned the order, and that it was

thoroughly as original with him as it was with Francis. This view seems

to be contradicted by the bull of Honorius, 1216, which confirms

Dominic and his followers in the possession of goods. Jordanus, c. 27,

states that the principle of poverty was adopted that the preachers

might be freed from the care of earthly goods, ne predicationis

impediretur officium sollicitudine terrenorum. Francis adopted this

principle as a means of personal sanctification; Dominic, in order that

he and his followers might give themselves up unreservedly to the work

of saving souls.

[874] Caritatem habete, humilitatem servite, pauperitatem voluntariam

possidete.

[875] Denifle, pp. 185 sqq.

[876] Nullus fiat publicus doctor, nisi per 4 annos ad minus theologiam

audierit. Const., 1228, II. 30.

[877] Ordo noster specialiter ob praedicationem et animarum salutem ab

initio institutus. Prol. to Constitution of 1228.

[878] Quoted by Denifle, p. 190.

[879] Const. II. 31-33.

[880] Paradiso, XII.

[881] See Potthast, II. 9386, 9388 (Gregory IX., 1284), etc. The

Franciscans were made inquisitors in Italy and Southern France. See

chapter on the Inquisition.

[882] Leo commended the rosary in repeated encyclicals, Aug. 30, 1884,

1891, etc., coupling plenary indulgence for sin with its use. He also

ordered the title regina sanctissimi rosarii, "queen of the most holy

rosary," inserted into the liturgy of Loreto. On the history of the

rosary, see Lea, Hist. of Auric. Conf., III. 484 sqq., and especially

the dissertation St. Dominikus und der Rosenkranz, by the Franciscan,

Heribert Holzapfel. This writer declares, point blank, that the rosary

was not invented nor propagated by Dominic. There is no reference to it

in the original Constitution of 1228, which contains detailed

prescriptions concerning prayer and the worship of the Virgin, nor in

any of the eighteen biographical notices of the thirteenth century.

Holzapfel makes the statement, p. 12, that the entire thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries know nothing of any association whatsoever of St.

Dominic with the rosary. Sixtus IV., 1478, was the first pope to

commend the rosary; but Sixtus does not associate it with the name of

Dominic. Such association began with Leo X. What has become of the

author of this bold denial of the distinct statement of Leo XIII. in

his encyclical of ten years before, September, 1883, I do not know.

Holzapfel distinctly asserts his opposition to the papal deliverances

on the rosary, when he says, p. 37, "High as the regard is in which the

Catholic holds the authority of Peter's successors in religious things,

he must be equally on his guard against extending that authority to

every possible question." Perhaps Father Holzapfel's pamphlet points to

the existence of a remainder of the hot feeling which used to exist

between the Thomists and Scotists.

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CHAPTER IX.

MISSIONS.

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� 73. Literature and General Survey.

Literature: I. For Northeastern Germany. - H. Hahn: Gesch. d. kathol.

Mission, 5 vols., Col., 1857-1865.--G. F. Maclear: Hist. of Christ.

Missions during the M. A., London, 1863.--C. A. H. Kalkar: Gesch. d.

r�m.-kathol. Mission, German trans., Erlang., 1867.--Th. Smith: Med.

Missions, Edinburg, 1880.--P. Tschackert: Einf�hrung d. Christenthums

in Preussen, in Herzog, IX. 25 sqq.--Lives of Otto of Bamberg by Ebo

and Herbord (contemporaries) in Jaff�; Bibl. Rerum Germanic., Berlin,

1869, vol. V. trans. in Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit,

Leipzig, 1869.--Otto's Letters in Migne, vol. 173.--Mod. Lives by F. X.

Sulzbeck, Regensb., 1865, and J. A. Zimmermann, Freib. im Br.,

1875.--For copious Lit. see Potthast: Bibl. Hist., II. 1504 sq.--For

Vicelinus, see Chronica Slavorum Helmodi (a friend of Vicelinus), ed.

by Pertz, Hann., 1868. Trans. by Wattenbach in Geschichtschreiber der

deutschen Vorzeit, Leipzig, 1888.--Winter: Die Praemonstratenser d.

12ten Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung f�r das nord�stl. Deutschland.

Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Christianisirung und Germanisirung des

Wendenlandes, Leipzig, 1865. Also Die Cisterzienser des nord�stl.

Deutschlands, 3 vols., Gotha, 1868.--E. O. Schulze: D. Kolonisierung

und Germanisirung der Gebiete zw. Saale und Elbe, Leipzig,

1896.--Edmund Krausch: Kirchengesch. der Wendenlande, Paderb.,

1902.--Hauck. III. 69-150, 623-655.--Ranke: Weltgesch., VIII.

455-480.--The arts. Albert of Riga, Otto von Bamberg, Vicelinus, and

Wenden in Wetzer-Welte and Herzog. See Lit. under Teutonic Knights, p.

296.

II. For The Mohammedans. - Works on Francis d'assisi, see � 69.--For

Raymundus Lullus: Beati Raymundi Lulli doctoris illuminati et

martyrisopera, ed. by John Salzinger, Mainz, 1721-1742, 10 vols. (VII.,

X. wanting). His Ars magna (opera quae ad artem universalem pertinent),

Strassburg, 1598. Last ed., 1651. Recent ed. of his Poems Obras

rimadas, Palma, 1859. For the ed., of Raymund's works publ. at Palma

but not completed see Wetzer-Welte, Raim. Lullus, X. 747-749.--Lives by

Perroquet, Vendome, 1667; L�w, Halle, 1830.--\*A. Helfferich: R. Lull

und die Anf�nge der Catalonischen Literatur, Berlin, 1858; W. Brambach,

Karlsr., 1893; Andr�, Paris, 1900.--\*S. M. Zwemer: Raymund Lull, First

Missionary to the Moslems, New York, 1902.--Lea: Hist. of the Inquis.,

III. 563-590.--Reusch: Der Index, etc., I. 26-33.--Z�ckler, in Herzog,

XI. 706-716.

III. For The Mongols. - D'Ohson: Hist. des Mongols, Paris, 1824.--H. H.

Howorth: Hist. of the Mongols, 3 vols., London, 1876-1880.--Abb� Huc:

Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartare et en Thibet, Paris, 1857.--K�lb:

Gesch. der Missionsreisen nach der Mongolei w�hrend des 13ten und 14ten

Jahrhunderts, 3 vols., Regensb., 1860.--Col. Henry Yule: Travels and

Life of Marco Polo, London, 1871; Rev. ed. by H. Cordier, New York,

1903.--R. K. Douglas (Prof. of Chinese in King's Col., London): Life of

Jenghiz Khan.--Gibbon, chaps. XLVII., LXIV.; Ranke, VIII. 417-455; and

arts. Rubruquis, Mongolen, etc., in Herzog, Wetzer-Welte.

The missionary operations of this period display little of the zeal of

the great missionary age of Augustine, Columba, and Boniface, and less

of achievement. The explanation is to be found in the ambitions which

controlled the mediaeval church and in the dangers by which Europe was

threatened from without. In the conquest of sacred localities, the

Crusades offered a substitute for the conversion of non-Christian

peoples. The effort of the papacy to gain supreme control over all

mundane affairs in Western Christendom, also filled the eye of the

Church. These two movements almost drained her religious energies to

the full. On the other hand the Mongols, or Tartars, breaking forth

from Central Asia with the fierceness of evening wolves, filled all

Europe with dread, and one of the chief concerns of the thirteenth

century was to check their advance into the central part of the

continent. The heretical sects in Southern France threatened the unity

of the Church and also demanded a share of attention which might

otherwise have been given to efforts for the conversion of the heathen.

Two new agencies come into view, the commercial trader and the

colonist, corresponding in this century to the ships and trains of

modern commerce and the labors of the geographical explorer in Africa

and other countries. Along the shores of the Baltic, at times, and in

Asia the tradesman and the explorer went in advance of the missionary

or along the same routes. And in the effort to subdue the barbarous

tribes of Northeastern Germany to the rules of Christendom, the sword

and colonization played as large a part as spiritual measures.

The missionary history of the age has three chapters, among the pagan

peoples of Northeastern Germany and along the Baltic as far as Riga,

among the Mohammedans of Northern Africa, and among the Mongols in

Central and Eastern Asia. The chief missionaries whose names have

survived are Otto of Bamberg and Vicelinus who labored in Northeastern

Europe, Rubruquis, and John of Monte Corvino who travelled through

Asia, Francis d'Assisi and Raymundus Lullus who preached in Africa.

The treatment which the Jews received at the hand of the Church also

properly belongs here.

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� 74. Missions in Northeastern Germany.

At the beginning of this period the Wends, [883] covered by Pommerania,

Brandenburg intermingled, and parts of Saxony, which were neither

German nor Slavic but Lithuanian. [884] mburg, bordering on the

territories of these tribes, had done little or nothing for, their

conversion. Under Otto I. Havelberg, Meissen, Merseburg, and other

dioceses were established to prosecute this work. At the synod of

Ravenna, 967, Otto made the premature boast that the Wends had been

converted.

The only personality that looms out above the monotonous level of

Wendish history is Gottschalk, who was converted in England and bound

together a number of tribes in an extensive empire. He was interested

in the conversion of his people, and churches and convents were built

at Mecklenburg, L�beck, Oldenburg, and other centres. But with

Gottschalk's murder, in 1066, the realm fell to pieces and the Wend

tribes from that time on became the object of conquest to the dukes of

Poland and Saxony. Attempts to Christianize them were met with violent

resistance. Wends and Germans hated one another. [885] [886] aves, and

idols.

Two centuries were required to bring the territories occupied by these

peoples, and now for the most part inhabited by Germans, under the sway

of the Church. The measures employed were the instructions of the

missionary, the sword as wielded by the Teutonic Knights, and the

colonization of the lands with German colonists. The sacraments and

ritual of the Church were put in the forefront as conditions of union

with the Church. The abolition of barbarous customs was also insisted

upon. The bishopric and the convent were made the spiritual citadels of

the newly evangelized districts.

The first to labor among the Wends, who was actuated by true missionary

zeal, was the Spanish Cistercian, Bernard. He was without any knowledge

of the language and his bare feet and rude monastic garb were little

adapted to give him an entrance to the people whose priests were well

clad.

Bernard was followed by Otto, bishop of Bamberg, 1102-1139, who made

his first tour at Bernard's instance. He won the title of Apostle of

Pommerania. In 1124 he set his face towards the country, furnished with

the blessing of Honorius II. and well supplied with clerical helpers.

He won the goodwill of the Pommeranian duke, Wratislaw, who, in his

youth, as a prisoner of war, had received baptism. The baptism of seven

thousand at Pyritz has a special interest from its hearing on the

practice of immersion followed at that time. Tanks were sunk into the

earth, the rims rising knee high above the ground. Into these, as the

chronicler reports, [887] [888]

At Stettin he destroyed the temple of the god Triglar, and sent the

triple head of the idol to Rome as a sign of the triumph of the cross.

In 1128 Otto made a second tour to Pommerania. He spoke through an

interpreter. His instructions were followed by the destruction of

temples and the erection of churches. He showed his interest in the

material as well as spiritual well-being of the people and introduced

the vine into the country. [889]

Vicelinus, d. 1154, the next most important name in the history of

missions among the Wends, preached in the territory now covered by

Holstein and the adjoining districts. He had spent three years in study

at Paris and was commissioned to his work by Adalbert, archbishop of

Bremen-Hamburg. The fierce wars of Albert the Bear, of North Saxony,

1133-1170, and Henry the Lion, 1142-1163, against the Wagrians and

Abotrites, the native tribes, were little adapted to prepare the way

for Christianity. Vicelinus founded the important convent of Segeberg

which became a centre of training for missionaries. L�beck accepted

Christianity, and in 1148 Vicelinus was ordained bishop of Oldenburg.

The German missionaries went as far as Riga. The sword played a

prominent part in the reduction of the local tribes. Under papal

sanction, crusade followed crusade. The Livonians received their first

knowledge of Christianity through Meinhard, d. 1196, [890] ned bishop

of the new diocese of Uexkull whose name was changed in 1202 to the

diocese of Riga.

Meinhard's successor, the Cistercian Berthold, sought at first to win

his way by instruction and works of charity, but was driven away by

violence. He returned in 1198, at the head of a crusade which Coelestin

had ordered. After his death on the field of battle his successor,

bishop Albert of Apeldern, entered the country in 1199 at the head of

another army. The lands were then thrown open to colonists. With the

sanction of Innocent III., Albert founded the order of the Brothers of

the Sword. Their campaigns opened the way for the church in Esthaonia

and Senegallen. In 1224 the see of Dorpat was erected, which has given

its name to the university of Dorpat.

Eastern Prussia, lying along the Weichsel, was visited in 1207 by the

German abbot, Gottfried. Two of the native princes were converted by

Christian, a monk from Pommerania, donated their lands to the Church,

and travelled to Rome, where they received baptism. Christian was made

bishop of Prussia between 1212 and 1215. An invitation sent to the

Teutonic Knights to aid in the conversion of the tribes was accepted by

their grand-master, Hermann of Salza, in 1228. In 1217 Honorius III.

had ordered a crusade, and in 1230 Gregory IX. renewed the order. The

Teutonic Knights were ready enough to further religious encroachment by

the sword, promised, as they were, a large share in the conquered

lands. From 1230 to 1283 they carried on continual wars. They

established themselves securely by building fortified towns such as

Kulm and Thorn, 1231, and K�nigsberg, 1255. A stream of German

colonists followed where they conquered. In 1243 Innocent IV. divided

Prussia into four sees, Kulm, Pomesania, Sameland, and Ermeland. It was

arranged that the bishops were to have one-third of the conquered

territory. In 1308 the German Knights seized Danzig at the mouth of the

Weichsel and a year later established their headquarters at Marienburg.

[891] Peace of Thorn, 1466, they lost Prussia west of the Weichsel, and

thereafter their possessions were confined to Eastern Prussia. The

history of the order closed when the grand-master, Albrecht of

Brandenburg, accepted the Reformation and made the duchy hereditary in

his family.

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[883] See � 60. Tacitus calls the Wends Venedi, a name which seems to

come from the Slavonic voda, or the Lithuanian wandu, meaning "water,"

and referring to the low and often marshy lands they occupied.

[884] The two translations of Luther's catechism, 1545, 1561, into the

language of this people seem to point to their Lithuanian origin,

Tschackert in Herzog, XVI. 26.

[885] Hauck gives Illustrations of the cruelties of the two peoples in

time of war, III. 90 sqq.

[886] They thought nothing of strangling girls when there were a number

born to the same mother. Si plures filias aliqua genuisset, ut cetera

facilius providerent, aliquas ex eis jugulabant, pro nihilo ducentes

parricidium. Herbord, II. 16

[887] Facilis erat in aquam descendere, Herbord, II. 16. The detailed

description of the baptismal scenes leaves not a particle of doubt that

immersion was practised.

[888] This is the earliest notice of the seven sacraments, provided

Herbord's report is not interpolated.

[889] Herbord, II. 41.

[890] Gregory IX., as late as 1237, calls this people pagans, pagani

Livoniae. Potthast, 10383.

[891] Ranke, VIII. 469, regards the fabric of the Teutonic Knights as

having offered the only effective check against the invasion of Central

Europe by the Mongols.

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� 75. Missions among the Mohammedans.

Two important names are associated with the missions among the

Mohammedans, Francis of Assisi and Raymundus Lullus, and with their

labors, which were without any permanent results, the subject is

exhausted. The Crusades were adapted to widen the gulf between the

Christians and the Mohammedans, and to close more tightly the ear of

the followers of the False Prophet to the appeals of the Christian

emissary.

Franciscan friars went in 1213 to Morocco and received the martyr's

crown, but left no impression upon the Mohammedans. [892] d by eleven

companions. The accounts are meagre and uncertain. [893] that the

sultan was so much touched by Francis' preaching that he gave the

Franciscan friars admission to the Holy Sepulchre, without payment of

tribute.

Raymundus Lullus, 1235?-1315, devoted his life to the conversion of

Mohammedans and attested his zeal by a martyr's death. He was one of

the most noteworthy figures produced during the Middle Ages in

Southwestern Europe. He made three missionary tours to Africa and

originated the scheme for establishing chairs at the universities to

teach the Oriental languages and train missionaries. He also wrote many

tracts with the aim of convincing unbelievers of the truth of

Christianity.

Lullus was born in Palma on the island of Majorca. His father had

gained distinction by helping to wrest the Balearic islands from the

Saracens. The son married and had children, but led a gay and

licentious life at court and devoted his poetic gifts to erotic

sonnets. At the age of thirty-one he was arrested in his wild career by

the sight of a cancer on the breast of a woman, one of the objects of

his passion, whom he pursued into a church, and who suddenly exposed

her disease. He made a pilgrimage to Campostella, and retired to Mt.

Randa on his native island. Here he spent five years in seclusion, and

in 1272 entered the third order of St. Francis. He became interested in

the conversion of Mohammedans and other infidels and studied Arabic

under a Moor whom he had redeemed from slavery. A system of knowledge

was revealed to him which he called "the Universal Science," ars magna

or ars generalis. With the aid of the king of Aragon he founded, in

1276 on Majorca, a college under the control of the Franciscans for the

training of missionaries in the Arabic and Syriac tongues.

Lullus went to Paris to study and to develop his Universal Science. At

a later period he returned and delivered lectures there. In 1286 he

went to Rome to press his missionary plans, but failed to gain the

pope's favor. In 1292 he set sail on a missionary tour to Africa from

Genoa. In Tunis he endeavored in vain to engage the Mohammedan scholars

in a public disputation. A tumult arose and Lullus narrowly escaped

with his life. Returning to Europe, he again sought to win the favor of

the pope, but in vain. In 1309 he sailed the second time for Tunis, and

again he sought to engage the Mohammedans in disputation. Offered

honors if he would turn Mohammedan, he said, "And I promise you, if you

will turn and believe on Jesus Christ, abundant riches and eternal

life."

Again violently forced to leave Africa, Lullus laid his plans before

Clement V. and the council of Vienne, 1311. Here he presented a

refutation of the philosophy of Averrhoes and pressed the creation of

academic chairs for the Oriental languages. Such chairs were ordered

erected at Avignon, Paris, Oxford, Salamanca, and Bologna to teach

Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. [894]

Although nearly eighty years old the indefatigable missionary again set

out for Tunis. His preaching at Bougia led, as before, to tumults, and

Lullus was dragged outside of the city and stoned. Left half dead, he

was rescued by Christian seamen, put on board a ship, and died at sea.

His bones are preserved at Palma.

For a period of nearly fifty years this remarkable man had advocated

measures for carrying the Gospel to the Mohammedans. No impression, so

far as we know, was made by his preaching or by his apologetic writings

upon unbelievers, Jew or Mohammedan, but with his name will always be

associated the new idea of missionary institutes where men, proposing

to dedicate themselves to a missionary career, might be trained in

foreign languages. But Lullus was more than a glowing advocate of

missions. He was a poet and an expert scholastic thinker. [895] hought

to the physical sciences, he has been compared to his fellow

Franciscan, Roger Bacon. [896]

His Universal Science he applied to medicine and law, astrology and

geography, grammar and rhetoric, as well as to the solution of

theological problems. [897] as a key to all the departments of thought,

celestial and terrestrial. Ideas he represented by letters of the

alphabet which were placed in circles and other mathematical diagrams.

By the turning of the circles and shifting of lines these ideas fall

into relations which display a system of truth. The word "God," for

example, was thus brought into relation with nine letters, B-K, which

represented nine qualities: goodness, greatness, eternity, power,

wisdom, volition, virtue, truth, and glory. Or the letters B-K

represented nine questions, such as, what, quid; from what, de quo;

why, quare; how much, quantum. Being applied to God, they afford valid

definitions, such as "God's existence is a necessity." This

kaleidoscopic method, it is not improbable, Lullus drew from Jewish and

Arabic, sources, and he himself called it Cabalistic.

The philosophy of Lullus found a number of adherents who were called

Lullists. It was taught at the universities of Valencia and Aragon.

Giordano Bruno drew from it. Eymericus, the inquisitor, became the

bitter foe of the Lullists, arraigned their leader's teachings before

the Roman court, and exhibited a bull of Gregory XI. (1372) condemning

them as heretical. [898] es in the Escurial library. Lullus' works were

included in the Index of Paul IV., 1559, but ordered removed from the

list by the council of Trent. A papal decision of 1619 forbade Lullus'

doctrine as dangerous. In 1847 Pius IX. approved an office for the

"holy Raymundus Lullus" in Majorca, where he is looked upon as a saint.

The Franciscans have, since the time of Leo X., commemorated the

Spaniard's memory in their Breviary.

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[892] M�ller, Anf�nge des Minoritenordens, 207 sqq., has set this

mission beyond doubt.

[893] Jacob of Vitry, Hist. Occ., 32, and Giordano di Giano are our

chief authorities. Sabatier, in his Life of Francis, accepts the

testimony, but dismisses the tour in a few lines.

[894] The object of the chairs was declared to be to further the

exposition of the Scriptures and the conversion of unbelievers. See

Hefele, VI. 545. A little earlier the pamphleteer Peter Dubois had

urged it as the pope's duty to establish institutes for the study of

the Oriental languages as it was his duty to see that the Gospel was

preached to all peoples. See Scholz, Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps

des Sch�nen, 427-431.

[895] According to the catalogue in the Escurial prepared by D. Arias

de Loyola, Lullus wrote 410 tracts, most of which exist only in MS.,

and are distributed among the libraries of Europe. Of these, 46 are

controversial works against the Mohammedans, Jews, and Averrhoists. Lea

speaks of Lullus "as perhaps the most voluminous author on record."

III. 581.

[896] Reuter, Gesch. der Aufkl�rung, II. 95 sq.

[897] In his work on the miracles of heaven and earth, de miraculis

coeli es mundi, he represents a father leading his son through woods

and across fields, over deserts and through cities, among plants and

animals, into heaven and hell, and pointing out the wonders they saw.

In his Blanquerna magister christianae perfectionis he presents an

ethical drama in which the hero is introduced to all stations of

religious life, monk, abbot, bishop, cardinal, and pope, and at last

gives up the tiara to retire to the seclusion of a convent.

[898] The genuineness of this bull has been a subject of much

controversy. Commissions were even appointed by later popes to

investigate the matter, and the bull, with other documents originating

with Gregory, was not found. Hergenr�ther pronounces for its

genuineness, Kirchengesch., II. 540. Eymericus ascribed

Lullus'teachings to the suggestion of the devil, and declared that

Lullus maintained the erroneous proposition that "all points of faith

and the sacraments, and the power of the pope may be proved by

reasoning, necessary, demonstrative, and evident."

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� 76. Missions among the Mongols.

Central Asia and what is now the Chinese Empire were almost as unknown

to Western Europe in the twelfth century as the lake region of Central

Africa was before the journeys of Speke, Livingstone, and Stanley. To

the Nestorians, with their schools at Edessa and Nisibis, naturally

belonged the task of spreading the Gospel in Central and Eastern Asia.

They went as far as China, but after the ninth century their schools

declined and a period of stagnation set in. Individual Nestorians

reached positions of influence in Asiatic courts as councillors or

physicians and Nestorian women became mothers of Mongol chiefs. But no

Asiatic tribe adopted their creed.

In the twelfth century the brilliant delusion gained currency

throughout Europe of the existence in Central Asia of a powerful

Christian theocracy, ruled over by the Presbyter John, usually called

Prester-John. [899] . According to Otto of Freisingen, a certain bishop

of Gabala in 1145 had brought Eugenius III. the information that he was

a Nestorian Christian, was descended from one of the three Wise Men,

and had defeated the Mohammedans in a great battle. [900] , purporting

to come from this ruler and addressed to the Emperor Manuel of

Constantinople, related that John received tribute from seventy kings,

and had among his subjects the ten tribes of Israel, entertained at his

table daily twelve archbishops and twenty bishops, and that his kingdom

was overflowing with milk and honey. [901]

To put themselves into communication with this wonderful personage and

bring him into subjection to Rome engaged the serious attention of

several popes. Alexander III., 1177, sent his physician Philip with

commission to inform the king of the faith of Western Christendom. He

also addressed him in a letter as his "most dear son in Christ, John,

king of the Indies and most holy of priests." The illusion abated as

serious efforts to find the kingdom were made. Rubruquis wrote back to

Europe from the region where John was reported to have ruled that few

could be found who knew anything about Prester-John and that the

stories which had been told were greatly exaggerated. He added that a

certain ruler, Coirchan, had been followed by a Nestorian shepherd,

called John. It has been conjectured by Oppert that the word

"Coirchan," through the Syrian Juchanan, became known as John in

Europe. A prince of that name whom the Chinese call Tuliu Tasha fled

from China westwards, and established a kingdom in Central Asia.

Nestorians were among his subjects. Chinese tradition has it that the

prince was a Buddhist. Thus dwindles away a legend which, to use

Gibbon's language, "long amused the credulity of Europe."

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Asia witnessed the

establishment of the vast Mongol empire. Scarcely ever has military

genius among uncivilized peoples had more wonderful display than in its

founders, Zenghis Khan and his successors, especially Kublai and Mangu.

[902] plished in Spain it was feared the Mongols would do for the whole

continent. They destroyed Moscow and advanced as far as Cracow in

Poland, and Buda Pesth in Hungary, 1241. The empire rapidly

disintegrated, and was divided into four main sections: the empire of

the Great Khan, including China and Thibet; the empire of Central Asia;

Persia, extending to the Caucasus, and the loose kingdom of the Golden

Horde in Russia and Siberia. [903] defence against the imminent menace

of these Tartars, [904]

The Church sent forth several deputations of missionaries to these

tribes, some of whom were received at the court of the Great Khan. The

most fearless and adventuresome of their number was William Rubruquis,

or Ruysbroeck, the Livingstone of his age, who committed to writing a

vivid account of his experiences. John of Monte Corvino ventured as far

as Pekin, then known in Europe as Cambaluc and among the Mongols as

Khanbaligh, "the city of the Khan."

Merciless as they were in battle, the Mongols were tolerant in

religion. This was due in part to the absence among them of any

well-defined system of worship. Mangu Khan, in answer to the appeals of

Rubruquis, said, "We Mongols believe that there is only one God, in

whom we live and die. But as God has given to the hand different

fingers, so He has given to men different ways to Himself. To you

Christians he has given the Holy Scriptures; to us, soothsayers and

diviners."

Kublai showed the same spirit when he said to Marco Polo, "There are

four prophets who are worshipped by the four different tribes on the

earth. Christians look upon Christ as their God, the Saracens upon

Mohammed, the Jews upon Moses, and the heathen upon Sogomombar-Khan

(Buddha). I esteem and honor all four and pray that He who is supreme

amongst them may lend me His help." Alexander Severus perhaps did no

better when he placed side by side statues of Abraham, Christ, and

Orpheus and other pagan gods. It was not till after the contact of the

missionaries with the Mongols that the khans of the East adopted

Buddhism, while the tribes of Persia and the West chose the rites of

Islam.

In 1245 Innocent IV. despatched four Dominicans to the Mongol chief in

Persia and three Franciscans to the Great Khan himself. The next effort

was due to Louis IX., then engaged in his first Crusade. Ambassadors

from the Mongol chief of Tartary visited the French king at Cyprus.

[905] present of a tent embroidered with representations of Scriptural

scenes and so constructed as to have the shape, when put up, of a

chapel. It is from one of these two Franciscans, Rubruquis, that our

first reliable information of the Mongols is drawn. He found Nestorian

priests using the Syriac liturgy, which they did not understand, and

joining with the Mohammedans and Buddhists in offering a blessing over

the khan's cups. Rubruquis reached Karkorum and had a hospitable

reception at the court of Mangu Khan. One of Mangu's secretaries was a

Christian, another a Mohammedan, the third a Buddhist. A religious

disputation was held in the khan's presence. After Rubruquis had

asserted that all God's commandments are contained in the Scriptures,

he was asked whether he thought Mangu kept them. The missionary

adroitly replied that "it was his desire to lay before the khan all

God's commandments and then the khan would be able to judge for himself

whether he kept them or not."

The Mongolian chiefs in Persia and the Christians were joint enemies of

the Caliph of Egypt, and after the Mongolian conquest of the caliphate

of Bagdad, embassies were sent by the pope to Persia, and Dominican and

Franciscan convents established in that land; but after their adoption

of Islam in the fourteenth century, the Mongols persecuted the

Christians and the convents were destroyed.

In Central Asia among the Jagatai Mongols events took the same course.

At first, 1340, permission was granted to the missionaries to prosecute

their work. John of Marignola preached and baptized converts. These

Mongols afterwards also adopted Mohammedanism and persecuted the

Christians.

In the Mongol empire of China the efforts gave larger promise of

fruitfulness. Nicolo and Maffei Polo [906] Kublai Khan to Gregory X.

for missionaries to instruct his people in Christianity and European

habits. Two Dominicans accompanied the Polos on their return journey,

Marco Polo being of the party. The missionaries did not reach their

destination. Three years later Franciscans were sent. John of Monte

Corvino, a Franciscan sent out by Nicholas IV., reached the court of

the Great Khan at Cambaluc, and in 1303 was joined by Arnold, a

Franciscan from Cologne. They translated the New Testament and the

Psalms into the Tartar language, bought and trained one hundred and

fifty boys, built two churches, one of them close to the palace and

overtopping it, and baptized six thousand converts. In 1307 John was

made archbishop of Pekin, archiepiscopus Cambalensis, and died 1330.

The khans passed over to the Buddhist faith and in 1368 the Ming

dynasty which raised itself to power abolished Christianity. It

remained for the Jesuits three hundred years later to renew missionary

operations in China.

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[899] G. Oppert, D. Presbyter Johannes in Sage u. Gesch., Berlin, 1864,

2d ed. 1870. Brunet, La l�gende du Pr�tre-Jean, Bordeaux, 1877.

Zarncke, D. Priester-Johannes, Leipzig, 1870.

[900] Chronicon, VII. 33. Otto also reports the bishop of Gabala as

declaring that out of respect for his ancestors, the Magians, who had

worshipped at the cradle of the Redeemer, John had started with an army

to relieve Jerusalem, but for want of boats got no further than the

Tigris.

[901] The letter must have had an extensive circulation, as it exists

in more than 100 MSS., 13 in Paris, 15 in Munich, 8 in the British

Museum, etc.

[902] It was at Kublai's court that Marco Polo (about 1324) spent many

years. The origin of the Mongols is lost in legend. The Mongol

historian Sanang Setzen traces it back to a blue wolf. Zenghis Khan,

1162-1227, is known among the Chinese as Ching-sze, perfect warrior.

The word "Mongol" comes from mong, meaning brave.

[903] Hulagu, one of Manguls brothers, overthrew the Caliphate of

Bagdad, 1258, and established the Mongol empire of Persia. He took in

marriage a daughter of the Byzantine emperor, Michael Palaeologos.

[904] See Hefele, V. 1096, 1114. A provincial synod at Erfurt, a few

years before, 1241, had considered measures for defence against the

Tartars. Hefele, V. 1081. For some of the papal bulls bearing on

missions among the Mongols, see Potthast, 7429, 7490, 7537, 7550, 9130,

9139, 9141, 10350, 10421.

[905] Joinville, Chronicle of the Crusades, Engl. trans., pp. 384 sqq.,

476 sqq.

[906] Nicolo was the father of Marco Polo, Maffei was Marco's uncle.

Marco was born in 1254 and went on his first journey to Asia when he

was seventeen, 1271. The party went first to the island of Ormus on the

Persian Gulf, at that time an important market for the exchange of

goods. Of it Milton speaks:-- High on a throne of royal state, which

far Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.

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� 77. The Jews.

Literature: The Works of Peter the Venerable, and Bernard, in Migne,

and the English Chroniclers, William of Newburgh, Walter of Coventry,

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3 vols. London, 1863.--Jos� Amador de los Rios: Historia social,

politica y religiosa de los Judios de Espana y Portugal, 3 vols.

Madrid, 1875, 1876.--H. Graetz (Prof. at Breslau, d. 1891): Gesch. der

Juden von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, 3d ed., Leipzig,

1888-1894, 11 vols.; Engl. trans. by Bella L�wy, London, 5 vols.

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Vortr�ge, I. 208-241.--Lea: Chapters from the Relig. Hist. of Spain,

Phil., 1890, pp. 437-469--Hefele: IV.-VI.--Lecky: Hist. of Europ.

Morals.--Janssen: Hist. of the German People, II. 73 sqq. The Lives of

St. Bernard.--D. S. Schaff: The Treatment of the Jews in the Middle

Ages, Bibliotheca Sacra, 1903, pp. 547-571.

Would that it might be said of the mediaeval church that it felt in the

well-being of the Jews, the children of Abraham according to the flesh,

a tithe of the interest it manifested in the recovery of the holy

places of their ancient land. But this cannot be said. Though popes,

bishops, and princes, here and there, were inclined to treat them in

the spirit of humanity, the predominant sentiment of Europe was the

sentiment of hatred and disdain. The very nations which were draining

their energies to send forth armaments to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre

joined in persecuting the Jews.

Some explanation is afforded by the conduct of the Jews themselves.

Their successful and often unscrupulous money dealings, the flaunting

of their wealth, their exclusive social tendencies, their racial

haughtiness, and their secretiveness, strained the forbearance of the

Christian public to the utmost. [907] hat, in an offensive way, they

showed contempt for the rites and symbols of the Christian faith. The

provocation was great, but it does not justify a treatment of the

Jewish people in all parts from Bohemia to the Atlantic which lacked

the elements of common humanity. The active efforts that were made for

their conversion seem to betray fully as much of the spirit of churchly

arrogance as of the spirit of Christian charity. Peter the Venerable,

in the prologue to his tract addressed to the Jews, said, "Out of the

whole ancient world, you alone were not ignorant of Christ; yea, all

peoples have listened, and you alone do not hear. Every language has

confessed him, and you alone deny. Others see him, hear him, apprehend

him, and you alone remain blind, and deaf, and stony of heart."

The grounds upon which the Jews were persecuted were three: 1. Their

fathers had crucified Christ, and the race, predestined to bear the

guilt and the punishment of the deed, was receiving its merited

portion; 2. They perpetrated horrible atrocities upon Christian

children, and mocked the host and the cross; 3. They imposed upon the

Christians by exacting exorbitant rates of interest. In no Christian

state were they safe. They were aliens in all, and had the rights of

citizenship in none. The "enemies of Christ" and "the perfidious" were

common names for them, and canonists and theologians use the latter

expression. The ritual of Good Friday contained the words, "Let us pray

also for the perfidious Jews." [908] the Third and Fourth Lateran and

other councils class together under one and the same canon the Jews and

the Saracens. [909]

Three classes are to be taken into account in following the treatment

of the Jews,--the popes, including the prelates, the princes, and the

mass of the people with their priests.

Taking the popes one by one, their utterances were, upon the whole,

opposed to inhumane measures and uniformly against the forced baptism

of the Jews. Gregory the Great protected them against frenzied

persecution in Southern Italy. Innocent IV., 1247, denied the charge of

child murder brought against them, and threatened with excommunication

Christians oppressing them. [910] Martin IV., in 1419, issued a bull in

which he declared that he was following his predecessors in commanding

that they be not interrupted in their synagogal worship, or compelled

to accept baptism, or persecuted for commercial transactions with

Christians. On the other hand, the example of Innocent III. gave

countenance to the severest measures, and Eugenius IV. quickly annulled

the injunctions of his predecessor, Martin IV.

As for the princes, the Jews were regarded as being under their

peculiar jurisdiction. At will, they levied taxes upon them,

confiscated their goods, and expelled them from their realms. It was to

the interest of princes to retain them as sources of revenue, and for

this reason they were inclined to protect them against the violence of

blind popular prejudice and rage. Frederick II. imposed upon them

perpetual slavery as a vengeance upon them for the crucifixion. [911]

The inception of the Crusades was accompanied by violent outbursts

against the Jews. Innocent III., in 1216, established the permanent

legal basis of their persecution. Their expulsion from Spain, in 1492,

represents the culminating act in the mediaeval drama of their

sufferings. England, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, and Hungary

joined in their persecution. In Italy they suffered least. Tens of

thousands were burned or otherwise put to death. They were driven, at

one time or another, from almost every country. The alternative of

baptism or death was often presented to them. The number of those who

submitted to death was probably larger than the number who accepted

baptism. Most of those, however, who accepted baptism afterwards openly

returned to the faith of their fathers or practised its rites in

secret. [912]

It is an interesting fact that, during these centuries of persecution,

the Jews, especially in Spain and France, developed an energetic

literary activity. Gerschom, Raschi, and the Kimchis belong to France.

The names of Maimonides and Benjamin of Tudela head a long list of

scholarly Spanish Jews. The pages of Graetz are filled with the names

and achievements of distinguished students in medicine and other

departments of study. [913]

The path of anti-Semitism was early struck by Church and Christian

state. The mediaeval legislation followed closely the precedent of

earlier enactments. [914] sibut of Spain. When princes, as in Lyons,

protected Jewish merchants, prelates violently protested, as did

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, apostle as he was in some particulars of

modern enlightenment. [915] g: The Jews were forbidden to employ

Christian nurses, servants, or laborers, to publicly sell meat, to work

on Sundays or feast days, to employ Christian physicians, [916] er, and

to wear a distinguishing patch or other object on their garments. On

the other hand, Christians were forbidden to attend Jewish funerals and

marriages, and were punished for borrowing from Jews.

None of the regulations was so humiliating as the one requiring the Jew

to wear a distinguishing costume or a distinguishing patch upon his

garments. This patch was ordered placed on the chest, or on both chest

and back, so that the wearer might be distinguished from afar, as of

old the leper was known by his cry "unclean," and that Christians might

be prevented from ignorantly having carnal connection with the despised

people. At the instance of Stephen Langton the synod of Oxford, 1222,

prescribed a woollen patch, and Edward I., 1275, ordered the yellow

patch worn by all over seven. Louis IX. ordered that the color of the

patch should be red or saffron, the king of England that it should be

yellow. Its size and shape were matters of minute enactment. The Fourth

Lateran gave the weight of its great authority to this regulation about

dress, and decreed that it should be enforced everywhere. Dr. Graetz

pronounces this law the culminating blow in the humiliation of his

kinsmen. He declares that Innocent III. brought more misery upon the

Jews than all their enemies had done before, and charges him with being

the first pope who turned the inhuman severity of the Church against

them. [917]

The position Innocent took was that God intended the Jews to be kept,

like Cain, the murderer, to wander about on the earth designed by their

guilt for slavery till the time should come in the last days for their

conversion. [918]

With this view, the theologians coincided. Peter the Venerable, a

half-century before Innocent, presented the case in the same aspect as

did the great pope, and launched a fearful denunciation against the

Jews. In a letter to Louis VII. of France, he exclaimed, "What would it

profit to fight against enemies of the cross in remote lands, while the

wicked Jews, who blaspheme Christ, and who are much worse than the

Saracens, go free and unpunished. Much more are the Jews to be

execrated and hated than the Saracens; for the latter accept the birth

from the Virgin, but the Jews deny it, and blaspheme that doctrine and

all Christian mysteries. God does not want them to be wholly

exterminated, but to be kept, like the fratricide Cain, for still more

severe torment and disgrace. In this way God's most just severity has

dealt with the Jews from the time of Christ's passion, and will

continue to deal with them to the end of the world, for they are

accursed, and deserve to be." [919]

Of a different mind was Bernard. When the preparations were being made

for the Second Crusade, and the monk Radulf went up and down the Rhine,

inflaming the people against the Jews, the abbot of Clairvaux set

himself against the "demagogue," as Neander called Radulf. [920] le to

the archbishop of Mainz, reminding him that the Lord is gracious

towards him who returns good for evil. "Does not the Church," he

exclaimed, "triumph more fully over the Jews by convincing and

converting them from day to day than if she once and for all should

slay them by the edge of the sword!" How bitter the prejudice was is

seen in the fact that when Bernard met Radulf face to face, it required

all his reputation for sanctity to allay the turbulence at Mainz. [921]

Turning to England we find William of Newburgh, Roger de Hoveden, and

other chroniclers. approving the Jewish persecutions. Richard of

Devizes [922] references, seems not to have been in full sympathy with

the popular animosity.

Among great English ecclesiastics the Jews had at least two friendly

advocates in Hugh of Lincoln and Robert Grosseteste. Grosseteste laid

down the principle that the Jews were not to be exterminated, on the

grounds that the law had been given through them, and that, after

passing through their second captivity, they would ultimately, in

accordance with the eleventh chapter of Romans, embrace Christianity.

He, however, declared that Cain was the type of the Jews, as Abel was

the type of Christ. For the sake of God's mercy, they should be

preserved, that Christ might be glorified; but for the sake of God's

justice, they were to be held in captivity by the princes, that they

might fulfil the prediction concerning Cain, and be vagabonds and

wanderers on the earth. They should be forcibly prevented from pursuing

the occupation of usurers. [923] lands to the Jews expelled by Simon de

Montfort from Leicester. That he was not altogether above the

prejudices of his age is vouched for by a letter, also written in 1244,

in which he calls upon his archdeacons to prevent Jews and Christians

living side by side. Grosseteste's predecessor, Hugh of Lincoln,

protected the Jews when they were being plundered and massacred in

1190, and Jews showed their respect by attending his funeral. [924]

No charge was too serious to be laid at the door of the Jews. When the

Black Death swept through Europe in 1348, it did not occur to any one

to think of the Saracens as the authors of that pestilence. The Jew was

guilty. In Southern France and Spain, so the wild rumor ran, he had

concocted poisons which were sent out wholesale and used for

contaminating fountains. From Barcelona and Seville to the cities in

Switzerland and Germany the unfortunate people had to suffer

persecution for the alleged crime. In Strassburg, 1349, the entire

Hebrew population of two thousand was seized, and as many as did not

consent to baptism, were burnt in their own graveyard and their goods

confiscated. In Erfurt and other places the entire Jewish population

was removed by fire or expulsion.

The canonical regulations against usury gave easy excuse for declaring

debts to the Jews not binding. Condemned by Tertullian and Cyprian,

usury was at first forbidden to laymen as well as clerics, as by the

synod of Elvira; but at the council of Nice, 325, the prohibition was

restricted to the clergy. Later Jerome, Augustine, and Leo I. again

applied the prohibition to all Christians. Gratian received it into the

canon law. Few subjects claimed so generally the attention of the

mediaeval synods as usury. [925] s to declare usury forbidden by the

Old Testament as well as by the New Testament. Clement V. put the

capstone on this sort of legislation by declaring, at the council of

Vienne, 1311, null and void all state and municipal laws allowing usury

and pronouncing it heresy to deny that usury is sin. No distinction was

made between rates of interest. All interest was usurious. The wonder

is that, with such legislation on the Church's statute-books, any

borrower should have felt bound by a debt to a Jew.

Eugenius III. offered all enlisting in the Second Crusade exemption

from interest due Jewish creditors. Gregory IX. made the same offer to

later Crusaders.

The charge was frequently repeated against the Jews that they were

guilty of the murder of Christian children for ritualistic purposes,

especially at the time of the Passover. This almost incredible crime

again and again stirred the Christian population into a frenzy of

excitement which issued in some of the direst miseries the Jewish

people were called upon to endure. [926]

In France, Philip Augustus, using as a pretext the alleged crucifixion

of a Christian child, in 1182, expelled the Jews from his realm and

confiscated their goods. The decree of expulsion was repeated by Louis

IX. in the year before he set out on his last crusade, by Philip the

Fair in 1306 and 1311, and by other French monarchs, but it was never

so strictly enforced as in Spain. Louis IX. also ordered all copies of

the Targum destroyed. In 1239 Gregory IX. issued a letter to the

archbishops of France, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and England,

commanding the same thing. [927]

In Germany, from the First Crusade on, the Jews were subjected to

constant outbreaks, but usually enjoyed the protection of the emperors

against popular fury. In the fifteenth century, they were expelled from

Saxony 1432, Spires and Z�rich 1435, Mainz 1438, and other localities.

In England the so-called Jewries of London, Lincoln, Oxford, and three

or four other cities represented special tribunals and modes of

organization, with which the usual courts of the land had nothing to

do. [928] rtgaged to the famous Aaron of Lincoln, who died 1187. He

boasted that his money had built St. Albans, a boast which Freeman uses

to prove the intolerable arrogance of the Jews. The arm of St. Oswald

of Peterboro was held by a Jew in pawn. The usual interest charged was

two pence a week on the pound, or forty-three per cent a year. And it

went as high as eighty per cent. The promissory note is preserved which

Herbert, pastor of Wissenden, gave to Aaron of Lincoln for 120 marks at

two pence a week. [929] ws were tallaged by the king at pleasure. They

belonged to him, as did the forests. [930] he famous case occurred of

the Jew of Bristol, already referred to, whose teeth John ordered

pulled out, one each day, till he should make over to the royal

treasury ten thousand marks. The description that Matthew Paris gives

is highly interesting, but it was not till four centuries had elapsed,

that another historian, Thomas Fuller, commenting upon this piece of

mediaeval dentistry, had the hardihood to say, this Jew, "yielding

sooner, had saved his teeth, or, stubborn longer, had spared his money;

now having both his purse and his jaw empty by the bargain. Condemn we

here man's cruelty, and admire Heaven's justice; for all these sums

extorted from the Jews by temporal kings axe but paying their

arrearages to God for a debt they can never satisfy; namely, the

crucifying of Christ." Old prejudices die hard.

Henry III.'s exactions became so intolerable that in 1255 the Jews

begged to be allowed to leave the realm. This request, to rely again

upon Matthew Paris, the king refused, and then, like "another Titus or

Vespasian," farmed them out to his rich brother Richard, Earl of

Cornwall, that, "as he himself had excoriated them, so Richard might

eviscerate them." [931]

The English Crusaders, starting on the Third Crusade, freely pillaged

the Jews, indignant, as the chroniclers relate, that they should have

abundance and to spare while they, who were hurrying on the long

journey to Jerusalem, had not enough for their barest wants. [932] ,

that the horrible massacre occurred in which neither sex nor age was

spared. At York, five hundred were shut up in the castle, and the men,

in despair, after putting to death their own wives and daughters, were

many of them burned to death. [933]

English communities were roused to a lamentable pitch of excitement by

the alleged crucifixion of Christian boys. Among the more notorious

cases were William of Norwich 1144, Harold of Gloucester 1168, Robert

of Edmonsbury 1181, and Hugh of Lincoln 1255. Although these children

were popularly known as saints, none of them have been canonized by the

Church. The alleged enormities perpetrated upon Hugh of Lincoln, as

given by Matthew Paris, are too shocking to be enumerated at length.

The same chronicler interjects the statement that the deed was "said

often to have occurred." In the excitement over little Hugh, eighteen

Jews were gibbeted. [934] .

Some English Jews, under pressure of fear, submitted to baptism, and

some also of their free will. The first case of the latter kind, so far

as I know, is given by Anselm. [935] ian turning Jew. A deacon was

hanged for this offence. [936]

The last act in the history of the Jews in mediaeval England was their

banishment by Edward I. in 1290. From that time until the Caroline age,

England was free from Jewish inhabitants. Cromwell added to his fame by

giving them protection in London.

The treatment the Jews received in Spain is justly regarded as the most

merciless the race received in the Middle Ages. Edward I. protected

against plunder the sixteen thousand Jews whom he banished from

England. But Ferdinand of Spain, when he issued the fell decree for his

Jewish subjects to leave Spain, apparently looked on without a sign of

pity. Spain, through its Church councils, had been the leader in

restrictive legislation. The introduction of the Inquisition made the

life of this people more and more severe, although primarily its

pitiless regulations had no application to them. Persecutions filled

the land with ungenuine proselytes, the conversos, and these became

subject to the inquisitorial court.

The final blow given by Ferdinand and Isabella fell in 1492, the year

of the discovery of the New World, in a part of which was to be put

into practice religious toleration as it was never before practised on

the earth. The edict expelled all unbaptized Jews from Spain. Religious

motives were behind it, and religious agents executed it. The immediate

occasion was the panic aroused by the alleged crucifixion of the child

of La Guardia--el santo ni�o de la Guardia--one of the most notorious

cases of alleged child murder by the Jews. [937] quemada, hastening

into the presence of the king and his consort, presented the crucifix,

exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver.

Your majesties are about to sell him for three thousand ducats. Here he

is, take him and sell him."

The number of Jews who emigrated from Spain, in the summer of 1492, is

estimated at 170,000 to 400, 000. [938] short. In 1495 an edict offered

them the old alternative of baptism or death, and children under

fourteen were taken forcibly from their parents, and the sacred

Christian rite was administered to them. Ten years later two thousand

of the alleged ungenuine converts were massacred in cold blood.

Such was the drama of sufferings through which the Jews were made to

pass during the mediaeval period in Western Europe. As against this

treatment, what efforts were made to win the Jews by appeals to the

gospel? But the question might well be asked whether any appeals could

be expected to win them when such a spirit of persecution prevailed.

How could love and such hostility go together? The attempts to convince

them were made chiefly through tracts and disputations. Anselm, while

he did not direct his treatise on the atonement, cur deus homo, to the

Jews, says, that his argument was sufficient to persuade both Jew and

pagan. Grosseteste sought to show the fulfilment of the old law and to

prove the divinity of Christ in his de cessatione legalium, written in

1231. [939] ordinary size. Its heading, little adapted to win the favor

of the people to whom it was addressed, ran "A Tract against the

Inveterate Hardness of the Jews" (inveteratam duritiem). The author

proceeded to show from the Hebrew Scriptures the divinity of Christ, at

the same time declaring that "to the blind even the light is as night

and the sun as the shades of darkness."

Some idea can be gotten of the nature of some of Peter's arguments from

one of the many Scripture texts adduced to prove that Christ is the Son

of God, Isa. lxvi. 9: "Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to

bring forth? saith Jehovah. Shall I that caused to bring forth shut the

womb? saith thy God." "What could be more clear, O Jews," adds the

author, "in proving the generation of the Son of God? For if God begat,

so far as He begat, He is necessarily Father, and the Son of God, so

far as He is begotten, is necessarily Son." In taking up the proof that

the Messiah has already come, Peter na�vely says that "if the Jew shall

presume to think when the argument is finished that he lives, Peter

holds the sword of Goliath, and, standing over the Jew's prostrate

form, will use the weapon for his destruction, and 'with its edge'

cleave his blasphemous head in twain." [940]

If the mild abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, approached the Jews in

such an arrogant tone, what was to be expected from other writers, like

Peter of Blois who wrote upon the Perfidy of the Jews?

Public disputations were resorted to in Southwestern Europe. Not a few

Jews, "learned men, physicians, authors, and poets," to use the

language of Graetz, [941] ic disputations, representative rabbis and

chosen Christian controversialists disputed. Jewish proselytes often

represented the Christian side. The most famous of these disputations,

the disputation of Tortosa, extended through a year and nine months,

1413-1414, and held sixty-eight sittings. Many baptisms are reported to

have followed this trial of argumentative strength, and Benedict XIII.

announced his conclusions in a bull forbidding forced baptism, as

opposed to the canons of the church, but insisting on the Jews wearing

the distinctive patch, and enacting that they should listen to three

Christian sermons every year,--on Easter, in Advent, and in midsummer.

Raymundus Lullus appealed for the establishment of chairs in Hebrew

with an eye to the conversion of the Jews, as did also the Dominican

Raymundus of Pe�aforte. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the

propaganda of the eloquent preacher Vincent Ferrer was crowned with

success, and the lowest estimates place the number who received baptism

under his influence at twenty thousand. The most distinguished of the

Spanish converts was Rabbi Solomon Helevi, 1353-1435, who occupied the

archiepiscopal chair of Burgos. The Christian scholar Nicolas of Cusa,

if not born a Jew, was of Jewish descent.

In London there was an attempt to reach the Jews by a sort of

university settlement, the domus conversorum, intended for the

protection of Jewish proselytes. It was established in 1233, and an

annual grant of seven hundred marks from the royal exchequer promised

for its maintenance; but no reports have come down to us of its

usefulness.

These efforts relieve, it is true, the dark picture, but relieve it

only a little. The racial exclusiveness of the Jew, and the defiant

pride which Christendom associates with him when he attains to

prosperity, still render it difficult to make any impression upon him

by the presentation of the arguments for Christianity. There have been

converts. Neander was a Jew born. So were Paulus Cassel and Adolf

Saphir. Delitzsch had a Jew for one of his parents. D�llinger is

authority for the statement that thirty years ago there were two

thousand Christians in Berlin of Jewish descent. There is fortunately

no feeling to-day, at least in the church of the West, that it should

come to the aid of Providence in executing vengeance for the

crucifixion of Christ, a thought which ruled the Christian mind in the

Middle Ages. In view of the experience of the medieval church, if for

no other reason, the mode of treatment suggested to the modern church

is by the spirit of brotherly confidence and Christian love.

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[907] William of Newburgh, Hamilton's ed., I. 282, says the tendency of

the royal protection in England was to make them proud and stiffnecked

against Christians. Green pronounces the attitude of the Jew in England

one "of proud and even insolent defiance."Hist. of Engl. People, bk.

III. ch. IV.

[908] Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis. D�llinger, p. 216.

[909] The caption of Gratian's Decretals, ch. XV. 6, is de Judaeis et

Saracenis et eorum servis.

[910] . Graetz, VII. l06.

[911] Perpetuam servitutem ad perpetuam Judaici sceleris ultionem,

Br�holles, I. 57.

[912] D�llinger's statement, p. 235, that the number who submitted to

compulsory baptism was very insignificant compared to the number who

accepted death is not justified by the statistics given by Graetz.

[913] Jacobs, Jews in Angevin England, tries to prove that the English

Jews also developed a culture of their own. Graetz positively denies

this, VI. 225.

[914] See art. The Treatment of the Jews, in Bibl. Sac., 1903, 552 sqq.

and the authorities there cited.

[915] Agobard wrote five tracts against the Jews. See Wiegand's

instructive brochure, Agobard von Lyon und die Judenfrage, Erl., 1901.

Agobard asserted that Judaism and Christianity were as far apart as

Ebal and Gerizim.

[916] The reason given by the synod of Salamanca, 1335, against the

employment of Jewish physicians was that they were bent upon the

extermination of the Christians.

[917] VII. 4, 16.

[918] In letters to Alfonso of Castile, 1205, and to the count of

Nevers, 1208.

[919] ad majus tormentum et ad majorem ignominiam ... sic de damnatis

damnandisque Judaeis, lib. IV. ep. 36; Migne's ed., vol, 189, 365-367.

[920] Otto of Freising says that "very many were killed in Mainz,

Worms, Spires, and other places."De gestis Frid. I. 37-39.

[921] Graetz, VI. 148, 151, pronounces Bernard "a truly holy man, a man

of apostolic simplicity of heart."

[922] Howlett's ed., p. 383.

[923] Grosseteste's Letters, Luard's ed., 33-39. Stevenson, Life of

Grosseteste, 97-101, holds that he had no intention of discouraging the

countess in her humane effort.

[924] Thurston, Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, 277 sqq., 547.

[925] See index in Hefele under Wucher. On the whole subject of Usury

see Jacobson, art. Wucher, in Herzog, 2d ed., XVII. 341-349. In 1228

the king of Spain restricted Jewish money lenders to the rate of 20%.

Hefele, V. 986. In 1368 the city of Frankfurt paid Jewish brokers 52%

on a loan of 1000 florins. In Augsburg, Vienna, and other cities the

interest was often as high as 86�/3%. See Janssen, II. 74.

[926] Lea, in his Hist. of Spain, 437-469, cites a large number of

cases down to recent times.

[927] Graetz, VII. 401-406.

[928] It is possible the first Jews came to England with William the

Conqueror. Jacobs, p. 3. A law of Edward the Confessor, however, has a

reference to Jews.

[929] Jacobs, p. 67, 308. The mortgages were called cartae debitorum,

M. Paris, Luard's ed., II. 358, etc. Jacobs, p. 381, estimates the

number of Jews in England in 1200 at 2000. London had 100 families,

Lincoln 82, Norwich 42, etc. Peter the Venerable also bears witness to

the money dealings of convents with Jews, de mirac., II. 15; Migne,

189, 927

[930] Stubbs, Const. Hist., II. 530 sqq.

[931] Ut quos excoriaverat, comes eviscerat. Luard's ed., V. 487 sq.

[932] M. Paris, II. 358 sq.

[933] See M. Paris and especially William of Newburgh, Hamilton's ed.,

II. 2428, and de Hoveden. Matthew and de Hoveden are careful to say

that the mortgage papers the Jews held were burnt with them. See

Graetz's description, VI. 219 sqq.

[934] M. Paris, Luard's ed., III. 543, IV. 30, 377, V. 516. As usual,

the guilty parties were the richest Jews in the place. The chroniclers

are not agreed in regard to the exact motives actuating the Jews in

these murders.

[935] Jacobs, p. 8. Hermann, a monk of Cologne, gives an account of his

conversion from Judaism, Migne, 170, 806 sqq. A most singular attempt

by the devil to blot out the baptism of a German Jewish girl is given

by Caesar of Heisterbach, Dial., II. 26. She was to be drawn three

times through the hole in the outhouse, the effects of baptism being

left behind.

[936] M. Paris, III. 71.

[937] See Lea's elaborate account in Rel. Hist. of Spain, 437-468; also

Graetz, VIII. 466-472. The child's body could not be found, but the

Inquisitors easily accounted for this by the report that it had been

carried to heaven on the third day after the murder.

[938] Graetz, VIII. 349, puts it at 300,000.

[939] For the use made of it by Sir John Eliot and John Selden, see

Stevenson, p. 104. Among other tracts on the Jewish question were those

of Rupert of Deutz; Dial. inter Christum et Judaeum, Migne, 170,

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[940] Migne's ed., 189, 553.

[941] viii. 83.

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CHAPTER X.

HERESY AND ITS SUPPRESSION.

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� 79. The Mediaeval Dissenters.

The centralization of ecclesiastical authority in the papacy was met by

a widespread counter-movement of religious individualism and dissent.

It was when the theocratic programme of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

was being pressed most vigorously that an ominous spiritual revolt

showed itself in communities of dissenters. While the crusading

armaments were battling against the infidel abroad, heretical

depravity, to use the official term, arose in the Church at home to

disturb its peace.

For nearly five hundred years heresy had been unknown in Western

Europe. When Gregory the Great converted the Arians of Spain and

Lombardy in the latter part of the sixth century, it was supposed that

the last sparks of heresy were extinguished. In the second half of the

eleventh century here and there, in Milan, Orleans, Strassburg,

Cologne, and Mainz, little flames of heresy shot forth; but they were

quickly put out and the Church went on its way again in peace. In the

twelfth century, heresy again broke out simultaneously in different

parts of Europe, from Hungary to the Pyrenees and northwards to Bremen.

The two burning centres of the infection were Milan in Northern Italy

and Toulouse in Southern France. The Church authorities looked on with

alarm, and, led by the pope, proceeded to employ vigorous measures to

stamp out the threatening evil. Jacques of Vitry, after visiting Milan,

called it a pit of heretics, fovea haereticorum, and declared that

there was hardly a person left to resist the spiritual rebels, so

numerous were they in that city. [942] in the very vicinity of Rome,

the Patarenes were in the majority in 1205, as Innocent III. testified.

But it was in Languedoc that the situation was most alarming, and there

papal armies were marshalled to crush out the contagion.

The dissenting movement started with the people and not with the

schools or princes, much provocation as the princes had for showing

their resentment at the avarice and worldliness of the clergy and their

invasion of the realm of civil authority. The vast majority of those

who suffered punishment as heretics were of the common people. Their

ignorance was a constant subject of gibe and derision as they stood for

trial before the ecclesiastical tribunals. The heresy of a later

period, the fifteenth century, differs in this regard, having scholars

among its advocates.

Our knowledge of the mediaeval sectaries and their practices is drawn

almost wholly from the testimonies of those who were arrayed against

them. These testimonies are found in tracts, manuals for the treatment

of heresy, occasional notices of ecclesiastical writers like Salimbene,

Vitry, Etienne de Bourbon, Caesar of Heisterbach, or Matthew Paris, in

the decrees of synods and in the records of the heresy trials

themselves. These last records, written down by Catholic hands, have

come down to us in large numbers. [943] [944] the loss of goods,

imprisonments, and death for their religious convictions, only a few

lines remain in their own handwriting to depict their faith and hopes.

The exciting cause of this religious revolt is to be looked for in the

worldliness and arrogance of the clergy, the formalism of the Church's

ritual, and the worldly ambitions of the papal policy. In their

depositions before the Church inquisitors, the accused called attention

to the pride, cupidity, and immorality of the priests. Tanchelm, Henry

of Lausanne, and other leaders directed their invectives against the

priests and bishops who sought power and ease rather than the good of

the people.

Underneath all this discontent was the spiritual hunger of the masses.

The Bible was not an altogether forgotten book. The people remembered

it. Popular preachers like Bernard of Thiron, Robert of Abrissel and

Vitalis of Savigny quoted its precepts and relied upon its authority.

There was a hankering after the Gospel which the Church did not set

forth. The people wanted to get behind the clergy and the ritual of the

sacraments to Christ himself, and, in doing so, a large body of the

sectaries went to the extreme of abandoning the outward celebration of

the sacraments, and withdrew themselves altogether from priestly

offices. The aim of all the sects was moral and religious reformation.

The Cathari, it is true, differed in a philosophical question and were

Manichaeans, but it was not a question of philosophy they were

concerned about. Their chief purpose was to get away from the worldly

aims of the established church, and this explains their rapid diffusion

in Lombardy and Southern France. [945]

A prominent charge made against the dissenters was that they put their

own interpretations upon the Gospels and Epistles and employed these

interpretations to establish their own systems and rebuke the Catholic

hierarchy. Special honor was given by the Cathari to the Gospel of

John, and the Waldensian movement started with an attempt to make known

the Scriptures through the vulgar tongue. The humbler classes knew

enough about clerical abuses from their own observation; but the

complaints of the best men of the times were in the air, and these must

also have reached their ears and increased the general restlessness.

St. Bernard rebuked the clergy for ambition, pride, and lust.

Grosseteste called clerics antichrists and devils. Walter von der

Vogelweide, among the poets, spoke of priests as those --

"Who make a traffic of each sacrament

The mass' holy sacrifice included."

These men did not mean to condemn the priestly office, but it should

occasion no surprise that the people made no distinction between the

office and the priest who abused the office.

The voices of the prophets were also heard beyond the walls of the

convent,--Joachim of Flore and Hildegard. Of an independent

ecclesiastical movement they had no thought. But they cried out for

clerical reform, and the people, after long waiting, seeing no signs of

a reform, found hope of relief only in separatistic societies and

groups of believers. The prophetess on the Rhine, having in mind the

Cathari, called upon all kings and Christians to put down the Sadducees

and heretics who indulged in lust, and, in the face of the early

command to the race to go forth and multiply, rejected marriage. But to

her credit, it is to be said, that at a time when heretics were being

burnt at Bonn and Cologne, she remonstrated against the death penalty

for the heretic on the ground that in spite of his heresy he bore the

image of God. [946] ve limited the punishment to the sequestration of

goods.

It is also most probable that the elements of heresy were introduced

into Central and Western Europe from the East. In the Byzantine empire

the germs of early heresies continued to sprout, and from there they

seem to have been carried to the West, where they were adopted by the

Manichaean Cathari and Albigenses. Travelling merchants and mercenaries

from Germany, Denmark, France, and Flanders, who had travelled in the

East or served in the Byzantine armies, may have brought them with them

on their return to their homes.

The matters in which the heretical sects differed from the Catholic

Church concerned doctrine, ritual, and the organization of the Church.

Among the dogmas repudiated were transubstantiation and the sacerdotal

theory of the priesthood. The validity of infant baptism was also quite

widely denied, and the Cathari abandoned water baptism altogether. The

worship of the cross and other images was regarded as idolatry. Oaths

and even military service were renounced. Bernard Guy,

inquisitor-general of Toulouse and our chief authority for the

heretical beliefs current in Southern France in the fourteenth century,

says [947] ist's body had been as large as the largest mountain, it

would have been consumed long before that time. As for adoring the

cross, thorns and spears might with equal propriety be worshipped, for

Christ's body was wounded by a crown of thorns and a lance. The

depositions of the victims of the Inquisition are the simple statements

of unlettered men. In the thousands of reports of judicial cases, which

are preserved, charges of immoral conduct are rare.

A heretic, that is, one who dissented from the dogmatic belief of the

Catholic Church, was regarded as worse than a Saracen and worse than a

person of depraved morals. In a sermon, issued by Werner of St. Blasius

about 1125, the statement is made that the "holy Catholic Church

patiently tolerates those who live ill, male viventes, but casts out

from itself those who believe erroneously, male credentes." [948]

heretics in Gascony, compared them to serpents which, just for the very

reason that they conceal themselves, are all the more destructive to

the simpleminded in the Lord's vineyard. Perhaps the most frequent

comparison was that which likened them to Solomon's little foxes which

destroy the vines. [949] [950] heretics scorpions, wounding with the

sting of damnation, locusts like the locusts of Joel hid in the dust

with vermin and countless in numbers, demons who offer the poison of

serpents in the golden chalice of Babylon, and he called heresy the

black horse of the Apocalypse on which the devil rides, holding the

balances. Heresy is a cancer which moves like a serpent. [951]

The Fourth Lateran also used the figure of Samson's foxes, whose faces

had different aspects, but whose tails were bound together for one and

the same fell purpose. [952] [953] dregs and depravity, and for that

reason cannot return to their former faith except by a divine miracle,

even as cinders, which cannot be made into silver, or dregs into wine."

[954] [955] ee use was made of the withered branch of John 15:6, which

was to be cast out and burnt, and of the historical examples of the

destruction of the Canaanites and of Korah, Dothan, and Abiram. Thomas

Aquinas put heretics in the same category with coin clippers who were

felons before the civil tribunal. Earthquakes, like the great

earthquake in Lombardy of 1222, and other natural calamities were

ascribed by the orthodox to God's anger against heresy. [956]

The principle of toleration was unknown, or at best only here and there

a voice was raised against the death penalty, as in the case of

Hildegard, Rupert of Deutz, [957] [958] [959] nd in commenting upon

Cant. II. 15, "take me the foxes that spoil the vines," he said, that

they should be caught not by arms but by arguments, and be reconciled

to the Church in accordance with the purpose of Him who wills all men

to be saved. He added that a false Catholic does more harm than an open

heretic. [960] the error. The popes were chiefly responsible for the

policy which acted upon this view. The civil codes adopted and

pronounced death as the heretic's "merited reward," poena debita. [961]

d Guy expressed the opinion of his age when he declared that heresy can

be destroyed only when its advocates are converted or burnt. To

extirpate religious dissent, the fierce tribunal of the Inquisition was

established. The last measure to be resorted to was an organized

crusade, waged under the banner of the pope, which shed the blood of

the mediaeval dissenters without pity and with as little compunction as

the blood of Saracens in the East.

The confusion, which reigned among the Church authorities concerning

the sectaries, and also the differences which existed among the

sectaries themselves, appear from the many names by which they were

known. The most elaborate list is given in the code of Frederick II.

1238, [962] among which the most familiar are Cathari, Patarenes,

Beguines, Arnoldists, and Waldenses. But the code did not regard this

enumeration as exhaustive, and adds to the names "all heretics of both

sexes, whatever be the term used to designate them." And in fact the

list is not exhaustive, for it does not include the respectable group

of Northern Italy known as the Humiliati, or the Ortlibenses of

Strassburg, or the Apostolicals of Belgium. One document speaks of no

less than seventy-two, and Salimbene of one hundred and thirty

different sects. [963] r perpetual Anathema." The lack of compact

organization explains in part the number of these names, some of which

were taken from localities or towns and did not indicate any

differences of belief or practice from other sectaries. The numbers of

the heretics must be largely a matter of conjecture. A panic took hold

of the Church authorities, and some of the statements, like those of

Innocent III., must be regarded as exaggerations, as are often the

rumors about a hostile army in a panic-stricken country, awaiting its

arrival. Innocent pronounced the number of heretics in Southern France

innumerable. [964] [965] e writer, usually designated "the Passau

Anonymous," writing about 1315, said there was scarcely a land in which

the Waldenses had not spread. The Cathari in Southern France mustered

large armies and were massacred by the thousands. Of all these sects,

the only one which has survived is the very honorable body, still known

as the Waldenses.

The mediaeval dissenters have sometimes been classed with the

Protestants. The classification is true only on the broad ground of

their common refusal to be bound by the yoke of the Catholic hierarchy.

Some of the tenets of the dissenters and some of their practices the

Protestant Reformation repudiated, fully as much as did the established

Church of the Middle Ages. Interesting as they are in themselves and by

reason of the terrible ordeals they were forced to undergo, the sects

were side currents compared with the great stream of the Catholic

Church, to which, with all its abuses and persecuting enormities, the

credit belongs of Christianizing the barbarians, developing learning,

building cathedrals, cultivating art, furnishing hymns, constructing

theological systems, and in other ways contributing to the progress of

mankind. That which makes them most interesting to us is their revolt

against the priesthood, in which they all agreed, and the emphasis they

laid upon purity of speech and purity of life. Their history shows many

good men, but no great personality. Peter Waldo is the most notable

among their leaders.

A clear classification of the mediaeval heretics is made difficult if

not impossible by the uncertainty concerning the opinions held by some

of them and also by the apparent confusion of one sect with another by

mediaeval writers.

The Cathari, or Manichaean heretics, form a class by themselves. The

Waldenses, Humiliati, and probably the Arnoldists, represent the group

of evangelical dissenters. The Amauricians and probably the Ortlibenses

were pantheistic. he isolated leaders, Peter de Bruys, Henry of

Lausanne, Eudo, and Tanchelm, were preachers and iconoclasts--using the

term in a good sense--rather than founders of sects. The Beguines and

Beghards represented a reform movement within the Church, one wing

going off into paths of doctrinal heresy and lawlessness, and incurring

thereby the anathemas of the ecclesiastical authorities.

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[942] See the quotation at length in Alphand�ry, p. 29.

[943] Migne, 214. 537; 215. 654.

[944] Published by Cunitz in Beitr�ge zu den Theol. Wissenschhaften,

1854, IV.

[945] See Lempp's criticism of Alphand�ry's work, Theol. Lit.-zeitung,

1905, p. 601 sq.

[946] For quotation see D�llinger, I. 111.

[947] So also Peter the Venerable in his c. Petrobrus, Migne, 189.

1185. Bernard Guy was born in Southem France, 1261. He entered the

Dominican order and administered the office of inquisitor-general for

sixteen years, prosecuting Cathari and other heretics. He was made

bishop of Tuy, 1323. His Practica inquisitionis, a manual to be used by

inquisitors, is a most interesting and valuable document.

[948] Deflorationes SS. Patrum, Migne, 157. 1050.

[949] Vulpeculae sunt heretici, quae demoliuntur vineas, Honorius of

Autun, Migne, 172. 503; Etienne de Bourbon, p. 278, etc.

[950] Migne, 145: 419.

[951] Epp: I. 94; II. 99; IX. 208, etc., Migne, 214. 81, etc., Morbus

iste qui serpit ut cancer, Ep. II. 1.

[952] Facies quidem habentes diversas sed caudas ad invicem collegatas

quia de varietate conveniunt in id ipsum, Mirbt, p. 133. The same

expression in De Bourbon, p. 278

[953] Venenatorum multitudo reptilium et haeresum sanies scaturire

dicitur. Gregory's bull, 1235, bearing on the inquisitor, Robert le

Bougre, in Auvray, 2736, and Fredericq, I. 100.

[954] p. 289.

[955] De consid. III. 1.

[956] Coulton's Salimbene, p. 13.

[957] See D�llinger, Akad. Vort�ge, III. 280.

[958] Gutjahr, Petrus Cantor Paris. sein Leben u. Schriften, Graetz,

1899.

[959] De consid. III. 1.

[960] Serm. in Cant., 64, 65, Migne, 183. 1086, 1091, plus nocet falsus

catholicus quam verus hereticus.

[961] This was the usual expression used by the Church and in legal

documents. Flade, p. 114.

[962] Catharos, Patarenos, Speronistas, Leonistas, Arnaldistas,

Circumcisos, Passaginos, Josephinos, Garatenses, Albanenses,

Franziscos, Bagnarolos, Commixtos, Waldenses, Roncarolos, Communellos,

Warinos et Ortolinos cum illis de Aqua Nigra et omnes haereticos

utriusque sexus, quocumque nomine censeantur. Br�holles, V. 280.

[963] D�llinger, II. 300; Coulton's Salimbene, p. 13.

[964] Ep. I. 94, Migne, 214. 81.

[965] Flade, p. 17.

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� 80. The Cathari.

The most widely distributed of the heretical sects were the Cathari.

The term comes from the Greek katharos, meaning pure, and has given to

the German its word for heretic, Ketzer. It was first used by the

Cathari themselves. [966] [967] called New Manichaeans. From the

quarter they inhabited in Milan, called Pataria, or the abode of the

junk dealers, they received the name Patarenes. [968]

In Southern France they were called Albigenses, from the town of Albi,

one of the centres of their strength. From the territory in Eastern

Europe, whence their theological tenets were drawn, they were known as

Bulgari, Bugares, or Bugres. [969] dustrial classes, or Publicani and

Poplicani, a corruption of Paulicians. [970]

It was the general belief of the age that the Cathari derived their

doctrinal views from heretical sects of Eastern Europe and the Orient,

such as the Paulicians and Bogomili. This was brought out in the

testimony of members of the sect at their trials, and it has in its

favor the official recognition which leaders from Eastern Europe,

Bosnia, and Constantinople gave to the Western heretics. The Paulicians

had existed since the fifth century in Asia Minor, and had pushed their

way to Constantinople. [971] [972] nd Arian heresy were left in Italy

and Southern France after these systems were supposed to be stamped out

in those regions.

The Paulicians rejected the Old Testament and taught a strict dualism.

The Bogomili held to the Sabellian Trinity, rejected the eucharist, and

substituted for baptism with water a ritual of prayer and the

imposition of hands. Marriage they pronounced an unclean relationship.

The worship of images and the use of the cross were discarded.

It was in the early years of the eleventh century, that the first

reports of the appearance of heresy were bruited about here and there

in Italy and Southern France. About the year 1000 a certain Leuthard,

claiming to be inspired, appeared in the diocese of Ch�lons, destroying

crosses and denouncing tithes. In 1012 Manichaean separatists appeared

for the first time in Germany, at Mainz, [973] e flames. Constance is

said to have struck one of them, her former confessor, with a staff and

to have put out one of his eyes. [974] jected infant baptism. [975] ss.

In 1052 they appeared at Goslar, where the guilty were discerned by

their refusal to kill a chicken. With these notices, and a few more

like them, the rumor of heresy is exhausted for nearly a century.

About the middle of the twelfth century, heresy suddenly appeared again

at Li�ge, and prosecutions were begun. In 1145 eight men and three

women were burnt at Cologne. The firmness of the victims was

exemplified in the case of a young woman, who was held back for a time

with the promise of marriage, but, on seeing her coreligionists burnt,

broke from her keepers and, hiding her face in her dress, threw herself

into the flames. And so, Caesar of Heisterbach goes on to say, she

descended with her fellow-heretics to hell. [976] gne in 1163 we hear

of trials and burnings, but thereafter the Cathari are no more heard of

in Germany.

Their only appearance in England was at Oxford, 1161, when more than

thirty illiterate Germans, men and women, strove to propagate their

errors. They were reported as "detesting" marriage, the eucharist,

baptism, and the Catholic Church, and as having quoted Matt. 5:10,

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for

theirs is the kingdom of heaven." A council of bishops ordered them

branded on the forehead and flogged. [977] [978]

In France the Cathari were strong enough in 1167 to hold a council at

St. Felix de Caraman near Toulouse. It was attended by Nicetas of

Constantinople, to whom the title of pope was given. He was accompanied

by a Catharan bishop, Marcus of Lombardy. [979] large. They were

compared by William of Newburgh to the sand of the sea, and were said

by Walter Map to be infinite in number in Aquitaine and Burgundy. [980]

[981] he Dominican Rainerius gave 4,000,000 as a safe estimate of their

number and declared this was according to a census made by the Cathari

themselves. [982] [983] not to be taken too seriously, but they

indicate a widespread religious unrest. Men did not know whereunto

heresy might grow. In Southern France the priests were the objects of

ridicule. In that region, as well as in many of the cities of Lombardy,

the Cathari had schools for girls and boys.

Agreed as the Cathari were in opposing many customs and doctrines of

the established Church, they were divided among themselves and broken

up into sects,--seventy-two, according to one document. [984] the

Albanenses and Concorrezzi, deriving their names from two Lombard

towns, Alba and Concorreggio, near Monza. [985] y had a bishop whose

authority was acknowledged by the Cathari in Mantua, Brescia, and

Bergamo. [986]

The differences between the Albanenses and Concorrezzi were of a

theological character and concerned the nature of God and the origin of

matter. The Albanenses were strict dualists. Matter is eternal and the

product of the evil god. Paul speaks of the things, which are seen, as

dung. The Concorrezzi seem to have rejected dualism and to have

regarded evil as the creation of Lucifer, the highest of the angels.

In matters of ritual and practical conduct, and in antagonism to the

Church establishment, all groups of the Cathari were agreed. Since

Schmidt wrote his History of the Cathari, it has been common to

represent Catharism as a philosophical system, [987] is difficult to

understand the movement from this standpoint. How could an unlettered

folk, as they were, be concerned primarily or chiefly with a

metaphysical construction? Theirs was not a philosophy, but a daily

faith and practice. This view alone makes it possible to understand how

the movement gained such rapid and widespread acceptance in the

well-ordered and prosperous territory of Southern France, a territory

in which Cluny had exercised its influence and was located.

The Cathari agreed--to use the expression of their opponents--in

vituperating the established Church and in calling its adherents

Romanists. There are two Churches, they held,--one of the wicked and

one of the righteous. They themselves constituted the Church of the

righteous, outside of which there is no salvation, [988] ot prescribe

it. The Roman Church sits in the place of rule and is clothed in purple

and fine linen. The true Church teaches first. The Roman Church

baptizes first. The true Church has no dignitaries, prelates,

cardinals, archdeacons, or monks. The Roman Church is the woman of the

Apocalypse, a harlot, and the pope anti-Christ.

The depositions at their trials indicate that the Cathari made much use

of the Scriptures. The treatises of Bonacursus, Ermengaudus, and other

writers in refutation of Catharan teachings abound in quotations of

Scripture, a fact indicating the regard the heretics had for them. They

put spiritual interpretations upon the miracles and freely allegorized

parables. In the parable of the Good Samaritan, the man who fell among

the thieves was Adam, whose spirit, at God's command, descended from

heaven to earth and fell among thieves in this lower world. [989]

dited, pronouncing it the work of the devil. Its God is an evil god.

[990]

The Catharan doctrine seems to have highly exalted Christ, though it

denied the full reality of his human nature. He was created in heaven

and was not born on the earth, but passed through Mary as through a

pipe. He neither ate material food nor drank material drink. As for

John the Baptist, he was one of the major demons and was damned for

doubting when he sent to Christ the question, "Art thou he that should

come or do we look for another?" [991]

A strange account of the fall of the angels was current in Southern

France. Satan ascended to heaven and waited in vain thirty-two years

for admittance. He was then noticed and admitted by the porter. Hidden

from the Father, he remained among the angels a year before he began to

use his art to deceive. He asked them whether they had no other glory

or pleasure besides what he saw. When they replied they had not, he

asked whether they would not like to descend to his world and kingdom,

promising to give them gifts, fields, vineyards, springs, meadows,

fruits, gold, silver, and women. Then he began to praise woman and the

pleasures of the flesh. When they inquired more particularly about the

women, the devil said he would descend and bring one back with him.

This he did. The woman was decked in jewels and gold and beautiful of

form. The angels were inflamed with passion, and Satan seeing this,

took her and left heaven. The angels followed. The exodus continued for

nine days and nights, when God closed up the fissure which had been

made. [992]

The Cathari divided themselves into two classes, the Perfecti and the

Credentes, or Believers. The Perfect were those who had received the

rite of the consolamentum , and were also called bons hommes, [993]

good Christians, or the Girded, vestiti , [994] the catechumens of the

early Church, and placed all their hope in the consolamentum, which

they looked forward to receiving. By a contract, called the convenenza

, the Catharan officials pledged themselves to administer the

consolamentum to the Credentes in their last hours.

The consolamentum took the place of baptism and meant more. Its

administration was treated by the Catholic authorities as equivalent to

an initiation into heresy -- haereticatio, as it was called. The usual

form in which the court stated the charge of heresy was, "He has

submitted to heretication." [995] 's breast. [996] [997]

The Perfect had a monopoly of salvation. Those not receiving the

consolamentum were considered lost or passed at death into another body

and returned to the earth. The rite involved not only the absolution of

all previous sins but of sins that might be committed thereafter.

However, relapse was possible and sometimes occurred. [998] teenth

century, when it was administered to sick children. Those who submitted

to it were said to have, made a good ending." [999]

The consolamentum involved the renunciation of the seven sacraments.

Baptism with water was pronounced a material and corruptible thing, the

work of the evil god. Even little children were not saved who received

absolution and imposition of bands. [1000] [1001] st made a clear

distinction between baptism with water and the baptism of power, Acts

1:5. The latter he promised to the Church.

As for the eucharist, the Cathari held that God would not appoint the

consecrated host as a medium of grace, nor can God be in the host, for

it passes through the belly, and the vilest part of the body. [1002]

times a year, called the apparellamentum, and the charge was very

frequently made that the accused had attended this feast. [1003] ng the

requirements made of those who received the consolamentum were that

they should not touch women, eat animal food, kill animals, take oaths,

or favor war and capital punishment.

The marriage bed was renounced as contrary to God's law, and some went

so far as to say openly that the human body was made by the devil. The

love of husband and wife should be like the love of Christ for the

Church, without carnal desire. The command to avoid looking on a woman,

Matt. 5:27, 28, was taken literally, and the command to leave husband

and wife was interpreted to mean the renunciation of sexual

cohabitation. Witnesses condemned marriage absolutely, [1004] groups,

that the eating of the forbidden fruit in Eden meant carnal

cohabitation. [1005]

As for animal nourishment, not only were all meats forbidden, but also

eggs and cheese. The reason given was that these were the product of

carnal intercourse. [1006] ords of Peter on the housetop, Acts 10:14,

were also quoted. The Cathari, however, allowed themselves fish, in

view of Christ's example in feeding the multitude and his example after

his resurrection, when he gave fish to his disciples. The killing of

animals, birds, and insects, except frogs and serpents, was also

forbidden. [1007] , the return of the souls of the dead in the bodies

of animals.

The condemnation of capital punishment was based on such passages as:

"Give place unto wrath, vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the

Lord," Rom. 12:19; and the judicial execution of heretics and criminals

was pronounced homicide, a survival from the Old Testament and the

influence of its evil god. The Cathari quoted Christ's words, "Ye have

heard how it hath been said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

[1008] gainst the established Church was that it countenanced war and

marshalled armies.

The interdiction of oaths was in obedience to the words of Christ, and

was in the interest of strict integrity of speech. [1009]

The Cathari also renounced priestly vestments, altars, and crosses as

idolatrous. They called the cross the mark of the beast, and declared

it had no more virtue than a ribbon for binding the hair. It was the

instrument of Christ's shame and death, and therefore not to be used.

[1010]

They also rejected, as might have been expected, the doctrines of

purgatory and indulgences. [1011]

In addition to the consolamentum, the Cathari practised two rites

called the melioramentum and the endura. [1012] garded it as a travesty

of the adoration of the host. [1013]

The endura, which has been called the most cruel practice the history

of asceticism has to show, was a voluntary starvation unto death by

those who had received the consolamentum. Sometimes these rigorous

religionists waited for thirteen days for the end to come, [1014] y

suicide are quite numerous.

Our knowledge of the form of Church government practised by the Cathari

is scant. Some of the groups of Italy and Languedoc had bishops. The

bishop had as assistants a "major" and a "minor" son and a deacon, the

two former taking the bishop's place in his absence. [1015] res of

repression everywhere put in force against the sect.

The steadfast endurance of the Catharan dissenters before hostile

tribunals and in the face of death belong to the annals of heroism and

must call forth our admiration as it called forth the wonder of

contemporaries like Bernard. [1016] [1017]

"A hard and wandering life. We flee from city to city like sheep in the

midst of wolves. We suffer persecution like the Apostles and the

martyrs because our life to holy and austere. It is passed amidst

prayers, abstinence, and labors, but everything is easy for us because

we are not of this world."

Dr. Lea, the eminent authority on the Inquisition, has said (I. 104)

that no religion can show a more unbroken roll of victims who

unshrinkingly and joyfully sought death in its most abhorrent form in

preference to apostasy than the Cathari. Serious as some of the errors

were which they held, nevertheless their effort to cultivate piety by

other methods than the Church was offering calls for sympathy. Their

rupture with the established organization can be to a Protestant no

reason for condemnation; and their dependence upon the Scriptures and

their moral tendencies must awaken within him a feeling of kinship. He

cannot follow them in their rejection of baptism and the eucharist. In

the repudiation of judicial oaths and war, they anticipated some of the

later Christian bodies, such as the Quakers and Mennonites.

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[966] Schmidt. II. 276; D�llinger, I. 127. The term "Cathari" occurs in

the twelfth century in Ecbertus and the acts of the Third Lateran

Council, 1179, which speak of the heretics in Southern France as

Cathari, Patrini, Publicani, or as known by some other name. Quos alii

Catharos, alii Patrinos, alii Publicanos, etc., alii aliis nominibus

vocant. Innocent III. called them Cathari and Patarenes, Epp. I. 94;

II. 228; VIII. 85, 105, etc.

[967] Alanus de Insulis, Migne, 210. 266, says, "The Cathari are so

called from the cat, whose posterior parts they are said to kiss and in

whose form, as they say, Lucifer appears to them." Jacob de Voragine,

in his Legenda aurea, refers to the use made of the cat by Satan in

connection with heresy. He relates that on one occasion some ladies,

who had been heretics, were kneeling at St. Dominic's feet and suddenly

cried out: "'Servant of God, help us.'' Tarry awhile,'Dominic said,

'and ye shall see what ye have been serving.' Suddenly a black cat

sprang up in their midst, right horrible, with long tail standing

upright and emitting from the after end a terrible stench. After a

while the cat climbed up the bell rope to the steeple, and the ladies

were converted."

[968] Schmidt, who discusses the names in an elaborate note (II.

275-284), says that a portion of Milan was still called Contrada

de'Patari in the eighteenth century. Frederick II., in his Sicilian

code, derived the name Patarenes from patior, to suffer. Patarenos se

nominant velut expositos passioni, Huillard-Br�holles, IV. 6. So also

Walter Map, De nugis, Wright's ed., p. 61, who says the devil persuaded

the Patarenes that they would become perfect by suffering and doing

what he commanded.

[969] M. Paris, Luard's ed., III. 520, speaks of "Bugares" as a common

appellation for the "Paterini, Jovinians, Albigenses, and those stained

with other heresies," and associates with them Robert Bugre, who from

being a heretic became a Dominican and noted Inquisitor. The modern

word "bugger" is derived from his name.

[970] D�llinger, I. 129 sq.

[971] Ibid., I. 1-51, gives an elaborate description of the Paulicians

and the Bogomili. He regards the Paulicians as the bridge between the

Gnostics of the ancient Church and the sectaries of the Middle Ages, p.

3.

[972] Ibid., p. 114, says that the teachings of the Cathari and the

Bogomili are so much alike that the "direct descent of the former from

the latter must be regarded as beyond doubt." Our knowledge of the

Bogomili is derived from Euthymus, whose Narratio de Bogomilis was

edited by Gieseler, G�ttingen, 1842.

[973] Hauck, Kirchengesch., III. 431.

[974] Schmidt, I. 31; Hefele, IV. 674 sqq.

[975] Hauck, IV. 88.

[976] Dial., V. 19.

[977] William of Newburgh, Hamilton's ed., pp. 121-123. Walter Map, De

Nugis, p. 62, reduces the number to sixteen. They were called Publicani

by the Oxford council, 1260

[978] Stubbs, ed. of De Hoveden, II. p. liv. sq.

[979] D�llinger, I. 121 sq., has no hesitation in declaring him a

bishop of the Paulicians

[980] . Superabundant jam ad omnem infinitatem.

[981] Caesar of Heisterbach, quoted by D�llinger, I. 124.

[982] p. 1768.

[983] D�llinger, I. 125.

[984] D�llinger, II. 300.

[985] Ibid., I. 117; II. 82. Schmidt derived them from Albania and from

Coriza in Dalmatia.

[986] Rainerius is our chief authority for these statements. He makes

the above threefold classification (Mart�ne, V. 1761), and then

proceeds to give the doctrinal and practical errors the sects had in

common, and those which separated them. He also gives a list of the

Catharan centres in Lombardy and other parts. See also the important

document, the Supra stella, by Salvus Burce, 1235, published by

D�llinger, II. 52-84. The title was chosen to distinguish it from a

Catharan treatise entitled Stella, the Star.

[987] See also Alphand�ry, p. 35. Lempp, in a criticism of Alphand�ry's

work, Lit.-zeitung, 1905, p. 601, takes the view which is presented in

the text.

[988] D�llinger, II. 322, etc.; Douais, II. 105, etc.; Bonacursus,

Migne, 204. 777.

[989] Bonacursus, p. 775.

[990] D�llinger, II. 294, etc.; Ermengaudus, 1237. Lea, I. 563-567,

gives a document, apparently dating from about 1300, in which a

Catharan uses Scripture to prove that the God of the Old Testament is

not the God of the New. He deposed, "God says in Genesis, 'Ye shall not

eat the tree of life.' But the God of the New Testament says in the

Apocalypse 'to him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of

life. 'That one prohibits, this one promises. Therefore they are

antagonistic, one to the other." Again he deposed, "Genesis says I will

place enmity between thee and the woman. The God of the Old Testament

is thus the sower of discord and enmity. But the God of the New

Testament is the giver of peace and the reconciler of all things. Hence

they are antagonistic."

[991] Bonacursus, p. 777; Ermengaud, p. 1234 sq.; Douais, II. 93,

96&lt;/cbr&gt;, 103, etc.

[992] D�llinger, II. 149-153.

[993] Boni homines, D�llinger, II. 22, 27, etc.; Boni Christiani, II.

4, 17&lt;/cbr&gt;, 25, etc. In Southern France one of the of the

repeated charges was that the accused called the Cathari bons hommes,

Douais, II. 9, 11, 14&lt;/cbr&gt;, 25, etc. The Credentes are so called

by French synods, by Innocent III., in letters written by papal

legates, etc. See Hefele, V. 846, 850, etc.; D�llinger and Douais under

Credentes in Index.

[994] Synod of Toulouse, 1229, etc. See Schmidt, II. 127.

[995] Haereticationi interfuit, Douais, II. 17, 19&lt;/cbr&gt;, 22,

etc.

[996] Ante pectus, Rainerius, p. 1764. An elaborate description is

given in an Appendix to Rainerius, Mart�ne, V. 1776.

[997] Ermengaud, Migne, 204, 1362; Rainerius, p. 1764; D�llinger, II.

41.

[998] Among those who recanted was the rich citizen Morand of Toulouse,

who did penance by standing naked to the waist at the altar of St.

Saturninus and allowing himself to be scourged in the presence of the

papal legate. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but on his return

went back to the Cathari and died as one of the Perfect. Schmidt, I. 77

sqq.

[999] D�llinger, II. 30.

[1000] Ibid., II. 5, 322.

[1001] Ibid., II. 21, 34, 65, 90&lt;/cbr&gt;, 283, etc.

[1002] In latrinam ventris et per turpissimum locum, quae non possunt

fieri, si esset ibi deus. D�llinger, II. 5.

[1003] Douais, II. 17, 22, 27&lt;/cbr&gt;, 45, etc.

[1004] Moneta, p. 315; jacere cum uxore sua sicut cum meretrice,

D�llinger, II. 30; matrimonium est meretricium, Douais, II. 93;

D�llinger, II. 18, 21, 23, 25, 28, 40, 156&lt;/cbr&gt;, 300, etc. omnem

carnalem concubitum dampnabilem dicunt, Douais, II. 93, 96, etc.

[1005] Bonacursus, p. 776 Douais, II. 93, 103, etc.

[1006] Ibid., p. 777; Rainerius, p. 1762; D�llinger, II. 294, 300.

[1007] D�llinger, II. 5, 152, 181, 248&lt;/cbr&gt;, 294.

[1008] Salve Burce, in D�llinger, II. 71, a remarkable passage; Douais,

II. 94 Rainerius, p. 1762.

[1009] Bonacursus, p. 777; Ermengaud, p. 1269. See Alphand�ry, p. 83

sq.

[1010] D�llinger, under Kreuz in Index II. 730; Bonacursus, p. 777

Douais, II. 94.

[1011] Rainerius, 1762. See Alphand�ry, p. 44.

[1012] See D�llinger in Index under these two words and Schmidt, II.

71-103.

[1013] D�llinger, I. 193, 210; II. 4, 25&lt;/cbr&gt;, 30, etc.; Douais,

II. 23, etc.

[1014] Alphand�ry, p. 51; D�llinger, II. 205.

[1015] Rainerius, p. 1766; D�llinger, II. 82, 278, 295&lt;/cbr&gt;,

324. At the time of Nicetas'visit, Bernard Raymund was ordained bishop

of Toulouse, Guiraud Mercier, bishop of Carcassonne, and Raymund of

Casalis, bishop of Val d'Aran.

[1016] Sermon, 65, Migne, 183. 1091.

[1017] Quoted by Schmidt, II. 94.

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� 81. Peter de Bruys and Other Independent Leaders.

Independent of the Cathari and yet sharing some of their views and

uniting with them in protest against the abuses of the established

Church, were Peter de Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and other leaders.

Peter and Henry exercised their influence in Southern France. Tanchelm

and Eudo preached in Flanders and Brittany. At least three of them died

in prison or otherwise suffered death by violence. Bernard of

Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, Otto of Freising, and other

contemporary Catholic writers are very severe upon them and speak

contemptuously of their followers as drawn from the ignorant classes.

Tanchelm, a layman, preached in the diocese of Cologne and westwards to

Antwerp and Utrecht. There was at the time only a single priest in

Antwerp, and he living in concubinage. Tanchelm pronounced the

sacraments of no avail when performed by a priest of immoral life and

is said to have turned "very many from the faith and the sacraments."

[1018] He surrounded himself with an armed retinue and went through the

country carrying a sword and preceded by a flag. Success turned his

head. According to his contemporary, Abaelard, he gave himself out to

be the Son of God. [1019] emony of marrying the Virgin Mary, with her

portrait before him. The people are said by Norbert's biographer to

have drunk the water Tanchelm washed in. He was imprisoned by the

archbishop of Cologne, made his escape, and was killed by a priest,

1115. His preaching provoked the settlement of twelve Premonstrants in

Antwerp, and Norbert himself preached in the Netherlands, 1124.

The movement in Brittany was led by Eudo de l'Etoile, who also

pretended to be the Son of God. He was one of the sect of the

Apostolicals, a name given to heretical groups in France and Belgium

whose members refused flesh and repudiated marriage and other

sacraments. [1020]

The movement led by Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne was far more

substantial. Both leaders were men of sound sense and ability. Of the

personal fortunes of Peter, nothing more is known than that he was a

priest, appeared as a reformer about 1105 in Southern France, and was

burnt to death, 1126. Peter the Venerable has given us a tolerably

satisfactory account of his teachings and their effect. [1021]

Of Henry of Lausanne, Peter's successor, we know more. [1022] ls us, he

at one time lived there. The place of his birth is not known.

Abandoning the convent, he preached in the diocese of Le Mans during

the absence of its bishop, Hildebert, in Rome, and by his permission.

Henry won the people, but drew upon himself the hostility of the clergy

whose vices he denounced. The bishop, on his return, expelled Henry

from his diocese. The evangelist then went to Lausanne and from there

to Southern France, joining in the spiritual crusade opened by Peter de

Bruys. He practised poverty and preached it to the laity. One of the

results of his preaching was that women of loose morals repented and

young men were persuaded to marry them. Cardinal Alberic, sent to stamp

out the Henrician heresy, called to his aid St. Bernard, the bishop of

Chartres and other prelates. According to Bernard's biographer,

miracles attended Bernard's activity. [1023]

Peter the Venerable, at the outset of his treatise, laid down five

errors of the Petrobrusians which he proposed to show the falseness and

wickedness of. (1) The baptism of persons before they have reached the

years of discretion is invalid. Believers' baptism was based upon Mark

16:16, and children, growing up, were rebaptized. (2) Church edifices

and consecrated altars are useless. (3) Crosses should be broken up and

burnt. (4) The mass is nothing in the world. (5) Prayers, alms, and

other good works are unavailing for the dead. These heresies the good

abbot of Cluny called the five poisonous bushes, quinque vigulta

venenata, which Peter de Bruys had planted. He gives half of his space

to the refutation of the heresy about baptism.

Peter and Henry revived the Donatistic view that piety is essential to

a legitimate priesthood. The word "Church" signifies the congregation

of the faithful and consists in the unity of the assembled believers

and not in the stones of the building. [1024] able as in a consecrated

edifice. They preached on the streets and in the open places. As for

the cross, as well might a halter or a sword be adored. Peter is said

to have cooked meat in the fire made by the crosses he piled up and

burnt at St. Gilles, near the mouth of the Rhone. Song, they said, was

fit for the tavern, but not for the worship of God. God is to be

worshipped with the affections of the heart and cannot be moved by

vocal notes or wood by musical modulations. [1025]

The doctrine of transubstantiation was distinctly renounced, and

perhaps the Lord's Supper, on the ground that Christ gave up his body

on the night of the betrayal once for all. [1026] ing monks to take

wives.

St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable, [1027] ndred years Europe had had

no Christian not baptized in infancy, and hence according to the

sectaries had no Christians at all. If it had no Christians, then it

had no Church; if no Church, then no Christ. And if this were the case,

then all our fathers perished; for, being baptized in infancy, they

were not baptized at all. Peter and Henry laid chief stress upon the

four Gospels, but it does not appear that they set aside any part of

the Scriptures. [1028]

The synod of Toulouse, 1119, in condemning as heretics those who

rejected the Lord's Supper, infant baptism, and priestly ordination,

condemned the Petrobrusians, though Peter de Bruys is not mentioned by

name. Those who hung upon the preaching of Peter de Bruys and Henry of

Lausanne were soon lost among the Cathari and other sects. [1029] , the

people without priests, and Christians without Christ. The sanctuary of

the Lord was no longer regarded as sacred or the sacraments as holy.

The festival days were deprived of their solemnities. The children were

debarred from life by the denial of baptism, and souls were hurried to

the last tribunal, unreconciled by penance and unfortified by the

communion.

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[1018] Fredericq, Corpus Inq., I. 6. For Tanchelm, see Fredericq, vols.

I. and II., and Life of Norbert in Mon. Germ., ch. 16.

[1019] Introd. ad Theol., in Migne, 178. 1056, and Fredericq, I. 26.

[1020] D�llinger, I. 98-104. Otto of Freising, De gestis Frid., 54,

says he called himself Eudo or Eon, from the liturgical formula, per

eum qui venturus est judicare, etc. He is also mentioned by Abaelard in

his Introd. ad Theol.

[1021] Adv. Petrobrusianos, Migne, 189. 719-850. Abaelard gives a few

lines to him. Migne, 178. 1056. Peter speaks of Peter de Bruys and

Henry of Lausanne as duo homuncios, p. 728. See D�llinger, I. 75-98.

[1022] See Peter the Venerable, Adv. Petrobrus., Bernard, Ep., 241, in

Migne, 182. 435. D�llinger, I. 79 sqq.; J. von Walter, Die ersten

Wanderprediger Frankreichs, II. 130-140; Hauck, in Herzog, VIII. 606

sqq.

[1023] Vita S. Bernardi, Migne, 185, 312 sqq. See the Lives of Bernard

by Neander-Deutsch, II. 191-231; Vacandard, II. 200 sqq.; Morison, p.

302 sqq., 404 sq.

[1024] Nomen ecclesiae congregationem fidelium signat, etc., Pet. Ven.,

p. 762. Peter goes back as far as Noah's altar to prove the sacredness

of localities.

[1025] Pet. Ven., pp. 765, 847 sq.

[1026] Peter of Cluny's meaning is not clear at this point, pp. 722,

765, 787.

[1027] Bernard, Migne, 182. 434; Peter, pp. 729, 761 sq.

[1028] D�llinger, I. 83, makes the charge that they renounced the Old

Testament. But Peter of Cluny does not say so and, had it been so, he

certainly would have emphasized that heresy.

[1029] D�llinger, I. 75 sqq., makes an elaborate attempt to prove that

Peter and Henry were Cathari, but the differences in their teachings

and practices seem to make this impossible. So Newman (Papers of Am.

Soc. of Ch. Hist., IV. 184-189), Hauck, and Walter, p. 130. Peter and

Henry are nowhere called Manichaeans or dualists by Peter the Venerable

and Bernard, who would scarcely have omitted this charge had there been

just ground for it. They commended marriage; the Cathari rejected it.

They insisted upon adult baptism; the Cathari repudiated all baptism.

None of the rites peculiar to the Cathari were associated with Peter

and Henry.

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� 82. The Amaurians and Other Isolated Sects.

Occupying a distinct place of their own were the pantheistic coteries

of dissenters, the Amaurians and Ortlibenses, and perhaps other groups,

like the Passagians and Speronistae, of which we know scarcely more

than the names.

The Amaurians, or Amauricians, [1030] ved their origin from the

speculations of the Paris professor, Amaury of Bena, a town in the

diocese of Chartres. Innocent III. cited him to appear at Rome and

condemned his views. On his return to Paris, the university obliged him

to publicly confess his errors. He died about 1204. His followers were

condemned by a synod, held in Paris, 1209.

From the detailed account given by Caesar of Heisterbach, we learn that

a number of Amaury's followers were seized and examined by the bishops.

Eight priests and William the Goldsmith, called also one of the seven

apostles, were burnt. Four other priests were condemned to lifelong

imprisonment. Amaury's bones were exhumed and thrown into a field.

[1031]

The Amaurians seem to have relied for their pantheistic views upon John

Scotus Erigena, whose work, De divisione naturae, was also condemned at

the synod of Paris, 1209. Amaury's system was also condemned by the

Fourth Lateran, which represented him as holding that God was all

things, deus erat omnia. To this he added the two doctrines that every

Christian must believe that he is a member of Christ's body, this faith

being as necessary to salvation as the faith in Christ's birth and

death; and that to him who abides in love, sin is not reckoned. God

becomes incarnate in believers who are members of Christ's body, as He

became incarnate in the body of Jesus. God was as much in the body of

Ovid as He was in the body of Augustine. Christ is no more in the

consecrated bread than in any other bread or object. The Amaurians

denied the resurrection of the body, and said that heaven and hell are

states of the soul. The sinner carries hell in himself, even as a mouth

holds a bad tooth. [1032] nd the Roman Church, Babylon. The relics of

the martyrs are nothing but dust.

From these statements the conclusion is to be drawn that Amaury and his

followers insisted upon the liberty of the Spirit working independently

of outer rites and dwelling in the heart. The Fourth Lateran, in its

second canon, declared that the father of lies had so blinded Amaury's

mind that his doctrine was the raving of an insane man rather than a

heresy. Amaury absorbed Joachism, for he speaks of three ages, the ages

of the Father and the Son, and the age of the Spirit, which was the

last age, had begun in Amaury's time, and would continue to the

consummation of all things. Amaury's followers seem to have become

merged with the Brethren of the Free Spirit. [1033]

The synod of Paris, which condemned the Amaurians, also condemned David

of Dinant, and ordered one of his works, the Quarternuli, burnt. His

writings were also forbidden by the statutes of the University of Paris

of 1215, which forbade the reading of some of the works of Aristotle,

Amaury the heretic, and Maurice of Spain. [1034] [1035]

Belonging to the same class were the followers of Ortlieb of

Strassburg, called Ortlibenses, Ortilibarii, Oriliwenses, Ortoleni,

[1036] were charged with holding that the world is eternal and God is

immanent in all things. He did not have a Son, till Jesus was born of

Joseph and Mary. They denied the resurrection of the body. The death

and resurrection of Christ had only a symbolic import. The body of

Christ is no more in the eucharistic bread than in any other bread. The

established Church was the courtesan of the Apocalypse. The four

Gospels are the chief parts of the Scriptures. They allowed marriage

but condemned carnal cohabitation. The Ortlibenses were, like the

Amaurians, spiritualists, and said that a man must follow the guidance

of the Spirit who dwells in him. [1037] o large a place as late as the

fifteenth century.

The Passagii, or Passageni, a sect whose name is first mentioned in the

acts of the synod of Verona, seem to have been unique in that they

required the literal observance of the Mosaic law, including the Jewish

Sabbath and circumcision. It is possible they are identical with the

Circumcisi spoken of in the code of Frederick II. As late as 1267 and

1274 papal bulls call for the punishment of heretics who had gone back

to Jewish rites, and the Passagii [1038] be referred to.

The Luciferans [1039] distinct sect. The name was applied without

precision to Cathari and others who held that Lucifer was unjustly cast

out of heaven. Heretics of this name were burnt in Passau and

Saltzburg, 1312-1315 and 1338, and as late as 1395 in other parts of

Austria.

As for the Warini, Speronistae, and Josephini, who are also mentioned

in the Frederican code, we know nothing more than the names. [1040]

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[1030] Mansi, XXII. 801-809; Denifle, Chartul. Un. Paris, I. 70, 71,

72, 79&lt;/cbr&gt;, 107, etc.; Caesar of Heisterbach, Strange ed., II.,

304 sqq.; Mart�ne-Durand, Thes. anec., IV. 166 sq.; Jundt, Hist. du

pantheisme, etc., p. 20 sq.; Preger, Gesch. der deutschen Mystik, I.

173-184; Delacroix, Le mysticisme speculatif, etc., 32-51; Alpband�ry,

pp. 141-154. For other sources, see Delacroix, p. 39 sq.

[1031] Chartularium, p. 70. Here, also, are given the names of the

priests who were burnt or imprisoned.

[1032] Putridus dens in ore, synod of Paris, 1209.

[1033] So Preger, I. 212, on the basis of the "Anonymous of Passau."

For the ninety-seven errors ascribed to the Brethren of the Free

Spirit, see Preger, I. 461-469, and Hauck, in Herzog, I. 431.

[1034] Chartul., pp. 70, 79.

[1035] Preger, I. 184-191.

[1036] This name, given in the code of Frederick II., would seem to

refer to the same sect. The "Anonymous of Passau," writing about 1316,

is our chief authority. See M�ller, Die Waldenser, pp. 147 sqq.;

D�llinger, Beitr�ge, II. 301, 703, etc.; Preger, II. 191-196;

Delacroix, 52-76; Alphand�ry, 154-167; Deutsch, art. Ortlieb, in

Herzog, XIV. 499-501. Alphand�ry urges the affiliation of the

Ortlibenses with the Vaudois, chiefly because of their frequent

juxtaposition in mediaeval writings.

[1037] Delacroix, p. 73, insists upon the identity of the Amaurians and

Ortlibenses in all essential matters.

[1038] See D�llinger, II. 327; Alphand�ry, 168 sqq.

[1039] The notices are scattered. See under diabolus and Lucifer in

D�llinger and Alphand�ry, pp. 174 sqq. M. Paris, writing of 1226 and

Frederick's march through Northern Italy, speaks of Milan being a

refuge and receptacle of all sorts of heretics, Patarines, Luciferi,

Publicani, Albigenses, and usurers.

[1040] The Josephini are mentioned by the synod of Verona, 1184, and

the bull of Gregory IX., June 25, 1231, and the Speronistae by Salve

Burce, D�llinger, II. 62, and in the bulls of Gregory IX., Aug. 20,

1229, June 25, 1231. See Fredericq, I. 75 sq.

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� 83. The Beguines and Beghards.

While the Cathari and Waldenses were engaging the attention of the

Church authorities in Southern Europe, communities, called Beguines and

Beghards, were being formed along the lower Rhine and in the

territories adjacent to it. They were lay associations intended at

first to foster a warmer type of piety than they found in the Church.

[1041] of these communities developed immoral practices and heretical

tenets, which called forth the condemnation of pope and synods.

The Beguines, who were chiefly women, seem to have derived their origin

and their name from Lambert le B�gue, a priest of Li�ge, who died about

1177. [1042] [1043] sought to make known the Scriptures to the people,

and founded in Li�ge the hospital of St. Christopher and a house for

women which in derision was called the beguinage. The women renounced

their goods and lived a semi-conventual life, but took no vows and

followed none of the approved monastic Rules. Houses were established

in Flanders, France, and especially in Germany, as for example at

Valenciennes, 1212, Douai, 1219, Antwerp, 1230, Ghent, 1233, Frankfurt,

1242. In 1264 St. Louis built a beguinage in Paris which he remembered

in his will. The beguinage of Ghent was a small town in itself, with

walls, infirmary, church, cemetery, and conventual dwellings. According

to Matthew Paris, writing of the year 1250, their number in Germany,

especially in the vicinity of Cologne, was countless. [1044] Golden

Frog, zum goldenen Frosch, the Wolf, zum Wolf, the Eagle, zum Adler.

[1045]

The communities supported themselves by spinning, weaving, caring for

the sick, and other occupations. Some of the houses forbade begging.

Some of them, as those in Cologne, were afterwards turned into

hospitals. As a rule they practised mendicancy and went about in the

streets crying Brod durch Gott, "Bread for the sake of God." They wore

a distinctive dress. [1046]

The earliest community of Beghards known to us is the community of

L�wen, 1220. The Beghards practised mendicancy and they spread as far

as Poland and Switzerland. It was not long till they were charged with

loose tendencies, a disregard of the hierarchy, and heresy. Neither the

Beguines as a body nor the Beghards ever received distinct papal

sanction. [1047]

Both associations were the objects of synodal enactment as early as the

middle of the thirteenth century. The synod of Mainz, 1259, warned the

Beghards against going through the streets, crying, "Bread for God's

sake," and admonished them to put aside offensive peculiarities and not

to mingle with Beguines. Another synod of Mainz, 1261, referred to

scandals among the Beguines. A synod of Cologne, a year later,

condemned their unchurchly independence and bade them confess to

priests on pain of excommunication. In 1310 synods, held at Treves and

Mainz, forbade clerics entering beguinages on any pretext whatever and

forbade Beghards explaining the Bible to the ignorant. [1048]

The communities became more and more the objects of suspicion, and a

sharp blow was struck at them in 1312 by Clement V. and the council of

Vienne. The council forbade their communal mode of life, and accused

them of heresies. [1049] possible to reach a state of perfection in

this world. A person reaching this state is under no obligation to fast

and pray, but may yield himself without sin to all the appetites of the

body. [1050]

Clement's bull erred by its failure to discriminate between heretical

and orthodox communities, a defect which was corrected by John XXII.

This pope expressly gave protection to the orthodox communities. In the

fourteenth century, the number of houses increased very rapidly in

Germany and by 1400 there was scarcely a German town which had not its

beguinage. Up to that date, fifty-seven had been organized in

Frankfurt, and in the middle of the fifteenth century there were one

hundred and six such houses in Cologne and sixty in Strassburg. In 1368

Erfurt had four hundred Beguines and Beghards. [1051]

In the earlier part of the fourteenth century, the Beguines appeared in

Southern France, where the Inquisition associated them closely with the

Tertiaries of St. Francis and accused them of adopting the views of

John Peter Olivi. [1052]

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Inquisition broke up

many of the houses in Germany, their effects being equally divided

between itself, the poor, and the municipality. Gregory XI., 1377,

recognized that many of the Beghards were leading good lives. Boniface

IX., 1394, made a sharp distinction between the communities and classed

the heterodox Beghards with Lollards and Swestriones. [1053] [1054] s

to the good of the people, he gave papal recognition. To avoid

persecution, many of them took refuge with the Franciscans and enrolled

themselves as Tertiaries of the Franciscan order. With the Reformation

the Beghards and Beguines for the most part disappear as separate

communities. [1055]

These sectaries were in part forerunners and contemporaries of other

communities with a pious and benevolent design developed in Holland in

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and with which German mysticism

is closely associated.

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[1041] Hase, Karl M�ller, Kirchengesch. I. 570, Alphand�ry, p. 2 sqq.,

and others treat the subject under the head of lay-activity.

[1042] The Beguines are called a sect, secta Beguinarum, in Guy's

Practica, p.264, etc. The term Beguines, or Bequini, is also derived

from beggan, to beg, by Jundt, or from b�gue, to stammer. See Haupt, in

Herzog, II. 517. Lea, p. 351, seems inclined to advocate the old

opinion which derived the name from St. Begga, d. 694, the mother of

Pepin of Heristal and the reputed founder of a convent.

[1043] Premium castitatis verbo et exemplo predicavit, Fredericq, II.

33.

[1044] Multitudo innumerabilis, Luard's ed., V. 194. In another place,

IV. 278, he gives the number as 2,000. He also states that they were

governed by no Church Rule, nullius sancti regula coarctatae.

[1045] Uhlhorn, p. 380.

[1046] The brief of Boniface IX. mentions "gray and other colors,"

D�llinger, Beitr�ge, II. 383.

[1047] A synod of B�ziers, p. 299, forbade both male and female

societies on the ground that there was no papal sanction. Wetzer-Welte,

II. 204, calls them ordens�hnliche Gesellschaften, and Alphand�ry, p.

2, extra-eccl�siastiques.

[1048] Hefele, VI. 490, 600.

[1049] Hefele, VI. 543, 544.

[1050] The actus carnis is no sin, for it is an impulse of nature.

D�llinger, II. 384-407, 702 sqq. They were also accused with denying a

hell.

[1051] Haupt, in Herzog, II. 519.

[1052] Bernard Guy, 264 sqq. See also the letter of the bishop of

Utrecht, Oct. 6, 1318, in Fredericq, II. 74.

[1053] "Sisters," a popular name for the Beguines.

[1054] Willige Armen, see D�llinger, II. 381-383. Gregory XII., Eugene

IV., and Sixtus IV. also commended the orthodox societies.

[1055] There are still religious houses in Belgium and Holland called

beguinages. In 1896 there were fifteen in Belgium and in Holland, one

in Breda, and one in Amsterdam. For the Brethren of the Free Spirit,

who are often associated with the Beghards but had a different origin,

see part II. of this volume.

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� 84. The Waldenses.

"O lady fair, I have yet a gem which a purer lustre flings

Than the diamond flash of the jewelled crown on the lofty brow of

kings;

A wonderful pearl of exceeding price, whose virtue shall not decay,

Whose light shall be as a spell to thee and a blessing on thy way!"

Whittier, The Vaudois Teacher.

Distinct from the Cathari and other sects in origin and doctrine, but

sharing with them the condemnation of the established Church, were the

Waldenses. The Cathari lived completely apart from the Catholic Church.

The Waldenses, leaning upon the Scriptures, sought to revive the simple

precepts of the Apostolic age. They were the strictly biblical sect of

the Middle Ages. This fact, and the pitiless and protracted

persecutions to which they were subjected, long ago won the sympathies

of the Protestant churches. They present a rare spectacle of the

survival of a body of believers which has come up out of great

tribulation.

Southern France was their first home, but they were a small party as

compared with the Albigenses in those parts. From France they spread

into Piedmont, and also into Austria and Germany, as recent

investigations have clearly brought out. In Italy, they continue to

this day in their ancestral valleys and, since 1870, endowed with full

rights of citizenship. In Austria, they kept their light burning as in

a dark place for centuries, had a close historic connection with the

Hussites and Bohemian Brethren, and prepared, in some measure, the way

for the Anabaptists in the time of the Reformation.

The Waldenses derive their origin and name from Peter Waldus or Valdez,

[1056] were also called Poor Men of Lyons, from the city on the Rhone

where they originated, and the Sandalati or Sandalled, from the coarse

shoes they wore. [1057]

The name by which they were known among themselves was Brethren or the

Poor of Christ, [1058] bably upon Matt. 5:3, "Blessed are the poor in

spirit." According to the Anonymous writer of Passau, writing in the

early years of the fourteenth century, some already in his day carried

the origin of the sect back to the Apostles. Until recently all

Waldensian writers have claimed for it Apostolic origin or gone at

least as far back as the seventh century. Professor Comba, of the

Waldensian school in Florence, has definitely given up this theory in

deference to the investigations of Dieckhoff, Herzog, and other German

scholars.

Of Waldo's life little is known. A prosperous merchant of Lyons, he was

aroused to religious zeal by the sudden death of a leading citizen of

the city, of which he was a witness, and by a ballad he heard sung by a

minstrel on the public square. The song was about St. Alexis, the son

of wealthy parents who no sooner returned from the marriage altar than,

impressed by the claims of celibacy, he left his bride, to start on a

pilgrimage to the East. On his return he called on his relatives and

begged them to give him shelter, but they did not recognize who he was

till they found him dead. The moral drawn from the tale was: life is

short, the times are evil, prepare for heaven.

Waldo sought counsel from a priest, who told him there were many ways

to heaven, but if he would be perfect, he must obey Christ's precepts,

and go and sell all that he had and give to the poor, and follow him.

It was the text that had moved Anthony of Egypt to flee from society.

Waldo renounced his property, sent his two daughters to the convent of

Fontevrault, gave his wife a portion of his goods, and distributed the

remainder to the poor. This was about 1170.

His rule of life, Waldo drew from the plain precepts of the Bible. He

employed Bernard Ydros and Stephen of Ansa to translate into the

vernacular the Gospels and other parts of the Scriptures, together with

sayings of the Fathers. He preached, and his followers, imitating his

example, preached in the streets and villages, going about two by two.

[1059] hbishop of Lyons attempted to stop them, they replied that "they

ought to obey God, rather than men."

Very unexpectedly the Waldenses made their appearance at the Third

Lateran council, 1179, at least two of their number being present. They

besought Alexander III. to give his sanction to their mode of life and

to allow them to go on preaching. They presented him with a copy of

their Bible translation. The pope appointed a commission to examine

them. Its chairman, Walter Map, an Englishman of Welsh descent and the

representative of the English king, has left us a curious account of

the examination. He ridicules their manners and lack of learning.

[1060] they have a safe path. He commenced with the simplest of

questions, being well aware, as he said, that a donkey which can eat

much oats does not disdain milk diet. On asking them whether they

believed in the persons of the Trinity they answered, "Yes." And "in

the Mother of Christ?" To this they also replied "Yes." At that the

committee burst out laughing at their ignorance, for it was not proper

to believe in, but to believe on, Mary. "Being poor themselves, they

follow Christ who was poor,--nudi nudum Christum sequentes. Certainly

it is not possible for them to take a more humble place, for they have

scarcely learned to walk. If we admit them, we ourselves ought to be

turned out." This vivacious committee-man, who delighted so much in

chit-chat, as the title of his book indicates, further says that the

Waldenses went about barefooted, clad in sheep-skins, and had all

things common like the Apostles.

Without calling the Waldenses by name, the council forbade them to

preach. The synod of Verona, 1184, designated them as "Humiliati, or

Poor Men of Lyons," and anathematized them, putting them into the same

category with the Cathari and Patarines. Their offence was preaching

without the consent of the bishops.

Although they were expelled from Lyons and excommunicated by the

highest authority of the Church, the Waldenses ceased not to teach and

preach. They were called to take part in disputations at Narbonne

(1190) and other places. They were charged with being in rebellion

against the ecclesiastical authorities and with daring to preach,

though they were only laymen. Durandus of Huesca, who had belonged to

their company, withdrew in 1207 and took up a propaganda against them.

He went to Rome and secured the pope's sanction for a new order under

the name of the "Catholic Poor" who were bound to poverty; the name, as

is probable, being derived from the sect he had abandoned.

Spreading into Lombardy, they met a party already organized and

like-minded. This party was known as the Humiliati. Its adherents were

plain in dress and abstained from oaths and falsehood and from

lawsuits. The language, used by the Third Oecumenical council and the

synod of Verona, identified them with the Poor Men of Lyons. [1061] ly

affiliated. It is probable that Waldo and his followers on their visits

in Lombardy won so much favor with the older sect that it accepted

Waldo's leadership. At a later date, a portion of the Humiliati

associated themselves in convents, and received the sanction of

Innocent III. It seems probable that they furnished the model for the

third order of St. Francis. [1062] if not all, were treated by

contemporaries as his followers and called Runcarii. [1063] thren.

[1064]

A dispute arose between the Humiliati and the Poor Men of Lyons as to

their relation to one another and to Peter Waldo, which led to a

conference, in 1218, at Bergamo. Each party had six representatives.

[1065] charist and whether Waldo was then in paradise. The Lombards

contended that the validity of the sacrament depended upon the good

character of the celebrant. The question about Waldo and a certain

Vivetus was, whether they had gone to heaven without having made

satisfaction before their deaths for all their sins. [1066] ldo's

leadership by the Lombard Waldenses. Salve Burce, 1235, who ridiculed

the Waldensians on the ground of their recent origin, small number, and

lack of learning, compared the Poor Men of Lombardy and the Poor Men of

Lyons with the two Catharan sects, the Albanenses and the Concorrezzi,

and declared the four were as hostile, one to the other, as fire and

water. [1067] m means division and strife.

In the crusades against heretics, in Southern France, the Waldenses

were included, but their sufferings were small compared with those

endured by the Albigenses. Nor do they seem to have furnished many

victims to the Inquisition in the fourteenth century. Although Bernard

Guy opened his trials in 1308, it was not till 1316 that a Waldensian

was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and another to death by

burning. Three years later, twenty-six were condemned to perpetual

imprisonment, and three to death in the flames. [1068]

It was in Italy and Austria that the Waldenses furnished their glorious

spectacle of unyielding martyrdom. From France they overflowed into

Piedmont, partly to find a refuge in its high valleys, seamed by the

mountain streams of the Perouse, the Luserne, and the Angrogne. There,

in the Cottian Alps, they dwelt for some time without molestation. They

had colonies as far south as Calabria, and the emigration continued in

that direction till the fifteenth century. [1069] tto IV. issued an

edict of banishment and in 1220 Thomas, count of Savoy, threatened with

fines all showing them hospitality. But their hardy industry made them

valuable subjects and for a hundred years there was no persecution in

the valleys unto death. The first victim at the stake perished, 1312.

Innocent VIII., notorious for his official recognition of witchcraft,

was the first papal persecutor to resort to rigorous measures. In 1487,

he announced a crusade, and called upon Charles VIII. of France and the

duke of Savoy to execute the decree. Everything the Waldenses had

endured before, as Leger says, was as "roses and flowers" compared with

what they were now called upon to suffer. Innocent furnished an army of

eighteen-thousand. The Piedmontese Waldenses were forced to crouch up

higher into the valleys, and were subject to almost incredible

hardship. The most bitter sufferings of this Israel of the Alps were

reserved for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after they had

accepted the Reformation. [1070] It was of the atrocious massacres

perpetrated at that time that Milton exclaimed,

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints,

Whose bones he scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

The history of the Waldensian movement in different parts of Germany

and Austria has scarcely less interest than the Franco-Italian

movement. It had a more extensive influence by preparing the way for

other separatist and evangelical movements. It is supposed that a

translation of parts of the Scriptures belonging to the Waldenses was

in circulation in Metz at the end of the twelfth century. Copies were

committed to the flames. It is also supposed that Waldenses were among

the heretics ferreted out in Strassburg in 1212, eighty of whom were

burnt, twelve priests and twenty-three women being of the number. The

Waldenses spread as far north as K�nigsberg and Stettin and were found

in Swabia, Poland, Bavaria, and especially in Bohemia and the Austrian

diocese of Passau. [1071]

They were subjected to persecution as early as in 1260. Fifty years

later there were at least forty-two Waldensian communities in Austria

and a number of Waldensian schools. Neumeister, a bishop of the

Austrian heretics, who suffered death with many others in 1315,

testified that in the diocese of Passau alone the sect had over eighty

thousand adherents. [1072] Austrian heretics the Poor Men of Lombardy

kept up a correspondence [1073]

In spite of persecutions, the German Waldenses continued to maintain

themselves to the fifteenth century.

The Austrian dissenters were active in the distribution of the

Scriptures. And Whittier has based his poem of the Vaudois Teacher upon

the account of the so-called Anonymous writer of Passau of the

fourteenth century. He speaks of the Waldenses as going about as

peddlers to the houses of the noble families and offering first gems

and other goods and then the richest gem of all, the Word of God. This

writer praised their honesty, industry, and sobriety. Their speech, he

said, was free from oaths and falsehoods.

We have thus three types of Waldenses: the Poor Men of Lyons, the Poor

Men of Lombardy, and the Austrian Waldensians. [1074] er hand there was

developed a tendency to again approach closer to the Church. [1075]

In their earliest period the Waldenses were not heretics, although the

charge was made against them that they claimed to be "the only

imitators of Christ." Closely as they and the Cathari were associated

geographically and by the acts of councils, papal decrees, and in

literary refutations of heresy, the Waldenses differ radically from the

Cathari. They never adopted Manichaean elements. Nor did they repudiate

the sacramental system of the established Church and invent strange

rites of their own. They were also far removed from mysticism and have

no connection with the German mystics as some of the other sectaries

had. They were likewise not Protestants, for we seek in vain among them

for a statement of the doctrine of justification by faith. It is

possible, they held to the universal priesthood of believers. According

to de Bourbon and others, they declared all good men to be priests.

They placed the stress upon following the practice of the Apostles and

obeying the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, and they did not know

the definition which Luther put on the word "justification." They

approached more closely to an opinion now current among Protestants

when they said, righteousness is found only in good men and good women.

[1076]

The first distinguishing principle of the Waldenses bore on daily

conduct and was summed up in the words of the Apostles, "we ought to

obey God rather than men." This the Catholics interpreted to mean a

refusal to submit to the authority of the pope and prelates. All the

early attacks against them contain this charge. [1077] powers that be

are ordained of God. This was, perhaps, the first positive affirmation

of a Scriptural ground for religious independence made by the

dissenting sects of the Middle Ages. It contains in it, as in a germ,

the principle of full liberty of conscience as it was avowed by Luther

at Worms.

The second distinguishing principle was the authority and popular use

of the Scriptures. Here again the Waldenses anticipated the Protestant

Reformation without realizing, as is probable, the full meaning of

their demand. The reading of the Bible, it is true, had not yet been

forbidden, but Waldo made it a living book and the vernacular

translation was diligently taught. The Anonymous writer of Passau said

he had seen laymen who knew almost the entire Gospels of Matthew and

Luke by heart, so that it was hardly possible to quote a word without

their being able to continue the text from memory.

The third principle was the importance of preaching and the right of

laymen to exercise that function. Peter Waldo and his associates were

lay evangelists. All the early documents refer to their practice of

preaching as one of the worst heresies of the Waldenses and an evident

proof of their arrogance and insubordination. Alanus calls them false

preachers, pseudo-praedicatores. Innocent III., writing, in 1199, of

the heretics of Metz, declared their desire to understand the

Scriptures a laudable one but their meeting in secret and usurping the

function of the priesthood in preaching as only evil. Alanus, in a long

passage, brought against the Waldenses that Christ was sent by the

Father and that Jonah, Jeremiah, and others received authority from

above before they undertook to preach, for "how shall they preach

unless they be sent." The Waldenses were without commission. To this

charge, the Waldenses, as at the disputation of Narbonne, answered that

all Christians are in duty bound to spread the Gospel in obedience to

Christ's last command and to James 4:17, "to him that knoweth to do

good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." [1078] [1079]

The Waldenses went still further in shocking old-time custom and

claimed the right to preach for women as well as for men, and when

Paul's words enjoining silence upon the women were quoted, they replied

that it was with them more a question of teaching than of formal

preaching and quoted back Titus 2:3, "the aged women should be teachers

of good things." The abbot Bernard of Fontis Calidi, in contesting the

right of laics of both sexes to preach, quoted the Lord's words

commanding the evil spirit to hold his peace who had said, "Thou art

the Holy One of God," Mark 1:25. If Christ did not allow the devil to

use his mouth, how could he intend to preach through a Waldensian?

[1080] tion of the universities of Paris, Prague, and Vienna and of all

university study as a waste of time. [1081]

It was an equally far-reaching principle when the Waldenses declared

that it was spiritual endowment, or merit, and not the Church's

ordination which gave the right to bind and loose, to consecrate and

bless. [1082] ter the Lord's Supper. No priest, continuing in sin,

could administer the eucharist, but any good layman might. [1083] so

charged that the Waldenses allowed laymen to receive confessions and

absolve. [1084]

As for the administration of baptism, there were also differences of

view between the Waldenses of Italy and those of France. There was a

disposition, in some quarters at least, to deny infant baptism and to

some extent the opinion seems to have prevailed that infants were saved

without baptism. [1085] aldenses were at the time of the Reformation,

according to the statement of Morel, they left the administration of

the sacraments to the priests. The early documents speak of the secrecy

observed by the Waldenses, and it is possible more was charged against

them than they would have openly acknowledged.

To the affirmation of these fundamental principles the Waldenses, on

the basis of the Sermon on the Mount, added the rejection of oaths,

[1086] [1087] ory and prayers for the dead. [1088] [1089]

The Waldenses regarded themselves, as Professor Comba has said, as a

church within the Church, a select circle. They probably went no

further, though they were charged with pronouncing the Roman Church the

Babylonian harlot, and calling it a house of lies. [1090] the Perfect

and Believers, but this may be a mistake. In the beginning of the

fourteenth century, in Southern France they elected a superintendent,

called Majoralis omnium, whom, according to Bernard Guy, they obeyed as

the Catholics did the pope, and they also had presbyters and deacons.

In other parts they had a threefold ministry, under the name of

priests, teachers, and rectors. [1091]

From the first, the Lyonnese branch had a literature of its own and in

this again a marked contrast is presented to the Cathari. Of the early

Waldensian translation of the Bible in Romaunt, there are extant the

New Testament complete and the Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and

Ecclesiastes. A translation in French had preceded this Waldensian

version. [1092] slation of the Bible found at Tepl, Bohemia, may have

been of Waldensian origin. [1093]

The Nobla Leyczon, [1094] igious poem of four hundred and seventy-nine

lines. It has a strictly practical purpose. The end of the world is

near, man fell, Noah was spared, Abraham left his own country, Israel

went down to Egypt and was delivered by Moses. Christ preached a better

law, he trod the path of poverty, was crucified, and rose again. The

first line ran "10 brothers, listen to a noble teaching." The poem

closes with the scene of the Last Judgment and an exhortation to

repent.

Through one channel the Waldenses exercised an influence over the

Catholic Church. It was through the Waldensian choice of poverty. They

made the, "profession of poverty," as Etienne de Bourbon calls it, or

"the false profession of poverty," as Bernard Guy pronounced it. By

preaching and by poverty they strove after evangelical perfection, as

was distinctly charged by these and other writers. Francis d'Assisi

took up with this ideal and was perhaps more immediately the disciple

of the obscure Waldensians of Northern Italy than can be proved in so

many words. The ideal of Apostolic poverty and practice was in the air

and it would not detract from the services of St. Francis, if his

followers would recognize that these dissenters of Lyons and Italy were

actuated by his spirit, and thus antedated his propaganda by nearly

half a century. [1095]

Note: Lit. bearing on the early Waldenses. For the titles, see � 79.--A

new era in the study of the history and tenets of the Waldenses was

opened by Dieckhoff, 1851, who was followed by Herzog, 1853. More

recently, Preger, Karl M�ller, Haupt, and Keller have added much to our

knowledge in details, and in clearing up disputed points. Comba,

professor in the Waldensian college at Florence, accepts the

conclusions of modern research and gives up the claim of ancient

origin, even Apostolic origin being claimed by the older Waldensian

writers. The chief sources for the early history of the sect are the

abbot Bernard of Fontis Calidi, d. 1193; the theologian Alanus de

Insulis, d. about 1200; Salve Burce (whose work is given by D�llinger),

1235; Etienne de Bourbon, d. 1261, whose work is of an encyclopedic

character, a kind of ready-reference book; the Rescriptum

haeresiarcharum written by an unknown priest, about 1316, called the

Anonymous of Passau; an Austrian divine, David of Augsburg, d. 1271;

and the Inquisitor in Southern France, Bernard Guy, d. 1331. Other

valuable documents are given by D�llinger, in his Beitr�ge, vol. II.

These writers represent a period of more than a hundred years. In most

of their characterizations they agree, and upon the main heresies of

the Waldenses the earliest writers are as insistent as the later.

The Waldensian MSS., some of which date back to the thirteenth century,

are found chiefly in the libraries of Cambridge, Dublin (Trinity

College), Paris, Geneva, Grenoble, and Lyons. The Dublin Collection was

made by Abp. Ussher who purchased in 1634 a number of valuable volumes

from a French layman for five hundred and fifty francs. The Cambridge

MSS. were procured by Sir Samuel Morland, Cromwell's special envoy sent

to Turin to check the persecutions of the Waldenses.

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[1056] Valdesius, Valdensius, or Waldunus. The name is given in these

and other forms by writers of the thirteenth century. De Bourbon, p.

290; Guy, p. 244; D�llinger, II. 6, 300, etc. Bernard, abbot of Fontis

Calidi, Migne, 204. 793, allegorizes when he says they were called

"Valdenses, as though they came from a dense valley and are involved in

its deep thick darkness of errors." Alanus de insulis, Migne, 210, p.

377 sqq., says the "Waldenses are so called from their heresiarch

Waldus, the founder of the new sect who presumed to preach without

authority of prelate, without divine inspiration, knowledge, or

letters. A philosopher without head, a prophet without vision, an

apostle without mission, a teacher without instructor, whose disciples,

or rather musciples (discipuli imo muscipuli), seduce the unwary in

different parts of the world."

[1057] Pauperes de Lugduno, Leonistae, etc. Zabatati, or Insobbalati,

because the shoe was cut in the shape of a shield. Guy, 245; D�llinger,

II. 92, 233, etc.

[1058] Inter se vocant Fratres seu Pauperes Christi. Guy, p. 256.

[1059] Per vicos et plateas evangelium praedicare et Valdesius multos

homines utriusque sexus viros et mulieres complices sibi fecit ad

similem praesumptionem, etc. Guy, p. 244.

[1060] de nugis, Wright's ed., p. 64 sq. Map, who felt highly honored

by his appointment, called them simple and illiterate, idiotae et

illiterati, terms used also by de Bourbon, p. 292, and Guy, p. 244.

[1061] The exact relation of the Poor Men of Lyons to the Humiliati is

still a matter of discussion. M�ller, in his Anf�nge des

Minoritenordens, etc., has done much to change our knowledge of the

Humiliati. The view taken above may account for the language of the

Verona council, Humiliati vel Pauperes de Lugduno, which was probably

chosen for the very purpose of indicating that the resemblance between

the two parties was so close as to make it uncertain whether there were

two sects or only one. This view seems to be borne out by the two

statements of Salve Burce. D�llinger, II. 64, 74.

[1062] See p. 411. Sabatier, Regula Antiqua, p. 15, expresses the

opinion that Francis may have been more indebted to them than we have

supposed.

[1063] Salve Burce, who was acquainted with Roncho, called him "a

simple man, without education,"idiota absque literis. D�llinger, II.

64.

[1064] Rainerius, Mart�ne, p. 1775, Rescriptum, p. 57; Guy, p. 247;

D�llinger, II. 320, etc. Rainerius is in substantial agreement with

Burce who says that the Poor Men of Lombardy derived their existence

from the Ultramontane Poor.

[1065] The account is given in the Rescriptum. See Preger, D�llinger,

II. 42-52, and M�ller, Die Waldenser, p. 22. The separation between the

Lombard and the Lyonnese parties is referred to in the list of

inquisitorial questions to be put to them. D�llinger, II. 320 sq.

[1066] Rescriptum, D�llinger, II. 46.

[1067] D�llinger, II. 73.

[1068] Summing up all the cases under Guy, Lea, II. 149, says that

there was no very active persecution against the Lyonnese Waldenses.

[1069] Comba, p. 103 sq.; Lea, II. 259 sqq.

[1070] In 1530 the mediaeval period of their history closes. At that

date two of their number, Morel and Peter Masson, were sent to consult

with Bucer, Oecolampadius, and other Reformers. Morel was beheaded on

his return journey. His letter to Oecolampadius and the Reformer's

reply are given by Dieckhoff, pp. 364-373. The Waldenses adopted the

Reformation, 1532.

[1071] See Comba, 74 sqq. A number of the documents given by D�llinger

are interrogatories for use against the Waldenses of Germany and

Austria, or accounts of their trials. One of them, in German, belongs

as late as the sixteenth century, D�llinger, II. 701 sq. Haupt, Keller,

Preger, and Goll have extended our knowledge of the Austrian Waldenses.

[1072] Haupt, Waldenserthum, p. 21.

[1073] Comba, in the French trans. of his work, and M�ller, Die

Waldenser, p. 103, print a consolatory letter from them to their

suffering Bohemian friends.

[1074] The earliest writers, as the abbot Bernard and Alanus, make no

distinctions. Rainerius, 1260, does, as do also the Rescriptum which

has an eye to the Waldenses of Passau and Salve Burce in his Supra

Stella, 1235, who refers more particularly to the Poor Men of Lombardy.

David of Augsburg, 1256, an inquisitor of high repute, has in mind the

Waldensians, as a body. Bernard Guy, 1320, treats of the Lyonnese

Waldensians. The documents given by D�llinger extend to the sixteenth

century, many of them bearing upon the Waldenses of Austria.

[1075] At the time of the Reformation, according to Morel, dancing and

all sports were forbidden, except the practice of the bow and other

arms. Comba, p. 263, recognizes this opposite tendency, the Waldenses

approaching closer to the established Church in their practice of the

sacraments.

[1076] De Bourbon, p. 297.

[1077] The abbot Bernard, Migne, 204. 796, sqq., 817 sqq.; Alanus,

Migne, 210. 380 sqq.; de Bourbon, p. 292; D�llinger, II. 6, 51.

[1078] Comba, pp. 47-52, gives a translation of the disputation at

Narbonne. The abbot Bernard, Migne, 204. 805, also quotes James 4 as a

passage upon which the Waldenses relied.

[1079] De Bourbon, p. 291; Guy, p. 292, etc.

[1080] Migne, 204. 806 sq., 825;II. 300, etc.

[1081] D�llinger, II. 340.

[1082] Magis operatur meritum ad consecrandum vel benedictionem,

ligandum vel solvendum, quam ordo vel officium, Alanus, Migne, 204,

385. Alphand�ry, p. 129, justly lays stress upon this charge.

[1083] Consecratio corporis et sanguinis Christi potest fieri a

quolibet justo, quamvis sit laycus, Guy, p. 246. Also Rainerius, p.

1775, David of Augsburg, and D�llinger, II. 7.

[1084] Alanus, Migne, 210, 386.

[1085] Rainerius declares without qualification that the Poor Men of

Lombardy hold to the salvation of infants not baptized, but the

Rescriptum declares that baptism was regarded as necessary for all. So

also David of Augsburg. See D�llinger, II. 45.

[1086] Alanus, 210, 392; de Bourbon, pp. 292, 296; Guy, p. 246;

D�llinger, II. 85 (Salve Burce), 107, 126, etc.

[1087] Alanus, 210, 394; Guy, p. 246; D�llinger, II. 76, 107, 143, etc.

[1088] The abbot Bemard, Migne, 204, 828, 833; De Bourbon, p. 295;

D�llinger, II. 93, 107, 143, etc. The story of creation ascribed to the

n�gro, according to which God, in making man, made an image of clay and

set it up against the fence to dry, is as old as Etienne de Bourbon (d.

1261) and the earliest Waldenses. Bourbon says, p. 294, that he had

heard of a Waldensian who, in his testimony, had stated that God made a

form of soft clay as boys do in their play, and set it up under the sun

to dry, and that the cracks made by the sun were veins through which

the blood began to run, and then God breathed His spirit upon the face

of the image.

[1089] The Waldensian teaching of the two ways has been regarded by

Harnack and Keller as a reminiscence of the Teaching of the Twelve

Apostles. Comba, p. 341, with more probability refers it to the Sermon

on the Mount. The reference was, not so-much to the two ways in this

life, but to the denial of purgatory, D�llinger, II. 252, 287, 300,

etc.

[1090] Rainerius, p. 1775; Guy, p. 247. Also, the abbot Bernard, Migne,

204, 795 sqq., and Alanus, Migne, 210, 379 sqq.

[1091] D�llinger, II. 92. At a later date the minister among the

Italian Waldenses was called barba, uncle. Comba, p. 147. Morel, in his

letter to Oecolampadius, declared that these distinctions were not

maintained by the Waldenses. See Dieckhoff, p. 259 sq.

[1092] Berger, La Bible fran�aise au moyen �ge, Paris, 1884. There are

marked differences in the MSS. of the Romaunt version, in language,

etc. Comba, pp. 182-185, gives paragraphs from different MSS.

[1093] So Haupt and Keller, Die Reform. und die aelteren

Reformparteien, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 257-260. Jostes ascribed the Version

to Catholic sources, an opinion Dr. Philip Schaff was inclined to

adopt. Independent, Oct. 8, 1885. Nestle, art."German Versions," in

Herzog, III. 66, pronounces the question an open one.

[1094] The title is from lectio, reading. The text is given by Herzog,

pp. 445-457, and an English translation by Perrin, pp. 263-271.

[1095] Felder, the Roman Catholic author of the able Gesch. der

wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden, 1904, approaches this

view very closely, recognizes the effort of the Waldenses to realize

the ideal of Apostolic poverty, and says, p. 1 sq., that Francis of

Assisi in his work was moved by "the idea deeply rooted in his age,

eine tief gewurzelte Zeitidee."

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� 85. The Crusades against the Albigenses.

The mediaeval measures against heretics assumed an organized form in

the crusades against the Albigenses, before the institution of the

Inquisition received its full development. To the papacy belongs the

whole responsibility of these merciless wars. Toulouse paid a bitter

penalty for being the head centre of heresy. [1096] [1097] to it for

Provence and Languedoc,--brought upon himself the full wrath and

punishments of the Apostolic see for his unwillingness to join in the

wars against his own subjects. A member of the house led one of the

most splendid of the armies of the first Crusade to Jerusalem. At the

opening of the Albigensian crusades the court of Toulouse was one of

the gayest in Europe. At their close it was a spectacle of desolation.

Councils, beginning with the synod of Toulouse, 1119, issued articles

against heresy and called upon the secular power to punish it. Mild

measures were tried and proved ineffectual, whether they were the

preaching and miracles of St. Bernard, 1147, or the diplomatic address

of papal legates. Sixty years after Bernard, St. Dominic entered upon a

tour of evangelism in the vicinity of Toulouse, and some heretics were

won; but in spite of Dominic, and synodal decrees, heresy spread and

continued to defy the Church authorities.

It remained for Innocent III. to direct the full force of his native

vigor against the spreading contagion and to execute the principles

already solemnly announced by oecumenical and local councils. To him

heretics were worse than the infidel who had never made profession of

Christianity. While Christendom was sending armaments against the

Saracens, why should it not send an armament to crush the spiritual

treason at home? In response to papal appeals, at least four distinct

crusades were set on foot against the sectaries in Southern France.

These religious wars continued thirty years. Priests and abbots went at

the head of the armies and, in the name of religion, commanded or

justified the most atrocious barbarities. One of the fairest portions

of Europe was laid waste and the counts of Toulouse were stripped by

the pope of their authority and territory.

The long conflict was fully opened when Innocent called upon Louis VII.

to take the field, that "it might be shown that the Lord had not given

him the sword in vain," and promised him the lands of nobles shielding

heresy. [1098] ymund VI., who was averse to a policy of repression

against his Catharan subjects, was excommunicated by Innocent's legate,

Peter of Castelnau, and his lands put under interdict. Innocent called

him a noxious man, vir pestilens, [1099] all the punishments of the

future world. He threatened to call upon the princes to proceed against

him with arms and take his lands. "The hand of the Lord will descend

upon thee more severely, and show thee that it is hard for one who

seeks to flee from the face of His wrath which thou hast provoked."

A crisis was precipitated in 1208 by the murder of Peter of Castelnau

by two unknown assassins. [1100] e expulsion of all heretics from his

dominions the condition of withdrawing suspicion against him as the

possible murderer of Peter. [1101] aymund with France through his

uncle, Louis VII., and with Aragon through Pedro, whose sister he had

married, interposed difficulties. And the crusade went on. The

Cistercians, at their General Chapter, decided to preach it. Princes

and people from France, Flanders, and even Germany swelled the ranks.

The same reward was promised to those who took the cross against the

Cathari and Waldenses, as to those who went across the seas to fight

the intruder upon the Holy Sepulchre.

In a general epistle to the faithful, Innocent wrote: --

"O most mighty soldiers of Christ, most brave warriors; Ye oppose the

agents of anti-Christ, and ye fight against the servants of the old

serpent. Perchance up to this time ye have fought for transitory glory,

now fight for the glory which is everlasting. Ye have fought for the

body, fight now for the soul. Ye have fought for the world, now do ye

fight for God. For we have not exhorted you to the service of God for a

worldly prize, but for the heavenly kingdom, which for this reason we

promise to you with all confidence." [1102]

Awed by the sound of the coming storm, Raymund offered his submission

and promised to crush out heresy. The humiliating spectacle of

Raymund's penance was then enacted in the convent church of St. Gilles.

In the vestibule, naked to the waist, he professed compliance with all

the papal conditions. Sixteen of the count's vassals took oath to see

the hard vow was kept and pledged themselves to renew the oath every

year, upon pain of being classed with heretics. Then holding the ends

of a stole, wrapped around the penitent's neck like a halter, the papal

legate led Raymund before the altar, the count being flagellated as he

proceeded. [1103]

Raymund's submission, however, did not check the muster of troops which

were gathering in large numbers at Lyons. [1104] ergy. At their side

were the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, St. Pol, Auxerre,

Geneva, and Poitiers, and other princes. The soldier, chosen to be the

leader, was Simon de Montfort. Simon had been one of the prominent

leaders of the Fourth Crusade, and was a zealous supporter of the

papacy. He neglected not to hear mass every day, even after the most

bloody massacres in the campaigns in Southern France. His

contemporaries hailed him as another Judas Maccabaeus and even compared

him to Charlemagne. [1105]

In spite of the remonstrance of Raymund, who had joined the army, the

papal legate, Arnold of Citeaux, refused to check its march. B�ziers

was stormed and horrible scenes followed. The wild soldiery heeded well

the legate's command, "Fell all to the ground. The Lord knows His own."

[1106] legates, Milo and Arnold, the "divine vengeance raged

wonderfully against the city. [1107]

At Carcassonne the inhabitants were allowed to depart, the men in their

shirts, the women in their chemises, carrying with them, as the

chronicler writes, nothing else except their sins, nihil secum praeter

peccata portantes. Dread had taken hold of the country, and village

after village was abandoned by the fleeing inhabitants. Raymund was

again put under excommunication at a council held at Avignon. [1108] g

them six thousand Germans. [1109]

Again, in 1211, the count of Toulouse sought to come to an agreement

with the legates. But the terms, which included the razing to the

ground of all his castles, were too humiliating. The crusade was

preached again. All the territory of Toulouse had been overrun and it

only remained for the crusaders to capture the city itself.

Pedro of Aragon, fresh from his crushing victory over the Moors at

Novas de Tolosa, now interceded with the pope for his brother-in-law.

The synod of Lavaur, 1213, appointed referee by Innocent, rejected the

king's propositions. Pedro then joined Raymund, but fell at the

disastrous defeat of Muret the same year, 1213. It was a strange

combination whereby the king of Aragon, who had won the highest

distinction a year before as a hero of the Catholic faith, was killed

in the ranks of those who were rebels to the papal authority. [1110]

[1111] land, including Toulouse, was granted to Montfort, and the

titles conferred on him of count of Toulouse, viscount of B�ziers and

Carcassonne, and duke of Narbonne. [1112]

The complications in Southern France were one of the chief questions

brought before the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215. Raymund was present

and demanded back his lands, inasmuch as he had submitted to the

Church; but by an overwhelming majority, the synod voted against him

and Montfort was confirmed in the possession of his conquests. [1113]

Raymund's son made a personal appeal to Innocent for his father, the

pope bade him "love God above all things and serve Him faithfully, and

not stretch forth his hand against others' territory" and gave him the

cold promise that his complaints against Montfort would be heard at a

future council. [1114]

The further progress of the Albigensian campaigns requires only brief

notice here, for they were converted into a war of territorial plunder.

In 1218, Montfort fell dead under the walls of Toulouse, his head

crushed by a stone. In the reign of Honorius, whose supreme concern was

a crusade in the East, the sectaries reasserted themselves, and Raymund

regained most of his territory. But the pope was relentless, and again

the sentence of excommunication was launched against the house of

Toulouse.

In 1226, Louis VIII. took the cross, supported by the French parliament

as well as by the Church. Thus the final chapter in the crusades was

begun, a war of the king of France for the possession of Toulouse.

Louis died a few months later. Arnold of Citeaux, for nearly twenty

years their energetic and iron-hearted promoter, had preceded him to

the grave. Louis IX. took up the plans of his royal predecessor, and in

1229 the hostilities were brought to a close by Raymund's accepting the

conditions proposed by the papal legate.

Raymund renounced two-thirds of his paternal lands in favor of France.

The other third was to go at his death to his daughter who subsequently

married Louis IX.'s brother, and, in case there was no issue to the

marriage, it was to pass to the French crown, and so it did at the

death of Jeanne, the last heir of the house of Toulouse. Thus the

domain of France was extended to the Pyrenees.

Further measures of repression were directed against the remnants of

the Albigensian heresy, for Raymund VII. had promised to cleanse the

land of it. The machinery of the Inquisition was put into full action

as it was perfected by the great inquisitorial council of Toulouse,

1229. The University of Toulouse received papal sanction, and one of

its chief objects was announced to be "to bring the Catholic faith in

those regions into a flourishing state." [1115]

The papal policy had met with complete but blighting success and, after

the thirteenth century, heresy in Southern France was almost like a

noiseless underground stream. Languedoc at the opening of the wars had

been one of the most prosperous and cultured parts of Europe. At their

close its villages and vineyards were in ruins, its industries

shattered, its population impoverished and decimated. The country that

had given promise of leading Europe in a renaissance of intellectual

culture fell behind her neighbors in the race of progress. Protestant

generations, that have been since sitting in judgment upon the

barbarous measures, conceived and pushed by the papacy, have wondered

whether another movement, stirred by the power of the Gospel, will not

yet arise in the old domain that responded to the religious dissent and

received the warm blood of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and of Peter

de Bruys and his followers.

The Stedinger. While the wars against the Albigenses were going on,

another people, the Stedinger, living in the vicinity of Bremen and

Oldenburg, were also being reduced by a papal crusade. They represented

the spirit of national independence rather than doctrinal dissent and

had shown an unwillingness to pay tithes to the archbishop of Bremen.

When a husband put a priest to death for an indignity to his wife, the

archbishop Hartwig II. announced penalty after penalty but in vain.

Under his successor, Gerhard (1219-1258), the refractory peasants were

reduced to submission. A synod of Bremen, in 1230, pronounced them

heretics, and Gregory IX., accepting the decision, called upon a number

of German bishops to join in preaching and prosecuting a crusade. The

same indulgence was offered to the crusaders in the North as to those

who went on the Church's business to Palestine. The first campaign in

1233 was unsuccessful, but a second carried all the horrors of war into

the eastern section of the Stedingers' territory. In 1231 another army

led by a number of princes completely defeated this brave people at

Altenesch. Their lands were divided between the archbishop of Bremen

and the count of Oldenburg.

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[1096] The Fourth Lateran spoke of the city as quae magis haeretica

labes corrupta.

[1097] Ep. II. 99; Migne, 214, 647.

[1098] Epp., VII. 186, 212; Migne, 215, pp. 503, 527. In the second

letter Innocent compares heretics to Samson's foxes and to beasts,

belluas.

[1099] Ep., X. 69; Migne, 215. 1165 sqq.

[1100] For another version of the murder, see Lea, I. 146. It has been

compared to Becket's taking-off.

[1101] Ep., XI. 26, 32; Migne, 215. 1354, 1361.

[1102] Ep., XI. 230; Migne, 215. 1546. Innocent wrote repeatedly and at

length, encouraging the enterprise. Epp., XI. 33, 229, etc.; Migne,

215. 1361, etc.

[1103] See full description in Hurter, II. 317 sq., and Lea, I. 150 sq.

[1104] Hurter, II. 322, always careful, speaks of the army as a

zahllose Menge, and then of 50,000. Lea, I. 152, is inclined to accept

a much larger number, 20,000 knights and 200,000 footmen.

[1105] Hurter, II. 325 sqq., dwells upon his virtues, including the

virtues of humanity and fidelity. Hefele, also a Roman Catholic, V.

843, calls him cruel, grausam. The council of Lavaur pronounced him the

"brave soldier of Christ and the invincible warrior of the Lord's

battles,"intrepidum, Christi athletam et invictum dominici praelii

bellatorem, Mansi, xxii. 887. The Fourth Lateran honored his services

as having exceeded those of all others in fidelity and courage. By his

mother, Alice, he inherited the earldom of Leicester which passed to

his son Simon. See Stephen, Dict. Nat. Biogr.

[1106] Caedite eos, novit enim dominus qui sunt ejus, Caesar of

Heisterbach, V. 21; Strange ed., I. 302. And so Caesar adds, "an

innumerable multitude were killed in that city." Hurter speaks of the

"unbridled frenzy" of the troops, z�gellose Wuth, II. 331. Describing

other scenes of carnage during the crusade he uses such expressions as

"horrible butchery,"furchtbarer Gemetzel, "heartrending

barbarities,"empoerende Graeuel, pp. 420, 423, 427, etc. He expresses

the charitable hope that the abbot of Citeaux did not say what was

ascribed to him by so good and churchly a witness as Caesarof

Heisterbach. Brischar, in Wetzer-Welte, I. 434, speaks with horror of

the barbarities of Simon's troops.

[1107] Epp. Inn., XII. 108, 109; Migne, 216. 137-142. Ultione divina in

eam mirabiliter saeviente

[1108] Hefele, V. 846 sqq.

[1109] Hurter, II. 383, 416.

[1110] Pedro's son, Jayme, ascribed his father's defeat to his moral

laxity. The Albigensian nobles had placed their wives and daughters at

his disposal and, it is reported, he was so weakened the morning of the

engagement that he could not stand at the celebration of the mass. Lea,

I. 177.

[1111] Hurter, II. 567.

[1112] As an illustration of how the best of friends may fall out,

Montfort's right to the title, duke of Narbonne, was vehemently

contested by Arnold of Citeaux, who claimed it as archbishop of

Narbonne, an office to which he had been appointed.

[1113] Harter, II. 567 sqq.; Hefele, V. 881 sq., 902 sq.; Potthast,

Regesta, I. 439.

[1114] In a passage recapitulating Innocent's relations to the war,

Hurter, II. 709-711, says that, although it was in part carried on

without regard to the principles of humanity and right, and beginning

as a religious war, it was turned into a war of aggrandizement, yet

Innocent was guiltless, his sole purpose being to purify the land of

heresy.

[1115] Potthast, 9173.

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� 86. The Inquisition. Its Origin and Purpose.

The measures for the repression and extermination of heresy culminated

in the organized system, known as the Inquisition. Its history presents

what is probably the most revolting spectacle in the annals of

civilized Europe. [1116] g as arbiters over human destiny in this

world, and in the name of religion applying torture to countless

helpless victims, heretics, and reputed witches, and pronouncing upon

them a sentence which, they knew, involved perpetual imprisonment or

death in the flames. The cold heartlessness, with which the fate of the

heretic was regarded, finds some excuse in the pitiless penalties which

the civil tribunals of the Middle Ages meted out for civil crimes, such

as the breaking of the victim on the wheel, burning in caldrons of oil,

quartering with horses, and flaying alive, or the merciless treatment

of princes upon refractory subjects, as when William the Conqueror at

Alen�on punished the rebels by chopping off the hands and feet of

thirty-two of the citizens and throwing them over the walls. It is

nevertheless an astounding fact that for the mercy of Christ the Church

authorities, who should have represented him, substituted relentless

cruelties. In this respect the dissenting sectaries were infinitely

more Christian than they.

It has been argued in extenuation of the Church that she stopped with

the decree of excommunication and the sentence to lifelong imprisonment

and did not pronounce the sentence of death. And the old maxim is

quoted as true of her in all times, that the Church abhors

blood--ecclesia non sitit sanguinem. The argument is based upon a pure

technicality. The Church, after sitting in judgment, turned the

heretics over to the civil authorities, knowing full well that, as

night follows day, the sentence of death would follow her sentence of

excommunication. [1117] teran forbade priests pronouncing judgments of

blood and being present at executions, but at the very same moment, and

at the pope's persistent instigation, crusading armies were drenching

the soil of Southern France with the blood of the Albigenses. A writer

of the thirteenth century says in part truly, in part speciously, "our

pope does not kill nor condemn any one to death, but the law puts to

death those whom the pope allows to be put to death, and they kill

themselves who do those things which make them guilty of death." [1118]

The official designation of the Inquisitorial process was the

Inquisition of heretical depravity. [1119] witches in the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries, and the Spanish Inquisition organized in 1480.

[1120] X., Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas. A parallel is found in the best

Roman emperors, who lent themselves to the bloody repression of the

early Church. The good king, St. Louis, declared that when a layman

heard the faith spoken against, he should draw his sword and thrust it

into the offender's body up to the hilt. [1121]

The Inquisition was a thoroughly papal institution, wrought out in all

its details by the popes of the thirteenth century, beginning with

Innocent III. and not ending with Boniface VIII. In his famous manual

for the treatment of heresy the Inquisitor, Bernard Guy, a man who in

spite of his office elicits our respect, [1122] been instituted by the

Apostolic see itself." This was the feeling of the age.

Precedent enough there was for severe temporal measures. Constantine

banished the Arians and burned their books. Theodosius the Great fixed

death as the punishment for heresy. The Priscillianists were executed

in 385. The great authority of Augustine was appealed to and his fatal

interpretation of the words of the parable "Compel them to come in,"

[1123] beyond what that father probably ever intended. From the latter

part of the twelfth century, councils advocated the death penalty,

popes insisted upon it, and Thomas Aquinas elaborately defended it.

Heresy, so the theory and the definitions ran, was a crime the Church

could not tolerate. It was Satan's worst blow.

Innocent III. wrote that as treason was punished with death and

confiscation of goods, how much more should these punishments be meted

out to those who blaspheme God and God's Son. A crime against God, so

he reasoned, is surely a much graver misdemeanor than a crime against

the secular power. [1124]

The calm discussion, to which the eminent theologian, Thomas Aquinas,

subjects the treatment due heretics, was made at least a quarter of a

century after the Inquisition was put into full force. Leaning back

upon Augustine and his interpretation of "compel them to come in," he

declared in clearest terms that heretics deserved not only to be

separated from the Church by excommunication, but to be excluded from

the earth by judicial death. [1125] ith. The heretic of whose

reclamation the Church despairs, it delivers over to the secular

tribunal to be executed out of the world. The principle was that those

who were baptized were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Church

and the Church might deal with them as it saw fit. It was not till the

fourteenth century, that the jurisdiction of the Church and the pope

was extended to the heathen by Augustinus Triumphus, d. 1328, [1126] e,

1312, to allow their Mohammedan subjects to practise the rites of their

religion. [1127]

The legislation, fixing the Inquisition as a Church institution and

elaborating its powers, began with the synod of Tours in 1163 and the

oecumenical council of 1179. A large step in advance was made by the

council of Verona, 1184. The Fourth Lateran, 1215, and the council of

Toulouse, 1229, formally established the Inquisition and perfected the

organization. Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Alexander IV. enforced its

regulations and added to them. From first to last the popes were its

chief promoters.

The synod of Tours, 1163, called upon the bishops and clergy to forbid

the Catholics from mingling with the Albigenses and from having

commercial dealings with them and giving them refuge. Princes were

instructed to imprison them and confiscate their goods. The Third

Lateran, 1179, extended the punishments to the defenders of heretics

and their friends. It gave permission to princes to reduce heretics to

slavery and shortened the time of penance by two years for those taking

up arms against them. At the council of Verona, 1184, pope Lucius III.

and the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, joined in making common cause in

the sacred undertaking and announced their attitude in the cathedral.

Frederick had the law of the empire against heretics recited and threw

his glove down upon the floor as a token that he would enforce it. Then

Lucius announced the decree of the council, which enjoined bishops to

visit, at least once a year, all parts of their sees, to try all

suspects, and to turn them, if guilty, over to the civil authorities.

Princes were ordered to take an oath to support the Church against

heresy upon pain of forfeiting their dignities. Cities, refusing to

punish offenders, were to be cut off from other cities and, if

episcopal seats, were to be deprived of that honor.

Innocent III., the most vigorous of persecutors, was no sooner on the

throne than he began to wage war against heretical infection. In one

letter after another, he struck at it and commended military armaments

for its destruction. The Fourth Lateran gave formal and final

expression to Innocent's views. The third canon opens with an

anathematization of heretics of all names. It again enjoined princes to

swear to protect the faith on pain of losing their lands. To all taking

part in the extermination of heretics--ad haereticorum exterminium --

was offered the indulgence extended to the Crusaders in Palestine. All

"believers" and also the entertainers, defenders, and friends of

heretics were to be excommunicated and excluded from receiving their

natural inheritance. [1128] case of neglect, they were to be deposed.

For more than a century after Innocent, the enforcement of the rules

for the detection and punishment of heretics form the continual subject

of bulls issued by the Apostolic see and of synodal action especially

in Southern France and Spain. Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. alone

issued more than one hundred such bulls. [1129]

The regulations for the episcopal supervision of the Inquisition were

completed at the synod of Toulouse, 1229. Bishops were commanded to

appoint a priest and laymen to ferret out heretics--inquirant

haereticos--in houses and rooms. They were authorized to go outside

their sees and princes outside of their realms to do this work. But no

heretic was to be punished till he had been tried before the bishop's

tribunal. Princes were ordered to destroy the domiciles and refuges of

heretics, even if they were underground. If heretics were found to

reside on their lands without their knowledge, such princes were to be

punished. Men above fourteen and women above twelve were obliged to

swear to inform on heretics. And all, wishing to avoid the charge of

heresy, were bound to present themselves at the confessional at least

once a year. As a protection against heretical infection, boys above

the age of seven were obliged to go to church every Sabbath and on

festival days that they might learn the credo, the pater noster, and

the ave Maria.

The legislation of the state showed its full sympathy with the rules of

the Church. Peter of Aragon, 1197, banished heretics from his dominions

or threatened them with death by fire. In 1226, Don Jayme I. of Aragon

forbade all heretics entering his kingdom. He was the first prince to

prohibit the Bible in the vernacular Romancia, 1234. From another

source, whence we might have expected better things, came a series of

severe edicts. At his coronation, 1220, Frederick II. spoke of heretics

as the viperous sons of perfidy, and placed them under the ban of the

empire. [1130] was renewed at Ravenna, 1232, and later in 1238, 1239.

The goods of heretics were to be confiscated and to be diverted from

their children, on the ground that it was a far graver thing to offend

against the spiritual realm than to offend a temporal prince. Four

years later, 1224, the emperor condemned them to the penalty of being

burned, or having their tongues torn out at the discretion of the

judge. [1131] retics previously condemned by the Church. [1132]

The princes and cities of Italy followed Frederick's example. In Rome,

after 1231, and at the demand of Gregory IX., the senator took oath to

seize heretics pointed out by the Inquisition, and to put them to death

within eight days of the ecclesiastical sentence. In Venice, beginning

with 1249, the doge included in his oath the pledge to burn heretics.

In France, the rules of the Inquisition were fully recognized in Louis

IX.'s laws of 1228. The two great codes of Germany, the Sachsenspiegel

and the Schwabenspiegel, ordered heretics burned to death. [1133] ll a

century later, 1401.

That the Church fully accepted Frederick's severe legislation, is

attested by the action of Honorius III. who sent the emperor's edict of

1220 to Bologna with instructions that it be taught as part of the

canon law. Frederick's subsequent legislation was commended by popes

and bishops, [1134]

To more efficiently carry out the purpose of the Inquisition, the trial

and punishment of heresy were taken out of the hands of the bishops and

put into the hands of the monastic orders by Gregory IX. As early as

1227, this pope appointed a Dominican of Florence to proceed against

the heretical bishop, Philip Paternon. In 1232, the first Dominicans

were appointed inquisitors in Germany and Aragon. [1135] [1136] an,

disassociated from the pastoral care of souls. The friars were

empowered to deprive suspected priests of their benefices, and to call

to their aid the secular arm in suppressing heresy. From their judgment

there was no appeal except to the papal court. The Franciscans were

afterwards joined with the Dominicans in this work in parts of Italy,

in France, and later in Sardinia and Syria and Palestine. Complaint was

made by bishops of this interference with their prerogatives, [1137]

listened to the complaint so far as to decree that no death penalty

should be pronounced without consulting with them. The council of

Vienne ordered the prisons containing heretics to be guarded by two

gaolers, one appointed by the Inquisitor and one by the bishop.

One more step remained to be taken. By the famous bull ad exstirpanda,

of 1252, Innocent IV. authorized torture as a measure for extorting

confessions. The merciless use of this weapon was one of the most

atrocious features of the whole procedure.

The Inquisitors, in spite of papal authority, synodal action, and state

legislation, did not always have an easy path. In 1235, the citizens of

Narbonne drove them out of their city. In 1242, a number were murdered

in Avignon, whom Pius IX., in 1866, sought to recompense by giving them

the honor of canonization as he had done the year before to the

bloodiest of Inquisitors, the Spaniard Arbues, d. 1485. Parma,

according to Salimbene, [1138] t for the act of "certain fools" who

broke into the convent of the Dominicans and killed one or two friars

in retribution for their having burned for heresy a certain noble lady

and her maid. The distinguished Inquisitor, Peter of Verona, otherwise

known as Peter Martyr, was murdered at Como, 1252. In Germany the

resistance of the Inquisition was a frequent occurrence and more than

one of its agents atoned for his activity by a violent death. Of these,

Konrad of Marburg was the most notorious.

Down to the very close of the Middle Ages, the pages of history were

disfigured by the decrees of popes and synods, confirming death as the

penalty for heresy, and for persons supposed to be possessed with

witchcraft. The great council of Constance, 1415, did not get away from

this atmosphere, and ordered heretics punished even by the

flames,--puniantur ad ignem. And the bull of Leo X., 1520, condemning

Luther, cursed as heresy the Reformer's liberal statement that the

burning of heretics is contrary to the will of the Spirit.

To the great humiliation of the Protestant churches, religious

intolerance and even persecution unto death were continued long after

the Reformation. In Geneva, the pernicious theory was put into practice

by state and church, even to the use of torture and the admission of

the testimony of children against their parents, and with the sanction

of Calvin. Bullinger, in the second Helvetic Confession, announced the

principle that heresy should be punished like murder or treason. The

treatment of the Anabaptists is a great blot on the page of the

Reformation, Strassburg being the only centre that tolerated them.

Cranmer persuaded Edward VI. to burn women. Elizabeth saw the death

penalty executed upon Puritans. The spirit of intolerance was carried

across the seas, and was as strong in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries in the American colonies, with some exceptions, as it was in

Europe. The execution of Quakers in Boston, and of persons accused of

witchcraft in Salem, together with the laws of Virginia and other

colonies, were the unfortunate survivals of the vicious history of the

Middle Ages, which forgot Christ's example as he wept over Jerusalem,

and the Apostle's words, "vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the

Lord.

So far as we know, the Roman Catholic Church has never officially

revoked the theory and practice of the mediaeval popes and councils,

but on the contrary the utterances of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. show the

same spirit of vicious reprobation for Protestants and their agencies.

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[1116] Such a calm Church historian as Karl M�ller, an expert in

mediaeval history, pronounces a similar judgment, "Die Th�tigkeit der

Inquisition ist vielleicht das entsetzlichste was die Geschichte der

Menschheit kennt."Kirchengesch., I. 590.

[1117] The usual expression for turning heretics over to the civil

tribunal was saeculari judiciore relinquere, and for perpetual

imprisonment, in perpetuum carcerem retrudi orperpetuo commorari.

[1118] Mart�ne, Thes., V. 1741.

[1119] Inquis. haereticae pravitatis. The first case, so far as I know,

of the use of the expression "inquisition of heretics,"inquis.

haereticorum, was by the synod of Toulouse, 1229. Heretical depravity

was the usual expression for heresy, Inn. Ep., II., 142, etc.; Migne,

214. 698. The term "inquirare" was a judicial term in use before. See

Schmidt.

[1120] This is the date given by Lea, Span. Inq., I. 161. Sixtus IV.

authorized the Spanish Inquisition, Nov. 1, 1478.

[1121] De-Joinville, Bohn's ed., p. 362.

[1122] Practica, p. 176, habet excellentiamaltitudinis ex sua origine,

quia immediate a sede apostolica dirivatur, committitur et noscitur

institutum.

[1123] Cogite intrare. Ep., 93, ad Vincent, contra Gaudent., I. 1. On

the other hand he expressed himself against putting upon them the

sufferings they deserved. Ep., 100, ad Donat., etc.; Migne, 33. 360.

[1124] Ep., II. 1. Hurter, II. 264, thus describes Innocent's attitude

to incorrigible heretics. They are fallen under the power of Satan,

should be deprived of all their possessions, and the bodies of the dead

dug up from consecrated ground. Secular princes were to draw the sword

against them, for the Lord has confided it to the mighty for the

protection of the pious and the dismay of evil-doers and nowhere could

it be put to better use than upon those who were seeking to lure others

away from the true faith and rob them of eternal life.

[1125] Meruerunt non solum ab ecclesia per excommunicationem separari

sed etiam per mortem a mundo excludi. Summa, II. Pt. II. 11; Migne's

ed., III. 109.

[1126] This is the interpretation Hefele puts upon the passage, V. 716.

[1127] Pagani jure sunt sub papae obedientia, 23, art. I.

[1128] Credentes, praeterea receptores, defensores et fautores

haereticorum. Frederick II., in his Constitution of 1220, uses these

terms, and they became the accepted, legal form of statement. See

Bernard Guy, pp. 176, 194, etc. The term "fautor" became the usual

term, in the subsequent history of the Inquisition, for the abettors of

heresy. The term "believers" is the technical term used for the

Cathari, etc.

[1129] Between 1255-1258, Alexander IV., according to Flade, p. 1,

issued no less than thirty-eight bulls against heretics.

[1130] Vipereos perfidiae filios. Frederick's oath ran Catharos,

Patarenos, Speronistas, Leonistias, Arnaldistas, Circumcisos et omnes

haereticos utriusque sexus quocumque nomine censeantur perpetua

damnamus infamia, diffidamus atque bannimus. See Br�holles, II. 6, 7,

and Mirbt, p. 137. Hefele says Torquemada himself could not have used

more vigorous language than Frederick used on this occasion. V. 993.

[1131] Ignis judicio concremandus, ut vel ultricibus flammis pereat aut

cum linguae plectro deprivent. Br�holles, II. 422; Mirbt, 138. Flade,

p. 9, is wrong in saying that the first express mention of burning as

the punishment for heretics in Frederick's laws was in 1238.

[1132] The terms Frederick used at this time drew heavily upon the

dictionary. He calls heretics fierce wolves, most wicked angels,

children of depravity, serpents deceiving the doves, serpents vomiting

out poison. Br�holles, IV. 5. Gregorovius, V. 162, says Frederick

issued decrees against heretics every time he made peace with the pope.

"His laws against heresy form the harshest contrast to his otherwise

enlightened legislation."

[1133] For the Sachsenspiegel, see Mirbt, 139. The act of the

Schwabenspiegel runs "where persons are believed to be heretics, they

shall be accused before the spiritual court. When convicted, they shall

be taken in hand by the secular court, which shall sentence them as is

right, that is, they shall be burnt at the stake." Wackernagel's ed.,

p. 241, sqq.

[1134] Thus the Archbishop of Milan re�nforced it at a provincial

council, 1287. Hefele, VI. 253, and Lea, I. 322 sq. The synod of Mainz,

1233, instructed bishops to scrupulously observe the imperial and papal

edicts. Hefele, V. 1027.

[1135] Frederick II. united in appointing the Dominicans inquisitors of

Germany. Br�holles, IV. 298-301.

[1136] Potthast, 8932, 9126, 9143, 9152, 9153, 9235. From the

appointment of the Dominicans grew up the false notion that Dominic was

the founder of the Inquisition. So Limborch (I. ch. X.) who calls him a

"cruel and bloody man." Lacordaire, I. 197 sqq. shows Limborch's

authorities to be unreliable. But the eloquent French Dominican, in his

zeal, goes too far when he declares Philip II. the author of the

Inquisition. Philip II. had enough sins to bear without this one being

added to the heap.

[1137] See Lea, I. 348 sq.

[1138] Coulton, p. 203.

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� 87. The Inquisition. Its Mode of Procedure and Penalties.

The Inquisition was called the Holy Office--sanctum officium-- from the

praiseworthy work it was regarded as being engaged in. Its chief

officials, the Inquisitors, were exempted by Alexander IV., 1259, and

Urban IV., 1262, from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whether bishops,

archbishops, or papal legates, except the jurisdiction of the Apostolic

[1139] ee, and from all interference by the secular power. They also

enjoyed the right to excommunicate, lay the interdict, and to absolve

their agents for acts of violence. [1140] stimony of wives and children

was valid or required [1141] , in its eighteenth canon, and recognized

by the state. The Sicilian Constitutions of 1231, ordered that heretics

be diligently hunted out and, when there "was only the slightest

suspicion of guilt," they were to be taken before the bishop. [1142]

on, as opposed to the outward commission, was made a sufficient ground

of accusation. The Inquisitor might at the same time be police,

prosecutor, and judge.

It is due to Innocent III. to say that he did not invent the

inquisitorial mode of procedure, but drew it from the practice already

in vogue in the state. [1143]

A party, not answering a citation within a year, was declared a heretic

even when no proofs were advanced. Likewise, one who harbored a heretic

forty days after a warning was served was treated as a heretic. [1144]

of Eden, to defeat the subtlety of Satan who otherwise might have

communicated with Adam and Eve.

Penitent heretics, if there was any doubt of their sincerity, were

obliged to change their places of abode and, according to the synod of

Toulouse, if they belonged to the Perfect, had to do so in all cases.

The penances imposed were fines, which were allowed by papal decree as

early as 1237 and 1245, pilgrimages, and wearing of two crosses on the

left and right side of the body called the poena confusibilis.

The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was forbidden by a synod of Narbonne, 1243,

which referred to a recent papal deliverance prohibiting it, that the

sacred places might be protected against the infection of heresy. Young

women were often excused from wearing the crosses, as it might

interfere with their prospects of marriage. According to French law,

pregnant women condemned to death, were not executed till after the

birth of the child.

Local synods in Southern France ordered heretics and their defenders

excommunicated every Sunday and that sentence should be pronounced

amidst the ringing of bells and with candles extinguished. And as a

protection against heresy, the bells were to be rung every evening.

Imprisonment for life was ordered by Gregory IX., 1229, for all induced

to return to the faith through fear of punishment. [1145] ced to

life-imprisonment as so great that hardly stones enough could be found

for the prison buildings. [1146] [1147]

The rules for the division of confiscated property differed in

different localities. In Venice, after prolonged negotiations with the

pope, it was decided that they should pass to the state. [1148] on, and

the curia; and in Southern France, of the state, the Inquisitors, and

the bishop. Provision was made for the expenses of the Inquisition out

of the spoils of confiscated property. The temptation to plunder became

a fruitful ground for spying out alleged heretics. Once accused, they

were all but helpless. Synods encouraged arrests by offering a fixed

reward to diligent spies.

Not satisfied with seeing the death penalty executed upon the living,

the Inquisition made war upon the dead, and exhumed the bodies of those

found to have died in heresy and burned them. [1149] g, "I war with the

living, not with the dead." The council of Verona, 1184, ordered

relapsed heretics to be turned over forthwith to the secular

authorities. [1150]

In the period before 1480 the Inquisition claimed most of its victims

in Southern France. Douais has given us a list of seventeen

Inquisitors-general who served from 1229 to 1329. [1151] al

imprisonment, or both. [1152]

During the administration of Bernard Guy, as inquisitor of Toulouse,

1306-1323, forty-two persons were burnt to death, sixty-nine bodies

were exhumed and burnt, three hundred and seven were imprisoned, and

one hundred and forty-three were condemned to wear crosses. [1153]

In the other parts of France, the Inquisition was not so vigorously

prosecuted. It included, as we have seen, the order of the Templars. In

1253 the Dominican provincial of Paris was made the supreme Inquisitor.

Among the more grim Inquisitors of France was the Dominican Robert le

Petit, known as Le Bougre from his having been a Patarene. [1154]

[1155] d hundreds of victims in Western Burgundy and the adjoining

regions. In one term of two or three months, he burnt fifty of both

sexes. [1156] o another account more than one hundred and eighty--"a

holocaust very great and pleasing to God" as the old chronicler put it.

[1157]

In the Spanish kingdom of Aragon, the number of heretics does not seem

to have been large. In 1232 the archbishop of Tarragona was ordered by

Gregory IX. to proceed against heretics in conjunction with the

Dominicans. [1158] pointed Inquisitor-general 1357, was deposed 1360,

and reappointed 1366. He died in exile. His Directorium inquisitorum,

written 1376, is the most famous treatise on the mode of treating

heresy. Heretics, in his judgment, were justly offered the alternative

of submission or the stake. The small number of the victims under the

earlier Inquisition in Spain was fully made up in the series of

holocausts begun under Ferdinand in 1480.

In Northern and Central Italy, the Inquisition was fully developed, the

first papal commissioners being the bishops of Brescia and Modena,

1224. The cases of heresy in Southern Italy were few and isolated. In

Rome, the first pyres were lighted in 1231, in front of St. Maria

Maggiore. From that year on, and at the demand of Gregory IX., the

Roman senator took an oath to execute heretics within eight days of

their conviction by the ecclesiastical court. The houses sheltering

them were to be pulled down. The sentence condemning heretics was read

by the Inquisitor on the steps of the Capitol in the presence of the

senator. [1159]

In Germany, the Inquisition did not take full hold till the crusade

against witchcraft was started. The Dominicans were formally appointed

to take charge of the business in 1248. Of sixty-three papal

Inquisitors, known by name, ten were Franciscans, two Augustinians, one

of the order of Coelestin, and the rest Dominicans. [1160] [1161]

[1162] Cologne interfered at times with the persecution of the Beghards

and Beguines, and appealed, as against the papal Inquisitors, to their

rights, as recognized in the papal bulls of 1259 and 1320. After the

murder of Konrad of Marburg, Gregory IX. called upon them in vain to

prosecute heretics with vigor. In fact the Germans again and again

showed their resentment and put Inquisitors to death. [1163]

The centres of heresy in Germany were Strassburg, as early as 1212,

Cologne, and Erfurt. The number of victims is said to have been very

large and at least five hundred can be accounted for definitely in

reported burnings. [1164] milies from Erfurt alone. The prisons to

which the condemned were consigned were wretched places, the abode of

filth, vermin, and snakes. [1165]

As Torquemada stands out as the incorporation of all that is inhuman in

the Spanish Inquisition, so in the German does Konrad of Marburg.

This Dominican ecclesiastic, whom Gregory IX. called the "Lord's

watch-dog," first came into prominence at the court of Louis IV. of

Thuringia on the Wartburg, the old castle which was the scene of the

contests of the Minnesingers, and was destined to be made famous by

Luther's confinement after the diet of Worms, 1521. Konrad became

confessor of Louis' wife, the young and saintly Elizabeth. The daughter

of King Andreas II. of Hungary, she was married to the Landgrave of

Thuringia in 1221, at the age of fourteen. At his death at Brindisi, on

his way to the Holy Land, in 1227, she came more completely under the

power of Konrad. Scarcely any scene in Christian history exhibits such

wanton and pitiless cruelty to a spiritual ward as he displayed to the

tender woman who yielded him obedience. From the Wartburg, where she

was adored for her charities and good works, she removed to Marburg.

There Konrad subjected her to daily castigations and menial services,

deprived her gradually of all her maids of honor, and separated her

from her three children. On one occasion when she visited a convent of

nuns at Oldenburg, a thing which was against their rigid rule, Konrad

made Elizabeth and her attendant lie prostrate and receive a severe

scourging from friar Gerhard while he himself looked on and repeated

the Miserere. This, the most honored woman of mediaeval Germany, died

of her castigations in 1231. Four years later she was canonized, and

the St. Elizabeth church was begun which still stands to her memory in

Marburg.

The year of Elizabeth's death, Gregory IX. invested Konrad with a

general inquisitorial authority and right to appoint his own assistants

and call upon the secular power for aid. Luciferans, so called, and

other heretics were freely burned. It was Konrad's custom to burn the

offenders the very day their sentences were pronounced. [1166] him to

be a man of consummate virtue, a herald of the Christian faith. Konrad

was buried at the side of Elizabeth, but the papal inquisition in

Germany did not recover for many a year from the blow given to it by

his merciless hardness of heart. And so, as the Annals of Worms

remarked, "Germany was freed from the abominable and unheard-of

tribunal of that man." [1167]

In the Lowlands, Antwerp, Brussels, and other cities were lively

centres of heresy and afforded a fine opportunity for the Inquisitor.

The lists of the accused and of those executed in the flames and by

other means include Waldenses, Beguines, Beghards, Apostolicals,

Lollards, and other sectaries. Their sufferings have been given a

splendid memorial in the volumes of Fredericq. Holland's baptism of

blood on a grand scale was reserved for the days of Philip II. and the

Duke of Alva in the sixteenth century.

In England, the methods of the Inquisition never had any foothold. When

the papal agents arrived to prosecute the Templars, King Edward forbade

the use of torture as contrary to the common law of the realm. The

flogging of the Publicani, who are said to have made a single English

convert, has already been referred to. In 1222 a deacon, who had turned

Jew, was hanged. [1168] burning heretics, passed in 1401, was directed

against the followers of Wyclif and the Lollards. It was not till the

days of Henry VIII. that the period of prosecutions and burnings in

England for heresy fully began.

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[1139] See the presentation of Bernard Guy, pp. 209-211.

[1140] Ad exstirpanda, 1252, two bulls of Alexander IV., 1257, 1260,

council of Vienne, 1312, etc.

[1141] Eymericus II., 110, 199, etc., as quoted by Flade, p. 54.

[1142] Br�holles, IV. 5 sqq.

[1143] Schmidt, in his Herkunft d. Inquisitionsprocesses, finds the

beginnings of the inquisitorial mode of procedure in the legislation of

Charlemagne. The element of inquisitio came to dominate in the legal

procedure of all Western Europe, except England. Its leading feature

was that public fame or suspicion--publica fama, mala fama, clamor

publicus, infamia, etc.,--justifies magistrates in seizing the suspect

and instituting trial. The Normans attempted in vain to introduce it

into England, where the Magna Charta established a different principle.

The Normans, however, carried the inquisition with them to Southern

Italy, where Frederick II. found it in vogue. Innocent, a student of

canon law, found it exactly to his purpose to adopt the inquisitorial

mode of procedure.

[1144] Physicians were forbidden to practise medicine on persons

suspected of heresy and were forced to take oath not to defend it.

Synods of Toulouse, 1229; B�ziers, 1246; Albi, 1254.

[1145] Potthast, 8445. The council of Toulouse, Canon XI., prescribed

that the expense of incarceration be met by the bishop, provided the

culprit had no goods of his own.

[1146] Synod of Narbonne, 1243, etc.; Hefele, V. 1104. There were two

forms of imprisonment, the murus largus, giving the freedom of the

prison and the murus strictus, or solitary imprisonment.

[1147] Synods of Toulouse, 1229; Albi, 1254.

[1148] Lea, I. 512.

[1149] This was often done. The most famous case was that of Wyclif

whose bones were exhumed and burnt by the order of the council of

Constance. One of the notable instances of prosecution after death was

that of Roger, count of Foix, surnamed the Good. His wife and a sister

were Waldenses, and another sister a Catharan. In 1263, years after the

count's death, proceedings were begun against him. See Lea, II. 53 sqq.

[1150] Lea, I. 533, in closing a long treatment says, "We are perfectly

safe in asserting that but for the gains to be made out of fines and

confiscations, the work of the Inquisition would have been much less

thorough, and it would have sunk into comparative insignificance as

soon as the first frantic zeal of bigotry had exhausted itself." The

synods of B�ziers, 1233; Albi, 1254, etc., made a silver mark the

reward of ferreting heretics out. Hefele, V. 1035; VI. 50.

[1151] Documents, etc., I. CXXIX-CCVI.

[1152] Douais, II. 1-89. Molinier, as quoted by Lea, II. 46, estimates

the number of persons tried under this Inquisitor in two years at 8000

to 10,000.

[1153] Douais, I. CCV, where a table is given of the sentences passed

under Guy.

[1154] Lea, II. 115 sqq., and especially Haskins.

[1155] Bull, Aug. 22, 1235, Portland, 9994.

[1156] According to M. Paris he also buried victims alive. Luard's ed.,

iii. 361.

[1157] Haskins, p. 635, adopts the larger number. "And so," said

Albericus, as the story runs, that dogs once came from all directions

and tore themselves to pieces in battle at this same place, as a sort

of prophecy of what was to be, so these Bugres, worse than dogs, were

exterminated in one day to the triumph of Holy Church." Quoted by

Haskins.

[1158] Potthast, 8932.

[1159] Gregorovius, V. 156-161. The assertion has often been made, by

the Spaniard Balmes in 1842, the Abb� Coeur, 1846, a writer in the

Dublin Review, 1850, and others, that Rome never witnessed an execution

for heresy. D�llinger and Reusch in their edition of Bellarmin, Bonn,

1887, p. 233, have paid their respects to this mistake and give a list

of more than twenty persons, Waldenses, Lutherans, and Jews, burnt in

the papal city as late as1553-1635.

[1160] Flade, p. 37 sq.

[1161] Henry VII., 1312 and Charles IV., 1369, 1871, 1373, etc.; Flade,

p. 10. According to Charles'law the confiscated property of heretics

was divided into three parts which went respectively for alms, to the

Inquisitors, and to municipalities for the repair of streets and walls.

[1162] Flade, p. 24, gives a list of seventy-one between 1227-1452.

[1163] For names see Flade, pp. 6, 7.

[1164] Flade, p. 116. The pages of this author must be read to gain any

adequate idea of the horrors of the Inquisition in Germany. He

pronounces it even more bloody than the Inquisition in Southern France.

[1165] Flade, p. 87.

[1166] Roman Catholic writers have recently tried to remove the

impression that Konrad's victims were numerous. See Benrath's reply,

art. Konrad of Marburg, Herzog, X. 749 sqq.

[1167] Quoted by Wagenmann, Herzog, 2d, VIII. 192.

[1168] See Stubbs, Const. Hist., II. 353 (note) sqq., who says that if

there was any persecution for heresy before 1382, it must have taken

the ordinary form of prosecution in the spiritual court. See Prof.

Maitland, Can. Law in the Church of England, p. 158 sq.

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CHAPTER XI.

UNIVERSITIES AND CATHEDRALS.

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� 88. Schools.

Literature: John of Salisbury: Metalogicus, Migne, 199.

823-946.--Guibert of Nogent: De vita sua, I. 4-7; Migne, 153.

843-850.--A. H. L. Heeren: Gesch. d. class. Lit. im MlA., 2 vols.

G�tting., 1822.--S. R. Maitland: The Dark Ages, Essays on the State of

Rel. and Lit., 800-1200 a.d., Lond., 1845, 5th ed. 1890.--H. Heppe: D.

Schulwesen d. MlA., etc., Marb., 1860.--Schaarschmidt: J.

Saresberiensis (John of Salisbury), Leip., 1862.--L�on Ma�tre: Les

�coles �piscopales el monastiques de l'occident, 768-1180 a.d., Paris,

1866.--E. Michaud: G. de Champeaux et les �coles de Paris au 12e

si�cle, Paris, 1867.--J. B. Mullinger: The Schools of Chas. the Great,

Lond., 1877; Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr. to 1535, Cambr., 1873.--\*R.

L. Poole: The School of Chartres, being chap. IV of his Illustr. of the

Hist. of Med. Thought.--\*F. A. Specht: Gesch. d. Unterrichtswesens in

Deutschland von d. �ltesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13ten Jahrh.,

Stuttg., 1885.--\*A. and G. Schmid: Gesch. d. Erziehung bis auf unsere

Zeit, pp. 94-333, Stuttg., 1892.--Miss Drane: Christ. Schools and

Scholars, Lond., 2d ed. 1881. --\*J. E. Sandys: A Hist. of Class.

Scholarship from 600 b.c. to the end of the M. A., Cambr.,

1903.--Mirbt: Publizistik im Zeitalter Greg. VII., pp. 104

sqq.--Rashdall: Universities, vol. I.

Education and the advance of true religion are inseparable. The history

of literary culture in this period is marked by the remarkable

awakening which started in Western Europe in the latter part of the

eleventh century and the rise of the universities in the twelfth

century. The latter was one of the most important events in the

progress of the intellectual development of the race. The renaissance

of the eleventh century showed itself in a notable revival of interest

in schools, in the appearance of eminent teachers, in a renewed study

of the classics, and in an enlarged sweep of the human mind.

The municipal schools of the Roman Empire were swept away by the

barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries, and few vestiges

of them were left. The weight of opinion in the Church had been hostile

to Pagan learning from the time of Tertullian and Jerome and culminated

in Justinian's act, closing the university of Athens. But it is

doubtful whether the old Roman schools would have withstood the shock

from the assaults of Goth, Vandal, and Hun, even had Church teachers

been friendly to classical literature.

The schools of the earlier Middle Ages were associated with the

convents and cathedrals, and it was not till the thirteenth century

that the municipal school appeared again, and then it was in the far

North, in Germany, and the Lowlands. The first name in the history of

the new education is Cassian who founded the convent school of St.

Victor, Marseilles, 404. But it was to Benedict of Nursia that Western

Europe owed the permanent impulse to maintain schools. The Benedictine

Rule made education an adjunct of religion, provided for the training

of children by members of the order, and for the transcription of

manuscripts. To the Benedictines, especially to the Cistercians, are

our libraries indebted for the preservation of the works of classical

and patristic writers.

The wise policy of Charlemagne in establishing the Palace school, a

sort of normal school for the German Empire, and in issuing his

Capitularies bearing on education, and the policy of Alfred in England,

gave a fresh impulse to learning by the patronage of royalty. Alcuin at

the court of Charlemagne, Asser in England, and John Scotus Erigena at

the court of Charles the Bold, were some of the more eminent teachers.

It is possible the education was not confined to clerics, for convents

had two kinds of schools, the one, the interior, for oblates intended

for the monastery, and the exterior school which seems to have had a

more general character. The cathedral schools had for their primary, if

not for their sole purpose, the training of youth for cathedral

positions--canonici puri. The main, if not the exclusive, purpose of

education was to prepare men for the priesthood and the convent. [1169]

edrals in Germany had schools, [1170]

But in that century the centre of education shifted to France. The

schools at Bec, Rheims, Orleans, Laon, and Paris had no rivals and

their fame attracted students, even monks, priests, and bishops, from

England and Germany. [1171] er fame of Bec, under Lanfranc and Anselm.

Students were drawn from afar and, in the judgment of the glowing

panegyrist, Ordericus Vitalis, Athens, in its most flourishing period,

would have honored Lanfranc in every branch of learning. [1172] s were

followed by a succession of teachers whom Ordericus calls "careful

pilots and skilful charioteers." Seldom has so splendid a compliment

been paid a teacher by a man risen to eminence as was paid by Alexander

II. to Lanfranc, [1173] to Rome, after he was made archbishop of

Canterbury. Rising to welcome him with open arms, the pope remarked to

the bystanders that he received Lanfranc as his teacher, at whose feet

he had sat, rather than as archbishop. Guibert of Nogent, who died

about 1120, is authority for the statement that teachers were very rare

in France in his early years, but, at the time when he was writing,

every considerable town in France had a teacher. [1174] the example of

Guibert's statement concerning his own mother.

As in the earlier period of the Middle Ages, so in this middle period,

the idea of universal education was not thought of. Nor was there

anything such as we call belles lettres and general literature. [1175]

[1176] often men who could neither read nor write. Ordericus says that

during the reigns of six dukes, before Lanfranc went to Bec, scarce a

single Norman devoted himself to studies. Duke William of Aquitaine, d.

1030, however, was educated from childhood and was said to have spent

his nights in reading till sleep overcame him, and to have had a

collection of books. [1177]

The most brilliant teachers of this era were Anselm of Laon, William of

Champeaux, Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches, and, above all,

Abaelard. They all belonged to France. In their cases, the school

followed the teacher and students went not so much to a locality as to

an educator. More and more, however, the interest centred in Paris,

which had a number of schools,--the Cathedral school, St. Genevieve,

St. Victor, St. Denis. [1178] ll. His descriptions of the studies of

the age, and the methods and rivalries of teachers, are given in the

Metalogicus.

William of Champeaux, d. 1121, the pupil of Anselm of Laon, won fame at

the Cathedral school of Paris, but lost his position by clash with the

brilliant abilities of Abaelard. He retired to St. Victor and spent the

last eight years of his life in the administration of the see of

Chalons. He was an extreme realist.

The teaching of Anselm of Laon and his brother Ralph drew students from

as far south as Milan and from Bremen in the North. The brothers were

called by John of Salisbury the "splendid luminaries of Gaul," [1179]

had Abaelard among his hearers and won his contumely. But John of

Salisbury's praise, and not Abaelard's contempt, must determine our

judgment of the man. His glossa interlinearis, a periphrastic

commentary on the Vulgate, was held in high esteem for several

centuries. [1180]

Bernard of Chartres, about 1140, was celebrated by John of Salisbury as

the "most overflowing spring of letters in Gaul in recent times" and,

the most perfect Platonist of our age." [1181] ers in these words, "We

are as dwarfs mounted on the shoulders of giants, so that we are able

to see more and further than they; but this is not on account of any

keenness of sight on our part or height of our bodies, but because we

are lifted up upon those giant forms. Our age enjoys the gifts of

preceding ages, and we know more, not because we excel in talent, but

because we use the products of others who have gone before." [1182]

William of Conches, d. 1152 (?), got his name from the Norman hamlet in

which he was born. Like his teacher, Bernard of Chartres, he laid

stress upon a thorough acquaintance with grammar as the foundation of

all learning, and John of Salisbury seems to have written the

Metalogicus to vindicate the claims his teachers made for the

fundamental importance of this study as opposed to dialectics. But he

was advocating a losing cause. Scholasticism was crushing out the fresh

sprouts of humanism. [1183] created from Adam's rib. The root of his

teachings Poole finds in William's own words, "through knowledge of the

creature we attain to the knowledge of the Creator." [1184]

The studies continued, at least theoretically, to follow the scheme of

the old trivium, including grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and the

quadrivium, including arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These

branches had a wider scope than we associate with some of the titles.

Grammar, for example, with Bernard of Chartres, included much more than

technical rules and the fundamental distinctions of words. It took in

the tropes and figures of speech, analyzed the author's body of

thought, and brought out the allusions to nature, science, and ethical

questions. The teaching extended far beyond the teaching of the

Capitularies of Charlemagne. Nevertheless, all these studies were the

vestibule of theology and valuable only as an introduction to it. Jacob

of Vitry, d. 1244, comparing the seven liberal arts with theology,

[1185] od for it teaches us to distinguish truth from falsehood,

grammar is good for it teaches how to speak and write correctly;

rhetoric is good for it teaches how to speak elegantly and to persuade.

Good too are geometry which teaches us how to measure the earth,

arithmetic or the art of computing which enables us to estimate the

brevity of our days, music which reminds us of the sweet chant of the

blessed, astronomy which leads us to consider the heavenly bodies

shining resplendently before God. But far better is theology which

alone can be called a liberal art, since it alone delivers the human

soul from its woes."

Innocent III., through the canons of the Fourth Lateran, ordered all

cathedrals to have teachers of grammar and lectors in theology, and

offered the rewards of high office only to those who pursued hard study

with the sweat of the brow. [1186]

The text-books in use for centuries were still popular, such as

Cassiodorus, the Isagoge of Porphyry, Aristotle on the Categories; and

his De interpretatione, Boethius on Music and the Consolations of

Philosophy, Martianus Capella and the grammars of Priscian and Donatus.

[1187] e open use of the classics by some of the leading educators in

their lectures and their use in the writings of the time.

The condemnation, passed by Jerome on the ancient classics, was adopted

by Cassian and handed down to the later generations. The obscurantists

had the field with little or few exceptions for centuries. It is not to

Alcuin's credit that, in his latter years, he turned away from Virgil

as a collection of "lying fables" and, in a letter to a novice, advised

him not to assoil his mind with that poet's rank luxuriance. [1188]

osen orators and philosophers but ignorant and rustic men as His

agents. [1189] [1190]

Gerbert taught Virgil, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Horace, and

Lucan. [1191] pen the understanding; the study of the writers of the

Church to build a tabernacle to God. Anselm of Bee recommended the

study of Virgil and other classics, counselling the exclusion of such

treatises as contained suggestions of evil. [1192] y's teachers were

zealous in reading such writings. John, who in the small compass of the

Metalogicus quotes no less than seven classical poets, Statius,

Martian, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Catullus, and Persius, and some of these

a number of times, says that if you search in Virgil and Lucan, you

will be sure to find the essence of philosophy, no matter what

philosophy you may profess. [1193] ghed at him as duller than a stone.

[1194] iar with Ovid, Seneca, Horace, and other classics. But the time

for the full Renaissance had not yet come. In the earliest statutes of

the University of Paris the classics were excluded from the curriculum

of studies. The subtle processes of the Schoolmen, although they did

not altogether ignore the classic compositions, could construct the

great theological systems without their aid, though they drew largely

and confidently upon Aristotle.

The Discipline of the schools was severe. A good flogging was

considered a wholesome means of educational advancement. It drove out

the evil spirits of intellectual dulness and heaviness. Degere sub

virga, to pass under the rod, was another expression for getting an

education. At a later date, the ceremony of inducting a schoolmaster

included the presentation of a rod and required him, at least in

England, to show his prowess by flogging a boy publicly. [1195] ce of

physical experience.

Guibert's account of his experiences is the most elaborate description

we have of mediaeval school life, and one of the most interesting

pieces of schoolboys' experience in literature. [1196] idowed mother,

was unmercifully beaten with fist and rod by his teacher, a man who had

learned grammar in his advanced years. Though the teacher was an

indifferent grammarian, Guibert testifies to the vigor of his moral

purpose and the wholesome moral impression he made upon his pupils. The

whipping came every day. But the child's ardor for learning did not

grow cold. On returning to his home one evening and loosening his

shirt, his mother saw the welts and bruises on his shoulders, for he

had been beaten black and blue that day; [1197]

At Cluny the pupils slept near the masters, and if they were obliged to

get up at night, it was not till they had the permission of a master.

If they committed any offence in singing the Psalms or other songs, in

going to bed, or in any other way, they were punished in their shirts,

by the prior or other master, with switches prepared beforehand. [1198]

But there were not wanting teachers who protested against this method.

Anselm urged the way of affection and confidence and urged that a

skilful artificer never fashioned his image out of gold plate by blows

alone. With wise and gentle hand he pressed it into shape. Ceaseless

beating only brutalizes. To an abbot who said "day and night we do not

cease to chastise the children confided to our care and yet they grow

worse and worse," Anselm replied: "Indeed! And when they are grown up,

what will they become? Stupid dolts. A fine education that, which makes

brutes of men!... If you were to plant a tree in your garden and were

to enclose it on all sides, so that it could not extend its branches,

what would you find when, at the end of several years, you set it free

from its bounds? A tree whose branches were bent and scraggy, and would

it not be your fault for having so unreasonably confined it?" [1199]

The principle ruled that an education was free to all whose

circumstances did not enable them to pay for it. Others paid their way.

Fulbert of Chartres took a fee from the rapidly increasing number of

students, regarding philosophy as worth what was paid for it. But this

practice was regarded as exceptional and met with opposition. [1200]

[1201] st scholar at Cluny was as diligent as the care given to

children in the palace. [1202]

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[1169] See Mullinger, Schools of Chas. the Great, pp. 31 sqq.;

Rashdall, p. 28; Hauck, IV. 450, etc.

[1170] Mirbt, pp. 105 sq.

[1171] Schmid, pp. 250 sq.; Mirbt, pp. 106 sq. Hauck, IV. 462-456,

gives reasons for disparaging the schools of Germany.

[1172] Ord. Vit., IV. 7, 11; Bohn's ed., II. 40, 68. He speaks of the

seed of learning sown by Lanfranc--liberalium artium et sac. lectionis

sedimen per Lanfr. coepit.

[1173] Vita Lanf., Migne, 150. 49. Ma�tre, p. 122, calls Bec, la soeur

a�n�e de l'univ. de Paris, and Schmid, p. 248, die erste Hochschule der

Wissenschaft. Church, in his Life of Anselm, pp. 53 sqq., has remarks

on mediaeval education.

[1174] De vita sua, Migne, 156. 844.

[1175] Guizot, Hist. of Civilization, Bohn's ed., II. 22 sqq. Cardinal

Newman in his Hist. Essays, through his admiration of monastic

institutions, allowed himself to speak of the state of learning in

Europe in the first half of the M. A. in terms which will not bear a

moment's investigation. See Laurie, p. 36.

[1176] Hauck, III. 342.

[1177] Wattenbach, p. 592.

[1178] See Poole, p. 110.

[1179] Splendidissima lumina Galliarum. Metal., Migne, 199. 832.

[1180] He also wrote allegorical notes on the Canticles, Matthew, and

Revelation. Migne, vol. 162.

[1181] Metal., Migne, 199. 854.

[1182] Metal., III. 4; Migne, 199. 900.

[1183] See Rashdall, I. 67.

[1184] See Poole's art. in Herzog, 2d ed., XVIII. 132 sqq.

[1185] Quoted by Compayr�, p. 200.

[1186] Qui diutius sudavit in scholis et laudabiliter proferit in eis.

Hurter, III. 244.

[1187] See Laurie, pp. 62 sq.; Mullinger, pp. 63 sq., etc.

[1188] Quoted by Mullinger, p. 110.

[1189] Migne, 139. 337 sq., quoted by Schmid, p. 243

[1190] .Migne, 189. 77. For other warnings, see Wattenbach, pp. 324

sqq., and Sandys, pp. 595 sq.

[1191] Richer, Historiae, III. 45, quoted by Schmid, p. 241.

[1192] Ep., I. 55, exceptis his in quibus aliqua turpitudo sonat.

[1193] Migne, 199. 854. The quotations from the poets in the

Polycraticus are even more numerous. John also quoted the historians

Sallust, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, etc., but does nothing more than

to refer by name to Livy, Caesar, and Tacitus. See Sandys, 521.

[1194] Metal., I. 8; Migne, 199. 830. See Sandys, pp. 504 sqq., for

Latin quotations from 1100 on.

[1195] "Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a

shrewde boy whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the

Scolys," etc, Mullinger, Univ. of Cambridge, I, 345.

[1196] De vita sua, I. 4-6; Migne, 166. 843-848; Guizot, in his Hist.

of Civilization, Bohn's ed., II. 94 sqq.; Schmid, p. 249, and Laurie,

pp. 80 sqq., consider the account of so much importance that they give

it at length in the original, or in translation.

[1197] Ipsa liventes attendit ulnulas dorsicula ex viminum illisione

cutem ubique prominulam. De vita sua, Migne, 156. 847.

[1198] Quoted by Schmid, p. 246, note.

[1199] Quoted by Compayr�, p. 303.

[1200] Hauck, IV. 452. See Schmid, p. 250.

[1201] Discere si cupias gratis quod quaeris habebis. Migne, 101. 757.

[1202] Schmid, p. 246.

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� 89. Books and Libraries.

Literature: E. Edwards: Libraries and Founders of Libraries, Lond.,

1865.--T. Gottlieb: Mittetalt. Bibliotheken, Leip., 1890.--F. A.

Gasquet: Notes on Med. Libraries, Lond., 1891.--E. M. Thompson: Hd.

book of Gr. and Lat. Palaeography, Lond., 1893. Contains excellent

facsimiles of med. MSS., etc.--J. W. CLARK: Libraries in the Med. and

Renaiss. Periods, Cambr., 1894.--G. R. Putnam: Books and their Makers,

476-1709, 2 vols. N. Y., 1896 sq. See his elaborate list of books on

monastic education, libraries, etc., I. xviii. sqq.--Mirbt: Publizistik

in Zeitalter Greg. VII., pp. 96 sqq. and 119 sqq.--\*Maitland: The Dark

Ages.--\*W. Wattenbach: D. Schriftwesen in Mittelalter, 3d ed., Leip.,

1896.--Art. Bibliothek in Wetzer-Welte, II. 783 sqq. Transl. and

Reprints of Univ. of Pa. II. 3.

Books and schools go together and both are essential to progress of

thought in the Church. The mediaeval catalogue of the convent of Muri

asserts strongly the close union of the intellectual and religious

life. It becomes us, so it ran, always to copy, adorn, improve, and

annotate books, because the life of the spiritual man is nothing

without books. [1203]

Happy was the convent that possessed a few volumes. [1204] requent in

the Middle Ages; and here they were accessible to the constituency

which could read. It was a current saying, first traced to Gottfried,

canon of St. Barbe-en-Auge, that a convent without a library is like a

fortress without arms. [1205] early Middle Ages, there were small

collections of books at York, Fulda, Monte Cassino, and other

monasteries. They were greatly prized, and ecclesiastics made journeys

to get them, as did Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, who made five trips to

Italy for that purpose. During the two centuries and more after Gregory

VII., the use and the number of books increased; but it remained for

the zeal of Petrarch in the fourteenth century to open a new era in the

history of libraries. The period of the Renaissance which followed

witnessed an unexampled avidity for old manuscripts which the

transition of scholars from Constantinople made it possible to satisfy.

To the convents of Western Europe, letters and religion owe a lasting

debt, not only for the preservation of books, but for their

multiplication. The monks of St. Benedict have the first place as the

founders of libraries and guardians of patristic and classical

literature. Their Rules required them to do a certain amount of reading

each day, and at the beginning of Lent each received a book from the

cloistral collection and was expected to read it "straight through."

This direction shines as a light down through the history of the

monastic institutions, though many a convent probably possessed no

books and some of them had little appreciation of their value.

A collection of several hundred books was relatively as large a library

as a collection of hundreds of thousands of volumes would be now.

Fleury, in the twelfth century, had 238 volumes, St. Riquier 258.

[1206] estruction of the English monastery of Croyland in the eleventh

century involved the loss of "300 original and more than 400 smaller

volumes." The conventual buildings were destroyed in the night by fire.

The interesting letter of the abbot Ingulph, relating the calamity,

speaks of beautiful manuscripts, illuminated with pictures and adorned

with crosses of gold. The good abbot, after describing the loss of the

chapel, infirmary, and other parts of the buildings, went on to say

"our cellar and the very casks, full of beer, were also burnt up."

[1207]

Catalogues are preserved from this period. Edwards gives a list of

thirty-three mediaeval catalogues of English libraries. [1208] n,"

[1209] he writers of the Carlovingian age, Bede and Alcuin. The

catalogue of Corbie, Picardy, dating from the twelfth century, gives 39

copies of Augustine, 16 of Jerome, 13 of Bede, 15 of Boethius, and 5 of

Cicero, as well as copies of Terence, Livy, Pliny, and Seneca. [1210]

work, the Meditations of Anselm. The Pr�fening library had a copy each,

of Anselm, Hugo, Abaelard, the Lombard and Gratian. Classical authors

were common. The library at Durham had copies of Cicero, Terence,

Virgil, Horace, Claudian, Statius, Sallust, Suetonius, Quintilian and

other Latin authors. [1211]

Gifts of books were regarded as worthy benefactions. Peter, bishop of

Paris, before starting out for the Holy Land, gave 300 works over to

the care of the convent of St. Victor. [1212] [1213] [1214] dmiring

chronicler treats it as a claim to fame, that Theodoric secured, for

his abbey of St. Evroult, the books of the Old and New Testaments and

an entire set of Gregory the Great. Others followed his good example

and secured the works of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and other Fathers.

[1215] [1216]

Libraries were sometimes given with the stipulation that the books

should be loaned out. This was the case with Jacob of Carnarius who, in

1234, gave his library to the Dominicans of Vercelli on this condition.

In 1270, Stephen, at one time archdeacon of Canterbury, donated his

books to Notre Dame, Paris, on condition of their being loaned to poor

theological students, and Peter of Joigny, 1297, bequeathed his

collection directly to poor students. [1217] nce.

Manuscripts were sometimes offered at the altar or at the shrines of

saints as offerings for the healing of the giver's soul,--pro remedio

animae suae. [1218] William of Longchamps, bishop of Ely, 1190, pawned

13 copies of the Gospels for the redemption of Richard I. [1219] [1220]

ere and there, a tax was levied for the benefit of a library, as in the

case of Evesham, 1215, and the synod of Lyons the same year adopted a

like expedient. [1221] f which were to be used for the needs of the

library. [1222]

Of all books, copies of the Scriptures were held in highest esteem.

They were often bound in covers, inlaid with gold and silver, and

sometimes ornamented with precious stones and richly illuminated. Paul,

abbot of St. Albans, placed in the abbey-library eight Psalters and two

Gospels highly ornamented with gold and gems, as well as a copy of the

Collects, a copy of the Epistles, and 28 other books. In 1295, the dean

of St. Paul's found in the cathedral 12 copies of the Gospels adorned

with jewels, and a thirteenth copy kept in a case with relics. [1223]

Books were kept first in armaria or horizontal presses and the

librarian was called armarius. About the fourteenth century shelves

were introduced along the cloistral walls. [1224] [1225] ry, chained to

their places, for the use of the fellows. This custom was still in

vogue in England in the sixteenth century, when copies of the English

Bible were kept chained to the reading desks in the churches. The old

Benedictine rule was still enforced for the distribution of books.

Lanfranc's statutes for the English Benedictines, 1070, required the

return of the books by the monks the first Sunday in Lent. They were

then to be laid out on the floor and distributed for the ensuing year,

one book to each monk. Any one failing to read his book was obliged to

fall on his face and confess his neglect. [1226] [1227] and the synod

of Paris, 1212, insisted that convents should not recede from this good

practice which it pronounced a work of mercy.

The book-room, or scriptorium, was part of a complete conventual

building. It served as a place of writing and of transcribing

manuscripts. Sometimes a monk had his own little book-room, called

scriptoriolum, or kept books in his cell. Nicholas, Bernard's

secretary, described his little room as next to the infirmary and

"filled with choice and divine books." [1228] successor to John of

Salisbury in the see of Chartres, spoke of his scriptoriolum as filled

with books, where he could be free from the vanity and vexations of the

world. The place had been assigned to him, he said, for reading,

writing, meditating, praying, and adoring the Lord. [1229]

Abbots themselves joined to their other labors the work of the copyist.

So it was with Theodoric of St. Evroult, 1050-1057, a skilful scribe

who, according to Ordericus Vitalis, [1230] skill," in copies of the

Collects, Graduale, and Antiphonary which were deposited in the convent

collection. Theodoric also secured the services of others to copy

commentaries and the heptateuch. [1231] Copying was made a special

feature of St. Albans by the abbot Paul, 1077-1093. He secured money

for a scriptorium and brought scribes from a distance. In the latter

part of the eleventh century, Hirschau in Southern Germany was noted

for this kind of activity, through its abbot William, who saw that

twelve good copyists were trained for his house. These men made many

copies and William is said to have presented books to every convent he

reformed. The scribe, Othlo of Emmeram, of the same century, has left

us a list of the books he gave away. [1232]

Diligence as a copyist sometimes stood monks in good stead when they

came to face the realities of the future world. Of such an one,

Ordericus makes mention. [1233] of Scripture, but he was a man of many

moral offences. When the evil spirits laid claim to his soul, the

angels produced the holy volume which the monk had transcribed. Every

letter was counted and balanced against a sin. At last, it was found

the letters had a majority of one. The devils tried to scrape up

another sin, but in vain, and the Lord permitted the fortunate monk to

return to the body and do proper penance.

Copying was sometimes prescribed as a punishment for cloistral offences

and the Carthusian rules withheld wine from the monk who was able to

copy and would not ply his art. It seems at times to have been a most

confining and wearisome task. Lewis, a monk of Wessobrunn in Bavaria,

had some of this feeling when he appended to a transcription of

Jerome's commentary on Daniel the following words and claimed the

prayers of the reader: --

Dum scripsit friguit, et quod cum lumine solis

Scribere non potuit, perfecit lumine noctis.

"When he wrote he froze, and what he could not complete by the light of

day, he finished by the light of the night." [1234]

The price of books continued to be high till the invention of the

printing-press. A count of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of

Haimo of Halberstadt 200 sheep and a large quantity of provisions. In

1274, a finely written Bible sold for 50 marks, about $l70, when labor

cost a shilling a day. Maitland computed that it would take a monk ten

months to transcribe the Bible and that the labor would be worth to-day

�60 or �70. [1235] The prices, however, were often greatly reduced, and

Richard of Bury, in his Philobiblion, says that he purchased from the

convent of St. Albans 32 volumes for �50.

The copyists, like the builders of the cathedrals, usually concealed

their names. It was a custom with them to close their task by appending

some pious or, at times, some witty sentiment. A line, frequently

appended, ran, finito libro, sit laus et gloria Christo. "The book is

finished. Praise and honor be to Christ." The joy authors often feel at

the completion of their writings was felt by a scribe when he wrote,

libro completo, saltat scriptor pede leto. "Now the book is done, the

scribe dances with glad foot." Another piously expressed his feelings

when he wrote, dentur pro penna scriptori caelica regna. "May the

heavenly reward be given to the scribe for his work with the quill."

[1236]

The pleasures of converse with books in the quiet of a library are thus

attractively set forth by a mediaeval theologian, left alone in the

convent when the other monks had gone off for recreation: --

"Our house is empty save only myself and the rats and mice who nibble

in solitary hunger. There is no voice in the hall, no footstep on the

stairs .... I sit here with no company but books, dipping into dainty

honeycombs of literature. All minds in the world's literature are

concentrated in a library. This is the pinnacle of the temple from

which we may see all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. I

keep Egypt and the Holy Land in the closet next to the window. On the

side of them are Athens and the empire of Rome. Never was such an army

mustered as I have here. No general ever had such soldiers as I have.

No kingdom ever had half such illustrious subjects as mine or subjects

half as well disciplined. I can put my haughtiest subjects up or down

as it pleases me .... I call Plato and he answers "here,"--a noble and

sturdy soldier; "Aristotle," "here,"--a host in himself. Demosthenes,

Pliny, Cicero, Tacitus, Caesar. "Here," they answer, and they smile at

me in their immortality of youth. Modest all, they never speak unless

spoken to. Bountiful all, they never refuse to answer. And they are all

at peace together .... All the world is around me, all that ever

stirred human hearts or fired the imagination is harmlessly here. My

library cases are the avenues of time. Ages have wrought, generations

grown, and all their blossoms are cast down here. It is the garden of

immortal fruits without dog or dragon."

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[1203] Quia vita omnium spiritualium hominum sine libris nihil est,

quoted by Wetzer-Welte, II. 792.

[1204] Hurter, Innocent III. IV. 179.

[1205] Claustrum sine armario quasi est castrum sine armamentario. See

Maitland, p. 230; Wattenbach, p. 570.

[1206] Clark, p. 25.

[1207] Maitland, pp. 286 sqq.

[1208] Edwards, pp. 448-454.

[1209] Hauck, IV. 448.

[1210] Edwards, p. 52.

[1211] Edwards, p. 56. See also Sandys, pp. 500 sqq.

[1212] Hurter, III. 314. A list of books is preserved which the

archbishop of far Northern Lund gave to the cathedral.

[1213] Stevenson, Life of Gross., p. 86.

[1214] Ep., 44; Migne, 139. 214.

[1215] Order. Vit., III. 3.

[1216] Libri maxime Augustiniani, ut nosti, apud nos auro pretiosiores.

sunt.

[1217] Chart. Univ. Paris., I. 493. Translated in the Univ. of Penn.

Translations and Reprints.

[1218] Maitland, pp. 98 sq., 238 sqq.

[1219] Maitland, p. 250.

[1220] Wattenbach, p. 546.

[1221] Wattenbach, p. 582.

[1222] Putnam, I. 159.

[1223] Maitland, p. 242.

[1224] Clark, p. 24, and Gasquet, pp. 20-28.

[1225] Such chained books were, in the Sorbonne from 1289 on "for the

common use of the brethren"--in communem sociorum utilitatem.

[1226] Putnam, I. 152. The statutes of Oriel College, Oxford, 1329,

ordered the books taken out once a year, Nov. 2, each person, according

to age, taking out a single volume. Clark, p. 34.

[1227] Ep., 88; Migne, 182. 219. See Coulton's Salimbene, p. 167.

[1228] Ep., 35; Migne, 196. 1626.

[1229] Maitland, p. 442.

[1230] III. 3; Engl. trans., I. 406. Ordericus frequently refers to

copyists. III. 5, IV. 19, etc.

[1231] The heptateuch included the first seven books of the Old

Testament.

[1232] See his own description, Maitland, pp. 454 sqq.

[1233] III. 3; Engl. trans., I. 407.

[1234] Maitland, p. 444.

[1235] p. 232.

[1236] Wattenbach., pp. 471-534, gives a number of subscriptions.

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� 90. The Universities.

Literature: Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, ed. by H. Denifle,

O. P. and A. Chatelain, adjunct librarian of the Sorbonne, 4 vols.

Paris, 1889-1897. This magnificent work gives the documents bearing on

the origin, organization, customs, and rules of the University of Paris

from 1200-1452; and forms one of the most valuable recent contributions

to the study of the Middle Ages.--Auctarium Chartularii Univ. Paris.,

ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, 2 vols. Paris, 1893-1897. It gives the

documents bearing on the Hist. of the English "nation" in Paris from

1393-1466.--Denifle: Urkunden zur Gesch. der mittelalt. Universit�ten,

in Archiv f�r Lit.- und Kirchengesch., V. 167 sqq., 1889.--Engl. trans.

of the charter of Fred. Barbarossa, 1158; the Privilege of Philip

Augustus, 1200; the charter of Frederick II. founding the Univ. of

Naples; the Regulations of Robert de Cour�on, 1215, etc., are given in

the Trans. and Reprints of the Dep. of Hist., Univ. of Penn. -- C. E.

Bulaeus (Du Boulay): Hist. univ. Paris., etc., a Carolo Magno ad nostra

tempora (1600), 6 vols. Paris, 1665-1678. A splendid work, but wrong in

its description of the origin of the university and some matters of its

organization.--F. C. von Savigny, Prof. in Berlin, d. 1861: Gesch. des

r�m. Rechts im M. A., Heidel., 2d ed., 1834, vol. III.--J. H. Newman:

Office and Work of Universities, London, 1856, vol. III of his Hist.

Sketches. An exaggerated estimate of medieval culture. I. D�llinger: D.

Universit�ten sonst und jetzt, in his Akad. Vortr�ge, Nordl.,

1889.--\*Denifle: D. Entstehung d. Universit�ten d. Mittelalters bis

1400, Berlin, 1885, pp. 814. Marks an epoch in the treatment of the

subject; is full of learning and original research, but repetitious and

contentious. Denifle intended to write three more volumes.--\*S. S.

Laurie: The Rise and Constit. of Universities, etc., Camb., 1892.--G.

Compayr�: Abelard and Origin and Early Hist. of Universities, N. Y.,

1898.--\*H. Rashdall: The Universities of Europe in the M. A., 2 vols.,

Oxford, 1895. --P. SCHAFF: The Univ. Past, Present and Future, in Lit.

and Poetry, pp. 256-278.

The university appears in Europe as an established institution in the

twelfth century. It quickly became the restless centre of intellectual

and literary life, the workshop of learning and scientific progress.

Democratic in its constitution, it received men from every rank and

sent them forth with new ideas and equipped to be the leaders of their

age.

Origin. -- The universities were a product of the mediaeval mind, to

which nothing in the ancient world, in any adequate way, corresponded.

They grew up on the soil of the cathedral and conventual studies, but

there was no organic continuity between them and the earlier schools.

They were of independent growth, coming into being in response to a

demand, awakened by the changed circumstances of life and the revival

of thought in Europe. No clatter and noise announced their coming, but

they were developed gradually from imperfect beginnings into thoroughly

organized literary corporations.

Nor were the universities the immediate creation of the Church. Church

authority did not bring them into being as it did the Crusades. All

that can be said is that the men who wrought at their foundations and

the lower superstructures were ecclesiastics and that popes were wise

enough early to become their patrons and, as in the case of Paris, to

take the reins of their general administration into their own hands.

The time had come for a specialization of studies in the departments of

human knowledge, the arts, law, medicine, and theology, which last,

according to Jacob of Vitry, "alone can be called a liberal art, since

it alone delivers the human soul from its woes."

The universities owed their rise to the enthusiasm of single teachers

[1237] he most prominent figure, were the centres where the university

idea had its earliest and most substantial realization. These teachers

satisfied and created a demand for specialization in education.

Due credit must not be withheld from the guilds whose organization

furnished a pattern for the university, especially in the case of

Bologna. The university was the literary guild, representing a

like-minded community of intellectual interests and workers. It is also

possible that some credit must be given to Arabic influences, as in the

case of the school of medicine at Salerno.

The first universities arose in Italy, the earliest of all being

Salerno and Bologna. These were followed by Paris and other French

universities. England came next, and then Spain. Prague was the first

to embody the idea in Central Europe. The distinctively German

universities do not date beyond the second half of the fourteenth

century, Vienna, 1365, Erfurt, 1379, Heidelberg, 1385, Cologne, 1388.

The three Scotch universities, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, were

established in the fifteenth century. That century also witnessed the

birth of the far northern Universities of Copenhagen and Upsala. By the

end of the fifteenth century there were nearly eighty of these academic

institutions. Some of these passed out of existence and some never

attained to more than a local celebrity.

Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Padua, Oxford, Cambridge, and other

universities owed their existence to no papal or royal charter.

Toulouse, 1229 and Rome, 1244 were the first to be founded by papal

bulls. The University of Naples was founded by the emperor, Frederick

II., 1224. The Spanish Universities of Palencia, 1212, Salamanca, 1230,

and Seville, 1254, were established by the kings of Castile. Prague,

1347, was founded by a double charter from the pope and Charles IV.

Some universities had their origin in disaffection prevailing in

universities already established: Padua started in a defection of

students from Bologna; Cambridge, in 1209, in a defection of students

from Oxford, and Leipzig, in 1409, grew out of the dissatisfaction of

the German "nation" with its treatment at Prague. Heidelberg is the

earliest institution of papal creation which went over to the

Reformation. [1238]

Organization. -- A university originally signified not a body of

studies or a place where studies were prosecuted, but an aggregation of

teachers and students--universitas magistrorum et scholarium. The term

"university" was used of any group of persons and was a common

expression for "Your body" or "all of you"--universitas vestra. [1239]

versity," as we use it, was studium and studium generale, "study" or,

"general study." Thus the University of Bologna was called studium

Bononie or Bononiense,--as it is still called studio Bolognese in

Italy, Paris, studium Parisiense, Oxford, studium Oxoniense. The

addition "general" had reference to students, not to a variety of

branches of knowledge, and denoted that the studium was open to

students from every quarter. [1240] g. The designation of a seat of

learning as alma or alma mater dates from the thirteenth century.

A full university requires at least four faculties, the arts--now known

at the German universities as the faculty of philosophy,--law,

medicine, and theology. This idea was not embodied in the earliest

foundations and some of the universities remained incomplete during

their entire existence. Salerno was a medical school. Bologna was for

more than a century only a school of law. Salamanca, the most venerable

of existing Spanish educational institutions, did not have a faculty of

theology till the end of the fourteenth century. [1241] lthough civil

law was taught there before 1219. [1242] e. The reason for this may

have been a purpose not to come into collision with the episcopal and

conventual schools, which existed for the training of priests. The

faculty of the arts, the lowest of the faculties, included the seven

studies covered by the trivium and quadrivium, but was at a later

period expanded so as to include metaphysical, linguistic, historic,

and other studies not covered by the study of law, medicine, and

theology. Theology was known as the highest and master study. Alexander

IV., writing to Paris, 1256, said that theology ruled over the other

studies like a mistress, and they followed her as servants. [1243]

The university had its own government, endowments, and privileges.

These privileges, or bills of rights, were of great value, giving the

body of teachers and students protection from the usual police

surveillance exercised by municipalities and included their exemption

from taxation, from military service except in cases of exigency, and

from the usual modes of trial before the municipal authorities. Suits

brought against members of the University of Paris were tried before

the bishop of Paris. In Bologna, such suits were tried before the

professor of the accused student or the bishop. By the privilege of

Philip Augustus, 1200, the chattels of students at Paris were exempt

from seizure by the civil officer. The university was a state within

the state, a free republic of letters. [1244] ed, they resorted to what

was called cessation, cessatio, a suspension of the functions of the

university or even removal to some other locality. In 1229 the

University of Paris suspended for two years on account of the delay of

Queen Blanche to give redress for the violent death of two students

during the carnival. Many professors left Paris till not a single one

of fame remained. The bishop of Paris launched excommunications against

the chief offenders; but the university was victorious and the king

made apology for the injuries inflicted and the pope revoked the

ecclesiastical censures. Gregory IX., 1231, confirmed this privilege of

suspending lectures. [1245] ty to teach, as conscience dictates,

without fear of interference from the state.

The Model Universities.--In the administration of their affairs the

universities followed Bologna and Paris as models. In Bologna the

students were in control, in Paris the masters in conjunction with the

students. As for their relation to the pope and the authority of the

Church, Bologna was always free, antipapal and anticlerical, as

compared with her younger sister in France. The democratic principle

had large recognition. The first element to be noticed is the part

played by the different faculties. In Paris the faculties were fully

organized by the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1281, the

university as a body promised to defend each of its faculties. [1246]

hat time each faculty passed upon its own degrees, regulated its own

lectures, and performed other special acts.

The second element was the part which the so-called nations had in the

administration. In Bologna there were four nations, the Italians,

English, [1247] goes back to the early years of the thirteenth century.

[1248] into provinces. An elective official, known as the rector, stood

at the head of the whole corporation. At Bologna he was called, as

early as 1194, "rector of the associations," rector societatum. He

directed the affairs of the university in conjunction with a board of

counsellors representing the provinces.

The first record calling the head of the University of Paris rector

[1249] of the four nations. The rector had to be a master of arts and

might be a layman, but must be a celibate. He performed on great

occasions, and wore a striking costume. He was responsible to the body

whose agent he was. The Paris rector was addressed as "your amplitude,"

vestra amplitudo.

At Paris there was also a chancellor, and he was the older officer. He

stood at the head of the chapter of Notre Dame and was called

interchangeably chancellor of the cathedral and chancellor of Paris. To

him belonged the prerogative of giving the license to teach and confer

degrees. His authority was recognized, time and again, by the popes,

and also restricted by papal decree, so that what he lost the rector

gained. [1250] e archdeacon of the diocese conferred the degrees.

[1251]

Degrees.--By 1264, at latest, each faculty at Paris had its own dean

[1252] d by Bologna or Paris, carried with it the right to teach

everywhere,--jus ubique docendi. Gregory IX., 1233, and other popes

conferred the same prerogative upon the masters of Toulouse and other

universities but it seems doubtful whether their degrees were

respected. Even a degree from Oxford did not carry the right of

lecturing at Paris without a re�xamination. When Alexander IV. granted

to the masters of Salamanca the right of teaching everywhere, Bologna

and Paris were expressly excepted. [1253]

The question of mediaeval degrees offers much difficulty. There seem to

have been three stages: bachelor, or baccalaureus, licentiate, and

doctor or master. They corresponded to the three grades in the guilds:

apprentice, assistant, and master. The bachelors were received after

examination and did subordinate lecturing. The degree was not merely a

testimonial of work done, but a certificate entitling the holder to ply

the trade of reading or teaching. The titles, master, magister, doctor,

dominus, and professor, scholasticus, were synonymous. "Doctor" was the

usual title at Bologna, and "master" at Paris, but gradually "doctor"

came to be used chiefly of the graduates in canon law at Paris, and

"master" of graduates in theology. [1254] oke of the "doctors and

masters in each faculty," no doubt using the words as synonyms. The

test for the degrees was called the "determination," determinance, the

main part of which was the presentation of a thesis and its defence

against all comers.

Eight years was fixed by Robert de Courcon, 1215, as the period of

preparation for the theological doctorate, but in the beginning of the

fourteenth century it was extended to fourteen years. In the department

of jurisprudence a course of eight years,--in medicine a course of six

years,--was required.

Teachers and Studies.--The teaching was done at first in convents and

in private quarters. In 1253 there were twelve professors of theology

in Paris, nine of them teaching in convents and belonging to the

orders. University buildings were of slow growth, and the phenomenon

presented by such great universities as Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and the

University of Chicago, starting out fully equipped with large

endowments and buildings, was unknown in the Middle Ages. Professors

and students had to make their own way and at first no provision was

made by king or municipality for salaries. The professor lived by

lecture fees and the gifts of rich students. Later, endowments were

provided, and cities provided funds for the payment of salaries. [1255]

[1256] d by Robert of Sorbon, 1257, for sixteen secular students, four

from each nation. The term "secular" was used in distinction from

conventual. Another famous college was the college of Navarre on St.

Genevieve, founded by the queen of Philip the Fair, Jeanne of Navarre,

1304. Rashdall, I. 478-517, gives a list of more than sixty colleges,

or bursaries, founded in Paris before 1500. From being places of

residence for needy students, the colleges came to include masters, as

at Oxford and Cambridge. At Bologna the college system was never

developed to the same extent as at Paris and in England.

With rare exceptions, the teachers in all the faculties were

ecclesiastics, or, if laymen, unmarried. John XXII., in 1331, granted a

dispensation to a married man to teach medicine in Paris, but it was an

exception. Not till 1452 was the requirement of celibacy modified for

the faculty of medicine in Paris, and till 1479 for Heidelberg; and not

till a later date were the legal professors of Paris and Bologna

exempted from this restriction. The Reformation at once effected a

change in the universities under Protestant influence. [1257]

The lectures were given in Latin and students as well as masters were

required to use Latin in conversation. Learning of any kind was

regarded as too sacred a thing to be conveyed in the vulgar dialects of

Europe. [1258] [1259] oks should be. The classics had no place. Certain

works of Aristotle were forbidden, as were also, at a later date, the

writings of Amauri of Bena, David of Dinant, and other supposed or real

heretics. Gregory IX. warned the divinity students against affecting

philosophy, and to be satisfied with becoming "theodocts." [1260]

Attendance and Discipline.--The attendance at the mediaeval

universities has been a matter of much dispute. Some of the figures

seem to be incredibly large. [1261] for the earliest periods, and not

till the end of the fourteenth century do we have actual records of the

number of graduations in Paris. Odefridus, a writer of the thirteenth

century, gives the number of students at Bologna two generations

before, as 10,000. Paris was reported to have had 25,000 students, and

Oxford as many as 30,000, [1262] tured to 3000 hearers, and this figure

does not seem to be exaggerated when we consider the great attraction

of his personality. In any estimate, it must be remembered that the

student body included boys and also men well up in years. Rashdall

makes 1500 to 3000 the maximum number for Oxford. [1263]

There was no such thing as university discipline in the thirteenth

century, as we understand discipline. The testimonies are unanimous

that the students led a wild life. [1264] the department of arts. There

were no dormitories, and the means of communication then at hand did

not make it possible for parents to exercise the checks upon absent

sons such as they may exercise to-day. Felix Platter, d. 1614, states

in his autobiography that, as late as the middle of the sixteenth

century, it required twenty days to make the journey from Basel to the

school of Montpellier. At Paris students were excused from the payment

of fees on account of the long distances from which they had come, the

journeys often requiring several months and involving perils from

robbers. [1265] into houses, ravished women, and committed robberies

and "many other enormities hateful to God." [1266] ame proverbial.

[1267] [1268]

The rescript given by Frederick Barbarossa to Bologna, 1158, presented

a picture of students as those "who exile themselves through love of

learning and wear themselves out in poverty." The facts do not support

any rosy picture of social equality, such as we would expect in an

ideal democracy. The number who were drawn to the universities from

love of adventure and novelty must have been large. The nobleman had

his special quarters and his servants, while the poor student begged

his bread. It was the custom of the chancellor of Oxford to issue

licenses for the needy to beg. [1269] he first seats. [1270]

The mediaeval universities were the centres of the ideals and hopes of

the younger generation. There, the seeds were sown of the

ecclesiastical and intellectual movements of after times and of the

revolutions which the conservative groups pronounced scientific

novelties and doctrinal heresies.

A mediaeval writer pronounced the three chief forces for the

maintenance of the Catholic faith to be the priesthood, the empire, and

the university. This was not always the case. From Paris went forth

some of the severest attacks on the theory of papal absolutism, and

from there, a century later, the reformers, Gerson and D'Ailly,

proceeded. Hussitism was begotten at Prague. Wyclif's teachings made

Oxford a seat of heresy. Wittenberg, the last of the mediaeval

universities to open its doors, protected and followed Luther. Basel,

Pius II.'s creation, Heidelberg, Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, and

other universities became the bulwarks of the new ideas. On the other

hand, the Sorbonne, Louvaine, and Cologne ordered Luther's works burnt.

As an agent of culture and the onward progress of mankind, the Middle

Ages made no contribution to modern times comparable in usefulness to

the university.

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[1237] "A teacher inspired by a love of teaching gathered around him a

circle of scholars eager to learn. Other teachers followed, the circle

of listeners increased, and thus, by a kind of inward necessity, an

enduring school was founded." Savigny, XX. 58.

[1238] According to Denifle, after the middle of the thirteenth

century, no university came into existence without a papal bull. I.

777. But Kaufmann disputes this view and, as it would seem, with

reason. See Laurie, p. 137; Rashdall, I. 13. The mediaeval custom of

giving a university legal existence by a papal bull was renewed for the

United States when Leo XIII. chartered the University of Washington

City, 1888.

[1239] Innocent III., 1205, addressed the professors of Paris in this

way, universitatem vestram rogamus, Chart., I. 63. In this letter

Innocent also addresses the corporation as universis magistris et

scholaribus. So also Gregory IX., 1251, Alex. IV., 1256, etc., Chart.,

I. 136, 342, but the expression "university of masters and scholars,"

universitas magistrorum et scholarium, seems to have been used first in

1221. Chart., I. ix, 98, 99

[1240] Rashdall, I. 8, a "general study" might be founded for each

separate faculty as the studium generale in theologica facultate.

Denifle, I. 5.

[1241] The term "faculty" at first seems to have been synonymous with

"science," or branch of knowledge. Thus Frederick II., in chartering

the University of Naples, spoke of those who teach the science of

surgery, chirurgiae facultatem instruunt.

[1242] Honorius III., 1219, forbade the teaching of civil law in Paris.

Chart., I. p. xxviii, 92.

[1243] Praeest reliquis sicut superior, etc., Chart., I. 343.

[1244] The University of Cambridge in its calendar is still styled "a

literary republic." Laurie, p. 186.

[1245] Chart., I. 138, liceat vobis usque ad satisfactionem condignam

suspendere lectiones.

[1246] Chart., I. 590. The term "faculty" was first used of the

university of Paris by Honorius III., 1219. Chart., I. x, 87.

[1247] English archdeacons were expected, after their election, to go

to Bologna to study canon law. See Capes, Hist. of the Eng. Church, p.

240.

[1248] Chart., I. 215, Honorius III., 1222, speaks of "nations," but

does not definitely give the number. Chart., I. 103, Du Boulay,

following a spurious document, dates their organization as far back as

1206. Denifle puts the existence of the four nations in Paris as far

back as 1215-1222. See Chart., I. xxi. The first clear trace of the

division into nations seems to be in a bull of Honorius III., 1217, and

concerns Bologna. It is addressed to the scolaribus universitatis de

urbe, de campania et de Tuscia, Bononie commorantibus.

[1249] Rector univ. magistrorum et scolarium, Chart., I. pp. xxiii,

379.

[1250] Chart., I. p. xix.

[1251] Chart., I. 90 sqq.

[1252] Chart., I. pp. xi, 441.

[1253] Rashdall, I. 16.

[1254] By the fifteenth century the title "doctor" had come to be the

usual one for theologians in Germany, as Dr. Luther, Dr. Eck. Rashdall,

I. 22. It was also applied to all the superior faculties. The title

"master" was gradually restricted to the faculty of arts, and has gone

out of use in Germany.

[1255] By the fourteenth century most of the professors in Bologna were

paid by the municipality. Savigny, quoted by Compayr�, p. 283.

[1256] A bursa at the University of Paris was the sum of money paid

each week in board. Auctar., I. pp. xlv, xlix; Chart., II. 673 sqq.,

etc.

[1257] See Rashdall, II. 647 sqq. Compayr�, p. 286, commenting upon the

marital prohibition, observes that the rod would not have been retained

so long in the universities if the teachers had had families.

[1258] A good illustration of the use of Latin by students is given in

the most interesting dialogue of two students on their way to

Wittenberg, the MS. of which was discovered by Prof. Haussleiter, 1898,

in the library of Jena, and published. Leipzig, 1903, D. Univ. Wittenb.

n. d. Schilderung d. Mag. Andreas Meinhardi, 1507.

[1259] Chart., I. 78.

[1260] satagant fieri theodocti, Chart., I. 138. Students were obliged

to swear they had "heard" the required books. Chart., I., 227 sqq., for

the year 1252; II. 673, for the year 1347, etc.

[1261] Denifle, p. 248.

[1262] Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, writing about 1330,

sets the number of students in his own day at six thousand.

[1263] See Rashdall, II. 584 sqq.

[1264] Chart., I. Nos. 60, 197, 425, etc.

[1265] Auctar., I. p. xlvi.

[1266] Chart., I. 426; Compayr�, p. 276.

[1267] Cantat ut Normannus, bibit ut Anglicanus, Auctar., I. p. lvi.

For the fighting abilities of the English nation see Auctar. I. p. lx.

Rashdall, II. 678 sqq., gives a number of cases of fights between town

and gown in Paris. The cases of 1278 and 1304 were the most notorious.

[1268] Chart., I. 138.

[1269] Rashdall, II. 656 sqq. Rashdall gives the following estimate of

living in Oxford in the fifteenth century. Meat was � d. a pound;

butter and cheese, �d. a pound, while six pounds of wheat cost 4 d.

Thus, 1� pounds of bread, 1 pound of meat, and � pound of butter and

cheese made up about 1 d. a day, or 7 d. a week, "a tolerably

substantial basis for a student's diet."

[1270] Compayr�, p. 271

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� 91. The University of Bologna.

Literature: Muratori: Antiqq. Ital., III. 884 sqq. Important documents

bearing on the state of learning in Italy. --Acta nationis Germanicae

univ. Bononiensis, ed. E. Friedl�nder et C. Malagola, Berl.,

1887.--Carlo Malagola: Statuti delta universit� e dei collegi dello

studio Bolognese, p. 524, Bologna, 1888.--Denifle: D. Statutem d.

Juristen Univ. Bologna, 1317-1347, in Archiv. f�r Lit. -und

Kirchengesch., III. 196-409 1887. Superseded by Malagola.--Giacomo

Cassani (Prof. of Canon Law, Bologna): Dell' antico Studio di Bologna a

sua origine, Bologna, 1888.--H. Fitting: Die Anf�nge der Rechtsschule

zu Bologna, Berl., 1888.--Savigny (see above) gives a full account with

special reference to the study of Roman law, but must be supplemented

and corrected by Denifle: Universit�ten, etc.--For publications called

forth by the eighth centenary, 1888, see P. Schaff: Lit. and Poetry, p.

278. For full Lit., see Rashdall, I. 89-91.

Bologna is the most venerable of European universities. Salerno, which

preceded it in time, became sufficiently famous as a medical school to

call forth from Petrarch the praise of being the fountain-head of

medicine,--fons medicinae,--but its career was limited to two

centuries. [1271] as the outgrowth of the awakened interest in medicine

in Southern Italy in which Greek and Arabic influences had a part.

In 1888, Bologna celebrated its eight hundredth anniversary and

continues to be one of the most flourishing schools of Southern Europe.

As early as the thirteenth century, the tradition was current that

Theodosius II., in 433, had granted to it a charter. But its beginnings

go no further back than the latter part of the eleventh or the earlier

years of the twelfth century. At that period Irnerius, d. about 1130,

was teaching the code of Justinian [1272] vil and ecclesiastical, are

looked upon as the fathers of the university.

Bologna became the chief school for the study of both laws in Europe.

The schools of arts added 1221, of medicine 1260, and theology 1360--by

a bull of Innocent VI.--never obtained the importance of the school of

law.

On a visit to the city in 1155 Frederick Barbarossa granted the

university recognition and in 1158, on the field of Roncaglia, gave it

its first charter. [1273] Bologna was a second and better Berytus, the

nurse of jurisprudence, legum nutrix, and adopted the proud device,

Bononia docet--"Bologna teaches." To papal patronage she owed little or

nothing, and in this respect as in others her history did not run

parallel with the University of Paris. [1274]

The student body, which was in control, was at first divided into four

"universities" or guilds. The statutes of the German "nation" have been

preserved and declare as its object fraternal charity, mutual

association, the care of the sick and support of the needy, the conduct

of funerals, the termination of quarrels, and the proper escort of

students about to take the examination for the degree of doctor. [1275]

The rectors of the faculties were elected for two years and were

required to be secular clerics, unmarried, and wearing the clerical

habit. The ceremonies of installation included the placing of a hood on

their heads. The two rectors of the two jurist "universities" gave

place to a single rector after the middle of the fourteenth century.

The professors took oaths to the student bodies, to follow their codes.

If they wished to be absent from their duties, they were obliged to get

leave of absence from the rectors. They were required to begin and

close their lectures promptly at the ringing of the bell under penalty

of a fine and were forbidden to skip any part of the text-books or

postpone the answer to questions to the end of the lecture hour.

Another rule required them to cover a certain amount of ground in a

given period. [1276] when Bolognese students decamped and departed to

Vicenza 1204, Padua 1222, and for the last time to Siena 1321.

The professors, at first, were dependent upon fees and at times stopped

their lectures because of the failure of the students to pay up. The

jurist, Odefridus of Bologna, announced on one occasion that he would

not lecture in the afternoons of the ensuing term because, "the

scholars want to profit but not to pay." Professorial appointments were

at first in the hands of the student body but afterwards became the

prerogative of the municipality. This change was due in part to the

obligation undertaken by the city government to pay fixed salaries.

[1277] gely hereditary.

A noticeable, though not exceptional, feature of Bologna was the

admission of learned women to its teaching chairs. Novella d'Andrea,

1312-1366, the daughter of the celebrated jurist Giovanni d'Andrea,

lectured on philosophy and law, but behind a curtain, lest her face

should attract the attention of the students from their studies. Among

other female professors have been Laura Bassi, d. 1778, doctor and

professor of philosophy and mathematics; Chlotilda Tambroni, who

expounded the Greek classics, 1794-1817; and Giuseppina Cattani, who,

until a few years ago, lectured on pathology. In Salerno, also, women

practised medicine and lectured, as did Trotula, about 1059, who wrote

on the diseases of women. In Paris, as we have been reminded by

Denifle, the daughters of one Mangold taught theology in the latter

part of the eleventh century. [1278]

On the other hand, due care was taken to protect the students of

Bologna against the wiles of women. The statutes of its college,

founded by Cardinal Albornoz, 1367, for Spanish students, forbade them

dancing because "the devil easily tempts men to evil through this

amusement," and also forbade women to "enter the premises because a

woman was the head of sin, the right hand of the devil, and the cause

of the expulsion from paradise." [1279]

A graduate of civil law was required at Bologna to have studied seven

years, and of canon law six years. To become a doctor of both laws,

utriusque juris, a term of ten years was prescribed. In 1292, Nicholas

IV. formally granted the Bolognese doctors the right to lecture

everywhere, a right they had exercised before. The promotion to the

doctorate was accompanied with much pageantry an involved the candidate

in large outlay for gifts and banquets. [1280]

The class rooms in canon and civil jurisprudence at Bologna became

synonymous with traditional opinions. There was no encouragement of

originality. With the interpretation of the text-books, which had been

handed down, the work of the professor was at an end. This conservatism

Dante may have had in mind when he made the complaint that in Bologna

only the Decretals were studied. And Roger Bacon exclaimed that "the

study of jurisprudence has for forty years destroyed the study of

wisdom [that is philosophy, the sciences, and theology], yes, the

church itself and all departments." [1281] Savonarola and encouraged no

religious or doctrinal reform.

Note. - An account of the brilliant celebration of the eighth centenary

of Bologna, 1888, is given by Philip Schaff: The University, etc., in

Lit. and Poetry, pp. 265-278. On that occasion Dr. Schaff represented

the University of New York. The exercises were honored by the presence

of Humbert and the queen of Italy. The ill-fated Frederick III. of

Germany sent from his sick-room a letter of congratulation, as in some

sense the heir of Frederick Barbarossa. The clergy were conspicuous by

their absence from the celebration, although among the visitors was

Father Gavazzi, the ex-Barnabite friar, who in 1848 fired the hearts of

his fellow-citizens, the Bolognese, for the cause of Italian liberty

and unity and afterwards became the eloquent advocate of a new

evangelical movement for his native land, abroad as well as at home. A

contrast was presented at the five hundredth anniversary of the

University of Heidelberg, 1886, which Dr. Schaff also attended, and

which was inaugurated by a solemn religious service and sermon.

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[1271] See Laurie, p. 123 sqq.; Rashdall, I. 80 sqq.

[1272] Rashdall, I. 120, associates an "epoch in the study of law" with

Irnerius, but insists upon the activity of law teachers before his day.

When Laurie, p. 128, still calls Irnerius the "rediscoverer" of the

Roman law, the title is only relatively true.

[1273] The document of 1155 is known as the Authentica Habita. A

historical poem discovered and published by Giesebrecht, 1879,

describes Frederick's visit of 1155. The document of 1158 is addressed

to "all scholars and especially the professors of divine and sacred

law." Denifle, p. 49 sqq.

[1274] The first papal bull was that of Clement III., 1189, forbidding

masters and scholars making a bid for a house already occupied by

students.

[1275] Denifle, p. 130, makes the scholastic guilds to have originated

with the Germans. As a mercantile organization the guild was in

existence in Bologna before studies began to flourish there. Foreign

merchants residing there had their own societies. Also Rashdall, I.

160.

[1276] This was called reaching a certain "point,"punctum, which was a

division in the civil text-book and in Gratian's Decretum. Rashdall, I.

199.

[1277] The first instance of a lecturer with a fixed salary was

Garsias, the canonist, to whom �150 were promised. In 1289 two chairs

were endowed at �150 and �100. In 1838 there were at Bologna 27

professors of civil law, 12 of canon law, 14 of medicine, and 15 of the

arts. Laurie, p. 140. In 1381 there were 23 salaried professors of the

law and the city grant amounted to �63,670. Rashdall, I. 212 sq.

[1278] Denifle, I. 233, Ordericus Vitalis speaks of women practitioners

and mentions one by name who had studied at Palermo. Engl. trans. I.

433. There were female physicians in Paris in the fourteenth century,

one of whom, Jacoba, healed a royal chancellor. Chart., II. 263 sqq.

The statutes of the medical faculty of Paris forbade a physician

attending a patient who had not paid his bill to another physician and

prohibited his practising with Jews or women practitioners. Rashdall,

II. 430.

[1279] Rashdall, I. 204.

[1280] For these expenses see Rashdall, I. 229 sqq.

[1281] Brewer's ed., p. 418. Bridges, Opus Majus of Rog. Bacon, I. p.

lxxxiii sq.

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� 92. The University of Paris.

Literature: The works of Bulaeus, Denifle, Rashdall, etc., as given in

� 90. Vol. I. of the Chartularium gives the official documents bearing

on the history of the Univ. from 1200-1286 with an Introd. by

Denifle.--Crevier: Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, 7 vols. Paris, 1761,

based on Bulaeus.--P. Feret: La Facult� de Theol. de Paris et ses

docteurs les plus cel�bres au moyen �ge, 5 vols. Paris, 1894 sqq.--A.

Luchaire: L'univ. de Paris sous Phil. Auguste, Paris, 1899.--C. Gross:

The Polit. Infl. of the Univ. of Paris in the M. A., in Am. Hist. Rev.,

1901, pp. 440-446.--H. Felder: Gesch. der wissenschaftl. Studien im

Franziskanerorden bis c. 1250, Freib., 1904.--F. X. Seppelt: D. Kampf

d. Bettelorden an d. Univ. zu Paris in d. Mitte d. 13ten Jahrh.,

Breslau, 1905.--Rashdall: Universities, I. 270-557, and the table of

Lit. there given.

The lustre of the University of Paris filled all Western Europe as

early as the first years of the thirteenth century. It continued to be

the chief seat of theological and general learning till the

Reformation. In 1231 Gregory IX. called Paris "the parent of the

sciences, another Kerieth Sepher, a city of letters, in which, as in a

factory of wisdom, the precious stones and gold of wisdom are wrought

and polished for the Church of Christ." [1282] [1283] most excellent

state of letters, a famous city of the arts, a notable school of

erudition, the highest factory of wisdom,--officina sapientiae -- and

the most efficient gymnasium of study. There, a clear spring of the

sciences breaks forth at which the peoples of all nations drink." Three

hundred years later, in 1518, Luther, in his protest to Cajetan,

expressed his willingness to have his case go before the University of

Paris to which he referred, "as the parent of studies and from

antiquity ever the most Christian University and that in which theology

has been particularly cultivated."

The old tradition, which traced the origin of the university back to

Charlemagne, the pride of the French has been slow to abandon. Du

Boulay devoted an entire volume to its assumed history before the year

1000. Not even was Abaelard its founder. The most that can be said is,

that that brilliant teacher prepared the way for the new institution,

[1284]

From its earliest era of development, the university received the

recognition of royalty and the favor of popes who were quick to discern

its future importance. In the year 1200 Philip Augustus, king of

France, conferred upon it a valuable privilege, granting the students

and teaching body independent rights over against the municipal

government. Among its venerable documents are communications from

Innocent III., his legate, Robert of Cour�on, Honorius III. and Gregory

IX., 1231. From that time on, the archives abound in papal letters and

communications addressed to the pope by the university authorities.

In Paris, as has already been said, the masters were the controlling

body. The first use of the expression "university of masters and

scholars" occurs in 1221. [1285] e of statutes is found in a bull of

Innocent III., written about 1209. [1286] bert of Cour�on, 1215,

prescribed text-books and other regulations. A university seal was used

as early as 1221. [1287]

There has been much difference of opinion as to what was the original

norm of the organization of the university. Denifle, the leading modern

authority, insists against Du Boulay that it was the four faculties and

not the "nations," and he finds the faculties developed in the earliest

years of the thirteenth century. [1288] [1289] dy of masters," and in

1213 he recognized the right of the masters to insist upon the

conferring of the license to teach upon the candidates whom they

presented. The chancellor was left no option in the matter. [1290] his

authority was still more curtailed by the withdrawal of some of the

masters to the hill of St. Genevieve on the western bank of the Seine.

The abbot of St. Genevieve, who began to be styled, "Chancellor of St.

Genevieve" in 1255, assumed the right to confer licensures or degrees

and the right was recognized by papal decree. [1291]

The four nations seem to have been developed out of the demand for

discipline among the students of cognate regions and for mutual

protection against the civil authorities. It is quite possible the

example set in Bologna had some influence in Paris.

The bull of Gregory IX., 1231, parens scientiarum, called by Denifle

the "magna charta of the university," recognized and sealed its

liberties. It was called forth by the suspension of lectures which had

lasted two years. The trouble originated in a brawl in an inn, which

developed into a fight between gown and town. The police of the city,

with the assent of Queen Blanche, interfered, and killed several of the

students. The professors ordered a "cessation" and, when they found

that justice was not done, adjourned the university for six years. Some

of them emigrated to England and were employed at Oxford and Cambridge.

[1292] rought to an end by Gregory IX., who ratified the right of the

masters to secede, and called upon Blanche to punish the offending

officials, forbade the chancellor to have any prisons, and the bishop

from imposing mulcts or imprisoning students.

It is possible that the office of rector goes back as far as 1200, when

an official was called "the head of the Paris scholars." [1293] [1294]

r custom, in communicating with the university, to address the "rector

and the masters." The question of precedence as between the rector and

other high dignitaries, such as the bishop and chancellor of Paris, was

one which led to much dispute and elbowing. Du Boulay, himself an

ex-rector, takes pride in giving instances of the rector's outranking

archbishops, cardinals, papal nuncios, peers of France, and other

lesser noteworthies at public functions. [1295]

The faculties came to be presided over by deans, the nations by

proctors. In the management of the general affairs of the university,

the vote was taken by faculties.

The liberties, which the university enjoyed in its earlier history,

were greatly curtailed by Louis XI. and by his successors in the latter

half of the fifteenth century. The university was treated to sharp

rebukes for attempting to interfere with matters that did not belong to

it. The right of cessation was withdrawn and the free election of the

rectors denied. [1296]

The fame of the University of Paris came from its schools of arts and

theology. The college of the Sorbonne, originally a bursary for poor

students of theology, afterwards gave its name to the theological

department. It was founded by Robert of Sorbon, the chaplain of St.

Louis, the king himself giving part of the site for its building. In

the course of time, its halls came to be used for disputations, and the

decisions of the faculty obtained a European reputation. Theological

students of twenty-five years of age, who had studied six years, and

passed an examination, were eligible for licensure as bachelors. For

the first three years they read on the Bible and then on the Sentences

of the Lombard. These readers were distinguished as Biblici and

Sententiarii. The age limit for the doctorate was thirty-five.

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of the university

is the struggle over the admission of the mendicant friars in the

middle of the thirteenth century. The papacy secured victory for the

friars. And the unwilling university was obliged to recognize them as a

part of its teaching force.

The struggle broke out first at the time of the "cessation," 1229,

when, as it would seem, the Dominicans secretly favored the side of the

civil magistrates against the university authorities, and poisoned the

court against them. The Dominicans were established in Paris, 1217 and

the Franciscans, 1220, and both orders, furnished with letters of

commendation by Honorius III., were at first well received, so the

masters themselves declared in a document dated 1254. [1297] demand the

right to degrees for their students without promising submission to the

statutes of the university. One of the first two Dominican masters to

teach at the university was the Englishman, John of Giles. After

preaching on poverty in St. Jacques, John descended from the pulpit and

put on the Dominican robes.

At the "cessation" of 1251 the two Dominicans and one Franciscan, who

were recognized as masters by the university, refused to join with the

other authorities, and, after the settlement of the difficulty, the two

Dominicans were refused readmittance. A statute was passed forbidding

admission to the fellowship, consortium, of the university for those

who refused to take the oath to obey its rules. The friars refused to

obey the statute and secured from Alexander IV. an order requiring the

university to receive them, and setting aside all sentences passed

against them. [1298]

The friction continued, and the seculars sought to break the influence

of the Franciscans by pointing out the heresies of Joachim of Flore.

The friars retorted by attacking William of St. Amour whose work, The

Perils of the Last Times, was a vigorous onslaught upon mendicancy as

contrary to Apostolic teaching. William's book, which called out

refutations from Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, was burnt, and

refusing to recant, the author was suspended from teaching and banished

from France. [1299] repayment to the university for its readiness from

of old to accept its guidance by depriving the institution of its

liberties. [1300]

From the middle of the fourteenth century, the University of Paris

played no mean part in the political affairs of France. More than once

she spoke before the court and before the peers of the realm, and more

than once was she rebuked for her unsolicited zeal. [1301] of Arc.

[1302]

As a factor in the religious history of Europe, the university figured

most prominently during the Western schism--1378-1418. She suggested

the three ways of healing the rupture and, to accomplish this result,

sent her agents through Western Europe to confer with the kings and

other powers. Under the guidance of her chancellors, Gerson and

D'Ailly, the discussions of the Reformatory councils of Pisa and

Constance were directed, which brought the papal schism to an end. The

voting by nations at Constance was her triumph.

As for disputes on distinctly doctrinal questions, the university

antagonized John XXII. and his heresy, denying the beatific vision at

death. In 1497 she exacted from all candidates for degrees an oath

accepting the dogma of the immaculate conception. When the Protestant

Reformation came, she decided against that movement and ordered the

books of Luther burnt.

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[1282] Chart., I. 137.

[1283] Chart., I. 343.

[1284] Denifle, p. 677.

[1285] Chart., I. 98 sq.

[1286] Denifle gives the date as 1208 or 1209, Chart., I. 67. Rashdall,

I. 301, puts it in 1210.

[1287] Chart., I. 100. The seal was broken 1225. The seal of 1292 is

preserved in Paris, Chart., I. p. ix sq.

[1288] Universit�ten, pp. 64 sqq., 655 sqq. Du Boulay was followed by

Savigny. Seppelt, p. 221, agrees with Denifle.

[1289] John's biographer, Thomas of Walsingham, says John was a

diligent student in Paris "in his youth" and was taken into "the

association of the elect masters."

[1290] Chart., I. 73, 75, 85.

[1291] Chart., I. 75, 85. The formula used by the chancellor of St.

Genevieve is given in the Chart., I. 299.

[1292] See Henry III.'s letter, Chart., I. 119.

[1293] Capitale Parisiensium scolarium, Chart., I. 60. This, the view

of Du Boulay, is adopted by Savigny. Rashdall, I. 297, gives the

expression an entirely different signification, and says it does not

refer to persons at all but to chattels. Denifle, p. 119, takes an

entirely different view, and denies that the university had a rector in

the full sense till the middle of the fourteenth century. His view is

that the rector of the faculty of the Arts gradually came to be

recognized as the rector of the whole university. Rashdall gives good

grounds for holding that he was the recognized head of the university,

certainly as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century.

[1294] Chart., I. 179, 379.

[1295] Bulaeus, V. 359.

[1296] Amer. Hist. Rev., 1901, p. 442.

[1297] Chart., I. 253. Felder, pp. 159 sqq., strange to say, entirely

passes over this conflict so that the reader would never dream there

had been one.

[1298] Chart., I. 285, omnes sententias privationis seu separationis a

consortia ... penitus revocamus.

[1299] Chart., I. 362, 363, 367, 404, etc.

[1300] See Rashdall, I. 391. The account given above differs from the

account of Seppelt who justifies the friars at every step and finds in

the good reception they at first received from the university masters a

proof that they conducted themselves properly all the way through.

[1301] See Amer. Hist. Rev., 1901, p. 442 sq.

[1302] Chart., IV. Nos. 510-528.

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� 93. Oxford and Cambridge.

Literature: Anthony Wood (1632-1695): Hist. et Antiquitates Univ.

Oxoniensis, 2 vols. Oxford, 1674. A trans. from MS. by Wase and Peers,

under the supervision of Dr. Fell from Wood's English MS. Wood was

dissatisfied with the translation and rewrote his work, which was

published a hundred years after his death with a continuation by John

Gutsch: The Hist. and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the

Univ. of Oxf., 2 vols. Oxford, 1786-1790. Also: The Hist. and

Antiquities of Oxf., now first published in English from the original

MS. in the Bodleian Library, 2 vols. Oxford, 1792-1796. By the same:

Athenae Oxonienses, 2 vols. London, 1691-1692, 3d ed., by Ph. Bliss,

1813-1820, 4 vols. The last work is biographical, and gives an account

of the Oxonian writers and bishops from 1500-1690.

Oxford Historical Society's Publications, 45 vols. Contents: University

Register, 1449-1463, 1505-1671, ed. by W. C. Boase, 5 vols.; Hearne's

Collectanea, 1705-1719, 6 vols.; Early History of Oxford (727-1100);

Memorials of Merton College, etc.--V. A. HUBER: D. Engl. Universit�ten,

2 vols. Cassel, 1839. Engl. trans. by F. W. Newman, a brother of the

cardinal, 3 vols. London, 1848.--C. Jeafferson: Annals of Oxford, 2

vols. 2d ed. London, 1871.--H. C. M. Lyte: Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf.

from the Earliest Times to 1530, Oxford, 1886.--H. C. Brodrick: Hist.

of the Univ. of Oxf., London, 1887.--Rashdall: Universities, II.

319-542.--Jessopp: The Coming of the Friars, pp. 262-302.--Thomas

Fuller: Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr. ed. by Pritchard and Wright,

Cambridge, 1840.--C. H. Cooper: Annals of Cambr., 4 vols. 1842-1852;

Memorials of Cambr., 3 vols. 1884.--Mullinger: Hist. of the Univ. of

Cambr. from the earliest times to the accession of Charles I., 2 vols.

Cambridge, 1873-1883; Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr., London, 1887, an

abridgment of the preceding work. For extensive Lit., see Rashdall, II.

319 sqq., 543 sq.

Next to Paris in age and importance, as a school of philosophy and

theology, is the University of Oxford, whose foundation tradition

falsely traces to King Alfred. The first historical notice of Oxenford,

or Oxford, occurs in 912. Three religious institutions were founded in

the town, from any one of which or all of which the school may have had

its inception: the priory of St. Frideswyde, Osseney abbey, and the

church of the canons regular of St. George's in the Castle. The usually

accepted view connects it with the first. But it is possible the

university had its real beginning in a migration from Paris in 1167.

This view is based upon a statement of John of Salisbury, that France

had expelled her alien scholars and an order of Henry II. forbidding

clerks to go to the Continent or to return from it without a license

from the justiciar. [1303]

The first of the teachers, Thibaut d'Estampes, Theobaldus Stampensis,

moved from St. Stephen's abbey, Caen, and taught in Oxford between 1117

and 1121. He had a school of from sixty to a hundred pupils, and called

himself an Oxford master, magister oxenfordiae. He was ridiculed by a

monk as a "petty clerk" tantillus clericellus, one of those "wandering

chaplains, with pointed beards, curled hair, and effeminate dress, who

are ashamed of the proper ecclesiastical habit and the tonsure," and

was also accused of being "occupied with secular literature."

The University of Cambridge, which first appears clearly in 1209,

[1304] dates from the bull of Gregory IX., 1233, which mentions a

chancellor. [1305]

During the Reformation period, Cambridge occupied a position of note

and influence equal to Oxford. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, martyred by

Henry VIII. and one of the freest patrons of learning, was instrumental

in the foundation of two colleges, Christs, 1505, and St. John, 1511.

Among its teachers were Erasmus, and later Bucer and Fagius, the

Continental Reformers. Tyndale, the translator of the first printed

English New Testament, and Thomas Bilney, both of them martyrs, were

its scholars. So were the three martyrs, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley,

though they were burnt at Oxford. During the Elizabethan period, the

university was a stronghold of Puritanism with Cartwright and Travers

occupying chairs. Cudworth and the Neo-Platonists flourished there. And

in recent years its chairs have been filled by such representatives of

the historical and exegetical schools as Bishop Lightfoot, Westcott,

his successor at Durham, Ellicott, bishop of Gloucester and Bristol,

and John Anthony Hort.

Oxford and Cambridge differ from the Continental universities in giving

prominence to undergraduate studies and in the system of colleges and

halls, and also in the closer vital relations they sustain to the

Church.

In 1149 the Italian, Vacarius, introduced the study of civil law in

Oxford, if we are to follow the doubtful testimony of Gervaise of

Canterbury, though it is more probable that he delivered his lectures

in the household of the archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald. [1306]

One of the very earliest notices of Oxford as a seat of study is found

in a description by Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh traveller and

historian. About the year 1185 he visited the town and read "before the

faculties, doctors, and students" his work on the Topography of

Ireland. [1307] Map, archdeacon of Oxford, is called by Giraldus "an

Oxford master." The first degree known to have been conferred was given

to Edmund Rich, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. From Geraldus it

is evident that the masters were grouped in faculties. As early as 1209

and in consequence of the hanging of three students by the mayor, there

was a migration of masters and students, said to have been three

thousand in number, from which the University of Cambridge had its

beginning. [1308]

The University of Oxford was less bound by ecclesiastical authority

than Paris. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the bishop of Lincoln,

in whose diocese it was located, to assert supervisory authority. The

bull of Innocent IV., issued 1254, was the nearest approach to a papal

charter and confirmed the university in its "immunities and ancient

customs." In 1201 a chancellor is mentioned for the first time. From

the beginning this official seems to have been elected by the

university. He originally held his office for a term of two years. At

the present time the chancellor is an honorary dignitary who does not

pretend to reside in Oxford.

In 1395, the university was exempted by papal bull from all control of

bishops or legati nati. This decree was revoked in 1411 in consequence

of the disturbances with Wyclif and his followers, but, in 1490, Sixtus

IV. again renewed the exemption from ecclesiastical authority.

The university was constantly having conflicts with the town and its

authorities. The most notable one occurred in 1354. As usual, it

originated in a tavern brawl, the keeper of the place being supported

not only by his fellow-townsmen but by thousands from the neighboring

country. [1309] t it was crushed to the earth and a scholar put to

death while he was clinging to the friar who held it. Much blood was

shed. The townsmen, bent upon paying off old scores, broke into twenty

college inns and halls and pillaged them. Even the sanctity of the

churches was not respected, and the scholars were hunted down who

sought shelter in them. The students left the city. The chancellor

appealed the case to the king, and through his authority and the

spiritual authority of the bishop the town corporation was forced to

make reparation. The place was put under interdict for a year.

Officials were punished and restitution of goods to the students was

made. The interdict was withdrawn only on condition that the mayor,

bailiffs, and sixty burghers should appear in St. Mary's church on the

anniversary of the breaking out of the riot, St. Scholastica's day, and

do penance for the slaughtered students, each burgher laying down a

penny on the high altar, the sum to be divided equally between poor

students and the curate. It was not till 1825, that the university

agreed to forego the spectacle of this annual penance which had been

kept up for nearly five centuries. Not for several years did the

university assume its former aspect. [1310] e did not always reign. The

Irish contingent was banished, 1413, by act of parliament for

turbulence. [1311]

The arrival of the Dominicans and Franciscans, as has been said in

other places, was an event of very great interest at Oxford, but they

never attained to the independent power they reached in Paris. They

were followed by the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and other orders.

The next important event was the controversy over Wyclif and the

doctrines and persons of the Lollards, which filled the years of the

last quarter of the fourteenth century and beyond.

At the English universities the college system received a permanent

development. Endowments, established by the liberality of bishops,

kings, and other personalities, furnished the nucleus for corporations

and halls consisting of masters and students, each with a more or less

distinct life of it sown. These college bodies and their buildings

continue to impart to Oxford and Cambridge a mediaeval aspect and to

recall on every hand the venerable memories of past centuries.

Twenty-one of these colleges and five halls remain in Oxford. The

oldest are University College founded by a bequest of William of Durham

at his death, 1249; Merton, 1264; Balliol founded by the father of the

Scotch king, 1266; Exeter, 1314; Oriel, 1324; Queen's College, 1340;

the famous New College, 1379, founded by William of Wykenham, bishop of

Winchester; All Souls, 1438; Magdalen, 1448, where Wolsey was fellow.

Among the illustrious men who taught at Oxford, in the earlier periods,

were Edmund Rich, Roger Bacon, Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, Duns Scotus,

Ockam, Bradwardine, Richard of Armagh, Wyclif.

As a centre of theological training, Oxford has been closely identified

with some of the most important movements in the religious history of

England. There Wyclif preached his doctrine and practical reforms.

There the Humanists, Grocyn, Colet, and Linacre taught. The school was

an important religious centre in the time of the Reformation, in the

Commonwealth period, and the period of the Restoration. Within its

precincts the Wesleys and Whitefield studied and the Methodist movement

had its birth, and there, in the first half of the last century, Pusey,

Keble, and Newman exerted the spell of their influence, and the

Tractarian movement was started and fostered. Since the year 1854

Oxford and Cambridge have been open to Dissenters. All religious tests

were abolished 187l. In 1885 the spiritual descendants of the Puritans,

the Independents, established Mansfield College, in Oxford, for the

training of ministers.

Note.--List of Mediaeval Universities. [1312]

Before 1100, Salerno.

1100-1200.--Bologna, 1150?; Paris, 1160?; Oxford, 1170?; Reggio and

Modena.

1200-1300.--Vicenza, 1204; Cambridge, 1209; Palencia, Spain, 1212, by

Alfonzo VIII. of Castile, abandoned; Arezzo, 1215; Padua, 1222; Naples,

1224; Vercelli, 1228; Toulouse, 1229, by Gregory IX.; Salamanca, 1230,

by Ferdinand III. of Castile and confirmed by Alexander IV., 1254;

Curia Romana, 1244, by Pope Innocent IV.; Piacenza, Italy, 1248;

Seville, 1254, by Alfonso X. of Castile; Montpellier, 1289, by Nicolas

IV.; Alcala, 1293, by Sancho of Aragon, transferred 1837 to Madrid;

Pamiers, France, 1295, by Boniface VIII.

1300-1400.--Lerida, 1300, by James II. of Aragon and Sicily; Rome,

1303, by Boniface VIII.; Angers, 1305; Orleans, 1306, by Philip the

Fair and Clement V.; Perugia, 1308, by Clement V.; Lisbon, 1309, by

King Diniz, transferred to Coimbra; Dublin, 1312, chartered by Clement

V. but not organized; Treviso, 1318; Cahors, 1332, by John XXII.;

Grenoble, 1339, by Benedict XII.; Verona, 1339, by Benedict XII.; Pisa,

1343, by Clement VI.; Valladolid, 1346, by Clement VI.; Prague, 1347,

by Clement VI. and Charles IV.; Perpignan, 1349, by Peter IV. of

Aragon, confirmed by Clement VII., 1379; Florence, 1349, by Charles

IV.; Siena, 1357, by Charles IV.; Huesca, 1359; Pavia, 1361, by Charles

IV. and by Boniface VIII., 1389; Vienna, 1365, by Rudolf IV. and Urban

V.; Orange, 1365; Cracow, 1364, by Casimir III. of Poland and Urban V.;

F�nfkirchen, Hungary, 1365, by Urban V.; Orvieto, 1377; Erfurt, 1379,

by Clement VII.; Cologne, 1385, Urban VI.; Heidelberg, 1386, by the

Elector Ruprecht of the Palatinate and Urban VI.; Lucca, 1387; Ferrara,

1391; Fermo, 1398.

1400-1500.--W�rzburg, 1402; Turin, 1405; Aix, in Provence, 1409;

Leipzig, 1409; St. Andrews, 1411; Rostock, 1419; D�le, 1423; Louvain,

Belgium, 1425; Poictiers, 1431; Caen, 1437; Catana, Sicily, 1444;

Barcelona, 1450; Valence, France, 1452; Glasgow, 1453; Greifswald,

1455; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1455; Basel, 1459; Nantes, 1460; Pressburg,

1465; Ingolstadt, 1472; Saragossa, 1474; Copenhagen, 1475; Mainz, 1476;

Upsala, 1477; T�bingen, 1477; Parma, 1482; Besan�on, 1485; Aberdeen,

1494; Wittenberg, 1502, by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.

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[1303] Rashdall, II. 331-345, argues the point with much force.

[1304] Mullinger and others find that the priory of Barnwell furnished

the germ of the university in the early years of the twelfth century.

Rashdall, II. 545, denies this origin. Legend ascribed the foundation

of the university to a Spanish prince, Cantaber, of uncertain date, or

to King Arthur or to the Saxon king Sigebert of the seventh century.

[1305] Gregory IX.'s bull, addressed to the cancellarius et universitas

scholarium Cantabrigiensium, is preserved in the Vatican Archives and

printed by Denifle, Universit�ten, pp. 370 sq. The university archives

were burned by townsmen during riots, 1261 and 1322.

[1306] For the quotation from Gervaise see Rashdall, II. 336. John of

Salisbury puts the teaching in the archbishop's household.

[1307] Quoted by Rashdall, II. 341.

[1308] Roger of Wendover, anno 1290, says that Oxford was completely

forsaken of all masters and students who went, some to Cambridge and

some to Reading. These students had lived together with a fourth who

killed a woman and then fled. For other cessations see Rashdall, II.

395, etc. For other attempts to form universities at Northampton,

Stamford, and Durham (by Cromwell), see Rashdall, II. 396 sqq.

[1309] Two thousand entered the city gates. See Rashdall's account, II.

403 sqq.

[1310] Rashdall, II. 411, says, that by the middle of the fifteenth

century the "town was almost entirely subjugated to the authority of

the university." He also says, II. 416, that "few things are more

calculated to make us realize the enormous extent to which civilization

has succeeded in curbing the natural passions, even of the lowest

strata of modern society, than the annals of the mediaeval university."

[1311] Rashdall, II. 416.

[1312] Comp. the tables of Denifle, 807-810, Compayr�, 50-52, and

Rashdall in Table of Contents, vol. II.

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� 94. The Cathedrals.

Literature: J. Fergusson: Hist. of Architecture in All Countries, 2

vols. 1865-1867, and since.--Sir G. G. Scott: The Rise and Devel. of

Med. Arch., London, 1879.--Viollet-Le Duc: Lectures on Arch., Engl.

trans., 2 vols. London, 1877.--T. R. Smith: Arch. Gothic and

Renaissance, N. Y., 1880.--B. Ferree: Christ. Thought in Arch., in

Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 1892, pp. 113-140.--F. X. Kraus:

Gesch. der christl. Kunst, 2 vols. Freib., 1896-1900.--F. Bond: Engl.

cathedrals, London, 1899.--R. STURGIS: Dict. of Arch. and Building, 3

vols. N. Y., 1901 sq.--Art. Kirchenbau by Hauck, in Herzog, X. 774-793.

P. Lacroix: The Arts of the Middle Ages, Engl. trans., London.--Ruskin:

Stones of Venice, Seven Lamps of Arch., and other writings. This

enthusiastic admirer of architecture, especially the Gothic, judged art

from the higher standpoint of morality and religion.

The cathedrals of the Middle Ages were the expression of religious

praise and devotion and entirely the product of the Church. No other

element entered into their construction. They were hymns in stone, and

next to the universities are the most imposing and beneficent

contribution the mediaeval period made to later generations. The

soldiery of the Crusades failed in its attempt at conquest. The

builders at home wrought out structures which have fed the piety and

excited the admiration of all ages since. They were not due to the

papacy but to the devotion of cities, nobles, and people.

It was a marked progress from the triclinia, or rooms in private

houses, and crypts, in which the early Christians worshipped, to the

cathedral of St. Sophia, at the completion of which Justinian is said

to have exclaimed, "O Solomon, I have excelled thee." And what a change

it was from the huts and rude temples of worship of Central and

Northern Europe to the splendid structures dedicated to Christian

worship,--the worship which Augustine of Canterbury, and Boniface, and

St. Ansgar had introduced among the barbarous Northern tribes!

It is also characteristic that the great mediaeval structures were not

palaces or buildings devoted to commerce, although the Gothic palace of

the doges, in Venice, and the town halls of Brussels, Louvaine, and

other cities of Belgium and Holland are extensive and imposing. They

were buildings devoted to religion, whether cathedral or conventual

structures. They were often, as in France, placed on an elevation or in

the centre of the city, and around them the dwellings clustered as if

for protection.

The great cathedrals became a daily sermon, bearing testimony to the

presence of God and the resurrection of Christ. They served the people

as a Bible whose essential teachings they beheld with the eye. Through

the spectacle of their walls and soaring spires, their thoughts were

uplifted to spiritual things. Their ample spaces, filled or dimly lit

with the sunlight piercing through stained-glass windows, reminded them

of the glory of the life beyond, which makes itself known through

varied revelations to the lonely and mysterious existence of the earth.

The strong foundations and massive columns and buttresses typified the

stability of God's throne, and that He hath made all things through the

word of His power.

Their construction occupied years and, in cases, centuries were

necessary to complete them. Who can estimate the prayers and pious

devotion which the laying of the first stones called forth, and which

continued to be poured out till the last layer of stones was laid on

the towers or fitted into the finial? Their sculpture and stained-glass

windows, frescoes, and paintings presented scenes from Scripture and

the history of the Church. There, kings and queens, warriors, and the

men whom the age pronounced godly were laid away in sepulture, a custom

continued after the modern period had begun, as in the case of Luther

and Melanchthon, whose ashes rest in the Castle Church of Wittenberg.

In spite of frequent fires consuming parts of the great churches or the

entire buildings, they were restored or reconstructed, often several

times, as in the case of the cathedrals of Chartres, Canterbury, and

Norwich. Central towers collapsed, as in the case of Winchester,

Peterborough, Lincoln, and other English cathedrals, but they were

rebuilt. In the erection of these churches princes and people joined,

and to further this object they gave their contributions of material

and labor. The women of Ulm gave up all their ornaments to advance the

work upon the cathedral of that city, and to the construction of the

cathedral in Cologne Germans in all lands contributed.

The eleventh century is the beginning of one of the most notable

periods of architecture in the world's history, lasting for nearly

three centuries. It has a distinct character of its own and in its

service high talent was consecrated. The monks may be said to have led

the way by their zeal to erect strong, ample, and beautiful cloistral

establishments. These called forth in France the ambition of the

bishops to surpass them. Two styles of architecture are usually

distinguished in this period, the Romanesque, called in England also

the Norman, and the Gothic. Writers on architecture make a number of

subdivisions and some have included all the architecture of the twelfth

to the fifteenth centuries under the title Gothic, or Christian

Pointed. During these centuries Europe, from the South to far Northern

Scotland and Sweden, was dotted with imposing structures which on the

one hand vied with St. Sophia of Constantinople, and on the other have

been imitated but not equalled since.

In Rome as late as the thirteenth century, when Honorius III. began the

construction of San Lorenzo, the old basilica style continued to rule.

The Romanesque style started from Northern Italy and, in the beginning

of the eleventh century, crossed the Alps, where it had its most

glorious triumphs. In Italy, the cathedral of Pisa represents the

blending of the old and the new, the cruciform shape and the dome. In

Germany, the cathedrals of Spires, Worms, and Mainz belong to this

period, and in England its earlier cathedrals, or portions of them,

like Winchester, begun about 1070, Worcester about 1084, Peterborough

about 1120, Norwich about 1096, Ely about 1083, Durham about 1099.

For the fundamental ground plan of the basilica was substituted the

form of the cross. The size of the choir was increased and the choir

was elevated. It was the age of the priesthood, and sacerdotalism was

represented in the enlargement of the altar, in increased and rich

stalls for the clergy, and spaces at the rear of the altar. These

features also belong to the preceding period, but now receive greater

emphasis. The large end of the cross, or nave, especially in the

English cathedrals, was greatly extended so that the altar and its

furniture were seen from afar, for the chief doors were in that end,

which faced the west. In England, the transepts, or arms of the cross,

became long and spacious. The tower became a prominent feature, and

buttresses were added to the walls. In Italy, the tower took the shape

of a campanile, which was built in addition to the dome, and was

sometimes a separate building and never an essential part of it. The

vaulted and groined roof took the place of the flat roof.

The Gothic style, so called in Italy from its reputed barbaric

features, found altogether its highest development in the North, and

started in Northern France. It is the grandest style of church

architecture ever wrought out. It was shown in the height of the church

walls and in spires struggling to reach to the very throne of God

itself. The vault of the cathedral of Amiens is 147 feet above the

floor, of Beauvais 157 feet, of Cologne 155 feet. This style developed

the pointed arch, perpendicular lines, the lancet window. It had some

of the features of the Lombardy poplars, soaring, stern, solemn. In its

strong, ramparted buttresses, its towers, and its massive columns, it

represented the hardihood and strength of the northern forest. Its

pointed roofs were adapted to receive the storms of snow common to the

North. Its flying buttresses and elaborate carvings within, and its

splendid entrances, especially in the French cathedrals, typified the

richness of Christian promise and hope.

The Gothic style started in France in the thirteenth century. Notable

examples are found in Rheims, begun 1211, Amiens, Laon, and in Notre

Dame, Paris, begun in 1163. The arches are less pointed than in England

and the portals are on a much grander scale and more highly ornamented.

At Notre Dame we have one of the finest specimens of flying buttresses.

In its case and most cases of French Gothic there are towers. The

cathedrals of Paris, Amiens, and Rheims have unfinished towers. The

Sainte Chapelle in Paris is a splendid piece of pure Gothic.

In Germany, fine examples of Gothic are found in the church at Marburg

dedicated to St. Elizabeth, in N�rnberg, Bamberg, Freiburg, Strassburg,

and other cities. The cathedral of Cologne is said to be the most

perfect specimen of Gothic in existence. Its choir was begun in 1248,

Konrad of Hochsteden laying the corner-stone in the presence of the

newly elected emperor, William of Holland, and many princes. The choir

was dedicated in 1322. By 1437 one of the towers was finished up to

one-third of its present height. At the time of the Reformation the

roof was covered with boards. In the nineteenth century the original

plans were discovered and the completion of the edifice, including the

two spires, was made a national undertaking. The work was finished in

1880.

England is rich in memorials of mediaeval architecture which began with

the arrival of the Normans. The nation's life is interwoven with them,

and Westminster Abbey is perhaps the most august place of sepulture in

the world. In addition to the cathedrals already mentioned, Lincoln,

Canterbury, York, Salisbury, and other great churches were begun in

this period. Addition after addition was made till the noble churches

of England got their final shape. The tower is one of the prominent

features of the English cathedral, Lichfield being probably the most

important with spires. The finest outside impression is made by

Salisbury and Lincoln minsters. Many of these cathedrals were built by

Benedictine monks, such as Canterbury, Durham, Ely, and Norwich, and by

the canons regular of St. Augustine, as Carlisle and Bristol. Lincoln,

Chichester, Salisbury, York, St. David's, and others were served by

secular priests.

The architects of Scotland seem to have come from England and to have

built after English models. The noblest of her mediaeval churches are

Glasgow, St. Andrews, Dumblane, and Elgin, and among her convents,

Kelso, Dryburgh, Holyrood, and Melrose.

In Spain, great minsters at Toledo, Burgos, and other cities were built

in Gothic style in the thirteenth century, and Seville, which offers

the largest floor surface of all the Christian churches, and is also of

the same type, was begun in 1401 and completed 1520.

In Italy, Gothic was never fully at home. The cathedrals of Milan,

Florence, and Siena are regarded as its finer specimens. Siena was

begun in 1243. The minster of Milan was not begun till 1385. It is the

largest Christian church after Seville and St. Peter's. Its west fa�ade

is out of accord with the rest of the structure, which is pure Gothic.

It is built of white marble and soars up to the clouds in hundreds of

spires. Within full sight of the Milan cathedral are the Alps, crowned

with snow and elevated far above the din of human traffic and voices;

and in comparison with those mightier cathedrals of God, the creations

of man seem small even as man himself seems small in comparison with

his Maker.

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CHAPTER XII.

SCHOLASTIC AND MYSTIC THEOLOGY.

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� 95. Literature and General Introduction.

Literature: I.--The works Of Anselm, Abaelard, Peter The Lombard, Hugo

Of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns

Scotus, and other Schoolmen.

II.--R. D. Hampden (bishop of Hereford, d. 1868): The Scholastic

Philos. considered in its Relation to Christ. Theol., Bampton Lectures,

Oxf., 1832, 3d ed. 1848.--B. Haureau: De la philos. scholast., 2 vols.

Paris, 1850.--W. Kaulich: Gesch. d. scholast. Philos., Prag, 1863.--C.

Prantl: Gesch. d. Logik im Abendlande, 4 vols. Leip., 1861-1870:--P. D.

Maurice (d. 1872): Med. Philos., London, 1870.--\*A. St�ckl (Rom.

Cath.): Gesch. d. Philos. d. Mittelalters, Mainz, 3 vols. 1864-1866.

Vol. I. covers the beginnings of Scholasticism from Isidore of Seville

to Peter the Lombard; Vol. II., the period of its supremacy; Vol. III.,

the period of its decline down to Jesuitism and Jansenism.--R. Reuter

(Prof. of Ch. Hist. at G�ttingen, d. 1889): Gesch. d. Rel. Aufkl�rung

im Mittelalter, 2 vols. Berlin, 1875-1877. Important for the sceptical

and rationalistic tendencies of the M. A.--TH. Harper: The Metaphysics

of the School, London, 1880.--K. Werner (Rom. Cath.): D. Scholastik des

sp�teren Mittelalters, 4 vols. Wien, 1881-1887. Begins with Duns

Scotus.--The relevant chapters in the Histories of Doctrine, by

Harnack, Loofs, Fisher, Seeberg, Sheldon, and the Rom. Cath. divines,

and J. Bach: Dogmengesch. d. Mittelalters, 2 vols. 1873-1875, and \*J.

Schwane: Dogmengesch. d. mittleren Zeit, 1882.--The Histories of

Philos. by Ritter, Erdmann, Ueberweg-Heinze, and Scholasticism, by

Prof. Seth, in Enc. Brit. XXI. 417-431.

Scholasticism is the term given to the theology of the Middle Ages. It

forms a distinct body of speculation, as do the works of the Fathers

and the writings of the Reformers. The Fathers worked in the quarries

of Scripture and, in conflict with heresy, wrought out, one by one, its

teachings into dogmatic statements. The Schoolmen collected, analyzed

and systematized these dogmas and argued their reasonableness against

all conceivable objections. The Reformers, throwing off the yoke of

human authority, and disparaging the Schoolmen, returned to the

fountain of Scripture, and restated its truths.

The leading peculiarities of Scholasticism are that it subjected the

reason to Church authority and sought to prove the dogmas of the Church

independently by dialectics. As for the Scriptures, the Schoolmen

accepted their authority and show an extensive acquaintance with their

pages from Genesis to Revelation. With a rare exception, like Abaelard,

they also accepted implicitly the teaching of the Fathers as accurately

reflecting the Scriptures. A distinction was made by Alexander of Hales

and others between the Scriptures which were treated as truth, veritas,

and the teaching of the Fathers, which was treated as authority,

auctoritas.

It was not their concern to search in the Scriptures for new truth or

in any sense to reopen the investigation of the Scriptures. The task

they undertook was to confirm what they had inherited. For this reason

they made no original contributions to exegesis and biblical theology.

They did not pretend to have discovered any new dogmas. They were

purveyors of the dogma they had inherited from the Fathers.

It was the aim of the Schoolmen to accomplish two things,--to reconcile

dogma and reason, and to arrange the doctrines of the Church in an

orderly system called summa theologiae. These systems, like our modern

encyclopaedias, were intended to be exhaustive. It is to the credit of

the human mind that every serious problem in the domains of religion

and ethics was thus brought under the inspection of the intellect. The

Schoolmen, however, went to the extreme of introducing into their

discussions every imaginable question,--questions which, if answered,

would do no good except to satisfy a prurient curiosity. Anselm gives

the best example of treatises on distinct subjects, such as the

existence of God, the necessity of the Incarnation, and the fall of the

devil. Peter the Lombard produced the most clear, and Thomas Aquinas

the most complete and finished systematic bodies of divinity.

With intrepid confidence these busy thinkers ventured upon the loftiest

speculations, raised and answered all sorts of doubts and ran every

accepted dogma through a fiery ordeal to show its invulnerable nature.

They were the knights of theology, its Godfreys and Tancreds.

Philosophy with them was their handmaid,--ancilla,--dialectics their

sword and lance.

In a rigid dialectical treatment, the doctrines of Christianity are in

danger of losing their freshness and vital power, and of being turned

into a theological corpse. This result was avoided in the case of the

greatest of the mediaeval theologians by their religious fervor.

Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura were men of warm piety and,

like Augustine, they combined with the metaphysical element a mystical

element, with the temper of speculation the habit of meditation and

prayer.

He is far from the truth who imagines the mediaeval speculations to be

mere spectacular balloonings, feats of intellectual acrobatism. They

were, on the contrary, serious studies pursued with a solemn purpose.

The Schoolmen were moved with a profound sense of the presence of God

and the sacrifice of the cross, and such treatments as the ethical

portions of Thomas Aquinas' writings show deep interest in the sphere

of human conduct. For this reason, as well as for the reason that they

stand for the theological literature of more than two centuries, these

writings live, and no doubt will continue to live. [1313]

Following Augustine, the Schoolmen started with the principle that

faith precedes knowledge--fides praecedit intellectum. Or, as Anselm

also put it, "I believe that I may understand; I do not understand that

I may believe" credo ut intelligam, non intelligo ut credam. They

quoted as proof text, Isa. 7:9. "If ye will not believe, surely ye

shall not be established." Abaelard was an exception, and reversed the

order, making knowledge precede faith; but all arrived at the same

result. Revelation and reason, faith and science, theology and

philosophy agree, for they proceed from the one God who cannot

contradict himself.

In addition to the interest which attaches to Scholasticism as a

distinct body of intellectual effort, is its importance as the ruling

theology in the Roman Catholic Church to this day. Such dogmas as the

treatment of heresy, the supremacy of the Church over the State, the

immaculate conception, and the seven sacraments, as stated by the

Schoolmen, are still binding, or at any rate, they have not been

formally renounced. Leo XIII. bore fresh witness to this when, in his

encyclical of Aug. 4, 1879, he pronounced the theology of Thomas

Aquinas the standard of Catholic orthodoxy, and the safest guide of

Christian philosophy in the battle of faith with the scepticism of the

nineteenth century.

The Scholastic systems, like all the distinctive institutions and

movements of the Middle Ages, were on an imposing scale. The industry

of their authors cannot fail to excite amazement. Statement follows

statement with tedious but consequential necessity and precision until

chapter is added to chapter and tome is piled upon tome, and the

subject has been looked at in every possible aspect and been exhausted.

Duns Scotus produced thirteen folio volumes, and perhaps died when he

was only thirty-four. The volumes of Albertus Magnus are still more

extensive. These theological systems are justly compared with the

institution of the mediaeval papacy, and the creations of Gothic

architecture, imposing, massive, and strongly buttressed. The papacy

subjected all kingdoms to its divine authority. Architecture made all

materials and known mechanical arts tributary to worship. The Schoolmen

used all the forces of logic and philosophy to vindicate the orthodox

system of theology, but they used much wood and straw in their

constructions, as the sounder exegesis and more scriptural theology of

the Reformers and these later days have shown.

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[1313] 1. Milman, Hist. of Lat. Christianity, VIII. 257, is certainly

unjust when he says: "With all their search into the unfathomable, the

Schoolmen have fathomed nothing; with all their vast logical apparatus,

they have proved nothing to the satisfaction of the inquisitive mind."

One has only to think of the ontological argument of Anselm and the

cosmological arguments of Thomas Aquinas and the statements wrought out

on the satisfaction of Christ to feel that the statement is not true.

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� 96. Sources and Development of Scholasticism.

The chief feeders of Scholasticism were the writings of Augustine and

Aristotle. The former furnished the matter, the latter the form; the

one the dogmatic principles, the other the dialectic method.

The Augustine, who ruled the thought of the Middle Ages, was the

churchly, sacramentarian, anti-Manichaean, and anti-Donatist

theologian. It was the same Augustine, and yet another, to whom Luther

and Calvin appealed for their doctrines of sin and grace. How strange

that the same mighty intellect who helped to rear the structure of

Scholastic divinity should have aided the Reformers in pulling it down

and rearing another structure, at once more Scriptural and better

adapted to the practical needs of life!

Aristotle was, in the estimation of the Middle Ages, the master

philosophical thinker. The Schoolmen show their surpassing esteem for

him in calling him again and again "the philosopher." Dante excluded

both him and Virgil as pagans from paradise and purgatory and placed

them in the vestibule of the inferno, where, however, they are exempt

from actual suffering. Aristotle was regarded as a forerunner of

Christian truth, a John the Baptist in method and knowledge of natural

things--precursor Christi in naturalibus. Until the thirteenth century,

his works were only imperfectly known. The Categories and the de

interpretatione were known to Abaelard and other Schoolmen in the Latin

version of Boethius, and three books of the Organon to John of

Salisbury. His Physics and Metaphysics became known about 1200, and all

his works were made accessible early in the thirteenth century through

the mediation of the Arab philosophers, Avicenna, d. 1037, Averrhoes,

d. 1198, and Abuacer, d. 1185, and through Jewish sources. Roger Bacon

laments the mistakes of translations made from the Arabic, by Michael

Scot, Gerard of Cremona, and others. [1314]

At first the Stagyrite was looked upon with suspicion or even

prohibited by the popes and synods as adapted to breed heresy and

spiritual pride. [1315]

Every one is excluded and banned

Who does not come clad in Aristotle's armor. [1316]

The Reformers shook off his yoke and Luther, in a moment of temper at

the degenerate Schoolmen of his day, denounced him as "the accursed

pagan Aristotle" and in his Babylonish Captivity called the mediaeval

Church "the Thomistic or Aristotelian Church."

The line of the Schoolmen begins in the last year of the eleventh

century with Roscellinus and Anselm. Two centuries before, John Scotus

Erigena had anticipated some of their discussions of fundamental

themes, and laid down the principle that true philosophy and true

religion are one. But he does not seem to have had any perceptible

influence on Scholastic thought. The history divides itself into three

periods: the rise of Scholasticism, its full bloom, and its decline.

[1317] lard, d. 1142, Bernard, d. 1153, Hugo de St. Victor, d. 1161,

Richard of St. Victor, d. 1173, and Gilbert of Poictiers, d. 1154. The

chief names of the second period are Peter the Lombard, d. 1160,

Alexander of Hales, d. 1243, Albertus Magnus, d. 1280, Thomas Aquinas,

d. 1274, Bonaventura, d. 1274, Roger Bacon, d. 1294, and Duns Scotus,

d. 1308. To the period of decline belong, among others, Durandus, d.

1334, Bradwardine, d. 1349, and Ockam, d. 1367. England, France,

Germany, Italy, and Spain made contributions to this galaxy of men.

Gabriel Biel, professor at T�bingen, who died 1495, is usually called

the last of the Schoolmen. Almost all the great Schoolmen were monks.

The two centuries included between the careers of Anselm and Duns

Scotus show decided modifications of opinion on important questions

such as the immaculate conception, and in regard to the possibility of

proving from pure reason such doctrines as the incarnation and the

Trinity. These two doctrines Thomas Aquinas, as well as Duns Scotus and

Ockam, declared to be outside the domain of pure ratiocination. Even

the existence of God and the immortality of the soul came to be

regarded by Duns Scotus and the later Schoolmen as mysteries which were

to be received solely upon the authority of the Church. The argument

from probability was emphasized in the last stages of Scholastic

thought as it had not been before.

In their effort to express the minutest distinctions of thought, the

Schoolmen invented a new vocabulary unknown to classical Latin,

including such words as ens, absolutum identitas quidditas, haecceitas,

aliquiditas, aleitas. [1318] ody of the resurrection. Such questions as

the following were asked and most solemnly discussed by the leading

Schoolmen. Albertus Magnus asked whether it was harder for God to

create the universe than to create man and whether the understandings

of angels are brighter in the morning or in the evening. "Who sinned

most, Adam or Eve?" was a favorite question with Anselm, Hugo de St.

Victor, [1319] ssion, concluded it was at the ninth hour, the hour at

which Christ expired. Bonaventura debated whether several angels can be

in one place at the same time, whether one angel can be in several

places at the same time, and whether God loved the human race more than

He loved Christ. [1320] ibly said that it would have been more rational

for him to have asked why the Lombard did not appear on earth as an ass

than for the Lombard to ask whether God could have become incarnate in

female form. The famous discussion over the effect the eating of the

host would have upon a mouse will be taken up in connection with the

Lord's Supper. Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, and others

pondered over the problem. It was asked by Robert Pullen whether man in

the resurrection will receive back the rib he lost in Eden, and whether

a man will recover all the clippings of his finger nails.

Such endless discussions have been ridiculed as puerile and frivolous,

though, as has already been said, they grew out of the desire to be

exhaustive. At last and justly, they brought Scholasticism into

disrepute. While it was losing itself in the clouds and mists of things

transcendental, it neglected the earth at its feet. As the papacy

passed sentence upon itself by intolerable ambition, so Scholasticism

undermined its authority by intellectual sophistries and was set aside

by the practical interests of the Renaissance and Humanism and by

simple faith, searching through the Scriptures, to reach the living

sympathy of Christ. [1321]

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[1314] See Roger Bacon: Opus Majus, Bridges' ed. I. 54-56; Sandys,

Class. Scholarship, pp. 507, 540-546, 568-sqq., and Seth, Enc. Brit.,

XXI. 419.

[1315] The council of Paris, 1209, forbade the use of his Natural

Philosophy. Gregory IX., 1231, condemned the Physics, but in 1254 the

University of Paris prescribed the number of hours to be devoted to the

explanation of Aristotle's works.

[1316] Omnis hic excluditur, omnis est abjectus. Qui non Aristotelis

venit armis tectus. Chart., I. p. xviii.

[1317] Cousin made three periods, the first when philosophy was in

subjection to theology, the second when they were in union, and the

third when they were separated.

[1318] "Otherness," applied by Rich. de St. Victor to the Trinitarian

distinctions.

[1319] de sacram., I. 7; Migne's ed., 176, 290.

[1320] Peltier's ed., V. 38.

[1321] Thomas Fuller quaintly compared the Schoolmen to those who built

their houses in London on small patches of ground "improving their

small bottom with towering speculations."

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� 97. Realism and Nominalism.

The underlying philosophical problem of the Scholastic speculations was

the real and independent existence of general or generic concepts,

called universalia or universals. Do they necessarily involve

substantial being? On this question the Schoolmen were divided into two

camps, the Realists and the Nominalists. [1322] s.

Realism taught that the universals are not mere generalizations of the

mind but have a real existence. Following Plato, as he is represented

by Aristotle, one class of Realists held that the universals are

creative types, exemplars in the divine mind. Their view was stated in

the expression--universalia ante rem -- that is, the universals exist

before the individual, concrete object. The Aristotelian Realists held

that the universals possess a real existence, but exist only in

individual things. This was the doctrine of universalia in re.

Humanity, for example, is a universal having a real existence. Socrates

partakes of it, and he is an individual man, distinct from other men.

Anselm, representing the Platonic school, treated the universal

humanity as having independent existence by itself. Duns Scotus,

representing the second theory, found in the universal the basis of all

classification and gives to it only in this sense a real existence.

The Nominalists taught that universals or general conceptions have no

antecedent existence. They are mere names--nomina, flatus vocis, voces

-- and are derived from a comparison of individual things and their

qualities. Thus beauty is a conception of the mind gotten from the

observation of objects which are beautiful. The individual things are

first observed and the universal, or abstract conception, is derived

from it. This doctrine found statement in the expression universalia

post rem, the universal becomes known after the individual. A

modification of this view went by the name of Conceptualism, or the

doctrine that universals have existence as conceptions in the mind, but

not in real being. [1323]

The starting-point for this dialectical distinction may have been a

passage in Porphyry's Isagoge, as transmitted by Boethius. Declining to

enter into a discussion of the question, Porphyry asks whether the

universals are to be regarded as having distinct substantial existence

apart from tangible things or whether they were only conceptions of the

mind, having substantial existence only in tangible things. [1324]

The theory of Realism was called in question in the eleventh century by

Roscellinus, a contemporary of Anselm and the teacher of Abaelard, who,

as it would seem, advocated Nominalism. [1325] piegne in the diocese of

Soissons, 1092, when he was obliged to recant his alleged tritheism,

which he substituted for the doctrine of the Trinity.

The views of this theologian called forth Anselm's treatise on the

Trinity, and Abaelard despised him as a quack dialectician. [1326] ee

substances, as Scotus Erigena had done before. These persons were three

distinct beings equal in power and will, but each separate from the

other and complete in himself, like three men or angels. These three

could not be one God in the sense of being of the same essence, for

then the Father and the Holy Spirit would have had to become incarnate

as well as the Son.

Defending the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, Anselm proceeded on the

basis of strict realism and declared that the three persons represented

three relations and not three substances. Fountain, brook, and pond are

three; yet the same water is in each one and we could not say the brook

is the fountain or the fountain is the pond. The water of the brook may

be carried through a pipe, but in that case it would not be the

fountain which was carried through, nor the pond. So in the same way,

the Godhead became incarnate without involving the incarnation of the

Father and Holy Spirit.

The decision of the synod of Soissons and Anselm's argument drove

Nominalism from the field and it was not again publicly avowed till the

fourteenth century when it was revived by the energetic and practical

mind of Ockam, by Durandus and others. It was for a time fiercely

combated by councils and King Louis XI., but was then adopted by many

of the great teachers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[1322] H. Doergens, Lehre von d. Universalien, Heidelb., 1867; J. H.

L�we, D. Kampf zwischen d. Realismus und Nominalismus im Mittelalter,

Prag, 1876. Art."Universalien," in Wetzer-Welte, XII. 305 sqq. The

Histt. of Philosophy.

[1323] According to John of Salisbury there were no less than thirteen

different shades of opinion on the subject. See Prantl, Gesch. der

Logik, II. 118.

[1324] The passage from Porphyry runs--mox de generibus et speciebus

illud quidem sive subsistant, sive in solis nudis intellectibus posita

sint, sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporalia, et utrum

separata a sensibilibus, an insensibilibus posita et circa haec

consistentia, dicere recusabo. Altissimum enim negotium est hujusmodi

et majoris egens inquisitionis. See Gieseler, Ch. Hist., Germ. ed.,

III. 384.

[1325] Otto of Freising, de gest. Frid., I. 47, spoke of him as the

originator of Nominalism in that age, qui primus nostris temporibus in

logica sententiam vocum instituit. According to John of Salisbury,

nominalism almost wholly vanished with Roscellinus, Metalog., II. 17.

[1326] Pseudo-Dialecticus. Ep., 21. De fide trin. 3. tres personae sunt

tres res sicut tres angeli aut tres animae, ita tamen ut voluntas et

potestas omnino sunt idem. Also Ep., II. 41.

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� 98. Anselm of Canterbury.

Literature: The Works of Anselm. First complete ed. by Gerberon, Paris,

1675, reprinted in Migne, vols. 158, 159.--Anselm's opuscula, trans.

Chicago, 1903, pp. 288.--Anselm's Devotions, trans. by Pusey, Oxf.,

1856, London, 1872, and by C. C. J. Webb., London, 1903.--Trans. of Cur

Deus homo in Anc. and Mod. Library, London.--The Life of Anselm by his

secretary and devoted friend Eadmer: de vita Anselmi and Historia

novorum in Migne, and ed. by Rule in Rolls series, London, 1884.--John

of Salisbury's Life, written to further Anselm's canonization by

Alexander III., Migne, 199: 1009-1040, is based upon Eadmer.--William

Of Malmesbury in Gesta Pontificum adds some materials.--Modern Lives,

by \*F. R. Hasse, 2 vols. Leip., 1843-1852, Abrdg. trans. by \*W. Turner,

London, 1850. One of the best of Hist. monographs.--\*C. De Remusat:

Paris, 1853, last ed., 1868.--\*Dean R. W. Church (d. 1890): London, new

ed., 1877 (good account of Anselm's career, but pays little attention

to his philosophy and theology).--M. Rule: 2 vols. London, 1883,

eulogistic and ultramontane.--P. Ragey: 2 vols. Paris, 1890.--J. M.

Rigg: London, 1896.--A. C. Welch, Edinburgh, 1901.--\*W. R. W. Stephens

in Dict. Natl. Biog., II. 10-31.--P. Schaff, in Presb. and Ref'd

Review, Jan., 1894.--\*Ed. A. Freeman: The Reign of William Rufus, 2

vols. London, 1882.--H. B�hmer: Kirche u. Staat in England u. in der

Normandie im XI. u. XIIten Jahrh., Leip., 1899.--Anselm's philosophy is

discussed by Ritter, Erdmann, and Ueberweg-Heinze in their Histories of

Philos.; his theology is treated by Baur: Gesch. d. Christl. Lehre. von

d. Vers�hnung, T�bingen, 1838, 142-189.--Ritschl: Rechtfertigung u.

Vers�hnung, and in the Histories of Doctrine.--K�lling: D. satisfactio

vicaria, 2 vols., G�tersloh, 1897-1899. A vigorous presentation of the

Anselmic view.--Leipoldt: D. Begriff meritum in Anselm, in Theol.

Studien u. Kritiken, 1904.--Le Chanoine Por�e: Hist. de l'Abbaye du

Bec, Paris, 1901.

Anselm of Canterbury, 1033-1109, the first of the great Schoolmen, was

one of the ablest and purest men of the mediaeval Church. He touched

the history of his age at many points. He was an enthusiastic advocate

of monasticism. He was archbishop of Canterbury and fought the battle

of the Hildebrandian hierarchy against the State in England. His

Christian meditations give him a high rank in its annals of piety. His

profound speculation marks one of the leading epochs in the history of

theology and won for him a place among the doctors of the Church. While

Bernard was greatest as a monk, Anselm was greatest as a theologian. He

was the most original thinker the Church had seen since the days of

Augustine. [1327]

Life.--Anselm was born at Aosta, in Piedmont, at the foot of the great

St. Bernard, which divides Italy from western Switzerland. [1328]

violently against his son's religious aspirations, but on his death-bed

himself assumed the monastic garb to escape perdition.

In his childish imagination, Anselm conceived God Almighty as seated on

a throne at the top of the Alps, and in a dream, he climbed up the

mountain to meet Him. Seeing, on his way, the king's maidens engaged in

the harvest field, for it was Autumn, neglecting their work he

determined to report their negligence to the king. The lad was most

graciously received and asked whence he came and what he desired. The

king's kindness made him forget all about the charges he was intending

to make. Then, refreshed with the whitest of bread, he descended again

to the valley. The following day he firmly believed he had actually

been in heaven and eaten at the Lord's table. This was the story he

told after he had ascended the chair of Canterbury.

A quarrel with his father led to Anselm's leaving his home. He set his

face toward the West and finally settled in the Norman abbey of Le Bec,

then under the care of his illustrious countryman Lanfranc. Here he

studied, took orders, and, on Lanfranc's transfer to the convent of St.

Stephen at Caen, 1063, became prior, and, in 1078, abbot. At Bec he

wrote most of his works. His warm devotion to the monastic life appears

in his repeated references to it in his letters and in his longing to

get back to the convent after he had been made archbishop.

In 1093, he succeeded Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury. His

struggle with William Rufus and Henry I. over investiture has already

been described (pp. 88-93). During his exile on the Continent he

attended a synod at Bari, where he defended the Latin doctrine of the

procession of the Holy Spirit against the Greek bishops who were

present. [1329]

The archbishop's last years in England were years of quiet, and he had

a peaceful end. They lifted him from the bed and placed him on ashes on

the floor. There, "as morning was breaking, on the Wednesday before

Easter," April 21, 1109, the sixteenth year of his pontificate and the

seventy-sixth of his life, he slept in peace, as his biographer Eadmer

says, "having given up his spirit into the hands of his Creator." He

lies buried in Canterbury Cathedral at the side of Lanfranc.

Anselm was a man of spotless integrity, single devotion to truth and

righteousness, patient in suffering, and revered as a saint before his

official canonization in 1494. [1330] labrian prophet, Joachim. [1331]

Writings.--Anselm's chief works in the departments of theology are his

Monologium and Proslogium, which present proofs for God's existence,

and the Cur Deus homo, "Why God became Man," a treatise on the

atonement. He also wrote on the Trinity against Roscellinus; on

original sin, free will, the harmony of foreknowledge and

foreordination, and the fall of the devil. To these theological

treatises are to be added a number of writings of a more practical

nature, homilies, meditations, and four hundred and twelve letters in

which we see him in different relations, as a prelate of the Church, a

pastor, as a teacher giving advice to pupils, and as a friend. [1332]

ayers reveal the depth of his piety. His theological treatises betray

the genius of his intellect. In extent they are far less voluminous

than the works of Thomas Aquinas and other Schoolmen of the later

period.

Theology.--Anselm was one of those rare characters in whom lofty reason

and childlike faith work together in perfect harmony. Love to God was

the soul of his daily life and love to God is the burning centre of his

theology. It was not doubt that led him to speculation, but enthusiasm

for truth and devotion to God. His famous proposition, which

Schleiermacher adopted as a motto for his own theology, is that faith

precedes knowledge--fides praecedit intellectum. Things divine must be

a matter of experience before they can be comprehended by the

intellect. "He who does not believe," Anselm said, "has not felt, and

he who has not felt, does not understand." [1333] [1334] ed himself

against blind belief, and calls it a sin of neglect when he who has

faith, does not strive after knowledge. [1335]

These views, in which supernaturalism and rationalism are harmonized,

form the working principle of the Anselmic theology. The two sources of

knowledge are the Bible and the teaching of the Church which are in

complete agreement with one another and are one with true philosophy.

[1336] spirit and method secured for him the titles "the second

Augustine" and the, Tongue of Augustine."

Anselm made two permanent contributions to theology, his argument for

the existence of God and his theory of the atonement.

The ontological argument, which he stated, constitutes an epoch in the

history of the proofs for God's existence. It was first laid clown in

the Monologium or Soliloquy, which he called the example of meditation

on the reasonableness of faith, but mixed with cosmological elements.

Starting from the idea that goodness and truth must have an existence

independent of concrete things, Anselm ascends from the conception of

what is relatively good and great, to Him who is absolutely good and

great.

In the Proslogium, or Allocution, the ontological argument is presented

in its purest form. Anselm was led to its construction by the desire to

find out a single argument, sufficient in itself, to prove the divine

existence. The argument was the result of long reflection and rooted in

piety and prayer. Day and night the author was haunted with the idea

that God's existence could be so proved. He was troubled over it to

such a degree that at times he could not sleep or take his meals.

Finally, one night, during vigils, the argument stood clearly before

his mind in complete outline. The notes were written down while the

impression was still fresh in Anselm's mind. The first copy was lost;

the second was inadvertently broken to pieces.

Anselm's argument, which is the highest example of religious meditation

and scholastic reasoning, is prefaced with an exhortation and the

words, "I do not seek to understand in order that I may believe, but I

believe in order that I may understand, for of this I feel sure, that,

if I did not believe, I would not understand."

The reasoning starts from the idea the mind has of God, and proceeds to

the affirmation of the necessity of God's objective existence. The mind

has a concept of something than which nothing greater can be conceived.

[1337] in his heart, "there is no God, " Ps. 14:1. He grasps the

conception when he listens, and what he grasps is in his mind. This

something, than which nothing greater can be conceived, cannot exist

solely in the mind. For, if it existed solely in the mind, then it

would be possible to think of it as existing also in reality

(objectively), and that would be something greater. [1338] ists both in

the mind and in reality. This is God. "So truly," exclaims Anselm,

"dost Thou exist, O Lord God, that it is not possible to conceive of

Thee as not existing. For, if any mind could conceive of anything

better than Thou art, then the creature would ascend above the Creator

and become His judge, which is supremely absurd. Everything else

besides Thyself can be conceived of as not existing."

The syllogism, compact as its presentation is and precise as its

language seems to be, is nevertheless defective, as a logical

statement. It begs the question. It offends against the principle that

deductions from a definition are valid only on the supposition that the

thing defined exists. The definition and the statement of God's

existence are in the major premise, "there is something than which

nothing greater can be conceived." And yet it was the objective

existence of this being, Anselm wanted to prove. Setting this objection

aside, there is the other fatal objection that objective existence is

not a predicate. Objective being is implied when we affirm anything.

This objection was stated by Kant. [1339] [1340]

The reasoning of the Proslogium was attacked by the monk Gaunilo of

Marmontier, near Bec, in his Liber pro insipiente. He protested against

the inference from the subjective conception to objective reality on

the ground that by the same method we might argue from any of our

conceptions to the reality of the thing conceived, as for example for

the existence of a lost island, the Atlantis. "That, than which nothing

greater can be thought," does not exist in the mind in any other way

than does the perfection of such an island. The real existence of a

thing must be known before we can predicate anything of it. Gaunilo's

objection Anselm answered by declaring that the idea of the lost island

was not a necessary conception while that of the highest being was, and

that it was to it alone his argument applied.

Untenable as Anselm's argument is logically, it possesses a strong

fascination, and contains a great truth. The being of God is an

intuition of the mind, which can only be explained by God's objective

existence. The modern theory of correlation lends its aid to

corroborate what was, after all, fundamental in the Anselmic

presentation, namely, that the idea of God in the mind must have

corresponding to it a God who really exists. Otherwise, we are left to

the mystery which is perhaps still greater, how such an idea could ever

have taken firm and general hold of the human mind. [1341]

The doctrine of the atonement.--With the Cur Deus homo, "Why God became

Man," a new chapter opens in the development of the doctrine of the

atonement. The treatise, which is in the form of a dialogue, is the

author's most elaborate work, and he thought the argument sufficient to

break down the objections of Jew and Pagan to the Christian system.

Anselm was the first to attempt to prove the necessity of the

incarnation and death of the Son of God by the processes of pure

reason. He argued that the world cannot be redeemed by an arbitrary

decree of God, nor through man or angel. Man is under the domination of

the devil, deserves punishment, and is justly punished; but the devil

torments him without right, [1342] Col. 2:14) is not a note due the

devil, but the sentence of God that he who sinned should be the servant

of sin.

God cannot allow his original purpose to be thwarted. Sin must be

forgiven, but how? Man owes subjection to God's will. Sin is denying to

God the honor due him. [1343] be forgiveness. Bare restitution,

however, is not a sufficient satisfaction. For his "contumely," man

must give back more than he has taken. He must compensate God's honor.

[1344] ages to satisfy the demands of violated honor.

All sin, then, must either receive punishment or be covered by

satisfaction. Can man make this satisfaction? No. Were it possible for

him to lead a perfectly holy life, from the moment he became conscious

of his debt, he would be simply doing his duty for that period. The

debt of the past would remain unsettled. But sin, having struck at the

roots of man's being, he is not able to lead a perfect life.

God's justice, then, man is not able to satisfy. Man ought, but cannot.

God need not, but does. For, most foreign to God would it be to allow

man, the most precious of his creatures, to perish. But as God himself

must make the satisfaction, and man ought to make it, the satisfaction

must be made by one who is both God and man, that is, the God-man.

[1345]

To make satisfaction, the God-man must give back to God something he is

not under obligation to render. A life of perfect obedience he owes.

Death he does not owe, for death is the wages of sin, and he had no

sin. By submitting to death, he acquired merit. Because this merit is

infinite in value, being connected with the person of the infinite Son

of God, it covers the infinite guilt of the sinner and constitutes the

satisfaction required.

Anselm concludes his treatise with the inquiry why the devil and his

angels are not saved by Christ. His answer is that they did not derive

their guilt and sinful estate through a single individual as men do

from Adam. Each sinned for himself. For this reason each would have to

be saved for himself by a God-angel. In declaring the salvation of

fallen angels to be impossible, Anselm closes with the words, "I do not

say that this is impossible as though the value of Christ's death were

not great enough to be sufficient for all the sins of men and fallen

angels, but because of a reason in the unchangeable nature of things

which stands in the way of the salvation of the lost angels." [1346]

It is the merit of Anselm's argument that, while Athanasius and

Augustine had laid stress upon the article that through Christ's

sufferings atonement was made, Anselm explained the necessity of those

sufferings. He also did the most valuable service of setting aside the

view, which had been handed down from the Fathers, that Christ's death

was a ransom-price paid to Satan. Even Augustine had asserted the

rights of the devil. Again, Anselm laid proper stress upon the guilt of

sin. He made earnest with it, not as a mistake, but as a violation of

law, a derogation from the honor due to God.

The subject of the atonement was not exhausted by the argument of the

Cur Deus homo. No one theory can comprehend its whole meaning. Certain

biblical features have been made prominent since his day which Anselm

did not emphasize. Each creative age has its own statement of theology,

and now one aspect and now another aspect of the unchangeable biblical

truth is made prominent. The different theories must be put into their

proper places as fragments of the full statement of truth. Anselm

regarded the atonement from the legal rather than from the moral side

of the divine nature. The attribute of justice is given a

disproportionate emphasis. Man's relation to God is construed wholly as

the relation of a subordinate to a superior. The fatherhood of God has

no adequate recognition. The actor in human redemption is God, the

sovereign and the judge. Anselm left out John 3:16 and the Parable of

the Prodigal Son. [1347]

Anselm as a mystic.--In Anselm, mysticism was combined with

scholasticism, pious devotion with lofty speculation, prayer with

logical analysis. His deeply spiritual nature manifests itself in all

his writings, but especially in his strictly devotional works, his

Meditations and Prayers. [1348] scussions.

The Schoolman's spiritual reflections abound in glowing utterances from

the inner tabernacle of his heart. Now he loses himself in the

contemplation of the divine attributes, now he laments over the

deadness and waywardness of man. Now he soars aloft in strains of

praise and adoration, now he whispers low the pleadings for mercy and

pardon. At one moment he surveys the tragedy of the cross or the joys

of the redeemed; at another the terrors of the judgment and hopeless

estate of the lost. Such a blending of mellow sentiment with high

speculations is seldom found. No one of the greater personages of the

Middle Ages, except Bernard, excels him in the mystical element; and he

often reminds us of Bernard, as when he exclaims, "O good Jesus, how

sweet thou art to the heart of him who thinks of thee and loves thee."

[1349] acrificing, merciful, wise, mighty, most sweet and

lovely"--valde dulcis et suavis. The soaring grandeur of Anselm's

thoughts may be likened to the mountains of the land of his birth, and

the pure abundance of his spiritual feeling to the brooks and meadows

of its valleys. He quotes again and again from Scripture, and its

language constitutes the chief vehicle of his thoughts.

In the first meditation, Anselm makes the famous comparison of human

life to the passage over a slender bridge, spanning a deep, dark abyss

whose bed is full of all kinds of foul and ghastly things. [1350] one's

way! And how greatly would not the anguish be increased, if great birds

were flying in the air, intent on swooping down and defeating the

purpose of the traveller! And how much more anguish would be added if

at every step a tile should fall away from behind him! The ravine is

hell, measureless in its depth, horribly dark with black, dismal

vapors! [1351] he birds are malign spirits. We, the travellers, are

blinded with ignorance and bound with the iron difficulty of doing

well. Shall we not turn our eyes unto the Lord "who is our light and

our salvation, of whom shall we be afraid?" Ps. 27:1.

The Prayers are addressed to the Son and Spirit as well as to the

Father. To these are added petitions to the Virgin, on whom Anselm

bestows the most fulsome titles, and to the saints. In this Anselm was

fully the child of his age.

These devotional exercises, the liturgy of Anselm's soul, are a

storehouse of pious thought to which due appreciation has not been

accorded. The mystical element gives him a higher place than his

theological treatises, elevated and important as they are. [1352]

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[1327] Loofs, p. 271, says, "He is perhaps the most important of all

the mediaeval theologians."

[1328] Church gives a graphic picture of "wild Aosta lulled by Alpine

rills." Aosta was a Roman settlement bearing the name Augusta

Praetoria, and was made a bishopric about the fifth century.

[1329] His views were set forth in the de processione Spiritus Sancti.

He argued that the Spirit proceeded from the Father not as father but

as God. He must therefore also proceed from the Son as God.

[1330] See quotations in Freeman, W. Rufus, II. 661.

[1331] Paradiso, XII. 137.

[1332] Freeman has an excursus on Anselm's letters in his W. Rufus, II.

570-588.

[1333] Qui non crediderit, non experietur, et qui expertus non fuerit

non intelliget, de fide trin., 2; Migne, 158, 264.

[1334] Ep., II. 41;Migne, 158. 1193, Christianus per fidem debet ad

intellectum proficere non per intellectum ad fidem.

[1335] Cur Deus homo, I. 2; Migne, 158. 364.

[1336] Eadmer: nihil asserere nisi quod aut canonicis aut Augustini

dictis posse defendi videret.

[1337] aliquid quo majus nihil cogitari potest.

[1338] si vel in solo intellectu est, potest cogitari esse et in re,

quod majus est.

[1339] Thomas Aquinas said that, even if the name of God means illud

quo majus cogitari non potest, yet it would not be possible to proceed

to the affirmation of God's real existence, because the atheist denies

that there is aliquid quo majus cogitari non potest, Summa, I. ii. 2.

Hegel replied to Kant that the Begriff an und f�r sich selbst enth�lt

das Sein also eine Bestimmtheit. Professor E. Caird, in an article,

Anselm's Argument for the Being of God (Journal of Theolog. Studies,

1900, pp. 23-39), sums up his objection to Anselm's argument by saying,

"It is the scholastic distortion of an idea which was first presented

in the Platonic philosophy," etc. Ritschl, Justification and

Reconciliation, p. 217, makes the same objection when he says Anselm

confuses reality and thought.

[1340] intelligere andin intellectu esse.

[1341] A careful statement of the history of the ontological argument

was given by K�stlin, D. Beweise f�rs Dasein Gottes, in Studien u.

Kritiken, 1875, 1876. Also Ruze, D. ontol. Gottesbeweis seit Anselm,

Halle, 1882.

[1342] Quamvis homo juste a diabolo torqueretur, ipse tamen illum

injuste torquebat,etc., I. 7; Migne, 158. 367 sq. Again Anselm takes up

this point, II. 20; p. 427 sq., and says it was not necessary for God

to descend to conquer the devil or to proceed judicially against him in

order to liberate man. Nothing else did God owe the devil but

punishment, and nothing else did man owe the devil but to treat him as

he had been treated, that is, to conquer him as man himself had been

conquered. All that was demanded by the devil, man owed to God and not

to the devil.

[1343] Non aliud est peccare quam Deo non reddere debitum. I. 11;

Migne, p. 376.

[1344] pro contumelia illata plus reddere quam abstulit .... Debet

omnis qui peccat, honorem quem rapuit, Deo solvere et haec est

satisfactio quam omnis peccator Deo debet facere.

[1345] Satisfactio quam nec potest facere nisi Deus nec debet nisi

homo, necesse est ut eam faciat Deus-homo, II. 6; Migne, p. 404.

[1346] II. 22; Migne, 158. 431. It is a matter of dispute how far

Anselm drew upon the doctrine of penance which had been handed down

from the Fathers or from the German law with its Wehrgeld, or debt of

honor; or whether he drew upon them at all. It is probable that the

Church's penitential system had affected the chivalric idea of honor.

Harnack, Dogmengesch., III. 252 sq., and Ritschl, Justification, etc.,

p. 263, make the objection against Anselm's argument that it was based

upon an "idea of God's justice which implies an equality in private

rights between God and man."

[1347] Harnack gives prolonged attention to Anselm's argument

(Dogmengesch., III. 341-358) and, in specifying its merits and defects,

declares that the defects largely outweigh the merits. Anselm's theory

is not at all to be adopted, die Theorie ist v�llig unannehmbar. It

would not be necessary, Harnack says, to waste many words over the

defects if it were not that the theology of the present day is stuck in

traditionalism and neglects all the canons of Gospel, ethics, logic,

and culture. He declares it to be a fearful thought that God may not

forgive from pure love, but had to have his honor appeased by sacrfice.

Anselm's argument taken by itself does not justify such severe

criticism, and, if his other writings and his own character be taken

into account, he will be absolved from the implied charges.

[1348] Meditationes seu Orationes, Migne, 158. 709-1014. See Hasse, I.

176-232.

[1349] Jesu bone, quam dulcis es in corde cogitantis de te et

diligentis te, Migne, 158. 770.

[1350] Rule, I. 48, describes from personal observation the ancient and

dizzy bridge, le Pont de l'A�l, over a torrent near Aosta, which, as he

says, Anselm in making his description may have had in mind.

[1351] Sine mensura profundum, et tenebrosa caligine horribiliter

obscurum, Migne, 158, 719.

[1352] The later Schoolmen did not lean back upon Anselm's theology as

we might have expected them to do. He was, however, often quoted, as by

Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, e.g., Summa, I. 3, 13, etc.,

Borgnet's ed., XXXI. 60&lt;cbr&gt;, 69&lt;/cbr&gt;, 326.

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� 99. Peter Abaelard.

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Philos. of Ueberweg-Heinze and Ritter -- The Lives of St. Bernard by

Neander, I. 207-297; II. 1-44; Morison, 254-322; Vacandard, II.

120-181.--The Histories of Doctrine of Schwane, Harnack, Loofs, Fisher,

Seeberg, Sheldon.

During the first half of the twelfth century, Peter Abaelard,

1079-1142, was one of the most conspicuous characters of Europe. His

fame was derived from the brilliance of his intellect. He differed

widely from Anselm. The latter was a constructive theologian; Abaelard,

a critic. Anselm was deliberate, Abaelard, impulsive and rash. Anselm

preferred seclusion; Abaelard sought publicity. Among teachers

exercising the spell of magnetism over their hearers, Abaelard stands

in the front rank and probably has not been excelled in France. In some

of his theological speculations he was in advance of his age. His

personal misfortunes give to his biography a flavor of romance which

belongs to no other Schoolman. A man of daring thought and restless

disposition, he was unstable in his mental beliefs and morally

unreliable. Our main authority for his career is the Story of

Misfortunes, Historia calamitatum, written by his own hand, (Migne,

178. 113-180,) in the form of a letter.

The eldest son of a knight, Abaelard was born at the village of Palais

or le Pallet, a few miles from Nantes. His original name was Pierre de

Palais. Both his parents entered convents. Abaelard had for his first

teacher Roscellinus. He listened to William of Champeaux, then at the

head of the cathedral school at Paris, and soon began with confidence

to refute William's positions. [1353] l. After a period of sickness,

spent under his father's roof, he returned to Paris. He again listened

to William on rhetoric, but openly announced himself as an antagonist

of his views, and taught on Mt. Genevieve, then covered with vineyards.

Abaelard represents himself as having drawn almost the last scholar

away from the cathedral school to Genevieve. We next find him under

Anselm of Laon, who, with his brother Radulf, had made the school of

Laon famous. Again Abaelard set himself up against his teacher,

describing him as having a wonderful flow of words, but no thoughts.

When he lit a fire, he filled the whole house with smoke. [1354] ekiel.

Now the opportunity of his life came and he was called to preside over

the cathedral school at Paris. William of Champeaux had retired to St.

Victor and then had been made bishop. The years that immediately

followed were the most brilliant in Abaelard's career. All the world

seemed about to do him homage. Scholars from all parts thronged to hear

him. He lectured on philosophy and theology. He was well read in

classical and widely read in sacred literature. His dialectic powers

were ripe and, where arguments failed, the teacher's imagination and

rhetoric came to the rescue. His books were read not only in the

schools and convents, but in castles and guildhouses. William of

Thierry said [1355] towns, the people crowded the streets and strained

their necks to catch a glimpse of him. His remarkable influence over

men and women must be explained not by his intellectual depth so much

as by a certain daring and literary art and brilliance. He was

attractive of person, and Bernard may have had this in mind when he

says, Abaelard was outwardly a John though he had the heart of a Herod.

[1356] these qualities he added a gay cheerfulness which expressed

itself in compositions of song and in singing, which made him

acceptable to women, as in later years Heloise reminded him. [1357]

In the midst of this popularity came the fell tragedy of his life, his

connection with Heloise, whom Remusat has called "the first of women."

[1358] her seducer forfeits by his treatment of her the esteem of all

who prefer manly strength and fidelity to gifts of mind, however

brilliant.

Heloise was probably the daughter of a canon and had her home in Paris

with her uncle, Fulbert, also a canon. When Abaelard came to know her,

she was seventeen, attractive in person and richly endowed in mind.

Abaelard prevailed upon Fulbert to admit him to his house as Heloise's

teacher. Heloise had before been at the convent of Argenteuil. The

meetings between pupil and tutor became meetings of lovers. Over open

books, as Abaelard wrote, more words of love were passed than of

discussion and more kisses than instruction. The matter was whispered

about in Paris. Fulbert was in rage. Abaelard removed Heloise to his

sister's in Brittany, where she bore a son, called Astralabius. [1359]

he himself distinctly says. [1360]

The Story of Misfortunes leaves no doubt that what he was willing to do

proceeded from fear and that he was not actuated by any sense of honor

toward Heloise or proper view of woman or of marriage. What accord, he

wrote, "has study with nurses, writing materials with cradles, books

and desks with spinning wheels, reeds and ink with spindles! Who,

intent upon sacred and philosophical reflections could endure the

squalling of children, the lullabies of nurses and the noisy crowd of

men and women! Who would stand the disagreeable and constant dirt of

little children!"

Abaelard declared a secret marriage was performed in obedience to the

demands of Heloise's relatives. At best it was a mock ceremony, for

Heloise persisted in denying she was Abaelard's wife. With mistaken but

splendid devotion, she declined to marry him, believing that marriage

would interrupt his career. In one of her letters to him she wrote: "If

to you, the name of wife seems more proper, to me always was more dear

the little word friend, or if you do not deem that name proper, then

the name of concubine or harlot, concubina vel scortum. I invoke God as

my witness that, if Augustus had wished to give me the rule over the

whole world by asking me in marriage, I would rather be your mistress,

meretrix, than his empress, imperatrix. Thy passion drew thee to me

rather than thy friendship, and the heat of desire rather than love."

[1361]

Abaelard removed Heloise to Argenteuil and she assumed the veil. He

visited her in secret and now Fulbert took revenge. Entering into

collusion with Abaelard's servant, he fell upon him at night and

mutilated him. Thus humiliated, Abaelard entered the convent of St.

Denis, 1118,--not from any impulse of piety but from expediency. [1362]

me indifferent to Heloise.

New trials fell upon his chequered career--charges of heresy. He was

arraigned for Sabellian views on the Trinity at Soissons, 1121, before

the papal legate. Roscellinus, his old teacher, opened the accusations.

Abaelard complains that two enemies were responsible for the actual

trial and its issue, Alberic and Lotulf, teachers at Rheims. He was

obliged to commit his book to the flames [1363]

Again he got himself into difficulty by opposing the current belief,

based upon Bede's statement, that Dionysius or St. Denis, the patron of

France, was the Dionysius converted by Paul at Athens. The monks of St.

Denis would not tolerate him. He fled, retracted his utterance, and

with the permission of Suger, the new abbot of St. Denis, settled in a

waste tract in Champagne and built an oratory which he called after the

third person of the Trinity, the Paraclete. Students again gathered

around him, and the original structure of reeds and straw was replaced

by a substantial building of stone. But old rivals, as he says, again

began to pursue him just as the heretics pursued Athanasius of old, and

"certain ecclesiastics"--presumably Norbert, the founder of the

Premonstrants, and Bernard of Clairvaux--were stirred up against him.

Abaelard, perhaps with not too much self-disparagement, says of himself

that, in comparison to them, he seemed to be as an ant before a lion.

It was under these circumstances that he received the notice of his

election as abbot of the monastery of St. Gildas on the sea, in his

native Brittany. He went, declaring that "the envy of the Francians

drove him to the West, as the envy of the Romans drove Jerome to the

East."

The monks of St. Gildas are portrayed by Abaelard as a band of

unmitigated ruffians. They had their wives and children settled upon

the convent's domains. They treated their new abbot with contempt and

violence, twice, at least, attempting his life. On one occasion it was

by drugging the chalice. He complained of the barrenness of the

surroundings. Bernard described him as an abbot without discipline. In

sheer despair, Abaelard fled and in "striving to escape one sword I

threw myself upon another," he said. At this point the autobiography

breaks off and we know little of its author till 1136. [1364]

In the meantime the nuns of Argentueil were driven out of their

quarters. In 1127, Abaelard placed Heloise in charge of the Paraclete,

and under her management it became prosperous. He had observed a cold

silence for a protracted period, but now and again visited the

Paraclete and delivered sermons to the nuns. Heloise received the Story

of Misfortunes, and, in receiving it, wrote, addressing him as "her

lord or rather father, her husband or rather brother, from his handmaid

or rather daughter, his consort or rather sister." Her first two

letters have scarcely, if ever, been equalled in the annals of

correspondence in complete abandonment of heart and glowing expressions

of devotion. She appealed to him to send her communications. Had she

not offered her very being on the altar for his sake! Had she not

obeyed him in everything, and in nothing would she offend him!

Abaelard replied to Heloise as the superior of the nuns of the

Paraclete. She was to him nothing more. He preached to her sermons on

prayer, asked for the intercession of the nuns on his behalf, and

directed that his body be laid away in the Paraclete. He rejoiced that

Heloise's connection with himself prevented her from entering into

marriage and giving birth to children. She had thereby been forced into

a higher life and to be the mother of many spiritual daughters. Heloise

plied him with questions about hard passages in the Scriptures and

about practical matters of daily living and monastic dress, --a device

to secure the continuance of the correspondence. Abaelard replied by

giving rules for the nuns which were long and severe. He enjoined upon

them, above all else, the study of the Scriptures, and called upon them

to imitate Jerome who took up Hebrew late in life. He sent them

sermons, seven of which had been delivered in the Paraclete. He

proposed that there should be a convent for monks close by the

Paraclete. The monks and nuns were to help each other. An abbot was to

stand at the head of both institutions. The nuns were to do the monks'

washing and cooking, milk the cows, feed the chickens and geese.

In 1137 and again in 1139, we find Abaelard suddenly installed at St.

Genevieve and enjoying, for a while, meteoric popularity. John of

Salisbury was one of his pupils. How the change was brought about does

not fully appear. But Abaelard was not destined to have peace. The

final period of his restless career now opens. Bernard was at that time

the most imposing religious personality of Europe, Abaelard was its

keenest philosophical thinker. The one was the representative of

churchmanship and church authority, the other of freedom of inquiry. A

clash between these two personalities was at hand. It cannot be

regarded as an historical misfortune that these two men met on the open

field of controversy and on the floor of ecclesiastical synods. History

is most true to herself when she represents men just as they were. She

is a poor teacher, when she does not take opportunity to reveal their

infirmities as well as their virtues.

Abaelard was as much to blame for bringing on the conflict by his

self-assertive manner as Bernard was to blame by unnecessarily

trespassing upon Abaelard's territory. William, abbot of St. Thierry,

addressed a letter to Bernard and Geoffrey, bishop of Chalons,

announcing that Abaelard was again teaching and writing doctrinal

novelties. These were not matters of mean import, but concerned the

doctrine of the Trinity, the person of Christ, the Holy Spirit, and

God's grace. They were even receiving favor in the curia at Rome.

William adduced no less than thirteen errors. [1365]

The first open sign of antagonism was a letter written by Abaelard,

brimming over with self-conceit. On a visit to Heloise at the

Paraclete, Bernard had taken exception to the use of the phrase

"supersubstantial bread" in the Lord's Prayer, instead of "daily bread"

as given by Luke. Abaelard heard of the objection from Heloise, and, as

if eager to break a lance with Bernard, wrote to him, showing he was in

error. He became sarcastic, pointing out that, at Clairvaux, novelties

were being practised which were otherwise unknown to the Church. New

hymns were sung and certain intercessory prayers left out as if the

Cistercian monks did not stand in need of intercession also. [1366]

So far as we know, Bernard did not answer this letter. After some

delay, he acted upon the request of William of Thierry. He visited

Abaelard in Paris and sought to secure from him a promise that he would

retract his errors. [1367]

The difference was brought to open conflict at the synod of Sens, 1141,

where Abaelard asked that his case might be presented, and that he

might meet Bernard in argument. Arnold of Brescia seems to have been

among those present. [1368] and was from the first looked upon with

suspicion. Bernard had come to the synod to lay the whole weight of his

influence against Abaelard. He had summoned the bishops as friends of

Christ, whose bride called to them out of the thicket of heresies. He

wrote to the cardinals and to Innocent II., characterizing Abaelard as

a ravenous lion, and a dragon. With Arnold as his armor-bearer at his

side, Abaelard stood like another Goliath calling out against the ranks

of Israel, while Bernard felt himself a youth in dialectical skill.

At a preliminary meeting with the bishops, Bernard went over the case

and it seems to have been decided, at least in an informal way, that

Abaelard should be condemned. [1369] the great surprise of all,

Abaelard declined to argue his case and appealed it to the pope.

Passing by Gilbert of Poictiers, Abaelard is said to have whispered

Horace's line,

"Look well to your affairs now that your neighbor's house is burning."

Nam tua res agitur, paries eum proximus ardet.

To Rome the case must go. Abaelard no doubt felt that he had nothing to

hope for from the prelates. [1370] ight expect some favor and he had

friends in the curia. The synod called upon the supreme pontiff to

brand Abaelard's heresies with perpetual condemnation--perpetua

damnatione -- and to punish their defenders. The charges, fourteen in

number, concerned the Trinity, the nature of faith, the power and work

of Christ, and the nature of sin. [1371] nst the accused man. Abaelard

and Arnold of Brescia were in collusion. Abaelard had joined himself

with Arius in ascribing degrees within the Trinity, with Pelagius in

putting free will before grace, and with Nestorius in separating the

person of Christ. In name and exterior a monk, he was at heart a

heretic. He had emerged from Brittany as a tortuous snake from its hole

and, as in the case of the hydra, seven heads appeared where before

there had been but one. [1372] only thing Abaelard did not know was the

word nescio, "I do not know."

The judgment was swift in coming and crushing when it came. Ten days

were sufficient. The fourteen articles were burned by the pope's own

hand in front of St. Peter's in the presence of the cardinals. Abaelard

himself was declared to be a heretic and the penalty of perpetual

silence and confinement was imposed upon him. The unfortunate man had

set out for Rome and was hardly well started on his journey, when the

sentence reached him. He stopped at Cluny, where he met the most useful

friend of his life, Peter the Venerable. At Peter's intercession,

Innocent allowed the homeless scholar to remain in Cluny whence the

pope himself had gone forth.

Following Peter's counsel, Abaelard again met Bernard face to face. In

a defence of his orthodoxy, addressed to Heloise, he affirmed his

acceptance of all the articles of the Church from the article on the

Trinity to the resurrection of the dead. As it was with Jerome, so no

one could write much without being misunderstood.

But his turbulent career was at an end. He was sent by Peter to St.

Marcellus near Chalons for his health, and there he died April 21,

1142, sixty-three years old. His last days in Cluny are described by

Peter in a letter written to Heloise, full of true Christian sympathy.

He called Abaelard a true philosopher of Christ. One so humble in

manner he had not seen. He was abstinent in meat and drink. He read

continually and prayed fervently. Faithfully he had committed his body

and soul to his Lord Redeemer for time and eternity. "So Master Peter

finished his days and he who was known in almost the whole world for

his great erudition and ability as a teacher died peacefully in Him who

said 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart,' and he is, as we

must believe, gone to Him."

Abaelard's body was carried to the Paraclete and there given rest.

Twenty-two years later, Heloise was laid at his side. The inscription

placed over the tomb ran, "The Socrates of the Gauls, the great Plato

of the Occidentals, our Aristotle, who was greater or equal to him

among the logicians! Abaelard was the prince of the world's scholars,

varied in talent, subtle and keen, conquering all things by his mental

force. And then he became a conqueror indeed, when, entering Cluny, be

passed over to the true philosophy of Christ." [1373] d and the first

abbess Heloise, once joined by studies, mind, love, forbidden

marriage,--infaustis nuptiis, --and penitence and now, as we hope, in

eternal felicity."

At the destruction of the Paraclete during the French Revolution, 1792,

the marble sarcophagus was removed to Paris and in 1816 it was

transferred to the cemetery of P�re la Chaise. There it remains, the

chief object of interest in that solemn place of the dead, attracting

Frenchmen and visitors from distant lands who commemorate, with tears

of sympathy and a prayer over the mistakes of mortals, the unfortunate

lovers.

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[1353] From this point and the enmity of William, he dates his

misfortunes. Hinc calamitatum mearum quae nunc perseverant coeperunt

exordia et quo amplius fama extendebatur nostra, aliena in me succensa

est invidia, Migne, p. 116.

[1354] Verborum usum habebat mirabilem, sed sensu contemptibilem et

ratione vacuum, Migne, p. 123.

[1355] Ep., 326; St. Bernard's Works, Migne, 182. 531.

[1356] Remusat gives an attractive picture of his appearance, I. 43 sq.

[1357] Ep., II.; Migne, 178, 188.

[1358] See his description, I. 47 sqq.

[1359] A letter is preserved written by Abaelard to his son. It

indicates affection. The father urges him to study the Scriptures. An

Astralabius is mentioned as belonging to the chapter of Nantes in 1150.

Hausrath, p. 173, conjectures he was Abaelard's son.

[1360] Ut amplius mitagarem, obtuli me ei satisfacere eam scilicet quam

corruperam mihi matrimonio copulando, dummodo id secreto fieret, ne

famae detrimentum incurrerem. Migne, p. 130.

[1361] Concupiscentia te mihi potius quam amicitia sociavit, libidinis

ardor potius quam amor. Ep., II.; Migne, p. 186.

[1362] Deutsch, p. 35. So war Abaelard M�nch geworden, nicht von

innerem Verlangen getrieben, etc. His relations with Heloise made

freedom in his position as a public teacher in the open for the time

impossible.

[1363] Introductio in theologiam. Abaelard is our chief authority for

the trial. Hist. Calam., Migne, pp. 141-150. See Otto of Freising.

[1364] Abaelard closes his autobiography by declaring that like another

Cain he was dragged about the earth, a fugitive and vagabond, but also

by quoting passages upon the providence of God as that all things work

together for good to them that love Him.

[1365] Ep. Bernardi, 326; Migne, 132. 531 sqq. William sent to Bernard

Abaelard's Theologia and other works to make good his charges. He

feared Abaelard would become "a dragon" whom no one could destroy.

Kutter, in his Wilhelm von St. Thierry, pp. 34, 36, 43, 48, insists, as

against Deutsch, that William was the exciting originator of the trial

of Abaelard, which was soon to follow, and that Bernard preferred

silence and peace to conflict, and was amused to action by William's

appeal.

[1366] Ep. Abael., X.; Migne, 178. 335.

[1367] Bernard's biographer, Gaufrid, states that Abaelard promised

amendment. No reference was made to such a promise in the charges at

Sens, an omission difficult to understand if the promise was really

made. See Remusat, I. 172, and Poole, p. 163.

[1368] Ep. Bernardi, 189; Migne, 182. 355. Bernard describes the

meeting and sets forth the danger from Abaelard's influence, Epp.

187-194, 330-338. For an account of this trial, see my art., "St.

Bernard the Churchman" in Princeton Rev., 1903, pp. 180 sqq.

[1369] This preliminary meeting rests upon the testimony of Berengar

and upon a passage in John of Salisbury, Hist. Pontif., chap. VIII. 9.

John, in describing the trial of Gilbert of Poictiers, says Bernard

wanted to have Gilbert's case prejudged in a preliminary sitting and by

the same method he had resorted to in the case of Abaelard, --arte sim

ili magistrum Petrum agressus erat. Berengar's defence of Abaelard

descends to passionate invective. Migne, 178. 1858 sqq. Berengar

represents the bishops and Bernard as being heated with wine at this

preliminary conference, when they decided against Abaelard. The details

of his account and his charges against Bernard are altogether out of

accord with his character as it is otherwise known to us. Deutsch

(Neander's St. Bernard, II. 1 sqq.) cannot free Bernard from unfairness

in the part he took at this conference, as Vacandard does.

[1370] The statement is not inconsistent with the representation of

Otto of Freising, a disinterested reporter, who gives as reason for

refusing to make an argument that he feared a popular tumult.

[1371] Migne, 182. 1049-1051. Also Hefele, V. 463 sqq.

[1372] Ep., 331; Migne, 182. 537. There are nine of these letters to

the cardinals, 188, 192, 193, 331-335, 338. The longest letter was the

one addressed to the pope, 190; Migne, 182. 1051-1071. The great

vehemence of these letters have exposed Bernard in some quarters to

unmitigated condemnation. From the standpoint of Christian moderation

and charity they are difficult to understand and cannot be justified.

Hausrath, p. 248, etc., represents him as der werltkluge Abt von

Clairvaux, resorting to all the arts of diplomacy to secure a verdict

against Abaelard. M'Cabe, in a very readable chapter, pp. 322-354,

takes the same view. Without excusing him, it must be remembered in

passing judgment that heresy was regarded with horror in that age.

Bernard, no doubt, also shrank from Abaelard as a man who sought

applause rather than the advancement of the Church. Morison, p. 302,

speaks "of a horror of great darkness falling upon Bernard," when he

recognized the dangers of a new era. Neander, St. Bernard, II. 3, says

that no one can question that Bernard's zeal proceeded from a pure

Christian purpose, but that he used the weapons of hatred under the

mask of holy love.

[1373] Migne, 178. 103.

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� 100. Abaelard's Teachings and Theology.

Furnished with brilliant talents, Abaelard stands in the front rank of

French public teachers. But he was a creature of impulse and

offensively conscious of his own gifts and acquirements. He lacked the

reverent modesty and equilibrium which become greatness. He was

deficient in moral force to lift him above the whips and stings of

fortune, or rather the calamities of his own making. He seems to have

discerned no goal beyond his own selfish ambition. As Neander has said,

if he had been a man of pure moral character, he would have

accomplished more than he did in the domain of scholarly study. A man

of the highest type could not have written his Story of Misfortunes in

the tone that Abaelard wrote. He shows not a sign of repentance towards

God for his treatment of Heloise. When he recalls that episode, it is

not to find fault with himself, and it is not to do her any reparation.

His readiness to put himself in opposition to his teachers and to speak

contemptuously of them and to find the motive for such opposition in

envy, indicates also a lack of the higher moral sentiment. It is his

own loss of fame and position that he is continually thinking of, and

lamenting. Instead of ascribing his misfortunes to his own mistakes and

mistemper, he ascribes them to the rivalry and jealousy of others.

[1374]

Abaelard's writings are dialectic, ethical, and theological treatises,

poems and letters to Heloise, and his autobiography. His chief

theological works are a Commentary on the Romans, the Introduction to

Theology, and a Christian Theology, the last two being mainly concerned

with the Trinity, a colloquy between a philosopher, a Jew, and a

Christian and the Sic et Non, Yes and No. In the last work the author

puts side by side in one hundred and fifty-eight chapters a collection

of quotations from the Fathers which seem to be or really are

contradictory. The compiler does not offer a reconciliation. The

subjects on which the divergent opinions are collated range from the

abstruse problem of the Trinity and the person of Christ to the

questions whether Eve alone was seduced or Adam with her, whether Adam

was buried on Calvary (the view taken by Ambrose and Jerome) or not

(Isidore of Seville), and whether Adam was saved or not. His chief

writing on Ethics was the Scito te ipsum, "Know thyself."

In some of his theological conceptions Abaelard was in advance of his

age. The new seeds of thought which he let fall have germinated in

recent times. His writings show that, in the twelfth century also, the

critical sense had a representative.

1. In the conflict over Realism and Nominalism Abaelard occupied an

intermediate position. On the one hand he ridiculed the nominalism of

Roscellinus, and on the other he controverted the severe realism of

William of Champeaux. He taught that the universal is more than a word,

vox. It is an affirmation, sermo. [1375] e creation.

2. Of much more interest are Abaelard's views of the ultimate seat of

religious authority and of inspiration. Although his statements at

times seem to be contradictory, the conclusion is justified that he was

an advocate of a certain freedom of criticism and inquiry, even though

its results contradicted the authority of the Church. He recognized the

principle of inspiration, but by this he did not mean what Gregory the

Great taught, that the biblical authors were altogether passive. They

exercised a measure of independence, and they were kept from all

mistakes.

The rule upon which he treated the Fathers and the Scriptures is set

forth in the Prologue of the Sic et Non. [1376] lectual freedom, for

the accredited belief was that their statements were invariably

consistent. Abaelard pronounced this a mistake. Did not Augustine

retract some of his statements? Their mistakes, however, and the

supposed mistakes of the Scriptures may be only imaginary, due to our

failure to understand what they say. Paul, in saying that Melchisedek

has neither father nor mother, only meant that the names of his parents

were not given in the Old Testament. The appearance of Samuel to Saul

at the interview with the witch of Endor was only a fancy, not a

reality. Prophets did not always speak with the Spirit of God, and

Peter made mistakes. Why should not the Fathers also have made

mistakes? The authority of Scripture and the Fathers does not preclude

critical investigation. On the contrary, the critical spirit is the

proper spirit in which to approach them. "In the spirit of doubt we

approach inquiry, and by inquiry we find out the truth, as He, who was

the Truth said, 'Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened

unto you.' " [1377]

The mystical and the philosophical elements, united in Anselm, were

separated in Abaelard. But Abaelard followed the philosophical

principle further than Anselm. He was a born critic, restless of mind,

and anxious to make an innovation. In him the inquisitive temper was in

the ascendant over the fiducial. Some writers even treat him as the

forerunner of modern rationalism. In appearance, at least, he started

from a principle the opposite of Anselm's, namely, "nothing is to be

believed, until it has been understood." [1378] [1379] es not rest upon

authority, but upon inquiry and experience. There are times, however,

when he seems to contradict himself and to set forth the opposite

principle. He says, "We believe in order to know, and unless ye

believe, ye cannot know." [1380] mporaries felt that he was unsound and

that his position would overthrow the authority of the Church. [1381]

The greater doctrines of the Trinity and the existence of God, Abaelard

held, could not be proved as necessary, but only as probable. In

opposition to the pruriency of Scolasticism, he set up the principle

that many things pertaining to God need neither to be believed, nor

denied, for no danger is involved in the belief or denial of them.

[1382] w or not, and whether God will grant pity to a certain most

wicked man or not. On the other hand be declared that to affirm that we

cannot understand what has been taught about the Trinity is to say that

the sacred writers themselves did not understand what they taught.

[1383] [1384]

3. In his statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, Abaelard laid

himself open to the charge both of modalism and Arianism. It called

forth Bernard's severest charges. Abaelard made no contribution to the

subject. The idea of the Trinity he derived from God's absolute

perfections. God, as power, is the Father; as wisdom, He is the Son; as

love, the Spirit. The Scriptures are appealed to for this view. The

Father has put all things in His power, Acts 1:7. The Son, as Logos, is

wisdom. The Holy Spirit is called good, Ps. 143:10, and imparts

spiritual gifts. The figure gave much umbrage, by which he compared the

three persons of the Trinity to the brass of which a seal is made, the

form of the seal, and the seal itself proceeding from, or combining the

brass and the form. "The brass itself which is the substance of the

brazen seal, and the seal itself of which the brass is the substance,

are essentially one; yet the brass and the seal are so distinct in

their properties, that the property of the brass is one, and the

property of the brazen seal another." These are ultimately three

things: the brass, aes, the brass capable of sealing, sigillabile, and

the brass in the act of sealing, sigillans.

4. In his treatment of the atonement, Abaelard has valuable original

elements. [1385] rence to Anselm's great treatise. Man, Abaelard said,

is in the power of the devil, but the devil has no right to this power.

What rights does a slave have over another slave whom he leads astray?

Christ not only did not pay any price to the devil for man's

redemption, he also did not make satisfaction to divine justice and

appease God's wrath. If the fall of Adam needed satisfaction by the

death of some one, who then would be able to satisfy for the death of

Christ? In the life and death of the Redeemer, God's purpose was to

manifest. His love and thus to stir up love in the breast of man, and

to draw man by love back to Himself. God might have redeemed man by a

word, but He chose to set before man an exhibition of His love in

Christ. Christ's love constitutes the merit of Christ. The theory

anticipates the modern moral influence theory of the atonement, so

called.

5. Abaelard's doctrine of sin likewise presents features of difference

from the view current in his time. [1386] to eat the forbidden fruit,

that is, after her desire was aroused and before the actual partaking

of the fruit. [1387]

The seat of sin is the intention, which is the root, bearing good and

bad fruit. [1388] tentio, is not the simple purpose, say, to kill a man

in opposition to killing one without premeditation, but it is the

underlying purpose to do right or wrong. In this consciousness of right

or wrong lies the guilt. Those who put Christ to death from a feeling

that they were doing right, did not sin, or, if they sinned, sinned

much less grievously than if they had resisted their conscience and not

put him to death. How then was it that Christ prayed that those who

crucified him might be forgiven? Abaelard answers by saying that the

punishment for which forgiveness was asked was temporal in its nature.

The logical deduction from Abaelard's premises would have been that no

one incurs penalty but those who voluntarily consent to sin. But from

this he shrank back. The godless condition of the heathen he painted in

darkest colors. He, however, praised the philosophers and ascribed to

them a knowledge through the Sibylline books, or otherwise, of the

divine unity and even of the Trinity. [1389] ent II. that, while

Abaelard labored to prove Plato a Christian, he proved himself to be a

pagan. Liberal as he was in some of his doctrinal views, he was wholly

at one with the Church in its insistence upon the efficiency of the

sacraments, especially baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Because Abaelard stands outside of the theological circle of his day,

he will always be one of the most interesting figures of the Middle

Ages. His defect was in the lack of moral power. The student often

finds himself asking the question, whether his statements were always

the genuine expression of convictions. But for this lack of moral

force, he might have been the Tertullian of the Middle Ages, whom he is

not unlike in dash and original freshness of thought. The African

Father, so vigorous in moral power, the Latin Church excludes from the

number of the saints on account of his ecclesiastical dissent. Abaelard

she cannot include on account of moral weakness. [1390] rors charged

against him, he might have been given a place among the martyrs of

thought. [1391]

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[1374] The Story of Misfortunes was written while he was abbot of St.

Gildas. It has been compared to the Confessions of Augustine. But no

comparison could more sadly offend against truth. Abaelard revealed his

inward states to gain a worldly end. He wanted to draw attention to

himself and prepare the way for a new career. His letters to Heloise

are not so much to assure her of his orthodoxy as to make that

impression upon the Church authorities. This is the position taken by

Deutsch, pp. 43 sqq., Hausrath, 275 sqq., and Nitsch, art. Abaelard in

Herzog.

[1375] The French writers designate Abaelard's theory Conceptualism,

and hold that he substituted conceptus for voces. Deutsch, p. 105.

Walter Map, writing in the second half of the twelfth century, speaks

of Abaelard as "the leader of the Nominalists, princeps nominalismi,

who sinned more in dialectics than he did in his treatment of

Scripture." Wright's ed., I. 24, p. 41.

[1376] See also Introd. ad Theol., Migne, 178. 980.

[1377] Dubitando ad inquisitionem venimus, inquirendo veritatem

percipimus. Sic et Non, Migne, p. 1349. Deutsch, pp. 159 sq., speaks of

this spirit of free inquiry, Die Freiheit der Forschung, as the note

running through all Abaelard's writings.

[1378] Hist. Calam., Migne, 178. 142. Nec credi posse aliquid nisi

primitus intellectus, etc.

[1379] Introd. ad Theol., Migne, p. 1051, also p. 959. Fides quippe

dicitur existimatio non apparentium, cognitio vero ipsarum rerum

experientia per ipsam earam praesentiam.

[1380] Credimus ut cognoscamus; nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.

See other quotations in Hefele, V. 463-469; also Deutsch, in his

chapter on Faith and Knowledge, pp. 168 sqq.

[1381] So the charges of Bernard and the Synod of Sens, and Otto of

Freising. De gestis Frid., 48.

[1382] Introd. ad Theol., Migne, p. 986.

[1383] Introd. ad Theol., Migne, p. 1052.

[1384] Catholica quippe est fides, id est universalis quae ita omnibus

necessaria est ut nemo discretus absque ea salvari possit, Migne, p.

986. In view of such a statement, Poole's remark has much in its favor,

"it was not really Abaelard's results that formed the strength of the

indictment against him, but the method by which he reached them," p.

153.

[1385] They are found in his Com. on Romans, as well as in his Introd.

ad Theol. and his Sermons, V., X., XII.

[1386] They are set forth more particularly in the ethical treatise

Scito te ipsum and the Com. on Romans, especially in an excursus on

original sin, appended to chap. V., Migne, pp. 866-874.

[1387] He thinks the tree whose fruit excited the sexual passions was

the vine. Hexameron, Migne, p. 777.

[1388] Com. on Romans, chap. II. 6. Deutsch, pp. 344 sqq., deals at

length with Abaelard's views on Sin.

[1389] Introd. ad Theol., Migne, p. 1008.

[1390] Hausrath, pp. 293 sqq., assigns to Abaelard a place in the front

rank of such martyrs. He justifies him for declining to stand by his

conclusions in these words: "It would be unfair to demand that a

scholar, who was under the pressure of such circumstances (that is

mediaeval ecclesiasticism should have the courage of a farm hand, or

carry his views to their logical conclusion like a statesman."

[1391] Abaelard left admiring pupils, some of whom, like Omnibene,

wrote books of Sentences based upon their teacher's Theology, and

followed his threefold division of faith, the Sacraments, and love. See

Denifle, Archiv, pp, 613 sqq.

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� 101. Younger Contemporaries of Abaelard.

Literature: For Gilbert (Gislebertus) of Poictiers. His Commentaries on

Boethius, De trinitate are in Migne, 64. 1266 sqq. T he De sex

principiis, Migne, 188. 1250-1270. For his life: Gaufrid of Auxerre,

Migne, 185. 595 sqq.--Otto of Freising, De gestis Frid., 50-57.--J. of

Salisbury, Hist. pontif., VIII.--Poole, in Illustr. of the Hist. of

Med. Thought, pp. 167-200. Hefele, V. 503-508,

520-524.--Neander-Deutsch, St. Bernard, II. 130-144.

For John of Salisbury, Works in Migne, vols. 190, 199, and J. A. Giles,

Oxford, 1848, 5 vols.--Hist. pontificalis romanus, in Mon. German.,

vol. XX.--Lives by Reuter, Berlin, 1842.--\*C. Schaarschmidt, Joh.

Saresbriensis nach Leben und Studien, Schriften und Philosophie, Leip.,

1862, and art. in Herzog, IX. 313-319.--Denimuid, Paris,

1873.--Schubert: Staatslehre J. von Sal., Berlin, 1897.--Stubbs, in

Study of Med. and Mod. Hist., Lectt. VI., VII.--Poole, in Illustr.

etc., pp. 201-226, and Dict. of Natl. Biogr., XXIX. 439-446.

Among Abaelard's younger contemporaries and pupils were Gilbert of

Poictiers, John of Salisbury, and Robert Pullen, theologians who were

more or less influenced by Abaelard's spirit of free inquiry. Peter the

Lombard, d. 1164, also shows strong traces of Abaelard's teaching,

especially in his Christology. [1392]

Gilbert of Poictiers, 1070-1154, is better known by his public trial

than by his writings, or any permanent contributions to theology. Born

at Poictiers, he studied under Bernard of Chartres, William of

Champeaux, Anselm of Laon, and Abaelard. He stood at the head of the

cathedral school in Chartres for ten years, and in 1137 began teaching

in Paris. In 1142 he was made bishop of Poictiers. His two principal

works are De sex principiis, an exposition of Aristotle's last six

categories, which Aristotle himself left unexplained, and a commentary

on the work on the Trinity, ascribed to Boethius. They occupy only a

few pages in print.

Gilbert's work on the Trinity involved him in a trial for heresy, in

which Bernard was again a leading actor. [1393] use mode of statement

and intense realism that exposed him to the accusation of unorthodoxy.

Some of Gilbert's pupils were ready to testify against him, but

sufficient evidence of tritheism were not forthcoming at Paris and the

pope, who presided, adjourned the case to Rheims. At Rheims, Bernard

who had been appointed prosecutor offended some of the cardinals by his

methods of conducting the prosecution. Both Otto of Freising and John

of Salisbury [1394] he good sense of pope Eugenius.

To the pope's question whether Gilbert believed that the highest

essence, by virtue of which, as he asserted, each of the three persons

of the Trinity was God, was itself God, Gilbert replied in the

negative. [1395] the assembly by his thorough acquaintance with the

Fathers. The charge was declared unproven and Gilbert was enjoined to

correct the questionable statements in the light of the fourth

proposition brought in by Bernard. The accused continued to administer

his see till his death. Otto of Freising concludes his account by

saying, that either Bernard was deceived as to the nature of Gilbert's

teaching as David was deceived by Mephibosheth, 2 Sam. 9:19 sqq., or

that Gilbert covered up his real meaning by an adroit use of words to

escape the judgment of the Church. With reference to his habit of

confusing wisdom with words Walter of St. Victor called Gilbert one of

the four labyrinths of France.

John of Salisbury, about 1115-1180, was the chief literary figure and

scholar among the Englishmen of the twelfth century, and exhibits in

his works the practical tendency of the later English philosophy.

[1396] spent ten or twelve years in "divers studies" on the Continent,

sat at the feet of Abaelard on Mt. Genevieve, 1136, and heard Gilbert

of Poictiers, William of Conches, Robert Pullen, and other renowned

teachers. A full account of the years spent in study is given in his

Metalogicus. Returning to England, he stood in a confidential relation

to archbishop Theobald. At a later time he espoused Becket's cause and

was present in the cathedral when the archbishop was murdered. He had

urged the archbishop not to enter his church. In 1176 he was made

bishop of Chartres. He says he crossed the Alps no less than ten times

on ecclesiastical business.

By his reminiscences and miscellanies, John contributed, as few men

did, to our knowledge of the age in which he lived. He had the

instincts of a Humanist, and, had he lived several centuries later,

would probably have been in full sympathy with the Renaissance. His

chief works are the Metalogicus, the Polycraticus, and the Historia

pontificalis. The Polycraticus is a treatise on the principles of

government and philosophy, written for the purpose of drawing attention

away from the trifling disputes and occupations of the world to a

consideration of the Church and the proper uses of life. [1397]

otations from the Scriptures and classical writers, and shows that the

Church is the true conservator of morality and the defender of justice

in the State. He was one of the best-read men of his age in the

classics. [1398]

In the Metalogicus, John calls a halt to the casuistry of Scholasticism

and declares that the reason is apt to err as well as the senses.

Dialectics had come to be used as an exhibition of mental acumen, and

men, like Adam du Petit Pont, made their lectures as intricate and

obscure as possible, so as to attract students by the appearance of

profundity. John declared that logic was a vain thing except as an

instrument, and by itself as useless as the "sword of Hercules in a

pygmy's hand." He emphasized the importance of knowledge that can be

put to use, and gave a long list of things about which a wise man may

have doubts, such as providence and human fortune, the origin of the

soul, the origin of motion, whether all sins are equal and equally to

be punished. God, he affirmed, is exalted above all that the mind can

conceive, and surpasses our power of ratiocination. [1399]

The Historia pontificalis is an account of ecclesiastical matters

falling under John's own observation, extending from the council at

Rheims, 1148, to the year 1152.

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[1392] Denifle includes the Lombard in the theological school of

Abaelard. See his Abaelard's Sentenzen und d. Bearbeitungen seiner

Theologie, Archiv, 1885, pp. 613-624.

[1393] Neander-Deutsch, St. Bernard, II. 131. Poole, p. 181, calls

Gilbert's exposition of the Trinity "one of the subtlest and most

elaborate contributions to theological metaphysics the Middle Ages

produced."

[1394] Hist. pontif., VIII.; Migne, pp. 522 sqq. One of the accusers

was Adam du Petit Pont, an Englishman, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph.

He got his name from the school he set up on a little bridge connecting

Paris with the Latin quarter. Schaarschmidt, p. 13.

[1395] Otto of Freising states the four detailed charges as follows: 1.

divina essentia non est deus. 2. proprietates personarum non sunt ipsae

personae. 3. theolog. personae in nulla praedicantur propositione. 4.

dimna natura non est incarnata. Gaufried, Migne, 185. 617, states the

first three a little differently.

[1396] Stephens calls him "by far the most distinguished English

scholar of his century."Hist. of the Engl. Ch., pp. 320 sqq.

[1397] Schaarschmidt calls it "the first great theory of the state in

the literature of the Middle Ages." In view of the variety of its

contents, Poole, p. 218, says that "it is to some extent an

encyclopaedia of the cultivated thought of the middle of the twelfth

century."

[1398] Poole says, "No writer of his age can be placed beside him in

the extent and depth of his classical reading."Dict. of Natl. Biog.,

XXIX. 441. Schaarschmidt speaks of his marvellous acquaintance with the

classics--eine staunenswerthe Vertrautheit.

[1399] Metalog., VII. 2.

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� 102. Peter the Lombard and the Summists.

Literature: Works of P. Lombard, Migne, vols. 191, 192.--Protois, P.

Lomb. son �p�que, sa vie, ses �crits et son influence, Paris, 1881.

Contains sermons not found in Migne.--K�gel: P. Lomb. in s. Stellung

zur Philos. des Mittelalters, Leip., 1897.--\*O. Baltzer: D. Sentenzen

d. P. Lomb., irhe Quellen und ihre dogmengeschichtl. Bedeutung, Leip.,

1902. --\*Denifle: D. Sentenzen Abaelards, etc., in Archiv, 1885, pp.

404 sqq.--Arts. Lombardus, in Wetzer-Welte, IX. 1916-1923, and \*Herzog,

by Seeberg, XI. 630-642.--St�ckl, Philos. des Mittelalters, I. 390-411.

The Histories of Doctrine of Schwane, pp. 160 sqq., Bach, Harnack,

Fisher, etc.

Peter the Lombard is the father of systematic theology in the Catholic

Church. He produced the most useful and popular theological text-book

of the Middle Ages, as Thomas Aquinas produced the most complete

theological system. In method, he belongs to the age of the great

theologians of the thirteenth century, when Scholasticism was at its

height. In point of time, he has his place in the twelfth century, with

whose theologians, Bernard, Abaelard, Gilbert, Hugo of St. Victor, and

others, he was personally acquainted. Peter was born at Novara, in

Northern Italy, and died in Paris about 1164. [1400] in Paris. Walter

Map, describing his experiences in France, calls him "the famous

theologian." In 1159 he was made bishop of Paris.

His monumental work, the Four Books of Sentences, libri quatuor

sententiarum, covers, in a systematic way, the whole field of dogmatic

theology, as John of Damascus had done four hundred years before in his

summary of the Orthodox Faith. It won for its author the title, the

Master of Sentences, magister sententiarum. Other systems of theology

under the name of sentences had preceded the Lombard's treatise. Such a

work was ascribed to Abaelard by St. Bernard. [1401] roduced such works

and followed Abaelard's threefold division of faith, charity, and the

sacraments. [1402] [1403] ert Pullen, who died about 1147, was an

Englishman and one of the first teachers at Oxford, then went to Paris,

where he had John of Salisbury for one of his hearers about 1142,

enjoyed the friendship of St. Bernard, came into favor at Rome, and was

appointed cardinal by Coelestin II.

The Lombard's work is clear, compact, and sententious, moderate and

judicial in spirit, and little given to the treatment of useless

questions of casuistry. In spite of some attacks upon its orthodoxy, it

received wide recognition and was used for several centuries as a

text-book, as Calvin's Institutes, at a later period, was used in the

Protestant churches. Down to the sixteenth century, every candidate for

the degree of B. A. at Paris was obliged to pass an examination in it.

Few books have enjoyed the distinction of having had so many

commentaries written upon them. One hundred and sixty are said to be by

Englishmen, and one hundred and fifty-two by members of the order of

St. Dominic. The greatest of the Schoolmen lectured and wrote

commentaries upon it, as Alexander Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura,

Thomas Aquinas, Durandus, and Ockam. [1404]

Not uninfluenced by the method pursued by Abaelard in the Sic et Non,

the Lombard collated statements from the Fathers and he set about

making his compilation to relieve the student from the task and toil of

searching for himself in the Fathers. [1405] [1406] oposed to show the

harmony existing between the patristic statements. In the arrangement

of his material and for the material itself he drew largely upon

Abaelard, Gratian, and Hugo of St. Vector, [1407] ew for entire

paragraphs.

The Sentences are divided into four parts, treating of the triune God,

created beings and sin, the incarnation, the Christian virtues and the

decalogue, and the sacraments with some questions in eschatology. The

author's method is to state the doctrine taught by the Church, to

confirm it from Scripture, then to adduce the opinions of the Fathers

and, if they seemed to be in conflict, to reconcile them. His ultimate

design was to lift up the light of truth in its candlestick, and he

assures us his labor had cost him much toil and sweat of the brow.

[1408]

The Lombard's arguments for the divine existence are chiefly

cosmological. God's predestination of the elect is the cause of good in

them and is not based upon any foreseen goodness they may have. Their

number cannot be increased or diminished. On the other hand, God does

not take the initiation the condemnation of the lost. Their reprobation

follows as a consequence upon the evil in them which is foreseen.

[1409]

In the second book, the Lombard makes the famous statement which he

quotes from Augustine, and which has often been falsely ascribed as

original to Matthew Henry, that the woman was not taken from Adam's

head, as if she were to rule over him or from his feet as if she were

to be his slave, but from his side that she might be his consort. By

the Fall man suffered injury as from a wound, vulneratio, not

deprivation of all virtue. Original sin is handed down through the

medium of the body and becomes operative upon the soul by the soul's

contact with the body. The root of sin is concupiscence,

concupiscentia. The Lombard was a creationist. [1410]

In his treatment of the atonement, Peter denied that Christ's death was

a price paid to the devil. It is the manifestation of God's love, and

by Christ's love on the cross, love is enkindled within us. Here the

Lombard approaches the view of Abaelard. He has nothing to say in favor

of Anselm's view that the death of Christ was a payment to the divine

honor. [1411]

In his treatment of the sacraments, the Lombard commends immersion as

the proper form of baptism, triune or single. [1412] ted into the body

and blood of Christ. Water is to be mixed with the wine, the water

signifying the people redeemed by Christ's passion.

It is remarkable that a work which came into such general esteem, and

whose statements are so carefully guarded by references to Augustine,

should have been attacked again and again as heretical, as at the synod

of Tours, 1163, and at the Third Lateran, 1179; but at neither was any

action taken. Again at the Fourth Lateran, 1215, Peter's statement of

the Trinity was attacked. Peter had said that the Father, Son, and

Spirit were "a certain highest being," and that the substance neither

begets nor is begotten, nor does it proceed from anything. [1413] m a

heretic, but the council took another view and pronounced in favor of

Peter's orthodoxy. Walter of St. Victor went so far as to accuse the

author of the Sentences with Sabellianism, Arianism, and "novel

heresies." [1414] n get as clear an idea of mediaeval theology in a

succinct form as in Peter Lombard unless it be in the Breviloquium of

Bonaventura.

The last and one of the clearest of the Summists of the twelfth century

was Alanus de Insulis, Alain of Lille, who was born at Lille, Flanders,

and died about 1202. [1415]

In the Rules of Sacred Theology Alanus gives one hundred and

twenty-five brief expositions of theological propositions. In the five

books on the Catholic Faith, [1416] nts. [1417]

Another name which may be introduced here is Walter of St. Victor, who

is chiefly known by his characterization of Abaelard, Gilbert of

Poictiers, Peter the Lombard, and the Lombard's pupil, Peter of

Poictiers, afterwards chancellor of the University of Paris, as the

four labyrinths of France. He likened their reasoning to the garrulity

of frogs, -- ranarum garrulitas,--and declared that, as sophists, they

had unsettled the faith by their questions and counterquestions.

Walter's work has never been printed. He succeeded Richard as prior of

the convent of St. Victor. He died about 1180. [1418]

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[1400] This is the date given on an ancient epitaph in Paris, but the

date is made uncertain by the appointment of a bishop of Paris as the

Lombard's successor, 1160. This would seem to indicate his death

occurred at that time unless he was deposed on the charge of simony, of

which, as Walter of St. Victor says, he was guilty. Migne, 199. 1140.

[1401] Liber quem dicunt sententarium, Ep., 188; Migne, 182. 668.

Walter of St. Victor declares it to have been by Abaelard's hand or

taken from his works, aut ex libris ejus excerptus. See Deutsch, P.

Abaelard excursus.

[1402] Denifle, Archiv, 1885, learnedly establishes the relation of

these works to Abaelard. They exist in MSS. at N�rnberg, Munich, etc.

Omnebene expressly declared his work to be a compilatlon taken from

different sources.

[1403] Sententiarum theologicarum libri, VII.; Migne, vol. 186. His

name is spelt Pullein, Pullan, etc. See Rashdall's art. in Dict. of

Nat'l Biogr., XLVII. 19.

[1404] The Jesuit Possevin gives a list of 246 commentaries in print.

See Wetzer-Welte, IX. 1921, which speaks of the number of commentaries

as unzaelig, "without number." Hergenr�ther (Gesch. II. 516) speaks of

them in the same way as zahllos. The first commentary, according to

Werner (Thom. von Aquino, I. 314), was by William of Seignelay, teacher

in Paris and later bishop of Paris.

[1405] Prolog. to the Sentences, brevi volumine complicans patrum

sententias appositis eorum eorum testimoniis, etc.

[1406] Baltzer, pp. 2-5, gives the results of a careful study.

Augustine furnishes 1000 quotations. Hilary comes next, being quoted 86

times. Baltzer's book is a laborious comparison of every paragraph of

the Lombard with the Fathers and his predecessors among the Schoolmen,

especially Abaelard and Hugo of St. Victor.

[1407] Denifle (Archiv, pp. 621 sqq.) is authority for the statement

that he also quotes from Gandulf's Sentences which still remain in MS.

at Turin.

[1408] Migne, 192. 522.

[1409] Reprobatio Dei est praescientia militiae in quibusdam non

finiendae, et praeparatio poenae non terminandae.

[1410] II. 31; Migne, p. 211.

[1411] Mors nos justificat, dum per eam caritas excitatur in cordibus

nostris, III. 19; Migne, p. 285. John of Cornwall, his pupil, expressly

says that the Bombard learned his view of the atonement from Abaelard

and often had Abaelard's Theologia in his hands, Migne, 199. 1052. See

Denifle, pp. 616 sqq. Baltzer, pp. 96 sqq., goes so far as to say that

his silence is to be interpreted as a denial of the Anselmic theory.

[1412] IV. 3; Migne, p. 335.

[1413] Quaedam summa res est Pater et Filius et Spiritus et illa non

est generans neque genita nec procedens.

[1414] From time to time questionable articles continued to be cited

from the Lombard. In the middle of the thirteenth century the number of

such articles at variance with the doctrine of the Church was given as

eight. The doctors of Paris increased the number. Eymeric wrote a

treatise on twenty-two such heretical statements. A list of fifteen are

given at the close of Peter's Sentences. Migne, 451-454.

[1415] He is probably a different man from Alanus, archbishop of

Auxerre, with whom he has often been identified, and who spent the last

twenty years of his life at Clairvaux and wrote a life of St. Bernard.

Migne, 186. 470-523. See Deutsch, Alanus, Herzog, I. 283 sqq.

Hergenr�ther-Kirsch frequently quotes Alanus.

[1416] Regulae de sacra theologia, Migne, 210. 621-684; and de arte

sive de articulis catholicae fidei, Migne, 593-617.

[1417] Congregatio fidelium confitentium Christum, et sacramentorum

subsidium, Migne, p. 613. Under the title liber sententiarum, Migne,

229-264, he wrote also on the Lord's birth, John the Baptist, and Mary.

[1418] Walter speaks of the four labyrinths as "treating with

scholastic levity the mysteries of the Trinity and the incarnation and

vomiting out many heresies." Planck gave an analysis of Walter's work

in Studien und Kritiken, 1844, pp. 823 sqq. Bulaeus, in Hist.

universitatum, vol. II. 402, 629, gives extracts, which are reprinted

in Migne, 199, pp. 1127 sqq. Denifle also gives quotations, Archiv,

etc., 1886, pp. 404 sqq.

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� 103. Mysticism.

Literature: The Works of St. Bernard, Hugo and Richard of St. Victor,

Rupert of Deutz, and also of Anselm, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, all

in Migne's Patrology.--G. Arnold: Historie und Beschreibung d. myst.

Theologie, Frankf., 1703.--H. Schmid: D. Mysticismus des Mittelalters,

Jena, 1824.--J. G�rres (Prof. of Hist. in Munich, founder of German

ultramontanism, d. 1848): D. christl. Mystik, 4 vols. Regensb.,

1836-1842. A product of the fancy rather than of sober historical

investigation.--A. Helfferich: D. christl. Mystik, etc., 2 parts,

Gotha, 1842. --R. A. Vaughn: Hours with the Mystics, Lond., 1856, 4th

ed., no date, with preface by Wycliffe Vaughan .--Ludwig Noack: D.

christl. Mystik nach ihrem geschichtl. Entwickelungsgang, 2 parts,

K�nigsb., 1863.--J. Hamberger: Stimmen der Mystik, etc., 2 parts,

Stuttg., 1857.--W. Preger: Gesch. der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter,

3 vols. Leip., 1874-1893. The Mysticism of the twelfth and thirteenth

cents. is given, vol. I 1-309.--Carl du Prel: D. Philosophie der

Mystik, Leip., 1885.--W. R. Inge: Christ. Mysticism, Lond., 1899.--The

Lives of Bernard, Hugo of St. Victor, etc.--The Histories of Doctrine

of Schwane, Harnack, etc.

Side by side with the scholastic element in mediaeval theology was

developed the mystical element. Mysticism aims at the immediate

personal communion of the soul with the Infinite Spirit, through inward

devotions and spiritual aspirations, by abstraction rather than by

logical analysis, by adoration rather than by argument, with the heart

rather than with the head, through the spiritual feelings rather than

through intellectual prowess, through the immediate contact of the soul

with God rather than through rites and ceremonies. The characteristic

word to designate the activity of the mystic is devotion; of the

scholastic, speculation. Mysticism looks less for God without and more

for God within the breast. It relies upon experience rather than upon

definitions. [1419] icism is equally opposed to rationalism and to

ritual formalism.

In the Apostle John and also in Paul we have the mystical element

embodied. The centre of John's theology is that God is love. The goal

of the believer is to abide in Christ and to have Christ abide in him.

The true mystic has felt. He is no visionary nor a dabbler in

occultism. Nor is he a recluse. Neither the mystics of this period nor

Eckart and Tauler of a later period seclude themselves from the course

of human events and human society. Bernard and the theologians of St.

Victor did not lose themselves in the absorption of ecstatic exercises,

though they sought after complete and placid composure of soul under

the influence of love for Christ and the pure contemplation of

spiritual things. "God," said St. Bernard, "is more easily sought and

found by prayer than by disputation." "God is known," said both Bernard

and Hugo of St. Victor, "so far as He is loved." Dante placed Bernard

still higher than Thomas Aquinas, the master of scholastic thought, and

was led by him through prayer to the beatific vision of the Holy

Trinity with which his Divine Comedy closes. [1420]

Augustine furnished the chief materials for the mystics of the Middle

Ages as he did for the scholastics. It was he who said, "Thou hast made

us for thyself and the heart is restless till it rests in Thee." For

Aristotle, the mystics substituted Dionysius the Areopagite, the

Christian Neo-Platonist, whose works were made accessible in Latin by

Scotus Erigena. [1421] as strong in the greatest of the Schoolmen,

Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura.

The Middle Ages took Rachel and Leah, Mary and Martha as the

representatives of the contemplative and the active life, the

conventual and the secular life, and also of the mystic and scholastic

methods. Through the entire two periods of seven years, says Peter

Damiani, [1422] ion; that is, as it were, the embraces of the beautiful

Rachel. These two periods stand for the Old and New Testament, the law

and the grace of the Gospel. He who keeps the commandments of both at

last comes into the embraces of Rachel long desired.

Richard of St. Victor devotes a whole treatise to the comparison

between Rachel and Leah. Leah was the more fertile, Rachel the more

comely. Leah represented the discipline of virtue, Rachel the doctrine

of truth. Rachel stands for meditation, contemplation, spiritual

apprehension, and insight; Leah for weeping, lamentation, repining, and

grief. Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin. So reason, after the

pangs of ratiocination, dies in giving birth to religious devotion and

ardor. [1423]

This comparison was taken from Augustine, who said that Rachel stands

for the joyous apprehension of the truth and, for that reason, was said

to have a good face and beautiful form. [1424] ame family, dwelling

together as did Mary and Martha. [1425]

The scholastic theology was developed in connection with the school and

the university, the mystic in connection with the convent. Clairvaux

and St. Victor near Paris were the hearth-stones of mysticism. Within

cloistral precincts were written the passionate hymns of the Middle

Ages, and the eucharistic hymns of Thomas Aquinas are the utterances of

the mystic and not of the Schoolman.

The leading mystical divines of this period were Bernard, Hugo and

Richard of St. Victor, and Rupert of Deutz. Mystical in their whole

tendency were also Joachim of Flore, Hildegard and Elizabeth of

Sch�nau, who belong in a class by themselves.

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[1419] Harnack, Dogmengesch., III. 314 sqq., 373 sqq., turns to

ridicule the alleged difference between scholasticism and mysticism.

With the emotional or quietistic type of religion, die

Pektoraltheologie, the cardiac theology, as the Germans call it, he has

little sympathy. Piety, he says, is the starting-point of both and full

knowledge their goal. He makes the brusque statement, p. 318, that "a

mystic who does not become a Roman Catholic, is a dilettante." Ritschl

had said before that there is "no normal mysticism except in connection

with the hermit life. The love for it, widely prevalent among

evangelical Christians, is dilettanteism."Pietismus, II. 12. Harnack,

however, is willing to allow a distinction in the terms and to speak of

scholasticism when the relation of God to the universe is thought of

and of mysticism when we have in mind the union of the soul with God.

[1420] Paradiso, XXXI. 130, XXXIII. 49, etc. Dr. Philip Schaff said,

Lit. and Poetry, p. 232, "Bernard defended orthodox mysticism and the

theology of the heart against speculative rationalism and the theology

of the intellect in contrast with Peter Abaelard."

[1421] "The mediaeval mystics were steeped in Dionysius." Inge, p. 110.

[1422] De perf. monachi, VIII.; Migne, 145. 303.

[1423] De preparat. ad contemplationem sive Benjamin minor, I. 73;

Migne, 196. 52.

[1424] C. Faus. Man., XXII. 52.

[1425] Sermo in Cant., 51, 2. See De consid., I, 1.

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� 104. St. Bernard as a Mystic.

For literature, see � 65, also, Ritschl: Lesefr�chte aus d. hl.

Bernard, in Studien u. Kritiken, 1879, pp. 317-335.--J. Ries (Rom.

Cath.): D. geistliche Leben nach der Lehre d. hl. Bernard, Freib.,

1906, p. 327.

The works of Bernard which present his mystical theology are the

Degrees of Humility and Pride, a sermon addressed to the clergy,

entitled Conversion, the treatise on Loving God, his Sermons on the

Canticles, and his hymns. The author's intimate acquaintance with the

Scriptures is shown on almost every page. He has all the books at his

command and quotation follows quotation with great rapidity. Bernard

enjoyed the highest reputation among his contemporaries as an expounder

of the inner life, as his letters written in answer to questions show.

Harnack calls him the religious genius of the twelfth century, the

leader of his age, the greatest preacher Germany had ever heard. In

matters of religious contemplation he called him a new Augustine,

Augustinus redivivus. [1426]

The practical instinct excluded the speculative element from Bernard as

worldly ambition excluded the mystical element from Abaelard. Bernard

had the warmest respect for the Apostle Paul and greatly admired

Augustine as "the mightiest hammer of the heretics" and "the pillar of

the Church." [1427] It is better that one perish than that unity

perish." [1428]

Prayer and personal sanctity, according to Bernard, are the ways to the

knowledge of God, and not disputation. The saint, not the disputant,

comprehends God. [1429] l ethical principles of theology. The

conventual life, with its vigils and fastings, is not an end but a

means to develop these two fundamental Christian virtues. [1430] the

sense that all the monks were perfect. [1431]

The treatise on Loving God asserts that God will be known in the

measure in which He is loved. Writing to Cardinal Haimeric, who had

inquired "why and how God is to be loved," Bernard replied. "The

exciting cause of love to God, is God Himself. The measure of love to

God is to love God without measure. [1432] liever does not know, are

inexpressibly more precious and call upon man to exercise an infinite

and measureless love, for God is infinite and measureless. The soul is

great in the proportion in which it loves God." [1433]

Love grows with our apprehension of God's love. As the soul

contemplates the cross it is itself pierced with the sword of love, as

when it is said in the Canticles, II. 5. "I am sick from love." Love

towards God has its reward, but love loves without reference to reward.

True love is sufficient unto itself. To be fully absorbed by love is to

be deified. [1434] nsfused by the light of the sun, becomes itself like

the light, and seems to be as the sun itself, even so all feeling in

the saint is wholly transfused by God's will, and God becomes all and

in all.

In Bernard's eighty-six Sermons on the Song of Solomon, we have a

continuous apostrophe to love, the love of God and the soul's love to

God. As sermons they stand out like the Petite Car�me of Massillon

among the great collections of the French pulpit. Bernard reached only

the first verse of the third chapter. His exposition, which is written

in Latin, revels in the tropical imagery of this favorite book of the

Middle Ages. Everything is allegorized. The very words are exuberant

allegories. And yet there is not a single sensual or unchaste

suggestion in all the extended treatment. As for the historical and

literal meaning, Bernard rejects all suggestion of it as unworthy of

Holy Scripture and worthy only of the Jews, who have this veil before

their faces. [1435] f the love between the Church and Christ, though

sometimes the soul, and even the Virgin Mary, is put in the place of

the Shulamite. The kiss of SS. 1:2 is the Holy Spirit whom the second

person of the Trinity reveals. [1436] e the goodness and longsuffering

which Christ feels and dispenses, Rom. 2:4. The Canticles are a song

commemorating the grace of holy affection and the sacrament of eternal

matrimony. [1437] ; no one can hear who does not love, for the language

of love is a barbarous tongue to him who does not love, even as Greek

is to one who is not a Greek. [1438]

Rhapsodic expressions like these welled up in exuberant abundance as

Bernard spoke to his audiences at different hours of the day in the

convent of Clairvaux. They are marked by no progress of thought.

Aphoristic statement takes the place of logic. The same spiritual

experiences find expression over and over again. But the treatment is

always devout and full of unction, and proves the justice of the title,

"the honey-flowing doctor,"--doctor mellifluus -- given to the fervid

preacher.

The mysticism of St. Bernard centres in Christ. It is by contemplation

of Him that the soul is filled with knowledge and ecstasy. The goal

which the soul aspires to is that Christ may live in us, and our love

to God become the all-controlling affection. Christ is the pure lily of

the valley whose brightness illuminates the mind. As the yellow pollen

of the lily shines through the white petals, so the gold of his

divinity shines through his humanity. Bethlehem and Calvary, the birth

and passion of Christ, controlled the preacher's thought. Christ

crucified was the sum of his philosophy. [1439] [1440]

Bernard was removed from the pantheistic self-deletion of Eckart and

the imaginative extravagance of St. Theresa. From Madame Guyon and the

Quietists of the seventeenth century, he differed in not believing in a

state of pure love in the present life. Complete obedience to the law

of love is impossible here unless it be in the cases of some of the

martyrs. [1441] ship of the disciples in the primitive Church who were

together with one heart and one soul, Acts 4:32. The union is not by a

confusion of natures, but by a concurrence of wills. [1442]

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[1426] Dogmengesch., III. 301, 305. For Bernard's acquaintance with

Scripture, see Ries, pp. 11 sq.

[1427] Ries, pp. 9, 15.

[1428] Omnia vestra in caritate fiant, Ep., 221. Melius est ut unus

pereat quam unitas, Ep., 102; Migne, 182. 257.

[1429] Non ea disputatio comprehendit sed sanctitas, quoting Eph.,

III., 18. Sancti comprehendunt. De consid., V. 14; Migne, 182. 804.

[1430] Ep., 142, 2; Migne, 182, 297. Dr. Philip Schaff said that "love

and humility were the crowning traits of Bernard's character."Lit. and

Poetry, p. 232.

[1431] Ries, pp. 35, sqq.

[1432] Causa diligendi Deum Deus est, modus sine modo diligere. De

dilig. Deo. 1. Migne, 182. 974.

[1433] In Cant., p. 919, as quoted by Ries, p. 212.

[1434] Sic affici deificari est. Bernard does not shrink from the use

of this word as also Origen and Gregory of Nyssa did not, and other

Fathers who used it or its Greek equivalent.

[1435] Serm., LXXV. 2; LXIII. 1; LXXIII. 1, 2.

[1436] Serm., VIII. Migne, p. 810.

[1437] Divinitus inspiratus Christi et ecclesiae laudes, et sacri

amoris gratiam et aeterni connubii cecinit sacramenta, etc. Serm., I.

8.; Migne, p. 788.

[1438] Serm., LXXIX. 1; Migne, p. 1163.

[1439] Haec mea philosophia scire Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum.

Serm., XLIII. 4; Migne, p. 995.

[1440] Jesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde jubilus. Serm., XV. 6;

Migne, p. 847.

[1441] See Vacandard, Vie de S. Bernard, II. 497, and Ries, pp. 198 sq.

[1442] Unitas quam facit non confusio naturarum, sed voluntatum

consensio. Serm. in Cant., LXXI. 7; Migne, 183. 1124. Harnack, whose

treatment of St. Bernard is one of the most stirring chapters in his

Hist. of Doctrine, nevertheless says unjustly III. 304, that Bernard's

mysticism naturally led to Pantheism. In Bernard himself there is no

trace of Pantheism. See Ries, pp. 190 sq.

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� 105. Hugo and Richard of St. Victor.

Literature for Hugo.--Works, first publ. Paris, 1618, 1625, etc. Migne,

vols. 175-177.--Lives by A. Hugonin in Migne, 175. XV-CXXV. In Hist.

Lit. de France, reprinted in Migne, 175. CXXVI. sqq.--\*A. Liebner: Hugo

von St. V. und d. Theol. Richtungen s. Zeit., Leip., 1832.--B. Haureau:

Hugues de S. V. avec deux opuscules in�dits, Paris, 1859. new ed.

1886.--A. Mignon: Les origines de la scholastique et Hugues de St. V.,

2 vols. Paris, 1896.--Kilgenstein: D. Gotteslehre d. Hugo von St. V.,

W�rzb., 1897.--Denifle: D. Sentenzen Z. von St. Victor, in Archiv,

etc., for 1887, pp. 644 sqq.--St�kl, pp. 352-381.

For Richard.--Works, first publ. Venice, 1506. Migne, vol. 196.--J. G.

V. Engelhardt: Rich. von St. V., Erlangen,--Liebner: Rich. � S. Victore

de contemp. doctrina, G�tt., 1837-1839, 2 parts.--Kaulich: D. Lehren

des H. und Rich. von St. Victor, Prag., 1864.--Art. in Dict. Of Natl.

Biogr., Preger, Vaughan, St�kl, Schwane, etc.

In Hugo of St. Victor, d. 1141, and more fully in his pupil, Richard of

St. Victor, d. 1173, the mystical element is modified by a strong

scholastic current. With Bernard mysticism is a highly developed

personal experience. With the Victorines it is brought within the

limits of careful definition and becomes a scientific system. Hugo and

Richard confined their activity to the convent, taking no part in the

public controversies of the age. [1443]

Hugo, the first of the great German theologians, was born about 1097 in

Saxony. [1444] ary writers by whom he is quoted. His most important

works are on Learning, the Sacraments, a Summa, [1445] and also a

treatise on what would now be called Biblical Introduction. [1446]

llustration of these three senses is given in the case of Job. Job

belonged to the land of Uz, was rich, was overtaken by misfortune, and

sat upon the dunghill scraping his body. This is the historical sense.

Job, whose name means the suffering one, dolens, signifies Christ who

left his divine glory, entered into our misery, and sat upon the

dunghill of this world, sharing our weaknesses and sorrows. This is the

allegorical sense. Job signifies the penitent soul who makes in his

memory a dunghill of all his sins and does not cease to sit upon it,

meditate, and weep. This is the anagogical sense.

From Hugo dates the careful treatment of the doctrine of the sacraments

upon the basis of Augustine's definition of a sacrament as a visible

sign of an invisible grace. His views are given in the chapter on the

Sacramental System.

The mystical element is prominent in all of Hugo's writings. [1447]

ion. The faculty of contemplation is concerned with divine things, but

was lost in the fall when also the eye of reason suffered injure, but

the eye of the flesh remained unimpaired. Redemptive grace restores the

eye of contemplation. This faculty is capable of three stages of

activity: cogitatio, or the apprehension of objects in their external

forms; meditatio, the study of their inner meaning and essence; and

contemplatio, or the clear, unimpeded insight into the truth and the

vision of God. These three stages are likened unto a fire of green

fagots. When it is started and the flame and smoke are intermingled so

that the flame only now and then bursts out, we have cogitatio. The

fire burning into a flame, the smoke still ascending, represents

meditatio. The bright glowing flame, unmixed with smoke, represents

contemplatio. The carnal heart is the green wood from which the passion

of concupiscence has not yet been dried out. [1448]

In another place Hugo compares the spirit, inflamed with desire and

ascending to God, to a column of smoke losing its denseness as it

rises. Ascending above the vapors of concupiscence, it is transfused

with light from the face of the Lord and comes to behold Him. [1449] t

God is all in all. Love possesses God and knows God. Love and vision

are simultaneous.

The five parts of the religious life, according to Hugo, are reading,

reflection, prayer, conduct, and contemplation. [1450] 's pen as it was

on St. Bernard's. The words he most often uses to carry his thought are

contemplation and vision, and he has much to say of the soul's rapture,

excessus or raptus. The beatitude, "The pure in heart shall see God,"

is his favorite passage, which he quotes again and again to indicate

the future beatific vision and the vision to which even now the soul

may arise. The first man in the state of innocence lived in unbroken

vision of God.

They who have the spirit of God, have God. They see God. Because the

eye has been illuminated, they see God as He is, separate from all else

and by Himself. It is the intellectual man that partakes of God's

bliss, and the more God is understood the more do we possess Him. God

made man a rational creature that he might understand and that by

understanding he might love, by loving possess, and by possessing

enjoy. [1451]

More given to the dialectical method and more allegorical in his

treatment of Scripture than Hugo, was Richard of St. Victor. Richard is

fanciful where Hugo is judicious, extravagant where Hugo is

self-restrained, turgid where Hugo is calm. [1452] prior. While he was

at St. Victor, the convent was visited by Alexander III, and Thomas �

Becket. In his exegetical works on the Canticles, the Apocalypse, and

Ezekiel, Richard's exuberant fancy revels in allegorical

interpretations. As for the Canticles, they set forth the contemplative

life as Ecclesiastes sets forth the natural and Proverbs the moral

life. Jacob corresponds to the Canticles, for he saw the angels

ascending and descending. Abraham corresponds to the Proverbs and Isaac

to Ecclesiastes. [1453] The Canticles set forth the contemplative life,

because in that book the advent and sight of the Lord are desired.

In the department of dogmatics Richard wrote Emmanuel, a treatise

directed to the Jews, [1454] Bernard, [1455] [1456] om experience,

ratiocination, and faith. Dialectics are allowed full sweep in the

attempt to join knowledge and faith. Richard condemned the

pseudo-philosophers who leaned more on Aristotle than on Christ, and

thought more of being regarded discoverers of new things than of

asserting established truths. [1457] [1458] ferent persons and just

three because two persons, loving one another, will desire a third whom

they shall love in common.

Richard's distinctively mystical writings won for him the name of the

great contemplator, magnus contemplator. In the Preparation of the Mind

for Contemplation or Benjamin the Less, the prolonged comparison is

made between Leah and Rachel to which reference has already been made.

The spiritual significance of their two nurses and their children is

brought down to Benjamin. Richard even uses the bold language that

Benjamin killed his mother that he might rise above natural reason.

[1459]

In Benjamin the Greater, or the Grace of Contemplation, we have a

discussion of the soul's processes, as the soul rises "through self and

above self" to the supernal vision of God. Richard insists upon the

soul's purification of itself from all sin as the condition of knowing

God. The heart must be imbued with virtues, which Richard sets forth,

before it can rise to the highest things, and he who would attempt to

ascend to the height of knowledge must make it his first and chief

study to know himself perfectly. [1460]

Richard repeats Hugo's classification of cogitatio, meditatio, and

contemplatio. Contemplation is the mind's free, clear, and admiring

vision of the wonders of divine wisdom. [1461] sy, seeing visions,

enjoying sublimated worship and inexpressible sweetness of experience.

This is immediate communion with God. The third heaven, into which Paul

was rapt, is above reason and to be reached only by a rapturous

transport of the mind--per mentis excessum. It is "above reason and

aside from reason." [1462] Plato, nor did any of the company of the

philosophers. [1463]

Richard magnifies the Scriptures and makes them the test of spiritual

states. Everything is to be looked upon with suspicion which does not

conform to the letter of Scripture. [1464]

The leading ideas of these two stimulating teachers are that we must

believe and love and sanctify ourselves in order that the soul may

reach the ecstasy and composure of contemplation or the knowledge of

God. The Scriptures are the supreme guide and the soul by contemplation

reaches a spiritual state which the intellect and argumentation could

ever bring it to.

Rupert of Deutz.--Among the mystics of the twelfth century no mean

place belongs to Rupert of Deutz. [1465] ne convent of Deutz near

Cologne about 1120 and died 1136. He came into conflict with Anselm of

Laon and William of Champeaux through a report which represented them

as teaching that God had decreed evil, and that, in sinning, Adam had

followed God's will. Rupert answered the errors in two works on the

Will of God and the Omnipotence of God. He even went to France to

contend with these two renowned teachers. [1466]

Rupert's chief merit is in the department of exegesis. He was the most

voluminous biblical commentator of his time. He magnified the

Scriptures. In one consecutive volume he commented on the books of the

Old Testament from Genesis to Chronicles, on the four Major Prophets,

and the four evangelists. [1467] especially the Canticles and Matthew.

In these works he follows the text conscientiously and laboriously,

verse by verse. The Canticles Rupert regarded as a song in honor of the

Virgin Mary, but he set himself against the doctrine that she was

conceived without sin. The commentary opens with an interpretation of

Cant. 1:2, thus: " 'Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth.' What

is this exclamation so great, so sudden? Of blessed Mary, the

inundation of joy, the force of love, the torrent of pleasure have

filled thee full and wholly intoxicated thee and thou hast felt what

eye has not seen nor ear heard nor has entered into the heart of man,

and thou hast said, 'Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth' for

thou didst say to the angel 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let it be

unto me according to thy word.' What was that word? What did he say to

thee? 'Thou hast found grace,' he said, 'with the Lord. Behold thou

shalt conceive and bare a son.'... Was not this the word of the angel,

the word and promise of the kiss of the Lord's mouth ready to be

given?" etc. [1468]

Rupert also has a place in the history of the doctrine of the Lord's

Supper, and it is an open question whether or not he substituted the

doctrine of impanation for the doctrine of transubstantiation. [1469]

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[1443] St. Victor, the convent which William of Champeaux, Hugo, and

Richard made famous, had its filial houses not only in France but also

in Ireland. With the French Revolution the convent and its grounds

disappeared. Two streets of Paris, the Rue Guy de la Brosse and the Rue

de Jussieu, were driven through them. See Wetzer-Welte, St. Victor,

XII. 914 sqq.

[1444] The argument in favor of Saxony is well stated by Preger,

Deutsche Mystik, I. 227 sqq. So Z�ckler in Herzog, and the art. on

Hugo, in Wetzer-Welte.

[1445] Summa Sententiarum, Migne, 176. 42-172. This work has been

denied to Hugo by Denifle on insufficient grounds. Hugo opens the work

with a treatment of the three cardinal virtues, faith, hope, and love,

and proceeds to the discussion of the Trinity, creation, the five

sacraments, and marriage.

[1446] He discusses the senses of Scripture, the number of the books,

the apocrypha, the translation, the historical difficulties of

Scripture, etc. See Migne, 175. 9-28. The same topics are treated in

his treatise on Learning. Migne, 176. 778-811.

[1447] Among his mysticalwritings are de arca Noe morali, Migne, 176.

619-680; de arca mystica, Migne, 176. 681-703; de vanitate mundi.

Noah's ark is symbolical of the spiritual house and Christ is the

"Captain, the supreme Noah." The wood, windows, and other parts of the

ark are all spiritualized. In the second treatise the ark represents

the cross.

[1448] Carnale cor quasi lignum viride necdum ab humore carnalis

concupiscentiae exsiccatum, etc. See Liebner, p. 315.

[1449] De arca morali, III. 7; Migne, 176. 654.

[1450] de erud. didasc., Migne, 176. 797.

[1451] Quia non potest dei beatitudo participari nisi per intellectum,

etc. Summa, II. 1: Migne, 176. 79.

[1452] See Liebner, Hugo von St. Victor, pp. 81 sq.

[1453] Migne, 196. 409.

[1454] .De Emmanuele, Migne, 196. 601-665

[1455] Migne, 196. 995-1011. Richard calls Bernard, divus Bernardus,

and "my Bernard," V; Migne, 195. 999. He also addressed other works to

St. Bernard.

[1456] O felix culpa quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem,

Migne,196. 1003.

[1457] See Engelhardt, pp. 14 sqq.

[1458] Fides totius boni initium est atque fundamentum, Migne, 196.

889.

[1459] Interficit matrem ubi omnem supergreditur rationem. De prep.,

86; Migne, 196. 62, etc.

[1460] Animus qui ad scientae altitudinem nititur ascendere, primum et

principale sit ei studium se ipsum cognoscere. De prep., 76; Migne,

196. 54.

[1461] Contemplatio est libera mentis perspicacia in sapientae

spectacula cum admiratione suspensa. De gratia, I. 5; Migne, 196. 67.

Here, as in other places, Richard quotes his teacher Hugo.

[1462] Supra rationem et praeter rationem. De prep., 86; Migne, 196.

61.

[1463] De prep., 74; Migne, p. 54.

[1464] Suspecta mihi est omnis veritas, quam non confirmat scripturarum

auctoritas. De prep., 81; Migne, 196. 57.

[1465] A fall edition of his works is given by Migne, vols. 167-170.

See Bach and Schwane. Also Rocholl, Rupert von Deutz. Beitrag zur

Gesch. der Kirche im 12ten Jahrh., G�tersloh, 1886.

[1466] Rupert gives an account of his journey to France to meet William

and Anselm in disputation in his De regula Benedicti, I. 1; Migne, 170.

482 sq.

[1467] The name of the work is De operibus sanctae trinitatis Migne,

167. 199-1827. The first two parts represent the work of the Father and

the Son and the third the work of the Holy Spirit, pp. 1571-1827.

[1468] Migne, 168. 841.

[1469] De operibus S. trinitatis, II. 10. Bellarmin pronounced Rupert a

heretic because of his views on the Lord's Supper. Schwane,

Dogmengesch., p. 641, denies the charge.

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CHAPTER XIII.

SCHOLASTICISM AT ITS HEIGHT.

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� 106. Alexander of Hales.

Literature:

� 95. Alex. of Hales: Summa universae theologiae, Venice, 1475,

N�rnberg, 1482, Basel, 1502, Cologne, 1611, 4 vols.--Wadding: Annal.

Min., III.--St�ckl: Phil. des Mittelalters, II. 313-326.--K. M�ller:

Der Umschwung in der Lehre Soon der Busse, etc., Freib., 1892.--The

Doctrinal Histories of Schwane, Harnack, Seeberg, etc., Dict. of Natl.

Biogr., I. 272 sq.

The culmination of Scholasticism falls in the thirteenth century. It is

no longer as confident in the ability of reason to prove all

theological questions as it was in the days of Anselm and Abaelard a

hundred years before. The ethical element comes into prominence. A

modified realism prevails. The syllogism is elaborated. The question is

discussed whether theology is a science or not. The authority of

Aristotle becomes, if possible, more binding. All his writings have

become available through translations. The teachings of Averrhoes,

Avicenna, and other Arabic philosophers are made known. The chief

Schoolmen belong to one of the two great mendicant orders. To the

Franciscan order belonged Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus,

Roger Bacon, and Raymundus Lullus. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas

were Dominicans. All these men had to do with the universities.

Alexander of Hales (Halesius or Halensis), called by his pupils the

Irrefragable Doctor--doctor irrefragabilis -- and the king of

theologians--monarcha theologorum -- was born at Hales,

Gloucestershire, England, and died in Paris, 1245. After reaching the

dignity of archdeacon, he went to Paris to prosecute his studies. He

entered the order of St. Francis, 1222, and was the first Franciscan to

obtain the degree of doctor and to teach in the University of Paris,

which he continued to do till 1238.

Alexander was the first Schoolman to whom all the writings of Aristotle

were accessible. His chief work, the System of Universal Theology, was

completed by one of his pupils, 1252. [1470] [1471] is, therefore,

rather a body of wisdom--sapientia --than a science--scientia; not so

much knowledge drawn from study as knowledge drawn from experience.

[1472] which passed into the doctrinal system of the Roman Catholic

Church. He declared for the indelible character of baptism and

ordination. By elaborate argument he justified the withdrawal of the

cup from the laity and stated the new doctrine of penance. He is

especially famous for having defined the fund of merit--thesaurus

meritorum -- the vicious doctrine upon which the practice of

distributing and selling indulgences was based. He was one of the first

to make the distinction between attritio or imperfect repentance, due

to fear, timor servilis, and contritio or perfect repentance based upon

higher motives. In all these matters he had a controlling influence

over the later Schoolmen. [1473]

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[1470] Roger Bacon contemptuously said of it that it was heavier than a

horse in weight. Natl. Dict. of Biogr., I. 273. Other MSS. ascribed to

Alexander are found in Oxford, etc. The summa de virtutibus, Paris,

1509, a Com. on the Apocalypse, Paris, 1647, published under his name,

are of doubtful authenticity.

[1471] Videtur quod sic, et videtur quod non.

[1472] Cognitio secundum visum, cognitio secundum gustum.

[1473] See Chapter on the Sacramental System.

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� 107. Albertus Magnus.

Literature: Works. Complete ed. by, Jammy, Lyons, 1651, 21 vols.;

revised by Augusti Borgnet, 38 vols. Paris, 1890. Dedicated to Leo

XIII., containing a Life and valuable indexes. The De vegetabilibus,

ed. by Meyer and Jessen, Berl., 1867.--Com. on Job, ed. by M. Weiss,

Freib., 1904.--Fullest monograph J. Sighart: Alb. Mag., sein Leben und

seine Wissenschaft, Regensb., 1857, based upon the compilation of Peter

de Prussia: Vita B. Alb., doctoris magni ex ordine Praedicatorum, etc.,

Col., 1486.--Sighart gives a list of the biogr. notices from Thomas of

Chantimpr�, 1261.--d'Assaily: Alb. le Grand, Paris, 1870.--G. von

Hertling: Alb. Mag., Beitr�ge zu s. W�rdigung, Col., 1880; Alb. Mag. in

Gesch. und Sage, Col., 1880, and his art. in Wetzer-Welte, I.

414-419.--Ueberweg-Heinze.--St�ckl, II. 353-421.--Schwane, pp. 46 sqq.

etc.--Preger: Deutsche Mystik, I. 263-268.--Harnack, Seeberg.

The most learned and widely read man of the thirteenth century was

Albertus Magnus, Albert the Great. His encyclopaedic attainments were

unmatched in the Middle Ages, and won for him the title, Universal

Doctor--doctor universalis. He was far and away the greatest of German

scholars and speculators of this era.

Albert (1193-1280) was born at Lauingen in Bavaria, studied in Padua,

and, about 1223, entered the order of the Dominicans, influenced

thereto by a sermon preached by its second general, Jordanus. He taught

in Freiburg, Hildesheim, Strassburg, Regensburg, and other cities. At

Cologne, which was his chief headquarters, [1474] he had among his

pupils Thomas Aquinas. [1475] ict over the mendicant orders with

William of St. Amour.

He was made bishop of Regensburg, an office he laid down in 1262.

[1476] [1477] Thomas Aquinas, after that theologian's death. He died at

the age of eighty-seven, in Cologne, where he is buried in the St.

Andreas Church.

Albert was small of stature and the story is told of his first

appearance in the presence of the pope; that the pope, thinking he was

kneeling, bade him stand on his feet. A few years before his death he

became childish, and the story runs that the archbishop, Siegfried,

knocking at the door of his cell, exclaimed, "Albert, are you here?"

and the reply came, "Albert is not here. He used to be here. He is not

here any more." In early life, Albert was called the dumb ox on account

of his slowness in learning, and the change of his intellectual power

was indicated by the bon mot. "Albert was turned from all ass to a

philosopher and from a philosopher to an ass." In 1880, the six

hundredth anniversary of his death, a statue was erected to his memory

at his birthplace.

Albertus Magnus was a philosopher, naturalist, and theologian; a

student of God, nature, and man. He knew no Greek, but was widely read

in the Latin classics as well as in the Fathers. He used the complete

works of Aristotle, and was familiar with the Arabic philosophers whom

at points he confuted. [1478] ides, and Gabirol. [1479] [1480]

He traversed the whole area of the physical sciences. No one for

centuries had been such a student of nature. He wrote on the vegetable

kingdom, geography, mineralogy, zoology, astronomy, and the digestive

organs. The writings on these themes are full of curious items of

knowledge and explanations of natural phenomena. His treatise on

meteors, De meteororibus, for example, which in Borgnet's edition fills

more than three hundred pages (IV. 477-808), takes up at length such

subjects as the comets, the milky way, the cause of light in the lower

strata of air, the origin of the rivers, the winds, lightning, thunder

and cyclones, the rainbow, etc. In the course of his treatment of

rivers, Albert speaks of great cavities in the earth and spongy regions

under its flat surface. To the question, why the sun was made, if the

prior light was sufficient to render it possible to speak of "morning

and evening" on the first days of creation, he replied, "that as the

earlier light amply illuminated the upper parts of the universe so the

sun was fitted to illuminate the lower parts, or rather it was in order

that the day might be made still more bright by the sun; and if it be

asked what became of the prior light, the answer is that the body of

the sun, corpus solis, was formed out of it, or at any rate that the

prior light was in the same part of the heavens where the sun is

located, not as though it were the sun but in the sense that it was so

united with the sun as now no more to be specially distinguished from

it." [1481]

Albert saw into a new world. His knowledge is often at fault, but

sometimes his statements are prophetic of modern discovery. For

example, he said that the poles of the earth were too cold to be

inhabited. He knew about the sleep of plants and many of the laws of

the vegetable world. He was indefatigable in experimentation, the

forerunner of the modern laboratory worker, and had much to do with

arsenic, sulphur, and other chemical substances. He knew about

gunpowder, but got his knowledge from others. [1482] c and the dark

arts, but probably without sufficient reason.

The world has had few such prolific writers as Albertus Magnus. In

Borgnet's edition of thirty-eight volumes, there are, excluding, the

valuable indexes, no less than 27,014 pages of two columns each. These

writings may be said to take up not only every topic of physical

knowledge but to discuss every imaginable subject in religion and

philosophy. His activity combined the travail of the original thinker

with the toil of the compiler. Twelve volumes in Borgnet's edition are

devoted to philosophy and the natural sciences, one to sermons, one to

a commentary on Dionysius the Areopagite, ten to commentaries on books

of the Old and New Testaments, and fourteen to theology. He freely used

some of his predecessors among the Schoolmen as Anselm, Bernard, and

Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, as well as the Fathers and the Greek

and Arabic philosophers.

Albert's chief theological works are a Commentary on the Sentences of

the Lombard, a Study of Created Things [1483] udy of Created Things, or

System of Nature is an attempt, whose boldness has never been exceeded,

to explain the great phenomena of the visible universe above and below,

eternity and time, the stars and the motion of the heavens, angels and

devils, man, his soul and body, the laws of his nutrition, sleep,

reason, intellect, and other parts of his constitution, and events to

which he is subject.

Albert's commentaries cover the Psalms in three volumes, the

Lamentations, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Baruch, the Gospels, and the

Apocalypse. His commentary on the Worthy Woman of Proverbs 31:10-31 is

drawn out to two hundred pages of two columns each.

Theology, Albert defined to be a science in the truest sense, and what

is more, it is wisdom. [1484] [1485] The existence of God is not,

properly speaking, an article of theology, but an antecedent of all

articles. In his Summa he quotes Anselm's definition. "God is greater

than anything else that can be conceived." The objection was made to it

that what is above what can be conceived we cannot grasp. He answers

the objection by showing that God can be known by positive affirmation

and by negation. The cosmological proof was most to Albert's mind, and

he argued at length the proposition that motion demands a prime mover.

Matter cannot start itself into motion. [1486]

The Trinity is matter of revelation. Philosophy did not find it out.

[1487]

Following Augustine, Anselm, and Richard of St. Victor, he argued for

the procession of the Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father as

a necessity, [1488]

The usual scholastic list of questions about the angels, good and bad,

is treated by Albert with great exhaustiveness. A number of angels, he

decides, cannot be in one and the same place at the same time, not

because of the spatial inconvenience it might seem to imply, but on

account of the possibility of the confusion of activity it might

involve. He concludes it to be impossible for an angel to be in more

than one place at the same time. He discussed at length the language

and vocal organs of the angels. [1489] rate is his treatment of the

fall, and the activity and habitation of Lucifer and the demons. In

pruriency he is scarcely behind some of the other Schoolmen. Every

possible question that might occur to the mind had to be answered. Here

are some of the questions. "Do the lost sin in hell?" "Do they wish any

good?" "Is a smoky atmosphere a congenial element for the demons?"

"What are the age and stature of those who rise from the dead?" "Does

the sight of the pains of the lost diminish the glory of the

beatified?" To this last question he replied that such sight will

increase the joy of the angels by calling forth renewed thanks for

their redemption. [1490] ntation several times. [1491]

The chief and ultimate cause of the creation of man is that he might

serve God in his acts, praise God with his mouth, and enjoy God with

his whole being. A second cause is that he might fill up the gaps left

by the defection of the angels. [1492] he creation of man and angels to

be the product of God's goodness. [1493]

Of all the panegyrists of the Virgin Mary before Alphonso da Liguori,

none was so fulsome and elaborate as Albert. Of the contents of his

famous treatise, The Praises of Mary,--de laudibus B. Mariae Virginis,

[1494] d to Mary. Albert leaves her crowned at her assumption in the

heavens. One of the questions this indefatigable theologian pursued

with consequential precision was Eve's conception before she sinned.

As for the ecclesiastical organization of the Middle Ages, the pope is

to Albert God's viceregent, vested with plenary power. [1495]

Albert astounds us by the industry and extent of his theological

thought and labor and the versatility of his mind. Like all the

Schoolmen he sought to exhaust the topics he discusses, and looks at

them in every conceivable aspect. There is often something chaotic in

his presentation of a theme, but he is nevertheless wonderfully

stimulating. It remained for Albert's greater pupil, Thomas Aquinas, to

bring a clearness and succinctness to the statement of theological

problems, theretofore unreached. Albert treated them with the

insatiable curiosity of the student, the profundity of the philosopher,

and the attainments of a widely read scholar. Thomas added the skill of

the dialectic artist and a pronounced practical and ethical purpose.

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[1474] He speaks in his will of spending most of his life in the

convent at Cologne. He appointed a brother by birth, Henry, one of his

executors. Sighart, p 247.

[1475] Leo XIII., in his letter allowing Borgnet to dedicate his

edition of Albert's works to him, said: "Especially am I glad to grant

this permission because our old love for the angelic doctor is not

disjoined from love for his teacher." Borgnet's ed., I. p. vii. Labb�,

the Jesuit editor of the acts of the councils, wrote a poem comparing

Albert with his pupil, Thomas Aquinas, and greatly praising him for his

eulogy of Mary. Borgnet, I. lxxii. sq.

[1476] Sighart, pp. 148, 152, ascribes his resignation to bitter

opposition, and thinks Albert had this opposition in mind when he was

writing the paraphrase to Aristotle's Politics. The slothful, Albert

says, find fault with those who excel. They killed Socrates, drove out

Plato from Athens, and banished Aristotle. These people have the same

plan in the domain of letters and science that the liver has in the

body. For everybody has gall which collects in the liver and which

dispenses itself and makes the whole body bitter. Thus in the domain of

letters there are some bitter men filled with gall, who would fain make

all other men bitter, and will not allow them to seek after truth in

sweet company.

[1477] So Von Hertling. The records of the council do not mention his

name. Peter of Prussia affirms Albert was present, and is followed by

Sighart, p. 225.

[1478] Averrhoes, Avicenna, Algazel, etc. The honor of first mastering

all the works of Aristotle and putting them into the service of

Christian philosophy belongs to Albertus, says Schwane, p. 40.

[1479] This is brought out by J. Guttmann, in his Die Scholastik des

13ten Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zum Judenthum und zur judischen

Lateratur, Breslau, 1902.

[1480] He again and again says: "Aristotle erred,"e.g. Borgnet's ed.,

III. 545, etc. He says: "He who believes Aristotle to have been a god,

can believe he never erred. But if he was a man, then he could err like

ourselves." Borgnet's ed., III. 553

[1481] Sent., II. xiii., F. Borgnet's ed., XXVII. 249 sq.

[1482] An interesting survey of Albert's knowledge of nature is given

by Sighart, pp. 302-356; also St�ckl, II. 359 sqq.

[1483] Summa de creaturis, vols. XXXIV., XXXV., in Borgnet's ed.

[1484] Theologia verissima scientia est et, quod plus est, sapientia.

Summa theol., I. 1, 1; Borgnet's ed., XXXI. 9.

[1485] Summa, I. 3, q. 17; Borgnet's ed., XXXI. 116.

[1486] Physic, VII.; Borgnet's ed., III. 483-502.

[1487] Philosophi pro propria ductu naturalis rationis non potuerunt

cognoscere trinitatem personarum. Borgnet, XXXI. 60.

[1488] Summa, I. 7, q. 31; Borgnet, XXXI. 326 sqq.

[1489] De locutione angelorum. Summa, II. 9, q. 35; Borgnet, XXXII.

376-387. He draws in his discussion from Augustine, St. Basil, and John

of Damascus.

[1490] Sent., IV. 50; Borgnet's ed., XXX. 699. Albert even goes so far

as to discuss whether unborn infants destroyed by abortion rise from

the dead.

[1491] in quid cecidit diabolus. Summa de creaturis, IX. 67; Borgnet's

ed., XXXIV. 682 sqq. Summa theol., II. 5, q. 23 sqq.; Borgnet's ed.,

XXXII. 266-286.

[1492] Adjunctus autem finis est qui secutus est ex isto: et ille est

reparatio ruinae angelicae. Summa, II. 12 sq., 74; Borgnet's ed.,

XXXIII. 57.

[1493] Quare est creatus homo vel angelus? Brevi sermone, respondere

potest. Propter bonitatem ejus. Sent., II. 1, E.; Borgnet's ed., XXVII.

35.

[1494] Summa, II. 14; Borgnet's ed., pp. 131 sq.

[1495] Habet potestatis plenitudinem quia est ordinarius omnium hominum

et quia est vice Dei in terris. Summa, II. q. 141, 3; Borgnet, XXXIII.

484.

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� 108. Thomas Aquinas.

Literature: I. Works.--U. Chevalier: R�pertoire under Thomas Aq., pp.

1200-1206, and Supplem., pp. 2823-2827. -- S. Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris

Angelici opera omnia, jussu impensaque Leonis XIII., P. M., edita,

Romae ex typographia polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, vols. 1-11,

1882-1902, to be completed in 25 vols. For this edition, called from

Leo's patronage editio Leonina, a papal appropriation has been made of

300,000 lire. See vol. I., p. xxv.--Older edd., Rome, 1570, 18 vols. by

order of Pius V., and Venice, 1592-1594; Antwerp, by C. Morelles, 1612

sqq., 18 vols.; Paris, 1660, 23 vols.; Venice, 1786-1790, 28 vols.;

with 30 dissertations by B. M. de Rubeis, Naples, 1846-1848, 19 vols.;

Parma, 1852 sqq.; Paris, 1871--1880, 33 vols. by Frett� and Mar�.--The

Summa theologica has been often separately published as by Migne, 4

vols. Paris, 1841, 1864; \*Drioux, 15 vols. Paris, 1853-1856; with

French trans., and 8 vols. Paris, 1885. Among the very numerous

commentators of the Summa are Cajetan, d. 1534, given in the Leonine

ed., Melchior Canus, d. 1560, Dominicus Soto, d. 1560, Medina, d. 1580,

Bannez, d. 1604, Xantes Moriales, d. 1666, Mauritius de Gregorii, d.

1666, all Dominicans; Vasquez, d. 1604, Suarez, d. 1617, Jesuits. The

most prolix commentaries are by barefooted Carmelites of Spain, viz.

the cursus theologicus of Salamanca, 19 vols. repub. at Venice, 1677

sqq., and the Disputationes collegii complutensis at Alcala in 4 vols.

repub. at Lyons, 1667 sqq. --See Werner: D. hl. Thomas, I. 885 sqq.--P.

A. Uccelli's ed. of the contra Gentiles, Rome, 1878, from autograph

MSS. in the Vatican, contains a facsimile of Thomas' handwriting which

is almost illegible.--Engl. trans. of the Aurea Catena, Oxford, 1865, 6

vols., and the Ethics by J. Rickaby, N. Y., 1896.--Fr. Satolli, in

Summam Theol. d. Th. Aq. praelectiones, Milan, 1884-1888.--L. Janssen:

Summa Theol. ad modum commentarii in Aquinatis Summam praesentis aevi

studii aptatam, Freib. im Br., 5 vols. 1902.--La th�ol. affective ou

St. Th. d'Aq. m�dit� en vue de pr�dication, by L. Bail, Paris, 12 vols.

II. Lives, etc.--The oldest Life is by William de Thoco, who knew

Thomas personally, reprinted in the ed. Leonina, vol. I. Documents in

Chartularium parisiensis.--F. B. de Rubeis: De gestis et scriptis ac

doctrina S. Th. Aq. dissertationes crit. et apolog., reprinted in the

Leonina.--P. A. Touron: Paris, 1737.--J. Bareille: 1846, 4th ed.

1862.--\*Karl Werner, Rom. Cath. Prof. at St. P�lten, Austria: D.

heilige Th. von Aquino, 5 vols. 1858-1859, Regensb. Learned,

exhaustive, but ill digested.--R. B. Vaughan Rom. Cath. abp. of Sydney:

Life and Labors of St. Th. of Aquino, 2 vols. Lond., 187I-1872, based

on Werner.--Cicognani: Sulla vita de S. Tomasio, Engl. trans.,

1882.--P. Cavenaugh: Life of Th. Aq., the Angelic Doctor. N. Y.,

1890.--Didiot: Le docteur ang�lique S. Th. d'Aq., Bruges,

1894.--Jourdain: Le Phil. de S. Th. d'Aq., 2 vols. Paris, 1861.--\*F. X.

Leitner: D. hl. Th. von Aq. �ber d. unfehlbare Lehramt d. Papstes,

Freib., 1872.--J. J. Baumann: D. Staatslehre des hl. Th. von Aq.,

Leip., 1873.--Sch�tz: Thomas Lexicon (explanation of technical terms),

Paderb., 1881.--Eicken. D Philos. d. Th. von Aq. und. d. Kultur d.

Neuzeit:, Halle, 1886, 54 pp.; also Th. von Aq. und Kant, ein Kampf

zweier Welten, Berlin, 1901.--\*F. H. Reusch, Old-Cath.: D. F�lschungen

in dem Traktat des Th. von Aq. gegen die Griechen, M�nchen, 1889.--F.

Tessen-Wesiersky: D. Grundlagen d. Wunderbegriffs n. Th. von Aq.

Paderb., 1899, p. 142.--J. Guttmann: D. Verh�ltniss des Th. von Aq. zum

Judenthum und zur j�dischen Literatur, 1891.--Wittmann: D. Stellung d.

hl. Th. von Aq. zu Avencebrol, M�nster, 1900.--De Groot: Leo: XIII. und

der hl. Th. von Aq., Regensb., 1897.--M. Grabmann: D. Lehre d. hl. Th.

v. Aq. v. d. Kirche als Gotteswerk, Regensb., 1903.--J. G�ttler: D. hl.

Th. v. Aq. u. d. vortridentin. Thomisten ueb. d. Wirkgn. d

Busssakramentes, 1904.--St�ckl: Philos. d. Mittelalters, II. 421-728.

The Histt. of Doctr. of Schwane, Harnack, III. 422-428, etc., and

Loofs, pp. 284-304.--Lane-Poole: Illustrations etc., pp. 226

sqq.--Baur: D. Christl. Kirche des M. A., 312-354. --The art. in

Wetzer-Welte, XI. 1626-1661.--T. O'Gorman: Life and Works of St. Th.

Aq. in Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., 1893, pp. 81-97.--D. S. Schaff:

Th. Aq. and Leo XIII. in Princeton Rev., 1904, pp. 177-196.--Art. Th.

Aq. and Med. Thought. in Dubl. Rev. Jan., 1906.

In an altar piece by Traini, dating from 1341, in the church of St.

Caterina, Pisa, Thomas Aquinas is represented as seated in the centre

with a book open before him. At the top of the cloth the artist has

placed Christ, on one side of him Matthew, Luke, and Paul and on the

other, Moses, John, and Mark. Below Thomas Aquinas, and on the left

side, Aristotle is represented standing and facing Thomas. Aristotle

holds an open volume which is turned towards the central figure. On the

right hand Plato is represented, also standing and facing Thomas with

an open volume. At the foot of the cloth there are three groups. One at

each corner consists of monks looking up admiringly at Thomas. Between

them, Averrhoes is represented reclining and holding a closed book.

This remarkable piece of art represents with accuracy the central place

which has been accorded to Thomas Aquinas in the mediaeval theology.

Arabic philosophy closes its mission now that the great exponent of

Christian theology has come. The two chief philosophers of the unaided

reason offer to him the results of their speculations and do him

homage. The body of monks admire him, and Christ, as it were, commends

him.

Thomas Aquinas, called the Angelic doctor,--doctor angelicus, --

1225-1274, is the prince of the Schoolmen, and next to St. Augustine,

the most eminent divine of the Latin Church. He was a man of rare

genius, wisdom, and purity of life. He had an unrivalled power of

orderly and vigorous statement. Under his hand the Scholastic doctrines

were organized into a complete and final system. He expounded them with

transparent clearness, and fortified them with powerful arguments

derived from Scripture, tradition, and reason. Mystical piety and a

sound intellect were united in him. As compared with many of the other

Schoolmen, notably with Duns Scotus, Thomas was practical rather than

speculative. Popes and councils have repeatedly acknowledged his

authority as a teacher of Catholic theology. Thomas was canonized by

John XXII., 1823, and raised to the dignity of "doctor of the church,"

1567. In 1879, Leo XIII. commended him as the corypheus and prince of

all the Schoolmen, and as the safest guide of Christian philosophy in

the battle of faith and reason against the sceptical and revolutionary

tendencies of the nineteenth century, [1496] between faith and reason,

exalting the dignity of each and yet keeping them in friendly

alliance." In 1880 this pope pronounced him the patron of Catholic

schools. In the teachings of Thomas Aquinas we have, with one or two

exceptions, the doctrinal tenets of the Latin Church in their perfect

exposition as we have them in the Decrees of the council of Trent in

their final statement.

Thomas of Aquino was born about 1220 in the castle of Rocca Sicca--now

in ruins--near Aquino in the territory of Naples. Through his father,

the count of Aquino, he was descended from a princely house of

Lombardy. His mother was of Norman blood and granddaughter of the

famous Crusader Tancred. At five the boy was sent to the neighboring

convent of Monte Cassino from which he passed to the University of

Naples. In 1243 he entered the Dominican order, a step his family

resented. His brothers who were serving in the army of Frederick II.

took the novice by force and kept him under guard in the paternal

castle for more than a year. Thomas employed the time of his

confinement in studying the Bible, the Sentences of the Lombard, and

the works of Aristotle.

We next find him in Cologne under Albertus Magnus. That great

Schoolman, recognizing the genius of his pupil, is reported to have

said, "He will make such a roaring in theology that he will be heard

through all the earth." [1497] the monastic orders drew from him a

defence as it also did from Bonaventura. Thomas was called to Anagni to

represent the case of the orders. His address called forth the

commendation of Alexander IV., who, in a letter to the chancellor of

the University of Paris, spoke of Thomas as a man conspicuous by his

virtues and of encyclopaedic learning. In 1261, Thomas left the

teacher's chair in Paris and taught successively in Bologna, Rome, and

other Italian cities. Urban IV. and Clement IV. honored him with their

confidence. The years 1272-1274 he spent at Naples. He died on his way

to the oecumenical council of Lyons, March 7, 1274, only forty-eight

years of age, in the Cistercian convent of Fossa Nuova near Terracina.

Dante and Villani report he was poisoned by order of Charles of Anjou,

but the earliest accounts know nothing of this. The great teacher's

body was taken to Toulouse, except the right arm which was sent to the

Dominican house of Saint Jacques, Paris, whence, at a later date, it

was removed to Rome.

The genuine writings of Thomas Aquinas number more than sixty, and fall

into four classes. The philosophical works are commentaries on

Aristotle's Ethics, Metaphysics, Politics, and other treatises. His

exegetical works include commentaries on Job, the first fifty-one

Psalms, Canticles, Isaiah, the Lamentations, the Gospels, and the

Epistles of Paul. The exposition of the Gospels, known as the Golden

Chain,--aurea catena, [1498] ant. The apologetic works are of more

importance. The chief among them are works designed to convince the

Mohammedans and other unbelievers, [1499] [1500]

Thomas' works on dogmatic theology and ethics are the most important of

his writings. The earliest was a commentary on the Sentences of Peter

the Lombard. Here belong Expositions of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's

Prayer, the decalogue, the Angelic salutation, and the sacraments.

Thomas gave his first independent systematic treatment of the entire

realm of theology in his Compendium theologiae. The subject was

presented under the heads of the three cardinal virtues,--faith, hope,

and charity. His master-work is his Summa theologica which he did not

live to finish and which is supplemented by compilations from the

author's commentary on the Lombard. Thomas also made important

contributions to the liturgy and to hymnology. In 1264 at the request

of Urban IV., he prepared the office for the festival of Corpus

Christi, in which were incorporated the Pange lingua, Lauda Sion, and

other hymns. [1501]

With Augustine and John Calvin, Thomas Aquinas shares the distinction

of being one of the three master theological minds of the Western

world. What John of Damascus did for the theology of the Greek Church,

that Thomas did for the theology of the mediaeval Church. He gave to it

its most perfect form. His commanding eminence rests upon his clearness

of method and his well-balanced judgment rather than upon his

originality of thought. [1502] ristic and profane, but they differ

widely. He leaned much upon Albertus Magnus. [1503] ristotle, quoting

the latter as "the philosopher." He was in full sympathy with the

hierarchical system and the theology of the mediaeval Church and at no

point out of accord with them.

The Summa theologica, true to its author's promise, avoids many of the

idle discussions of his predecessors and contemporaries. [1504]

Redeemer, the sacraments being included under the last head. The matter

is disposed of in 518 divisions, called questions, and these are

divided into 2652 articles. Each article states the negative and

positive sides of the proposition under discussion, the arguments for

and against it, and then the author's solution. The same uniform

threefold method of treatment is pursued throughout. This method would

become insufferably monotonous but for the precision of Thomas'

statement and the interest of the materials. Each article is a finished

piece of literary art. Here is an example on the simplicity of God.

[1505] dy, for a body has three dimensions, and the Scriptures ascribe

to God, height, depth, and length, Job 11:8. 2. Whatever has a figure,

has a body. God seems to have a figure, Gen. 1:26, for He said, "Let Us

make man in our image." 3. Everything that has parts, has a body. A

hand, Job 40:4, and eyes, Ps. 25:15, are ascribed to God. 4. God has a

seat and throne, Isa. 6:1. 5. God has a local termination which men may

approach, Ps. 24:5.

But on the other hand must be noted what is said in John 4:24, "God is

Spirit." The absolute God, therefore, is not a body. 1 No body moves

that is not before moved and God is the first mover. 2. God is the

first entity, primum ens. 3. God is the noblest among entities.

The answers to the objections are: 1. That the Scripture passages,

attributing to God bodily parts, are figurative. 2. The expression

"image of God" is used simply to indicate God's superior excellency

over man and man's excellence over the beasts. 3. The ascription of

corporeal senses, such as the eye, is a way of expressing God's

intelligence.

Theological speculation is, with Thomas, not an exhibition of

theological acumen, but a pious employment pursued with the end of

knowing and worshipping God. It is in keeping with this representation

that, on his way to Paris, he is reported to have exclaimed, he would

not give Chrysostom on Matthew for all the city. It is also related

that during his last years in Naples the Lord, appearing to him, asked

what reward he desired, for he had written well on theological

questions. Thomas replied. "None other, Lord, but Thyself."

Thomas made a clearer distinction between philosophy and religion,

reason and revelation, than had been made before by any of the

Schoolmen. The reason is not competent by its own powers to discover

the higher truths pertaining to God, such as the doctrine of the

Trinity. [1506] gy utilizes the reason, not, it is true, to prove

faith, for such a process would take away the merit of faith, but to

throw light on doctrines which are furnished by revelation. [1507] and

on account of the superior excellence of its subject-matter. [1508]

As between the Scriptures and the Fathers, Thomas makes a clear

distinction. The Church uses both to arrive at and expound the truth.

The Scriptures are necessary and final. The testimony of the Fathers is

probable. Thomas' controlling purpose is to properly present the

theology of the Church as he found it and nothing more. [1509]

Philosophy and theology pursue different methods in searching after

truth. [1510] fidei, faith looking to God as He is in Himself, precedes

knowledge. The existence of God is not exclusively a matter of faith.

It has been demonstrated by philosophers by irrefragable proofs.

Anselm's ontological argument, Thomas rejected on the ground that a

conception in the mind--esse intellectu -- is something different from

real existence--esse in re. He adduced four cosmological arguments, and

the argument from design. [1511] finite series of causes, it is

impossible to conceive. Therefore, there must be a First Cause. 3. The

conditional demands that which is absolute, and 4. that which is

imperfect implies that which is perfect as its standard. As for the

teleological argument, objects and events have the appearance of being

controlled by an overruling design as an arrow being shot by an archer.

[1512]

Creation was not a necessity for God on account of any deficiency

within Himself. It was the expression of His love and goodness. With

Aristotle, Thomas agrees that by the natural reason the world cannot be

proved to have had a beginning. [1513] graphers do not locate it. It is

secluded by the barriers of mountains, seas, and a certain tempestuous

region. [1514]

In discussing the origin of evil, Thomas says that, in a perfect world,

there will be all possible grades of being. The weal of the whole is

more important than the well-being of any part. By the permission of

evil, the good of the whole is promoted. Many good things would be

wanting but for evil. As life is advanced by corruption in the natural

world, so, for example, patience is developed by persecution.

The natural order cannot bind God. His will is free. He chooses not to

work contrary to the natural order, but He works outside of it, praeter

ordinem. [1515] s a treasure. To him the discovery is an accident. But

the master, who set him to work at a certain place, had this in view.

From the divine providence, as the starting-point, the decree of

predestination is elaborated. Thomas represented the semi-Pelagian

standpoint. The elect are substituted for the angels who lost their

first estate, [1516] God's decree is permissive. God loves all men. He

leaves men to themselves, and those who are lost, are lost by their own

guilt. God's decree of election includes the purpose to confer grace

and glory.

In his treatment of the angels, Thomas practised a commendable

self-restraint, as compared with Bonaventura and other Summists.

When he takes up man, the Angelic doctor is relatively most elaborate.

In the discussion of man's original condition and his state after the

Fall, many questions are proposed which dialectical dexterity must

answer in view of the silence of Scripture. Here are examples. Could

Adam in his state of innocence see the angels? Did he have the

knowledge of all things? Did he need foods? Were the children born in

his state of innocence confirmed in righteousness and had they

knowledge of that which is perfect? Would original sin have passed down

upon Adam's posterity, if Adam had refused to join Eve in sinning?

[1517]

Thomas rejected the traducian view as heretical, and was a creationist.

[1518] llowing Peter the Lombard, he held that grace was a superadded

gift to Adam, over and above the natural faculties and powers of the

soul and body. [1519] [1520]

Man's original righteousness, but for the Fall, would have passed down

upon Adam's posterity. The cause of sin was an inordinate love of self.

[1521] ce, a corrupt disposition of the soul,--habitus corruptus,--just

as sickness is a corrupt condition of the body. The corruption of

nature, however, is partial,--a wound, not a total deadness of the

moral nature.

Thomas approaches the subject of Christ and redemption by saying that

"our Saviour, Jesus Christ, has shown us the way of truth in himself,

the way by which we are able to attain through resurrection to the

beatitude of immortal life." [1522] he sacraments, which are the

channels of salvation, and the goal or immortal life. The Anselmic view

of the atonement is adopted. The infinitude of human guilt makes it

fitting that the Son of God should make atonement. God was not,

however, shut up to this method. He can forgive sin as He pleases.

Thomas takes up all the main data of Christ's life, from the conception

to the crucifixion. Justification is not a progressive process, but a

single instantaneous act. [1523] s grace.

Scarcely any teaching of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas arouses so much

revolt in the Christian theology of this age as the teaching about the

future estate of unbaptized children dying in infancy. These

theologians agree in denying to them all hope of future bliss. They are

detained in hell for the sin of Adam, being in no wise bound to Christ

in His passion and death by the exercise of faith and love, as the

baptized and the patriarchs of the Old Testament are. The sacrament of

faith, that is, baptism, not being applied to them, they are forever

lost. Baptism liberates from original sin, and without baptism there is

no salvation. [1524]

The doctrine of the sacraments, as expounded by Thomas, is, in all

particulars, the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Christ won grace. The

Church imparts it. The sacraments are visible signs of invisible

things, as Augustine defined them. The number is seven, corresponding

to the seven cardinal virtues and the seven mortal sins. They are

remedies for sin, and make for the perfecting of man in righteousness.

[1525] nceivable question pertaining to the sacraments is taken up by

Thomas and solved. The treatment of baptism and the eucharist occupies

no less than two hundred and fifty pages of Migne's edition, IV.

600-852.

Baptism, the original form of which was immersion, cleanses from

original sin and incorporates into the body of Christ. Children of Jews

and infidels are not to be baptized without the consent of their

parents. [1526] ified body of the Redeemer is wholly present

essentially, but not quantitatively. The words of Christ, "This is my

body" are susceptible of only one interpretation--the change of the

elements into the veritable body and blood of Christ. The substance of

the bread undergoes change. The dimensions of the bread, and its other

accidents, remain. The whole body is in the bread, as the whole body is

also in the wine. [1527]

Penance is efficacious to the removing of guilt incurred after baptism.

Indulgences have efficacy for the dead as well as the living. Their

dispensation belongs primarily to the pope, as the head of the Church.

The fund of merit is the product chiefly of the superabounding merit of

Christ, but also of the supererogatory works of the saints. [1528]

In regard to the Last Things, the fire of hell will be physical. The

blessed will be able to contemplate the woes of the lost without

sorrow, and are led, as Albertus had said, by the sight of these woes

to praise God supremely for their own redemption. Their beatitude is

not increased by this vision. The body of the resurrection will be the

same, even to the bowels. [1529]

In his consideration of ethics, Thomas Aquinas rises far above the

other mediaeval writers, and marks an epoch in the treatment of the

subject. He devotes to it nearly two hundred questions, or one-third of

his entire system of theology. Here his references to the "philosopher"

are very frequent. [1530] [1531] o give an example, he discusses the

question of drunkenness, and, with Aristotle, decides that it is no

excuse for crime. [1532] tions, whether a "man should love his child

more than his father," or "his mother more than his father."

Thomas opens his ethical treatment with a discussion of the highest

good, that is, blessedness,--beatitudo,--which does not consist in

riches, honor, fame, power, or pleasure. [1533] rst again, John 4:13.

Blessedness consists in nothing else than the vision of God as He is in

Himself. [1534]

The virtues are the three religious virtues infused by God,--faith,

hope, and love; and the four philosophical or cardinal

virtues,--prudence, righteousness, endurance, and continence. These are

treated at great length. [1535] sion. In committing the same sins as

laymen do, clerics sin more grievously. "Ought they to live of alms?"

This and a multitude of other questions of the same kind are handled

with all gravity and metaphysical precision. The essence of Christian

perfection is love. [1536]

In his theory of Church and State also Thomas did not rise above his

age. [1537] are laid down in his Summa, and in three other writings, on

the Rule of Princes, [1538] ll as for his material well-being in this

life. He shows no concern for the separate European states and

nationalities. [1539] an's physical nature. Christian kings owe him

subjection, as they owe subjection to Christ himself, for the pope is

Peter's successor and the vicar of Christ. [1540]

As for the Church itself, Rome is the mistress and mother of all

churches. To obey her is to obey Christ. This is according to the

decision of the holy councils and the holy Fathers. [1541] [1542] s to

determine what is of faith. Yea, subjection to him is necessary to

salvation. [1543]

In his declarations about heresy and its treatment, Thomas materially

assisted in making the persecution of heretics unto death the settled

policy of the Church and the State. At any rate he cleared away all

objections as far as it was possible to clear them away. Heresy, as has

already been said, he taught, is a crime to be punished like

coin-clipping. No one may be compelled to enter the Church, but once

having entered it and turned heretic, he must, if necessary, be forced

by violent measures to obey the faith--haeretici sunt compellendi ut

fidem teneant. It will thus be seen from this survey, which is

supplemented in the chapters on the sacraments, the future state and

Mariology, that the theology of the Angelic doctor and the theology of

the Roman Catholic Church are identical in all particulars except the

immaculate conception. He who understands Thomas understands the

mediaeval theology at its best and will be in possession of the

doctrinal system of the Roman Church.

Thomas Aquinas was elevated by the Dominican order to the position of

authoritative teacher in 1286. His scholars were numerous, but his

theology was not universally accepted.

Some of his statements were condemned by the University of Paris as

early as 1277, and about 1285 William of Ware, [1544] ranciscan Duns

Scotus, the differences between him and Thomas were emphasized, and

involved the two orders in controversy for centuries. No less than

eighty-six theological differences between these two teachers were

tabulated. [1545]

The theology of Thomas Aquinas controlled Dante. The first printed

commentary on the Summa was written by Cardinal Cajetan, Venice,

1507-1522. The Thomists lost by the decree of the immaculate conception

of Mary, 1854. That doctrine had been the chief bone of contention

between them and the Franciscans. The decision of Leo XIII., making

Thomas' theology and philosophy the standard for all Catholic teaching,

has again, as it were, equalized matters.

The Protestant Reformers, in their indignation against the Scholastic

theology, could not do justice to Thomas Aquinas. Luther went so far as

to call his Summa the quintessence of all heresies, meaning papal

doctrines. He spoke of him as "the fountain and original soup of all

heresy, error, and Gospel havoc, as his books bear witness." [1546]

"You are much to be condemned," Luther said to Prierias. "for daring to

obtrude upon us, as articles of faith, the opinions of that sainted

man, Thomas, and his frequent false conclusions." On one occasion, he

compared Thomas to the star of the book of Revelation which fell from

heaven, the empty speculations of Aristotle to the smoke of the

bottomless pit, the universities to the locusts, and Aristotle himself

to his master Apollyon. [1547]

Such polemic extravagances have long since yielded to a more just,

historical estimate of this extraordinary man. Thomas merits our

admiration by his candor and clearness as a systematic theologian, and

by his sincerity and purity as an ethical thinker. In the great

fundamentals of the Christian system he was scriptural and truly

catholic. His errors were the errors of his age above which he was not

able to rise, as three centuries later the clear and logical Protestant

theologian, John Calvin, was not able in some important particulars to

rise above the beliefs current in his time, and that in spite of his

diligent study of the Scriptures and wide acquaintance with their

teachings.

The papal estimate, as given expression to in the encyclicals of Leo

XIII., is a practical denial of any progress in theology since the

thirteenth century, and in effect ignores the scientific discoveries of

ages. From the standpoint of an unalterable Catholic orthodoxy, Leo

made no mistake in fixing upon Thomas Aquinas as the model expounder of

Christian doctrine. Protestants differ, regarding no theologian since

the Apostles as infallible. They have no expectation that the

Schoolman's argumentation will settle the theological and religious

unrest of these modern days, which grows out of biblical theories and

scientific and religious studies of which that great teacher never

dreamed, and worldwide problems which never entered into his mind.

The present age is not at all concerned with many of the curious

questions which Thomas and the other Schoolmen proposed. Each studious

age has its own problems to settle and its own phases of religious

doubt to adjust its fundamental teaching to. The mediaeval systems can

no more be expected to meet the present demands of theological

controversy than the artillery used on the battlefield of Cr�cy can

meet the demands of modern warfare. [1548] th Leo XIII., the wise pope,

and Thomas Aquinas, the clear-eyed Schoolman, occupy a high place as

members of the company of the eminent Churchmen of all ages; but this

is not because they were free from mistakes to which our fallible human

nature makes us subject, but because in the essential matters of the

Christian life they were expounders of the Gospel.

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[1496] Encyclical, Aug. 4, 1879. See text in Mirbt, pp. 391 sqq. Thomas

is praised as "inter scholasticos doctores omnium princeps et magister

... ingeniodocilis et acer, memoriae facilis et tenax, vitae

integerrimus, veritatis, unice amator, divina humanaque scientia

praedives." The preface to the papal edition attacks the Lutheriana

pestis and the Lutherianum virus, which are to be counteracted by the

works of Thomas in cujus limpidissima et angelica mente veritas

divinitus nobis patefacta. See Schaff, Thos. Aq. and Leo. XIII., p.

179.

[1497] William of Thoco, ipse talem dabit in doctrina mugitum quod in

toto mundo sonabit.

[1498] This title was given to the work after Thomas'death. Thomas, in

his dedication to Urban IV., calls it exposito continua. The Catena is

so contrived that it reads like a running commentary, the several

extracts being dovetailed together. The compiler introduced nothing of

his own but connecting particles. See Preface to Oxford ed., p. iv.

[1499] Summa de veritate Catholicae fidei contra Gentiles. The first

three books include the arguments from reason, the fourth the argument

from revelation.

[1500] Contra errores Graecorum andde unitate intellectus contra

Averrhoistas.

[1501] See Koch, Kirchenlied, I. 137; Wackernagel, Kirchenlied, I. 143

sqq.; Werner, I. 791 sqq.

[1502] Eicken, D. Philosophie d. Th. von Aq., p. 4, says, er g�hort

nicht so wohl zu den schaffenden als zu den ordnenden Geistern. "He

belongs not so much to the originating as to the organizing minds." He

repeats this judgment in his Thomas von Aquino und Kant, p. 27. He who

would charge the Middle Ages with confused and abstruse deductions must

look for examples elsewhere than in Thomas.

[1503] Following Sighart, Life of Albertus Magnus, and Landerer, in

art. Albertus in Herzog, 2d ed. XV. 575, St�ckl says, II. 421, 734,

that "Thomas stands wholly upon Albert's shoulders. Thomas finished

what Albert began." Thomas received a strong impulse from Albert, but

he went out especially in the departments of ethics and apologetics

into regions not fully explored by his great teacher.

[1504] Multiplicatio inutilium quaestionum, articulorum et

argumentorum. Prologue.

[1505] De Dei simplicitate, I. q. 3; Migne, I. 626 sqq.

[1506] Summa, I. 32, 1; Migne, I. 888, I. 1, 1; Migne, I. 607.

[1507] Summa, I. 1, 8; Migne, I. 615.

[1508] Tum propter certitudinem tum propter dignitatem materiae. Summa,

I. 1, 5; Migne, I. 610.

[1509] Seine Darstellung will gar nichts anders sein als das

wissenschaftliche Bewusstsein der kirchlichen Lehre. Baur, p. 354.

[1510] Non eodem ordine utraque doctrina procedit, etc. See Werner, II.

151, and his quotation from the contra Gentiles.

[1511] See K�stlin, Beweise f�rs Dasein Gottes, in Studien u. Kritiken,

1876, pp. 10 sqq.

[1512] Sicut sagitta a sagittante. Summa, I. 2, 3; Migne. I. 622 sqq.

[1513] Mundum incepisse est credibile, non autem demonstratibile vel

scibile. Summa, I. 46; Migne, I. 1008.

[1514] Ideo scriptores locorum de hoc loco mentionem non fecerunt.

Summa, I. 102, 1; Migne, I. 1433.

[1515] Summa, I. 103, 7; Migne, I. 1446. Comp. Werner, II. 396 sqq.,

for the passages from contra Gentiles.

[1516] In locum angelorum cadentium substituti sunt homines. Summa, I.

23, 6; Migne, I. 828.

[1517] Summa, I. 2, q. 72, 5; Migne, II. 633 sq. Thomas replies that in

this case original sin would not have passed down to Adam's posterity,

for according to philosophers, the active principle in generation is

the father. But if Adam had sinned and Eve had not sinned, original sin

would have passed down to Adam's descendants.

[1518] Haereticum est dicere quod anima intellectiva traducatur cum

semine. Summa, I. 118, 2; Migne, I. 1556.

[1519] Superadditio gratiae. Summa, I. 95, 1; Migne, I. 1405 sq. Comp.

Loofs, Dogmengesch., pp. 292-295.

[1520] Ad diligendum Deum naturaliter super omnia. Migne, II. 909.

[1521] Migne. II. 603.

[1522] Summa, III. Prologus; Migne, IV. 10.

[1523] Justificatio impii non est successiva. Summa, I. 2, q. 113, 7

sqq. Migne, II. 955. Justification is defined as "an infusion of grace

whereby the freewill is moved and guilt is pardoned."

[1524] Per baptismum pueri liberantur a peccato originali et ab

inferno. Summa, III. 57, 7; Migne, IV. 485, 486.

[1525] Summa, III. 65, 1; Migne, IV. 595. See Werner, II. 676-699.

[1526] Summa, II. (2), 10, 12; Migne, III. 101 sqq.

[1527] Totus Christus sub utraque specie. Summa, III. 76, 2; Migne, IV.

734.

[1528] Praecipue propter meritum Christi, etc. Supplem., XXV. 1; Migne,

IV. 1014.

[1529] Summa III. 94; Migne, IV. 1343 sqq. See Werner, II. 712.

[1530] Not infrequently are there two or three references to Aristotle

on a single page, e.g. I. (2), 2, 2; I. (2), 4, 2, Migne, II. 22, 46.

[1531] Baur, pp. 429 sqq., pronounces Thomas'method descriptive rather

than consequential. The system is not developed from fundamental

principles.

[1532] Summa, II. (2), 150, 4; Migne, III. 1051.

[1533] Summa I. (2), 2, 1 sqq.; Migne, II. 19-37.

[1534] In visione divinae essentiae. Migne, II. 43.

[1535] No less than forty-six questions are devoted to the religious

virtues, Migne, III. 9-375 and one hundred and twenty-four to the

philosophical, Migne, III. 375-1194.

[1536] Per se et essentialiter consistit perfectio christianae vitae in

charitate. Summa, II. (2), 84, 3; Migne, III. 1295.

[1537] See Werner, I. 760 sqq., 794 sqq. K�stlin, art. Staat und

Kirche, Herzog Enc., 2d ed., XIV. 629 sqq. Reusch, Die F�lschungen,

etc.

[1538] De regimine principum ad regem Cypri. Two of the four books of

this famous work are certainly genuine. The last two books are probably

by Thomas'disciple, Ptolemy of Lucca. Poole has some judicious remarks

on this work, Illustr. of Med. Thought, pp. 240-266.

[1539] Eicken, D. Philosophie d. Thomas, etc., p. 38.

[1540] successor Petri, Christi vicarius Romanus Pontifex cui omnes

reges populi Christiani oportet esse subdito sicut ipsi domino Jesu

Christo. De reg. principum, I. 14.

[1541] Romanae ecclesiae magistrae et matris omnium ecclesiarum cui

obediendum est tanquam Domino Deo Jesu, etc. Contra errores Graecorum,

Reusch's ed., p. 9. Also Mirbt, Quellen, pp. 143 sq. This work contains

a discussion of four points: the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the

primacy of the pope, the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and

purgatory. It was written at the time when the reunion of the Greeks

and Latins was the subject of negotiations. In the preparation of this

treatise, Thomas used a work put into his hands by Urban IV., once

patriarch of Jerusalem. Thomas refers to it as libellum ab excellentia

vestra mihi exhibitum sanctissime Pater Urbane Papa diligenter perlegi.

It is full of citations from Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria,

Chrysostom, and other Fathers, as Reusch, following Launoy, learnedly

shows. Thomas accepts the quotations without a question as genuine. The

tract has never been published in full. It was known to the abbot

Uccelli from a MS. in the Vatican, and parts of it bearing on the

papacy were issued by his hand, 1870. Reusch prints a portion of the

Vatican MS., and also a part of the unpublished MS., the Thesaurus

veritatis fidei by the Dominican Bonacursius, who wrote later than

Thomas, and drew from the same source as Thomas did. The Dominicans

were specially active in urging the extravagant claims of the papacy as

against the Greek patriarch.

[1542] Cum tota ecclesia sit unum corpus, oportet si ista unitas debet

conservari, quod sit aliqua potestas regitiva respectu totius ecclesiae

supra potestatem episcopalem, qua uniquaeque specialis ecclesia

regitur, et haec est potestas papae. Summa, Supplem., 40, 7; Migne, IV.

1075.

[1543] Quod subesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis. contra

errores Graecorum. D�llinger, in Das Papstthum, says that "Thomas was

the first theologian to discuss the theory of papal infallibility as an

integral part of systematic theology." Leitner, pp. 10-14, etc. denies

this. See Chapter XV.

[1544] A number of MSS. left by Ware are preserved in Oxford.

[1545] In the controversiae theol. inter Thomam et Scotum, by De Rada,

the Franciscan bishop of Trani, Cologne, 1620. Werner devotes the whole

third volume of his Life of Thomas, filling 876 pages, to the

posthumous influence of Thomas. It takes up the teaching of his pupils,

the conflicts with the Franciscans and Jesuits, etc., and brings in the

names of Des Cartes, Leibnitz, Malbranche, Schelling, etc. See also

art. Thomismus und Scotismus in Wetzer-Welte, XI. 1699-1710.

[1546] Thomas war der Brunn und Grundsuppe aller Ketzerei, Irrthumb

undVertilgung des Evangelium wie seine B�cher beweisen. Erl. ed., 24.

240.

[1547] K�stlin, Leben M. Luthers, I. 431.

[1548] In the tract, Thomas von Aquino und Kant, Eicken contrasts

Thomas and Kant as the representatives of two antagonistic types of

thinking and study, the mediaeval and modern, that which is mechanical

and bound by external authority, and that in which the individual, the

subjective, have their proper place as the determining principles. Kant

is the creator of ideas, the thinker; Thomas, the compiler and

systematizer of ideas previously announced.

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� 109. Bonaventura.

Literature: Works. --edd. Strassburg, 1482; N�rnberg 1499, 4 vols.;

Rome, 1588-1596, 8 vols. Lyons, 1668, 7 vols. Venice, 1751, 13 vols.;

Paris, A. C. Peltier, ed., 1864-1871, 15 vols., and Quaracchi,

1882-1902, prepared by the Franciscans. --B. Bonelli: Prodromus ad

omnia opp. S. Bon., Bassani, 1767. --W. A. Hollenberg: Studien zum

Bon., Berlin, 1862.--A. M. da Vicenza: D. heil. Bon., Germ. trans. from

the Italian, Paderborn, 1874.--J. Richard: Etude sur le mysticisme

speculatif de S. Bon., Heidelberg, 1869.--A trans. of the Meditations

of Bon. on the Life of Christ by W. H. Hutchings, London, 1881.--A.

Margerie: Essai sur la Phil. de S. Bon., Paris, 1855.--J. Krause: Lehre

d. heil. Bon. �ber die Natur der geistl. und k�rperl. Wesen, Paderborn,

1888.--L. de Ch�ranc�: S. Bonaventure, Paris, 1899.--St�ckl, II.

880-915.--The Doctrinal Histories of Schwane, etc.--Preger: Deutsche

Mystik, I. 51-43. For other Lit. see Potthast, II. 1216.

Contemporary with Thomas Aquinas, even to dying the same year, was John

Bonaventura. Thomas we think of only as theologian. Bonaventura was

both a theologian and a distinguished administrator of the affairs of

his order, the Franciscans. The one we think of as precise in his

statements, the other as poetical in his imagery. Bonaventura

1221-1274, called the Seraphic doctor,--doctor seraphicus,--was born in

Tuscany. The change from his original name, John Fidanza, was due to

his recovery from a sickness at the age of four, in answer to the

intercession of Francis d'Assisi. When the child began to show signs of

recovery, his mother exclaimed, O buon ventura, good fortune! This is

the saint's own story. [1549]

The boy entered the Franciscan order, 1238. After having spent three

years in Paris under Alexander of Hales, the teacher is reported to

have said, "in brother Bonaventura Adam seems not to have sinned." He

taught in Paris, following John of Parma, on John's promotion to the

office of general of the order of the Franciscans, 1247. He lived

through the conflict between the university and the mendicant orders,

and in answer to William de St. Amour's tract, de periculis

novissimorum temporum, attacking the principle of mendicancy,

Bonaventura wrote his tract on the Poverty of Christ. [1550]

In 1257, he was chosen head of the Franciscan order in succession to

John of Parma. He took a middle position between the two parties which

were contending in the Franciscan body and has been called the second

founder of the order. By the instruction of the first Franciscan

general council at Narbonne, 1260, he wrote the Legenda S. Francisi,

the authoritative Franciscan Life of the saint. [1551] caped being

closely identified with English Church history, by declining the see of

York, 1265. In 1273 he was made cardinal-bishop of Albano. To him was

committed a share in the preparations for the council of Lyons, but he

died soon after the opening of the council, July 14, 1274. The

sacrament of extreme unction was administered by the pope and the

funeral took place in the presence of the solemn assembly of

dignitaries gathered from all parts of Christendom. He was buried at

Lyons. [1552] in 1482 and declared a "doctor of the church," 1587.

Gerson wrote a special panegyric of Bonaventura and said that he was

the most profitable of the doctors, safe and reliable in teaching,

pious and devout. He did not minister to curiosity nor mix up secular

dialectics and physics with theological discussion. [1553]

"who with pure interest

Preferred each heavenly to each earthly aim." [1554]

These two distinguished men will always be brought into companionship.

[1555] St�ckl, the historian of mediaeval theology, calls them the

illuminating stars on the horizon of the thirteenth century. [1556] e

and are the most illustrious names of their respective orders, after

Francis and Dominic themselves. Thomas had the keener mind, excelling

in power of analysis. Bonaventura indulged the habit of elaboration.

The ethical element was conspicuous in Thomas, the mystical in

Bonaventura. Thomas was the more authoritative teacher, Bonaventura the

more versatile writer. Both were equally champions of the theology and

organization of the mediaeval Church.

Bonaventura enjoyed a wide fame as a preacher. [1557] also a poet, and

has left the most glowing panegyric of Mary in the form of psalms as

well as in prose.

Of his theological writings the most notable is his Commentary on the

Sentences of the Lombard. [1558] ance. The Breviloquium, [1559] es a

panegyric of the Scriptures and states the author's views of Scriptural

interpretation. Like all the Schoolmen, Bonaventura had a wide

acquaintance with Scripture and shows an equipoise of judgment which

usually keeps him from extravagance in doctrinal statement. However, he

did not rise above his age and he revelled in interrogations about the

angels, good and evil, which seem to us to be utterly trivial and have

no bearing on practical religion. He set himself to answer more than

one hundred of these, and in Peltier's edition, his angelology and

demonology occupy more than two hundred pages of two columns each.

[1560] n several places at the same time? can several angels be at the

same time in the same place? [1561] reknowledge of contingent events?

[1562] or the woman.

Bonaventura differs from Thomas in giving proof that the world is not

eternal. The mark of a foot, which represents created matter, is not of

the same duration as the foot itself, for the mark was made at some

time by the foot. And, following Plato as against Aristotle, he

declared that matter not only in its present form but also in its

essence is not eternal. The world is not thinkable without man, for it

has all the marks of a habitation fitted up for a human being. Christ

would not have become incarnate without sin.

In the doctrine of the immaculate conception, Bonaventura agreed with

Thomas in denying to Mary freedom from original sin and disagreed with

his fellow Franciscan, Duns Scotus, whose teaching has become dogma in

the Roman Catholic communion.

It is as a mystic and as the author of the life of St. Francis, rather

than as a dogmatician that Bonaventura has a characteristic place among

the Schoolmen. [1563] [1564] d did not advance beyond them. His

mysticism has its finest statement in his Journey of the Mind to God.

[1565] ut earnest prayer, pure meditation, and a holy life. Devout

prayer is the mother and beginning of the upward movement towards God.

Contemplation leads us first outside ourselves to behold the works of

God in the visible world. It then brings us back to consider God's

image in ourselves arid at last we rise above ourselves to behold the

divine being as He is in Himself. [1566] he Trinity and God's absolute

goodness.

Beyond these six steps is the state of rapture, the ecstatic vision, as

the Sabbath day of rest followed the six days of labor. The doorway to

this mystical life is Christ. The experience, which the soul shall have

hereafter, is an ocean of beatific ecstasy. No one can know it but the

one who receives it; he only receive it who desires it; be only desire

it who is inflamed by the baptizing fire of the Holy Spirit. It is a

grace not a doctrine, a desire not a concept, a habit of prayer not a

studious task, a bride not a teacher. It is of God not of man, a flame

of ardent love, transferring us into the presence and being of God.

[1567] nd expression in devout hymns.

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[1549] Prologue to his Life of St. Francis.

[1550] De paupertate Christi. Peltier's ed., XIV. 364-409. A few years

later he presented the subject more at length in his Apologia pauperum.

Peltier's ed., XIV. 410-520.

[1551] Sabatier, Vie de S. Fran�ois, lxxi.-lxxxviii., compares

Bonaventura's life to the figures of saints exposed for sale on a

dealer's shelves, all having a downcast, pious, but unreal look. The

biography is given by Peltier, XIV. 293-363.

[1552] His body, it seems, was burnt by the Calvinists in 1562. Only

the head was saved. The right arm had before been removed to

Bonaventura's birthplace. See Hergenr�ther. Kirchengesch., II. 529;

Wetzer-Welte, II. 1022.

[1553] Quae veritatis sunt credenda de necessitate salutis. Du Pin's

ed. of Gerson's Works, 1728, I. 21. See also Gerson's Epistola in

lauden S. Bonaventurae Du Pin's ed., I. 117.

[1554] Paradiso XII. 127.

[1555] Sixtus V. in his encyclical admitting Bonaventura into the

company of the Doctors of the Church places them side by side and

brings out their distinguishing characteristics. He calls them

potissimum gloriosi doctores --"those most illustrious teachers.

[1556] Sie sind die beiden leuchtenden Sterne am Horizont des 13ten

Jahrhunderts. St�ckl, II. 882.

[1557] Peltier gives his sermons in vol. XIII. For his works on Mary,

see section 130.

[1558] A number of the works once ascribed to Bonaventura are regarded

as ungenuine, e.g. de six alis cherubim, de septem itineribus

aeternitatis, etc. The Venetian ed. of 1751 and Bonelli discuss the

authorship of the many writings associated with Bonaventura's name.

[1559] Peltier's ed., VII. 240-343. Funk, Kirchengesch., p. 364. An ed.

was published by Hefele, 3d ed., T�bingen, 1861, and also Vicenza, 2d

ed. Freiburg, 1881. Sixtus V. said of Bonaventura's theology that

"nothing more fruitful for the Church of God" had appeared, Encyclical

in Peltier's ed., I p. viii.

[1560] II. 296-520.

[1561] Peltier's ed., II. 298sqq. The arguments given for an

affirmative answer to this question are that the angels are in a place

not after a "bodily but spiritual fashion." Theyarespiritual lights, as

the Areopagite said, and consequently are independent of space, etc.

Bonaventura, however, answers the question in the negative.

[1562] Peltier's ed., II. 415 sqq. Bonaventura answers that

foreknowledge belongs to God alone, but that by reason of their

intellectual acuteness and long experience the demons are sometimes

able to accurately predict contingent events.

[1563] St�ckl, II. 880, says, Bonav. ist vorzugsweise Mystiker, and

expresses the opinion that the mysticism of the Middle Ages reached its

highest point in him.

[1564] e.g. Cogitatio, meditatio, contemplatio, ascendere, etc.

[1565] Itinerarium mentis in Deum. Peltier's ed., XII. 1-22. His

Meditations on the Life of Jesus, his commentaries on Ecclesiastes, the

Book of Wisdom, and John and Luke belong to this class. The mystical

element is also strong in the Breviloquium and the Centiloquium. Other

mystical writings ascribed to Bonaventura, such as Incendium amoris, de

septem verbis domini, etc., are disputed.

[1566] These three activities constitute the theologia symbolical

theol. propria, and theol. mystica.

[1567] Itin., 7.

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� 110. Duns Scotus.

Literature: Works.--Complete ed. by Luke Wadding, 12 vols., Lyons,

1639, with a Life by Wadding, and the glosses of Hugh MacCaghwell (Hugo

Cavellus, d. 1626), abp. of Armagh, Maurice O'Fihely, abp. of Tuam,

etc. \*New ed., 26 vols., Paris, 1891-1895, with some changes.--The Opus

Oxoniense, Vienna, 1481, ed. by MacCaghwell together with the Reportata

Parisiensia and Quaestiones Quodlibetales and a Life, Antwerp,

1620.--The Quaestiones Quodlibet., Venice, 1474, 1505, Paris,

1513.--The Logical Treatises were publ. at Barcelona, 1475, Venice,

1491-1493, and ed. by O'Fihely, 1504.--Duns' system was expounded by

Angelo Vulpi in Sacr. theol. Summa Joan. Scoti, 12 vols., Naples,

1622-1640. For biogr. and analytic works publ. before 1800, see Rigg in

Dict. Of Natl. Biog. XVI. 216 sqq.--Baumgarten-Crusius: De theol.

Scoti, Jena, 1826.--Schneid: D. K�rperlehre des J. Duns Sc. und ihr

Verh�ltniss zum Thomismus und Atomismus, Mainz, 1879.--\*C. Werner: J.

Duns Sc., Vienna, 1881, also S. Thomas von Aquino, III, 3-101.--Kahl:

D. Primat des Willens bei Augustinus, Duns Sc. und Des Cartes,

Strassb., 1886.--\*R. Seeberg: D. Theologie des J. Duns Sc., Leip.,

1900; also his art. in Herzog, 3d ed. and his Dogmengesch., II. 129

sqq.--Renan: art. Scotus, in Hist. Lit. de France, vol.

XXV.--\*D�llinger: art. in Wetzer-Welte, X. 2123-2133.--J. M. Rigg: in

Dict. Natl. Biog., XVI. 216-220.--\*Schwane: Dogmengesch., pp. 74-76,

etc.--Harnack: Dogmengesch., III. 459 sqq.--\*A. Ritschl: Rechtfertigung

und Vers�hnung, I. 58-86; Gesch. des Pietismus, I. 470.--P. Minges: Ist

Duns Scotus Indeterminist? M�nster, 1905, p. 139.--The Histt. of

Philos.

The last of the scholastic thinkers of the first rank and the most

daring of mediaeval logicians is John Duns Scotus. With his death the

disintegration of scholastic theology begins. This remarkable man, one

of the intellectual prodigies of the race, may have been under forty

years of age when death overtook him. His dialectic genius and

ingenuity won for him the title of the Subtle doctor, doctor subtilis.

His intellectual independence is shown in the freedom with which he

subjected his predecessors to his searching and often sophistical

criticisms. Anselm, the St. Victors, Albert the Great, Bonaventura,

Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and other Schoolmen he does not

hesitate to mention by name and to assail their views. The discussions

of Thomas Aquinas are frequently made the subject of his attack. Duns

became the chief theological ornament of the Franciscan order and his

theology was defended by a distinct school, which took his name, the

Scotists. This school and the Thomists, who followed the teachings of

Thomas Aquinas, are the leading schools of theology produced in the

Middle Ages and came into violent controversy.

Duns' mind was critical rather than constructive. The abstruseness of

his style offers difficulties almost insuperable to the comprehension

of the modern student. [1568] complete system. [1569] n, and his use of

the arguments from silence and probability, undermined confidence in

the infallibility of the Church and opened the way for the disrepute

into which scholasticism fell. Duns denied that the being of God and

other dogmas can be proved by the reason, and he based their acceptance

solely upon the authority of the Church. The analytic precision, as

well as lucid statement of Thomas and Peter the Lombard, are wanting in

the Subtle doctor, and the mystical element, so perceptible in the

writings of Anselm, Thomas, and Bonaventura, gives way to a purely

speculative interest.

What a contrast Duns presents to the founder of his order, Francis

d'Assisi, the man of simple faith and creed, and popular speech and

ministries! Of all the Schoolmen, Duns wandered most in the labyrinth

of metaphysical subtleties, and none of them is so much responsible as

he for the current opinion that mediaeval theology and fanciful

speculation are interchangeable terms. His reputation for specious

ratiocination has given to the language the term, "dunce." [1570]

Of his personal history scarcely anything is known, and his extensive

writings furnish not a single clew. Even the time and place of his

entering the Franciscan order cannot be made out with certainty. The

only fixed date in his career is the date which brought it to a close.

He died at Cologne, Nov. 8, 1308. The date of his birth is placed

between 1265-1274. [1571]

England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honor of being

the Schoolman's native land, with the probability in favor of England.

Irishmen since the fifteenth century have argued for Dun, or Down, in

Ulster. Scotchmen plead for Dunse in Berwickshire, while writers,

unaffected by patriotic considerations, for the most part agree upon

Dunstane in Northumberland. [1572] by the general of his order to

Cologne, where he died soon after. The story ran that he was buried

alive. [1573] s inscription:--

Scotia gave me birth, England nursed me,

Gaul educated me, Cologne holds my ashes. [1574]

Among the stories told of Duns Scotus is the following, behind which

more wisdom hides than is found in whole chapters of his labored

discussions. On one occasion he stopped to speak to an English farmer

on the subject of religion. The farmer, who was engaged in sowing,

turned and said: "Why do you speak to me? If God has foreknowledge that

I will be saved, I will be saved whether I do good or ill." Duns

replied: Then, if God has foreknowledge that grain will grow out of

this soil, it will grow whether you sow or withhold your hand. You may

as well save yourself the labor you are at."

The works of Duns Scotus include commentaries on Aristotle, an extended

commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard, called the Opus oxoniense,

his theological lectures delivered at Paris, known as the Reportata

parisiensia [1575] ems. A commentary on Genesis and one on the Gospels,

sermons and other writings of doubtful or denied authenticity are

ascribed to Duns. [1576]

In philosophy Duns was a moderate realist. The universals are not

intellectual fictions, fictiones intellectus. Our ideas presuppose

their reality. [1577] ferentiation from something else but by its own

real essence, or quidditas. A stone is an individual by reason of

something positive, intrinsic within itself. The individual is the

final form of being, ultima realitas entis.

Theology is a practical science and its chief value is in furnishing to

the will the materials of faith to lighten it on the path of virtuous

action.

The Scriptures contain what is to be believed, but the authority of the

Church establishes what these truths are. Articles of faith are to be

accepted, not because they are demonstrable by reason. Reason is

unreliable or, at best, obscure and many truths it cannot prove, such

as the soul's immortality, the unity of God, and transubstantiation. A

doctrine such as the descent into hell, which is not found in the

Scriptures is, nevertheless, to be accepted because it is found in the

Apostles' Creed. Other truths the Church possesses which are not found

in the Scriptures. Our belief in the Scriptures rests ultimately on the

authority of the Church. [1578] he will of God, and to submit to the

will of God is the highest goal the human will can reach. Here he

differs widely from Thomas Aquinas, who places God's intelligence above

His will. The sufficient explanation of God's action is His absolute

will. [1579] d is good because God wills to be so. The will of God

might have made what is now bad good, had God so chosen. He can do all

things except what is logically absurd. [1580] ange an event which has

already happened.

The will of God determines the salvation of men. The predestination of

the elect is an act purely of God's determination. The non-elect are

reprobated in view of their foreseen demerit. On the other hand, Duns

seems to hold fast to the doctrine that the elect merit the eternal

reward by good works. Without attempting to exhaust the apparent

contradiction between divine foreordination and human responsibility,

he confesses the mystery attaching to the subject. [1581]

Sin is not infinite, for it is connected with finite beings. Original

righteousness was a superadded gift, forfeited through the first sin.

Eve's sin was greater than Adam's, for Adam shrank from offending

Eve--Eve sought to be equal with God. Man's freedom consists in his

ability to choose the contrary. Original sin consists in the loss of

original righteousness which Adam owed to God. [1582] f moral

inability, the servum arbitrium. It belongs to the very nature of the

will to be free. This freedom, however, the will can lose by repeated

volitions. Sin is inherent in the will alone, and concupiscence is only

an inclination of the will to desire objects of pleasure immoderately.

[1583]

The ultimate questions why God permitted evil, and how He could

foreknow evil would occur without also predetermining it, find their

solution only in God's absolute will. God willed, and that must suffice

for the reason.

The infinite value of the atonement likewise finds its explanation in

the absolute will of God. Christ died as a man, and for that reason his

merit of itself was not infinite. An angel, or a man, free from

original sin, might have made efficient atonement if God had so willed.

Nothing in the guilt of sin made it necessary for the Son of God to

die. God determined to accept Christ's obedience and, in view of it, to

impart grace to the sinner. Duns follows closely Anselm's theory, whose

principles he carefully states. [1584]

In his treatment of transubstantiation, Duns vigorously attacked the

view of Thomas Aquinas as a transition of the body of Christ into the

bread. He argued that if there were such transition, then at

celebrations of the eucharist during the three days of Christ's burial

the elements would have been changed into his dead body. To avoid this

difficulty he enunciated the theory that the body of Christ, as of

every man, has more than one form, that is, in addition to the rational

soul, a forma mixti sive corporeitatis, which is joined to matter and

constitutes it a human body. Into this corporal form of Christ,

corporeitas, the elements are transmuted and this form remained with

Christ's corpse in the grave. Duns declared that the doctrine of

transubstantiation cannot be proved with certainty from the Scriptures,

nor at all by the reason. He then argued that it is more probable than

any other theory because the Church has accepted it, and the dogma is

most in keeping with God's omnipotence. The dogma must be accepted on

the authority of the Church. [1585]

The doctrine upon whose development the Subtle doctor had altogether

the most influence is the doctrine of the immaculate conception, which

he taught in the form in which it was proclaimed a dogma, by Pius IX.,

1854. Departing from the statements of Anselm, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas,

and Bonaventura, Duns taught that Mary was conceived without sin. His

theory is presented at length in the chapter on the Virgin Mary. The

story ran that, in championing this theory, at a public disputation at

Paris, he controverted Thomas' position with no less than two hundred

arguments. [1586] and this controversy belongs to the number of the

more bitter controversies that have been carried on within the Roman

Catholic communion. It was a contest, however, not between orthodoxy

and heterodoxy, but between two eminent teachers equally in good

standing, and between the two orders they represented.

D�llinger expressed the opinion that the controversy was turned into a

blessing for theology by keeping it from "stagnation and petrifaction,"

and into a blessing for the Church, which took under its protection

both systems and kept each from arrogating to itself the right of final

authority.

The common view in regard to the place of Duns Scotus in the history of

doctrine is that he was a disturber of the peace. Without adding any

element of permanent value to theological thought, he shook to its base

the scholastic structure upon which Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and other

theologians had wrought for nearly two centuries. The opinion will, no

doubt, continue to prevail that Duns was a master in intellectual

ingenuity, but that his judgment was unsound. [1587] t, but the head of

a new period of development and worthy of equal honor with Thomas

Aquinas. Yea, he ascribes to him a more profound and extensive

influence upon theology than Thomas exerted. He broke a new path, and

"was a historical figure of epoch-making importance." [1588]

By his speculative piquancy, on the one hand, Duns strengthened the

desire of certain groups in Europe for a saner method of theological

discussion; and on the other hand stimulated pious minds along the

Rhine to search along a better way after personal piety, as did Tauler

and the German mystics. The succeeding generation of Schoolmen was

brought by him as their leader into a disputatious attitude. What else

could be expected when Duns, contrary to the fundamental principles of

Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and other divines, did not shrink from

declaring a thing might at the same time be true in philosophy and

false in theology? [1589]

Ockam, who shared Duns' determinism, called him "the doctor of our

order." In the dispute over the immaculate conception in the fifteenth

century no divine was more quoted than he. A century later Archbishop

MacCaghwell and other Irish theologians warmly expatiated upon his

powers, wrote his biography, and edited his works.

One of the works of the Reformation was to dethrone Duns Scotus from

his seat of authority as a teacher. Richard Layton wrote to Cromwell,

1535, "We have set Dunce in Bocardo and banished him from Oxford

forever, and he is now made a common servant to every man fast nailed

up upon posts in all houses of common easement." [1590] [1591] Duns had

no presentiment of any other order than the papal and said nothing

looking toward a reformation in doctrine.

Among the contemporaries with whom Duns had theological affinity were

Henry of Ghent and the Englishman, Richard Middleton. Henry of Ghent,

named doctor solemnis, a celebrated teacher in Paris, was born at Ghent

and died, 1293, in Paris or Tournay. His Quodlibeta and Summa were

published in Paris, 1518 and 1520. [1592] otus, who adopts some of

Henry's views. Henry's discussions run far into the region of abstruse

metaphysics. He leaned to Platonism and was a realist.

Richard Middleton was supposedly a predecessor of Duns at Oxford.

Little is known of his life. He was a Franciscan, a scholar at Paris,

and was appointed by the general of his order to examine into the

doctrines of Peter Olivi, 1278-1288. He died about 1307. His commentary

on the Sentences of the Lombard survived him. [1593] r solidus. At the

council of Constance he was cited as an authority against Wyclif. His

name is inscribed on the tomb of Duns Scotus at Cologne, and the

tradition runs that Duns was his pupil. In his teachings regarding the

will, which he defined as the noblest of the soul's faculties, he may

have influenced Duns, as Seeberg attempts to prove. Middleton compared

the mind to a servant who carries a light in front of his master and

does nothing more than to show his master the way, while his master

commands and directs as he pleases.

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[1568] D�llinger, p. 2127, and Harnack, III. 429, agree in pronouncing

Duns the "most acute thinker among the Schoolmen," der scharfsinnigste

scholastishe Denker. Seeberg, Theol. d. J. D. Scotus, p.2, speaks of

"the enormous difficulty"--ungeheure Schwierigkeit --whichthe reading

of Duns offers to one who is not thoroughly familiar with his mode of

thinking and expression. Again, p. 6, he speaks of Duns' "sentences and

arguments" as "endlessly complicated." Schwane, p. 78, says that Duns'

abstruseness of thought, lack of system in presenting his materials,

and the thorny paths of his critical method have imparted to theology

little glory. See also pp. 288, 292.

[1569] Die Hoffnung aus seinen Schriften ein System herzustellen ist

vergeblich, Seeberg, p. 644.

[1570] "Remember ye not," said Tyndale, "how within this thirty years

and far less, the old barking curs, Dunce's disciples, and like draff,

called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit

against Greek, Latin and Hebrew ?"--Quoted by Trench: The Study of

Words, p.91.

[1571] 1274 is the date accepted by Wadding, Cavellus, and Schwane.

D�llinger, Rigg, and Seeberg adopt an earlier date. Seeberg, pp. 36

sqq., lays stress upon the refusal of the bishop of Lincoln, in 1300,

to grant to Duns the privilege of hearing confession. A rule of the

Franciscans, 1292, required that members of the order should be thirty

before aspiring to this privilege. In this case Duns was born before

1270.

[1572] D�llinger attaches much weight to a statement made in a MS. of

one of Duns' works in Merton College, to the effect that he was born in

Dunstane, England. O'Fihely, MacCaghwell, and Wadding, all Irishmen,

are loyal to the theory that he was of Irish nativity. Dempster gives

twelve reasons to prove Duns was a Scotchman. See Dict. Natl. Biog.,

XVI. 216, and Seeberg, p. 34.

[1573] Seeberg, pp. 46 sqq. MacCaghwell in two tracts learnedly denied

his being buried alive.

[1574] Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit, Gallia me docuit, Colonia

me tenit.

[1575] It fills 3 vols. in the Paris ed.; the Opus Oxoniense, 14 vols.;

the Quodlibetales, vols. XXV., XXVI.

[1576] Trithemius, 1495, distinctly speaks of two volumes of Duns'

Sermons. Seeberg, p. 63.

[1577] Universali aliquid extra correspondet a quo movetur intellectus

ad causandum talem intentionem. Seeberg, p. 69.

[1578] Libris canonici sacri non est credendum nisi quia primo

credendum est ecclesiae approbanti et autorizanti libros istos et

contenta in eis. Seeberg, p. 120.

[1579] Quare voluntas voluit hoc, nulla est causa, nisi quia voluntas

voluntas est, Seeberg, pp. 162 sqq., 660 sqq.

[1580] Harnack, Dogmengesch., III. 446, has chosen strong words to show

the unwillingness of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus to pursue the

narrow way to the knowledge of God, that is, through the person of the

historical Christ. And Seeberg, p. 671, lays stress upon the failure of

Duns to bring God near to the soul. God remained a God afar off.

According to both these modern dogmaticians, it remained for the

Reformation through the principles of a living faith and God's love to

bring God into nearness to the soul.

[1581] Seeberg, Dogmengesch., II. 135, Theologie, etc., 227 sq., 293

sqq., 666 sq.; Schwane, p. 463.

[1582] Carentia justitiae originalis. Seeberg, 218 sq.; Loofs,

Dogmengesch., p. 305. Harnack, III. 551, and Seeberg, p. 220,

emphatically assert that Duns abandoned the Augustinian conception of

sin and moral corruption.

[1583] Pronitas in appetitu rationali, i.e. in voluntate ad

concupiscendum delectabilia immoderate. Quoted by St�ckl, II. 362.

[1584] He concludes his account of Anselm's exposition by acknowledging

his indebtedness to Anselm, in the words haec veraciter, ut potui, ex

dictis ejus, collegi. Seeberg, p. 283. Seeberg's full discussion of

Duns' theory of the atonement, pp. 275-296.

[1585] For quotations see Schwane, pp. 656 sqq. Seeberg finds in Duns'

definition the doctrine of consubstantiation.

[1586] D�llinger regards the story as open to grave suspicion because,

at the time at which the disputation is set, there was no conflict

between the two orders. Wetzer-Welte, X. p. 2129.

[1587] This is the view of such experts in the history of mediaeval

theology as Schwane, p. 78, etc., and St�ckl. St�ckl, II. 868, declines

to compare Duns with Thomas as a trustworthy teachers and says that

Duns' only service to theology was through his polemics, which started

an impulse to search for a firmer basis of certainty for doctrinal

truth in reason and revelation.

[1588] pp. 33, 668, 672, 677. Ritschl was a student of Duns and praises

his clearness of thought so long as he keeps free from syllogisms. He

kept the Schoolman's Works constantly within reach. O. Ritschl, A.

Ritschl's Leben, II. 483.

[1589] See the reference to the Reportata, Schwane, p. 78,

[1590] Quoted in Dict. of Natl. Biog.XVI, 219,

[1591] In spite of this, Seeberg, pp. 683-685, tries to make out that

in his conception of God, Luther, howbeit "negatively," was influenced

by Duns' view of the divine will. Luther certainly did not acknowledge

any such indebtedness.

[1592] MSS. of other works are given by Ehrle, Zur Biogr. Heinrichs von

Ghent, in Archiv f�r Lit. u. K. gesch., 1885, pp. 400 sq. See Schwane,

pp. 71-76, etc., and Wetzer-Welte, V. 1704 sqq.

[1593] Publ. at Venice, 1489-1509, Brescia, 1591, etc. MSS. exist in

Oxford and elsewhere. See Little, Grey Friars of Oxford; Kingsford, in

Dict. of Nat. Biog., XXXVII. 356 sq.; Seeberg, pp. 16-33.

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� 111. Roger Bacon.

Literature: Works.--Among the early publications were Speculum

alchymiae, Nurnb., 1541, Engl. trans. London, 1597; De mirabili

potestate artis et naturae, Paris, 1542, Engl. trans. 1659; De

retardandis senectutis accidentibus, Oxford, 1590, Engl. trans.; The

Cure of Old Age and Preservation of Youth, by the great mathematician

and physician, Roger Bacon, ed. by R. Browne, London, 1683; Opus majus

(six books only), by Samuel Jebb, London, 1733, reprinted Venice, 1750;

Opus minus and Opus tertium, with valuable Preface by J. S. Brewer,

London, 1859, Rolls Series; Opus majus, with valuable Preface, by J. H.

Bridges, all the seven books, 3 vols., London, 1900.

Biographical: Emile Charles: B. Bacon, sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses

doctrines, Paris, 1861.--L. Schneider; R. Bacon, etc., Augsb., 1873-the

Prefaces of BREWER and BRIDGES as above.--Professor R. Adamson, in

"Ency. Britt." III. 218-222, and Dict. of Natl. Biog., II. 374-378.

White: Warfare of Science and Theol. I. 386-393.

Duns Scotus was a Schoolman and nothing more. Roger Bacon, his

contemporary, belongs to a different order of men, though one of the

greatest theological thinkers of his age. He did not take up the great

questions of theology and seek to justify them by dialectical

processes. The most he did was to lay down principles for the study of

theology; but it is as the pioneer of modern science and the scientific

method of experiment that he has his distinguished place in the

mediaeval galaxy of great minds. The fact that he had to suffer for his

boldness of speech by imprisonment and enforced silence increases the

interest felt in his teachings. His method of thought was out of accord

with the prevailing method of his times. He was far ahead of his age, a

seer of another era when the study of nature was to be assigned its

proper place of dignity, and theology ceased to be treated as a field

for dialectical ingenuity.

Born in Somersetshire, England, Roger Bacon, called the Wonderful

doctor, mirabilis doctor, 1214(?)-1294, studied in Oxford, where he

came into close contact with Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh, whom he

often mentions with admiration. He went to Paris about 1240, continued

his studies, and entered the Franciscan order. He speaks in his Opus

tertium of having been engaged more than twenty years in the study of

the languages and science, and spending �2000 in these studies and the

purchase of books and instruments, or �600 or �700 present value.

[1594] ied the privilege of writing, but was allowed to give

instruction to young students in the languages.

Clement IV. who, before his elevation to the papal chair and as legate

in England, had been his friend, requested copies of his writings. In

about eighteen months, 1264-1266, Bacon prepared the Opus majus and

then its two appendages, the Opus minus and the Opus tertium, and sent

them to the pope. In 1268, he was again in Oxford. In 1278, he was

relegated to closer confinement on account of "certain suspected "

about which we are not more particularly informed, adduced by the

Franciscan general, Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards Nicolas IV. He was set

free again in 1292, as we know. His body lies buried in the Franciscan

church of Oxford. It was said that his books were nailed to the walls

of the library at Oxford and left to perish. The story may be dismissed

as untrue, but it indicates the estimate put upon the scholar's

writings.

If we were to depend upon the influence he had upon his age, Roger

Bacon would have no place here. At best he was thought of as a dabbler

in the dark arts and a necromancer. He had no place of authority among

his contemporaries, and the rarest notice of him is found for several

centuries. D'Ailly, without quoting his name, copied a large paragraph

from him about the propinquity of Spain and India which Columbus used

in his letter to Ferdinand, 1498. It was not till the Renaissance that

his name began to be used. Since the publication of his writings by

Samuel Jebb, 1733, he has risen more and more into repute as one who

set aside the fantastical subtleties of scholasticism for a rational

treatment of the things we see and know, and as the scientific

precursor of the modern laboratory and modern invention. Prophetic

foresight of certain modern inventions is ascribed to him, but

unjustly. He, however, expounded the theory of the rays of light,

proved the universe to be spherical, and pronounced the smallest stars

larger than the earth. [1595] of the snows in Ethiopia. [1596]

Bacon's works, so far as they are published, combine the study of

theology, philosophy, and what may be called the physical sciences. His

Opus majus in seven books, the Opus minus, and Opus tertium are

measurably complete. Of his Scriptum principale or Compendium studii

philosophiae, often referred to in the writings just mentioned, only

fragments were written, and of these only portions are left. The work

was intended to be in four volumes and to include a treatment of

grammar and logic, mathematics, physics, and last metaphysics and

morals. The Communio naturalium and other treatises are still in

manuscript.

The Opus majus in its list of subjects is the most encyclopaedic work

of the Middle Ages. It takes up as separate departments the connection

of philosophy and theology, astronomy including geography, astrology,

barology, alchemy, agriculture, optics or perspective, and moral

philosophy, medicine and experimental science, scientia experimentalis.

By agriculture, he meant the study of the vegetable and animal worlds,

and such questions as the adaptation of soil to different classes of

plants. In the treatment of optics he presents the construction of the

eye and the laws of vision. Mathematics are the foundation of all

science and of great value for the Church. Alchemy deals with liquids,

gases, and solids, and their generation. A child of his age, Bacon held

that metals were compound bodies whose elements can be separated.

[1597] r less dependent upon their potency. As the moon affects the

tides, so the stars implant dispositions good and evil. This potency

influences but does not coerce man's free will. The comet of 1264, due

to Mars, was related to the wars of England, Spain, and Italy. [1598]

ng and experience. Doubts left by reasoning are tried by experience,

which is the ultimate test of truth.

The practical tendency of Bacon's mind is everywhere apparent. He was

an apostle of common sense. Speaking of Peter of Maricourt of Paris,

otherwise unknown, he praises him for his achievements in the science

of experimental research and said: "Of discourses and battles of words

he takes no heed. Through experiment he gains knowledge of natural

things, medical, chemical, indeed of everything in the heavens and the

earth. He is ashamed that things should be known to laymen, old women,

soldiers, and ploughmen, of which he is himself ignorant." He also

confessed he had learned incomparably more from men unlettered and

unknown to the learned than he had learned from his most famous

teachers. [1599]

Bacon attacked the pedantry of the scholastic method, the frivolous and

unprofitable logomachy over questions which were above reason and

untaught by revelation. Again and again he rebuked the conceit and

metaphysical abstruseness of the theological writers of his century,

especially Alexander of Hales and also Albertus Magnus and Thomas

Aquinas. He used, at length, Alfarabius, Avicenna, Algazel, and other

Arabic philosophers, as well as Aristotle. Against the pride and

avarice and ignorance of the clergy he spoke with unmeasured severity

and declared that the morals of Seneca and his age were far higher than

the morals of the thirteenth century except that the ancient Romans did

not know the virtues of love, faith, and hope which were revealed by

Christ. [1600]

This thirteenth-century phiIosopher pronounced the discussion over

universals and individuals foolish and meaningless. One individual is

of more value than all the universals in the world. A universal is

nothing but the agreement between several objects, convenientia plurium

individuorum convenientia individui respectu alterius. That which is

common between two men and which an ass or a pig does not possess, is

their universal.

In the department of philology, [1601] nd Greek. He carried down the

history of the translations of the Bible to Jerome.

He recommended the study of comparative religions which he arranges in

six classes,--Pagan, Idolater, Tartar (Buddhist), Saracen, Jew, and

Christian,--and concludes that there can be only one revelation and one

Church because there is only one God. [1602] , sanctity, wisdom,

miraculous powers, firmness under persecution, uniformity of faith, and

their success in spite of humble origin. It is characteristic of this

philosopher that in this treatment he avails himself of the information

brought to Europe by William Rubruquis whom he quotes. [1603]

He regarded philosophy as having been revealed to the Jewish

patriarchs, and the Greek philosophy as having been under the guidance

of providence, nay, as having been a divine gift, as Augustine said of

Socrates. [1604] istotle is the great phiIosopher, and philosophy leads

to the threshold of revealed truth, and it is the duty of Christians to

avail themselves of it. [1605] hould utilize heathen philosophers.

[1606] [1607] heory of the dependence of the Apostolic writers upon

Hellenic modes of thought. Bacon magnified the supreme authority of the

Scriptures in which all truth strikes its roots and which laymen should

read. All sciences and knowledge are to be subordinated to the Catholic

Church, which is the appointed guardian of human interests. Theology is

the science which rules over all the others. [1608] altar" as

containing in itself the highest good, that is, the union of God with

man. In the host the whole of the Deity is contained.

The admirable editor of Bacon's Opus majus, Dr. Bridges, has compared

Bacon's procedure to a traveller in a new world, who brings back

specimens of produce with the view of persuading the authorities of his

country to undertake a more systematic exploration. [1609] sserted the

right principle of theological study which excludes from prolonged

discussion subjects which have no immediate bearing upon the interests

of daily life or personal faith, and pronounced as useless the weary

systems which were more the product of human ingenuity in combining

words than of a clear, spiritual purpose. To him Abaelard is not to be

compared. Abaelard was chiefly a scholastic metaphysician; Bacon an

observer of nature. Abaelard gives the appearance of being a vain

aspirant after scholastic honors; Bacon of being a patient and

conscientious investigator.

Professor Adamson and Dr. Bridges, two eminent Baconian scholars, have

placed Roger Bacon at the side of such thinkers as Albertus Magnus and

Thomas Aquinas. A close student of the Middle Ages, Coulton, has

recently gone so far as to pronounce him a greater intellect than

Thomas Aquinas. [1610] lic communion. There is, however, danger of

ascribing to him too much. Nevertheless, this forerunner of modern

investigation may by common verdict, though unhonored in his own age,

come to be placed higher as a benefactor of mankind than the master of

metaphysical subtlety, Duns Scotus, who spoke to his age and its

immediate successors with authority.

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[1594] Bridges' ed., p. xxiii.

[1595] Opus majus, Bridges' ed., I. 152, 176.

[1596] I. 323.

[1597] As an illustration of some of Bacon's chemical and medical

advice the following receipt may be given. He says a combination of

gold, pearl, flower of sea dew, spermaceti, aloes, bone of stag's

heart, flesh of Tyrian snake, and Ethiopian dragon, properly prepared

in due portions, might promote longevity to a length hitherto

unimagined, Op. Maj., II. 206.

[1598] Op. maj., I. 385 sqq.

[1599] Bridges' ed., Op. maj., I. pp. xxv., 23.

[1600] Op. maj., II. 303 sqq.

[1601] Bridges' ed., 1. 66-96.

[1602] Bridges' ed., II. 366-404.

[1603] I. 303, II. 367 sq.

[1604] I. 41.

[1605] I. 56-59.

[1606] I. 37.

[1607] I. 28-30.

[1608] I. 33, Una scientia dominatrix aliarum.

[1609] I p. lxxxix.

[1610] From St. Francis to Dante, p. 293.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM.

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� 112. Literature on the Sacraments.

Literature:--General Works: The Writings of Abaelard, Hugo of St.

Victor, Peter Lombard, Alb. Magnus, Th. Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns

Scotus, and other Schoolmen.--G. L. Hahn: Lehre von d. Sakramenten,

Breslau, 1864.--\*J. Schwane: Dogmengesch. der mittleren Zeit, 787-1517,

Frei b. 1882, pp. 579-693.--J. H. Oswald: D. dogmatische Lehre von d.

hl. Sakramenten d. kathol. Kirche, 5th ed., Munich, 1894. The Histories

of Christ. Doctr. of Fisher, pp. 254-263; Harnack, II. 462-562; Loofs,

pp. 298-304; Seeberg, II. 107 sqq.--Hergenr�ther-Kirsch: Kirchengesch.,

II. 682-701. The works on Canon Law of Hinschius; P. Hergenr�ther (Rom.

Cath.), pp. 667-684; Friedberg, pp. 374-495.--Hefele-Kn�pfler, V.

VI.--The art. Sakrament in Wetzer-Welte and Herzog.--D. S. Schaff: The

Sacramental Theory of the Med. Ch. in "Princeton Rev.," 1906, pp.

206-236.

On the Eucharist, �� 115, 116: Dalgairns: The Holy Communion, its

Philos., Theol., and Practice, Dublin, 1861.--F. S. Renz: D. Gesch. d.

Messopfer-Begriffs, etc., 1st vol., Alterthum und Mittelalter, Munich,

1901.--J. Smend: Kelchversagung und Kelchspendung in d. abendl�nd.

Kirche, G�tting., 1898.--A. Franz: D. Messe im deutschen Mittelalter,

Freib., 1902.--Artt. Communion, Messe, Transubstantiation in

Wetzer-Welte and Abendmahl and Kindercommunion in Herzog.

On Penance and Indulgences, �� 117, 118: Joan Morinus: Comment. hist.

de disciplina in administratione sacr. poenitentiae, Paris, 1651.--F.

Beringer, S. J., transl. fr. the French by J. Schneider: D. Abl�sse,

ihr Wesen und Gebrauch, 12th ed., Paderb., 1900.--\*K. M�ller: D.

Umschwung in der Lehre von d. Busse w�hrend d. 12ten Jahrhunderts,

Freib., 1892.--H. C. Lea: A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the

13th Century, Phil., 1892; \*A Hist. of Auricular Confession and

Indulgences, 3 vols. Phil., 1896.--\* TH. Brieger: D. Wesen des Ablasses

am Ausgange des Mittelalters, Leipzig., 1897.--A. Kurtz: D. kathol.

Lehre vom Ablass vor und nach dem Auftreten Luthers, Paderb., 1900.--C.

M. Roberts: Hist. of Confession until it developed into Auric. Conf.

a.d. 1215, London, 1901.--\* W. K�hler: Dokumente zum Ablassstreit vom

1517, T�bing., 1902. Very convenient, containing thirty-two of the most

important documents on the subject and including Jacob von Juterbocks,

Tract. de indulgentiis, c. 1451, and excerpts from the Coelifodina,

1502.--\* A. Gottlob: Kreuzablass u. Almosenablass, Stuttg., 1906.--A.

M. Koeninger: D. Beicht nach Caesarius von Heisterbach, Mun.,

1906.--Artt. Ablass, \*Bussdisciplin by Funk, II. 1562-1590. and Busse,

II. 1590-1614, in Wetzer-Welte and \*Indulgenzen by Th. Brieger in

Herzog, IX. 76-94. For other Lit. see Brieger's art. in Herzog

On Extreme Unction, etc., � 119: See artt. Oelung and Ordo in

Wetzer-Welte, IX. 716 sqq., 1027 sqq., and Oelung by Kattenbusch and

Priesterweihe in Herzog, XIV. 304 sqq., XVI. 47 sqq. For marriage, the

works on Christian Ethics.--Von Eicken: Gesch. u. System der

mittelalterl. Weltanschauung, pp. 437-487, Stuttg., 1887.--The artt.

Ehe in Herzog, V. 182 sqq. and Wetzer-Welte, IV. 142-231 (including a

number of subjects pertaining to marriage).

On Grace and the Future State, �� 120, 121: Anselm: De conceptu

virginali et originale peccato, Migne, 168. 431-467.--P. Lombardus:

Sent., II. 31, etc.--H. Of St. Victor: De sacramentis, I. 7, Migne,

176. 287-306. --Alb. Magnus: In Sent., II. 31 sqq., etc., Borgnet's

ed., XXVII.--Bonaventura: In Sent., II., etc.; Peltier's ed., III.--Th.

Aquinas: Summa, II. 71-90, III. 52 sqq.; Supplem., LXIX. sqq., Migne,

IV. 1215-1459--Duns Scotus: Reportata. XXIV.-XXVI., etc. The Histories

of Doctrine of Schwane, pp. 393-493, Harnack, Loofs, Seeberg. Sheldon.

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� 113. The Seven Sacraments.

As the doctrines of the Trinity and the person of Christ were wrought

out in the Nicene and post-Nicene periods, so the Schoolmen of the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries wrought out the Catholic doctrine of

the sacraments. At no point were the mediaeval theologians more

industrious or did they put forth keener speculative force. For the

Roman Catholic communion, the results of this speculation continue to

be of binding authority. The theologians most prominent in developing

the sacramental system were Hugo of St. Victor, Peter the Lombard,

Alexander of Hales, and Thomas Aquinas. Hugo wrote the first treatise

on the sacraments, De sacramentis. Thomas Aquinas did little more than

to reformulate in clear statement the views propounded by Hugo, Peter

the Lombard, and especially by Alexander of Hales, and with him the

development comes to an end. [1611]

Through the influence of Peter the Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, the

number of the sacraments was fixed at seven,--baptism, confirmation,

the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, marriage. [1612] g

and the investiture of bishops and abbots. Abaelard had named five,

--baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, marriage, and extreme unction.

Hugo de St. Victor in his Summa also seems to recognize only five,

--baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, and extreme unction,

[1613] . Hugo divided the sacraments into three classes,--sacraments

which are necessary to salvation, baptism and the eucharist, those

which have a sanctifying effect such as holy water and the use of ashes

on Ash Wednesday, and a third class which prepares for the other

sacraments. He called the sprinkling with water a sacrament. [1614]

[1615]

The uncertainty concerning the number of the sacraments was a heritage

from the Fathers. Augustine defined any sacred rite a sacrament. The

Third Lateran, 1179, used the term in a wide sense and included the

investiture of bishops and burial among the sacraments. The Catholic

Church today makes a distinction between certain sacred rites, called

sacramentalia, and the seven sacraments. [1616] [1617]

Ingenious and elaborate attempts were made to correlate the seven

sacraments to all of man's spiritual maladies and to show their

"congruity" or adaptation to meet all the requirements of fallen and

redeemed human nature. [1618] weakness found in those recently born,

the eucharist to the temptation to fall into sin,--labilitas animi ad

peccandum,--penance to sins committed after baptism, extreme unction to

the remainders of sin not cleared away by penance, ordination to the

lost condition of mankind, matrimony to concupiscence, and the

liability of mankind to become extinct by natural death.

The number seven also corresponds to the seven virtues,--baptism,

extreme unction, and the eucharist to faith, hope, and love, ordination

to enlightenment, penance to righteousness, marriage to continence, and

confirmation to endurance. Bonaventura elaborates at length a

stimulating comparison to a military career. The sacraments furnish

grace for the spiritual struggle and strengthen the warrior on the

various stages of his conflict. Baptism equips him on entering the

conflict, confirmation encourages him in its progress, extreme unction

helps him at the finish, the eucharist and penance renew his strength,

orders introduce new recruits into the ranks, and marriage prepares men

to be recruits. Augustine had compared the sacraments to the badges and

rank conferred upon the soldier, a comparison Thomas Aquinas took up.

[1619]

The sacraments were not needed in man's estate of innocence. Marriage

which was then instituted was a "function of nature" and nothing more.

There were sacraments under the old covenant as well as under the new.

The Schoolmen follow Augustine in declaring that the former prefigure

the grace to come and the sacraments of the New Testament confer grace.

[1620] [1621]

In defining what a sacrament is--quid est sacramentum -- the Schoolmen

started with Augustine's definition that a sacrament is a visible sign

of an invisible grace, [1622] tiam, --the language afterwards used by

the council of Trent. They have a virtue inherent in themselves. The

favorite figure for describing their operation is medicine. Hugo [1623]

essenger, grace is the antidote, the sacrament is the vase. The

physician gives, the minister dispenses, the vase contains, the

spiritual medicine which cures the invalid. If, therefore, the

sacraments are the vases of spiritual grace, they do not cure of

themselves. Not the bottle, but the medicine, cures the sick.

Bonaventura entitled his chapters on the sacraments "Sacramental

Medicine." [1624]

The sacraments are remedies which the great Samaritan brought for the

wounds of original and actual sin. They are more than visible signs and

channels of grace. They do more than signify. They sanctify. They are

the efficient cause of gracious operations in the recipient. The

interior effects, Thomas Aquinas says, are due to Christ, [1625] , to

the blessing of Christ and the administration of the priest conjoined.

The mode of this efficacy is ex opere operato. This expression, used by

William of Auxerre and Alexander of Hales, Thomas adopted and says

again and again that the sacraments make righteous and confer grace, ex

opere operato, that is by a virtue inherent in themselves. [1626]

By this, Thomas Aquinas does not mean that the religious condition of

the recipient is a matter of indifference, but that the sacrament

imparts its virtue, if need be, without the operation of an active

faith. The tendency of Protestant writers has been to represent the

Schoolmen as ascribing a magical virtue to the visible sacramental

symbol, if not irrespective of the divine appointment, then certainly

irrespective of the attitude of the recipient. Such is not the view of

the Schoolmen. Thomas Aquinas distinguishes between the original cause

of grace, which is God, and the instrumental cause, which is the

sacrament. The virtue of the latter depends upon God's appointment and

operation. [1627] [1628] [1629] raments are efficacious only to those

who are of a religious disposition.

Duns Scotus, whose opinions were set aside at the council of Ferrara

for those of Thomas Aquinas, insisted that God can confer grace apart

from the sacraments, and their efficacy is dependent upon an action of

the will. They act indirectly, not directly. Duns controverted Thomas'

view that the sacrament is a visible sign containing supernatural

virtue in itself absolutely. [1630] . As symbols, they remind the soul

of God's grace and attract it. A good state of the heart, however, is

not a meritorious cause of their efficacy. For their reception, it is

sufficient if there be no moral impediment, obex, that is, no impeding

indisposition. [1631] [1632]

The relation the priest sustains to the sacraments is a vital one, and

except in extraordinary cases his ministration is essential. Their

efficacy does not depend upon the priest's personal character, provided

only he administer according to the rite of the Church. [1633] may be

conveyed through a leaden pipe as truly as through a silver pipe. Even

if the intention of conferring grace is absent from the mind of the

officiating priest, the efficacy of the sacrament is not destroyed. The

priest acts in the name of the Church, and in uttering the words of

sacramental appointment he gives voice to the intention of the Church.

This intention is sufficient for the perfection of the sacrament in any

given case. Ultimately, it is Christ who works the effect of the

sacrament and not the priest through any virtue of his own. [1634]

On this point also, Duns differed from the great Dominican by declaring

that "a virtual intention" on the part of the celebrant is essential to

the efficacy of the sacrament. He illustrates his position by a pilgrim

on the way to the shrine of St. James. The pilgrim may not think of St.

James during the whole progress of his journey, but he starts out with

"a virtual intention" to go to his shrine and keeps on the way. So a

priest, during the progress of the sacramental celebration, may allow

his mind to wander and forget what he is doing, but he has the virtual

intention of performing the rite. [1635]

The sacraments may be "useful," said Bonaventura, if performed outside

of the Church, provided the recipient afterwards enter "holy mother

Church." This he illustrates by Augustine's comparison of the

sacraments to the four rivers of paradise. The rivers flowed into

different lands. But neither to Mesopotamia nor Egypt did they carry

the felicity of life, though they were useful. [1636]

The sacraments are not all of equal necessity. Baptism alone is

indispensable to eternal life. Baptism and the eucharist are the

mightiest, but of all the most mighty--potissimum -- is the eucharist,

and for three reasons: 1. It contains Christ himself after a

substantial manner. 2. The other sacraments are preparatory to it. 3.

All the faithful partake of it--adults who are baptized, as well as

those who are in orders. Three sacraments have an indelible

character,--baptism, ordination, and confirmation. Their mark cannot be

effaced nor may they be repeated. They are related to salvation as food

is related to life. The other four sacraments are necessary to

salvation only in the way a horse is necessary to a journey. [1637]

The Schoolmen were not fully agreed as to the author of some of the

sacraments. Peter the Lombard expressly said that extreme unction was

instituted by the Apostles. Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, and

Thomas Aquinas held they were all instituted by Christ. [1638]

Hugo of St. Victor said, God might have saved man without the

sacraments but no man can be saved who rejects them. [1639] They were

to the mediaeval mind the essential food of the religious life, and, in

building up the sacramental system, the mediaeval theologian felt he

was fortifying the very fabric of the Church. In the authority to

administer them lay the power of the priesthood to open and shut the

kingdom of heaven, to pass the judgment of bliss or woe for this life

and for the life to come. This sacramental theory, based now upon a

false now upon a one-sided interpretation of Scripture, and compactly

knit by argumentation, substituted the mechanical efficiency of

sacramental grace for the Saviour into whose immediate presence the

soul has a right to approach through penitence of heart and prayer. The

sacramental system became the Church's Babylonish captivity, as Luther

called it in his famous tract, in which the rights and liberty of the

Christian believer are fettered by the traditions of men.

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[1611] Some idea of the importance attached to the subject of the

sacraments may be derived from the space given by the Schoolmen to

their treatment. Hugo of St. Victor gives 440 columns, Migne's ed.,

176. 183-617, the Lombard 90 columns out of the 462 of his Sentences,

Bonaventura 1003 pages out of 3875 of his System of Theology, Peltier's

ed. and Thomas Aquinas 670 columns out of 4854 of his Summa, Migne, IV.

543-1217. Dr. Charles Hodge's System. Theol. devotes 207 pages out of

its 2260 to the sacraments, Dr. Shedd's Dogm. Theol. 25 pages out of

1348, Dr. E. V. Gerhart's Institutes 84 pages out of 1666, and Dr. A.

H. Strong's Sys. Theol. 30 out of 600 pages.

[1612] Others about the time of Peter the Lombard had given the number

as seven, as Rolandus (afterwards Alexander III.) in his Sentences and

Otto of Bamberg in a sermon, 1158, reported by his biographer Herbord.

[1613] Migne, 176. 127 sqq. Hugo follows up the treatment of the five

sacraments with a treatment of marriage, but I do not see that he calls

it a sacrament.

[1614] De sacr., II. 9, Migne, 176. 473. The aqua aspersionis, or water

of sprinkling mixed with salt, Hugo derived from Alexander, fifth pope

from Peter. The sprinkling of ashes on the head, susceptio cineris, he

placed under "the minor sacraments," but in his definition calls it an

"ecclesiastical rite," as he does also the use of palm branches on Palm

Sunday; Migne, 176. 423.

[1615] Migne, IV. 597, 1025.

[1616] Hergenr�ther, Kathol. Kirchenrecht., pp. 667 sq.

[1617] Alb. Magnus has a long treatment, Cur sint sacr. septem, In IV.

Sent., I. 2, vol. XXIX. 6-11.

[1618] SeeBonaventura, Brevil., Vl. 3, Peltier's ed., VII. 314; Thomas

Aq.,Summa, Migne's ed., IV. 594. sq.

[1619] Bonaventura, Brevil., VI. 3; Th. Aq., Summa, III. 63. 1, Migne's

ed., IV. 571.

[1620] Th. Aq., Summa, III. 62. 6, Migne, IV. 569, Sacramenta veteris

legis non habebant in se aliquam virtutem qua operarentur ad

conferendam gratiam justificantem. See for quotations from the

Sentences of Thomas, Loofs, p. 301.

[1621] In IV. Sent., I. 21, vol. XXIX. 37.

[1622] Abaelard, Introd. ad Theol., Migne's ed., p. 984, had quoted

this definition. Albertus Magnus and other Schoolmen subsequent to

Hugo, after quoting Augustine, usually quote Hugo, e.g. Peter the

Lombard and Th. Aq, III. 66. 1.

[1623] De sacr., I. 9. 4, Migne, 176. 325.

[1624] Brevil., VI., Peltier's ed., VII. 311-330. The Lombard, Alb.

Magnus, Th. Aquinas, etc., also use the illustration of medicine.

[1625] Interiorem sacramentorum effectum operatur Christus, III. 64. 3,

Migne, IV. 583.

[1626] Sacr. justificant et gratiam conferunt ex opere operato. See

references in Schwane, p 581.

[1627] Summa, III. 62. 1, Migne, IV. 562, causa vero instrumentalis non

agit per virtutem suae formae sed solum per motum quo movetur a

principali agente.

[1628] Migne, IV. 568 sq. Virtus passionis Christi copulatur nobis per

fidem et sacramenta.

[1629] Ecclesia sicut sacramenta a Christo accepit sic ad fidelium

salutem dispensat. Breviloq., VI. 5, Peltier's ed., VII. 316.

[1630] See Seeberg, Duns Scotus, pp. 356-358.

[1631] Non requiritur bonus motus qui mereatur gratiam sed sufficit

quod suscipiens non ponat obicem. In Sent., IV. 1. 6, quoted by

Schwane, p. 581. Nisi impediat indispositio, quoted by Seeberg, p. 343.

[1632] Susceptio est dispositio sufficiens ad gratiam. Seeberg, p. 349.

For the differences between the Thomists and Scotists on the

sacraments, see also Harnack, II. 483

[1633] Ministri ecclesiae possunt sacramenta conferre etiamsi sint

mali. Th. Aq., Migne's ed., IV. 586. 821, 824.

[1634] Ministri non gratiam conferunt sua virtute, sed hoc facit

Christus sua potestate per eos sicut per quaedam instrumenta. Th. Aq.,

III. 64. 5, Migne, IV. 586.

[1635] Seeberg, p. 350.

[1636] Brevil., Peltier's ed., p. 317. The illustration is carried out

at length and is very interesting as an example of pious mediaeval

homiletics.

[1637] Th. Aq., III. 65. 4, Migne, IV. 601.

[1638] See also Duns Scotus, see Seeberg, p. 338.

[1639] De sacr., II. 9, 5, Migne, 176. 325. potuit Deus hominem salvare

si ista non instituisset, sed homo nullatenus salvari posset si ista

contemneret.

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� 114. Baptism and Confirmation.

Baptism is the door to the other sacraments and to the kingdom of

heaven. [1640] t is certain evidence that the heart is already

regenerated. For the necessity of baptism, Thomas Aquinas and the other

Schoolmen rely upon John 3:3, "Except a man be born of water and the

Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Of all the sacraments the

most necessary, baptism effects regeneration, nay, it is regeneration

itself. [1641] [1642] ablution from guilt, and the freezing of water,

to use the strange figure of Thomas Aquinas, the subtraction of all

punishment. Baptism also has the positive effect of conferring grace,

an effect which is symbolized by the clearness of water.

The validity of the sacrament requires the full use of the threefold

name of the Trinity. Hugo of St. Victor differs from the later

Schoolmen on this point, although in doubt whether the use of the name

of Christ alone or the name of God alone be not sufficient. Bernard had

allowed the use of the formula "I baptize thee in the name of the

Father and of the true and holy cross." These men wrote before the

Fourth Lateran Council. Bonaventura and Thomas acknowledged that, in

early times, the Church had often been satisfied with baptism into the

name of Christ, the Trinity being, in such cases, understood. But since

the deliverance of the Fourth Lateran, the omission of a single

syllable from the trine formula invalidated baptism. [1643] ng of salt

were prescribed to be used in the solemnization of the rite. Exorcism

expelled demons and prevented them from impeding the recipient's

salvation. Salt, put into the ears, signified the reception of the new

doctrine, into the nostrils, its approbation, and into the mouth,

confession. Oil signified the fitting of the recipient to fight demons.

The proper administrator of baptism is the priest, but, in cases of

necessity, laymen may baptize, male or female, and parents may baptize

their own children. [1644] lawfully administer baptism, for Christ is

free to use the agent he pleases, and it is he who baptizes inwardly,

John 1:33. The main reason for allowing such baptism is to extend the

limits of salvation as far as possible. [1645]

Children are proper subjects of baptism because they are under the

curse of Adam. As the mother nourishes her offspring in the womb before

it can nourish itself, so in the bosom of mother Church infants are

nourished, and they receive salvation through the act of the Church.

[1646] ld cannot be baptized before it is born; it is of the essence of

baptism that water be applied to the body. [1647] f the parents. Duns

Scotus was an exception and permitted the forcible baptism of the

children of Jews, yea of adult Jews. [1648]

The definition of baptism excludes all unbaptized children, dying in

infancy, from heaven. The question is discussed by that mystic and

lovable divine, Hugo of St. Victor, whether the children of Christian

parents may be saved who happen to be put to death in a city besieged

by pagans and die unbaptized. He leaves it unanswered, remarking that

there is "no authority for saying what will become of them." [1649]

infants whose mothers suffer martyrdom or blood baptism. [1650]

logians, as a relief from the agonizing thought that the children of

non-Christian parents dying in infancy are lost and suffer conscious

torment, elaborated the view that they are annihilated. It remained for

a still later Protestant period to pronounce in favor of the salvation

of all such children in view of the superabounding fullness of the

atonement and our Lord's words, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Water is essential to baptism. The Schoolmen agreed that wine, oil, or

other liquid will not do. Duns Scotus said in regard to baptism in beer

that its validity would depend upon a scientific test whether the beer

continued to be a species of water or not. [1651] inas refers to it as

the more general practice of his day and prefers it as the safer mode,

as did also Bonaventura and Duns Scotus. [1652] the immortal agent.

Both trine immersion, the custom of the Greek Church, and single

immersion are valid. Trine immersion symbolizes the three persons of

the Trinity and the three days of the Lord's burial; single immersion

the unity of the Deity and the uniqueness of Christ's death. Synods, as

late as the synod of Tarragona, 1391, spoke of the submersion of

children in baptism.

The sacrament of confirmation corresponds to the adult period as

baptism does to the child period (1 Cor. 13:11). It completes, as it

were, the earlier ordinance and confers the graces of strength and

hardihood. The baptized thus become full Christians. [1653] Christ or

by the Apostles or by the councils of the Church. Thomas Aquinas took

the view that it was founded by Christ, being implied in the promise of

the Holy Spirit (John 16:7).

The rite is performed by the bishop, who is the successor of the

Apostles, who uses the words, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross,

I confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Chrism, or sacred oil, which is

the symbol of the Spirit, is applied, and the cross is signed upon the

forehead, the most prominent part of the body. [1654]

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[1640] Janua omnium aliorum sacramentorum. Bonavent., Brevil. VII.,

Peltier's ed., p. 318; Th. Aq., Summa, III. 62. 6, Migne, IV. 569;

Supplem. XXXV. 1, Migne, IV. 1047.

[1641] Baptismus qui est regeneratio hominis in vitam spiritualem. Th.

Aq., III. 66. 9; 67. 3; 68. 9; 72. 1, Migne, IV. 617, 626, 646, 678.

[1642] Omne peccatum per baptismum tollitur. Th. Aq., 69. 1, Migne, p.

652. Baptismus institutus est contra vulnus originalis peccati. Alanus

ab Insulis cont. haer., I. 39, 43, Migne, 210. 345, 347.

[1643] Brevil. VI., Peltier's ed., p. 318; Th. Aq., III. 66. 6, Migne,

p. 611, quicquid desit ad plenam invocationem trinitatis tollit

integritatem baptismi.

[1644] They were allowed to use the vernacular in the ceremony. Synods

of Treves, 1227, Mainz, 1233. And priests were instructed to teach

laymen the baptismal ceremony in the vulgar tongue that they might use

it if the exigency arose. Fritzlar, 1243, Hefele, V. 1099. A child

taken from its mother after her death, and itself dead, was to be

buried unbaptized in unconsecrated ground Treves, 1310.

[1645] Th. Aq., III. 67. 4 sq., Migne, IV. 628 sq.

[1646] Pueri non se ipsos sed per actum eccl. salutem suscipiunt. Th.

Aq., III. 68. 9, Migne, 646; Bonavent., Brevil. VII. Peltier's ed.,

VII. 320; Duns Scotus, see Seeberg, p. 360.

[1647] P. Lomb., IV. 6. 2, Migne, II. 853. Th. Aq., Migne, IV. 649, and

Duns Scotus (Seeberg, p. 360) agree that if the head of the infant

protrude from the womb, it may be baptized, for the head is the seat of

the immortal agent.

[1648] Th. Aq., Migne, IV. 648. One reason Duns gives is that the

children of such Jews, if they are well educated, turn out to be good

Christians (vere fideles) in the third and fourth generations. Seeberg,

p. 364.

[1649] Summa, V. 6, Migne, 176. 132.

[1650] In Sent., IV. 4, 3. 3, Paris ed., XVI. 406, 410.

[1651] Seeberg p. 359, Summa, III. 66. 7, Migne, IV. 613 sq.; P. Lomb.,

IV. 3, 8, Migne, II. 845; Bonav., Brevil. VII., Peltier's ed., p. 319,

Duns Scotus. In IV. Sent., vol. XVI. 272. Gregory IX., on being asked

by the archbishop of Drontheim whether a certain baptism administered

with beer was valid, water not being at hand, replied in the negative.

Potthast, 11,048. The synod of Aurillac, 1278, pronouced sweet, salt,

or melted snow water proper material.

[1652] Quamvis tutius sit baptizare per modum immersionis, potest tamen

fieri baptismus per modum aspersionis vel etiam per modum effusionis.

[1653] Confirmatio est quasi ultima consummatio baptismi. Th. Aq., III.

72. 11, Migne, IV. 693

[1654] Th. Aq., III. 73. 9, quotes Ezek. 3:8, "I have made thy forehead

hard against their foreheads." He commends the custom whereby the

candidate for confirmation is supported by another, for "though he be

an adult in body he is not yet an adult spiritually."

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� 115. The Eucharist.

The eucharist, called by the Schoolmen the crown of the sacraments and

the sacrament of the altar, was pronounced both a sacrament and a

sacrifice. In the elaboration of the doctrine, scholastic theology

reached the highest point of its speculation. Albertus Magnus devoted

to it a distinct treatise and Thomas Aquinas nearly four hundred

columns of his Summa. In practice, the celebration of this sacrament

became the chief religious function of the Church. [1655] The festival

of Corpus Christi, commemorating it, was celebrated with great

solemnity. The theory of the transmutation of the elements and the

withdrawal of the cup from the laity were among the chief objects of

the attacks of the Reformers.

The fullest and clearest presentation of the eucharist was made by

Thomas Aquinas. He discussed it in every possible aspect. Where

Scripture is silent and Augustine uncertain, the Schoolman's

speculative ability, though often put to a severe test, is never at a

loss. The Church accepted the doctrines of transubstantiation and the

sacrificial meaning of the sacrament, and it fell to the Schoolmen to

confirm these doctrines by all the metaphysical weapons at their

command. And even where we are forced by the silence or clear meaning

of Scripture to regard their discussion as a vain display of

intellectual ingenuity, we may still recognize the solemn religious

purpose by which they were moved. Who would venture to deny this who

has read the devotional hymn of Thomas Aquinas which presents the

outgoings of his soul to the sacrificial oblation of the altar?

Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium.

Sing my tongue the mystery telling. [1656]

The culminating point in the history of the mediaeval doctrine of the

eucharist was the dogmatic definition of transubstantiation by the

Fourth Lateran Council, 1215. Thenceforth it was heresy to believe

anything else. The definition ran that "the body and blood of Christ

are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of

bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the

wine into the blood by divine power." [1657] simply formulated the

prevailing belief.

The word "transubstantiation" is not used by Hugo of St. Victor and the

earlier Schoolmen. They used "transition" and "conversion," the latter

being the favorite term. The word "transubstantiation" seems to have

been first used by Hildebert of Tours, d. 1134. [1658] [1659] g the

doctrine, are John 6 and the words of institution, "this is my body,"

in which the verb is taken in its literal sense. Rupert of Deutz is the

only Schoolman of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who dissented

from it. He seems to have taught the theory of impanation. [1660]

Three names, applied to the eucharist, had special significance. [1661]

heavenly manna for pilgrims on their way to heaven. Thomas Aquinas also

uses the term of John of Damascus, assumption, because the sacrament

lifts us up into the Deity of Christ, and calls it hostia, or the host,

because it contains Christ himself, who is the oblation of our

salvation. [1662]

The elements to be used are wheaten bread, either leavened or

unleavened. Water is to be mixed with the wine as Christ probably mixed

them, following the custom in Palestine. Water symbolizes the people,

and the wine symbolizes Christ, and their combination the union of the

people with Christ. The mixture likewise represents the scene of the

passion. Thomas Aquinas also finds in the water flowing in the desert,

1 Cor. 10:4, a type of this custom. He relied much, as did Albertus

Magnus [1663] Prov. 9:5, Come eat of my bread and drink of the wine

which I have mingled for you. But the admixture of the two elements is

not essential. The synods of Cologne, 1279, Lambeth, 1281, etc.,

prescribed two or three drops of water as sufficient.

At the moment of priestly consecration, the elements of bread and wine

are converted into the very body and blood of Christ. The substance of

the bread and wine disappears. The "accidents"--species sensibiles --

remain, such as taste, color, dimensions, and weight. What becomes of

the substance of the two elements? asks Peter the Lombard. There are

three possible answers. First, the substance passes into the four

original elements or into the body and blood of Christ. Second, it is

annihilated. Third, it remains in part or in whole. Duns Scotus adopted

the second explanation, the substance is annihilated. [1664] he

Lombard, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas adopted the view that the

substance is converted into the body and blood of Christ. Against the

theory of annihilation Thomas used the illustration that it does not

follow because air, from which fire is generated, is not here nor

there, that it has been annihilated. The change on the altar is

altogether supernatural. The body of Christ is in the sacrament not

quantitatively, per modum quantitatis, but in substance; not in its

dimensions, but by a sacramental virtue, ex vi sacramenti, in a way

peculiar to this sacrament. It is on the altar and is apprehended by

faith only. [1665]

Upon the basis of the separate existence of substance and "accidents"

the Schoolmen proceeded to perfect their theory. What the substance of

bread is, if it is not its nutritive power, and how it is possible to

think of bread without those qualities which make it bread to us, the

practical mind cannot understand. Scholastic dialectics professed to

understand it, but the statements are nothing more than a fabric of

mystifying terms and gratuitous assumptions. Wyclif thoroughly exposed

the fallacious reasoning.

Thomas Aquinas went so far as to declare that, though the substance of

bread and wine disappears, these elements continue to preserve the

virtue of their substance. [1666] ovidential arrangement this was not

so for three reasons: 1. It is not the custom for men to eat human

flesh and drink human blood, and we would revolt from eating Christ's

blood and flesh under the form of bread and wine. 2. The sacrament

would become a laughing stock to infidels if Christ were eaten in his

own form. 3. Faith is called forth by the enveilment of the Lord within

the forms of bread and wine. The body of Christ is not broken or

divided by the teeth except in a sacramental way. [1667] aid this great

Schoolman, is easier to understand than transubstantiation, for

creation is out of nothing, but in the sacrament the substance of bread

and wine disappear while the accidents remain.

A second statement elaborated by the Schoolmen is that the whole Christ

is in the sacrament, divinity and humanity, --flesh, bones, nerves, and

other constituents, --and yet the body of Christ is not there locally

or in its dimensions. [1668]

This is the so-called doctrine of concomitance, elaborated by Alexander

of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and other Schoolmen with great subtilty.

According to this doctrine the divinity of Christ and his body are

never separated. Wherever the body is, there is also the divinity,

whether it be in heaven or on the altar. The determination of this

point was of importance because the words of institution mention only

Christ's body.

A third integral part of the scholastic treatment of the eucharist was

the assertion that the whole Christ is in each of the elements, [1669]

l justification for the withdrawal of the cup from the laity. Anselm

had taken this view, that the entire Christ is in each element, but he

was having no reference to the withdrawal of the cup. [1670]

Two serious questions grew out of this definition; namely, whether the

elements which our Lord blessed on the night of his betrayal were his

own body and blood and what it was the disciples ate when they partook

of the eucharist during the time of our Lord's burial. To the second

question the reply was given that, if the disciples partook of the

eucharist in that period, they partook of the real body. Here Duns

Scotus brought to bear his theory that a thing may have a number of

forms and that God can do what to us seems to be most unreasonable. As

for the first question, Hugo of St. Victor shrank from discussing it on

the sensible ground that such divine mysteries were to be venerated

rather than discussed. [1671] sciples. "He had them in His hands and in

His mouth." This body, according to Thomas, was "immortal and not

subject to pain." [1672] [1673]

The King, seated with the twelve at the table,

Holds Himself in His hands. He, the Food, feeds upon Himself.

This monstrous conception involved a further question. Did Judas

partake of the true body and blood of the Lord? This the Schoolmen

answered in the negative. The traitor took only natural and unblessed

bread. Leaning upon St. Augustine, they make the assertion, upon a

manipulation of Luke 22 and John 13 according to which Christ

distributed the bread and the wine before Judas took the sop, that the

sop, or immersed morsel, was delusive. Judas was deceived. [1674]

Another curious but far-reaching question occupied the minds of

Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, and other Schoolmen. Does

a mouse, in eating the consecrated host, actually partake of its

consecrated substance? Thomas argued in this way: the body and blood of

Christ would not be withdrawn, if the consecrated host should be cast

into the mire, for God allowed Christ's body even to be crucified. As

for mice, they were not created to use the bread as a sacrament, and so

they cannot eat Christ's body after a sacramental manner,

sacramentaliter, but only the accidents of the elements, per accidens,

just as a man would eat who took the consecrated host but did not know

it was consecrated. [1675] nd eat, God alone knows. Duns Scotus took up

the similar question, what occurs to an ass drinking the water

consecrated for baptism and sensibly called it a subtilitas asinina, an

asinine refinement, for the virtue of ablution inhering in such water

an ass could not drink. [1676] the divine and human natures in Christ's

person. He died, 1306, while his case was being tried at Rome. Ockam

tentatively developed the theory of impanation whereby Christ's body

and the bread are united in one substance, but he expressed his

readiness to yield to the dogma of the Church.

The sacrificial aspect of the eucharist was no less fully developed. In

Hugo of St. Victor we hear nothing of a repetition of the sacrifice on

the cross. He speaks of the mass as being a transmission of our

prayers, vows, and offerings--oblationes -- to God. [1677] crificial

element. The eucharist is an unbloody but "real immolation" performed

by the priest.

The altar represents the cross, the priest represents Christ in whose

person and power he pronounces the words of consecration, [1678] s the

passion on the cross. The priest's chief function is to consecrate the

body and blood of Christ. [1679]

The sacrifice may be offered daily, just as we stand daily in need of

the fruits of Christ's death and as we pray for daily food. And because

Christ was on the cross from nine till three o'clock, it is proper that

it should be offered between those hours, at any rate during the

daytime and not in the night, for Christ said, "I must work the works

of him that sent me, while it is day: for the night cometh, when no man

can work," John 9:4.

To the discussion of the twofold effect of the eucharist as a sacrament

and as a sacrifice, the Schoolmen also give much attention. Like the

other sacraments, the eucharist has the virtue of conferring grace of

itself. [1680] so to persons who do not partake, living and dead.

[1681] g taken to include parties not present in the benefits of the

sacrifice on the altar.

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[1655] Quasi omnis devotio in ecclesia est in ordine ad illud

sacramentum. Duns Scotus as quoted by Seeberg, Dogmengesch., II. 113.

[1656] See Schaff's Christ in Song, pp. 465 sqq. The verse, depicting

the doctrine of transubstantiation, runs:-- Verbum caro, panem verum

verbo carnem efficit Fitque sanguis Christi merum; etsi sensus deficit

Ad firmandum cor sincerum sola fides sufficit.

[1657] Corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et

vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpore et vino

in sanguinem potestate divina.

[1658] Migne, 171. 776.

[1659] See Schwane, p. 656.

[1660] Schwane, p. 641, and Rocholl under Rupert in Herzog, XV. 229 sqq

[1661] Th. Aq., III. 73. 4, Migne, IV. 701; Bonaventura, Brev. VI. 9,

Peltier's ed., 322, eucharistiae dedit in sacrificium oblationis, et

sacramentum communionis et viaticum refectionis.

[1662] Hostia salutaris. Eph. 5:2, is quoted where the word hostia is

used in the Vulgate for Christ's sacrifice.

[1663] De euchar. vol. XIII. 668. Th. Aquinas, III. 74. 1, Migne, IV.

705, speaks of the Cataphrygae and Pepuziani as mixing with the dough

of the sacramental bread the blood of children gotten by pricking their

bodies, and also of the Aquarii who, from considerations of temperance,

used only water.

[1664] He defined transubstantiation as transitus totalis substantiae

in substantiam. Seeberg, p. 378.

[1665] Th. Aq., III. 75. 1, Migne, IV. 716, neque sensu, neque

intellectu deprehendi potest sed sola fide. Bonaventura says, Brevil.

VI 9, in specierum utraque continetur totaliter, non

circumscriptibiliter, nec localiter sed sacramentaliter totus Christus.

[1666] Quamvis non sint substantia, habent virtutem substantiae. Th.

Aq., III. 77. 6, Migne, IV. 755.

[1667] Th. Aq., III. 77. 7, Migne, IV. 756; Bonaventura, Brevil., 322.

[1668] Non solum caro sed totum corpus Christi, scilicet ossa, nervi et

alia hujusmodi. Th. Aq., 76. 1, Migne, IV. 732. He lays stress upon the

word "body," which is made up of constituent parts, and the "flesh" of

John 6:56, he explains as standing for the body. Following the

Aristotelian distinction of substance and form, Thomas Aquinas, Migne,

IV. 726, and the other Schoolmen (see Schwane, p. 648) declared that

the form of the bread and wine is also changed into the body and blood

of Christ. The words forma and species are distinguished. The species

of bread and wine remain, the forma disappears. Duns Scotus devoted

much space to proving that a substance may have a variety of forms.

[1669] Sub utraque specie sacramenti totus est Christus. Th. Aq., 76.

2, Migne, 733. Sub utraque specie est unus Christus et totus et

indivisus, scilicet corpus, et anima, et Deus. Bonaventura, Brevil. Vl.

9, Peltier's ed., VII. 322.

[1670] In acceptatione sanguinis totum Christum, Deum et hominem, et in

acceptatione corporis similiter totum accipimus. Ep. 4:107, Migne, vol.

159 p. 255. Anselm was making a distinction between the body and spirit

of Christ, the spirit being represented by the blood and wine, and the

body by the bread and flesh.

[1671] Summa, II. VIII., Migne, 176. 462, ego in ejusmodi divina

secreta magis venerenda quam discutienda cerneo.

[1672] Summa, 81. 3, Migne, IV. 810-813. Anselm used the same words.

Migne, 159. 255. Schwane agrees that this conception, that Christ ate

His own body, was general among the Schoolmen, p. 645.

[1673] Rex sedet in coena turba, cinctus duodena Se tenet in manibus et

cibat ipse cibus.

[1674] So Hugo, II, 8. 4; the Lombard, XI. 8; Thomas Aquinas, 81. 2,

Migne. pp. 811 sq. The delusion is called a fictio and also

"Judas'communion." Synod of London, 1175. The argument is in clear

contradiction to the meaning of the Gospel narratives on their face.

[1675] For this theological and metaphysical curiosity, see Th. Aq.,

80. 3, Migne, 789, non tangit mus ipsum corpus Christi, secundum

propriam speciem sed solum secundum species sacramentales ... nec tamen

animal brutum sacramentaliter corpus Christi manducat quia non est

natum uti eo ut sacramento, unde non sacramentaliter sed per accidens

corpus Christi manducat, etc. Alb. Magnus, In Sent., IV. 13. 38.

Borgnet's ed., XXIX. 397, Bonaventura, Sent., IV. 13. 2. 1, Peltier's

ed., V. 550.

[1676] Seeberg, p. 360.

[1677] The priest being the mediator. Summa, Migne, 176. 472.

[1678] Sacerdos gerit imaginem Christi, Th. Aq., III. 83. 1, Migne, IV.

830.

[1679] Th. Aq., Supplem. 37. 5, Migne, IV. 1062.

[1680] Ex seipso virtutem habet gratiam conferendi. Th. Aq., III. 79.

1, Migne, IV. 774.

[1681] Th. Aq., 79. 7, Supplem. III. 71. 10, Migne, IV. 782, 1246 sq.;

Al. Magnus, I. 4, extended the benefits of the mass also to the

glorified pro salute vivorum, pro requie defunctorum, pro gloria

beatorum.

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� 116. Eucharistic Practice and Superstition.

The celebration of the eucharist is the central part of the service of

the Latin Church. Thomas Aquinas said it is to be celebrated with

greater solemnity than the other sacraments because it contains the

whole mystery of our salvation. He gives the meaning of the various

ceremonies, [1682] such as the signing with the cross, the priest's

turning his face to the people a certain number of times with reference

to Christ's appearances after the resurrection, the use of incense, the

stretching forth of the priest's arms, the breaking of the bread, and

the rinsing of the mouth after the wine has been taken. How important

the prescriptions were considered to be, may be inferred from the

careful attention this great Schoolman gives to them. If a fly, he

says, or a spider, be found in the wine after consecration, the insect

must be taken out, carefully washed and burnt, and then the water,

mingled with ashes, must be thrown into the sacrary. If poison be found

in the consecrated wine, the contents of the cup are to be poured out

and kept in a vessel among the relics. [1683]

The priest's fitness to consecrate the elements lies in the sacerdotal

power conferred upon him at his ordination. He consecrates the elements

not in his own name but as the minister of Christ, and he does not

cease to be a minister by being bad, malus. [1684] the elements, in the

eucharist the benefit consists in the consecration of the elements by

the priest and not in their use by the people. [1685]

Ecclesiastical analysis and definition could go no farther in divesting

the simple memorial meal instituted by our Lord of the element of

immediate communion between the believer and the Saviour, and changing

it as it were into a magical talisman. It would be disingenuous to

ignore that with the Schoolmen the devotional element has a most

prominent place in their treatment of the eucharist. Especially when

they are treating it as a sacrifice is emphasis laid upon devotion on

the part of the participants. [1686] ee, the place of faith as the

necessary organ of receiving the divine grace extended through this

sacred ordinance. The definition which the mediaeval theologians gave

to the Church and the mediatorial power they associated with the

priesthood precluded them from estimating faith at its true worth.

[1687]

The theory of the sacrificial efficacy of the mass encouraged

superstition. It exalted the sacerdotal prerogative of the priest

[1688] d for pilgrims looking forward to heaven. The people came to

look to him rather than to Christ, for could he not by the utterance of

his voice effect the repetition of the awful sacrifice of the cross!

The frequent repetition of the mass became a matter of complaint.

Albertus Magnus speaks of women attending mass every day from levity

and not in a spirit of devotion who deserved rebuke. [1689] Easter, and

in case of burial. Masses had their price and priests there were who

knew how to sell them and to frighten people into making provision for

them in their wills. [1690]

The elevation and adoration of the host were practised in the Latin

Church as early as the twelfth century. Honorius III., 1217, made

obligatory the ringing of a bell at the moment the words of institution

were uttered that the worshippers might fall on their knees and adore

the host. The Lambeth synod of 1281 ordered the church bells to be rung

at the moment of consecration so that the laboring man on the field and

the woman engaged in her domestic work might bow down and worship.

Synods prescribed that the pyx, the receptacle for the host, be made of

gold, silver, ivory, or, at least, of polished copper. A light was kept

burning before it perpetually. In case a crumb of the bread or a drop

of the wine fell upon the cloth or the priest's garments, the part was

to be cut out and burnt and the ashes thrown into the sacrary. And if

the corporale, the linen cover prescribed for the altar, should be wet

in the blood, it was to be washed out three times and the water drunk

by a priest. If a drop happened to fall on a stone or a piece of wood

or hard earth, the priest or some pious person was to lick it up.

The festival of the eucharist, Corpus Christi, celebrated the first

Thursday after Trinity Sunday, had its origin in the vision of Juliana,

a nun of Liege, who saw the full moon, representing the church year,

with one spot on its surface. This spot indicated the Church's neglect

to properly honor the real presence. She made her vision known to the

bishop of Liege and the archdeacon, James Pantaleon. A celebration was

appointed for the diocese, and when James became pope, under the name

of Urban IV., he prescribed, in 1264, the general observance of the

festival. John XXII. inaugurated the procession wherein, on Corpus

Christi day, the host was carried about the streets with great

solemnities. [1691] was prepared by Thomas Aquinas at the appointment

of Urban IV. Two important changes occurred in this period in the

distribution of the elements,--the abandonment of the communion of

children and the withdrawal of the cup from the laity.

The communion of children practised in the early Church, and attested

by Augustine and still practised in the Greek Church, seems to have

been general as late as the reign of Pascal II. Writing in 1118, Pascal

said it was sufficient to give the wine to children and the very sick,

as they are not able to assimilate the bread. In their case the bread

was to be dipped into the wine. [1692] them the bread, and the synod of

Bordeaux, 1255, the wine as well as the bread. The greater Schoolmen do

not treat the subject. The Supplement of Thomas Aquinas' Theology says

that the extreme unction and the eucharist were not administered to

children because both sacraments required real devotion in the

recipients. [1693]

The denial of the cup to the laity, the present custom of the Roman

Catholic Church, became common in the thirteenth century. It was at

first due to the fear of profanation by spilling the consecrated blood

of Christ. At the same time the restriction to the bread was regarded

as a wholesome way of teaching the people that the whole Christ is

present in each of the elements. Among other witnesses in the twelfth

century to the distribution of both the bread and the wine to the laity

are Rupert of Deutz and pope Pascal II. Pascal urged that this custom

be forever preserved. [1694] , refers to it and condemned the dipping

of the host into the wine as a Judas communion, with reference to John

13:26. [1695]

By the middle of the thirteenth century the feeling had grown strong

enough for a great authority, Alexander of Hales, to condemn the giving

of the cup to the laity and on the doctrinal ground that the whole

Christ is in each of the elements. As a means of instructing the people

in this doctrine he urged that the cup be denied. But Albertus Magnus,

his contemporary, has no hint justifying the practice. [1696] f the

cup, for the full benefit accrues by the participation of a single

element, communio sub una specie. [1697]

The usage gradually spread. The chapter of the Cistercians in 1261

forbade monks, nuns, and lay brethren of the order to take the cup. The

few Councils which expressed themselves on the subject were divided.

[1698]

The council of Constance threatened with excommunication all who

distributed the wine to the laity. It spoke of many "perils and

scandals" attending the distribution of the wine. Gerson, who voted for

the enactment, urged the danger of spilling the wine, of defilement to

the sacred vessels from their contact with laymen's hands and lips, the

long beards of laymen, the possibility of the wine's turning to vinegar

while it was being carried to the sick, or being corrupted by flies, or

frozen by the cold, the difficulty of always purchasing wine, and the

impossibility of providing cups for ten thousand or twenty thousand

communicants on Easter. The council of Trent reaffirmed the withdrawal

of the cup as an enactment the Church was justified in making. Gregory

II. had commanded the use of a single chalice at communion. [1699]

Some strange customs came into vogue in the distribution of the wine,

such as the use of a reed or straw, which were due to veneration for

the sacred element. Many names were given to this instrument, such as

fistula, tuba, canna, siphon, pipa, calamus. The liturgical directions

required the pope to drink through a fistula on Maundy Thursday and

Good Friday. He still follows this custom at the public mass. The

practice maintained itself in some parts of the Lutheran Church as in

Hamburg and vicinity, and Brandenburg down to the eighteenth century.

[1700]

Another custom was the practice of cleaning the mouth with a rinsing

cup of unconsecrated wine, after one or both the elements had been

received, and called in German the Sp�lkelch. A synod of Soissons of

the twelfth century enjoined all to rinse their mouths after partaking

of the elements. Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, 1281, enjoined

priests to instruct the people that in partaking of the bread they were

partaking of the whole Christ, and that what was given them in the cup

was only wine, given that they might the more easily swallow the sacred

body. [1701] [1702]

This treatment of the mediaeval theory of the eucharist would be

incomplete without giving some of the marvellous stories which bear

witness to the excessive reverence for the sacred host and blood. One

of the most famous, the story of the monk, who was cured of doubts by

seeing the host exude blood, is told by Alexander of Hales,

Bonaventura, [1703] [1704] rbach relates several cases when a

snow-white dove was seen sitting near the chalice at the celebration of

the mass and a number of cases of the appearance of Christ in visible

form in the very hands of the consecrating priest. Thus one of the

monks, present when the mass was being said by Herman, abbot of

Himmelrode, saw after the consecration of the host the Christ as a

child in the abbot's hands. The child rose to the height of the cross

and then was reduced again in size to the dimensions of the host, which

was eaten by the abbot. [1705] urning it back again, he saw Christ on

the cross. Then there was nothing left but the visible form of the

bread, which the pious monk ate. The writer goes on to say that Adolf

did not feel full joy over this vision, for he kept a concubine. [1706]

oman of the town of Thorembais, who had been refused the sacrament by a

priest, was visited the same night by Christ himself, who gave her the

host with his own hands. [1707]

At a church dedication in Anrode, the invited priests engaged in

conviviality and while they were dancing around the altar, the pyx was

overthrown and the five hosts it contained scattered. The music was at

once stopped and search was made but without result. The people were

then put out of the building and every corner was searched till at last

the hosts were found on a ledge in the wall where the angel had placed

them. [1708]

Perhaps the most remarkable case related by the chronicler of

Heisterbach is that of the bloody host of St. Trond, Belgium. This he

had himself seen, and he speaks of it as a miracle which should be

recorded for the benefit of many after generations. In 1223 a woman in

Harbais, in the diocese of Li�ge, kissed her lover with the host in her

mouth, in the hope that it would inflame his love for her. She then

found she could not swallow the host and carefully wrapped it up in a

napkin. In her agony, she finally revealed her experience to a priest

who called in the bishop of Livland who happened to be in the town.

Together they went to the place where the host was concealed and lo!

there were three drops of fresh blood on the cloth. The abbot of Trond

was called in and it was then found that half of the host was flesh and

half bread. The bishop thought so highly of the relic that he attempted

to carry off two of the drops of blood, but sixty armed men interfered.

The sacred blood was then put in a vase and deposited among the relics

of the church of St. Trond. [1709]

Another case related by Etienne of Bourbon [1710] acred morsel. All the

bees from the neighborhood were attracted and sang beautiful melodies.

The rustic went out, expecting to find the hives overflowing with honey

but, to his amazement, found them all empty except the one in which the

host had been deposited. The bees attacked him fiercely. He repaired to

the priest, who, after consulting with the bishop, went in procession

to the hive and found the miniature church with the altar and carried

it back to the village church while the bees, singing songs, flew away.

These stories, which might be greatly multiplied, attest the profound

veneration in which the host was held and the crude superstitions which

grew up around it in the convent and among the people. The simple and

edifying communion meal of the New Testament was set aside by mediaeval

theology and practice for an unreasonable ecclesiastical prodigy.

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[1682] Summa, III. 83. 5 sq., Migne, IV. 844-853.

[1683] Th. Aq., III. 83. 5, Migne, IV. 850.

[1684] Non ex hoc desinit aliquis minister esse Christi quod est malus,

Th. Aq., 82. 5, 7, Migne, IV. 821, 824; Anselm, ep. IV. 107, Migne,

159. 257, had said the same thing, nec a bono sacerdote majus, etc.

[1685] Th. Aq., III. 80. 12, Migne, IV. 809. Perfectio hujus sacramenti

non est in usu fidelium sed in consecratione materiae.

[1686] Requiritur ut cum magna devotione et reverentia ad, hoc

sacramentum accedat .... Eucharistia exigit actualem devotionem in

suscipiente, Th. Aq., III. 80. 10, Supplem. III, 32. 4, Migne, IV. 805,

1038.

[1687] We cannot help feeling strongly with Harnack when he exclaims,

"In its doctrine of the eucharist, the Church gave expression to all

that she held dear,--her theology, her mystical relation to Christ, the

communion of believers, the priesthood, sacrifice, not to that faith

which seeks assurance and to which assurance is given,"Dogmengesch.,

II. 489 sq

[1688] Populus indiget medio ad Deum qui per seipsum accedere ad deum

non potest., Th. Aq., III. 22. 4, Migne, IV. 219.

[1689] De euchar. VI. 3.

[1690] Councils of W�rzburg, 1287, Paris, 1212, etc. See Hefele, V. 866

[1691] See artt. Fronleichnamsfest in Wetzer-Welte, IV. 2061 sqq., and

Herzog, VI. 297 sqq. It was one of the first observances to call forth

Luther's protest. K�stlin, Leben Luthers, I. 560.

[1692] Ep., 535, Migne, 163. 442, qui panem absorbere non possunt,

etc., quoted in Herzog under Kinderkommunion, X. 289.

[1693] Suppl., XXXII. 4, Migne, IV. 1038. The council of Trent

anathematized those who hold the communion of children to be necessary.

[1694] Migne, 163. 142. See Smend, p. 7, for other witnesses. Smend's

book is a most thorough piece of work and is indispensable in the study

of the subject. With the exception of some quotations, I depend upon

him for the contents of these paragraphs.

[1695] Called intinctio. Hugo of St. Victor and Peter the Lombard were

among the first to condemn the practice. Also the synod of London,

1175, Hefele, V. 688. See also V. 224 for the action of the synod of

Clermont, 1095.

[1696] Albertus makes no mention of the matter in his De eucharistia

and Com. on the Sentences. Peter Rokyzana, at the council of Basel in

the fifteenth century, appealed to him in his argument for giving the

cup to the laity.

[1697] Th. Aq., III. 80. 12, Migne, IV. 808 sq., nihil derogat

perfectioni hujus sacr., si populus sumat corpus sine sanguine dummodo

sacerdos consecrans sumat utrumque. So also Bonaventura, Sent., IV. 11.

2.

[1698] The synod of Lambeth, 1281, seems to have forbidden the cup to

the laity; the synod of Exeter, 1287, to have positively enjoined it.

[1699] See Migne, 89. 525. For an interesting account of the different

shapes of the chalice, see Enc. Brit., XIX. 185 sq. The earlier

chalices had two handles and a small base, those of the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries no handles and a broad base. Some of the later

chalices were very capacious.

[1700] See the interesting details given by Smend, pp. 18 sqq.

[1701] Vinum purum ... ut facilius sacrum corpus glutiat. Smend, who

`gives elaborate details, pp. 43-75.

[1702] The object was to prevent the loss of any of the sacred element

by expectoration or vomiting, per sputum vel vomitum. Chrysostom made a

recommendation of this sort, Smend, 44.

[1703] Sent., IV. 11, 2, 2, Peltier's ed., V. 496.

[1704] Caesar of Heisterb., Dial., IV. 16.

[1705] Dial., IX. 29, Strange's ed., II. 186.

[1706] IX. 3.

[1707] IX. 35, Strange's ed., II. 191.

[1708] Dial., IX. 15.

[1709] See Kaufmann, trans. of Caesar, II. 208-210.

[1710] De la Marche's ed., pp. 266 sq.

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� 117. Penance and Indulgences.

The sacrament of penance was placed in close connection with baptism by

the Schoolmen, as it was later by the council of Trent, which called it

a "sort of laborious baptism." [1711] rtullian's illustration, the

Schoolmen designated penance the second plank thrown out to the sinner

after shipwreck as baptism is the first. [1712] he priesthood in

securing and strengthening its authority. The treatment given to it by

the Schoolmen is even more elaborate than the treatment they give to

the eucharist. [1713]

One feature in which this sacrament differs from the others is the

amount of positive activity it requires from those who seek the grace

involved in it. Contrition, confession to the priest, and the

performance of good works prescribed by the priest were the conditions

of receiving this grace. Everything depends upon God, and yet

everything depends upon the subjection of the penitent to the priest

and his act of absolution. It is in connection with this sacrament that

the doctrine of the keys comes to its full rights. Here a man is

absolved from sin and reunited with the Church, and reconciled to

Christ through the mediation of the sacerdotal key. [1714]

Two perversions of Scripture were the largest factors in developing the

theory of meritorious penance. The first was the false interpretation

of John 20:23, "Whosoever sins ye forgive they are forgiven, and

whosoever sins ye retain they are retained." The passage was

interpreted to mean that Christ conferred upon the Apostles and the

Church judicial authority to forgive sins. The Protestant theory is

that this authority is declarative. The second factor was the Vulgate's

translation of the New Testament for the word "repent," poenitentiam

agite, "do penance," as if repentance were a meritorious external

exercise, and not a change of disposition, which is the plain meaning

of the Greek word metanoeo, "to change your mind." [1715]

The confusion of the New Testament idea and the Church's doctrine is

evident enough from the twofold meaning Peter the Lombard and Thomas

Aquinas give to the thing called penance. Baptism, they said, is a

sacrament, but penance is both a sacrament and a virtuous state of the

mind. In the New Testament the latter is intended. The theologians

added all the mechanism of penance. [1716]

At the close of the twelfth century a complete change was made in the

doctrine of penance. The theory of the early Church, elaborated by

Tertullian and other Church fathers, was that penance is efficient to

remove sins committed after baptism, and that it consisted in certain

penitential exercises such as prayer and alms. The first elements added

by the mediaeval system were that confession to the priest and

absolution by the priest are necessary conditions of pardon. Peter the

Lombard did not make the mediation of the priest a requirement, but

declared that confession to God was sufficient. In his time, he says,

there was no agreement on three aspects of penance: first, whether

contrition for sin was not all that was necessary for its remission;

second, whether confession to the priest was essential; and third,

whether confession to a layman was insufficient. The opinions handed

down from the Fathers, he asserts, were diverse, if not antagonistic.

[1717]

Alexander of Hales marks a new era in the history of the doctrine. He

was the first of the Schoolmen to answer clearly all these questions,

and to him more than to any other single theologian does the Catholic

Church owe its doctrine of penance. Thomas Aquinas confirmed what

Alexander taught. [1718]

In distinction from baptism, which is a regeneration, Thomas Aquinas

declared penance to be a restoration to health and he and Bonaventura

agreed that it is the efficacious remedy for mortal sins. Thomas traced

its institution back to Christ, who left word that "penance and

remission of sins should be preached from Jerusalem," Luke 24:47. James

had this institution in mind when he called upon Christians to confess

their sins one to another. [1719]

Penance consists of four elements: contrition of heart, confession with

the mouth, satisfaction by works, and the priest's absolution. The

first three are called the substance of penance and are the act of the

offender. The priest's absolution is termed the form of penance. [1720]

1. Contrition was defined as the sorrow of the soul for its sins, an

aversion from them, and a determination not to commit them again. The

Lombard and Gratian taught that such contrition, being rooted in love,

is adequate for the divine pardon without confession to a priest or

priestly absolution. [1721]

At the side of the doctrine of contrition the Schoolmen, beginning with

Alexander Hales, placed the novel doctrine of attrition, which was most

fully emphasized by Duns Scotus. Attrition is the negative element in

contrition, a sort of half repentance, a dread of punishment,

Galgenreue, "scaffold-repentance," as the Germans call it. [1722] e

father went out to meet him. According to this doctrine, a man may be

forgiven and saved who is actuated simply by the fear of hell and

punishment and has neither faith nor filial love in his heart. All he

is required to do is to diligently go through the other steps of the

process of penance, and the priest's pardon will be forthcoming. [1723]

2. Confession to the priest, the second element in penance, is defined

by Thomas Aquinas as the making-known of the hidden disease of sin in

the hope of getting pardon. [1724] [1725] supplication for such

offences and that is sufficient. They do not separate the soul either

from God or the Church. [1726] rites.

By the action of the Fourth Lateran, 1215, confession to the priest at

least once a year was made a test of orthodoxy. Beginning with

Alexander of Hales, the Schoolmen vindicate the positions that

confession, to be efficacious, must be made to the priest, and that

absolution by the priest is an essential condition of the sinner's

pardon. Bonaventura, after devoting much time to the question, "Whether

it is sufficient to confess our sins to God," answered it in the

negative. At greater length than Peter the Lombard had done, he quoted

the Fathers to show that there was no unanimity among them on the

question. But he declared that, since the decision of the Fourth

Lateran, all are to be adjudged heretics who deny that confession to

the priest is essential. Before that decision, such denial was not

heresy. [1727]

Confession must be made to the priest as Christ's vicar. In case of

necessity, no priest being available, a layman may also hear

confession. [1728] God but not to the Church, and in order to be so

reconciled and admitted to the other sacraments he must also, as

opportunity offers, confess again to the priest.

Priests were forbidden to look at the face of a woman at the

confessional, and severe punishments were prescribed for betraying its

secrets, even to degradation from office and life-long confinement in a

convent. [1729] the whole of the Jordan ran into their mouths. [1730]

3. Satisfaction, the third element in penance, is imposed by the priest

as the minister of God and consists of prayer, pilgrimages, fastings,

payments of money, and other good works. These penal acts are medicines

for spiritual wounds and a compensation to God for offences against

Him, as Thomas Aquinas, [1731] f Henry II. after Becket's death, Philip

I. of France, and Raymund of Toulouse.

Satisfaction differs from contrition and confession in the very

important particular that one person can perform it for another. To

prove this point, Thomas Aquinas used the words of the Apostle when he

said, "Bear ye one another's burdens." Gal. 6:2.

4. The fourth element in the sacrament of penance was the formal

sentence of absolution pronounced by the priest. This function, which

Schwane calls the main part of the sacrament of penance, [1732]

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[1711] Duns Scotus had spoken of the "satisfaction which is the doing

of a laborious work," quae est executio operis laboriosi. Report IV.

16. 1, quoted by Schwane, p. 669.

[1712] Tertullian, de Poen, XII. So also Jerome. See the Lombard,

Sent., XIV. 1, Migne, 868; Bonaventura, Sent., XIV. 1, Peltier's ed.,

V. 553; Brevil., VI. 10, VII. 323; Th. Aq., III. 84. 6, Migne, IV. 862;

Supplem., VI. 3. 936; Alb. Magnus, In Sent., Borgnet's ed., XXIX. 404

sq.

[1713] The Lombard devotes two and a half times the space to penance

that he does to the eucharist; Migne's ed., pp. 868-899, as against pp.

856-868 on the eucharist; Hugo of St. Victor, Migne's ed., 550-578, as

against 462-471 on the eucharist; Th. Aquinas, Migne's ed., 852-1023,

as against 695-852 on the eucharist, and Bonaventura nearly four times

as much space devoting to penance, Peltier's ed., vol. V. 533-709, vol.

VI. 1-129, and to the eucharist, vol. V. 415-533.

[1714] Absolvitur homo a peccato, et reunitur ecclesiae et

reconciliatur Christo, mediante clavi sacerdotali, Bonaventura,

Brevil., VI. 10, Peltier's ed., VII. 323.

[1715] The Rheims Version translates the word "do penance," though not

uniformly, thereby utterly confusing the English reader who

involuntarily puts into the New Testament word the Church's sacramental

invention.

[1716] Poenitentia dicitur et sacramentum et virtus mentis, Lombard

XIV. l, p. 869; Th. Aq., Migne, IV. 850 sqq. While we use two words,

"repentance" and "penance," the Schoolmen use only the one word,

poenitentia, thus mystifying the mind as if repentance of heart, or

metanoia, did not include the entire meaning of the original word.

[1717] Sent., XVII. 1, Migne, p. 880. The finished sacramental theory

of penance owed not a little to the tract de vera et falsa poenitentia,

composed perhaps in the twelfth century and foisted upon Augustine.

Gratian inserted nearly all of it in his Decretals, as did Peter the

Lombard. According to Lea, I. 210, the work was still quoted as

Augustine's as late as the seventeenth century. Lea regards it as the

composition of two authors of the fifth and twelfth centuries.

[1718] This is shown by M�ller's notable work,Der Umschwung, etc.

Abaelard's statement presenting the old view, and the statement of

Thomas Aquinas representing the new view, are given in K�hler, pp.

11-18.

[1719] Summa, III. 84. 7; Supplem., VIII. 1, Migne, IV. 864, 943.

[1720] Lombard, XVI. 1, Migne, p. 877; Alb. Magnus, Borgnet's ed.,

XXIX. 536. Th. Aq., 90. 1, 2, Migne, IV. 912 sq., and Bonaventura,

Brevil., VI.10, Peltier's ed., VII. 323, also call the first three "the

integral parts" of penance. So also Abaelard, Ethica, 17-24.

[1721] See Schwane's strong condemnation of this opinion, which he

declares to be beyond a doubt the Lombard's, p. 662.

[1722] Timor servilis principium est attritionis, Alex. of Hales quoted

by Schwane, p. 664. Th. Aquinas, Supplem., I. 2, Migne, IV. 919, is

much more moderate than Alexander, Bonaventura, and Duns. Caesar of

Heisterbach calls "servile fear a gift of God," Koeniger, p. 31. At the

close of the Middle Ages, Gabriel Biel took the position that attrition

is changed by confession and absolution into contrition. See Seeberg,

Dogmengesch., II. 121.

[1723] See Hahn, p. 413; Schwane, p. 666. The council of Trent, XIV. 4

(Schaff's Creeds, II. 145 sq.), adopted the word "attrition" and

defined it as an imperfect contrition. The doctrine of attritio formed

a centre of discussion in the warm debate over indulgences started by

Janssen's work and participated in by Kolde, Kawerau, Dieckhoff, etc.

Harnmack is very severe upon the doctrine as the dry rot in the

Catholic system, Dogmengesch., II. 482, 504 sqq.

[1724] Aquinas quotes Augustine's definition, Supplem., VII.1, IX. 3,

Migne, IV. 940, 954.

[1725] Migne, IV. 939.

[1726] Th. Aq., III. 87. 1, Migne, IV. 890; Supplem., VI. 1, 3, VIII.

3, Migne, IV. 934, 936, 945. With characteristic exhaustiveness, Thomas

goes into the question whether a man can confess sins he has never

committed, Migne IV. 936.

[1727] In Sent., IV. 17. 2, Peltier's ed., V. 674, ante hanc

determinationem hoc non erat heresis, etc. Albertus Magnus also

declared it was not sufficient to confess to God only, Borgnet's ed.

XXIX. 603.

[1728] Th. Aq., Supplem., VII. 1, 2, Migne, IV. 943 sq.; Bonaventura,

Sent., XVII. 3. 1, Peltier's ed., V. 695. Caesar of Heisterbach speaks

of confession to an unbeliever as efficacious in the article of death,

provided the unbeliever does not ridicule the sacrament, Koeniger, p.

73.

[1729] Fourth Lat., can. 21, synods of Treves, 1227, Canterbury, 1236,

etc.

[1730] See Hefele, VI, 30.

[1731] Supplem., XV. 3, Migne, IV. 978. Duns Scotus (quoted by Seeberg,

412) says, satisfaction is the voluntary return of an equivalent

redditio voluntaria aequivalentis.

[1732] Schwane, p. 670.

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� 118. Penance and Indulgences.

The year 1200 marks the dividing line between opinions differing most

widely on the meaning of the priests absolution. Peter the Lombard

represented the prevailing view of the earlier period when he

pronounced the absolution, a declarative announcement. Alexander of

Hales represented the later period, when he pronounced it a judicial

sentence. According to Peter, God alone remits sins. It was the Lord

who restored the lepers to health, not the priests to whom be sent

them. They did nothing more than bear witness to the healthy condition

of the lepers. The priest's prerogative is ended when he "shows or

declares those who are bound and those who are loosed." [1733]

Before the end of the thirteenth century, the petitional form of

absolution was in general, though not exclusive, used and the priest

made intercession for the grace of forgiveness upon the offender.

[1734] [1735] this form and pronounced the contrary form more laughable

and frivolous than worthy of refutation. He was followed by Richard of

St. Victor who emphasized the distinction between the priest's right to

remit the punishment of sin and God's prerogative which is to forgive

the guilt of sin. [1736]

The absolution from certain offences was reserved to the bishops, such

as murder, sacrilege in the use of the eucharist or the baptismal

water, perjury, poisoning, and letting children die without being

baptized. [1737] a priest or monk, the burning of church buildings, and

falsifying of papal documents.

In the article of death, the sacrament of absolution is in no case to

be refused. At such times works of satisfaction cannot be required,

even as they were not required of the thief on the cross.

The extent to which absolution is efficacious called forth careful

discussion and statement. Does it cover guilt as well as punishment and

does it extend to the punishments of purgatory? The answer to these

questions also was positive and distinct from the time of Alexander of

Hales. Peter the Lombard was the last of the prominent Schoolmen to

declare that the priest did not give absolution for guilt. The later

Schoolmen with one consent oppose him at this point and teach that the

priest absolves both from the guilt and the punishments of sin in this

world and in purgatory. Thomas Aquinas asserted that, "if the priest

cannot remit these temporal punishments,--for the punishments of

purgatory are temporal,--then he cannot remit at all and this is

contrary to the words of the Gospel to Peter that whatsoever he should

loose on earth should be loosed in heaven." [1738]

The ultimate and, as it proved, a most vicious form of priestly

absolution was the indulgence. An indulgence is a remission of the

guilt and punishment of sin by a mitigation or complete setting aside

of the works of satisfaction which would otherwise be required. A

lighter penalty was substituted for a severer one. [1739] [1740] asses:

(1) indulgences which are secured by going on a crusade; (2) such as

are secured by the payment of money for some good church cause, and (3)

such as are secured by the visiting of certain churches.

Towards the close of this period this substitution usually took the

form of a money-payment. For a lump sum absolution for the worst

offences might be secured. It became a tempting source of gain to

churches and the Roman curia, which they were quick to take advantage

of. The dogmatic justification of this method of remission found

positive expression before the practice became general. Alexander of

Hales here again has the distinction of being the first to give it

careful definition and unequivocal emphasis. Thomas Aquinas,

Bonaventura, and the other Schoolmen follow him closely and add little.

Thomas Aquinas declared it impious to say the Church might not dispense

indulgences. [1741]

The first known case occurred about 1016 when the archbishop of Arles

gave an indulgence of a year to those participating in the erection of

a church building. [1742] of such papal franchises. That journey, Urban

said, should be taken as a substitute for all penance. Granted at first

to warriors fighting against the infidel in the Holy Land, they were

extended so as to include those who fought against the Slavs, as by

Eugenius III., 1147, against the Stedinger, Albigenses, and the

Hussites, 1425, and against all enemies whatsoever of the papacy, such

as Frederick II. and Manfred. Innocent II., in 1135, promised full

remission to those who fought the battle of the papal chair against

Roger of Sicily, and the anti-pope, Anacletus II. In these cases such

expressions are used as "remission and indulgence of penances,"

"relaxation or remission from the imposed penance," "the relaxation of

the imposed satisfaction," and also "a lightening or remission of

sins." [1743]

The free-handed liberality with which these franchises were dispensed

by bishops became so much of a scandal that the Lateran council of 1215

issued a sharp decree to check it. More than half a century before, in

1140, Abaelard had condemned the abuse of this prerogative by bishops

and priests who were governed in its lavish exercise by motives of

sordid cupidity. [1744]

The construction of bridges over rivers, the building of churches, and

the visiting of shrines were favorite and meritorious grounds for the

gifts of indulgence. Innocent III., 1209, granted full remission for

the building of a bridge over the Rhone; Innocent IV. for rebuilding

the cathedrals of Cologne, 1248, and Upsala, 1250, which had suffered

from fire. [1745] ssion of all penances for six years and one hundred

and forty days to those who would worship the Holy Blood at

Westminster. [1746] [1747]

To the next period belongs the first cases of indulgence granted in

connection with the Jubilee Year by Boniface VIII., 1300. Among the

more famous indulgences granted to private parties and localities was

the Portiuncula indulgence giving remission to all visiting the famous

Franciscan shrine at Assisi on a certain day of the year, [1748] [1749]

The practice of dispensing indulgences grew enormously. Innocent III.

dispensed five during his pontificate. Less than one hundred years

later, Nicolas IV., in his reign of two years, 1288-1290, dispensed no

less than four hundred. By that time they had become a regular item of

the papal exchequer.

On what grounds did the Church claim the right to remit the works of

penance due for sins or, as Alexander of Hales put it, grant abatement

of the punishment due sin? [1750] up merit beyond what was required

from them for heaven. These supererogatory works or merits of the

saints and of Christ are so abundant that they would more than suffice

to pay off the debts of all the living. [1751] eritorum, or fund of

merits; and this is at the disposal of the Church by virtue of her

nuptial union with Christ, Col. 1:24. This fund is a sort of bank

account, upon which the Church may draw at pleasure. Christ relaxed the

punishment due the woman taken in adultery, not requiring her to do the

works of satisfaction which her offences would, under ordinary

circumstances, have called for. So, likewise, may the pope, who is

Christ's viceregent, release from sin by drawing upon the fund of

merit. Thus the indulgence takes the place of the third element of

penance, works of satisfaction.

These statements of the Schoolmen received explicit papal confirmation

at the hands of Clement VI. in 1343. This pontiff not only declared

that this "heap of treasure,"--cumulus thesauri,--consisting of the

merits of "the blessed mother of God and the saints," is at the

disposal of the successors of Peter, but he made, if possible, the more

astounding assertion that the more this storehouse is drawn upon, the

more it grows. [1752] nfession of the recipient. [1753]

Down to the latter part of the thirteenth century, the theory prevailed

that an indulgence dispensed with the usual works of penance by

substituting some other act. Before the fourteenth century, another

step was taken, and the indulgence was regarded as directly absolving

from the guilt and punishment of sins, culpa et poena peccatorum. It

was no longer a mitigation or abatement of imposed penance. It

immediately set aside or remitted that which acts of penance had been

designed to remove; namely, guilt and penalty. It is sufficient for the

Church to pronounce offences remitted. Wyclif made a bold attack

against the indulgence "from guilt and punishment," a culpa et poena,

in his Cruciata. Now that it is no longer possible to maintain the

spuriousness of such papal indulgences, some Roman Catholic writers

construe the offensive phrase to mean "from the penalty of guilt," a

poena culpae.

Such was the general indulgence given by pope Coelestin V., 1294, to

all who should on a certain day of the year enter the church of St.

Mary de Collemayo in which he had been consecrated. [1754] [1755]

rtiuncula church to be an "indulgence for all sins and from all guilt

and penalty." [1756]

Boniface VIII. probably included the guilt of sin when he announced

"full pardon for all sins," and succeeding popes used the form

constantly. [1757] ndulgence and in vain did the council of Constance

attempt to put some check upon the practice. Tetzel was following the

custom of two centuries when he offered "remission and indulgence of

guilt and penalty."

As for the application of the sacrament of penance to souls in

purgatory, Alexander of Hales argued that, if the sacrament did not

avail for them, then the Church prays in vain for the dead. Such souls

are still under the cognizance of the Church, that is, subject to its

tribunal,--de foro ecclesiae. [1758] Altars and chapels, called in

England chantries, were built and endowed by persons for the

maintenance of a priest, in whole or in part, to pray and offer up

masses for their souls after their departure from this life. The

further treatment of the subject belongs properly to the period just

preceding the Reformation. It is sufficient to say here, that Sixtus

IV., in 1476, definitely connected the payment of money with

indulgences, and legislated that, by fixed sums paid to the papal

collectors, persons on earth may redeem their kindred in purgatory.

Thus for gold and silver the most inveterate criminal might secure the

deliverance of a father or mother from purgatorial pain, and neither

contrition nor confession were required in the transaction. [1759] was

the ultimate conclusion of the sacramental doctrine of penance, the

sacrament to whose treatment the Schoolmen devoted most time and labor.

The council of Trent reasserted the Church's right to grant

indulgences. [1760] eable to the plain statements of Scripture than

that men have the right of immediate access to Christ, who said, "Him

that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out," and what more

repugnant to its plain teachings than to make confession to a priest

and the priest's absolution conditions of receiving pardon!

The superstitious, practical extravagances, which grew out of this most

unbiblical penitential theory of the Middle Ages, are reported in the

pages of the popular writers of the age, such as Caesar of Heisterbach

and De Voragine, who express no dissent as they relate the morbid

tales. Here are two of them as told by De Voragine which are to be

taken as samples of a large body of similar literature. A bishop, by

celebrating thirty masses, helped out of purgatory a poor soul who was

frozen in a block of ice. In the second case, a woman who had

neglected, before dying, to make a confession to the priest, was raised

from her bier by the prayer of St. Francis d'Assisi. She went and

confessed to the priest and then had the satisfaction of lying down in

peace and dying over again. [1761]

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[1733] Potestas solvendi et ligandi, i.e.ostendendi homines ligatos vel

solutos, etc. IV. 18, 6, Migne, p. 887.

[1734] See the form used by Honorius of Autun about 1130, indulgentiam

et absolutionem de omnibus ... tribuat vobis Pater et Filius et Sp.

Sanctus et custodiet vos a peccatis et ab omnibus malis et post hanc

vitam perducat vos in consortium omnium sanctorum. Lea, I. 206.

[1735] Summa, III. 84, 3, Migne, IV. 857. It was not sufficient to say,

"The onmipotent God absolve thee," or "God bestow on thee absolution,"

etc.

[1736] De sacr., II. 14, 8, Migne, 176. 568 .... De potestate ligandi

et solvendi.

[1737] So the synods of Treves 1227, Canterbury 1236, London 1237, etc.

The unchastity of nuns came under the bishop's jurisdiction.

[1738] Si non potest remittere quantum ad poenam temporalem, nullo modo

remittere potest quod omnino contrarium dictus evangelii. Supplem.,

VIII. 2, Migne, IV. 988; Sent., IV. 20, 1, 1-5.

[1739] Beringer-Schneider, the chief Rom. Cath. writer on Indulgences,

p. 2, defines an indulgence "as an act of mercy and goodness, a

salvation by the order of the Church, an act of grace and forgiveness."

[1740] Kreuzablass, etc., pp. 10 sqq. Gottlob, p. xv, says indulgences

occupy a central place in the political and religious life of the last

three centuries of the Middle Ages.

[1741] Supplem., xxv-xxvii, Migne, IV. 1013 sqq. Lea devotes the entire

third volume of his Hist. of Confession to a noteworthy discussion of

indulgences.

[1742] See for the text K�hler, pp. 5 sq.

[1743] relaxatio, remissio, indulgentia de injuncta poenitentia, etc.

See Brieger for these expressions, and Brieger and Lea for numerous

examples of papal indulgences of this sort.

[1744] Ethica, XL. See K�hler, p. 8.

[1745] Potthast, 3799, 12938, 14122.

[1746] Luard's ed., IV. 90, 643.

[1747] See Jusseraud, Engl. Wayfaring Life in the M. Ages, London,

1890, pp. 41 sqq., for many cases of indulgence for building bridges.

[1748] Sabatier, F. Bartholi de Assisio tractatus de indulgentia S.

Mariae de Portiuncula, 1900.

[1749] See p. 366, Lea, III. 270 sqq., and Wetzer-Welte, Sabbatina.

[1750] Summa, IV. 83.1, relaxatio poenae debitae pro peccato, quoted by

Brieger.

[1751] Th. Aq., Summa, III. 83, 1. quorum meritorum tanta est copia

quod omnem poenam debitam nunc viventibus excedunt. See Gottlob, pp.

271 sqq.

[1752] Quanto plures ex ejus applicatione trahuntur ad justitiam, tanto

magis accresit ipsorum cumulus meritorum. See Friedberg, Corp. Jur.

can., II. 1304 sq.

[1753] Vere poenitentibus et confessis was the common formula.

[1754] Dr. Lea, III. 63, has shown the significance of this document.

[1755] K�hler, p. 27, quae securam et mundatam animam ab omni culpa et

poena fecerunt.

[1756] See Sabatier, Fr. F. Bartholi, etc., in part reprinted by

K�hler, pp. 27 sqq.

[1757] See a number of instances in Brieger and especially Lea, III.

55-80. Lea quotes Piers the Ploughman's Crede to show that this

expressed the popular belief. The power of the Apostells they posen in

speche For to sellen the synnes for silver other mede And pulchye a

pena the purple assoileth And a culpa also, that they may cachen Money

other money wothe and mede to fonge.

One of the most striking instances of this form of indulgence is the

absolutio plenaria a poena et culpa issued by Alexander V. to the

members of the council of Pisa, Von der Hardt, Conc. Const. III. 688.

[1758] In contrast to de fore dei, God's tribunal. See Lea, II.

296-371, and Brieger.

[1759] Lea, III. 595 sq., and the instructions of Albert, abp. of

Mainz, quoted by Brieger, nec opus est, quod contribuentes pro animabus

in capsam sint corde contriti et ore confessi.

[1760] Schaff, Creeds, II. 205. Harnack, Hist. of Doctr., II. 511 sqq.,

expresses his moral indignation over the mediaeval theory of penance.

Of attritio, sacramentum poenitentiae, and indulgentia, he exclaims,

das ist die katholische Trias! "That is the Catholic triad!"

[1761] Legenda aurea, under All Souls and Francis d'Assisi. Temple

Classics ed, VI. 113, V. 231.

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� 119. Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Marriage.

Extreme Unction,--unctio infirmorum,--the fifth in the list of the

sacraments, is administered to those who are in peril of death, and is

supposed to be referred to by James 5:14. "Is any among you sick? let

him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him,

anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." The earlier view,

represented by Hugo of St. Victor, Peter the Lombard, and also by

Bonaventura, was that the sacrament is of Apostolic institution. Thomas

Aquinas traced it directly to Christ. Many things, he said, were spoken

by Christ to the Apostles which are not contained in the Gospels.

[1762] eft after penance, and to heal the body. It may be repeated.

Extreme unction as well as the eucharist is to be denied to children on

the ground that their bodily diseases are not caused by sin. [1763]

[1764] e element used is oil, consecrated by the bishop, and it is to

be touched to the eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands, feet, and loins.

Ordination conveys sacramental grace to seven orders of the ministry:

presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, and

ostiarii or door-keepers. These seven correspond to the seven graces of

the Spirit mentioned in 1 Cor. 12. The first three orders were

instituted by Christ; the last four by the Church. [1765] s no

sacramental character. The Schoolmen do not fail to insist upon the

superior dignity of the bishop, but sacramental grace is exhibited in

its highest form in empowering the priest to celebrate the mass. For

the sake of "fulness" there are placed above the priesthood, the

episcopate, patriarchate, and papacy. [1766]

The tonsure, a requirement for admittance to orders, is a sign of rule

and perfection, for it is made in a circle. It also indicates that the

mind is withdrawn from temporal things and fixed upon the contemplation

of divine things. [1767]

According to Thomas Aquinas, there is more reason for regarding

ordination a sacrament than for ascribing a sacramental character to

the other six sacred ordinances, for ordination confers the power of

administering the others. Its efficacious potency resides chiefly with

the person dispensing the sacrament. [1768] ferred to by Councils or

Schoolmen in this period. [1769]

Ordination confers an indelible character upon those admitted to any of

the orders. Its virtue is not affected by the character of the person

ordained. [1770]

As for the validity of the sacramental acts of heretic and schismatic

clergymen, great difference of opinion existed. The problem was so

difficult as to appear to Gratian and Peter the Lombard insoluble or

almost so. The difficulty was increased by the acts of Councils,

condemning as invalid the ordinations of anti-popes and the ordinations

performed by bishops whom anti-popes had appointed. [1771] the

sacrament. Schismatic or heretic bishops retain the power; otherwise

when such a bishop is reconciled to the Church, he would be ordained

over again, which is not the case. [1772] episcopate receives no

sacramental grace, so, as bishop, he possesses no indelible character.

He is ordained not directly for God but for the mystical body of

Christ. And those whom a schismatic bishop ordains do not in reality

receive ordination, for they are ordained in the face of the

prohibition of the Church.

As far as we can understand the Angelic doctor's position it is: the

Church may withdraw from a bishop his right to confer orders while at

the same time he retains the episcopal power to confer them. He

insisted most strenuously on the permanence of the "bishop's power"

received at consecration. The solution of the problem is of

far-reaching importance, for it has a bearing on the sacramental

efficacy of the acts of many priests who have been cut off from the

Latin Church and the ecclesiastical titles of schismatic bodies, such

as the Old-Catholics and the Jansenist Church of Holland.

Marriage has the last place among the sacraments because it has the

least of spirituality connected with it. [1773] first, the bed was

undefiled, conception was without passion, and parturition without

pain. Since the fall, marriage has become a remedy against lust and a

medicine for unholy desire. [1774] e a sacrament, it signifies, in

addition, the union of Christ and the Church and the union of two

natures in one person. The Vulgate's false translation of Ephes. 5:31,

"this is a great sacrament," confirmed the Schoolmen in placing

matrimony among the sacraments. That which constitutes the sacramental

element is the verbal consent of the parties, and also, as Thomas

Aquinas thought, the priest's Benediction. [1775]

Thomas was inclined to permit marriage for boys after the age of

fourteen and girls after the age of twelve. [1776] [1777] presentation,

and couched in the lines which Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas quote:--

error, conditio, votum, cognatio crimen,

cultus disparitas, [1778]

si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibis

haec socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

The Fourth Lateran modified some of the more severe restrictions of

marriage within the limits of consanguinity, but declared children

illegitimate whose parents were within the forbidden limits, even

though the ceremony were performed in the church. The Councils of the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries give frequent rules for marriage.

They were to be performed before the Church and only after public

announcement. The children of parties marrying unbelievers and the

offspring of clandestine marriages were made illegitimate. [1779]

Death dissolves marriage and the surviving party has the right to marry

again to the fourth time or even more often. Otherwise the marriage

bond is perpetual--vinculum matrimonii est perpetuum. This follows from

two considerations: marriage involves the training of the children and

is a symbol of the union between Christ and the Church. Matrimony

becomes absolutely binding only upon copulation. Before that has taken

place, one party or the other may go into an order and in this case the

other party has the right to marry again.

Divorce was allowed for one cause only, fornication. The Schoolmen

supported this position from the words of Christ. Divorce, however, is

a separation, not a release with license to marry again. Marriage can

never be annulled by the act of man. What God hath joined together, no

man can put asunder. [1780] [1781] and subsequent marriages are a

sacrament as the first marriage is.

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[1762] Supplem., XXIX. 3, Migne, IV. 1027.

[1763] Th. Aq., Supplem., XXXII. 4, Migne. IV. 1038; Bonaventura,

Brevil., VI. 11, Peltier's ed., VII. 326.

[1764] Cologne, 1279; Lambeth, 1330, etc.

[1765] P. Lombardus, Sent., IV. XXIV. 9; Hugo of St. Victor, De sacr.,

II. 2, 5; Th. Aq., Supplem., XXXVII. 2, Migne, IV. 1056; Bonavent.,

Brevil., VI. 12.

[1766] Per modum complementi superponitur episcopatus, etc., Bonavent.,

Brevil., VI. 12. P. Lombardus, Sent., XXIV. 9, Migne, p. 904, speaks of

a fourfold rank of bishops, viz. patriarchs, archbishops,

metropolitans, and bishops. These, he says, are not orders but "the

names of dignities and offices." The teaching of Duns Scotus is

uncertain. In one place he asserts the episcopate must be a distinct

order, the eighth, because the bishop alone can administer several of

the sacraments. See Seeberg, p. 441. On the other hand, he quotes

Jerome to show that the episcopate was instituted by the Church and is

not a matter of divine law. See Schwane, p. 684. It is still unsettled

by canon law whether the episcopate is a separate order or not. See

Friedberg, Kirchenrecht, p. 150. The council of Trent did not formally

decide the question, though it speaks of the hierarchy of bishops,

priests, and deacons. See Schaff, Creeds, II. 186 sqq. Innocent III.

placed the subdeacon among the major orders. Friedberg, p. 150.

According to Philip Hergenr�ther, Kathol. Kirchenrecht, pp. 208 sq.,

the episcopate is at the present time universally regarded in the Rom.

Cath. Church as a distinct clerical order.

[1767] Th. Aq., Supplem., XL. 1, Migne, 1071; Bonaventura, Brevil., VI.

12, Peltier's ed., 327. The synods of London 1102, Soissons 1078, Rouen

1190, Fourth Lateran 1215, etc., decreed the tonsure must not be

concealed.

[1768] Th. Aq., Supplem., XXXIV. 4, 5, Migne, 1045 sq., efficacia

principaliter residet penes eum qui sacramentum dispensat.

[1769] Schwane, p. 681, says there was no development in the ritual of

ordination during the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas refers to the

imposition of hands only incidentally in his chapters on penance.

Summa, III. 84, 3, Migne, IV. 850. The council of Florence, 1438,

enjoined that the chalice and paten should be given at the consecration

to some of the orders.

[1770] Th. Aq., Supplem., XXXVI. I, Migne, IV. 1051, si malus ordinatur

nihilominus ordinationem habet.

[1771] For example the 9th (Hefele, V. 380) and 11th oecumenical

Councils pronounced such judgment, naming the anti-popes. So also the

synod of Piacenza, 1095, which declared invalid the ordinations of

Wibert and other bishops.

[1772] Th. Aq., Supplem., XXXIX. 2, Migne, 1065. Episcopus in haeresin

lapsus ... non amisit potestatem quam habebat ordines conferendi.

Thomas is most emphatic on this question and goes on: Omnis protestas

quae datur cum aliqua consecratione, nulla casu contingente tolli

protest, etc .... Unde cum episcopalisprotestas cum quadam

consecratione detur, oportet quod perpetuo maneat quantumcumque aliquis

peccet, vel ab ecclesia praecidatur.

[1773] Th. Aq., Summa, III. 65, 2, Migne, IV. 598, quia minimum habet

de spiritualitate.

[1774] Abaelard, Theol Christ., 31, conjugium non confert aliquod donum

sicut cetera sacramenta faciunt sed tamen mali remedium est ... datur

propter incontinentiam refraenendam. Hugo of St. Vict., De sacr., II.

11. 3, Migne, p.481, conjugium ante peccatum ad officium, post peccatum

ad remedium. Alanus ab Insulis, Reg. Theol., 114, Migne's ed., p. 681,

conjugium sacramentum remedii contra incontinentiam. So also,

Bonaventura, Brevil., Vl. 13; Th. Aq., Supplem., XLII. 2, Migne, IV.

1084; Summa, LXI. 2, Migne, p. 558.

[1775] Th. Aq., Supplem., XLII. 1, Migne, IV. 1083, benedictio

sacerdotis quae est quoddam sacramentale.

[1776] These were supposed to be the "years of discretion." Supplem.,

LVIII. 5, Migne, IV. 1165. The synod of Nismes, 1096, forbade the

marriage of girls under twelve. For cases of the marriage of princesses

under twelve, see Eicken, pp. 448 sq.

[1777] "Just as the offspring of animals follow the nature of the

mother. " Thomas instances the mule, Supplem., LII. 4, Migne, 1127.

[1778] This refers to a marriage in which one party is a Catholic and

the other a heretic, Jew, or infidel.

[1779] Synods of London 1102, 1125, 1200, Fourth Lateran 1215, Treves

1227, Magdeburg 1261, etc. The synod of London, 1200, forbade either

man or wife taking a long journey without the other's consent. Thomas

Aquinas took the position that marriages between a believer and an

unbeliever are not to be allowed because they prevent the education and

training of children in the worship of God, which is one of the chief

objects of the sacrament. Supplem., LIX. 1, Migne, IV. 1167.

[1780] Th. Aq., Supplem., LXI. 2, Migne, IV. 1177. Thomas asserts that,

before the carnalis copula takes place, the bond is a spiritual one and

it may be broken by either party becoming spiritually dead, dying to

the world and living unto God in a convent. After copulation the bond

between man and wife is a carnal tie--vinculum carnale --and can be

broken only by the death of the body.

[1781] Th. Aq., Supplem., LXII. 5, Migne, IV. 1184, non licet uni,

altero vivente, ad aliam copulam transire. Either party may, however,

enter a convent without seeking the consent of the other.

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� 120. Sin and Grace.

Sin.--The Schoolmen are unanimous in affirming that the infection of

original sin has passed down upon all Adam's descendants and involved

them all in guilt and eternal death. Following Augustine, Anselm called

the race a sinning mass--peccatrix massa. By the Fall, man's body, or

flesh, was made, like the beast, subject to carnal appetites and the

mind, in turn, became infected with these appetites. [1782] his

posterity.

Man does not secure his sinful nature by imitation of Adam, but by

inheritance through generation from Adam. The flesh is tainted, being

conceived in concupiscence, and concupiscence is both a taint and

guilt. Nay, it is original sin, as the Lombard says. [1783] [1784] f

all the Schoolmen, yet they agree in rejecting the doctrine of

traducianism. [1785]

Original sin is defined by Alexander of Hales and by Thomas Aquinas as

the want or the "deficiency of original righteousness." [1786] [1787]

rely a defect. It is a depraved tendency--inordinata dispositio. In

another place, Thomas defines original sin to be in substance

concupiscence or lust and in form a defect of original righteousness.

[1788] ence against order.

Thomas taught that the taint of original sin is inherited not from the

mother but from the father who is the active agent in generation. If

Eve only had sinned and not Adam, the children would not have inherited

the taint. On the other hand, if Adam had sinned and Eve remained

innocent, their descendants would have inherited original sin. [1789]

[1790]

At much length, the Schoolmen elaborate upon the sin against the Holy

Ghost and the seven "capital or principal" offences, [1791] any

admixture of the sexes if Adam had not sinned was answered in the

affirmative, in view of the command to be fruitful and to replenish the

earth. Bonaventura also elaborately discussed the question whether the

number of male and female descendants would have been equal had man not

sinned. This he also answered in the affirmative, partly on the ground

that no woman would have been without a husband and no husband without

a wife, for in paradise there would be neither polygamy or polyandry.

He also based his conclusion upon Aristotle's reason for the unequal

conception of male and female children which is now due to some

weakness or other peculiarity on the part of one of the parents. [1792]

remained innocent, was that they might fill up the number of the elect

angels.

Another question which was discussed with much warmth was which of the

two sinned the more grievously, Adam or Eve, a question Hugo of St.

Victor, Peter the Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, and other

great Schoolmen united in attempting to solve--a question which arose

quite naturally from Paul's statement, 1 Tim. 2:14, that the woman was

beguiled and not the man. The conclusion reached was that the

preponderance of guilt was with Eve. The Lombard is inclined to be

lenient with Adam and makes out that when he yielded to the persuasions

of his wife, he was actuated by sympathy and was unwilling to give her

pain by refusing her request. He was inexperienced in the divine

severity and his sin was a venial, not a mortal fault. In fact this

theologian distinctly gives it as his belief that Adam would not have

given way to the temptation of the devil. [1793] he devil at all and

had in mind the mercy of God and intended later to make confession of

his sin, and secure absolution. Eve's sin was the more grievous for she

sinned against herself, against God, and against her neighbor. Adam

sinned against himself and God, but not against his neighbor. Hugo of

St. Victor said that the woman believed that God was moved by envy in

forbidding them to eat the fruit of the tree. Adam knew this to be

false. His sin was in consenting to his wife and not correcting her.

[1794] bertus Magnus seems inclined to draw a more even balance. In

that which pertained to the essence of sin, he said, Eve was the

greater offender, but if we look at Adam's endowment and at other

circumstances, Adam was the greater offender. [1795] id down the

proposition that the gravity of sin depends upon three things:

ingratitude, lust, and the corruption which follows the sinful act.

[1796] d, so far as lust goes, the woman's sin was the greater. As for

the evil consequences flowing from the sin, Adam sinned the more

grievously as the cause of damnation to his posterity and Eve the more

grievously as the occasion of such damnation. But as Eve was also the

occasion of Adam's sinning, her sin and guilt must be pronounced the

greater.

Grace.--In the doctrine of grace, the mediaeval theology used the

terminology of Augustine but makes the impression of departing from him

in the direction of semi-Pelagianism. [1797] aught that all that is

good in man is from God and he can have no merit before God except by

the prearrangement of a divine decree. [1798] he grace of the Holy

Spirit it is not possible to merit eternal life. Man is not even able

to make the preparation necessary to receive the light of grace.

Prevenient grace is essential to beget in him the disposition to

holiness,--interior voluntas. The number of the elect is fixed even to

the persons of the saved, and persevering grace is given to those who

remain steadfast to the end. Man cannot even know the truth without

help from above. [1799]

Thomas distinguished two kinds of merit or meritorious works: the merit

which comes by the proper use of our natural gifts, -- meritum de

congruo,--and the merit which comes from the proper use of the gifts of

grace,--meritum de condigno. In his original state, man was enabled by

the superadded gift of grace to love God above all things. In the

fallen state, grace is required to restore this ability, and no works

of this second sort can be done without the assistance of the Holy

Spirit. Such statements as these could be multiplied almost

indefinitely. There is, however, notwithstanding these clear

statements, a tone in Thomas' treatment which makes the impression that

he modified strict Augustinianism and made a place for the real merit

of works, and in this the Catholic Church follows him.

As for the satisfaction of Christ, Thomas Aquinas followed Anselm in

holding that Christ's death was not a price paid to the devil. [1800]

ous; but he laid stress upon the merit which Christ won by the assent

of his own will to the will of God. He does not speak of the

propitiation of Christ in the way Abaelard and Peter the Lombard [1801]

and obedience of Christ are efficient, through the sufferings he

endured on the cross, in reconciling man to God and redeeming man from

the power of the devil.

Thomas very clearly states the consequences of Christ's atonement. The

first is that thereby man comes to know how great the love of God is,

and is provoked to love God in return. [1802] onquering death by dying

to sin and the world. God might have pardoned man without the

satisfaction of the cross, for all things are possible with Him. This

was in opposition to Anselm's position that God could have redeemed man

in no other way than by the cross.

Bonaventura went further in opposition to Anselm and distinctly

asserted that God could have liberated and saved the race otherwise

than He did. He might have saved it by the way of pity--per viam

misericordiae --in distinction from the way of justice. And in choosing

this way he would have done no injury to the claims of justice. [1803]

to think."

No distinction was made by the mediaeval theologians between the

doctrine of justification and the doctrine of sanctification, such as

is made by Protestant theologians. Justification was treated as a part

of the process of making the sinner righteous, and not as a judicial

sentence by which he was declared to be righteous. Sanctification was

so thoroughly involved in the sacramental system that we must look for

its treatment in the chapters on the seven sacraments, the

instrumentalities of sanctification; or under the head of the Christian

virtues, faith, hope, and love, as in Bonaventura's treatment. [1804]

[1805] distinction between prevenient, or preparatory, and cooperant

grace,--gratia gratis data, or the grace which is given freely, and the

gratis gratum faciens, or the grace which makes righteous.

Justification, says Thomas, is an infusion of grace. [1806] hings are

required for the justification of the sinner: the infusion of grace,

the movement of the freewill to God in faith, the act of the freewill

against sin, and the remission of sins. As a person, turning his back

upon one place and receding from it, reaches another place, so in

justification the will made free at once hates sin and turns itself to

God.

Setting aside the distinction between justification and sanctification,

there seems to be complete religious accord between Thomas Aquinas, the

prince of the Schoolmen, and our Protestant view of redeeming grace as

being from beginning to end the gracious act of God in view of the

death of Christ. His theory of the sacraments, it is true, seems to

modify this position. But this is an appearance rather than a reality.

For the sacraments have their efficacious virtue by reason of God's

prior and gracious enactment attaching efficacy to them.

Faith.--In its definition of faith, the mediaeval theology came far

short of the definition given by the Reformers. The Schoolmen [1807]

nition. Although several of Paul's statements in the Epistle to the

Romans are quoted by Thomas Aquinas, neither he nor the other Schoolmen

rise to the idea that it is upon the basis of faith that a man is

justified. Faith is a virtue, not a justifying principle, and is

treated at the side of hope and love. These are called the "theological

virtues" because they relate immediately to God and are founded

ultimately upon the testimony of His Word alone. Christian faith works

by love and is not a grace unless it be conjoined with love. The devils

have intellectual faith without love, for they believe and tremble.

Faith manifests itself in three ways, in believing God, in trusting

God, and believing in God. [1808] od is to accept what He says as true.

These two kinds of faith the devils have. To believe in God is to love

God in believing, to go to Him believing, to be devoted to Him in

believing, and to be incorporated with His members. This knowledge of

faith is more certain than other knowledge because it is based upon

God's Word and is enlightened by the light which proceeds from the

Word.

The Schoolmen insist that without faith it is impossible to please God,

and preachers, like Honorius of Autun, declared that as a fish cannot

live without water, so no one can be saved without faith. [1809] [1810]

njoined that love may be called a form of faith, a mode of its

expression, [1811] judgment. [1812] n without belief in the Trinity.

Faith ceases when the mind disbelieves a single article of the faith.

[1813] [1814] Rom. 4:5, this great theologian stops with saying, that,

in justification, an act of faith is required to the extent that a man

believe that God is the justifier of men through the atonement of

Christ. [1815]

The Schoolmen did not understand Paul. The Reformers were obliged to

re-proclaim the doctrine of justifying faith as taught in the epistles

to the Romans and the Galatians. On the other hand, it is the merit of

the Schoolmen that they emphasize the principle, that true faith

worketh by love and that all other faith is vain, inanis. The failure

of Protestant theologians always to set this forth distinctly has

exposed the Protestant doctrine to the charge that faith is sufficient,

even if it be unaccompanied by good works, or works of love towards God

and man. [1816]

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[1782] Carnalibus appetitis infecta, de conceptu. II. Migne, 158. 434

[1783] vitium concupiscentiae, quod est originale peccatum.

[1784] Post peccatum non valet fieri carnalis copula absque libidinosa

concupiscentia quae semper vitium est et etiam culpa. P. Lomb., Sent.,

II. 31, 3.

[1785] Etsi anima non traducatur, quia virtus seminis non potest

causare animam rationalem. Th. Aquinas, Summa, II. 81, 1, Migne, II.

629.

[1786] Carentia ... defectus originalis justitiae estoriginal peccatum.

Schwane, p. 401; Th. Aq., Summa, II. 81, 5.

[1787] Spoliatio in gratuitis et vulneratio in naturalibus.

[1788] Summa, II. 82, 3, materialiter quidem est concupiscentia,

formaliter vero est defectus orig. just. Vitium and corruptio are the

words most frequently used for the moral character of sin. Hugo of St.

Victor, De sacr., I. 28, Migne, 176. 299.

[1789] Peccatum orig. non contrahitur a matre sed a patre, etc. Summa,

II. 81, 5.

[1790] P. Lomb., II. 42, 9; Alb. Magnus, Borgnet's ed., XXVII. 663

sqq., etc.

[1791] P. Lomb., II. 42, enumerates them as inanis gloria, ira,

invidia, acedia vel tristitia, avaritia, gastrimargia, luxuria.

Albertus Magnus skilfully discusses whether there could be any more

than seven. In Sent., II. 42, Borgnet's ed., XXVII. 662 sqq.

[1792] Utrum aequalis fieret multiplicatio virorum et mulierum. In

Sent., II. 20, 2, Peltier's ed., III. 85. The three reasons which

Bonaventura adduces to account for the differences in sex will have to

be read in the original. He enters into the subject with the precision

of statement and detail which is a characteristic of scholastic

discussion. It is fair to say that he pronounced the question a

difficult one and one upon which the physicians and natural

philosophers of his day were much divided.

[1793] Sed dolo illo serpentino quo mulier seducta est, nullo modo

arbitror illum potuisse seduci.

[1794] De sacr., I. 7, Migne, 176. 290.

[1795] In Sent. II. 22, E. Borgnet's ed., XXVII. 377.

[1796] In Sent., II. 22, I. 3, Peltier's ed., III. 123.

[1797] Man hatte Augustinische Formeln und gregorianische Gedanken.

Loofs, p. 291. Schwane, p. 455, praises Thomas' clear treatment of the

doctrines of grace, and says he taught them as they are taught in the

Catholic systems of dogmatics to-day. Loofs, Harnack, and Seeberg seem

to me to go too far in ascribing to Thomas a de-Augustinianizing

tendency. His plain statements of the necessity of divine grace and

human inability are Augustinian enough. Passing from the study of

Thomas' theory of the sacraments, it is easy to put upon the statements

about grace a Pelagian interpretation. The fairer way is to interpret

his theory of the sacraments in the light of his teachings on the

doctrine of grace.

[1798] meritum apud deum esse non potest, nisisecundum

praesuppositionem divinae ordinationis. Summa, II. 114, I. Migne, II.

960.

[1799] Verum non potest cognosecre sine auxilio divino. Summa, II. 109,

2, 6, 7, Migne, II. 907 sqq.

[1800] Sanguis qui est pretium nostrae redemptionis non dicitur

obtulisse diabolo sed deo. Summa, III. 48, 4, Migne, III. 44.

[1801] Mors Christi nos justificat, dum per eam charitas excitatur in

cordibus nostris. Sent., III. 19, 1.

[1802] Per passionem Christi homo cognoscit quantum deus hominem

diligat et per hoc provocatur ad eumdiligendum. Summa, III. 46, 3,

Migne, III. 417.

[1803] In Sent., III. 20, Peltier's ed., IV. 439. He attempts to show

that he is not out of accord with Anselm, but he makes poor work of it.

Anselm's statement is absolute. Cur deus homo, II. 10.

[1804] Peltier's ed., IV. 474 sqq.

[1805] De divisione gratiae. Summa, Migne, II. 927-960.

[1806] Tota justificatio impii consistit in infusione gratiae ...

justif. fit, deo movente hominem ad justitiam. Summa, II. 113, 3, 7,

Migne, II. 946. 952.

[1807] Hugo of St. Victor, Desacr. I. 10, 9, Migne, 176. 341 sqq.; P.

Lombardus, Sent., III. 23, 24, Migne, pp. 295 sqq.; Bonavent., In

Sent., III. 23, 24, Peltier's ed., IV. 475 sqq.; Th. Aquinas, IV. 1-5,

Migne, IV. 12 sqq; Alb. Magnus, In Sent., III. 23, 24, Borgnet's ed.,

XXVIII. 408 sqq.

[1808] Aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum, aliud credere in deum. P.

Lomb., III. 23, 4.

[1809] Spec. eccles., Migne, 172. 823.

[1810] Summa, IV. 4, 2, Migne, IV. 14, quoting 1 Cor. 13:12.

[1811] Charitas dicitur forma fidei, etc., IV. 4, 3. Such faith which

is without love fides informis.

[1812] P. Lomb., III. 25, 3, Migne, p. 300.

[1813] Fides non remanet in homine postquam discredit unum articulum

fidei. Summa, IV. 5. 3, I. 7 sqq., Migne, III. 63 sq.

[1814] In heretico discredente unum articulum fidei, non manet fides

neque formata neque informis. IV. 5, 3, Migne, p. 63.

[1815] Summa, II. 113, 4, Migne, II. 948.

[1816] This is one of the charges brought with great vehemence against

Luther and the Reformation by Denifle, Luther und Lutherthum, I.

374-456. He misunderstood or willfully misrepresented Luther, who never

intended to detach a life of good works from faith as its necessary

consequence.

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� 121. The Future State.

The unseen world of spirits was divided by the mediaeval theology into

five distinct regions or abodes,--receptacula animarum,--as Thomas

Aquinas calls them--heaven, hell, purgatory, the limbus patrum, or the

temporary abode of the Old Testament saints, and the limbus infantum,

or the abode of children who die without being baptized.

Hell, the place of punishment or eternal dolors, [1817] st men and

demons suffer eternal torment. It is a region of jet darkness, a deep

prison as compared with heaven, into which the demons are thrust down.

[1818] Its fires burn but do not consume. No other heat can compare

with its heat. [1819] of the lost. [1820]

The limbus patrum corresponds to Abraham's bosom in the parable of

Dives and Lazarus, the place where the worthies of the Old Testament

dwelt till Christ descended into hades and released them. Before that

time they enjoyed exemption from pain. Since then they have enjoyed

heavenly bliss. Circumcision released them from original sin. Hell and

this locality are probably in the same region or, at any rate,

contiguous. [1821] triarchs remained in hades till Christ's death, goes

back to Hermas and Clement of Alexandria.

The limbus puerorum or infantum is the abode of children dying in

infancy without having been baptized. They are there for original sin

which only baptism can wash away. [1822] death,--supplicium mortis

aeternae,--but their damnation is the lightest of all--omnium

levissima. They have no hope of beatitude. God, in His justice,

provides that they never make any advance nor go back, that they

neither have joy nor grief. They remain forever unchanged. [1823] se

Christ's blessed words, "Suffer the little children to come unto me for

of such is the kingdom of God." But they did not. The doctrine of

original sin and the doctrine of the necessity of water baptism for

salvation were carried to their extreme logical conclusions without

regard for the superabounding grace of God. So also Augustine had

taught and so most of the Reformers taught at a later time.

Christ's descent into hades was carefully discussed by the Schoolmen.

It occurred as soon as his soul was separated from the body at his

death. He was in the infernal regions during the three days of his

burial, but did not assume their pains. The reason for this visit was

twofold, says Bonaventura, --to release the Old Testament saints and to

confound the adversaries of the Gospel, the demons. [1824] Job 17:16,

"my hope shall go down to the bars of Sheol," or into the "deepest

hell," as the Vulgate puts it, he meant that he went no farther than

the limbus patrum and not to the abode of the lost. [1825] [1826] he

bars of hell--vectes inferni,--that is, by "spoiling principalities and

powers," Col. 2:15; and third, to make show of his

divinity--manifestatio divinitatis -- to the demons by preaching, 1

Pet. 3:19, and by enlightening those dark spaces with his presence, as

it is said, Ps. 24:7, "Lift up your doors, O ye princes, and the king

of glory shall come in." Here again the Vulgate is responsible for a

mistake, the word "gates" being translated "princes." [1827] [1828]

Purgatory is a sort of reformatory school for baptized Catholics who

are not good enough at death to go directly to heaven. They are there

in that intermediate region for actual transgressions, [1829] nly upon

2 Mac. 12:40 and the universal teaching of the Church. [1830] reach of

human intercession. Masses for the dead are instituted to meet their

case. For infants in the limbus puerorum, such intercessory works are

of no avail. But one who has been baptized in infancy or manhood, no

matter how flagitious or criminal his career may have been, for him

there is hope, nay there is certainty, that in time he will pass out of

purgatory into the company of the blessed.

Heaven includes three kinds of rewards, said Bonaventura: the

substantial reward or the vision of God; the consubstantial or the

glorification of the body to which belong the qualities of

transpicuity, lightness, agility, and impassibility which are granted

in the degree we exercise love here on earth; [1831] en for preaching

and leading others to salvation, for virginal purity and martyrdom.

The bliss of heaven, said Thomas Aquinas, consists in the immediate

vision of God. [1832] g on earth, hear the prayers that ascend to them,

and by their merits intercede for their brethren here. St. Bernard, in

his homilies on the Canticles, [1833] [1834] ction and glory of the

soul in heaven has never been quite so well portrayed as in the poem of

Bernard of Cluny:--

O sweet and blessed country, the home of God's elect,

O sweet and blessed country, that eager hearts expect;

Jesus in mercy bring us to that sweet land of rest,

To be with God the Father and Spirit ever blest.

It remained for Dante to give to the chilling scholastic doctrines of

purgatory and the lower regions a terrible reality in poetical form and

imagery and also to describe the beatific vision of paradise.

The remarkable vision which a certain Englishman, Turchill, had of the

future world, as related at length by Roger of Wendover [1835] ared to

this honest laborer, and took him off to "the middle of the world,"

where they entered a church which, as Turchill was told, received the

souls of all those who had recently died. Mary, through her

intercession, had brought it about that all souls born again should, as

soon as they left the body, be taken to this church and so be freed

from the attacks of demons. Near one of the church walls was the

entrance to hell through which came a most foul stench. Stretching from

another wall was the great lake of purgatorial fire in which souls were

immersed, some to their knees, some to their necks. And above the lake

was a bridge, paved with thorns and stakes, over which all had to pass

before they could arrive at the mount of joy. Those who were not

assisted by special masses walked over the bridge very slowly and with

excruciating pain. On the mount was a great and most wonderful church

which seemed to be large enough to contain all the inhabitants of the

world. St. Nicolas, St. James, and other saints had charge of the

church of Mary and the purgatorial lake and bridge. Turchill also saw

St. Peter in the church of Mary and before him the souls were brought

to receive sentence. The devil and his angels were there to hurry off

to the infernal regions those whose evil deeds tipped the balances.

Turchill was also taken by a certain St. Domninus to behold the sports

the devils indulge in. Coming to the infernal realm, they found iron

seats, heated to a white heat and with nails driven in them, on which

an innumerable multitude was sitting. Devils were sitting around

against the walls poking fun at the unfortunate beings for the evils

they had been guilty of in this life. Men of different occupations and

criminal practices, the soldier, tradesman, priest, the adulterer,

thief, and usurer, were then brought forth and made to enact over again

their wicked deeds, after which their flesh was fiercely torn by the

demons and burnt, but again restored. Such are the popular pictures

which form the vestibule of Dante's Inferno.

Of all the gruesome religious tales of the Middle Ages, the tales

representing the devil as torturing the naked soul were among the most

gruesome. The common belief was that the soul, an entity with form as

the Schoolmen defined it, is at death separated from the body. Caesar

of Heisterbach tells of an abbot of Morimond with whose soul the demons

played ball, rolling it from hill to hill, across the valley between,

until God allowed the soul to enter the body again. This was before the

abbot became a monk.

Another of these stories, told by Caesar of Heisterbach, [1836]

ellow-students stood around it singing, the devil carried his soul to

hell. There the demons played ball with it. Their sharp claws stuck

deep into it and gave it unspeakable pain. But, at the intercession of

the saints, the Lord rescued the soul and reunited it with the body and

the young man suddenly arose from his bier. In telling his experience

he related that his soul had been like a round piece of glass through

which he could see on every side. Fortunately, the fellow was scared

badly enough to go to a convent and do sound penance. Bernard of Thiron

bore witness that he saw the devils carry an unfaithful monk's soul out

of the window. [1837]

The severity of the purgatorial pains is vouched for in this story by

Thomas of Chantimpr�, [1838] Albertus Magnus. A good man, after

suffering from a severe sickness for a year, had this alternative

offered him by an angel: to go to purgatory and suffer for three days

or endure for a year longer his sickness and then go directly to glory.

He chose the first. So his soul took its departure, but the purgatorial

agony of a day seemed like the pains of ages and the sufferer was glad

to have the opportunity of returning to his body, which was still

unburied, and endure his sickness for another year.

Such stories are numerous and reveal the coarse theology which was

current in convent and among the people.

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[1817] Thomas Aquinas calls it locus dolorum and infernum damnatorum.

[1818] Profundus carcer respectu amoenitatis coeli et est aer iste

caliginosus in quem detrusi sunt demones, etc. Alb. Magnus, In Sent.,

III. 22, C, 4, Borgnet's ed., XXVIII. 393.

[1819] Ignis est in fortissima calididate ... cui nil est comparabile.

Alb. Magnus, Borgnet's ed., XXX. 597.

[1820] Gehenna illa quae stagnum ignis et sulphuris dicta est,

corporeus ignis erit et cruciabit damnatorum corpora vel hominum vel

daemonum. P. Lomb., Sent., IV. 44, 6. Absque dubietate corporeus ignis

cruciat, etc. Alb. Mag., In Sent., Borgnet's ed., XXX. 393. Ignis

corporalis qui concremabit et affliget spiritus et etiam corpora ...

sed semper affliget, alios plus alios minus, secundum exigentiam

meritorum. Bonavent., Brev., VII. 6.

[1821] Probabile est, quod idem locus vel quasi continuus, sit infernus

et limbus. Th. Aq., Migne, IV. 1222. Thomas calls the infernal regions

interchangeably infernus and inferni. Alb. Magnus uses the neuter

plural inferna. In Sent., III, 26, C. 392.

[1822] Th. Aq., Summa, III. 69, 6, originali peccato debebatur poena

aeterna in limbo puerorum. Limbus means edge or border. Alb. Magnus

also calls it limbus parvulorum, the region of the little ones.

Borgnet's ed., XXVIII. 392.

[1823] Pueris non adest spes beatae vitae, etc. Th. Aq., Supplem., p.

1223. divinae justitiae aequitas perpetualiter eos consolidat, ut nec

proficiant, nec deficiant, nec laetentur, nec tristentur; sed semper

per sic uniformiter maneant, etc. Bonavent., In Sent., II. 33, 2, 3,

Peltier's ed., III. 419.

[1824] In Sent., III. 22, I. 4 sqq., Peltier's ed., IV. 467.

[1825] Suppl., Migne, III. 1222. The deepest hell--profundissimus

infernus --is the place of the lost. Bonavent., Brevil., VII. 6,

Peltier's ed., VII. 339.

[1826] Summa, III. 52, 1, Migne, IV. 476.

[1827] Attolite portas, principes, vestras.

[1828] Post hanc vitam non est tempus gratiam acquirendi. Th. Aq.,

Summa, III. 52, 7; Suppl., Migne, IV. 1244.

[1829] Poena purgatorii est in supplementum satisfactionis quae non

fuerat plene in corpore consummata. Th. Aq., Suppl., 71, 6 Migne, IV.

1242.

[1830] Th. Aq., Migne, IV. 1239.

[1831] Claritas, subtilitas, agilitas, et impossibilitas quae ...

secundum majoritatem et minoritatem prius habitae charitatis. Brevil.,

VII. 7, Peltier's ed, VII. 340

[1832] Deum per essentiam videre in quo consistit perfecta hominis

beatitudo. Summa, III. 52, 5, Migne, IV. 482.

[1833] Serm., XI.

[1834] Proslog., XXIV. sqq.

[1835] An. 1206, Luard's ed. of M. Paris, II. 497-512.

[1836] Dial, I. 32, Strange's ed., I. 36-39.

[1837] See Walter, Die ersten Wanderprediger, etc., p. 49.

[1838] See Kaufmann, Thos. von Chantimpr�, pp. 117 sq.

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CHAPTER XV.

POPE AND CLERGY.

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� 122. The canon Law.

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Protestanten, etc., 6 vols. Berl., 1869-1897. --E. Friedberg: Lehrbuch

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sqq., III. 295-388.--For extensive list of works on canon Law, see

Friedberg: Kirchenrecht, pp. 3-11, and Hergenr�ther: Kirchenrecht, pp.

15 sqq.

Not the least of the characteristic and imposing products of the

mediaeval Church was the gigantic fabric of the canon law. [1839] atian

in the twelfth century and ending with the decretals of John XXII. in

the fourteenth century. The canon law became the legal buttress of the

papal theocracy and remained the ruling code till the Reformation.

The science of canon law looks back to Gratian as its father, and

Bologna was the chief centre for its study. Although works on the

subject were produced in other lands, Italy, through her universities,

was far in the lead in their production till late in the fifteenth

century. [1840]

Under the Roman state, the religious laws--the jus sacrum, jus

pontificium -- were not a distinct body of legislation . In the

Christian Church the conception of a distinct and superior divine law

existed from the beginning. The formulation of a written code followed

the meeting of Christian synods and their regulations. As the

jurisdiction of the hierarchy and the institution of the mediaeval

papacy were developed, this legislation came to include civil

obligations and all civil penalties except the death penalty. [1841]

Church encroached more and more upon the jurisdiction of the civil

court. Conflict was inevitable. Not only was the independence of civil

law as a distinct branch of procedure threatened, but even its very

existence. It was not till the fourteenth century that the secular

governments were able successfully to resist such encroachments and to

regain some of the just prerogatives of which the civil courts had been

robbed. "Oh, that the canon law might be purged from the superfluities

of the civil law and be ordered by theology," exclaimed Roger Bacon,

writing in the thirteenth century. "Then would the government of the

Church be carried on honorably and suitably to its high position."

[1842]

Gratian's work was preceded by the Penitential Books and a number of

imperfect collections of ecclesiastical decisions, the chief of which

were, two books of synodal cases by Regino d. 915, the collections of

Burchard, bishop of Worms d. 1025, Anselm of Lucca d. 1086, Cardinal

Deusdedit about 1087, and Ivo of Chartres d. 1117. [1843] The

pseudo-Isidorian decretals also belong to this class and they were much

used, especially by Burchard.

The work of Gratian superseded these earlier compilations, and it

enjoys the honor of being the monumental work on canon law. Gratian, a

Camaldulensian monk, and an Italian by birth, taught at the convent of

St. Felix, Bologna, at the same time that Irnerius was teaching civil

law in the same city. No details of his life have been handed down. His

biography is his great compilation which was made about 1140-1150. Its

original title, A Concordance of Differing canons, concordantia canonum

discordantium, has given way to the simple title, Decretum, the Book of

Decrees. The work was a legal encyclopaedia, and at once became the

manual in its department, as the Sentences of the Lombard, Gratian's

contemporary, became the manual of theology. [1844] ing one of

Gratian's pupils, Paucapalea. These editors and commentators were

called Summists or Glossarists. The official Roman edition was prepared

by a papal commission of thirty-five members and issued by Gregory

XIII. in 1582. Gregory declared the text to be forever authoritative,

but he did not pronounce upon the contents of Gratian's work. [1845]

Gratian's aim was to produce a work in which all real or apparent

contradictions between customs and regulations in vogue in the Church

should be removed or explained. This he secured by exclusion and by

comments, called the dicta Gratiani, sayings of Gratian. The work is

divided into three parts. The first, in one hundred and one sections or

distinctiones, treats of the sources of canon law, councils and the

mode of their convention, the authority of decretals, the election of

the Roman pontiff, the election and consecration of bishops, the papal

prerogative, papal legates, the ordination of the clergy, clerical

celibacy, and kindred topics. The second, in thirty-six sections or

causae, discusses different questions of procedure, such as the

ordination and trial of bishops and the lower clergy, excommunication,

simony, clerical and church property, marriage, heresy, magic, and

penance. The third part is devoted to the sacraments of the eucharist

and baptism and the consecration of churches. The scholastic method is

pursued. A statement is made and objections, if any, are then formally

refuted by citation of synodal acts and the testimony of the Fathers,

popes, and other churchmen. The first distinction opens with the

statement that the human race is governed by two principles, natural

law and customs. Then a number of questions are propounded such as what

is law, what are customs, what kinds of law there are, what is natural

law, civil law, and the law of nations?

Gratian's volume was soon found to require supplement. The two

centuries following its appearance were most fruitful in papal decrees,

especially in the pontificates of Alexander III., Innocent III., and

Gregory IX. These centuries also witnessed the Lateran and other

important Councils. The deliverances of popes and synods, made

subsequently to the age of Gratian, were called extravagantes or

fugitives. [1846] were made from 1191 to 1226. [1847] f canon law

having papal sanction.

The demand for a complete collection of these materials induced Gregory

IX. to commit the task of gathering them into a single volume to his

chaplain Raymund de Pennaforte. [1848] IX, was finished and sent to

Paris and Bologna in 1234 with the direction that it be used for

purposes of instruction, and in the trial of cases. The preparation of

other compilations was strictly forbidden. Gregory's collection

comprises 185 titles and 1871 decretals and follows the fivefold

division of Bernard of Pavia's work. [1849]

A new collection, called the Sixth Book, liber sextus -- or, as by

English writers, the Sext,--was issued by the authority of Boniface

VIII., 1298, and carried the collections of Gratian and Gregory IX.

into Boniface's reign. In 1314, Clement V. issued another collection,

which included his own decretals and the decrees of the council of

Vienne and was called the Seventh Book, liber septimus, or the

Clementines. In 1317, John XXII. officially sent Clement's collection

to the universities of Bologna and Paris. Subsequent to the publication

of the Clementines, twenty of John's own decretals were added. In 1500

John Chappuis, in an edition of the liber sextus and the Clementines,

added the decretals of John and seventy-one of other popes. This series

of collections, namely, Gratian's Decretum, Gregory IX,'s Decretales,

the Sext, the Clementines, and the Extravagantes of John XXII.,

constitutes the official body of canon law--corpus juris canonici --

and was published in the edition of Gregory XllI.

The canon law attempted the task of legislating in detail for all

phases of human life--clerical, ecclesiastical, social, domestic--from

the cradle to the grave by the sacramental decisions of the priesthood.

It invaded the realm of the common law and threatened to completely set

it aside. The Church had not only its own code and its specifically

religious penalties, but also its own prisons.

This body of law was an improvement upon the arbitrary and barbaric

severity of princes. It, at least, started out from the principles of

justice and humanity. But it degenerated into an attempt to do for the

individual action of the Christian world what the Pharisees attempted

to do for Jewish life. It made the huge mistake of substituting an

endless number of enactments, often the inventions of casuistry, for

inclusive, comprehensive moral principles. It put a crushing restraint

upon the progress of thought and bound weights, heavy to be borne, upon

the necks of men. It had the virtues and all the vices of the papal

system. It protected the clergy in the commission of crimes by

demanding that they be tried in ecclesiastical courts for all offences

whatsoever. It became a mighty support for the papal claims. It

confirmed and perpetuated the fiction of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals

and perpetrated new forgeries. It taught that the decisions of Rome are

final. [1850] [1851] his examination of the Decretum, by pronouncing

it; "filled through and through with forgery and error" and says "it

entered like a mighty wedge into the older structural organization of

the Church and split it apart. "

The canon law also gave its sanction to the devilish principle of

ecclesiastical compulsion, declaring that physical force is to be used

to coerce ecclesiastical dissidents. It justified wars against the

enemies of religion and the persecution of heretics, even as Sarah, the

type of the heavenly Jerusalem, persecuted her handmaid Hagar. And it

declared, with Urban II., that he who kills one who is under the

sentence of excommunication is not to be dealt with as a murderer.

[1852] y Thomas Aquinas and the other Schoolmen and asserted by the

greatest of the popes.

At last the legalistic tyranny became too heavy for the enlightened

conscience of Europe to bear, as was the case with the ceremonial law

in the days of the Apostles, against which Peter protested at the

council of Jerusalem and Paul in his Epistles. The Reformers raised

their voices in protest against it. Into the same flames which consumed

the papal bull at Wittenberg, 1520, Luther threw a copy of the canon

law, the one representing the effrontery of an infallible pope, the

other the intolerable arrogance of a human lawgiver in matters of

religion, and both destructive of the liberty of the individual. In his

Address to the Christian Nobles, Luther declared that it did not

contain two lines adapted to instruct a religious man and that it

includes so many dangerous regulations that the best disposition of it

is to make of it a dung heap.

Even in the Catholic world its enactments have been largely superseded

by the canons of the council of Trent, the papal decretals issued

since, and the concordats between Catholic princes and the papal see.

By virtue of his official infallibility, the pope may at any time

supersede them by decisions and dispensations of his own.

The words of Goethe may be applied to the canon law:--

Es erben sich Gesetz und Rechte

Wie eine ewige Krankheit fort

Sie schleppen von Geschlecht sich zum Geschlechte

Und schleichen sich von Ort zu Ort

Vernunft wird Unsinn, Wohlthat Plage.

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[1839] Jus canonicum or ecclesiastica constitutio, in distinction from

the civil code, jus civile. See Decr. Grat. Dist., III. Friedberg's

ed., I. 5. The term "canones" was the prevailing term till the 12th

century when the expression jus canonicum came into general use.

[1840] See Schulte, I. 2 sq.

[1841] D�llinger-Friedrich, Papstthum, p. 403, says, "Leaving out the

execution of the death penalty, I do not know a single function of the

state which the Church did not assume. Is it, therefore, strange that

the thought should arise, that the state is really superfluous or that

its only significance is to act as a dumb executioner of the will of

the Church?"

[1842] Bridges's ed., I. p. Ixxxiii.

[1843] For full list see Friedberg, p. 126; Schulte, I. 43 sqq.;

Hergenr�ther, p. 179.

[1844] Peter the Lombard drew heavily from Gratian, especially in the

fourth book of his Sentences, where he reproduced many of Gratian's

distinctiones entire. See Baltzer, D. Sentenzen des P. Lombardus, pp.

10 sq., etc.

[1845] Perpetuo integrum et incorruptum conservetur. See Schulte's

remarks on Gratian's influences I. 69-71.

[1846] Quia extra Decretum Gratiani vagabantur.

[1847] Friedberg's ed., Quinque compilationes antiquae, Leip., 1882.

The first, made by Bernard of Pavia, 1191 in his Breviarium

extravagantium, distributes the materials under five heads,--judge,

sentence, clergy, marriage, crime.

[1848] Gregory's bull is given in Wetzer-Welte, III. 1146-1450.

[1849] Friedberg gives the text, II. 6-927, and also Gregory IX,'s

letter transmitting the decretals to the university of Bologna.

[1850] Dist., XIX. 3, Friedberg, I. 61. Romana ecclesia, cui nos

Christus preesse voluit, posita est, omnibus, quicquid statuit,

quicquid ordinat, perpetuo, irrefragabiliter observandum est.

[1851] Causa, XXV. I. 16; D�llinger, Papstthum, pp. 55 sqq. Gratian

misquoted the 36th canon of the Sixth Oecumenical council which, giving

to the patriarch of Constantinople equal rights with the patriarch of

Rome, made it say the very opposite. Misquoting the synod of Carthage

of 418, which forbade appeals across the sea, Gratian made the synod

say the very opposite. Causa, II. 6, 37. Leaning upon pseudo-Isidore,

Gratian allows the transfer of bishops from one see to the other with

the assent of the pope. Causa, VII. I. 34.

[1852] See Causa, XXIII. 4, 5, 6, Friedberg's ed., I. 899-950.

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� 123. The Papal Supremacy in Church and State.

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writings of Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX.,

etc. Corpus juris canonum, Friedberg's ed.--\*Mirbt: Quellen des

Papstthums. --C. Lux: Constitutionum Apostolicarum de generali

beneficiorum reservatione, 1265-1378, ... collectio et interpr.,

Wratislav, 1904.--Maassen: Primat des Bischofs von Rom, Bonn,

1853.--Schulte: D. Macht des r�m. Papstthums, Prag, 2d ed.,

1871,--\*D�llinger-Friedrich: D. Papstthum, Munich, 1892.--\*F. X.

Leitner: D. hl. Th. von Aquino ueber d. unfehlbare Lehramt d. Papstes,

Franf., 1872. Leitner wrote in opposition to D�llinger, and his work is

of much importance,--\*Bryce: Holy Rom. Emp., VI-XI.--G. B. Adams:

Civilizat. during the M. A. chap. X.--W. Barry: The Papal Monarchy,

590-1303, N. Y., 1902. --\*J. Haller: Papsttum und Kirchenreform,

Berlin, 1903.--\*A. Hauck: D. Gedanke der p�pstl. Weltherrschaft bis auf

Bonifaz VIII., Leip., 1904.--Ranke: Weltgesch., vol. VI.--Harnack:

Dogmengesch., II. 392-419. The manuals on Canon Law by Friedberg,

Hinschius, Hergenr�ther.

The papal assumptions of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. have already

been presented (pp. 27 sqq., 152 sqq.). A large part of the history of

this period is occupied by popes in the effort to realize the papal

theocracy, from the opening struggle of Gregory VII. with Henry IV. to

the death of Conradin, the Hohenstaufen. Their most vigorous

utterances, so far as they are known, were not to summon men and

nations to acts of Christian charity, but to enforce the papal

jurisdiction. It is not the purpose here to repeat what has already

been said, but to set forth the institution of the papacy as a realized

fact and the estimate put upon it by Schoolmen and by the popular

judgment.

Among the forty-one popes who occupied the chair of St. Peter from

Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., some, as has become evident, were men

of rare ability, and occupy a place of first prominence as rulers.

There were no scandals in the papal household such as there had been

during the preceding period. No emperors from the North were required

to descend upon Rome and remove pontiffs incompetent by reason of youth

or profligacy. On the other hand, Rome had no reputation as a centre

either of piety or of letters. Convents became noted for religious

warmth, and Bologna, Paris, and other localities acquired a fame for

intellectual culture, but Rome's reputation was based solely upon her

authority as a seat of ecclesiastical prerogative.

The sin of the popes was hierarchical pride, and yet we cannot help but

be attracted by those imposing figures whose ideals of universal

dominion equalled in ambition the boldest projects of the greater Roman

emperors, but differed widely from theirs in the moral element which

entered into them. [1853]

In this period the loftiest claims ever made for the papacy were

realized in Western Europe. The pope was recognized as supreme in the

Church over all bishops, and with some exceptions as the supreme ruler

in temporal affairs. Protest there was against the application of both

prerogatives, but the general sentiment of Europe supported the claims.

To him belonged fulness of authority in both realms--plenitudo

potestatis.

The Pope and the Church. - favorite illustration used by Innocent III.

to support the claim of supremacy in the Church was drawn from the

relation the head sustains to the body. As the head contains the

plenitude of the forces of the body, and has dominion over it, so

Peter's successor, as the head of the Church, possesses the fulness of

her prerogatives and the right of rule over her. The pope calls others

to share in the care of the Church, but in such a way that there is no

loss of authority to the head. [1854] , he can depose and appoint

bishops as he wills. The principle that the Apostolic see is subject to

no human jurisdiction, stated by Gelasius, 493, was accepted by

Bernard, though Bernard protested against the pope's making his

arbitrary will the law of the Church. [1855] [1856]

The Fourth Lateran formally pronounced the Roman Church the mother and

teacher of all believers, and declared its bishop to be above the

patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria in

rank and authority. Leo IX., d. 1054, asserted this pretension against

Caerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople. [1857] knowledging the

"full primacy" of the Roman pontiff and his right to rule over the

universal Church.

This theory of papal absolutism found full theological and canonical

recognition from Thomas Aquinas and Gratian. Gratian declared that to

disobey the pope is to disobey God. [1858] st the Church militant have

one ruler, the pope. To the pope is committed the plenitude of power

and the prelacy over the whole Church. To him belongs the right of

determining what are matters of faith. [1859]

Bonaventura took the same ground. The pope is supreme in all matters

pertaining to the Church. He is the source of authority in all that

belongs to prelatic administration, yea his authority extends from the

highest to the humblest member of the Church. [1860] e Apostolic see,

but, in the end, they yielded to its claim of supreme jurisdiction. So

it was with Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. He declared, "I know

and know full well, that our lord, the pope, has authority to freely

act concerning all ecclesiastical benefices." [1861]

Clement IV. was simply expressing the general opinion of Latin

Christendom, when he claimed for the Roman pontiff the "full right to

dispose of all churches, ecclesiastical dignities, positions, and

benefices." [1862]

Theoretically it is a disputed point whether an oecumenical council or

the pope was regarded as supreme. But, in fact, popes controlled the

legislation of the general Councils in this period as though they were

supreme, and they fixed the legislation of the Church, as was the case

with Gregory IX. The relative authority of pope and council did not

become an urgent question till the thirteenth century.

The pope also claimed the right to levy taxes at will on all portions

of the Church. This claim, definitely made by the popes of the second

half of the thirteenth century, led to the scandalous abuses of the

fourteenth century which shocked the moral sense of Christendom and

finally called forth the Reformatory Councils of Pisa, Constance, and

Basel.

Beginning with Innocent III., it became the fixed custom for the pope

to speak of himself as the vicar of Christ and the vicar of God. He was

henceforth exclusively addressed as "holiness" or "most

holy"--sanctitas or sanctissimus. [1863]

The Pope and the Individual. - For Cyprian's motto, "there is no

salvation outside of the Church," was substituted, there is no

salvation outside of the Roman Church. It was distinctly stated that

all who refuse subjection to the pope are heretics. [1864] the pope's

authority to loose and bind no human being is exempted. Nothing is

exempted from his jurisdiction. [1865]

The Pope and the State. - England, Poland, Norway, and Sweden,

Portugal, Aragon, Naples, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, not to speak

of portions of Central Italy, were in this period, for a longer or

shorter time, fiefs of the Apostolic see. In 1299, the same claim was

made over Scotland. The nations from Edessa to Scotland and from

Castile to Riga were reminded that Rome was the throbbing centre of

divinely bequeathed authority. The islands of the West were its to

bestow. To Peter was given, so Innocent wrote, not only the universal

Church, but the whole earth that he might rule it. [1866] a time when

the pope recognized the superior authority of the emperor, as did

Gregory the Great in 593. [1867] [1868] r conception took its place,

the subordination of all civil authority under the pope. To depose

princes, to absolve subjects from allegiance, to actively foment

rebellion as against Frederick II., to divert lands as in Southern

France, to give away crowns, to extort by threat of the severest

ecclesiastical penalties the payment of tribute, to punish religious

dissenters with perpetual imprisonment or turn them over to the secular

authorities, knowing death would be the punishment, to send and

consecrate crusading armies, and to invade the realm of the civil

court, usurp its authority, and annul a nation's code, as in the case

of Magna Charta,--these were the high prerogatives actually exercised

by the papacy. The decision rendered on the field of Roncaglia by the

jurists of Bologna, asserting the independent rights of the empire, was

only an episode, and popes snapped their fingers at the academic

impertinence. Now and then the wearers of the tiara were defeated, but

they never ceased to insist upon the divine claims of their office. In

vain did emperors, like Frederick II., appeal to the Scriptures as

giving no countenance to the principle that popes have the right to

punish kings and deprive them of their kingdoms.

The declarations of the popes were clear and positive. The figures

employed by Gregory VII., comparing the two realms to gold and lead,

sun and moon, soul and body, Innocent elaborated and pressed. Gregory

asserted that it rested upon him to give account for all the kingdoms

of God. [1869] been committed universal dominion--regimen universale.

[1870]

Men of less originality and moral power could do no more than reaffirm

the claims of these two master rulers and repeat their metaphors. Of

these no one had more self-assurance than Gregory IX., who, at an age

when most men are decrepit, bravely opposed to Frederick II,'s plans

the fiction of the Donation of Constantine. Was not the Roman sceptre

committed to the Apostolic see by the first Christian emperor, and did

not the Apostolic see transfer the empire from the Greeks to the

Germans, Charlemagne and Frederick himself being the successors of

Arcadius, Valentinian, Theodosius, and the other Christian emperors of

Rome. [1871] [1872]

When the struggle with the Hohenstaufen had been brought to a close,

and peace established by the elevation of Rudolf of Hapsburg to the

imperial throne, Gregory X. wrote to Rudolf: "If the sacred chair is

vacant, the empire lacks the dispenser of salvation; if the throne is

empty, the Church is defenceless before her persecutors. It is the duty

of the Church's ruler to maintain kings in their office, and of kings

to protect the rights of the Church." This was a mild statement of the

supremacy of the Apostolic see. It remained for Boniface VIII., in his

famous bull, unam sanctam, 1302, to state exactly, though somewhat

brusquely, what his predecessors from Hildebrand, and indeed from

Nicolas I., had claimed--supreme right to both swords, the spiritual

and the temporal, with the one ruling the souls of men and with the

other their temporal concerns.

These claims were advocated in special treatises by Bernard and Thomas

Aquinas, two of the foremost churchmen of all the Christian centuries.

Bernard was the friend of popes and the ruling spirit of Europe during

the pontificates of Innocent II. and Eugenius III. the mightiest moral

force of his age. Thomas Aquinas wrote as a theologian and with him

began the separate treatment of the papacy in systems of theology. In

his Rule of Princes and against the Errors of the Greeks, Thomas

unequivocally sets forth the supremacy of the Apostolic see over the

State as well as in the universal Church. As for Bernard, both

Ultramontane and Gallican claim his authority, but there are

expressions in his work addressed to Eugenius III., De consideratione,

which admit of no other fair interpretation than that the pope is

supreme in both realms.

Bernard's treatise, filling eighty compact columns in the edition of

Migne, summons Eugenius, whom he addresses as his spiritual son, to

reflect in four directions: upon himself, upon that which is beneath

him, upon that which is around about him, and upon that which is above

him. Such a voice of warning and admonition has seldom been heard by

the occupant of a throne. The author was writing, probably, in the very

last year of his life.

Meditating upon himself, it became the pope to remember that he was

raised to his office not for the sake of ruling but of being a prophet,

not to make show of power but to have care of the churches. The pope is

greatest only as he shows himself to be a servant. As pontiff, he is

heir of the Apostles, the prince of bishops. He is in the line of the

primacy of Abel, Abraham, Melchizedek, Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and Peter.

To him belong the keys. Others are intrusted with single flocks, he is

pastor of all the sheep and the pastor of pastors. Even bishops he may

depose and exclude from the kingdom of heaven. And yet Eugenius is a

man. Pope though he is, he is vile as the vilest ashes. Change of

position effected no change of person. Even the king, David, became a

fool.

The things beneath the pope are the Church and all men to whom the

Gospel should be preached.

The things around about the pope are the cardinals and the entire papal

household. Here, greed and ambition are to be rebuked, the noise of

appealed judicial cases is to be hushed, worthy officials are to be

chosen. The Romans are a bad set, flattering the pontiff for what they

can make out of his administration. A man who strives after godliness

they look upon as a hypocrite.

The faithful counsellor waxed eloquent in describing the ideal pope. He

is one of the bishops, not their lord. He is the brother of all, loving

God. He is set to be a pattern of righteousness, a defender of the

truth, the advocate of the poor, the refuge of the oppressed. He is the

priest of the Highest, the vicar of Christ, the anointed of the Lord,

the God of Pharaoh; that is, he has authority over disobedient princes.

Bernard distinctly grants the two swords to the pope, who himself draws

the spiritual sword and by his wink commands the worldly sword to be

unsheathed. [1873] n no white horse. In adopting such outward show "the

popes had followed Constantine, not the Apostle." It is also true that

Bernard follows his generation in making the pope the viceregent of God

on earth. [1874]

The views of Thomas Aquinas have already received notice (p. 673). His

statements are so positive as to admit of no doubt as to their meaning.

In the pope resides the plenitude of power. To the Roman Church

obedience is due as to Christ. [1875] of the Greeks written at a time

when the second council of Lyons was impending and measures were being

taken to heal the schism between the East and the West. The pope is

both king and priest, and the temporal realm gets its authority from

Peter and his successors. [1876] [1877]

The popular opinion current among priests and monks was no doubt

accurately expressed by Caesar of Heisterbach at the beginning of the

thirteenth century when he compared the Church to the firmament, the

pope to the sun, the emperor to the moon, the bishops to the stars, the

clergy to the day, and the laity to the night.

We stand amazed at the vastness of such claims, but there can be no

doubt that they were sincerely believed by popes who asserted them and

by theologians and people. The supremacy of the Roman pontiff in the

Church and over the State was a fixed conviction. The passage, Render

unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that

are God's, quoted to-day for the separation of the two realms, was

quoted then but with another interpretation. The Church was defined, as

it had been defined by Augustine, as the university of believers by

Hugo of St. Victor, [1878] [1879] liberty of the Christian and his

immediate responsibility to Christ, as revealed through the New

Testament, had no hold. As a temporary expedient, the fiction of papal

sovereignty had some advantage in binding together the disturbed and

warring parts of European society. The dread of the decisions of the

supreme pontiff held wild and lawless temporal rulers in check. But the

theory, as a principle of divine appointment and permanent application,

is untenable and pernicious. The states of Europe have long since

outgrown it and the Protestant communions of Christendom can never be

expected to yield obedience to one who claims to be the vicar of

Christ, however willing they may be to show respect to any Roman bishop

who exhibits the spirit of Christ as they did to Leo XIII.

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[1853] Ranke wrote, Weltgesch., VIII. 410, that at Rome the authorities

put him on the Index because he did not regard the papacy as a divine

institution. Nevertheless, he said, "I hold the papacy to be one of the

mightiest of all institutions that have appeared in history, and one

that is most worthy of inspiring us with wonder and admiration."

[1854] See Innocent's letter in Decr. Greg., III. 8, 5, Friedberg's

ed., II. 489.

[1855] Sedes apost. a nemine judicatur. For Bernard, see Ep., 213; de

consid., III. 4

[1856] See Gee and Hardy, Doc. of Engl. Ch. Hist., p. 53.

[1857] See Schwane, p. 531.

[1858] Causa, XXV. I, 11, Friedberg's ed., I. 1009. Anathema apud deum,

qui censuram Rom. pontificum violat.

[1859] Christi vicarius in totam eccles. univ. praelationem obtinet ...

Pontificem pertinet quae fidei sunt determinare. C. errores Graec., II.

32, 36. Also Th. Aq., Summa, II. 2, q. I. 10.

[1860] Brevil., VI. 12, Peltier's ed., VII. 327. Christi vicarius fons,

origo, et regula omnium principatuum eccles., etc.

[1861] Ep., 49. See Luard's ed., p. x.

[1862] Ad quem plenaria de omnibus totius orbis beneficiis eccles.

pertinet, etc. Lib. Sext., Friedberg, II. 102.

[1863] So Thomas Aquinas in his c. errores Graec. Bernard, Epp., 187.

341, 356, 396, etc.

[1864] The Dictatus papae of Deusdedit. Mirbt, p. 113.

[1865] Deus nullum excepit, nihil ab ejus potestate subtraxit. Reg.,

IV. 2.

[1866] Petro non solum universam eccles. sed totum reliquit seculum

gubernandum. Ep. I. 401, Mirbt, p. 130.

[1867] Hauck, p. 1.

[1868] Mirbt, Quellen, pp. 99 sq.

[1869] Reg., I. 63, Migne, 148. 569.

[1870] Reg., II. 51.

[1871] Br�holles, IV. 914-923.

[1872] See D�llinger, Papstthum, pp. 67, 404. Leo X,'s bull against

Luther reaffirmed this fiction of the transfer of the empire from the

Greeks to the Germans by the pope. See copy of the bull in this Hist.,

VI. 233.

[1873] De consid., IV. 3, Migne, 82, 776. Uterque Ecclesiae et

spiritualis gladius et materialis; sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille

vero et ab Ecclesia exserendus: ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed

sane ad nutum sacerdotis, et jussum imperatoris.

[1874] Bishop Reinkens, of the old Catholic Church, in his annotated

translation of Bernard's treatise, de consideratione, argues for the

other view namely, that Bernard does not present the theory of the

"Caesar-pope." He also argues, pp. vi sq., that Bernard regarded the

bishops as receiving their authority not from the pope but directly

from God. His edition was issued at the time of the Vatican council of

1870 and as a protest against the dogma of papal infallibility. The

position taken above is the position of most writers, both Protestant

and Catholic.

[1875] Rom. ecclesiae obediendum est tanquam domino J. Christo.

Reusch's ed., p. 9.

[1876] Rom. episcopus dici potest rex et sacerdos .... Sicut corpus per

animam habet virtutem et operationem ita et temporalis jurisdictio

principum per spiritualem Petri et successorum eius. De regim., II. 10.

[1877] See Werner, D. hl. Thomas, I. 760 sqq., 794 sqq.; and especially

Reusch and Leitner.

[1878] De sacr., II. 1, 2, Migne, 176. 141, etc.

[1879] Migne, 210. 613.

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� 124. The Pope and the Curia.

Literature: For the election of a pope.--The text of the laws of

Nicolas II. and Gregory X. is given in Mirbt: Quellen, 57 sqq., 146,

Friedberg's ed. of Gratian, I. 78 sq.--W. C. Cartwright: The Papal

Conclave, Edinb., 1868.--Z�pffel: D. Papstwahlen etc. vom 11-15.

Jahrh., G�tting., 1871.--T. A. Trollope: The Papal Conclaves as they

were and as they are, Lond., 1876.--L. Lector: Le conclave, etc.,

Paris, 1894.--Hefele-Kn�pfler, IV. 800-826; VI. 146 sqq.--Schwane:

Dogmengesch., pp. 522-589.--Friedberg: Kirchenrecht, pp. 165

sqq.--Hergenr�ther, Kirchenrecht, pp. 267-302.--Artt. Papstwahl., in

Herzog, XI. 213-217, by Hinschius and Wetzer-Welte, IX. 1442-1461.

For the financial policy of the curia.--B. P. Woker: D. kirchl.

Finanzwesen d. P�pste, N�rdl., 1878.--Fabre: Le libre censuum de

l'�glise Romaine, Paris, 1892.--\*M. Tangl: D. Taxenwesen der p�pstl.

Kanzlei vom 13. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrh., Innsbr., 1892.--\*J. P.

Kirsch: Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums im XIII. und XIV.

Jahrh., Munster, 1895.--\*P. M. Baumgarten: Untersuchungen und Urkunden

�ber die Camera Collegii Cardinalium, 1295-1437, Leip., 1898.--\*A.

Gottlob: D. p�pstl. Kreuzzugssteuern des 13. Jahrh., Heiligens., 1892;

\*D. Servitientaxe im 13. Jahrh., Stuttg., 1903.--\*O. Jensen: D.

englische Peterspfennig, Heidelb., 1903.--Haller: Papsttum u.

Kirchenreform, Berlin, 1903.--Hurter: Inn. III., IV. 161 sqq.--For

add'l lit. bearing on the financial policy of the popes, especially in

the 14th century, see Part II. of this vol. under John XXII.

The curia is the designation given to the cardinals and minor officials

of the papal household. Its importance increased greatly in this period

through the centralization of authority in Rome. The pope was forced to

employ an army of notaries, advocates, procurators, and other officials

to share, with him the burdens of the vast amount of business brought

to his attention.

In a restricted sense, the word "curia" is applied to the college of

cardinals. This body came to sustain to the pope a relation similar to

the relation sustained by the chapter to the bishop and a cabinet to a

prince. At the oecumenical councils of Lyons, 1245 and 1274, its

members were given precedence over all other ecclesiastical

dignitaries.

The legislation fixing the mode of choosing the pope originated in this

period with Nicolas II., speaking through the council of Rome 1059, and

Gregory X., speaking through the second council of Lyons, 1274. From

the ninth century, the emperor had claimed the right to confirm or veto

papal elections, a right set aside under the influence of Gregory VII.

The law of Nicolas, conforming to Gregory's views, confined the right

of election to the cardinals, and this became their primary function.

It marks an important step in the complete independence of the papacy,

though it was not strictly enforced till after its confirmation by

Alexander III, at the Third Lateran, 1179. A majority of two-thirds of

the cardinals was made necessary for an election. An important

provision made papal elections conducted outside the city of Rome

valid.

More precise regulations were shown to be necessary by the long

pontifical vacancy of nearly three years following the death of Clement

IV. (d. 1268). The law, as perfected under Gregory X., is, with slight

modifications, still in force. It provides that, within ten days of a

pope's decease and in the same building where he expired, the cardinals

shall assemble to choose a successor. The conclave, --from clavis,

meaning key,--or room of meeting, has given its name to the assembly

itself. During the progress of the vote, the assembled ecclesiastics

are kept secluded from the outside world and receive food through a

window. If after three days no conclusion has been reached, the fare is

reduced to a single dish for supper and a single dish for dinner.

Should eight days pass without a choice, the fare is reduced to bread

and wine. The secular authorities are intrusted with the duty of

guarding the conclave against interruption and violence.

The committees, or congregations, into which the cardinals are now

grouped is of late origin. The oldest, the Holy Office or Congregation

of the Inquisition, was established 1542. The red hat was conferred

upon them, as a sign of their office, by Innocent IV., 1245; the purple

mantle, two hundred years later, by Paul II., 1464. They wear a

sapphire ring and by the enactment of Urban VIII., 1630, are addressed

as "Eminence." In 1586 their number was limited by Sixtus V. to

seventy. The exact membership within this limit is dependent upon the

pleasure of the reigning pontiff. The largest number at any time was

under Pius IV., 1559, when there were seventy-six. In the latter half

of the thirteenth century the number often ran very low and at one time

was reduced to seven. Since Urban VI., 1378-1382, none but a cardinal

has been elevated to the papal dignity. The pope's right to abdicate is

based upon the precedents of Gregory VI., 1046, Coelestin V., 1294, and

Gregory XII., 1415.

The pope's coronation and enthronement were an occasion of increasing

pomp and ostentation and were usually celebrated with a procession

through the city from St. Peter's to the Lateran in which the nobility

and civil authorities as well as the pope and the higher and lower

clergy took part. The tiara, or triple crown, seems not to have been

used till the reign of Urban V., 1362-1372. This crown is regarded as

symbolical of the pope's rule over heaven, earth, and the lower world;

or of his earthly power and his power to loose for time and eternity;

or of Rome, the Western patriarchate and the whole earth.

To this period belongs the development of the system of papal legates

which proved to be an important instrumentality in the extention of the

pope's jurisdiction. These officials are constantly met with from the

pontificate of Gregory VII. Clement IV. likened them to the Roman

proconsuls. They were appointed to represent the Apostolic see on

special occasions, and took precedence of the bishops in the regions to

which they were sent, presided at synods, and claimed for themselves

the respect due to the pope himself.

Gregory VII., in commending a legate, quoted Luke 10:16, "whosoever

heareth you, heareth me also." [1880] [1881] nd Adrian IV. won

distinction by his successful administration of the legatine office in

Northern Europe. Papal legates were present at the coronation of

William the Conqueror, 1070.

Legates had the reputation of living like princes and depended for

their support upon the countries to which they were despatched. Their

encroachment upon the prerogatives of the episcopate and their demands

for money called forth bitter complaint from one end of Europe to the

other. Barbarossa wrote Adrian IV., refusing to receive the papal

legates because they came to him as plunderers and not as priests.

[1882] One, Martin, who had been sent to Dacia, returned to Italy so

poor that he could with difficulty get to Florence and would have had

to foot it from there to Rome but for the loan of a horse. Bernard felt

his description would be regarded as an idle tale, a legate coming back

from the land of gold without gold and traversing the land of silver

without possessing silver! The other case was the legate Gaufrid of

Aquitaine who would not accept even fish and vegetables without paying

for them so that no one might be able to say, "we have made Abraham

rich," Gen. 14:23. [1883]

Salimbene, the genial Franciscan chronicler, also gives us a dark

picture of papal legates of Northern Italy, some of whom he had known

personally. He gives the names of twelve, four of whom he specially

accuses of unchastity, including Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., and

mentioning some of their children by name. Two of them were hard

drinkers. He makes the general charge that legates "rob the churches

and carry off whatsoever they can." [1884]

As the ultimate legal tribunal of Western Europe, the papal court

assumed an importance never dreamed of before. Innumerable cases of

appeal were brought before it. If the contestants had money or time, no

dispute was too trivial to be contested at Rome. Appeals poured in from

princes and kings, chapters and bishops, convents and abbots. Burchard

of Ursperg says [1885] o went had their hands full of gold and silver.

There was a constant procession of litigants to the Eternal City, so

that it once more became literally true that all roads led to Rome. The

hours of daylight, as Bernard lamented, were not long enough for these

disputes, and the hearings were continued into the night. [1886] er

duties, and consumed upon the hearing of common lawsuits and personal

complaints. The halls of the papal palace rang with the laws of

Justinian rather than the precepts of the Lord. Bernard himself

recognized the right of appeal as an incontestable privilege, but would

have limited it to the complaints of widows and the poor, and excluded

disputes over property. [1887]

The expression ad calendas Graecas became proverbial in Rome for delays

of justice till one party or the other was dead or, worn out by

waiting, gave what was demanded. The following example, given by

Bernard, will indicate the extent to which the right of appeal was

carried. A marriage ceremony in Paris was suddenly checked by a

complainant appearing at the altar and making appeal to Rome against

the marriage on the ground that the bride had been promised to him. The

priest could not proceed, and bride and bridegroom had to live apart

until the case was argued before the curia. So great did the curia's

power become that its decision was regarded as determining what was

sound doctrine and what was heresy. [1888]

In the thirteenth century, the papal exchequer gained an offensive

notoriety through the exactions of the curia, but it was not till the

fourteenth century, during the period of the Avignon exile, that they

aroused a clamorous protest throughout Europe. The increased expenses

of the papal household called for large sums, and had to be met. The

supreme pontiff has a claim upon the entire communion over which he

presides, and the churches recognized its justice. It was expressed by

Pascal II. when he wrote to Anselm of Canterbury, 1101: "You know well

our daily necessities and our want of means. The work of the Roman

church inures to the benefit of all the churches, and every church

which sends her gifts thereby recognizes not only that they are in debt

to her but to the whole of Christendom as well." [1889]

As bearing on the papal revenues early in the thirteenth century, a

ledger account of the income of Innocent III. has come down to us,

prepared by his chamberlain, Cencius, afterwards made a cardinal.

[1890] money, all sorts of articles are catalogued--vegetables, wine,

grain, fish, wood, wax, linen, yokes of oxen, horses.--Convents,

churches, and hospitals made contributions to the pope's wants. The

abbot of Reichenau, at his induction, sent two white horses, a

breviary, and a book of the Gospels. A hospital in the see of Terouanne

sent 100 herrings, St. Basil's, in Rome, two loads of fish.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century, the administration of the

papal finances was reduced to a system, and definite rules were adopted

for the division of the revenues between the pope and the college of

cardinals. We are restricted to a single tax list [1891] eresting

ledger accounts which give the exact prices levied for papal privileges

of all sorts. There, we have fiscal contracts drawn up between prelates

and papal officials and receipts such as would be expected in a careful

banking system. These lists and other sources of information enable us

to conclude what methods were practised from 1250-1300.

The sources from which the papal treasury drew its revenues were the

annual tributes of feudal states, called census, payments made by

prelates and other holders of church benefices called servitia,

visitationes, and annates; and the occasional taxes levied upon the

Church at large, or sections of it, for crusades and other special

movements. To these usual sources of revenue are to be added

assessments for all sorts of specific papal concessions and

indulgences. [1892]

The servitia, [1893] ments made by papal appointees of a portion of a

year's income of benefices which the pope reserved to himself the right

of filling, such as prebends, canonries, and other livings. The portion

was usually one-half. The visitationes were payments made by prelates;

that is, archbishops, bishops, and abbots on their visits in Rome.

[1894]

The servitia [1895] fts of money paid by archbishops, bishops, and

abbots at their confirmation in office. They constituted a large source

of revenue. The amounts to be paid in each case were computed upon the

basis of a year's income. Once fixed they remained fixed and obligatory

until new valuations were made. [1896] [1897] las III. (1277-1280), and

probably as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. [1898]

house. [1899]

The census included the taxes paid by the State of the Church, the

assessments paid by convents and churches under the special protection

of the Apostolic see, the tributes of the vassal--states, Naples,

Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and England, and the income of Peter's

Pence. The tribute of 1000 marks, promised by John for England and

Ireland, was over and above the amounts due from Peter's Pence. The

tribute of Sicily in 1272, amounting to 8000 oz. of gold, was divided

into two equal parts by Gregory X., one part going to the cardinals. In

1307, a demand was made upon Charles II. of Naples for back payments on

this account amounting to the enormous sum of 93,340 oz. of gold. In

1350, the amount due was 88,852 oz. [1900]

The custom of paying Peter's Pence, or a stipulated amount for every

household, was in vogue in England, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Northern

Germany, and Poland, but was never introduced into France though

Gregory VII. attempted to collect it there but failed. [1901] 1059,

pledged for Sicily twelve denarii for every yoke of oxen to be paid for

all time. [1902] [1903]

During the second half of the thirteenth century, the custom was

developed of dividing the revenues from visitationes, servitia, and

census between the pope and the college of cardinals. [1904] towns in

the papal territory set aside for them by popes. To these sources of

revenue were added during the thirteenth century livings in foreign

lands which they administered, if administered at all, through vicars.

A number of benefices were often held by a member of the curia, but the

abuse of pluralities did not reach its largest proportions till the

latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1291, Benedict Gaetani

(Boniface VIII.) cardinal of S. Nicolas in Carcere, held, in addition

to that living, two archdeaneries and two churches in France, three

churches in Rome and prebend stalls in Langres, Chartres, Lyons, Paris,

Anagni, Todi, Terouanne, and St. Peter's in Rome.

The half portion, accruing to the cardinals, was divided equally

between those dignitaries. In case a cardinal was suspended his portion

was divided equally between the papal treasury and the other cardinals.

It became customary at the close of the thirteenth century, in

appointing a cardinal, to announce that he was entitled to a share of

the servitia. [1905]

During the absence of a cardinal on legatine business or for other

reasons, he ceased to participate in the fund.

These revenues were handled by two treasurers: a papal treasurer, or

chamberlain, and a treasurer for the college of cardinals. [1906] e and

turned over to the cardinals. To such a system had the finances been

reduced that, as early as the reign of Boniface VIII., the Registers of

preceding pontiffs were consulted. [1907] are, coin amounting to 85,431

gold florins, a sum equal in face value to $200,000. [1908]

To the pope's own exchequer went the additional sums accruing from

annates as defined above, the special taxes imposed by the pope at

will, and the gifts for special papal favors. The crusades against the

Saracens and Frederick II. were an inviting pretext for special

taxation. They were the cause of endless friction especially in France

and England, where the papal mulcts were most frequent and most

bitterly complained of. The first papal levy for revenue in France

seems to have been in 1188. As early as 1247 such a levy upon church

property was met by a firm protest. In 1269, Louis IX. issued the

pragmatic sanction which forbade papal taxes being put on church

property in France without the sovereign's consent. One of the most

famous levies of mediaeval England was the Saladin tax, for a crusade

against the Saracens.

The curia was already, in the time of St. Bernard, notorious for its

rapacity. No sums could satisfy its greed, and upon it was heaped the

blame for the incessant demands which went out from Rome. Bernard

presents a vivid, if perhaps overcolored, picture of this hungry horde

of officials and exclaims: "When has Rome refused gold? Rome has been

turned from a shrine into a place of traffic. The Germans travel to

Rome with their pack animals laden with treasure. Silver has become as

plentiful as hay. It is to Eugenius' credit that he has turned his face

against such gifts. The curia is responsible. They have made Rome a

place of buying and selling. The 'Romans,' for this was the distinctive

name given to this body of officials, are a pack of shameless beggars

and know not how to decline silver and gold. They are dragons and

scorpions, not sheep." [1909]

The English chronicler, Matthew Paris, writing a century later, has on

almost every other page of his chronicle a complaint against the

exactions of the papal tax gatherers. One might easily get the

impression from his annals, that the English Church and people existed

chiefly to fill the Roman treasury. The curia, he said, was like a gulf

swallowing up the resources of all classes and the revenues of bishops

and abbots. [1910] cardinals and reports the invectives of Hugh de

Digne delivered at the council of Lyons, 1245. [1911]

Bernard of Cluny and other poets of the time lashed the Curia for its

simony. [1912] bitter invective against the wide-open mouths of the

cardinals which only money could fill. In one of them, the Ruin of

Rome, the city is compared to the waters between Scylla and Charybdis,

more capacious of gold than of ships."

"The meeting place of our pirates, the cardinals"

Ibi latrat Scylla rapax et Charybdis auri capax

Potius quam navium, ibi cursus galearum

Et concursus piratarum, id est cardinalium.

There, at that deep gulf, are the Syrtes and Sirens who threaten the

whole world with shipwreck, the gulf which has the mouth of a man but

the heart of a devil. There the cardinals sell the patrimony, wearing

the aspect of Peter and having the heart of Nero, looking like lambs

and having the nature of wolves. [1913] id to the lame man "silver and

gold have I none.' " "Nor," was Thomas' reply, "has his successor the

power now to lay his hand on the lame man and heal him."

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[1880] Reg., II. 44, Migne, 148. 392.

[1881] Reg., I.7; I. 29, VIII. 10; II. 32; II. 51; II. 73; I. 70,

Migne, 148. 290, 312, 387, 405, 423, 345.

[1882] Hefele, V. 565. The permanent nuntiatures at Catholic courts

were first established in the 16th century. Such are now maintained at

Munich, Vienna, Lisbon, Madrid, and Brussels.

[1883] De consid., IV. 5.

[1884] Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante, pp. 252 sqq.

[1885] See D�llinger, Papstthum, p. 76.

[1886] Quale est istud demane ad vesperam litigare, aut litigantes

audire? Utinam sufficeret diei malitia sua! non sunt liberae noctes.

[1887] De consid., I. 4-6; III. 2.

[1888] John of Salisbury, Polycrat., VI. 64, qui a doctrina vestra

dissentit aut hereticus aut schismaticus est.

[1889] Quoted by Jensen, p. 42.

[1890] See Hurter, Innocent III., III. 121-149. One is amazed at the

extent and variety of the articles and at the curious names of the

coins derived from different countries.

[1891] Tangl, pp. 7 sqq. The full treatment of the subject of the papal

finances belongs to the period of the Avignon exile. It has called

forth a distinct body of literature, beginning with the work of Woker

and including the careful works of Tangl, Kirsch, Goeller, Gottlob,

Baumgarten, and others.

[1892] Monies from these sources were called "monies of the college,"

pecuniae colegii, and were often entered into the books of the college

of cardinals under the head of servitia, census, visitationes, and

proventus. Kirsch, Finanzverw., p. 5, Baumgarten, p. xcvi.

[1893] The terms servitia and annatae were used more or less

interchangeably, but the former was usually applied to the gifts of

prelates, the latter to the payments of the lower clerics. Gottlob,

Servitientaxe, p.1.

[1894] Such a visit was called a visitatio ad limina apostolorum, and

was not limited to the city of Rome. The visits upon which a tax was

paid were called visitationes reales in distinction from other visits

called visitationes verbales. Kirsch, pp. 22 sq.

[1895] For the meaning and history of the word, see Gottlob,

Servitientaxe, pp. 14-17. They were called servitia communia in

distinction from the servitia pro familia or servitia minuta, which

were smaller fees given to the officials of the papal household and

officials of the body of cardinals, called familiares. These lesser

fees were also matter of exact regulation, and usually amounted to

one-fourteenth or one-twentieth of the servitium commune. Up to 1298 we

hear of only two distinct fees for the members of the papal household.

In 1299 we hear of three, and in the fourteenth century the number of

the servitia minuta was increased to five. Gottlob, Servitientaxe,

pp.101 sqq.; Kirsch, pp. 12 sqq.

[1896] Kirsch, p. 12, gives the documents in which appeals were made

for a reduction of the tribute by the archbishops of Narbonne, 1341,

and Cashel, 1332, and the abbot of Amiens, 1344. In the case of the

abbot, the amount was reduced from 4000 to 2500 gold florins.

[1897] See the cases from which Kirsch deduces the rule, p. 9.

[1898] The case of the abbot of St. Edmundsbury seems to belong here.

In 1248 he paid to the Roman see 800 marks. M. Paris, Luard's ed., V.

40; Tangl, p. 6.

[1899] The promises to pay were called obligationes. Receipts,

quitationes, were given by the papal treasurer, or the treasurer of the

college of cardinals, or by both. Kirsch gives original documents. He

was the first to clear up the subject of the servitia.

[1900] Kirsch, p. 32.

[1901] Hurter, III. 136.

[1902] Jensen, p. 36.

[1903] See O'Gorman, Hist. of the Cath. Ch. in the U. S., p. 6. Nicolas

Breakspear, Adrian IV., as cardinal legate, secured the promise of

Peter's Pence from Norway and Sweden at the synod of Linkoping, 1152.

Jensen, p. 12.

[1904] Kirsch, pp. 22, 23, 25. Nicolas IV., 1288, was the first to

establish an equal division of the census in the bull coelestis

altitudo.

[1905] Such a formula dating from 1296 is given by Kirsch, p. 58. The

number of the cardinals is distinctly stated in the ledger-books and

also the names of cardinals who had forfeited their rights by

deposition.

[1906] camerarius collegii dominorum cardinalium. The first treasurer

whose name is known was William de Bray, cardinal-priest of St. Marks,

1272-1282. For a list of his successors to 1401, see Kirsch, pp. 44-46,

and Baumgarten, pp. xliii sqq.

[1907] Kirsch, p. 66. Baumgarten, p. xxiii, is of a different opinion

and puts the first systematically kept ledgers in 1295.

[1908] For a list of the strange coins paid into this fund and a

computation of their value in gold florins, see Kirsch, pp. 56 sq.

Kirsch estimates the gold florin as equivalent in face value to 10

marks or $2.50 and the mark in the 14th century as having four times

the purchasing power of a mark to-day.

[1909] De consid., III.1, 3. Bernard returns again and again (in his de

consid., I. 11; IV. 4, etc., and his Letters) to the venality of the

curia. He even suggested that Eugenius might have to leave Rome to get

away from its corruption, De consid., IV. 3.

[1910] Luard's ed., V. 96.

[1911] Coulton's ed., pp. 261 sq.

[1912] Bernard of Cluny in his de contemptu mundi has the following

lines:-- Roma dat omnibus omnia, dantibus omnia Romae Cum pretio: quia

jure ibi via, jus perit omne Ut rota labitur, ergo vocabitur hinc rota

a Roma Roma nocens nocet, atque viam docet ipsa nocendi Jura

relinquere, lucra requirere, pallia vendi

[1913] The Latin Poems of Walter Mapes, ed. by T. Wright, London, 1841,

p. 218.

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� 125. Bishops.

Although the episcopate lost some of its ancient prestige through the

centralization of power in the papacy, the incumbents of the great sees

were fully as powerful as the greater secular princes. The old theory,

that all bishops are the successors of Peter, had a waning number of

open advocates. Bernard said [1914] . A hundred years later Grosseteste

still held to the equal dignity of all bishops as being successors of

Peter. [1915]

By the law of Gregory IX., archbishops took an oath of allegiance to

the pope, and Martin V. (1417-1431) extended it so as to include all

bishops. Gregory IX. and other popes made this oath the ground of

demands for military service. Long before this, in 1139, Innocent II.

had addressed the bishops as occupying a relation to the papal see such

as vassals occupy to their prince. They were to be known as "bishops by

the grace of God and the Apostolic see." [1916] [1917] a fixed rule by

Nicolas III. (1277-1280). [1918]

After the Concordat of Worms, 1122, the appointment of bishops by

princes and other lay patrons, in theory, ceased. Pope after pope

declared the right of election belonged to the cathedral chapters. But,

in fact, the elections were not free. Princes ignored the rights of the

chapters and dictated the nominees, or had unsatisfactory elections set

aside by appealing to Rome. In France and Spain, a royal writ was

required before an election could be had and the royal acceptance of

the candidate was interposed as a condition of consecration. In

England, in spite of the settlement between Anselm and Henry I., the

rights of the chapters were constantly set aside, and disputed

elections were a constant recurrence. By John's charter, the election

took place in the chapter house of the cathedral, and the king might

exercise the right of nomination and confirmation. [1919] e rule that a

chapter, failing to reach a conclusion in three months, forfeited the

right of election.

The law requiring a bishop to be at least thirty years old [1920] nted

bishop of Lincoln before he was twenty and for six years he enjoyed the

revenues of the see without being ordained priest. He was afterwards

made archbishop of York. Gerlach of Nassau was made archbishop at

twenty. We have in this period no case quite so flagrant as that of

Hugh of Vermandois, about 930, who, after poisoning the archbishop of

Rheims, put his own son, a child of five, into the office. Disregard of

the age-limit reached its height in the latter half of the fifteenth

century. The larger sees were a tempting prize to noblemen, and

Innocent III. felt it necessary to emphasize merit as a qualification

for the episcopal office as against noble birth.

The important right of canonization was withdrawn from the bishops by

Alexander III., 1181, and its exercise thenceforth restricted to the

pope. Bishops were not popular material for sainthood. Otto of Bamberg

is a shining exception.

From the time of Otto the Great, German bishops had the rank of

princes. [1921] , they were raised to the dignity of the peerage. The

three German sees of Treves, Mainz, and Cologne probably enjoyed larger

revenues and authority than any other sees in Western Christendom. They

gave to the territory along the Rhine the name of the "priests' alley."

Their three prelates were among the seven electors of the empire. In

Northern Germany, the see of Bremen retained its relative importance.

Lund was the metropolitan see of Denmark and Scandinavia. In France,

the ancient archbishoprics of Lyons and Rheims perpetuated the rank and

influence of an earlier period. In England, after the see of

Canterbury, Lincoln was the most influential diocese.

The cathedral and collegiate chapters grew in importance. In the

earlier part of this period, it was still the custom for the canons

belonging to a chapter to live under the same roof and eat at the same

table. In the thirteenth century a great change took place. With the

increasing wealth of the churches, the chapters threatened to assert

the rights of distinct corporations, and to become virtually

independent of the bishops. [1922] ork. The canons lived apart by

themselves, supported by the revenues of their stalls and their portion

of the cathedral income. No places were more often filled by papal

appointment in the way of reservation and expectance. [1923]

The archdeacon, still called as of old, "the bishop's eye," assisted

the bishop in matters of diocesan administration, visited churches,

made investigation of the sacred robes and vessels, adjudicated

disputes, presided over synods, and, as provided for by the English

Constitutions of Otho, instructed the clergy on the sacraments and

other subjects. This official threatened to assume the rank of

bishop-coadjutor, or even to become independent of the bishop. [1924] .

The large dioceses employed a plurality of them. As early as the

eleventh century, the see of Treves had five, Cologne six, and

Halberstadt thirty. [1925] s of Lincoln, Leicester, Stow, Buckingham,

Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, and Bedford. Archdeacons were often

appointed at an early age, and it became the custom for them to go

abroad to pursue the study of canon law before entering upon the duties

of their office. They were inclined to allow themselves more liberties

than other ecclesiastics, and John of Salisbury propounded the question

whether an archdeacon could be saved. Among the better known of the

English archdeacons were Thomas � Becket, Walter Map, archdeacon of

Oxford, and Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London. Peter complained to

Innocent III. that he received no financial support from the 120

churches of London.

A hard struggle was carried on to remove the hand of the secular power

from church funds. Synods, local and oecumenical, threatened severest

penalties upon any interference of this kind. In 1209, Otto IV.

renounced the old right of spoliation--jus spolii or jus

exuviarum,--whereby the secular prince might seize the revenues of

vacant sees and livings, and appropriate them to himself. The Church

was exempted by Innocent III. from all civil taxation at the hands of

laymen, except as it was sanctioned by pope or bishop, and lay patrons

were enjoined against withholding or seizing for their own use church

livings to which they had the right of appointment. [1926] [1927] ter

his estate. Priests were exempt from personal taxation. For prescribed

taxes, free gifts so called, were substituted. Peter of Blois commended

the piety of certain princes who declined to levy taxes upon churches

and other ecclesiastical institutions, even for necessary expenditures,

such as the repair of city walls; but met them, if not from their own

resources, from booty taken from enemies. [1928]

Besides the usual income accruing from landed endowments and tithes,

the bishop had other sources of revenue. He might at pleasure levy

taxes for the spiritual needs of his see, [1929] at the dedication of

churches and altars, and the benediction of cemeteries. Abaelard speaks

of the throngs which assembled on such festal occasions, and the large

offerings which were, in part, payments for the relaxation of penances.

[1930]

As for the pastoral fidelity and morals of the bishops, there was much

ground for complaint, and there are also records of exemplary prelates.

As a whole, the prelates were a militant class. No pope of this age

wore armor as did John XII., and, at a later time, Julius II., though

there were few if any pontiffs, who did not encourage war under the

name of religion. Bishops and abbots were often among the bravest

warriors and led their troops into the thickest of the fight both on

European soil and under Syrian suns. Monks and priests wore armor and

went into battle. When the pope asked for the release of the fighting

bishop of Beauvais, whom Richard Coeur de Lion had seized, Richard sent

him the bishop's coat of mail clotted with blood and the words taken

from the story of Joseph, "We found this. Is it not thy son's coat?"

Archbishop Christian of Mainz (d. 1183) is said to have felled, with

his own hand, nine antagonists in the Lombard war, and to have struck

out the teeth of thirty others. Absalom and Andrew of Lund were famous

warriors. [1931] monk's garb, to encourage bloodshed than he could have

done in military dress.

The chastity of the bishops was often open to just suspicion. The

Christian, already referred to, a loyal supporter of Barbarossa, kept a

harem. [1932] ffrey Riddel to the see of Ely was being prosecuted at

the papal court, and Geoffrey was absent, the bishop of Orleans

facetiously explained his absence by saying, "He hath married a wife,

and therefore he cannot come." [1933] ce-bishop of Li�ge, is perhaps

the most notorious case. He was cited before Gregory X. at the second

council of Lyons, and forced to resign. He was an illiterate, and could

not read the book presented to him. For thirty years he had led a

shameless life. Two abbesses and a nun were among his concubines and he

boasted of having had fourteen children in twenty-two months. The worst

seems to have occurred before he was made priest. Innocent IV. had been

his strong friend. Salimbene tells the popular tale of his day that the

saintly Cistercian, Geoffroi de P�ronne, came back from the other world

and announced that if he had accepted the bishopric of Tournai, as the

pope urged him to do, he would have been burning in hell. From the

pages of this chronicler we have the pictures of many unworthy prelates

given to wine and pleasure, but also of some who were model pastors.

[1934]

The prelates of Germany had no better reputation than those of Italy,

and Caesar of Heisterbach [1935] who declared that he "could believe

all things, but it was not possible for him to believe that any German

bishop could be saved." When asked the reason for such a judgment, he

replied, that the German prelates carried both swords, waged wars, and

were more concerned about the pay of soldiers than the salvation of the

souls committed to them.

The other side to this picture is not so apt to be presented.

Chroniclers are more addicted to point out the scandalous lives of

priests than to dwell upon clerical fidelity. There were faithful and

good bishops and abbots. The names of Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of

Lincoln, Bernard and Peter the Venerable only need to be mentioned to

put us on our guard against accepting the cases of unworthy and

profligate prelates which have been handed down as indicating a

universal rule.

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[1914] De consid., II. 8; III. 4; IV. 8. After the resurrection, Peter

went to Jesus on the lake. The lake signified the world and Peter has

charge over the world, and each Apostle charge over his own little

boat. James was satisfied with jurisdiction over Jerusalem and

acknowledged Peter's authority over the entire Church.

[1915] Letter 23, Luard's ed., principes ecclesiastici qui vicem Petri

tenent.

[1916] In a vigorous letter to Innocent, Bernard complained that

bishops were deprived by the curia of the power to right wrongs in

their own dioceses and to exercise the function of the keys. Ep., 178,

Migne, 182. 310.

[1917] See D�llinger, Papstthum, pp. 73, 409 sq. Innocent referred back

to Leo I., who had written to a bishop of Thessalonica, vices enim

nostras ita tuae credidimus charitati, ut in partem sis vocatus

sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. Ep., VI. Migne, LIV.

671.

[1918] Lib. Sextus, I. 6, 16, Friedberg's ed., II. 954 sqq.

[1919] Stubbs, Const. Hist., III. 303 sq., refers to "the shadowy

freedom of election."

[1920] Third Lat., can. 3.

[1921] Hauck, III. 28 sqq.

[1922] capitula clausa. Hurter, III. 355, pronounced the change a sign

of decay.

[1923] The prospective occupants of stalls were called canonici in

herbis, canons on the commons; the actual incumbents, canonici in

floribus et fructibus. The Third Lateran forbade the appointment of

canons to stalls not yet vacant, but Alexander IV., 1254, sanctioned

the appointment of as many as four such expectants. See Art. Kapitel,

Herzog, X. 38.

[1924] Third Lat., can. 6, Friedberg, pp. 188 sqq. Innocent III.

recognized the archdeacon as the bishop's representative. Hurter, III.

362 sq.

[1925] Hauck, IV. 10 sqq. Metz, Toul, Mainz, etc., also employed a

number of archdeacons.

[1926] Third Lat., can. 19, Fourth Lat., can. 46. This principle was

recognized by Frederick II., 1220. Also Narbonne, 1127, can. 12;

Toulouse, 1229, can. 20 sq., etc.

[1927] Third Lat., can. 15.

[1928] Epp., 112, 121.

[1929] Subsidium charitativum. Third Lateran.

[1930] Ethica, 25, Migne, 178. 672 sq.

[1931] See Hurter, III. 292 sqq., for a list of warrior prelates.

[1932] Gregorovius, IV. 610.

[1933] Stubbs' ed. of Hoveden, II.58.

[1934] Coulton's ed., p. 264 sqq.

[1935] Dial., II. 27, Strange's ed., I. 99.

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� 126. The Lower Clergy.

The cure of souls--regimen animarum -- was pronounced by the Fourth

Lateran, following Gregory the Great, to be the art of arts, and

bishops were admonished to see to it that men capable in knowledge and

of fit morals be appointed to benefices. The people were taught to

respect the priest for the sake of his holy office and the fifth

commandment was adduced as divine authority for submission to him.

[1936]

The old rule was repeated, making the canonical age for consecration to

the priesthood twenty-five. Councils and popes laid constant stress

upon the priest's moral obligations, such as integrity, temperance in

the use of strong drink, [1937] [1938] yards.

The old rules were renewed, debarring from the sacerdotal office

persons afflicted with bodily defects, and Innocent III. complained of

the bishop of Angoul�me for ordaining a priest who had lost a thumb.

[1939]

Beginning with the twelfth century, the number of parishes increased

with great rapidity both in the rural districts and in the towns. In

German cities the division of the old parishes was encouraged by the

citizens, as in Freiburg, Mainz, Worms, and L�beck, and they insisted

upon the right of choosing their pastor. [1940] [1941]

What occurred in Germany occurred also in England. But here the

endowment of churches and chapels by devout and wealthy laymen was more

frequent. Such parishes, it is true, often fell to the charge of the

orders, but also a large share of them to the charge of the cathedral

chapters and bishops.

Clerical incomes varied fully as much in those days as they do now, if

not more. The poorer German priests received from one-tenth to

one-twentieth of the incomes of more fortunate rectors and canons.

[1942] ran made small salaries responsible for a poorly trained

ministry.

The clergy depended for their maintenance chiefly upon the income from

lands and the tithe. The theory was that the tenth belonged to the

Church, "for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." The

principle was extended to include the tithe of the fish-catch, the

product of the chase, and the product of commerce. [1943] after death.

Such fees became general after the twelfth century, but not without

vigorous protests against them. The Second Lateran and other synods

[1944] rites, and for sepulture. The ground was taken by Innocent III.

that, while gifts for such services were proper, they should be

spontaneous and not forced. The Fourth Lateran bade laymen see they

were not overlooked.

Priests receiving their benefices from laymen were likened to thieves

who came not in by the door but climbed in some other way. The lay

patron had the right of nomination--presentatio. To the bishop belonged

the right of confirmation--concessio. Laymen venturing to confer a

living without the consent of the ecclesiastical authority exposed

themselves to the sentence of excommunication. [1945] [1946] of

pluralities was practised in spite of the decrees of oecumenical and

local synods. [1947]

The ideal of a faithful priest was not a preacher but one who

administered the sacraments and other solemn rites upon the living and

the dead. Restricted as the education of the priest was, it greatly

surpassed that of his lay brother, and it was not so meagre as it has

often been represented. There were writers who held up the ignorance of

the clergy to scorn, but it is dangerous to base wide generalizations

on such statements. Statements of another kind can be adduced to show

that a class of priests had literary interests as wide as the age was

familiar with. The schools that existed were for the training of the

clergy. Synods assumed that clerics could read and prescribed that they

should read their breviaries even while travelling on journeys. Peter

of Blois urged them to read the Scriptures, which he called David's

harp, a plough working up the fallow field of the heart, and which he

compared to drink, medicine, balsam, and a weapon. He also warned

priests against allowing themselves "to be enticed away by the

puerilities of heathen literature and the inventions of philosophers."

When the universities arose, a large opportunity was offered for

culture and the students who attended them were clerics or men who were

looking forward to holy orders. The synod of Cologne, 1260, probably

struck the medium in regard to the culture of the clergy, when it

declared that it did not demand eminent learning of clerics but that

they know how to read and properly sing the church service.

The function of parish-preaching was not altogether neglected. Bishops

were enjoined by the Fourth Lateran to appoint men capable of preaching

in all cathedral and conventual churches. In the eleventh century there

was scarcely a German parish in which there was not some preaching

during the year, and subsequent to that time, sermons were delivered

regularly. [1948] bound in stories and practical lessons and show more

dependence upon the Fathers than upon the Scriptures. In England and

other parts of Europe sermonizing was a less common practice. English

priests were required to give expositions of the Creed, the Ten

Commandments, the evangelical precepts, the seven works of mercy, the

seven cardinal virtues, and the seven sacraments, and to cover these

subjects once a quarter. Grosseteste called upon them to be diligent in

visiting the sick night and day, to preach, and to carefully read the

Scriptures that they might be able to give a reason for the hope that

was in them. [1949] ant monks started out as preachers and supplied a

popular demand. The ignorance of the priesthood at times called for

inhibitions of preaching, as by the synod of Oxford, 1281.

Not the least important among the priest's functions was the

supervision of wills that the Church might come in for seemly

remembrance. State laws in conflict with this custom were set aside.

Abuses were recognized by synods, and the synod of Paris, 1212, ordered

that laymen should not be compelled to make provision in their wills

for the payment of thirty mortuary masses. The priest's signature

insured the validity of a will, and some synods made the failure to

call in a priest to attest the last testament a ground of

excommunication. [1950]

Turning to the priest as a member of society, the Church, with

unwavering emphasis, insisted upon his independence of the secular

tribunal. In the seventh century, Heraclius had granted to the clergy,

even in the case of criminal offences, the right of trial in

ecclesiastical courts. The Isidorian fiction fully stated this theory.

These and other privileges led many to enter the minor clerical orders

who had no intention of performing ecclesiastical functions. Council

after council pronounced the priest's person inviolate and upon no

other matter was Innocent III. more insistent. [1951] [1952] rom injury

or exempt church property from spoliation. In England, Thomas � Becket

is the most noteworthy example. A bishop of Caithness had his tongue

cut out. A Spanish bishop received the same treatment at the hands of a

king of Aragon. In Germany, Bishop Dietrich of Naumburg, a learned man,

was murdered, 1123; as were also Conrad, bishop of Utrecht, 1099;

Arnold bishop of Merseburg, 1126, and other bishops. Lawrence,

archdeacon of York, was murdered in the vestibule of his church by a

knight. The life of Norbert of Magdeburg was attempted twice. [1953]

iest persisted in committing offences, he was excommunicated and, at

last, turned over to the state for punishment. [1954] udy in Bologna.

He declared its study was obliterating the distinction between the

clerical and lay professions. The doctors of law called themselves

clerks though they had not the tonsure and took to themselves wives. He

demanded that, if clergymen and laymen were to be subjected to the same

law, it should be the law of England for Englishmen, and of France for

Frenchmen and not the law of Lombardy.

Clerical manners were a constant subject of conciliar action.

Ordination afforded no immunity from vanity and love of ostentation.

The extravagance of bishops and other clergy in dress and ornaments

gave rise to much scandal. The Third Lateran sought to check vain

display by forbidding a retinue of more than 40 or 50 horse to

archbishops, 25 to cardinals, and 20 or 30 to bishops. Archdeacons were

reduced to the paltry number of 5 or 7 and deans to 2. There was some

excuse for retinues in an age of violence with no provision for public

police. The chase had its peculiar fascination and bishops were

forbidden to take hounds or falcons with them on their journeys of

visitation. Dogs and hunting were in localities denied to clergymen

altogether. [1955]

The fondness of the clergy for gay apparel was often rebuked. In

Southern France, clergymen ventured to wear red and green colors and to

substitute for the close-fitting garment the graceful and flowing open

robe. They followed the fashions of the times in ornamenting themselves

with buckles and belts of gold and silver and hid the tonsure by

wearing their hair long. They affected the latest styles of shoes and

paraded about in silk gloves and gilded spurs, with gilded breastbands

on their horses and on gilded saddles. [1956]

Full as the atmosphere of the age was of war-clamor, and many warring

prelates as there were, the legislation of the Church was against a

fighting clergy. The wearing of swords and dirks and of a military

dress was repeatedly forbidden to them. Wars for the extermination of

heresy were in a different category from feuds among Catholic

Christians. It was in regard to the former that Peter des Roches,

bishop of Winchester, said, "As for the enemies of Christ, we shall

slay them and purify the face of the earth, that the whole world may be

subject to one Catholic Church and become one fold and one shepherd."

[1957] Priests were prohibited from attending executions, and also

tournaments and duels, on the ground that these contests presented the

possibility of untimely death to the contestants. In case a combatant

received a mortal wound he was entitled to the sacrament but was denied

ecclesiastical burial. [1958] bdeacons as well as to priests.

The period opens with the dark picture of clerical morals by Peter

Damiani who likened them to the morals of the Cities of the Plain.

Bernard, a hundred years later, in condemning clergymen for the use of

military dress, declared they had neither the courage of the soldier

nor the virtues of the clergyman. [1959]

Dice were played even on the altars of Notre Dame, Paris, [1960] [1961]

According to Caesar of Heisterbach, wine often flowed at the dedication

of churches. A Devonshire priest was accustomed to brew his beer in the

church-building.

The most famous passage of all is the passage in which Jacob de Vitry

describes conditions in Paris. Fornication among clergymen, he says,

was considered no sin. Loose women paraded the streets and, as it were

by force, drew them to their lodgings. And if they refused, the women

pointed the finger at them, crying "Sodomites." Things were so bad and

the leprosy so incurable that it was considered honorable to have one

or more concubines. In the same building, school was held upstairs and

prostitutes lived below. In the upper story masters read and in the

lower story loose women plied their trade. In one part of the building

women and their procurors disputed and in another part the clergy held

forth in their disputations. [1962]

The Fourth Lateran arraigned bishops for spending the nights in revelry

and wantonness. The archbishopric of Rouen was occupied for 113 years

by three prelates of scandalous fame. Two of them were bastards of the

ducal house and all rivalled or excelled the barons round about in

turbulence and license. A notorious case in high places was that of the

papal legate, Cardinal John of Crema. He held a council which forbade

priests and the lower clergy to have wives or concubines; but, sent to

the bishop of Durham to remonstrate with him over the debauchery which

ruled in his palace, the cardinal himself yielded to a woman whom the

bishop provided. The bishop regarded it as a jest when he pointed out

the cardinal in the act of fornication.

Marriage and concubinage continued to be practised by the clergy in

spite of the Hildebrandian legislation. Innocent III. agreed with

Hildebrand that a priest with a family is divided in his affections and

cannot give to God and the Church his full allegiance in time and

thought. [1963] hops not only violated the canons of the Church

themselves by committing the "crime of the flesh," as Gregory VII.

called it, but winked at their violation by priests for a

money-compensation. A common saying among priests was, si non caste,

caute; that is, "if not chaste, at least cautious." In this way Paul's

words were misinterpreted when he said, "If they cannot contain, let

them marry." Bonaventura, who knew the facts, declared "that very many

of the clergy are notoriously unchaste, keeping concubines in their

houses and elsewhere or notoriously sinning here and there with many

persons." [1964]

Conditions must have been bad indeed, if they equalled the priestly

customs of the fourteenth century and the example set by the popes in

the latter half of the fifteenth. Who will forget the example and

mistresses of the first and only Scotch cardinal, Archbishop Beaton,

who condemned Patrick Hamilton and Wishart to death! Were not the Swiss

Reformers Bullinger and Leo Jud sons of priests, and was not Zwingli,

in spite of his offence against the law of continence, in good standing

so long as he remained in the papal communion!

The violation of the ecclesiastical law of celibacy was, however, by no

means in all cases a violation of the moral law. Without the ceremony

of marriage, many a priest lived honorably with the woman he had

chosen, and cared for and protected his family. The Roman pontiff's

ordinance, setting aside an appointment of the Almighty, was one of the

most offensive pieces of papal legislation and did unspeakable injury

to the Church.

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[1936] Innocent III. Ep., II. 142. "Hundreds of times," says Harter,

III. 388, does this pope insist upon obedience from the priest to his

superior and says 'the evil of disobedience is the crime of idolatry,'

inobedientiae malum est scelus idolatriae.

[1937] Fourth Lateran, can. 15.

[1938] The practice of usury so frequently forbidden to priests was

also forbidden to the laity, laicis usura dampnabilis est. Gratiani

Decr. causa, XIV. 4, 9, Friedberg's ed., I. 737.

[1939] Ep., I. 231.

[1940] Hauck, IV. 29 sqq.

[1941] The Gregorian Decretals discuss chapels controlled by monks.

Friedberg's ed., II. 607 sqq.

[1942] Hauck, IV. 47 sq. In some dioceses priests were said to receive

only one-sixteenth of the tithes due them, the rest being appropriated

by the lay patron or bishop. So the synod of Mainz, Hefele, VI. 75.

[1943] The last claim, made by the archbishop of Bergen, was rejected

by Innocent III. Ep., I. 217.

[1944] Piacenza, 1095; London, 1138, 1175; Oxford, 1222; Treves, 1227,

etc. Caesar of Heisterbach, Dial., II. 7, tells of priests who for

bribes gave burial to unchurched persons.

[1945] First Lat., can. 9; Second Lat., can. 10; Third Lat., can. 17;

synods of Nismes, 1096, Troyes, 1107, Rheims, 1119, etc. The Gregorian

Decretals are full on the subject of patrons and their rights.

Friedberg's ed., II. 609-622. Innocent III. laid down the rule, quod

beneficia non possint conferri per saeculares. Ep., I. 64, IX. 234,

quoted by Hurter, III. 381.

[1946] Hurter, III. 395.

[1947] Third Lat., can. 13; Fourth Lat., can. 29; Paris, 1212, etc.

[1948] Hauck, IV. 40. Cruel, Deutsche Predigt, etc., expresses a less

favorable judgment and estimates that one-half of the German clergy in

the 13th century were uneducated and unable to preach. Coulton, p. 277,

referring more especially to Italy, speaks "of the abyss of ignorance

among the clergy at which we may well stagger."

[1949] The Constitutions of Otho, 1237. Grosseteste, Letters, LII.,

Luard's ed., p. 154 sqq.

[1950] So the synods of Cashel, 1171, Narbonne, 1127, Rouen, 1231, etc.

[1951] Ep., VI. 199, etc. Writing to the abp. of Pisa, he expressed

amazement that the abp. should have declared a cleric, receiving injury

from a layman, might submit his case to a lay tribunal. Ep., IX. 63.

[1952] Clermont, 1095, 1130; Rheims, 1131, 1148; Second Lat., Third

Lat., can. 12, etc.

[1953] Innocent III. Ep., V. 79; M. Paris, IV. 578; Hauck, IV. 83 sqq.;

M. Paris, IV. 496; vita Norberti, 18. Salembene(sic) reports the murder

of a bishop of Mantua in a political quarrel. Coulton's ed., p. 35.

[1954] Greg., Decret., II.1, 10, Friedberg's ed., II. 242.

[1955] Third Lat., etc.

[1956] Fourth Lat., can. 16; Soissons, 1079, London, 1102, 1175;

Rheims, 1171; Paris, 1212; Montpellier, 1215, etc. Innocent III.'s

letters also make reference to the worldly garb of the priests. See

Hurter, III. 391.

[1957] M. Paris, an. 1238.

[1958] Rouen, 1083; Soissons, 1079; Clermont, 1095; Fourth Lateran;

Treves, 1227; Rouen, 1231. The Constitutions of Otho, 1237, etc.

[1959] De consid., III. 5. habitu milites, quaestu clericos, actu

neutrum exhibent.

[1960] Chart. univ. Paris, I. No. 470.

[1961] Coulton's ed., 272 sqq.

[1962] See text; Rashdall, Universities, II. 690.

[1963] Ep., I. 469, VI. 103, etc., Migne, 214. 436; 215. 110.

[1964] Libellus apologet. and Quare fratres Minores praedicant.

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� 127. The Councils.

The legislation of the oecumenical and local synods of this age gives

the most impressive evidence of the moral ideals of the Church and its

effort to introduce moral reforms. The large number of councils, as

compared with the period just before 1050, was a healthy sign. [1965] h

to the empire, and the election of the pope, against simony and

clerical marriage, upon heresy and measures for its repression, upon

the crusades and the truce of God, on the details of clerical conduct

and dress, and upon the rites of worship. The doctrine of

transubstantiation, defined at the Fourth Lateran, was the only

doctrine which was added by oecumenical authority to the list of the

great dogmas handed down from the early Church.

At one period one subject, and at another, another subject, was

prominent. The character of the legislation also differed with the

locality. The synods in Rome, during the latter half of the eleventh

century, discussed clerical celibacy, simony, and investiture by

laymen. The synods of Southern France and Spain, from the year 1200,

abound in decrees upon the subject of heresy. The synods of England and

Germany were more concerned about customs of worship and clerical

conduct.

A notable feature is the attendance of popes on synods held outside of

Rome. Leo IX. attended synods in France and Germany, as well as in

Italy. Urban II. presided at the great synod of Clermont, 1095.

Innocent II. attended a number of synods outside of Rome. Alexander

III. was present at the important synod of Tours, where Thomas � Becket

sat at his right. Lucius III. presided at the council of Verona, 1184.

Innocent IV. and Gregory X. were present at the first and second

councils of Lyons. Such synods had double weight from the presence of

the supreme head of Christendom. The synods may be divided into three

classes: --

I. Local Synods, 1050-1122.--The synods held in this, the Hildebrandian

period, were a symptom of a new era in Church history. The chief synods

were held in Rome and, beginning with 1049, they carried through the

reformatory legislation, enforcing clerical celibacy and forbidding

simony. The legislation against lay-investiture culminated in the

Lenten synods at Rome, 1074 and 1075, presided over by Gregory VII.

Local synods, especially in France and England, repeated this

legislation. The method of electing a pope was settled by the Roman

synod held by Nicolas, and confirmed by the Third Lateran, 1179. The

doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as advocated by Berengar, d. 1088,

called forth action at Rome and Vercelli, 1050, and again at Rome, 1059

and 1079. The legislation bearing on the conquest of the Holy Places

was inaugurated at Piacenza and more seriously at the synod of

Clermont, both held in 1095.

II. The Oecumenical Councils.--Six general councils were held within a

period of one hundred and fifty years, 1123-1274, as against eight held

between 325-869, or a period of five hundred years. The first four go

by the name of the Lateran Councils, from the Lateran in Rome, where

they assembled. The last two were held in Lyons. They were called by

the popes, and temporal sovereigns had nothing to do in summoning them.

[1966] uthority of the Apostolic see, we forbid," etc., -- auctoritate

sedis apostol. prohibemus. It is true that the assent of the assembled

prelates was assumed or, if expressly mentioned, the formula ran, "with

the assent of the holy synod," or "the holy synod being in

session,"--sacro approbante concilio, or sacro praesente concilio. So

it was with the Fourth Lateran. The six oecumenical councils are:--

1. The First Lateran, 1123, called by Calixtus II., is listed by the

Latins as the Ninth oecumenical council. Its chief business was to

ratify the Concordat of Worms. It was the first oecumenical council to

forbid the marriage of priests. It renewed Urban II.'s legislation

granting indulgences to the Crusaders.

2. The Second Lateran, 1139, opened with an address by Innocent II.,

consummated the close of the recent papal schism and pronounced against

the errors of Arnold of Brescia.

3. The Third Lateran, 1179, under the presidency of Alexander III.,

celebrated the restoration of peace between the Church and the empire

and, falling back on the canon of the Second Lateran, legislated

against the Cathari and Patarenes. It ordered separate churches and

burial-grounds for lepers. Two hundred and eighty-seven, or, according

to other reports, three hundred or three hundred and ninety-six bishops

attended.

4. The Fourth Lateran or Twelfth oecumenical, 1215, marks an epoch in

the Middle Ages. It established the Inquisition and formulated the

doctrine of transubstantiation, the two most far-reaching decrees of

the mediaeval Church. Innocent III. dominated the council, and its

disciplinary and moral canons are on a high plane and would of

themselves have made the assemblage notable. It was here that the

matter of Raymund of Toulouse was adjudicated, and here the crusade was

appointed for 1217 which afterwards gave Frederick II. and Innocent's

two immediate successors so much trouble. A novel feature was the

attendance of a number of Latin patriarchs from the East, possessing

meagre authority, but venerable titles. The decisions of the council

were quoted as authoritative by Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas. [1967]

5. The First council of Lyons, 1245, presided over by Innocent IV., has

its fame from the prosecution and deposition of the emperor Frederick

II. It also took up the distressed condition of Jerusalem and the

menace of the Tartars to Eastern Europe.

6. The Second council of Lyons or the Fourteenth oecumenical, 1274, was

summoned by Gregory X., and attended by five hundred bishops and one

thousand other ecclesiastics. Gregory opened the sessions with an

address as Innocent III. had opened the Fourth Lateran and Innocent IV.

the First council of Lyons. The first of its thirty-one canons

reaffirmed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the

Son. It repeated the legislation of the Fourth Lateran, prohibiting the

institution of new monastic orders. The council's chief significance

was the attempt to reunite the churches of the West and the East, the

latter being represented by an imposing delegation.

These oecumenical assemblages have their importance from the questions

they discussed and the personalities they brought together. They had an

important influence in uniting all parts of Western Christendom and in

developing the attachment to the Apostolic see, as the norm of Church

unity.

III. Local Synods, 1122-1294.--Some of the local synods of the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries are of even more importance than some of the

oecumenical councils of the same period. If they were to be

characterized for a single subject of legislation, it would be the

repression of heresy. Some of them had far more than a local

significance, as, for example, the synod of Tours, 1163, when Spain,

Sicily, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland were represented as well

as France. Alexander III. and seventeen cardinals were present. The

synod legislated against heresy.

The synod of Verona, 1184, passed a lengthy and notable decree

concerning the trial and punishment of heretics. It heard the plea of

the Waldenses, but declined to grant it.

The synod of Treves, 1227, passed important canons bearing on the

administration of the sacraments.

The synod of Toulouse, 1229, presided over by the papal legate,

celebrated the close of the Albigensian crusades and perfected the code

of the Inquisition. It has an unenviable distinction among the great

synods on account of its decree forbidding laymen to have the Bible in

their possession.

These synods were great events, enlightening the age and stirring up

thought. Unwholesome as were their measures against ecclesiastical

dissent and on certain other subjects, their legislation was, upon the

whole, in the right direction of purity of morals and the rights of the

people.

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[1965] Hergenr�ther, Kathol. Kirchenrecht, p. 342, speaks of the rarity

of synods from 900-1050 as a sign of the laxity of Catholic discpline.

[1966] D�llinger-Friedrich, D. Papstthum, p. 88 sqq.

[1967] Summa, supplem., VIII. 4, Migne, IV. 946, etc.

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� 128. Church and Clergy in England.

Literature: I. The works of William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh,

Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Wendover, M. Paris, Richard of Hoveden,

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the Progress of the People, etc., 2 vols. Lond., 2d ed., 1894.--W. R.

W. Stephens: A Hist. of the Engl. Church, 1066-1272, Lond., 1901.

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the Ch. of England, etc.--Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

With the Norman Conquest the Roman curia began to manifest anxious

concern for the English Church and to reach out for her revenues.

Reverent as the Saxon kings had been towards the pope, as was shown in

their visits to Rome and the payment of Peter's Pence, the wild

condition of the country during the invasions of the Danes offered

little attraction to the Church rulers of the South. Henry Of

Huntingdon called the England of his day--the twelfth century--"Merrie

England" [1968] with even more freedom in giving, having abundance for

themselves and something to spare for their neighbors across the sea.

The Romans were quick to find this out and treated the English Church

as a rich mine to be worked. It is probable that in no other part of

Christendom were such constant and unblushing demands made upon church

patronage and goods. [1969] d crown.

Among the first distinct papal encroachments upon the liberties of the

English Church were the appointment of legates and the demand that the

archbishop go to Rome to receive the pallium. The first legates to

England seem to have been sent at the invitation of William the

Conqueror, 1070, to take up the case of Stigand, the Saxon archbishop

of Canterbury, who had espoused the cause of the antipope. It was not

long before the appointment of foreign legates was resisted and the

pope, after the refusal to receive several of his representatives, was

forced to yield and made it a rule to associate the legatine authority

with the archbishops of Canterbury and York,--a rule, however, which

had many exceptions. The legates of English birth were called legati

nati in distinction from the foreign appointees, called le nati a

latere.

The pope's right to interfere in the appointment of bishops and to fill

benefices was asserted soon after the Conqueror's death. In such

matters, the king showed an almost equally strong hand. Again and again

the pope quashed the elections of chapters either upon his own motion

or at the king's appeal. Eugenius III. set aside William, canonically

chosen archbishop of York. Stephen Langton 1207, Edmund Rich 1234, the

Franciscan Kilwardby 1273, Peckham 1279, and Reynolds 1313, all

archbishops of Canterbury, were substituted for the candidates

canonically elected. Bonaventura was substituted for William Langton,

elected archbishop of York, 1264. Such cases were constantly recurring.

Bishops, already consecrated, were set aside by the pope in virtue of

his "fulness of power," as was the case when Richard de Bury, d. 1345,

was substituted for Robert Graystanes in the see of Durham.

This violence, done to the rights of the chapters, led to a vast amount

of litigation. Almost every bishop had to fight a battle at Rome before

he obtained his see. Between 1215-1264 not fewer than thirty cases of

contested episcopal elections were carried to Rome. It was a bad day

when the pope or the king could not find a dissident minority in a

chapter and, through appeals, secure a hearing at Rome and finally a

reversal of the chapter's decision. Of the four hundred and seventy

decretals of Alexander III., accepted by Gregory IX., about one hundred

and eighty were directed to England. [1970]

The regular appointment to benefices was also invalidated by the

pernicious custom of papal reservations which threatened even in this

period to include every high office in the English Church. A little

later, in 1317, the supreme pontiff reserved for his own appointment

the sees of Worcester, Hereford, Durham, and Rochester; in 1320 Lincoln

and Winchester; in 1322, 1323 Lichfield and Winchester; 1325 Carlisle

and Norwich; 1327 Worcester, Exeter, and Hereford. [1971]

Another way by which the pope asserted his overlordship in the English

Church was the translation of a bishop from one see to another. This,

said Matthew Paris (V. 228), "became custom so that one church seemed

to be the paramour of the other."

The English clergy and the barons looked upon these practices with

disfavor, and, as at the Mad Parliament, 1258, demanded the freedom of

capitular elections. The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, clearly

expressed the national opposition, but the pope continued to go his own

way.

The convents, for the most part, escaped papal interference in the

election of their abbots. The reason is to be sought in the support

which the orders gave to the pope in his struggle to reduce the

episcopate to subjection. Nor did the crown venture to interfere,

repelled, no doubt, by the compact organization of the monastic orders,

the order rising to the defence of an attacked abbey.

The participation of the English bishops in the House of Lords was

based originally upon the tax of scutage. From this followed their

equal right to deliberate upon public affairs with the barons. At a

time when this body contained less than forty lay peers, it included

twenty bishops and twenty-six abbots. Most of the bishops and abbots,

it would seem, had houses in London, which had taken the place of

Winchester as the centre of national life. [1972] ux, d. 1097, was the

brother of William the Conqueror. Two of Stephen's nephews were made

respectively bishop of Durham and archbishop of York. Ethelmar, brother

of Henry III., received the see of Winchester, 1250, [1973] as provided

for Henry's uncle, Boniface. Geoffrey, son of Henry II., was made

bishop of Lincoln when a lad, and afterwards transferred to York. Among

the men of humble birth who rose to highest ecclesiastical rank were

Edmund Rich and Robert Kilwardby.

The honors of canonization were reached by Hugh of Lincoln, Rich of

Canterbury, and Richard of Wyche, bishop of Chichester, not to speak of

Anselm and Thomas � Becket. The cases of proud and warring prelates

were numerous, and the custom whereby bishops held the chief offices at

the court was not adapted to develope the religious virtues. Richard

Flambard, bishop of Durham under William Rufus, Hugh, bishop of

Lichfield, 1188-1195, and Peter des Roches of Winchester, 1205-1238,

supporter of John, are among the more flagrant examples of prelates who

brought no virtues to their office and learned none. William Longchamp,

bishop of Ely and favorite of Richard I., was followed by a retinue of

1000 men. [1974] egate, Otho, reminded the bishops of their duty to

"sow the word of life in the field of the Lord." And, lest they should

forget their responsibilities, they were to listen twice a year to the

reading of their oath of consecration.

The English chapters were divided almost equally between the two

classes of clergy, monks and seculars. To the former class belonged

Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Coventry, Rochester,

Worcester, Ely, and Bath. The chapters of York, London, Exeter,

Lichfield, Wells, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Llandaff, St. Asaph,

St. David's, and Chichester were made up of secular clergy. As the

chapters asserted the rights of distinct corporations, their estates

were treated as distinct from those of the bishop. It not infrequently

happened that the bishop lost all influence in his chapter. The dean,

in case the canons were seculars, and the prior, in case they were

monks, actually supplanted the bishop in the control of the cathedral

when the bishop and canons were hostile to each other. The Fourth

Lateran, however, recognized the superior right of the bishop to enter

the church and conduct the service. The Third Lateran ordered questions

in the chapter settled by a majority vote, no matter what the

traditional customs had been.

The pope and the English sovereign vied with one another in

appropriating the revenues of the English Church, though it is probable

the pope outdid the king. In William Rufus' reign, a high ecclesiastic

was no sooner dead than a royal clerk took inventory of his goods and

rents, and appropriated them for the crown. The evil was so great in

Stephen's reign that the saying ran that "Christ and his saints slept."

Sees were kept vacant that the crown might sequester their revenues.

The principle of taxing ecclesiastical property cannot awaken just

criticism. Levies for military equipment on the basis of scutage go

back into the Saxon period. In the latter half of the twelfth century a

new system came into vogue, and a sum of money was substituted. The

first levy on the moveables of the clergy including tithes and

offerings, called the spiritualia, seems to have been made in 1188 by

Henry II. This was the famous Saladin tax intended for use against the

Turks. [1975] d books of the clergy were taxed. Under John the taxation

was on an elaborate scale, but it became even more exacting under Henry

III., 1216-1272. In 1294 Edward I. threatened to outlaw the clergy if

they refused to grant him a half of their revenues for his war with

France. The dean of St. Paul's remonstrated with the king for this

unheard-of demand, and fell dead from the shock which the exhibition of

the king's wrath made upon him. Unwilling as the clergy may have been

to pay these levies, it is said they seldom refused a tenth when

parliament voted its just share. The taxes for crusades were made

directly by the popes, and also through the sovereign. As late as 1288,

Nicolas IV. granted Edward I. a tenth for six years for a crusade.

[1976]

The papal receipts from England came from three sources--Peter's Pence,

the tribute of John, and special taxations. Peter's Pence, which seems

to have started with Offa II., king of Mercia, in the eighth century

and was the first monetary tribute of the English people to Rome, was

originally a free gift but subsequently was treated as a debt. [1977]

reminded them that not one half of the "gift" had been paid to St.

Peter. Innocent III. gave his legate sharp orders to collect it and

complained that the bishops kept back part of the tax for their own

use. The tax of a penny for each household was compounded for �201.7s.;

but, in 1306, William de Testa, the papal legate, was commanded to

ignore the change and to revert to the original levy. Beginning with

the thirteenth century, the matter of collection was taken out of the

hands of the bishops and placed in the hands of the papal legate. By

the law of Gregory X. two subcollectors were assigned to each see with

wages of 3 soldi a day, the wages being afterwards increased to 5 and 8

soldi. Peter's Pence, with other tributes to Rome, was abolished by

Henry VIII.'s law of 1534.

The tribute of one thousand marks, promised by John, was paid with

great unwillingness by the nation or not paid at all. In 1275, as John

XXI. reminded the English king, the payments were behind seven years.

By 1301 the arrearage amounted to twelve thousand marks. It would seem

as if the tax was discontinued after 1334 and, in 1366, parliament

forbade its further payment and struck off all arrearages since 1334.

[1978] part or in whole.

The special taxes levied by popes were for the crusades in the East and

against Frederick II. and for the expenses of the papal household.

Gregory IX., 1229, with the king's sanction, levied a tax of a tenth

for himself. The extraordinary demand, made by Innocent IV., 1246, of a

third of all clerical revenues for three years and a half, was refused

by a notable gathering of bishops and abbots at Reading and appeal was

made to a general council. [1979]

The most fruitful method which Rome employed for draining the revenues

of the English Church was by requisition upon her benefices and special

taxation of bishops and other dignitaries for their offices. The

rapacity of the Roman proconsuls seemed to be revived. The first formal

demand was made by Honorius III., 1226, and required that two prebends

in each cathedral and two positions in each monastery be placed at the

pope's disposal. Italians were already in possession of English

livings.

In 1231, Gregory IX. forbade the English bishops conferring any more

prebends until positions were provided for five Romans. In 1240, the

same pontiff made the cool requisition upon the archbishop of

Canterbury and the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury of places for three

hundred Italians. [1980] omplaint that Italian succeeded Italian. And

the bitter indignation was expressed in words such as Shakespeare used

in his King John (Act III., Sc. 1):

"that no Italian priest

Shall tithe or toil in our dominions."

Innocent IV. was the most unblushing offender. He appointed boys to

prebends, as at Salisbury, and Grosseteste spoke of some of his

appointees as children, parvuli. A protest, directed to him, complained

that "an endless number of Italians "held appointments in England and

that they took out of the kingdom 60,000 marks yearly or more than half

the amount realized by the king from the realm. [1981]

As early as 1256, the pope claimed the first-fruits of bishoprics, the

claim to be in force for five years. Later they were made a fixed rule.

[1982] pal legates could not be expected to fall behind their

unscrupulous or complaisant masters. When Martin arrived in 1244, he

asked for 30,000 marks and seized benefices worth more than 3000 marks

a year. These officials were freely denominated indefatigable

extortioners, bloodsuckers, and "wolves, whose bloody jaws were

consuming the English clergy." [1983] [1984] work of a harlot, vulgar

and shameless, venally offering herself to all, and bent upon staining

the purity of the English Church. The people, he says, were estranged

in body, though not in heart, from the pope who acted in the spirit of

a stepfather and from the Roman Church who treated England like a

stepmother. [1985] shrift by the barons to get out of the kingdom. When

he applied to the king for safe conduct, the king replied, "The devil

give you safe conduct to hell and all the way through it."

The Norman Conquest exerted a wholesome, influence upon the Church in

England, and introduced a new era of church building and the erection

of monasteries and the regular and canonical observance of the church's

ritual. The thirteenth century was a notable period of church

extension. The system of endowed vicarages was developed.

Hugh de Wells created several hundred vicarages and Grosseteste

continued the policy and provided for their maintenance out of the

revenues of the older churches. Chantries were endowed where mass was

said for the repose of the souls of the dead, and in time these were

often united to constitute independent vicarages or parishes. The synod

of Westminster, 1102, provided for a more just treatment of the

ill-paid vicars. The Constitutions of Otho forbade the tearing down of

old historic buildings and the erection of new ones without the consent

of the bishop.

The Normans also introduced a new era of clerical education. Before

their arrival, so William of Malmesbury says, [1986] the words of the

sacraments. A satisfactory idea of the extent and dispersion of

learning among the clergy it is difficult, if not impossible, to

obtain. A high authority, Dr. Stubbs, [1987] orders must have been able

to read and write. It happened, however, that bishops were rejected for

failing in their examinations and others were admitted to their sees

though they were unable to read. [1988] l priest in the Middle Ages was

probably a rare thing. There were at all times some men of literary

ability among the English clergy as is attested by the chronicles that

have come down to us, by such writers as John of Salisbury, Walter Map,

and Peter of Blois (who was imported from France), and by the Schoolmen

who filled the chairs at Oxford in its early history.

In spite of the measures of Anselm and other prelates, clerical

marriage and concubinage continued in England. Writing to Anselm,

Pascal II. spoke of the majority of the English priests as married.

Laws were enacted forbidding the people to attend mass said by an

offending priest; and women who did not quit priestly houses were to be

treated as adulteresses and denied burial in sacred ground. An English

priest in the time of Adrian IV. named his daughter Hadriana, a

reminder to the pope that he himself was the son of a priest. [1989]

adopted in the single English cathedral of Carlisle and in a few Scotch

cathedrals. The records of the courts leave no doubt of the coarse vice

which prevailed in clerical groups. Even after the twelfth century,

many of the bishops were married or had semi-legitimated families.

According to Matthew Paris, Grosseteste was on the point of resigning

his see on account of the low morals of his clergy.

The attempt to introduce the law of Gratian into England was never

wholly successful. Archbishop Arundel might declare that "in all cases

the canons and laws were authoritative which proceeded from the porter

of eternal life and death, who sits in the seat of God Himself, and to

whom God has committed the laws of the divine realm." [1990] liament of

Merton, 1236, resisted the foreign claim. William the Conqueror

provided for ecclesiastical courts, under the charge of bishops and

archdeacons, which took the place of the hundred court.

Suits, however, touching the temporalities of the clergy were tried in

the secular courts, [1991] vitable, however, that there should be a

clash of jurisdiction, and, in fact, endless disputes arose in the

settlement of matters pertaining to advowsons, tithes, and other such

cases. The relative leniency of the penalties meted out to clerics led

many to enter at least the lower orders, and enroll themselves as

clerks who never had any idea of performing clerical functions.

The more important acts pertaining to the Church in England in this

period were, in addition to William's mandates for dividing the civil

and church courts, the canons of the council of London, 1108, the

Clarendon Constitutions, 1164, John's brief surrendering his kingdom,

1213, the Constitutions of Otho, 1237, and the Mortmain Act of 1279.

The Mortmain Act, which was one of the most important English

parliamentary acts of the Middle Ages, forbade the alienation of lands

to the Church so as to exempt them from the payment of taxation to the

state.

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[1968] Anglia plena jocis. William Fitzstephen (quoted by Traill, I.

377 sq.) dwells upon the Englishman's love of sports that

day,--football, boating, archery, etc.

[1969] Haller, Papsttum, p. 27.

[1970] Maitland, p. 123; Jessopp gives many cases of these appeals.

[1971] Stubbs, III. 322 sq.

[1972] Fitzstephen, as quoted by Traill, I. 383.

[1973] The king entered the chapter and forced the election. The pope

yielded, but to prove "he had not sown on a barren coast without

reaping benefit of harvest, at once made a demand of 5000 marks for a

favorite." M. Paris, V. 179 sqq.

[1974] Hurter, III. 331 sqq., speaks of the English bishops in the time

of Innocent III. as most corrupt. Stubbs, III. 327 sq., finds it to the

credit of the bishops that there were so few instances of "removal from

their sees for any penal reason."

[1975] Stubbs, II. 180.

[1976] Upon the valuation of 1291, the clerical tax should have

amounted to �20,000. Stubbs, III. 360.

[1977] Jensen, D. englische Peterspfennig, Heidelb., 1903, and

Liebermann, The Peter's Pence and the Population of Engl. about 1164,

in Engl. Hist. Rev., 1896. The Saxon designations of Peter's Pence were

romfeoh and heordpfennig. The Normans called it romascot, and the popes

usually referred to it as denarius, census, or res beati Petri, and

"gift," eleemosyna.

[1978] Jensen, pp. 60-64, with elaborate list of authorities.

[1979] M. Paris, IV. 580.

[1980] M. Paris, IV. 32. This chronicler says that Edmund, archbishop

of Canterbury, was so harassed by these demands that in despair he

exiled himself from the kingdom.

[1981] M. Paris, IV. 285, 443.

[1982] Stubbs, III. 348.

[1983] M. Paris, II. 229, IV. 60, 100, 136, 160, 284, 626, etc.

[1984] M. Paris, II. 210, IV. 610, says of Geoffrey, bishop of

Bethlehem, legate to Scotland, that it was hoped that as "adamant

attracts iron, so he would draw to himself the much coveted monies of

Scotland."

[1985] V. 233.

[1986] III. 245.

[1987] III. 283.

[1988] M. Paris, III. 170. See Stubbs, III. 383, note.

[1989] John of Salisbury, Ep. 27, Migne, 199. 18.

[1990] See Maitland, p. 18.

[1991] Stubbs, I. 306 sq., III. 353 sqq.

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� 129. Two English Bishops.

For Hugh of Lincoln: The magna vita, by his chaplain, Adam, ed. by

Dimock, Lond., 1864;--a metrical Life, ed. by Dimock, Lond., 1860,--G.

G. Perry: St. Hugh of Avalon, Lond., 1879.--H. Thurston (Rom. Cath.):

St Hugh of Lincoln, Lond., 1898, transl. from the French, with copious

additions.--J. A. Froude: A Bishop of the Twelfth Century, in Short

Studies on Great Subjects, 2d series, pp. 54-86.

For Grosseteste: His Epistolae, ed. by Luard, Lond., 1861; Monumenta

Franc., ed. by Brewer.--M. Paris, Luard's ed.--Lives of Grosseteste, by

Pegge, Lond., 1793.--Lechler, in his Life of Wiclif, transl. by

Lorimer, pp. 20-40.--G. G. Perry, Lond., 1871.--Felten, Freib.,

1887.--F. S. Stevenson, Lond., 1899.--M. Creighton: in Hist. Lectt. and

Addresses, Lond., 1903.--C. Bigg, in Wayside Sketches in Eccles. Hist.,

Lond., 1906. -- Dict. of Nat'l Biog.

Most prominent among the English ecclesiastics of the period, as

faithful administrators of their sees, are Hugh and Robert Grosseteste,

both bishops of Lincoln. [1992]

Hugh of Lincoln, or Hugh of Avalon, as he is also called, 1140-1200,

was pronounced by Ruskin the most attractive sacerdotal figure known to

him in history; [1993] clay, whose story should be familiar to every

English boy."

Born near Grenoble, France, he was taken in his ninth year, on his

mother's death, to a convent; afterwards he entered the Grande

Chartreuse, and followed an invitation from Henry II., about 1180, to

take charge of the Carthusian monastery of St. Witham, which the king

had founded a few years before. In 1186 he was chosen bishop of

Lincoln, the most extensive diocese in England. [1994]

Hugh's friendship with Henry did not prevent him from resisting the

king's interference in the affairs of his diocese. When the king

attempted to force a courtier into one of the prebends of Lincoln, the

bishop sent the reply, "Tell the king that hereafter ecclesiastical

benefices are to be bestowed not upon courtiers but upon

ecclesiastics." He excommunicated the grand forester for encroaching

upon the rights of the people. The king was enraged, but the bishop

remained firm. The forests were strictly guarded so as to protect the

game, and also, as is probable, to prevent Saxons from taking refuge in

their recesses. The foresters and rangers were hated officials. The

loss of the eyes and other brutal mutilations were the penalties for

encroachment.

Towards Richard and John, Hugh showed the same independent spirit as

towards Henry. At the council of Oxford, 1197, he dared to refuse

consent to Richard's demands for money, an almost unheard-of thing.

[1995] is castle on the rock of Andely. This was the famous castle

built in a single year, of which Philip said, "I would take it if it

were iron." To which Richard replied, "I would hold it if it were

butter." Upon Hugh's departure, Richard is reported to have said, "If

all prelates were like the bishop of Lincoln, not a prince among us

could lift his head against them."

Hugh's enlightened treatment of the Jews has already been referred to.

He showed his interest in the lepers, built them a house, cared for

them with his own hands, and called them "the flowers of Paradise, and

jewels in the crown of heaven." The Third Lateran had ordered separate

churches and burial grounds for lepers. His treatment of the tomb of

Fair Rosamonde was more in consonance with the canons of that age than

agreeable to the spirit of our own. When, on a visit to Gadstow, he

found her buried in the convent church, with lamps kept constantly

burning over her body, he ordered the body removed, saying that her

life was scandalous, and that such treatment would be a lesson to

others to lead chaste lives. In his last moments Hugh was laid on a

cross of ashes. John, who was holding a council at Lincoln, helped to

carry the body to its resting-place. The archbishop of Canterbury and

many bishops took part in the burial ceremonies. The Jews shed tears.

Hugh was canonized in 1220, and his shrine became a place of

pilgrimage.

One of the striking stories told of Hugh, the story of the swan, is

attested by his chaplain and by Giraldus Cambrensis, who witnessed the

swan's movements. The swan, which had its nest at Stow, one of the

bishop's manors, was savage and unmanageable till Hugh first saw it.

The bird at once became docile, and learned to follow the bishop's

voice, eat from his hand, and to put his bill up his sleeve. It seemed

to know instinctively when the bishop was coming on a visit, and for

several days before would fly up and down the lake flapping its wings.

It kept guard over him when he slept.

Robert Grosseteste, 1175-1253, had a wider range of influence than

Hugh, and was probably the most noteworthy Englishman of his

generation. [1996] r of abuses, and a forerunner of Wyclif in his use

of the Scriptures. Roger Bacon, his ardent admirer, said that no one

really knew the sciences but Robert of Lincoln. [1997] as

Lincolniensis, "he of Lincoln."

Born in England, and of humble origin, a fact which was made by the

monks of Lincoln an occasion of derision, he pursued his studies in

Oxford and Paris, and subsequently became chancellor of Oxford. He was

acquainted with Greek, and knew some Hebrew. He was a prolific writer,

and was closely associated with Adam Marsh. [1998]

No one welcomed the advent of the Mendicant Friars to England with more

enthusiasm than did Grosseteste. He regarded their coming as the dawn

of a new era, and delivered the first lectures in their school at

Oxford, and left. them his, library, though he never took the gray cowl

himself, as did Adam Marsh.

On being raised to the see of Lincoln, 1235, Grosseteste set out in the

work of reforming monastic and clerical abuses, which brought him

uninterrupted trouble till the close of his career. He set himself

against drinking bouts, games in the churches and churchyards, and

parish parades at episcopal visitations. The thoroughness of his

episcopal oversight was a novelty. He came down like a hammer upon the

monks, reports Matthew Paris, and the first year be removed seven

abbots and four priors. At Ramsey he examined the very beds, and broke

open the monks' coffers like "a burglar," destroying their silver

utensils and ornaments. [1999] e? Has he the requisite experience? Is

he willing to take them into fitting pastures in the morning, to defend

them against thieves and wild beasts, to watch over them at night? And

are not your souls of more value than many swine?"

The most protracted contest of his life was with his dean and chapter

over the right of episcopal visitation. [2000] er's flocks. He was

finally sustained by the pope.

In no way did the great bishop win a more sure place in history than by

his vigorous resistance to the appointment of unworthy Italians to

English livings and to other papal measures. In 1252, he opposed the

collection of a tenth for a crusade which had the pope's sanction. He

declined to execute the king's mandate legitimatizing children born

before wedlock. His most famous refusal to instal an Italian, was the

case of the pope's nephew, Frederick of Lavagna. The pope issued a

letter threatening with excommunication any one who might venture to

oppose the young man's induction. Grosseteste, then seventy-five years

old, replied, declaring, "I disobey, resist, and rebel." [2001] ing to

describe the scene in the papal household when the letter was received,

relates that Innocent IV., raved away at the deaf and foolish dotard

who had so audaciously dared to sit in judgment upon his actions."

Notwithstanding this attitude to the appointment of unworthy Italians,

the bishop recognized the principle that to the pope belongs the right

of appointing to all the benefices of the church. [2002]

On his visit to Lyons, 1250, Grosseteste's memorandum against the

abuses of the clergy was read in the pope's presence. "Not in

dispensing the mass but in teaching the living truth" does the work of

the pastor consist, so it declared. "The lives of the clergy are the

book of the laity." Adam Marsh, who was standing by, compared the

arraignment to the arraignments of Elijah, John the Baptist, Paul,

Athanasius, and Augustine of Hippo.

According to Matthew Paris, on the night of Grosseteste's death strange

bells were heard. Miracles were reported performed at his tomb, and the

rumor ran that, when Innocent was proposing to have the bishop's body

removed from its resting-place in the cathedral, Grosseteste appeared

to the pope in a dream, gave him a sound reprimand, and left him half

dead. The popular veneration was shown in the legend that on the night

of Innocent IV's death the bishop appeared to him with the words,

"Aryse, wretch, and come to thy dome."

In the earlier part of his life, Grosseteste preached in Latin; in the

latter he often used the vernacular. He was the greatest English

preacher of his age. He was not above the superstitions of his time,

and one of his famous sermons was preached before Henry III. at the

reception of the reputed blood of Christ. [2003] Scriptures at the

university, and the dedication of the morning hours to it, and

emphasized their authority. [2004] [2005]

Of Grosseteste's writings the best known was probably his de cessatione

legalium, the End of the Law, a book intended to convince the Jews.

With the aid of John of Basingstoke, he translated the Testament of the

Twelve Patriarchs, which Basingstoke had found in Constantinople.

[2006] scribed, as penance, a cupfull of the best wine. After the

medicine had been taken, Grosseteste said, "Dear brother, if you would

frequently do such penance, you would have a better ordered

conscience." [2007]

Matthew Paris (V. 407) summed up the bishop's career in these words:--

"He was an open confuter of both popes and kings, the corrector of

monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the supporter

of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent,

the unwearied student of the Scriptures, a crusher and despiser of the

Romans. At the table of bodily meat, he was hospitable, eloquent,

courteous, and affable; at the spiritual table, devout, tearful, and

contrite. In the episcopal office he was sedulous, dignified, and

indefatigable."

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[1992] Stubbs, Const. Hist., II.313, in pronouncing the thirteenth

century "the golden age of English churchmanship," has reference more

particularly to the influence the bishops had upon the formation of the

English constitution.

[1993] Praeterita III. 1.

[1994] Cencio's register gave the number of households owing Peter's

Pence, as 10,080 for Lincoln, 4160 for Winchester, 3960 for London, and

1896 for Canterbury.

[1995] Stubbs, ed. of Hoveden, IV. p. xcii, calls this a "landmark of

English constitutional history, the first clear case of a refusal of a

money grant demanded directly by the crown."

[1996] His name is spelt Grossetete, Grosthead, Greathead, etc. The

Latin forms, Grossum Caput and Capito, were also used. Fuller, with

more quaintness than authority, says he got his name from the bigness

of his head, "having large stowage to receive and store of brains to

fill it." Stevenson, p. 337, adduces three lines along which

Grosseteste did conspicuous service; namely, as an ecclesiastical

reformer, a friend of learning, and a statesman.

[1997] Solus ... novit scientias. Bridges' ed., I. 67. Gower, in his

confessio amantis, praises the "grete clerke Grosseteste."

[1998] The Mon. Francisc. gives sixty of Marsh's letters to

Grosseteste.

[1999] M. Paris, V. 226. The methods the bishop resorted to for

determining the fidelity of the nuns to their vows is also recorded by

M. Paris.

[2000] Letter 127. See Luard's Introd., p. 114.

[2001] Ep. 128. Adam Marsh referred to the letter "as that fearless

answer written with so much prudence, eloquence, and vigor, which will,

with God's aid, benefit all ages to come." See Stevenson, p. 312. M.

Paris, V. 257, states that Grosseteste declared he would be acting like

the devil if he were to deliver the cure of souls over to the Romans,

"whom he hated like poison."

[2002] De omnibus beneficiis eccles. libere potest ordinare. Ep., 49,

Luard's ed., p. 145.

[2003] M. Paris, IV. 643 sqq., VI. 138-144.

[2004] �Ep. 2. auctoritas irrefragabilis scripturae.

[2005] Bishop Hall quoted Grosseteste for his scriptural views, and

Field, Of the Church, IV. 384 sqq., quoted him against the pope's claim

to supreme authority, but wrongly.

[2006] Pegge devotes twenty-five closely filled pages with the list of

the bishop's books.

[2007] Mon. Franc., p. 64.

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CHAPTER XVI.

POPULAR WORSHIP AND SUPERSTITION.

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� 130. The Worship of Mary.

Literature: The Works of the Schoolmen, especially, Damiani: de bono

suffragiorum et variis miraculis, praesertim B. Virginis, Migne, 145.

559 sqq., 586 sqq., etc.--Anselm: Orationes et meditationes, de

conceptu virginis, Migne, vol. 158.--Guibert of Nogent: de laudibus S.

Mariae, Migne, 166. 537-579.--Honorius of Autun: Sigillum b. Mariae,

Migne, 172. 495-518.--Bernard: de laudibus virginis matris, Migne, 183.

55 sqq., 70 sqq., 415 sqq., etc.--P. Lombardus: Sent., III. 3 sqq. Hugo

de St. Victor: de Mariae virginitate, Migne, 176. 857-875, etc.--Alb.

Magnus: de laudibus b. Mariae virginis, Borgnet's ed., 36.

1-841.--Bonaventura: In Sent., III. 3, Peltier's ed., IV. 53 sqq., 105

sqq., 202 sqq., etc.; de corona b. Mariae V., Speculum b. M. V., Laus

b. M. V., Psalterium minus et majus b. M. V., etc., all in Peltier's

ed., XIV. 179-293.--Th. Aquinas: Summa, III. 27-35, Migne, IV.

245-319.--Analecta Hymnica medii aevi, ed. by G. M. Dreves, 49 Parts,

Leipz., 1886-1906.--Popular writers as Caesar of Heisterbach, De

Bourbon, Thomas �. Chantimpr�, and De Voragine: Legenda aurea,

Englished by William Caxton, Kelmscott Press ed., 1892; Temple classics

ed., 7 vols.

F. Margott: D. Mariologie d. hl. Th. v. Aquino, Freiburg, 1878.--B.

H�usler: de Mariae plenitudine gratiae secundum S. Bernardum, Freiburg,

1901.--H. von Eicken: Gesch. und System d. mittelalt. Weltanschauung,

Stuttg., 1887, p. 476 sqq.--K. Benrath: Zur Gesch. der Marienverehrung,

Gotha, 1886.--The Histt. of Doctr. of Schwane, pp. 413-428, Harnack,

II. 568-562, Seeberg, Sheldon, etc.--Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, I.

108-128. The artt. in Wetzer-Welte, Empf�ngniss, IV. 454-474, Maria,

Marienlegenden, Marienfeste, vol. VIII., Ave Maria, Rosenkranz, and the

art. Maria, by Z�ckler in Herzog.--Mrs. Jamieson: Legends of the

Monastic Orders.--Baring-Gould: Lives of the Saints, Curious Myths of

the M. Ages.--Butler: Legends of the Saints.

Ave coeleste lilium, Ave rosa speciosa

Ave mater humilium, Superis imperiosa,

Deitatis triclinium; hac in valle lacrymarum

Da robur, fer auxilium, O excrusatrix culparum.

Bonaventura, Laus Beatae Virginis Mariae. [2008]

The worship of the Virgin Mary entered into the very soul of mediaeval

piety and reached its height in the doctrine of her immaculate

conception. Solemn theologians in their dogmatic treatises, ardent

hymn-writers and minnesingers, zealous preachers and popular

prose-writers unite in dilating upon her purity and graces on earth and

her beauty and intercessory power in heaven. In her devotion, chivalry

and religion united. A pious gallantry invested her with all the charms

of womanhood also the highest beatitude of the heavenly estate. The

austerities of the convent were softened by the recollection of her

advocacy and tender guardianship, and monks, who otherwise shrank from

the company of women, dwelt upon the marital tie which bound them to

her. To them her miraculous help was being continually extended to

counteract the ills brought by Satan. The Schoolmen, in their treatment

of the immaculate conception, used over and over again delicate terms

[2009]

Monastic orders were dedicated to Mary, such as the Carthusian,

Cistercian, and Carmelite, as were also some of the most imposing

churches of Christendom, as the cathedrals at Milan and Notre Dame, in

Paris.

The titles given to Mary were far more numerous than the titles given

to Christ and every one of them is extra-biblical except the word

"virgin." An exuberant fancy allegorized references to her out of all

sorts of texts, never dreamed of by their writers. She was found

referred to in almost every figurative expression of the Old Testament

which could be applied to a pure, human being. To all the Schoolmen,

Mary is the mother of God, the queen of heaven, the clement queen, the

queen of the world, the empress of the world, the mediatrix, the queen

of the ages, the queen of angels, men and demons, [2010] [2011]

Monks, theologians, and poets strain the Latin language to express

their admiration of her beauty and benignity, her chastity and heavenly

glory. Her motherhood and virginity are alike subjects of eulogy. The

conception of physical grace, as expressed when the older Notker of St.

Gall called her "the most beautiful of all virgins," filled the thought

of the Schoolmen and the peasant. Albertus Magnus devotes a whole

chapter of more than thirty pages of two columns each to the praise of

her corporal beauty. In his exposition of Canticles 1:15, "Behold thou

art fair, my love," he comments upon the beauty of her hair, her

shoulders, her lips, her nose, her feet, and other parts of her body.

Bonaventura's hymns in her praise abound in tropical expressions, such

as "she is more ruddy than the rose and whiter than the lily." Wernher

of Tegernsee about 1178 sang: [2012]

Her face was so virtuous, her eyes so Bright,

Her manner so pure, that, among all women,

None could with her compare.

In a remarkable passage, Bernard represents her in the celestial places

drawing attention to herself by her form and beauty so that she

attracted the King himself to desire her. [2013]

I saw the virgin smile, whose rapture shot

Joy through the eyes of all that blessed throng:

And even did the words that I possess

Equal imagination, I should not

Dare, the attempt her faintest charms to express.

Paradiso, Canto XXXI.

The Canticles was regarded as an inspired anthology of Mary's

excellences of body and soul. Damiani represents God as inflamed with

love for her and singing its lines in her praise. She was the golden

bed on which God, weary in His labor for men and angels, lay down for

repose. The later interpretation was that the book is a bridal song for

the nuptials between the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. Bernard's homilies

on this portion of Scripture are the most famous collection of the

Middle Ages. Alanus ab Insulis, who calls Mary the "tabernacle of God,

the palace of the celestial King," says that it refers to the Church,

but in an especial and most spiritual way to the glorious virgin.

[2014] ent. An abbess represented the Virgin as singing to the Spirit:

[2015]

To Mary was given a place of dignity equal or superior to Christ as the

friend of the sinful and unfortunate and the guide of souls to heaven.

Damiani called her "the door of heaven," the window of paradise. Anselm

spoke of her as "the vestibule of universal propitiation, the cause of

universal reconciliation, the vase and temple of life and salvation for

the world." [2016] Prov. iii. 8. Albertus Magnus, in the large volume

he devotes to Mary's virtues, gives no less than forty reasons why she

should be worshipped, authority being found for each one in a text of

Scripture. The first reason was that the Son of God honors Mary. This

accords with the fifth commandment, and Christ himself said of his

mother, "I will glorify the house of my glory," Isa. lx. 7; house,

according to the Schoolman, being intended to mean Mary. The Bible

teems with open and concealed references to her. Albertus ascribed to

her thirty-five virtues, on all of which he elaborates at length, such

as humility, sincerity, benignity, omnipotence, and modesty. He finds

eighty-one biblical names indicative of her functions and graces.

Twelve of these are taken from things in the heavens. She is a sun, a

moon, a light, a cloud, a horizon, an aurora. Eight are taken from

things terrestrial. Mary is a field, a mountain, a hill, a stone.

Twenty-one are represented by things pertaining to water. She is a

river, a fountain, a lake, a fish-pond, a cistern, a torrent, a shell.

Thirty-one are taken from biblical figures. Mary is an ark, a chair, a

house, a bed, a nest, a furnace, a library. Nine are taken from

military and married life. Mary is a castle, a tower, a wall. It may be

interesting to know how Mary fulfilled the office of a library. In her,

said the ingenious Schoolman, were found all the books of the Old

Testament, of all of which she had plenary knowledge as is shown in the

words of her song which run, "as was spoken by our fathers." She also

had plenary knowledge of the Gospels as is evident from Luke ii. 19:

"Mary kept all these sayings in her heart." But especially do Mary's

qualities lie concealed under the figure of the garden employed so

frequently in the Song of Solomon. To the elaboration of this

comparison Albertus devotes two hundred and forty pages, introducing it

with the words, "a garden shut up is my sister, my bride " Cant. iv:12.

[2017]

Bonaventura equals Albertus in ransacking the heavens and the earth and

the waters for figures to express Mary's glories and there is a tender

chord of mysticism running through his expositions which is adapted to

move all hearts and to carry the reader, not on his guard, away from

the simple biblical statements. The devout Franciscan frequently

returns to this theme and makes Mary the subject of his verse and

sermons. [2018] of Balaam, the pot of manna, Gideon's horn, and other

objects of Hebrew history. To each of these his Praise of the Blessed

Virgin Mary devotes poetic treatment extending in cases to more than

one hundred lines and carrying the reader away by their affluence of

imagination and the sweetness of the rhythm.

Imitating the Book of Psalms, Bonaventura wrote two psalteries, each

consisting of one hundred and fifty parts. Each part of the Minor

Psaltery consists of four lines, its opening lines being "Hail Virgin,

tree of life; Hail Virgin, door of liberty; Hail Virgin, dear to God;

Hail Virgin, light of the world; Hail Virgin, harbor of life; Hail

Virgin, most beautiful." In the Greater Psaltery, Bonaventura

paraphrases the one hundred and fifty psalms and introduces into each

one Mary's name and her attributes, revelling in ascriptions of her

preeminence over men and angels. Here are several selections, but no

selection can give any adequate idea of the liberty taken with

Scripture. The first Psalm is made to run, "Blessed is the man who

loves thee, O Virgin Mary. Thy grace will comfort his soul." The

Twenty-third runs, "The Lord directs me, O Virgin mother of

God--genetrix dei -- because thou hast turned towards me His loving

countenance." The first verse of Psalm 121 reads, "I have lifted up my

eyes to thee, O Mother of Christ, from whom solace comes to all flesh."

Tender as are Bernard's descriptions of Christ and his work, he

nevertheless assigns to Mary the place of mediator between the soul and

the Saviour. In Mary there is nothing severe, nothing to be dreaded.

She is tender to all, offering milk and wool. If you are terrified at

the thunders of the Father, go to Jesus, and if you fear to go to

Jesus, then run to Mary. Besought by the sinner, she shows her breasts

and bosom to the Son, as the Son showed his wounds to the Father. Let

her not depart from thine heart. Following her, you will not go astray;

beseeching her, you will not despair; thinking of her, you will not

err. [2019]

So also Bonaventura pronounces Mary the mediator between us and Christ.

[2020] his wrath and winning favors which otherwise would not be

secured.

Anselm, whom we are inclined to think of as a sober theologian above

his fellows, was no less firm as an advocate of Mary's mediatorial

powers. Prayer after prayer does he offer to her, all aflame with

devotion. "Help me by thy death and by thine assumption into heaven,"

he prays. "Come to my aid," he cries, "and intercede for me, O mother

of God, to thy sweet Son, for me a sinner." [2021]

The veneration for Mary found a no less remarkable expression in the

poetry of the Middle Ages. The vast collection, Analecta hymnica,

published by Dreves and up to this time filling fifteen volumes, gives

hundreds and thousands of sacred songs dwelling upon the merits and

glories of the Virgin. The plaintive and tender key in which they are

written is adapted to move the hardest heart, even though they are full

of descriptions which have nothing in the Scriptures to justify them.

Here are two verses taken at random from the thousands:--

Ave Maria, Angelorum dia Coeli rectrix, Virgo Maria

Ave maris stella, Lucens miseris Deitatis cella, Porta principis.

[2022]

Hail, Mary, Mother of God, Ruler of heaven, O Virgin Mary ... Hail,

Star of the Sea, Lighting the wretched Cell of the Deity, Gate of the

king.

Where the thinkers and singers of the age were so ardent in their

worship of Mary, what could be expected from the mass of monks and from

the people! A few citations will suffice to show the implicit faith

placed in Mary's intercession and her power to work miracles.

Peter Damiani tells of a woman who, after being dead a year, appeared

in one of the churches of Rome and related how she and many others had

been delivered from purgatory by Mary in answer to their prayers. He

also tells how she had a good beating given a bishop for deposing a

cleric who had been careful never to pass her image without saluting

it. [2023]

Caesar of Heisterbach abounds in stories of the gracious offices Mary

performed inside the convent and outside of it. She frequently was seen

going about the monastic spaces, even while the monks were in bed. On

such occasions her beauty was always noted. Now and then she turned and

gave a severe look to a careless monk, not lying in bed in the approved

way. Of one such case the narrator says he did not know whether the

severity was due to the offender's having laid aside his girdle or

having taken off his sandals. Mary stood by to receive the souls of

dying monks, gave them seats at her feet in heaven, sometimes helped

sleepy friars out by taking up their prayers when they began to doze,

sometimes in her journeys through the choir aroused the drowsy,

sometimes stretched out her arm from her altar and boxed the ears of

dull worshippers, and sometimes gave the staff to favored monks before

they were chosen abbots. She sometimes undid a former act, as when she

saw to it that Dietrich was deposed whom she had aided in being elected

to the archbishopric of Cologne. [2024]

To pious Knights, according to Caesar of Heisterbach, Mary was scarcely

less gracious than she was to the inmates of the convent. She even took

the place of contestants in the tournament. Thus it was in the case of

Walter of Birbach who was listed and failed to get to the tournament

field at the appointed hour for tarrying in a chapel in the worship of

Mary. But the spectators were not aware of his absence. The tournament

began, was contested to a close, and, as it was thought, Walter gained

the day. But as it happened, Mary herself had taken the Knight's place

and fought in his stead, and, when the Knight arrived, he was amazed to

find every one speaking in praise of the victory he had won. [2025]

[2026] confess. A priest, passing by, ordered the head joined to the

body. Then the robber confessed to the priest and told him that, as a

young man, he had fasted in honor of the Virgin every Wednesday and

Saturday under the promise that she would give him opportunity to make

confession before passing into the next world.

All these collections of tales set forth how Mary often met the devil

and took upon herself to soundly rebuke and punish him. According to

Jacob of Voragine [2027] promised the devil his wife. On their way to

the spot, where she was to be delivered up, the wife, suspecting some

dark deed, turned aside to a chapel and implored Mary's aid. Mary put

the worshipper to sleep and herself mercifully took the wife's place at

the husband's side and rode with him, he not noticing the change. When

they met the devil, the "mother of God" after some sound words of

reprimand sent him back howling to hell.

Mary's compassion and her ability to move her austere Son are brought

out in the Miracle Plays. In the play of the Wise and Foolish Virgins,

the foolish virgins, after having in vain besought God for mercy,

turned to the Virgin with these words:--

Since God our suit hath now denied

We Mary pray, the gentle maid,

The Mother of Compassion,

To pity our great agony

And for us, sinners poor, to pray

Mercy from her beloved Son. [2028]

The Church never officially put its stamp of commendation upon the

popular belief that the Son is austere. Nevertheless, even down to the

very eve of the Reformation, the belief prevailed that Christ's

austerity had to be appeased by Mary's compassion.

The Virgin Birth of Christ.--The literary criticism of the Bible of

recent years was as much undreamed of in this period of the Middle Ages

as were steamboats or telephones. Schoolman and priest seem never to

have doubted when they repeated the article of the Creed, "Conceived by

the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Homily and theological

treatise lingered over the words of Isa. vii. 14: "Behold a virgin

shall conceive," and over the words of the angelic annunciation: "Hail,

thou that art highly favored. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou

among women .... The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of

the Highest shall overshadow thee." They discussed the conception and

virginal birth in every possible aspect, as to the part the Holy Spirit

had in the event and the part of Mary herself. Here are some of the

questions propounded by Thomas Aquinas: Was there true matrimony

between Joseph and Mary? Was it necessary that the angel should appear

in bodily form? Was Christ's flesh taken from Adam or from David? Was

it formed from the purest bloods of Mary? Was the Holy Spirit the

primary agent in the conception of Christ? Was Christ's body animated

with a soul at the instant of conception?

None of the Schoolmen goes more thoroughly than Hugo of St. Victor into

the question of the part played by the Holy Spirit in the conception of

Jesus. He was at pains to show that, while the Spirit influenced the

Virgin in conception, he was not the father of Jesus. The Spirit did

not impart to Mary seed from his own substance, but by his power and

love developed substance in her through the agency of her own flesh.

[2029]

According to Anselm, God can make a human being in four ways, by the

co-operation of a man and woman; without either as in the case of Adam;

with the sole co-operation of the man as in the case of Eve; or from a

woman without a man. Having produced men in the first three ways, it

was most fitting God should resort to the fourth method in the case of

Jesus. In another work he compares God's creation of the first man from

clay and the second man from a woman without the co-operation of a man.

[2030]

Thomas Aquinas is very elaborate in his treatment of Mary's virginity.

"As a virgin she conceived, as a virgin gave birth, and she remains a

virgin forevermore." The assumption that she had other children

derogates from her sanctity, for, as the mother of God, she would have

been most ungrateful if she had not been content with such a Son. And

it would have been highest presumption for Joseph to have polluted her

who had received the annunciation of the angel. He taught that, in the

conception of Christ's body, the whole Trinity was active and Mary is

to be called "rightly, truly, and piously, genetrix Dei," the mother of

God. [2031]

The mediaeval estimate of Mary found its loftiest expression in the

doctrine of the immaculate conception, the doctrine that Mary herself

was conceived without sin. The Schoolmen were agreed that she was

exempt from all actual transgression. They separated on the question

whether she was conceived without sin and so was immaculate from the

instant of conception or whether she was also tainted with original sin

from which, however, she was delivered while she was yet in her

mother's womb. The latter view was taken by Anselm, Hugo of St. Victor,

Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and even Bonaventura. [2032] r having

introduced the festival of the immaculate conception, which he said

lacked the approval of the Church, of reason and tradition. If Mary was

conceived without sin, then why might not sinless conception be

affirmed of Mary's parents and grandparents and her ancestors to

remotest antiquity. However, Bernard expressed his willingness to yield

if the Church should appoint a festival of the immaculate conception.

[2033]

Bonaventura gave three reasons against the doctrine exempting Mary from

original sin; namely, from common consent, from reason, and from

prudence. [2034] y precedes its animation, the word "animation" being

used by the Schoolmen for the first association of the soul with the

body. In the conception of the body there is always concupiscence. The

third argument relied upon the Fathers who agreed that Christ was the

only being on earth exempt from sin. Bonaventura did not fix the time

when Mary was made immaculate except to say, that it probably occurred

soon after her conception and at that moment passion or flame of sin --

fomes peccati -- was extinguished.

Thomas Aquinas emphatically took this position and declared it was

sufficient to confess that the blessed virgin committed no actual sin,

either mortal or venial. "Thou art all fair, my love, and no spot is in

thee," Cant. iv:7. [2035]

Nowhere else is Duns Scotus more subtle and sophistical than in his

argument for Mary's spotless conception whereby she was untainted by

hereditary sin, and no doctrine has become more closely attached with

his name. This argument is a chain of conjectures. Mary's sinless

conception, he said, was only a matter of probability, but at the same

time seeming and congruous. The threefold argument is as follows: 1.

God's grace would be enhanced by releasing one individual from all

taint of original sin from the very beginning. 2. By conferring this

benefit Christ would bind Mary to himself by the strongest ties. 3. The

vacancy left in heaven by the fallen angels could be best filled by

her, if she were preserved immaculate from the beginning. As the second

Adam was preserved immaculate, so it was fitting the second Eve should

be. Duns' conclusion was expressed in these words: "If the thing does

not contradict the Church and the Scriptures, its reality seems

probable, because it is more excellent to affirm of Mary that she was

not conceived in sin." [2036]

The warm controversy between the Thomists and Scotists over the

immaculate conception has been referred to in another place. Saints

also joined in it. St. Brigitta of Sweden learned through a vision that

Mary was conceived immaculate. On the other hand the Dominican, St.

Catherine of Siena, prophesied Mary had not been sanctified till the

third hour after her conception. The synod of Paris, 1387, decided in

favor of the Scotist position, but Sixtus IV., 1483, threatened with

excommunication either party denouncing the other. Finally, Duns Scotus

triumphed, and in 1854, Pius IX. made it a dogma of the Church that

Mary in the very instant of her conception was kept immune from all

stain of original sin. [2037]

The festival of the immaculate conception, observed Dec. 8, was taken

up by the Franciscans at their general chapter, held in Pisa, 1263, and

its celebration made obligatory in their churches.

One more possible glorification of Mary, the humble mother of our Lord,

has not yet been turned into dogma by the Roman Church, her assumption

into heaven, her body not having seen corruption. This is held as a

pious opinion and preachers like St. Bernard, Honorius of Autun,

Gottfried of Admont, and Werner of St. Blasius preached sermon after

sermon on Mary's assumption. The belief is based upon the story, told

by Juvenal of Jerusalem to the emperor Marcian at the council of

Chalcedon, 451, that three days after Mary's burial in Jerusalem, her

coffin but not her body was found by the Apostles. Juvenal afterwards

sent the coffin to the emperor. [2038] [2039] ulouse, 1229, included

the festival among the other church festivals at the side of Christmas

and Easter. Thomas Aquinas spoke of it as being tolerated by the

Church, not commanded.

The Ave Maria, "Hail Mary, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is

with thee. Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy

womb" made up of the words of the angelic salutation and the words of

Elizabeth, Luke i. 28, 42, was used as a prayer in the time of Peter

Damiani, [2040] [2041] The so-called Ave, or Angelus, bell was ordered

rung by John XXII. (d. 1334) three times a day. When it peals, the

woman in the home and the workman in the field are expected to bow

their heads in prayer to Mary.

In few respects are the worship and teaching of the Middle Ages so

different from those of the Protestant churches as in the claims made

for Mary and the regard paid to her. If we are to judge by the

utterances and example of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., the mediaeval cult

still goes on in the Roman communion. And more recently Pius X. shows

that he follows his predecessors closely. In his encyclical of Jan. 15,

1907, addressed to the French bishops, he says, "In full confidence

that the Virgin Immaculate, daughter of our Father, mother of the Word,

spouse of the Holy Ghost, will obtain for you from the most holy and

adorable Trinity better days, we give you our Apostolic Benediction."

It was the misfortune of the mediaeval theologians to fall heir to the

eulogies passed upon Mary by Jerome and other early Fathers of the

early Church and the veneration in which she was held. They blindly

followed having inherited also the allegorical mode of interpretation

from the past. In part they were actuated by a sincere purpose to exalt

the glory and divinity of Christ when they ascribed to Mary exemption

from sin. On the other hand it was a Pagan, though chivalric,

superstition to exalt her to a position of a goddess who stands between

Christ and the sinner and mitigates by her intercession the austerity

which marks his attitude towards them. This was the response the

mediaeval Church gave to the exclamation of St. Bernard, "Who is this

virgin so worthy of honor as to be saluted by the angel and so lowly as

to have been espoused to a carpenter?" [2042] piety of the Middle Ages

went out to her and is expressed in such hymns as the Mater dolorosa

and the companion piece, Mater speciosa. But this piety, while it no

doubt contributed to the exaltation of womanhood, also involved a

relaxation of penitence, for in the worship of Mary tears of sympathy

are substituted for resolutions of repentance.

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[2008] Peltier's ed., XIV. 181. A free translation runs, "Hail,

heavenly lily, Hail most graceful rose, Hail mother of the lowly,

Reigning on high, Couch of deity; Give to us in this valley of tears

strength, Lend aid O thou palliator of sins."

[2009] 2 sinus, bosom; pectus, breast; viscera bowels; ubera, breasts;

uterus, etc.

[2010] Bonaventura, Speculum, III. Peltier's ed., XIV. 240.

[2011] Migne, 145. 566

[2012] Ir antlutze war so tugentliche, Ir ougen also kunchliche, Ir

gebaerde also reine, Das sich ze ir glichte deheine, Under allen den

frouen, quoted by von Eicken, p. 477.

[2013] The word used is concupiscentia, the usual word for lust. Migne,

183. 62.

[2014] Specialissime et spiritualissime. Migne, 210. 53.

[2015] See von Eicken, p. 481. In a song to Mary written by the

Dominican, Eberhard of Saxony, in the thirteenth century, occur the

lines:-- Got in sinem hohen trone hat begehrt diner schone Da er wil, o

wiber Krone mit gel�ste dich ansehen. "God on His throne desired thy

beauty and wanted, O crown of womanhood, to look on thee with passion."

[2016] Orationes, LII., Migne, 158. 954.

[2017] De laud. Mariae, Borgnet's ed., XXXVI. 600-840.

[2018] These works may not all be genuine. They belong, at least, to

Bonaventura's age.

[2019] De assump., Migne, 183. 430; De nativ. Mariae, Migne, 183. 441;

Supermissus III., Migne, 183. 70

[2020] In Sent., III. 1, 2, Peltier's ed., IV. 63.

[2021] Orat., LVIII, LX. Migne, 158. 964, 966.

[2022] Dreves, Analecta, I. 48 sqq.

[2023] De variis mirac., Migne, 145. 586 sq.; De bono suffr., Migne,

145. 564

[2024] Dial., VII. 13, 19, XI. 12, VII. 12, 39, 40, 51, etc.

[2025] Dial., VII. 38.

[2026] II. 264.

[2027] The Assumption of Mary. Temple Classics, IV. 249.

[2028] Hase, Miracle Plays, 31.

[2029] De Mariae virg., Migne, 173. 872. Bernard even uses the word

"impregnate," impregnare to indicate the Spirit's influence. Migne,

183. 59.

[2030] Cur Deus homo, II. 8; De concept. virg., Migne, 158. 445.

[2031] Summa III. 28, 1, etc., Migne, IV. 258, 262, 294, 298, etc.

[2032] In Sent., III. 5, IV. 3, 1, PeItier's ed., IV. 53 sqq., V. 59.

[2033] Ep., 174, Migne, 332-336.

[2034] Sententia communior, rationabilior et securior. Peltier's ed.,

IV. 67.

[2035] Summa, III. 27, 4, Migne, IV. 252.

[2036] Si auctoritati eccles. vel scripturae non repugnet videtur

probabile quod excellentius est attribuere Mariae videlicet quod non

sit inoriginali peccato concepta. Sent., III. 3 Paris ed., XIV. 165.

See Seeberg, p. 247 sq., and Schwane, p. 424 sqq.

[2037] Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, II. 211.

[2038] Addis and Arnold, Cath. Dict., 6th ed., commend the tradition as

inherently probable as no relics of Mary's body have ever been found.

[2039] Damiani, De Mirac., Migne, 146. 586.

[2040] De bono suffr. Migne, 145. 564.

[2041] According to Caesar of Heisterbach, the Ave Maria took the place

of sugar and honey in the mouths of nuns who repeated it on their knees

daily fifty times and it tasted like honey. A priest who tried it

found, after six weeks, that his spittle had turned to honey. Sermons,

as quoted by Cruel, Gesch. d. Deutschen Predigt, p. 284.

[2042] De laude virginis. Migne, 183. 58.

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� 131. The Worship of Relics.

Literature: See Lit., p. 268 sq. Guibert of Nogent, d. 1124: de

pignoribus sanctorum, Migne, vol. 156, 607-679.--Guntherus: Hist.

Constantinopol., Migne, vol. 212.--Peter the Venerable: de miraculis,

Migne, vol. 189.--Caesar of Heisterbach, Jacob of Voragine, Salimbene,

etc.--P. Vignon: The Shroud of Christ, Engl. trans., N. Y., 1903.

The worship of relics was based by Thomas Aquinas upon the regard

nature prompts us to pay to the bodies of our deceased friends and the

things they held most sacred. The bodies of the saints are to be

reverenced because they were in a special manner the temples of the

Holy Ghost. The worship to be paid to them is the lowest form of

worship, dulia. Hyperdulia, a higher form of worship, is to be rendered

to the true cross on which Christ hung. In this case the worship is

rendered not to the wood but to him who hung upon the cross. Latreia,

the highest form of worship, belongs to God alone. [2043] image itself.

It is rendered to the prototype, or that for which the image stands.

[2044]

In the earlier years of the Middle Ages, Italy was the most prolific

source of relics. With the opening of the Crusades the eyes of the

Church were turned to the East, and the search of relic-hunters was

abundantly rewarded. With open-mouthed credulity the West received the

holy objects which Crusaders allowed to be imposed upon them. The rich

mine opened up at the sack of Constantinople has already been referred

to. Theft was sanctified which recovered a fragment from a saint's body

or belongings. The monk, Gunther, does not hesitate to enumerate the

articles which the abbot, Martin, and his accomplices stole from the

reliquary in one of the churches of the Byzantine city. Salimbene

[2045]

The Holy Lance was disclosed at a critical moment in the siege of

Antioch. The Holy Grail was found in Caesarea in 1101. The bones of the

three kings, Caspar, Melchior, and Belthazar, reputed to have been the

magi who presented their gifts at the manger, were removed from Milan

to Cologne, where they still repose. In the same city of Cologne were

found, in 1156, the remains of Ursula and the virgin martyrs, put to

death by the Huns, the genuineness of the discovery being attested by a

vision to Elizabeth of Sch�nau. Among the endless number of objects

transmitted to Western Europe from the East were Noah's beard, the

horns of Moses, the stone on which Jacob slept at Bethel, the branch

from which Absalom hung, our Lord's foreskin, his navel cord, his coat,

tears he shed at the grave of Lazarus, milk from Mary's breasts, the

table on which the Last Supper was eaten, the stone of Christ's

sepulchre, Paul's stake in the flesh, a tooth belonging to St.

Lawrence. Christ's tooth, which the monks of St. Medard professed to

have in their possession, was attacked by Guibert of Nogent on the

ground that when Christ rose from the dead he was in possession of all

the parts of his body. He also attacked the genuineness of the

umbilical cord. [2046] .

The holy coat, the blood of Christ, and his cross have perhaps played

the largest part in the literature of relics. Christ's holy coat is

claimed by Treves and Argenteuil as well as other localities. It was

the seamless garment--tunica inconsutilis -- woven by Mary, which grew

as Christ grew was worn on the cross. [2047] city. On the eve of the

Reformation it was solemnly shown to Maximilian I. and assembled German

princes. At different dates, vast bodies of pilgrims have gone to look

at it; the largest number in 1891, when 1,925,130 people passed through

the cathedral for this purpose. Many miracles were believed to have

been performed. [2048]

The arrival of some of Christ's blood in England, Oct. 13, 1247, was

solemnized by royalty and furnishes one of the strange and picturesque

religious scenes of English mediaeval history. The detailed description

of Matthew Paris speaks of it as "a holy benefit from heaven." [2049]

prelates of the Holy Land. After fasting and keeping watch the night

before, the king, Henry III., accompanied by the priests of London in

full canonicals and with tapers burning, carried the vase containing

the holy liquid from St. Paul's to Westminster, and made a circuit of

the church, the palace, and the king's own apartments. The king

proceeded on foot, holding the sacred vessel above his head. The bishop

of Norwich preached a sermon on the occasion and, at a later date,

Robert Grosseteste preached another in which he defended the

genuineness of the relic, giving a memorable exhibition of scholastic

ingenuity. [2050]

The true cross was found more than once and fragments of it were

numerous, so numerous that the fiction had to be invented that the true

cross had the singular property of multiplying itself indefinitely. A

choice must be made between the stories. The first Crusaders beheld the

cross in Jerusalem. Richard I., during the Third Crusade, was directed

to a piece of it by an aged man, the abbot of St. Elie, who had buried

it in the ground and refused to deliver it up to Saladin, even though

that prince put him in bonds to force him to do so. Richard and the

army kissed it with pious devotion. [2051] Constantinople were a piece

of the true cross and a drop of the Lord's blood. The true cross,

however, was still entire, and in 1241 it reached Paris. It had

originally been bought by the Venetians from the king of Jerusalem for

�20,000 and was purchased from the Emperor Baldwin by Louis IX. The

relic was received with great ceremony and carried into the French

capital by the king, with feet and head bare, and accompanied by his

mother, Blanche, the queen, the king's brothers, and a great concourse

of nobles and clergy. [2052] e sponge offered to him on the cross,

together with other relics.

The English chronicler's enthusiasm for this event seems not to have

been in the least dampened by the fact that the English abbey of

Bromholm also possessed the true cross. It reached England in 1247,

through a monk who had found it among the effects of the Emperor

Baldwin, after he had fallen in battle. The monk appeared at the

convent door with his two children, and carrying the sacred relic under

his cloak. Heed was given to his story and he was taken in. Miracles at

once began to be performed, even to the cleansing of lepers and the

raising of the dead. [2053]

Some idea of the popular estimate of the value of relics may be had

from the story which Caesar of Heisterbach relates of a certain Bernard

who belonged to Caesar's convent. [2054] uming a proper mental state,

the thumping stopped, but as soon as he renewed the unseemly thoughts

the thumping began again. Bernard took the hint and finally desisted

altogether. Caesar had the satisfaction of knowing that when Bernard

had these experiences, he was not yet a monk.

The resentment of relics at being mistreated frequently came within the

range of Caesar's experience. One of St. Nicolas' teeth, kept at

Brauweiler, on one occasion jumped out of the glass box which contained

it, to show the saint's disgust at the irreverence of the people who

were looking at it. Another case was of the relics of two virgins which

had been hid in time of war and were left behind when other relics were

restored to the reliquary. They were not willing to be neglected and

struck so hard against the chest which held them that the noise was

heard all through the convent, and continued to be heard till they were

released. [2055]

An organized traffic in relics was carried on by unscrupulous venders

who imposed them upon the credulity of the pious. The Fourth Lateran

sought to put a stop to it by forbidding the veneration of novelties

without the papal sanction. According to Guibert of Nogent, [2056] whom

he wished to worship, did not thereby lose any benefit that might

accrue from such worship. All the saints, he said, are one body in

Christ (John 17:22), and in worshipping one reverence is done to the

whole corporation.

The devil, on occasion, had a hand in attesting the genuineness of

relics. By his courtesy a nail in the reliquiary of Cologne, of whose

origin no one knew anything, was discovered to be nothing less than one

of the nails of the cross. [2057] ch kind services, no doubt, were

rare. The court-preacher of Weimar, Irenaeus, 1566-1570, visiting

Treves in company with the Duchess of Weimar, found one of the devil's

claws in one of the churches. The story ran, that at the erection of a

new altar, the devil was more than usually enraged, and kicked so hard

against the altar that he left a claw sticking in the wood. [2058]

The attitude of the Protestant churches to relics was expressed by

Luther in his Larger Catechism when he said, "es ist alles tot Ding das

niemand heiligen kann." They are lifeless, dead things, that can make

no man holy.

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[2043] Th. Aq., Summa, III. 25, 6, Migne, IV. 240 sq.; Bonavent.,

Peltier's ed., IV. 206 sq., VIII. 196. Thornas accords a single brief

chapter to relics and quotes Augustine but not Scripture in favor of

their vvorship.

[2044] Bonavent., III. 27, 2, Peltier's ed., IV. 619.

[2045] Coulton's ed., p 253.

[2046] De pignoribus. Migne, 156. 649 sqq.

[2047] Among the legends of its discovery is the following: Herod gave

the coat to a Jew because the drops of blood would not come out. The

Jew threw it into the sea. A whale swallowed it. Orendel, son of the

king of Treves, on his way to Jerusalem caught the fish and rescued the

garment. It is described as five feet one inch long, and of the color

of a sponge.

[2048] See Wetzer-Welte, Der hl. Rock, X. 1229 sqq.

[2049] Luard's ed., IV. 641-643.

[2050] Luard, Vl. 138-144. See Stevenson's Grosseteste, p. 263.

[2051] De Vinsauf, Chronicle of Richard's Crusade, LIV.

[2052] Luard's M. Paris, IV. 90 sq.; De Voragine, VII. 210.

[2053] Luard's ed., III. 30 sq.

[2054] Dial., VIII 67, Strange's ed., II. 138.

[2055] Dial., VIII. 68, 85.

[2056] Migne, 156. 627.

[2057] Hauck, IV. 74.

[2058] Treves, Cologne, and Aachen were distinguished by the number of

their reliquiary possessions. Gelenius, a Cologne priest, in his de

admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine Coloniae, 1645, enumerated a

great number of relics to be found In Cologne, such as pieces of the

true cross, the manger, some of the earth on which Mary stood when she

received the angelic announcement, one of John the Baptist's teeth, a

piece of his garment, hairs from the head of Bartholomew, and remains

of the children of Bethlehem. As recently as Nov. 30, 1898, the

archbishop of Cologne announced that one of St. Andrew's arms would be

shown after having lain in repose for one hundred years. It was found

in a chest with other relics which had been packed away during the

French Revolution.

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� 132. The Sermon.

Literature: A. Nebe: Charakterbilder d. bedeutendsten Kanzelredner,

Vol. I. Origen to Tauler, 1879. --J. M. Neale: Med. Preachers, Lond.,

1853, new ed., 1873. --J. A. Broadus: The Hist. of Preaching, N. Y.,

1876. A bare sketch.--H. Hering: Gesch. d. Predigt. (pp. 55-68),

Berlin, 1905. --E. C. Dargan: Hist. of Preaching, from 70 to 1570, N.

Y., 1906.

For the French Pulpit: \*Lecoy de la Marche: La chaire franc. au moyen

�ge speciallement au XIIIe si�cle, Paris, 1868, new ed., 1886.--L.

Bourgain: La chaire franc. au XIIme si�cle d'apr�s les Mss., Paris,

1879. --J. von Walter: D. ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs, 2 parts,

Leip., 1903, 1906.

For the German Pulpit: W. Wackernagel: Altdeutsche Predigten und

Gebete, Basel, 1876.--\*R Cruel: Gesch. d. Deutschen Predigt im MtA.,

Detmold, 1879.--\*A. Linsenmayer (Rom. Cath.): Gesch. der Predigt in

Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange d. 14ten

Jahrhunderts, Munich, 1886.--Hauck: Kirchengesch.--Collections of med.

Ger. sermons.--H. Leyser: Deutsche Predigten d. 13ten und 14ten

Jahrhunderts, 1838.--K. Roth: Deutsche Predigten des XlI. und XIII.

Jahrhunderts, 1839.--F. E. Grieshaber: Deutsche Predigt. d. XIII.

Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. Stuttg., 1844.--\*A. E. Sch�nbach: Altdeutsche

Predigten, 3 vols. Graz, 1886-1891; Studien zur Gesch. d. Altdeutschen

Predigt. (on Berthold of Regensburg), 3 parts, Vienna, 1904-1906. --A.

Franz: Drei Minoritenprediger aus d. XIII. u. XIV. Jahrh., Freib.,

1907.

For the English Pulpit: R. Morris: Old Engl. Homilies of the Twelfth

and Thirteenth Centuries, 2 vols. Lond., 1868-1873.--See T. F. Crane:

Introd. to the Exempla of Jacob de Vitry, Folklore Soc., Lond.,

1890.--Richardson: Voragine as a Preacher, Presb. Rev., July, 1904.

Although the office of the preacher in the Middle Ages was overshadowed

by the function of the priest, the art of preaching was not altogether

neglected. The twelfth and the thirteenth centuries have each

contributed at least one pulpit orator of the first magnitude: St.

Bernard, whom we think of as the preacher in the convent and the

preacher of the Crusades, and Berthold of Regensburg, the Whitefield of

his age, who moved vast popular assemblies with practical discourses.

Two movements aroused the dormant energies of the pulpit: the Crusades,

in the twelfth century, and the rise of the Mendicant orders in the

thirteenth century. The example of the heretical sects preaching on the

street and the roadside also acted as a powerful spur upon the

established Church.

Ambrose had pronounced the bishop's chief function to be preaching. The

nearest approach made to that definition by a formal pronouncement of

these centuries is found in the tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran.

After emphasizing the paramount necessity of knowing the Word of God,

the council commended the practice whereby bishops, in case of their

incapacity, appointed apt men to take their place in preaching. Pope

Innocent III. himself preached, and fifty-eight of his sermons are

preserved. [2059] from a writer on homiletics or a preacher in favor of

frequent preaching. So Honorius of Autun, in an address to priests,

declared that, if they lived a good life and did not publicly teach or

preach, they were like the "watchmen without knowledge" and as dumb

dogs (Isa. 56:9), and, if they preached and lived ill, they were as

blind leaders of the blind. [2060] to another order, replied: "I do not

read that Jesus Christ was either a black or a white monk, but that he

was a poor preacher. I will follow in his steps."

It is impossible to determine with precision the frequency with which

sermons were preached in parishes. Probably one-half of the priests in

Germany in the twelfth century did not preach. [2061] efice fifty years

without ever having preached a sermon. There were few pulpits in those

days in English churches. [2062]

In the thirteenth century a notable change took place, through the

example of the friars. They were preachers and went among the people.

Vast audiences gathered in the fields and streets to listen to an

occasional popular orator, like Anthony of Padua and Berthold of

Regensburg. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Franciscans

received formal permission from Clement V., "to preach on the streets

the Word of God."

Nor was the preaching confined to men in orders. Laymen among the

heretics and also among the orthodox groups and the Flagellants

exercised their gifts. [2063] egory IX., 1235, condemned the

unauthorized preaching of laymen. There were also boy preachers in

those days. [2064]

The vernacular was used at the side of the Latin. [2065] rs of his life

followed his example. Bishop Hermann of Prague, d. 1122, preached in

Bohemian. [2066]

Congregations were affected much as congregations are to-day. Caesar of

Heisterbach, who himself was a preacher, tells of a congregation that

went to sleep and snored during a sermon. The preacher, suddenly

turning from the line of his discourse, exclaimed: "Hear, my brethren,

I will tell you something new and strange. There was once a king called

Artus." The sleepers awoke and the preacher continued, "See, brethren,

when I spoke about God, you slept, but when I began to tell a trivial

story, you pricked up your ears to hear." [2067] casion.

The accounts of contemporaries leave no room to doubt that

extraordinary impressions were made upon great audiences. [2068] l

instruction, doctrinal inference, and moral application. It was well

understood that the personality of the preacher has much to do with the

effectiveness of a discourse. Although the people along the Rhine did

not understand the language of St. Bernard, they were moved to the very

depths by his sermons. When his language was interpreted, they lost

their power.

Four treatises have come down to us from this period on homiletics and

the pulpit, by Guibert of Nogent, Alanus ab Insulis, Humbert de

Romanis, and Hugo de St. Cher. [2069] [2070] nd cultivating the habit

of turning everything he sees into a symbol of religious truth. He sets

forth the different motives by which preachers were actuated, from a

desire of display by ventriloquism to an honest purpose to instruct and

make plain the Scriptures.

In his Art of Preaching, [2071] what is being talked about. He advises

the use of quotations from Gentile authors, following Paul's example.

After giving other counsels, Alanus in forty-seven chapters presents

illustrations of the treatment of different themes, such as the

contempt of the world, luxury, gluttony, godly sorrow, joy, patience,

faith. He then furnishes specimens of exhortations to different classes

of hearers: princes, lawyers, monks, the married, widows, virgins, the

somnolent.

Humbert de Romanis, general of the order of the Dominicans, d. 1277, in

a much more elaborate work, [2072] for Christ celebrated the mass only

once, but was constantly engaged in preaching. He urged the necessity

of study, and counselled high thought rather than graceful and

well-turned sentences, comparing the former to food and the latter to

the dishes on which it is served.

To these homiletical rules and hints must be added the notices

scattered through the sermons of preachers like Honorius of Autun and

Caesar of Heisterbach. Caesar said, [2073] like an arrow, sharp to

pierce the hearts of the hearers; straight, that is, without any false

doctrine; and feathered, that is, easy to be understood. The bow is the

Word of God.

Among the prominent preachers from 1050 to 1200, whose sermons have

been preserved, were Peter Damiani, d. 1072, Ivo of Chartres, d. 1116,

Hildebert of Tours, d. 1133, Abaelard d. 1142, St. Bernard, d. 1153,

and Maurice, archbishop of Paris, d. 1196. Of the eloquence of Arnold

of Brescia, Norbert, the founder of the Premonstrant order, and Fulke

of Neuilly, the fiery preacher of the Fourth Crusade, no specimens are

preserved. Another class of preachers were the itinerant preachers,

some of whom were commissioned by popes, as were Robert of Abrissel and

Bernard of Thiron who went about clad in coarse garments and with

flowing beards, preaching to large concourses of people. They preached

repentance and sharply rebuked the clergy for their worldliness,

themselves wept and brought their hearers to tears.

Bernard enjoys the reputation of being, up to his time, the most

brilliant luminary of the pulpit after the days of Gregory the Great.

Luther held his sermons in high regard and called him "the golden

preacher"--der gueldene Prediger. Among the preachers of France he is

placed at the side of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. He has left more than two

hundred and fifty discourses on special texts and themes in addition to

the eighty-six homilies on the Song of Solomon. [2074]

The subjects of the former range from the five pebbles which David

picked up from the brook to the most solemn mysteries of Christ's life

and work. The sermons were not written out, but delivered from notes or

improvised after meditation in the convent garden. For moral

earnestness, flights of imagination, pious soliloquy, and passionate

devotion to religious themes, they have a place in the first rank of

pulpit productions. "The constant shadow of things eternal is over them

all," said Dr. Storrs, himself one of the loftiest figures in the

American pulpit of the last century. One of the leading authorities on

his life, Deutsch, has said that Bernard combined in himself all the

qualities of a great preacher, a vivid apprehension of the grace of

God, a profound desire to help his hearers, a thorough knowledge of the

human heart, familiarity with the Scriptures, opulence of thought, and

a faculty of magnetic description. [2075]

Fulke of Neuilly, pastor in Neuilly near Paris, was a man of different

mould from Bernard, but, like him, his eloquence is associated with the

Crusades. [2076] a born orator. His sermons on repentance in Notre Dame

and on the streets of Paris were accompanied with remarkable

demonstrations, the people throwing themselves on the ground, weeping

and scourging themselves. Usurers "whom the devil alone was able to

make, "fallen women, and other offenders turned from their evil ways.

Called forth by Innocent III. to proclaim the Fourth Crusade, Fulke

influenced, as he himself estimated, no less than two million to take

the cross. He did not live to hear of the capture of Constantinople, to

which event unintentionally he made so large a contribution.

The great preachers of the thirteenth century were the product of the

mendicant orders or, like Grosseteste, sympathized with their aims and

methods. The Schoolmen who belonged to these orders seem all to have

been preachers, and their sermons, or collations, delivered in the

convents, many of which are preserved, received the highest praise from

contemporaries, but partook of the scholastic method. Albertus Magnus,

Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura were preachers, Bonaventura [2077]

To the mendicant orders belonged also the eminent popular preachers,

Anthony of Padua, John of Vicenza, and Berthold of Regensburg. Anthony

of Padua, 1195-1231, born at Lisbon, entered the Franciscan order and

made Northern Italy the scene of his labors. He differed from Francis

in being a well-schooled man. He joined himself to the conventual

party, at whose head stood Elias of Cortona. Like Francis he was a

lover of nature and preached to the fishes. He preached in the fields

and the open squares. As many as thirty thousand are reported to have

flocked to hear him. He denied having the power of working miracles,

but legend has associated miracles with his touch and his tomb. The

fragments of his sermons, which are preserved, are mere sketches and,

like Whitefield's printed discourses, give no clew to the power of the

preacher. Anthony was canonized the year after his death by Gregory IX.

His remains were deposited, in 1263, in the church in Padua reared to

his memory. Bonaventura was present. The body was found to have wholly

dissolved except the tongue. [2078]

Berthold of Regensburg, d. 1272, had for his teacher David of Augsburg,

d. 127l, also a preacher of renown. A member of the Franciscan order,

Berthold itinerated from Thuringia to Bohemia, and from Spires to the

upper Rhine regions as far as the Swiss canton of the Grisons. He was

familiarly known as rusticanus, "the field preacher." According to

contemporaries, he was listened to by sixty thousand at a time. His

sermons were taken down by others and, to correct mistakes, he was

obliged to edit an edition with his own hand. [2079]

This celebrated preacher's style is exceedingly pictorial. He drew

illustrations from the stars and the fields, the forests and the

waters. The most secret motives of the heart seemed to he open before

him. Cruel, the historian of the mediaeval German pulpit, gives as the

three elements of his power: his popular speech easily understood by

the laity, his personality which he never hid behind a quoted

authority, and his burning love for God and man. He preached

unsparingly against the vices of his age: usury, avarice, unchastity,

drunkenness, the dance, and the tournament, and everything adapted to

destroy the sanctity of the home.

He urged as motives the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

But especially did he appeal to the fear of perdition and its torments.

If your whole body, he said, was glowing iron and the whole world on

fire, yet are the pains of the lost many times greater, and when the

soul is reunited with the body in hell, then it will be as passing from

dew to a burning mountain. The sermons are enlivened by vivacious

dialogues in which the devil is a leading figure. Berthold demanded

penitence as well as works of penance. But he was a child of his time,

was hard on heretics, and did not oppose any of the accepted dogmas.

A considerable number of sermons, many of them anonymous, are preserved

from the mediaeval pulpit of Germany, where preaching seemed to be most

in vogue. [2080] achers were Gottfried, abbot of Admont, d. 1165,

Honorius of Autun, d. 1152, and Werner of St. Blasius in the Black

Forest, d. 1126. Gottfried's sermons, of which about two hundred are

preserved, occupy more than a thousand columns in Migne (174. 21-1133),

and are as full of exegetical and edifying material as any other

discourses of the Middle Ages.

Honorius and Werner both prepared homiliaria, or collections of sermons

which were meant to be a homiletical arsenal for preachers. Honorius'

collection, the Mirror of the Church--Speculurn ecclesiae [2081] one of

them he addresses himself to one class after another, calling them by

name. One of the interesting things about these model discourses is the

homiletical hints that are thrown in here and there. The following two

show that it was necessary, even in those good old times, to adapt the

length of the sermon to the patience of the hearers. "You may finish

here if you choose, or if time permits, you may add the following

things." "For the sake of brevity you must sometimes shorten this

sermon and at other times you may prolong it."

Werner's collection, the Deflorationes sanctorum patrum, or Flowers

from the Fathers, fills more than five hundred columns in Migne (151.

734-1294), and joins, with discourses from patristic times, other

sermons, some of them probably by Werner himself. Thirteen are taken

from Honorius of Autun. It would be interesting, if there were space,

to give specimens of the sermonic literature contained in these

collections.

Of the pulpit in England there is not much to be said. It had no

preachers equal in fame to the preachers of Germany and Italy. The

chief source of our information are the two volumes of Old English

Homilies by Morris, which contain an English translation at the side of

the Saxon original. The names of the preachers are lost. The sermons

are brief expositions of texts of Scripture, the Creed, the Lord's

Prayer, and on Mary and the Apostles, and are adapted to the wants and

temptations of everyday life. In a sermon on the Creed [2082] on is

such as might be made by a wise preacher to-day: "Three things there

are that each man must have who will lead a Christian life, a right

belief, baptism, and a fair life, for he is not fully a Christian who

is wanting in any of these." One of the sermons quaintly treats of the

traps set by the devil in four pits: play, and the trap idleness;

drink, and the trap wrongdoing; the market, and the trap cheating; and

the Church, and the trap pride. In the last trap the clergy are

ensnared as when the priest neglects to perform the service or to speak

what he ought to, or sings so as to catch the ears of women. [2083]

A general conclusion to be drawn from the sermons of this period of the

Middle Ages is that human passions and the tendency to shirk religious

duties or to substitute the appearance for the reality were about the

same as they are to-day. Another conclusion is that the modes of appeal

employed were about the same as the earnest preacher employs in this

age, except that in those days much more emphasis was laid upon the

pains of future punishment.

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[2059] See Hurter's judgment of Innocent as a preacher, II. 729 sqq.

[2060] Spec. eccles., Migne, 172. 862.

[2061] Cruel, pp. 210, 262.

[2062] Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, p. 86.

[2063] Linsenmayer, p. 125 sqq.

[2064] Salimbene, Coulton's ed., p. 305.

[2065] Hurter, IV. 507; Cruel, p. 217.

[2066] His homiliarium was ed. by Hecht, 1863,

[2067] Dial., IV. 36.

[2068] Dargan, p. 229, says that "probably the largest audiences ever

gathered to hear preaching" were gathered in the thirteenth century.

[2069] Speculum ecclesiae, Lyons, 1554.

[2070] Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat, Migne, 157. 20-34.

[2071] Summa de arte praedicatoria, Migne, 210. 111-198.

[2072] De eruditione praedicatorum.

[2073] Quoted by Cruel, p. 249.

[2074] See Vacandard, S. Bernard, I. 474 sqq., and Storrs, St. Bernard,

pp. 355-427, Migne, 183. 73-747, 784-1105.

[2075] Art. Bernard, in Herzog, II. 634.

[2076] A. Charasson, Un cur� pl�b�ien au XIIe si�cle Foulques, cur� de

Veuilly, Paris, 1905.

[2077] Peltier's ed., XIII. 1-636, etc. For Thomas' sermons, see

Bourin, La pr�dication en France et les sermons de Thomas, Paris, 1882.

Vaughan is fulsome in praise of Thomas as a preacher. Life, etc., I.

459 sq., II. 104 sqq., 112-117.

[2078] The writer in Wetzer-Welte, I. 995, declarcs that the tongue

remains whole to this day. See Lempp, Leben d. hl. Antonius v. Padua.

[2079] The works and collections of Berthold's sermons are numerous.

Cruel, pp. 307-322; Linsenmayer, pp. 333-354; E. Bernhardt, Bruder

Berthold von Regensb., etc., Erf., 1905. Ed. of his sermons by Kling,

Berlin, 1824; Pfeiffer, Vienna, 1862; J. Strobel, 2 vols. Vienna, 1880;

Gobel, 2 vols. Schaffh., 1850; 4th ed., Regensb., 1905; alsoPredigten

a. d. Sonn und Festtagen, 2 vols. 1884; G. Jacob, D. Iatein. Reden d.

Berthold, etc., Regensb., 1880.

[2080] See Cruel, 146-208; Linsenmayer, 191-320.

[2081] Migne, vol. 172. See Rocholl, in Herzog, VIII. 327-331; Endres,

Honor. August., Leip., 1903. Honorius called himself Augustoduniensis,

but it is doubtful whether Autun or Strassburg is meant.

[2082] Old Engl. Hom., II. 14.

[2083] II, 209 sqq.

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� 133. Hymns and Sacred Poetry.

Latin Hymns: H. A. Daniel: Thesaurus Hymnol., 5 vols. Halle and

Leipzig, 1855-1856. --F, J. Mone: Latein. Hymnen d. Mittelalters, 3

vols. Freib., 1853-1855. --R. C. Trench: Sacr. Lat. Poetry with Notes,

Lond., 1849, 3d ed., 1874. --G. A. K�nigsfeld: Latein. Hymnen und

Ges�nge d. MtA., 2 vols. Bonn, 1847-1863 with transll.--J. M. Neale:

Med. Hymns and Sequences, Lond., 1851, 3d ed., 1867; Hymns chiefly Med.

on the Joys and Glories of Paradise, Lond., 1862, 4th ed., by S. G.

Hatherley, 1882.--W. J. Loftie: Lat. Hymns, 3 vols. Lond.,

1873-1877.--F. W. E. Roth: Lat. Hymnen d. MtA., Augsb., 1888.--\*G. M.

Dreves and C. Blume: Analecta hymnica medii aevi, Leipz., 1886-1906, 49

parts in 16 vols.--U. Chevalier: Repertorium hymnol. Cat. des chants,

hymnes, proses, sequences, tropes, etc., 2 vols. Louvaine, 1892-1897;

Po�sie liturg. du moyen �ge, Paris, 1893.--S. G. Pirmont: Les hymnes du

Br�viare rom., 3 vols. Paris, 1874-1884.--Ed. Caswall: Lyra Catholica

(197 transll.), Lond., 1849.--R. Mant: Anc. Hymns from the Rom. Brev.,

new ed., Lond., 1871.--F. A. March: Lat. Hymns with Engl. Notes, N. Y.,

1874.--D. T. Morgan: Hymns and other Poems of the Lat. Ch., Oxf.,

1880.--W. H. Frere: The Winchester Tropar from MSS. of the 10th and

11th centt., Lond., 1894. --H. Mills: The Hymn of Hildebert and the Ode

of Xavier, with Engl. transll., Auburn, 1844.--W. C. Prime: The Seven

Great Hymns of the Med. Ch., N. Y., 1865. --E. C. Benedict: The Hymn of

Hildebert and other Med. Hymns, with transll., N. Y., 1867, 2d ed.,

1869. --A. Coles: Dies Irae and other Lat. Poems, N. Y., 1868. --D. S.

Wrangham: The Liturg. Poetry of Adam de St. Victor, with Engl.

transll., 3 vols. Lond., 1881.--Ozanam: Les Po�tes Franciscains en

Italie au XIIIe si�cle, Paris, 1852, 3d ed. 1869.--L. Gautier: Oeuvres

poet. d' Adam de St. Victor, Paris, 1858, 2d ed., 1887; Hist. de la

po�sie liturg. au moyen �ge. Paris, 1886.--P. Schaff: Christ in Song, a

Collection of Hymns, Engl. and trans. with notes, N. Y. and Lond.,

1869. --Schaff and Gilman: Libr. of Rel. Poetry, N. Y., 1881.--Schaff:

Lit. and Poetry, N. Y., 1890. Contains essays of St. Bernard as a

Hymnist, the Dies irae, Stabat mater, etc.--S. W. Duffield: Lat. Hymn

Writers and their Hymns, N. Y., 1889.

For German Hymns, etc.: C. E. P. Wackernagel: D. Deutsche Kirchenlied

von d. �ltesten Zeit bis zum 1600, 5 vols. Leip., 1864-1877.--Ed. E.

Koch: Gesch. des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs, 2 vols. 1847, 3d ed.,

by Lauxmann, 8 vols. 1866-1876.--Artt., Hymnus and Kirchenlied in

Wetzer-Welte, VI. 519-551, VII. 600-606; Kirchenlied, in Herzog, by

Drews, X. 409-419, and Lat. and Ger. Hymnody in Julian's Dicty. of

hymnology.

Note. The collection of Latin hymns by Dreves and Blume, members of the

Society of Jesus, is a monument of persevering industry and

scholarship. It is with few exceptions made up of hitherto unpublished

poems. The collection is meant to be exhaustive and one is fairly

amazed at the extent of mediaeval sacred poetry. There are about seven

hundred pages and an average of eleven hundred poems to each volume.

Monasteries and breviaries of every locality in Western Europe were

searched for hymnological treasures. In cases, an entire number, or

Heft (for the volumes have appeared in numbers), is given up to the

poems of a single convent, as No. Vll., pp. 282, to the proses of St.

Martial in Limoges. No. XL. contains sequences taken from English MSS.,

such as the missals of Salisbury, York, Canterbury, and Winchester, and

is edited by H. M. Bannister, 1902. Among the more curious parts is No.

XXVII., pp. 287, containing the religious poems of the Mozarabic, or

Gothic liturgy. If Dreves adds a printed edition of the mediaeval Latin

poetry found in Mone, Daniel, and other standard collections, his

collection will supersede all the collections of his predecessors.

The mediaeval sermon is, at best, the object of curious search by an

occasional student. It is otherwise with some of the mediaeval hymns.

They shine in the cluster of the great hymns of all the ages. They have

entered into the worship of all the churches of the West and continue

to exercise a sanctifying mission. They are not adapted to the

adherents of one confession or age alone, but to Christian believers of

every age.

The Latin sacred poems of the Middle Ages, of which thousands have been

preserved, were written, for the most part, in the shadow of cloistral

walls, notably St. Gall, St. Martial in Limoges, Cluny, Clairvaux, and

St. Victor near Paris. Few of them passed into public use in the church

service, or were rendered by the voice. They served the purpose of

devotional reading. The rhyme is universal after 1150.

These poems include liturgical proses, hymns, sequences, tropes,

psalteries, and rhymed prayers to the rosary, called rosaria. The

psalteries, psalteria rhythmica, in imitation of the Psalms, are

divided into one hundred and fifty parts, and are addressed to the

Trinity, to Jesus and to Mary, the larger number of them to Mary.

[2084] [2085] and were joined on to the Gloria, the Hosanna, and other

parts. They started in France and were most popular there and in

England. [2086]

The authorship of the Latin mediaeval poetry belongs chiefly to France

and Germany. England produced only a limited number of religious poems,

and no one of the first rank. The best is Archbishop Peckham's (d.

1292) rhymed office to the Trinity, from which three hymns were taken.

[2087]

Adesto, sancta trinitas

Par splendor, una deitas,

Qui exstas rerum omnium

Sine fine principium.

Come near, O holy Trinity,

In splender equal, in deity one

Of all things that exist

The beginning, and without end.

The number of mediaeval hymns in German is also large. The custom of

blending German and Latin lines in the same hymn was also very common,

especially in the next period. The number of Saxon hymns, that is hymns

produced in England, was very limited. [2088]

Although the liturgical service was chanted by the priests, singing was

also in vogue among the people, especially in Northern Italy and in

Germany. The Flagellants sang. Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169) said

that all the people poured forth praises to the Saviour in hymns.

[2089]

Christ der du geboren bist.

St. Bernard, when he left Germany, spoke of missing the German songs of

his companions. At popular religious services the people also to some

extent joined in song. The songs were called Leisen and Berthold of

Regensburg was accustomed, at the close of his sermons, to call upon

the congregation to sing. [2090] Autun gives directions for the people

to join in the singing, such as the following: "Now lift high your

voices," or "Lift up your song, Let us praise the Son of God."

As compared with the hymns of the Ambrosian group and of Prudentius,

the mediaeval sacred poems are lacking in their strong and triumphant

tone. They are written in the minor key, and give expression to the

softer feelings of the heart, and its fears and forebodings. They

linger at the cross and over the mystery of the Lord's Supper,

passionately supplicate the intercession of Mary or dwell on her

perfections, and also depict the awful solemnities of the judgment and

the entrancing glories of paradise. Where we are unable to follow the

poet in his theology, we cannot help but be moved by his soft cadences

and the tenderness of his devotion.

Among the poets of the earlier part of the period are Peter Damiani,

some of whose hymns were received into the Breviaries, [2091] debert's

lines were used by Longfellow in his "Golden Legend." Abaelard also

wrote hymns, one of which, on the creation, was translated by Trench.

[2092]

Bernard of Clairvaux, according to Abaelard's pupil, Berengar,

cultivated poetic composition from his youth. [2093] [2094]

Jesus, the very thought of thee.

Jesus, King most wonderful.

O Jesus, thou the beauty art.

Jesu, dulcis memoria.

Jesu, rex admirabilis.

Jesus, decus angelicum.

The first of these hymns has been called by Dr. Philip Schaff, "the

sweetest and most evangelical hymn of the Middle Ages."

The free version of some of the verses by Ray Palmer is the most

popular form of Bernard's poem as used in the American churches.

Jesus, thou Joy of loving hearts,

Thou Fount of life, thou Light of men,

From the best bliss that earth imparts

We turn unfilled to thee again.

The poem to the Members of Christ's body on the Cross--Rhythmica oratio

ad unum quodlibet membrorum Christi patientis -- is a series of

devotional poems addressed to the crucified Saviour's feet, knees,

hands, side, breast, heart, and face. From the poem addressed to our

Lord's face--Salve caput cruentatum -- John Gerhardt, 1656, took his

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.

O sacred head, now wounded,

With grief and shame weighed down.

Much as Bernard influenced his own age in other ways, he continues to

influence our own effectively and chiefly by his hymns.

Bernard of Cluny, d. about 1150, has an enduring name as the author of

the most beautiful and widely sung hymn on heaven, "Jerusalem the

Golden." He was an inmate of the convent of Cluny when Peter the

Venerable was its abbot, 1122-1156. From his probable place of birth,

Morlaix, Brittany, he is sometimes called Bernard of Morlaix. Of his

career nothing is known. He lives in his poem, "The Contempt of the

World"--de contemptu mundi -- from which the hymns are taken which go

by his name. [2095] ons of heaven, which are repetitions, it contains a

satire on the follies of the age and the greed of the Roman court.

[2096]

The most prolific of the mediaeval Latin poets is Adam of St. Victor,

d. about 1180. He was one of the men who made the convent of St. Victor

famous. He wrote in the departments of exegesis and psychology, but it

is as a poet he has enduring fame. Gautier, Neale and Trench have

agreed in pronouncing him the "foremost among the sacred Latin poets of

the Middle Ages"; but none of his hymns are equal to Bernard's hymns,

[2097] A deep vein of piety runs through them all. [2098]

Hymns of a high order and full of devotion we owe to the two eminent

theologians, Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas. Of Bonaventura's sacred

poems the one which has gone into many collections of hymns begins, --

Recordare sanctae crucis

qui perfectam viam ducis.

Jesus, holy Cross, and dying.

Three of Thomas Aquinas' hymns have found a place in the Roman

Breviary. For six hundred years two of these have formed a part of the

ritual of Corpus Christi: namely, --

Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium,

Sing, my tongue, the mystery telling,

And

Lauda, Zion, salvatorem.

Zion, to thy Saviour singing. [2099]

In both of these fine poems, the doctrine of transubstantiation finds

full expression.

No other two hymns of ancient or mediaeval times have received so much

attention as the Dies irae and the Stabat mater. They were the product

of the extraordinary religious fervor which marked the Franciscan order

in its earlier period, and have never been excelled, the one by its

solemn grandeur, and the other by its tender and moving pathos.

Thomas of Celano, the author of Dies irae, [2100] r Naples, and became

one of the earliest companions of Francis d'Assisi. In 1221 he

accompanied Caesar of Spires to Germany, and a few years later was made

guardian, custos of the Franciscan convents of Worms, Spires, Mainz,

and Cologne. Returning to Assisi, he wrote, by commission of Gregory

IX., his first Life of St. Francis, and later, by command of the

general of his order, he wrote the second Life.

The Dies irae opens with the lines, --

Dies irae, dies illa

solvet saeclum in favilla,

teste David cum sibylla.

In the most familiar of the versions, Sir Walter Scott freely

reproduced the first lines thus:--

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,

When heaven and earth shall pass away,

What power shall be the sinner's stay?

How shall he meet that dreadful day?

This solemn poem depicts the dissolution of the world and the trembling

fear of the sinner as he looks forward to the awful scene of the last

day and appeals for mercy. It has been characterized by Dr. Philip

Schaff, [2101] "as the acknowledged masterpiece of Latin Church poetry

and the greatest judgment hymn of all ages." The poet is the single

actor. He realizes the coming judgment of the world, he hears the

trumpet of the archangel through the open sepulchre, he expresses this

sense of guilt and dismay, and ends with a prayer for the same mercy

which the Saviour showed to Mary Magdalene and to the thief on the

cross. The stanzas sound like the peals of an organ; now crashing like

a clap of thunder, now stealing softly and tremulously like a whisper

through the vacant cathedral spaces. The first words are taken from

Zephaniah 1:15. Like the Fathers and Michael Angelo and the painters of

the Renaissance, the author unites the prediction of the heathen Sibyl

with the prophecies of the Old Testament.

The hymn is used on All Souls Day, Nov. 2. Mozart introduced it into

his requiem mass. It has been translated more frequently than any other

Latin poem. [2102] t into the Lay of the Last Minstrel, and Goethe made

Gretchen tremble in dismay on hearing it in the cathedral.

The most tender hymn of the Middle Ages is the Stabat mater dolorosa.

The first verse runs:--

Stabat mater dolorosa

juxta crucem lachrymosa

dum pendebat filius;

cujus animam gementem

contristatam ac dolentem

pertransivit gladius.

At the cross her station keeping,

Stood the mournful mother weeping,

Close to Jesus to the last;

Through her heart, His sorrow sharing,

All His bitter anguish bearing,

Now at length the sword had passed. [2103]

This hymn occupies the leading place among the many mediaeval hymns

devoted to Mary and, in spite of its mariolatry, it appeals to the

deepest emotions of the human heart. Its passion has been transfused

into the compositions of Palestrina, Astorga, Pergolesi, Haydn,

Bellini, Rossini, and other musical composers.

The poem depicts the agony of Mary at the sight of her dying Son. The

first line is taken from John 19:25. The poet prays to Mary to be

joined with her in her sorrow and to be defended by her on the day of

judgment and taken into glory. The hymn passed into all the missals and

was sung by the Flagellants in Italy at the close of the fourteenth

century. [2104]

Jacopone da Todi, the author of these hymns, called also Jacobus de

Benedictis (d. 1306), was converted from a wild career by the sudden

death of his wife through the falling of a gallery in a theatre. He

gave up the law, both degrees of which he had received from Bologna,

and was admitted to the Franciscan order. [2105] r of poems in the

vulgar tongue, exposing the vices of his age and arraigning Boniface

VIII. for avarice. He espoused the cause of the Colonna against that

pope. Boniface had him thrown into prison and the story went that when

the pope asked him, when he expected to get out, Jacopone replied,

"when you get in." Not until Boniface's death, in 1303, was the poet

released. He spent his last years in the convent of Collazone. His

comfort in his last hours was his own hymn, Giesu nostra fidanza --

Jesus our trust and confidence.

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[2084] In No. XXXV., 254-270, Dreves gives two psalteries, ascribed to

Anselm.

[2085] Anal. Hymn., XLVII. 11 sq.

[2086] Blume has collected hundreds of tropes in Anal. Hymn. They

extended from two or three to as many as fifty lines. Gautier was the

first to call the attention of modern students to this forgotten form

of med. poetry.

[2087] They are found in prose renderings in the Primer of Sarum of

about 1400 (ed. by Maskell, Mon. ritualia, Vol. III.). Daniel gives all

three, I. 276, etc. Dreves gives the adesto and thefesti laudes, No.

IV., 14, and calls the former, "a hymn in the strict sense of the

word." See No. XXIII., 5, 6, where Dreves pronounces Peckham as, beyond

dispute, their author.

[2088] Two addressed to Mary and one to God are given by Morris, Old

Engl. Hom., II. 255 sqq.

[2089] Hauck, IV. 60.

[2090] Linsenmayer, Deutsche Predigt, pp. 70, 132.

[2091] Migne, 145. 930 sqq. See Libr. of Rel. Poetry, pp. 897, 880.

[2092] Cousin gave 97 of these poems in his ed. of Abaelard, 1849.

[2093] Apol. pro Abaelardo, Migne, 178. 1857.

[2094] See Herold, Bernhard's Hymnen, in Herzog, II. 649. The text of

the hymns is found in Migne, 184. 1307 sqq., and in part in Schaff,

Lit. and Poetry, etc. Mabillon, whose edition Migne reproduced, casts

doubt upon the genuineness of all but two of these poems, and Vacandard

(Vie de S. Bern., II. 103) and Haureau (Les po�ms attribu�s � S. Bern.,

Paris, 1890) upon all of them. But they are ascribed to Bernard by the

oldest tradition and no one can be found so likely to be their author

as Bernard, Herold advocates the Bernardian authorship.

[2095] Ninety-six lines of the original were made known to English

readers by Trench. Neale's transl. is given in the Libr. of Rel.

Poetry, pp. 981-985; a prose transl. of the whole poem by Dr. S. M.

Jackson, in Am. Journ. of Theol., 1906. See note in Schaff's Christ in

Song, Lond. ed., pp. 511 sq.

[2096] For this reason Flacius Illyricus printed the poem entire in his

collection of poems on the corruption of the Church,--Varia doctorum

piorumque virorum de corrupto eccles. statu poemata, Basel, 1557. I

have a copy of this rare volume.

[2097] Deutsch, art. Adam de S. Victor, Herzog, I. 164, Migne, vol.

196, gives 36 of Adam's poems. Gautier, in 1858, found 106 in the

Louvre library, whither they had been removed at the destruction of St.

Victor during the Revolution. He regards 45 as genuine.

[2098] Wrangham has given translations of all of Adam's hymns. March

gives eight poems in the original. Some of these have gone into English

Hymnals. See Julian, p. 15.

[2099] Julian, pp. 662 sqq., 878 sqq. Also Christ in Song, Engl. ed.,

pp. 467 sqq. Daniel gives five of Thomas' hymns, I. 251-256, II. 97.

[2100] The first mention of his authorship is in the liber

conformitatum, about 1380. The oldest MS. is a Dominican missal in the

Bodleian of the same date.

[2101] Lit. and Poetry pp. 135-186.

[2102] Julian, pp. 299 sqq., gives a list of 133 versions, 19 of which

are used in hymn books. The London Athenaeum, July 26, 1890, gave a

still larger list of 87 British and 92 American translations. The first

English version is that of Joshua Sylvester, 1621, and one of the best,

that of W. J. Irons, 1848.

[2103] Caswall's transl. Dr. Schaff gives a number of versions. Lit.

and Poetry, pp. 187-218.

[2104] The companion hymn, Stabat mater speciosa, "Stands the fair

mother," ascribed to the same author, was discovered in 1852. See Lit.

and Poetry, pp. 219-230.

[2105] See Julian, pp. 1080-1084, the art. Jacopone, by Lauxmann-Lempp,

in Herzog, VIII. 516-519, and the references to Wadding there given.

The Florentine ed. of his works, 1490, contains 100 Italian poems; the

Venetian ed. of 1614, 211.

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� 134. The Religious Drama.

Literature: W. Hone: Anc. Mysteries, Lond., 1823.--W. Marriott: Col. Of

Engl. Miracle Plays, Basel, 1838.--J. P. Collier: Hist. of Engl. Dram.

Poetry, 2 vols. Lond. 1831; new ed., 1879.--Th. Wright: Engl.

Mysteries, Lond., 1838. --F. J. Mone: Altdeutsche Schauspiele,

Quedlinb., 1841; D. Schauspiel d. MtA., 2 vols., Karlsr., 1846.--\*Karl

Hase: D. geistliche Schauspiel, Leip. 1858, Engl. transl. by A. W.

Jackson, Lond. 1880.--E. de Coussemaker: Drames liturg du moyen �ge,

Paris, 1861. --E. Wilken: Gesch. D. Geistl. Spiele In Deutschland,

G�tting., 2d ed., 1879.--A. W. Ward: Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit., Lond.,

1875.--G. Milchsack: D. Oster Und Passionsspiele, Wolfenb�ttel,

1880.--\*A. W. Pollard: Engl. Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes

with Introd. and Notes, Lond., 1890, 4th ed., 1904.--C. Davidson:

Studies in the Engl. Mystery Plays, 1892, printed for Yale Univ.--W.

Creizenach: Gesch. des neueren Dramas, 3 vols. Halle,

1893-1903.--Heinzel: Beschreibung des geistl. Schauspiels im Deutschen

MtA., Leip., 1898.--O'Connor: Sacred Scenes and Mysteries, Lond.,

1899.--\*E. K. Chambers: The Mediaeval Stage, 2 vols. Oxf., 1903. --Art.

in Nineteenth Century, June, 1906, Festum stultorum by Mrs. V.

Hemming.--J. S. Tunison: Dram. Traditions of the Dark Ages, Cincinnati,

1907. See the large list of works in Chambers, I. xiii-xlii.

An important aid to popular religion was furnished by the sacred drama

which was fostered by the clergy and at first performed in churches, or

the church precincts. It was in some measure a mediaeval substitute for

the sermon and the Sunday-school. The old Roman drama received hard

blows from the Christian Fathers, beginning with Tertullian, and from

synods which condemned the vocation of the actor as inconsistent with a

Christian profession. In part as a result of this opposition, and in

part on account of the realistic obscenity to which it degenerated, the

Roman stage was abandoned. According to the two codes of German law,

the Sachsenspiegel and the Schwabenspiegel, actors had no legal rights.

[2106]

The mediaeval drama was an independent growth, a product of the convent

and priesthood, and was closely associated with the public religious

services. Its history includes two periods, roughly divided by the

latter half of the thirteenth century. In the earlier period, the

representations were largely under the control of the clergy. Priests

were the actors and the intent was exclusively religious. In the later

period, the elements of pantomime and burlesque were freely introduced

and priests ceased to be the controlling factors. The modern drama

begins in the sixteenth century, the age of Shakespeare.

The names given to the mediaeval representations were ludi, plays,

mysteries, miracle-plays, and moralities. The term "morality" is used

for plays which introduced the virtues and vices, personified, and

carrying on dialogues teaching wholesome lessons of daily prudence and

religion. The term "mystery" comes from the word ministerium, meaning a

sacred office. [2107] ters who went about on their mission of

entertainment and instruction. Such were the troubadours of Provence

and Northern Italy, and the joculatores and jougleurs of France who

sang descriptive songs--chansons de geste. The minnesingers of Germany

and the English minstrels belong to the same general group. How far

these two movements influenced each other, it is difficult to say,--the

one starting from the convent and having a strictly religious intent,

the other from the people and having for its purpose amusement.

The mediaeval drama had its first literary expression in the six short

plays of Hroswitha, a nun belonging to the Saxon convent of

Gandersheim, who died about 980. They were written in imitation of

Terence and glorify martyrdom and celibate chastity. One of them

represents a Roman governor making approaches to Christian virgins whom

he had shut up in the scullery of his palace. Happily he was struck

with madness and embraced the pots and kettles and covered with soot

and dirt, was unceremoniously hustled about by the devil. It is not

known whether these plays were acted out or not. [2108]

Hroswitha was an isolated personality and the mediaeval play had its

origin not with her, but in the liturgical ritual for the festivals of

Easter, Good Friday, and Christmas. To make the impression of the

service more vivid than the reading or chanting of the text could do,

dramatic features were introduced which were at first little more than

the simplest tableaux vivants. They can be traced beyond the eleventh

century and have their ancestry in the tropes or poetical

interpolations inserted into the liturgy for popular effect. [2109]

The first dramatic action was associated with the services on Good

Friday and Easter. On Good Friday the cross was hid in a cloth or in a

recess in the walls, or in a wooden enclosure, specially put together.

Such recesses in the walls, called "sepulchres," are still found in

Northwold, Navenby, and other English churches. On Easter day the

crucifix was taken out from its place of concealment with solemn

ritual. In Davis' Ancient Rites of Durham is the following description:

[2110]

"Within the church of Durham upon Good Friday there was a marvellous

solemn service in which two of the ancient monks took a goodly large

crucifix all of gold of the picture of our Saviour Christ, nailed upon

the cross .... The service being ended, the said two monks carried the

cross to the Sepulchre with great reverence (which Sepulchre was set up

that morning on the north side of the quire, nigh unto the high altar

before the service time) and there did lay it within the said Sepulchre

with great devotion."

To this simple ceremony, adapted to impress the popular imagination,

were soon added other realistic elements, such as the appearance of the

angels and the women at the sepulchre, the race between Peter and John,

and the conversation between Mary and the gardener. Dialogues made up

of biblical language were introduced, one of the earliest of which is

the conversation between the women and the angels:--

Whom seek ye in the sepulchre, worshippers of Christ?

Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified, O heavenly denizens.

Quam quaeritis in sepulchro, Christocolae?

Jesum Nazarenum, crucifixum, O coelicolae.

On Christmas the dramatic action included the angels, the Magi, and

other actors, and a real cradle or manger. Priests in the garb of

shepherds, as they approached the stable, were met with the question,--

Whom seek ye in the stable, O shepherds, say?

Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?

To which they replied,

The Saviour, Christ the Lord, the infant wound in swaddling clothes.

From such beginnings, the field was easily extended so as to include

all Scriptural subjects, from Adam's fall to the last judgment.

The first notice of a miracle play in England is the play of St.

Katherine, presented by the schoolboys of Dunstable abbey, soon after

the year 1100. [2111] is day in London with the stage of pagan Rome.

An ambitious German play of the thirteenth century represents Augustine

seated in front of a church, Isaiah, Daniel, and other prophets at his

right hand, and at his left the High Priest and Jews. Isaiah uttered

his prophecy of the Messiah. The Sibyl pointed to the star. Aaron

entered with the budding rod. Balaam and the ass then take their turn.

An angel blocks the way. The ass speaks. Balaam recites his prediction

of the star of Jacob. The prophetic announcements being made, the high

priest appeared with much circumstance, and a discussion followed

between him on the one side and the prophets and Augustine on the

other. Another act followed and the angel announced the Saviour's

birth. The child was born. The three kings and the shepherds come on

the scene. The journey to Egypt followed and Egypt's king met the holy

family. Herod is eaten by worms. And so the play went on till

anti-Christ made his appearance. Here we have a long advance upon the

simple dramatic ceremonies of the century before, and at the same time

the germ of the elaborate drama which was to follow. The materials,

however, are all religious.

The dramatic instinct was not satisfied with a serious treatment of

biblical themes. It demanded the introduction of the burlesque and

farcical. These elements were furnished by Judas, the Jews, and the

devil, who were made the butts of ridicule. Judas was paid in bad coin.

The devil acted a double part. He tempts Eve by his flatteries, he

holds the glass before Mary Magdalene while she makes her toilet before

going out to dance with every comer, wheels the unfortunate into hell

on a wheelbarrow, and receives the lost with mock ceremony into his

realm. But he is as frequently represented as the stupid bungler. He

was the mediaeval clown, the dupe of devices excelling his own in

shrewdness. He sallied out from the stage, frightening little boys and

followed with laughter and jibes by the older onlookers. His mishaps

were the subject of infinite merriment.

The association of plays with the church was not received with

universal approbation. Gerhoh of Reichersperg opposed them as a

desecration. Innocent III. in 1210, if he did not condemn them

altogether, condemned their abuse. [2112] her synods forbade priests

holding "theatrical plays" in the church buildings. Caesar of

Heisterbach represents the rigoristic feeling when, hearing from a

priest of a stage that was struck by lightning and twenty men burned to

death, declared the burning was a proper punishment for the friends of

frivolity and that it was a wonder the priest, who was present,

escaped. [2113]

By the end of the thirteenth century, the plays were no longer acted in

the churches, but were transferred to the public squares and other open

spaces. Gilds and companies of actors took them up and acting again

began to be a recognized vocation. The religious element, however, was

retained, and religious and moral subjects continued to be the basis of

all the plays. Even after they began to be acted on the public squares,

the plays, like a modern political gathering, were introduced with

prayers and the Veni creator spiritus was chanted. Among the earlier

societies, which made it their business to present them, was the

confraternity of the Gonfalone. In its chapel, St. Maria della Pieta in

the Colosseum, plays were given perhaps as early as 1250. In Passion

week the roof of the chapel was turned into a stage and the passion was

acted. [2114] confr�rie de la passion, the brotherhood of the passion."

The Feasts of the Fools and the Ass.--In these strange festivals, which

go back to the eleventh century, full vent was given by the clergy to

the love of the burlesque. At first, they were intended to give relief

to the otherwise serious occupation of the clergyman and, while they

parodied religious institutions, they were not intended to be

sacrilegious, but to afford innocent amusement. Later, the observance

took on extravagant forms and received universal condemnation. But,

already in this period, the celebration in the churches and cathedrals

was accompanied with revels which called forth the severe rebuke of

Bishop Grosseteste [2115] ed at Christmas tide and the early days of

January. The descriptions are confusing, and it is difficult to get a

perfectly clear conception of either festival.

On the Feast of the Fools,--festum stultorum, [2116] ishop or pope and

in drollery allowed him episcopal functions. Prescriptions for the

boy-bishop's dress are found in the annals of St. Paul and York and

Lincoln cathedrals, and included a white mitre and a staff. The

ceremony was observed at Eton. The festival, however, was most popular

in France. The boy-prelate rode on an ass at the head of a procession

to the church amid the ringing of bells and the jangle of musical

instruments. There he dismounted, was clad in bishop's vestments, and

seated on a platform. A banquet and religious services followed, and in

turn dancing and other merriment. The ceremonies differed in localities

and a number of rituals have come down to us.

In the feast of the Ass, --festum asinorum, --the beast that Balaam

rode was the chief dramatis persona. The skin of the original animal

formed a valuable possession of a convent in Verona. The aim was to

give dramatic representation to biblical truth and perhaps to do honor

to the venerable and long-suffering beast which from time immemorial

has carried man and other burdens. At Rouen the celebration took place

on Christmas day. Moses, Aaron, John the Baptist, the Sibyl, Virgil,

the children who were thrown into the furnace, and other ancient

characters appeared. Balaam, wearing spurs and seated on an ass, was

the centre of attraction. A fire was started in the middle of the

church around which stood six Jews and Gentiles. The prophets, one by

one, made addresses attempting to convert them. The ass spoke when his

way was barred by the angel, and Balaam uttered his prophecy of the

star. The ass was then placed near the altar and a cope thrown over

him. High mass followed.

At Beauvais the festival was celebrated on the anniversary of the

Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, Jan. 14. The ass, bearing "a most

beautiful maiden" with a child in her arms, was led into the church and

stood before the altar during the performance of mass. At the close of

the ritual, the priest instead of repeating the customary formula of

dismissal, ite, missa est, made three sounds like the braying of an

ass,--sacerdos tres hinhannabit, --and the people responded three

times, hinham.

The improprieties and revels which became connected with these

celebrations were adapted to bring religion into disrepute and called

forth the rebukes of Innocent III. and Innocent IV., the latter

mentioning a boy-bishop by name and condemning the travesty upon

serious subjects. In 1444 the theological faculty of Paris spoke of

grave and damnable scandals connected with the celebrations, such as

the singing of comic songs the men being dressed in women's attire and

the eating of fat cakes at the altar. Councils, as late as 1584, joined

in condemning them. At the close of Henry VIII,'s reign and at

Cranmer's suggestion the festivals were forbidden in England.

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[2106] Eicken, p 674

[2107] Not from mysterium. The early French word was misterre. The term

"mystery" was not used in England. The terms in use were plays,

miracles, and miracle-plays.

[2108] The text is given by Migne, 137. 975-1062, together with some

poems attributed to Hroswitha, one of which, "The Fall and Conversion

of St. Theophilus," has often been regarded as the original of the tale

of Faust.

[2109] See Blume, Tropen d. Missale in Analecta hymn., XLVII. 7.

[2110] Chambers II. 310.

[2111] Pollard, p. xix. M. Paris calls it a "miracle,"--quem miracula

vulgariter appellamus.

[2112] The meaning of Innocent's brief is disputed. It may have

reference only to the Feast of Fools. The text is in the Decretals,

III. 1, 12, Friedberg's ed., II. 452.

[2113] Dial., X. 28, Strange's ed., II. 238,

[2114] Gregorovius, Hist. of the City of Rome, VI. 712.

[2115] Luard's ed., pp. 118, 161. On these festivals, see Eselsfest, in

Herzog, V. 497 sq., and Feste, in Wetzer-Welte, IV. 1398-1407;

Chambers, I. 274-372.

[2116] Called also festum hypodiaconorum, feast of the deacons, etc.

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� 135. The Flagellants.

Literature: The Chronicles of Salimbene, Villani, etc.: Gerson: Contra

sectam flagellantium, 1417, Du Pin's ed., Antwerp, 1706. Gerson's

letter to Ferrer and his address to the council of Constance concerning

the Flagellants are given by Van der Hardt: Constant. concilium,

Frankf., 1700, III. 92-104.--J. Boileau: Hist. Flagel., Paris, 1700,

new ed., 1770.--\*E. G. F�rstemann: D. christl. Geisslergesellschaften,

Halle, 1828.--W. M. Cooper: Flagellation and the Flagellants, A Hist.

of the Rod in all Countries, Lond., 1877; new ed., 1896.--Fredericq, in

Corpus doc. inquis., etc. gives reports of their trials in Holland, I.

190 sqq., etc.--\*F. Neukirch: D. Leben d. P. Damiani, G�tt.,

1875.--Lea: Hist. of Inq., I. 72 sqq., II. 381 sqq.--Artt. Geissler and

Geisselung in Wetzer-Welte by Kn�pfler, IV. 1532 sqq. and in Herzog by

Haupt, VI. 432 sqq. For the older lit., see F�rstemann, pp. 291-325.

A genuine indication of popular interest in religion within orthodox

circles was the strange movement represented by the Flagellants.

Gregorovius has gone so far as to pronounce their appearance "one of

the most striking phenomena of the Middle Ages." [2117] though they

started within the Church and are not to be classed with the mediaeval

sectaries, the Flagellants in a later age came to be regarded with

suspicion, were formally condemned by the council of Constance, and

were even the object of ecclesiastical prosecution. They appeared first

in 1259, then in 1333, 1349, 1399, and last at the time the council of

Constance was sitting. The most notable appearance was in 1349, at the

time the Black Death was raging in Europe.

The movement had no compact organization, as is shown from its

spasmodic character. It grew out of discontent with the Church and a

longing for true penitence and amendment of life. The prophecies of

Joachim, who set 1260 as the time for the appearance of anti-christ,

probably had something to do with stirring up unrest; perhaps also the

famine in Italy, of 1258, which was followed by a strange physical

malady, characterized by numbness of the bodily organs. Salimbene

reports that the bells were left untolled for funerals, lest the sick

should be terrified. The enthusiasm took the form of processions,

scourgings, and some novel and strange ceremonies. It was a species of

evangelism, and attempted a campaign against physical and other sins,

as the Crusades did against the Saracens of the East. It sought to make

popular the discipline of flagellation, which was practised in the

convent, and to secure penitential results, such as the monk was

supposed to reach.

The most notable adept of this conventual flagellation was Dominicus

Loricatus (d. 1060), who got his name from the iron coat he wore next

to his skin. He accompanied the repetition of every psalm with a

hundred strokes with a lash on his naked back. Three thousand strokes

were equivalent to a year's penance. But Loricatus beat all records and

accomplished the exercise of the entire Psalter no less than twenty

times in six days, the equivalent of a hundred years of penance. Peter

Damiani, to whom we are indebted for our account, relates that the

zealous ascetic, after saying nine Psalters in a single day,

accompanying them with the required number of lashes, went to his cell

to make sure the count was right. Then removing his iron jacket and

taking a scourge in each hand, he kept on repeating the Psalter the

whole night through till he had finished it the twelfth time and was

well into the thirteenth when he stopped.

What is your body, exclaimed Damiani, who contented himself with

prescribing forty psalms a day for his monks,--"what is your body? Is

it not carrion, a mass of corruption, dust, and ashes, and what thanks

will the worms give for taking good care of it?" [2118]

Under the appeals of preachers like Fulke of Neuilly and Anthony of

Padua, there were abnormal physical manifestations, and hearers set to

work flagellating themselves.

The flagellant outbreak of 1259 started at Perugia and spread like an

epidemic. All classes, young and old, were seized. With bodies bared to

the waist, carrying crosses and banners and singing hymns, newly

composed and old, they marched to and fro in the streets, scourging

themselves. Priests and monks joined the ranks of the penitents.

Remarkable scenes of moral reform took place. Usurers gave up their

ill-gotten gains; murderers confessed, and, with swords pointed to

their throats, offered themselves up to justice; enemies were

reconciled. And as the chatty chronicler, Salimbene, goes on to say, if

any would not scourge himself, he was held to be a limb of Satan. And

what is more, such persons were soon overtaken with sickness or

premature death. [2119] d marched from Modena to Bologna. At Reggio,

Parma, and other cities, the chief officials joined them. But all were

not so favorable, and the Cremona authorities and Manfred forbade their

entering their territories.

The ardor cooled off quickly in Italy, but it spread beyond the Alps.

Twelve hundred Flagellants appeared in Strassburg and the impulse was

felt as far as Poland and Bohemia. The German penitents continued their

penance thirty-three days in memory of the number of the years of

Christ's life. They chastised themselves and also sang hymns. Here also

the enthusiasm subsided as suddenly as it was enkindled. The

repetitions of the movement belong to the next period.

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[2117] Hist. of City of Rome, V. 333. They were called flagellarii,

flagellantes, crucifratres, verberantes, cruciferi, acephali, or

independents, from the charge that they had broken with the heretics.

[2118] Migne, 144. 1017. Damiani says of Loricatus, lorica ferrea

vestitur ad carnem, Migne, 145. 747. He compared the body to a timbrel

which is to be struck in praise to God.

[2119] Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante, pp. 192 sq.

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� 136. Demonology and the Dark Arts.

Literature: Anselm: de casu diaboli, Migne, 158. 326-362.--P.

Lombardus: Sent., II. 7 sqq.--Alb. Magnus: In Sent., Borgnet's ed.,

XXVII. etc.--Th. Aquinas: Summa, I. 51 sqq., II. 94-96, Migne, I. 893

sqq., II. 718 sqq., etc. Popular statements, e.g. P. Damiani, Migne,

144, 145. Peter the Venerable: de mirac., Migne, 189. 850-954. --John

of Salisbury: Polycraticus, Migne, 199. 405 sqq.--Walter Map--Caesar of

Heisterbach: Dial. mirac. Strange's ed., 2 vols. Bonn, 1851, especially

bk. V.--Thos. A Chantimpr�: Bonum universale de apibus, Germ. Reprod.

by A. Kaufmann, Col. 1899.--Jac. De Voragine: Golden Legend, Temple

Class. ed. --Etienne de Bourbon, especially Part IV.--\*T. Wright:

Narrative of Sorcery and Magic, 2 vols. Lond., 1851.--\*G. Roskoff:

Gesch. des Teufels, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1869.--\*W. G. Soldau: Gesch. der

Hexenprocesse, Stuttg., 1843; new ed., by Heppe, 2 vols. Stuttg.,

1880.--\*Lea: Hist. of the Inquis., III. 379-550.--Lecky: Hist. of the

Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, chap.

1.--D�llinger-Friedrich: D. Papstthum, Munich, 1892.--A. D. White:

Hist. of the Warfare of Science and Theol. in Christendom, 2 vols. N.

Y., 1898.--\*Joseph Hansen : Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprocess im

Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung, Munich,

1900; \*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Hexenwahns und der

Hexenverfolgung im MtA., Leip., 1901.--Graf von Hoensbroech: D.

Papstthum in seiner sozialkulturellen Wirksamkeit, Leipzig, 2 vols.

1900; 4th ed., 1901, vol. I. 207-380. For special lit. on Witchcraft,

1300-1500, see next volume.

At no point do the belief and experience of our own age differ so

widely from the Middle Ages as in the activity of the devil and the

realm of evil spirits. The subject has already been touched upon under

monasticism and the future state, but no history of the period would be

complete which did not give it separate treatment. For the belief that

the satanic kingdom is let loose upon mankind was more influential than

the spirit of monasticism, or than the spirit which carried on the

Crusades.

The credulity of monk and people and the theology of the Schoolmen

peopled the earth and air with evil spirits. The writings of popular

authors teem with tales of their personal appearances and malignant

agency, and the scholastic definitions are nowhere more precise and

careful than in the department of satanology. After centuries of

Christian culture, a panic seized upon Europe in the first half of the

thirteenth century about the fell agency of such spirits, a panic which

continued powerfully to influence opinion far beyond the time of the

Reformation. The persecution to which it led, was one of the most

merciless forms of cruelty ever practised. The pursuit and execution of

witches constitute a special chapter in the history, but it is not

fully opened till the fifteenth century. Here belong the popular and

scholastic conceptions of the devil and his agency before the

witch-craze set in.

The sources from which the Middle Ages derived their ideas of the

demonic world were the systems of classical antiquity, the Norse

mythology, and the Bible as interpreted by Augustine and Gregory the

Great. In its wildest fancies on the subject, the mediaeval theology

was only following these two greater authorities.

The general term for the dark arts, that is, the arts which were

supposed to be under the control of satanic agency, was maleficium, a

term inherited from the Romans. The special names were magic, sorcery,

necromancy, divination, and witchcraft. Astrology, after some

hesitation, was included in the same list. [2120]

I. The Popular Belief.--The popular belief is set forth by such writers

as Peter Damiani, Peter the Venerable, Caesar of Heisterbach, Jacob of

Voragine, Thomas of Chantimpr�, Etienne de Bourbon, and the French

writers of poetry. Even the English writers, Walter Map and John of

Salisbury, both travelled men and, as we would say, men of the world

from whom we might have expected other things, accepted, with slight

modification, the popular views. Map treats Ceres, Bacchus, Pan, the

satyr, the dryads, and the fauns as demons, and John discusses in six

chapters the pestiferous familiarity of demons and men--pestifera

familiaritas daemonum et hominum. [2121]

Peter Damiani, the contemporary of Hildebrand, could tell of troops of

devils he had seen in the air with his own eyes, and in all sorts of

shapes.

Caesar of Heisterbach furnishes a storehouse of tales which to him were

as much realities as reports of the Dark Continent by Stanley or Speke

would be to us. This genial writer represents an old monk setting at

rest the doubts of a novice by assuring him that he himself had seen

the devil in the forms of a Moor, an ox, a dog, a toad, an ape, a pig,

and even in the garbs of a nun and a prior. Peter the Venerable

likewise speaks of Satan as taking on the form of a bear. [2122] [2123]

The devil made his appearance at all hours of the day and night, in the

time of health, and at the hour of death. The monk was no more exempt

from his personal solicitations while engaged at his devotions than at

other times. One of the places where the evil spirits took particular

delight in playing tricks was in the choir when the monastics were met

for matins and other services. Here they would vex the devout by

blowing out the lights, turning to a wrong leaf, or confusing the tune.

[2124]

On one occasion Herman of Marienstadt saw three who passed so near to

him that he might easily have touched them, had he so desired. He noted

that they did not touch the floor and that one of them had the face of

a woman, veiled. Sometimes a troop appeared and threw one part of the

choir into discord, and when the other part took up the chant, the

demons hastened over to its side and threw it into the same confusion,

so that the two wings of the choir shouted hoarsely and discordantly

one to the other. [2125]

On another occasion Herman, then become abbot, a monastic whom Caesar

calls a man of marked piety, saw the devil in the form of a Moor

sitting on one of the windows of the church. He looked as if he had

just emerged from hell-fire, but soon took his flight. When Herman was

praying to be delivered from such visions, the devil seizing his last

opportunity appeared to the abbot as a bright eye as big as a fist, and

as if to say, "Look straight at me once more for this is the last

time." Nevertheless, the abbot saw the devil again and this time at the

sepulture of Countess Aleidis of Freusberg. While the lady's body was

lying in its shroud, the devil appeared, peering into all corners as if

he was looking for something he had lost.

It was a bad symptom of the monkish imagination that when the devil was

seen in convents, it was often in the form of a woman and a naked woman

at that. Sometimes monks got sick from seeing him and could neither

eat, drink, nor sleep for days. Sometimes they lost their minds from

the same cause and died insane. At times, however, vigilant nuns were

able to box his ears. [2126] devil, as might have been expected, was

fond of dice and, as in the case of a certain knight, Thieme, after

playing with him all night carried him through the roof so

that,--according to the testimony of the man's son, he was never seen

again. [2127] by his own statement, cast out demons, as did Norbert and

most of the other mediaeval saints. Norbert's biographer reports that

the devil struck some of the Premonstrants with his tail. At other

times he imparted to would-be monks an unusual gift to preach and

explain the Bible, and the Premonstrants were about to receive some of

this class into their order when the trick was revealed. On one

occasion, when Norbert was about to cast out a demon from a boy, the

demon took the shape of a pea and sat upon the boy's tongue and then

impudently set to work asserting that he would not evacuate his

dwelling-place. "You are a liar," said the ecclesiastic, "and have been

a liar from the beginning." That truth the devil could not gainsay and

so he came out and disappeared but not without leaving ill odors behind

and the child sick. [2128]

The devil, however, to the discomfiture of the wicked often told the

truth. Thus it happened in Norbert's experience at Maestricht, that

when he was about to heal a man possessed and a great crowd was

gathered, the demon started to tell on bystanders tales of their

adultery and other sins, which had not been covered by confession. No

wonder the crowd quickly broke up and took to its heels. [2129] stakes

so that he was easily detected. [2130] [2131] showing how the crucifix,

the host, and holy water protected monks, insidiously attacked by "the

children of malediction" and the old enemy of souls"--antiquus hostis.

Sometimes resort was had to sprinkling the room and all its furniture

with holy water,--a sort of disinfecting process--and the imps would

disappear.

De Voragine tells how St. Lupe, as he was praying one night, felt great

thirst. He knew it was due to the devil and asked for water. When it

was brought, he clapped a lid on the vessel, "shutting the devil up

quick." The prisoner howled all night, unable to get out. [2132]

Salimbene gives a droll case of a peasant into whom the devil entered,

making him talk Latin. But the peasant tripped in his Latin so that

"our Lector laughed at his mistakes." The demon spoke up, "I can speak

Latin well enough, but the tongue of this boor is so thick that I make

sorry work wielding it." [2133] ertain Cistercian, Richalmus, of the

thirteenth century, in a book on the devil's wiles, said, "It seems

incredible but it is true, it is not fleas and lice which bite us but

what we think is their bites are the pricks of demons. For those little

insects do not live off our blood, but from perspiration, and we often

feel such pricks when there are no fleas." [2134]

These incidents may be brought to a close by the following interesting

conversation reported by Caesar of Heisterbach as having been carried

on by two evil spirits who had possessed two women who got into a

quarrel. "Oh, if we had only not gone over to Lucifer," said one, "and

been cast out of heaven!" The other replied, "Hold your peace, your

repentance comes too late, you couldn't get back if you would." "If

there were only a column of iron," answered the first, "though it were

furnished with the sharpest knives and saws, I would be willing to

climb up and down it till the last judgment day, if I could only

thereby make my way back to glory."

These stories are records of what were believed to be real occurrences.

The denizens of the lower world were everywhere present in visible and

invisible form to vex and torment saint and sinner in body and soul. No

voice is heard protesting against the belief. It is refreshing,

however, to have at least one case of scepticism. Thus Vincent de

Beauvais tells of a woman who assured her priest that she and other

women were under the influence of witchcraft and had one night

succeeded in getting into the priest's bedchamber through the keyhole.

After in vain trying to persuade her that she was laboring under a

delusion, the priest locked the door and putting the key into his

pocket, gave her a good drubbing with a stick, exclaiming, "Get out

through the keyhole now, if you can."

II. The Theological Statement.--The wildest popular conceptions of the

agency of evil spirits are confirmed by the theological definitions of

Peter the Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, and

other Schoolmen. According to the mediaeval theology, the devil is at

the head of a realm of demons who are divided into prelacies and

hierarchies like the good angels.

The region into which the devil and his angels were cast down was the

tenebrous air. There, in the pits of darkness, he and his followers are

preserved until the day of final judgment. Their full degree of torment

will not be meted out to them till then. In the meantime, they are

permitted to trouble and torment men. [2135]

Albertus Magnus, who, of all the Schoolmen, might speak on such a

subject with precision, fixed the exact location of the aery realm.

Following the philosophers, as he said, he defined three zones in the

superterrestrial spaces: the higher, lower, and the middle zone. [2136]

ecause the rays of the sun permeate it for a longer time. The lower

zone, enveloping and touching the solid earth, is made bright by the

powerful reflection of the sun's rays. The intermediate zone is

exceedingly cold and dark. Here the tempests are bred and the hail and

snows generated. This is the habitation of the evil spirits, and there

they move the clouds, start the thunders, and set a-going other natural

terrors to frighten and hurt men. The exact distance of that sphere

from the earth the philosophers measure, but Albertus does not choose

to determine the measurement.

In defining the mental power and the influence of evil spirits, Thomas

Aquinas and the other Schoolmen follow Augustine closely, although in

elaboration they go beyond him. The demons did not lose their

intellectual keenness by their fall. [2137] shrewdness in observation

and watching the stars. Their predictions, however, differ from the

predictions of the prophets by being the product of the light of

nature. The prophets received a divine revelation.

The miracles which the evil spirits perform are, for the most part,

juggleries. [2138] upon whom fire came down from heaven. They are not

able to create out of nothing, but they have the power to accelerate

the development of germs and hidden potencies, to destroy harvests,

influence the weather, and produce sickness and death.

The special influence which they exercise over human beings in sorcery

and witchcraft they exercise by virtue of a compact entered into

between them and men and women, Isa. 28:18: "We have made a covenant

with death, and with sheol are we in agreement." The most fiendish and

frequent of these operations is to disturb the harmony of the married

relation. Men they make impotent; women sterile. The earlier fiction of

the succubus and the incubus, inherited from pagan mythology and

adopted by Augustine, was fully accepted in the Middle Ages. This was

the shocking belief that demons cohabit with men, the succubus, and lie

with women, the incubus. The Schoolmen go so far as to affirm that,

though the demons have no direct offspring, yet after lying with men

they suddenly transform themselves and communicate the seed they have

received to women. [2139]

This view which the Schoolmen formulated was common belief. The story

of Merlin, the son of an incubus and a nun, was a popular one in the

Middle Ages. [2140] ing of an incubus. [2141] [2142] [2143] ives many

stories of the cohabitation of demons with priests and women. [2144]

This malign activity upon the marital relation was made by Thomas

Aquinas a proper ground of divorce. [2145] theologian, and as far back

as the twelfth century the Patarenes were accused of practices, as by

Walter Map, which were at a later period associated with witches. They

held their meetings or synagogues behind closed doors and after the

lights were put out the devil descended in the shape of a cat, holding

on to a rope. Scenes of indiscriminate lust followed. Map was even

willing to believe that the heretics kissed the cat under the tail.

[2146]

The mind of Europe did not become seriously exercised on the subject of

demonic possession until after heresy made its appearance and the

measures to blot it out were in an advanced stage. The Fourth Lateran

did not mention the dark arts, and its failure to do so can only be

explained on the ground that the mind of Christendom was not yet

aroused. It was not long, however, before violent incursions of the

powers of darkness, as they were supposed to be, rudely awakened the

Church, and from the time of Gregory IX. the agency of evil spirits and

heresy were closely associated. In one of his deliverances against the

Stedinger, this pope vouched for the belief that heretics consulted

witches, held communion with demons, and indulged in orgies with them

and the devil who, as he said, met with them in the forms of a great

toad and black cat. Were the stars in heaven and the elements to

combine for the destruction of such people without reference to their

age or sex, it would be an inadequate punishment. [2147]

After 1250 the persecution of heretics for doctrinal error diminishes

and the trials for sorcery, witchcraft, and other demonic iniquity

become frequent. [2148] ring of heresy. [2149]

At this juncture came the indorsement of Thomas Aquinas and his great

theological contemporaries. There was nothing left for the

ecclesiastical and civil authorities to do but to ferret out sorcerers,

witches, and all who had habitual secret dealings with the devil. A

craze seized upon the Church to clear the Christian world of imaginary

armies of evil spirits, demonizing men and especially women. Pope after

pope issued orders not to spare those who were in league with the

devil, but to put them to torture and cast them into the flames. [2150]

rogatories of the Inquisition on the subject date twenty-five years

later. [2151]

Men like Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon were popularly charged with

being wizards. Bacon, enlightened beyond his age, pronounced some of

the popular beliefs delusions, but, far from denying the reality of

sorcery and magic, he tried to explain the efficacy of spells and

charms by their being made at seasons when the heavens were propitious.

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[2120] Alex. of Hales distinguished eight sorts of demonic agency

through human instrumentalities, mantic, sortilegium, maleficium,

augurium, prestigium, mathesis or astrology, ariolatio, and the

interpretation of dreams.

[2121] De nug. curalium, Wright's ed., II. 14; Polycrat., Bk. I.

VIII.-XIII. Migne, 199. 404 sqq.

[2122] De mir., Migne, 189. 883.

[2123] The Roman de la Rose, 1280, is an exception and makes light of

tail and horns, and the belief that women are transported through the

air at night.

[2124] Dial., V. 53, etc., Strange's ed., I. 336.

[2125] Dial., V. 5, Strange's ed., I. 287 sqq.

[2126] Dial., III. 11, V. 28, 45, Strange's ed., I. 123, 311, 330.

[2127] Dial., V. 11, 26, 34.

[2128] Vita Norb., XIII.

[2129] Vita Norb., XIV.

[2130] Dial., III. 6.

[2131] Dial., III. 6, 7, 13, 14, VII, 25, etc.

[2132] Temple ed., V. 88.

[2133] Coulton, From St. Francis, etc., p. 298.

[2134] Lib. revelationum de insidiis et versutiis daemonum, quoted by

Cruel, Deutsche Predigt, p. 268.

[2135] Daemones in hoc aere caliginoso sunt ad nostrum exercitium. Th.

Aq., Summa, I. 64, 4. So also P. Lomb., II. 7, 6.

[2136] Zonas, interstitia. In sent., II. 6, 5, Borgnet's ed., XXVII.

132.

[2137] Aquinas' treatment is found in his Summa, I. 51 sqq., II. 94-96,

Migne, I. 893 sqq., II. 718 sqq.; P. Lombard, Sent., II. 7 sqq.

[2138] Praestigia is the word used by Alb. Magnus, John of Salisbury,

etc.

[2139] This is stated at length by Thomas Aquinas, Summa, I. 51, 3,

idem daemon qui est succubus ad virum fit incubus ad mulierem. For

other quotations to the same effect from Bonaventura, Duns Scotus,

etc., see Hansen, p. 186. Albertus Magnus, Borgnet's ed., XXVII. 175,

speaks of immense cats appearing at these assignations, but the passage

is too foul to be repeated. This Schoolman went so far as to say that

demons preserved human seed in vessels. As an instance of ultramontane

honesty, Hoensbroech, D. Papstthum, I. 222, cites the Dominican

Schneider who, in his German translation of Thomas Aquinas, omits

altogether the passage, part of which has just been quoted, though he

makes the introductory assertion that the translation contains the

"entire text."

[2140] Merlin, the "prophet of Britain" as Caesar of Heisterbach calls

him, Dial., III. 12, Strange's ed., 1. 124. The nun was seduced on a

night when she happened to retire without making the sign of the cross.

It was thought by some that anti-christ would be engendered in this

way.

[2141] an., 1249. The child in six months had a full set of teeth and

was of the stature of a boy of 17, the mother wasted away and died.

[2142] Dial., V. 12.

[2143] See quotation in Kaufmann's Caesar of Heisterbach, II. 80.

[2144] Sometimes demons took the place of loose women with whom priests

had made assignations, Dial., III. 10. Caesar tells of a woman who had

committed whoredom with a demon for seven years and, while confessing

her sin to the priest, fell dead.

[2145] He gives a full chapter to the subject. In Sent., IV. 34, 1.

[2146] Wright's ed., p. 61. plurimi sub cauda, plerique pudenda.

[2147] A translation of the bull dated June, 1233, Potthast, I. no.

9230, is given by Hoensbroech, I. 215 sqq.

[2148] Hansen dates the new treatment of sorcery by the Church with

1230 and carries the period on to 1430, when he dates the period of

witchcraft and its punishment by the Church.

[2149] Hansen, Quellen, p. 1.

[2150] Hansen gives a number of such bulls and quotes an author who

speaks of 103 papal bulls directed against sorcery, a number Hansen

doubts. Quellen, p. 1.

[2151] Hansen, Quellen, pp. 43 sqq., gives it under the title forma et

modus interrogandi augures et ydolatras, and assigns it to 1270,

Gesch., p. 243. Douais places it a little earlier. A portion of Bernard

Gui's Practica inquisitionis (1320) is an interrogatory of practisers

of the occult arts, interrog. ad sortileges et divinos ei invocatores

daemonum. See Douais' ed., Paris, 1886.

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� 137. The Age passing Judgment upon Itself.

The preceding pages have shown the remarkable character of the events

and movements, the men and ideas which fill the centuries from

Hildebrand's entrance into Rome with Leo IX., 1049, to the abdication

of the simple-minded Coelestin, 1294. The present generation regards

the events of the last half-century as most extraordinary. The same

judgment was passed by Matthew Paris upon the half-century of which he

was a spectator, 1200-1250. Useful inventions and discoveries, such as

we associate with the second half of the nineteenth century, there were

few or none in the thirteenth century, and yet those times were full of

occurrences and measures which excited the deepest interest and the

speculation of men. The retrospect of the fifty years, which the

clearheaded English monk sums up in his Chronicles, furnishes one of

the most instructive pieces of mediaeval literature.

Here is what Matthew Paris says: There occurred in this time

extraordinary and strange events, the like of which had never been seen

before nor were found in any of the writings of the Fathers. The

Tartars ravaged countries inhabited by Christians. Damietta was twice

taken and retaken, Jerusalem twice desolated by the Infidel. St. Louis

was captured with his brothers in the East. Wales passed under the

domination of England. Frederick, the Wonder of the World, had lived

his career. The Crusades had given to a great host a glorious death. As

for natural wonders, an eclipse of the sun had occurred twice in three

years, earthquakes had shaken England several times, and there had been

a destructive rise of the sea such as had never been seen before. One

night immense numbers of stars fell from the heavens, a reason for

which could not be found in the Book of Meteors, except that Christ's

threat was impending when he said, "There shall be signs in the

heavens."

Among things distinctively religious, the chronicler notes that an

English cardinal was suffocated in his palace, as was supposed, for

having his eye on the tiara. The figure of Christ appeared in the sky

in Germany and was plainly seen by every one. Elizabeth of Hungary and

St. Hildegard flourished. The ordeal of fire and water was abolished.

Seville, Cordova, and other parts of Spain were rescued from the Moors.

The orders of the Minorites and the Preachers arose, startling the

world by their devotion and disgusting it by their sudden decline. Some

of the blood of Christ and a stone, bearing his footprints, arrived in

England.

Such are some of the occurrences which seemed wonderful to the racy

English historian. If he had read over the leaves of his Chronicles as

we do, how many other events he might have singled out,--from the

appearance of the elephant, a gift of the king of France to the king of

England, which, as he says, was the first ever seen in England and the

appearance of the sea-monster thrown up in Norwich, [2152]

Life was by no means a humdrum, monotonous existence to the people who

lived in the age of the Crusades and Innocent III. On the contrary it

was full of surprises and attractive movements, from every turn of the

papacy and empire, to the expeditions of the Crusaders and the travels

of Marco Polo and Rubruquis.

A historical period is measured by the judgment passed upon it by its

contemporaries and by the judgment of succeeding generations. What did

the period from 1050 to 1294 offer that seemed notable to those who

were living then and what contribution did it make to the progress and

well-being of mankind? The first of these questions can be answered by

the generation which then lived; the second, best by the generations

which have come since.

It is the persuasion of a school of mediaeval enthusiasts that this

period was a golden age of faith and morals and tenable systems of

belief, an age when the laws of God were obeyed as they have not been

since, an age when proper attention was given to the things of

religion, an age of high ideals and spiritual repose. Is this judgment

justified or is the older Protestant view the right one that the Middle

Ages handed down nothing distinctive--which has been of permanent

value; but, on the contrary, many of the superstitions and false

doctrines now prevailing in the Church are an inheritance from the

Middle Ages, and it would have been better if the Church had passed

directly from the patristic age and skipped the mediaeval. [2153]

Neither judgment is right. A more just opinion is beginning to prevail,

and upon a modification of the extreme views of Protestants and Roman

Catholics on the subject depends to a considerable extent the closer

fellowship between the ecclesiastical communions of the West. Much

chaff will be found there mixed with the wheat. On the other hand, in

this mediaeval period were also sown the seeds of religious ideas and

institutions which are now in their period of bloom or awaiting the

time of full fruitage.

The achievement of absolute power by the papacy, magnificent as it was,

represents an ideal utterly at fault, whether we consider the teaching

of Scripture or the prevailing judgment of the present time. Ambition,

pride, avarice, were mingled in popes with a sincere belief that the

Roman see inherited from the Apostle plenitude of authority in all

realms. Europe, more enlightened, cannot accept such a claim and the

moral degeneracy and spiritual incompetency of the popes, in the period

following this, were an experimental proof that the theory was wrong.

As for the priesthood and hierarchy, evidence enough has been adduced

to show that ordination did not insure devotion to office and personal

purity. Dante's hell contains more than one pontiff of this period. The

nearer we approach Rome, the more numerous the scandals are. The term

"the Romans" was synonymous with unscrupulous greed. Gregory X. in 1274

declared that "the prelates were the ruin of Christendom." Frederick

II., though pronounced a poor churchman, was a keen observer and no

doubt indicated a widespread discontent with the lives the clergy were

leading when he declared that, if they would change their mode of

living, the world might again see miracles as in the days of old.

[2154]

The distinctively mediaeval ideal of a religious life has little

attraction to-day. The seclusion of the monastery presents a striking

contrast to the active career demanded of a Christian profession in

this age. The example of St. Bernard and his praise of monasticism, as

the praise of other writers, are so weighty that one cannot deny that

the best men saw in monastic solitude the highest advantage. Monastic

institutions had a most useful part to play as a leavening force in the

wild and unsettled society of that time. But the discipline and ardor

of monastic orders quickly passed away, in spite of the devotion of

Francis d'Assisi and other monastic founders. Simplicity yielded to

luxury, and spiritual devotion to sloth and pride. It was the ardent

Franciscan, Bonaventura, who instances the vices which had crept into

his order and Jacques de Vitry, cardinal-bishop, d. 1240, who said that

a girl's virtue was safe under no Rule except the Cistercian. What can

be said of the ideal of human life as it is set forth in the tale of

St. Brandon, not to speak of innumerable similar tales told by Jacob de

Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, d. 1298! What shall be thought of the

example of the Blessed St. Angela of Foligno, admired and praised by so

many Franciscan writers, who on her "conversion" prayed to be relieved

of the impediments of obedience to husband, respect to mother and the

care of children and rejoiced to have her request granted by their

deaths!

If we desire priestly rule, there was enough of it to satisfy any one.

But with the rule of the priesthood came the loss of individual freedom

and the right of the soul to determine its own destiny in the sight of

the Creator. De Voragine [2155] rchical pride of the age when he

exclaimed to an English king that priests are the fathers and masters

of kings. The laity, according to Caesar of Heisterbach, as already

quoted, were compared to the night, the clergy to the day, The preacher

Werner of St. Blasius called the peasants the feet whose toil was

appointed to maintain the more worthy parts of the body,--bishops,

priests, and monks. [2156]

The Middle Ages have been praised as a period of religious contentment

and freedom from sectarian strife. The very contrary was the case. The

strife between the friars and the secular clergy and, in cases, within

the monastic orders themselves equals in bitterness any strife that has

been maintained between branches of the Protestant Church. It was a

question not whether there was religious unrest but, from the days of

Arnold of Brescia on, how the established Church might crush out

heretical revolt. There was also religious doubt among the monks, and

there were women who denied that Eve had been tempted by an apple, as

Caesar of Heisterbach assures us.

The superstitions which prevailed were largely inherited from preceding

ages. The worship of Mary clouded the merits of Christ. What can be

said when Thomas of Chantimpr�, d. about 1263, relates in all

seriousness that a robber, whose head had been cut off, kept calling

upon the Virgin, as the body rolled down a hill, until the parts were

put together by a priest. The criminal then told how, as a boy, he had

devoted Saturdays and Wednesdays to Mary and she had promised he should

not die till opportunity was given him to make confession. So he made

confession and died again, and, as the reader is left to believe, went

into the other world rejoicing.

The gruesome tales of demoniacal presence and influence indicate a

condition of mind from which we do well to be thankful we are

delivered. John of St. Giles, the admirable English Dominican, used to

say, as he retired to his cell in the evening, "Now I await my

martyrdom," meaning the buffetings of the devil. The awful story of how

Ludwig the Iron, 1100-1172, was welcomed to hell and shown all its

compartments and then pitched mercilessly into quenchless flames is no

worse than the visions of Dante, but too revolting in the apparent

callousness of it to the suffering of others not to call forth a

shudder to-day. [2157]

Such representations, however, do not warrant the conclusion that human

charity was dead. St. Francis and Hugh of Lincoln kissed the hands of

lepers. The Knights of St. Lazarus were intrusted by Louis IX. with the

care of this class of sufferers. Houses for lepers were established in

England by Lanfranc, Mathilda, queen of Henry, King Stephen at Burton,

and others. Mathilda washed their feet, believing that, in so doing,

she was washing the feet of Christ. [2158]

On the other hand the period sets, in some respects, an example of

great devotion, and has handed down to us the universities and the

cathedrals, some of the most tender hymns and imposing theological

systems which, if they cannot be accepted in important particulars, are

yet remarkable constructions of thought and piety. And, above all, it

has handed down to us a group of notable men who may well serve as a

stimulus to all generations which are interested in the extension of

Christ's kingdom.

But in the judgment of these very men, the period was not an ideal one

either in morals or faith. If we go to preachers, like Berthold of

Regensburg, we find evidence of the prevalence of vice and irreligion

among all classes. If we go to popes and Schoolmen, we hear bitter

complaints of the evils of the age and of human lot which would fit in

with the most pessimistic philosophy of our times. Innocent III., in

his Disdain of the World,--De contemptu mundi,--poured out a

lamentation, lugubrious enough for the most desolate and forsaken.

Anselm dilates under the same title, and Hugo of St. Victor [2159] s

coming to an end.

Exulat justitia, cessat Christi cultus.

The most famous of the longer poems of the period repeats Innocent's

title, and its author, Bernard of Cluny, is most severe upon the

corruption in church and society. The poem starts in the minor key.

The last times, the worst times are here, watch.

Behold the Judge, supreme, is at hand with His wrath.

He is here, He is here. He will terminate the evils. He will reward the

just.

Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus

Ecce minaciter, imminet arbiter ille supremus.

Imminet, imminet, et mala terminet, aequa coronet.

The greater Bernard of Clairvaux exclaimed, "Oh! that I might, before

dying, see the Church of God led back to the ideal of her early days.

Then the nets were cast, not to catch gold and silver, but to save

souls. The perilous times are not impending. They are here. Violence

prevails on the earth." [2160] hese most damnable times," his diebus

damnatissimis. [2161] [2162] ness and decay everywhere, and he agreed

with other moralists of his day, in making the clergy chiefly

responsible for the prevailing corruption. The whole clergy, he says,

"is given to pride, avarice, and self-indulgence. Where clergymen are

gathered together, as at Paris and Oxford, their quarrels and strife,

and their vices are a scandal to laymen." [2163]

With a similar lament Hildebrand, at the opening of the period, took up

the duties of the papacy.

The prophet Joachim looked for a new dispensation as the only relief.

The real greatness of this period lies not in its relative moral and

religious perfection, as compared with our own, but in a certain

imposing grandeur of conception and of faith, as shown in the Crusades,

the cathedrals, the Scholastic systems, and even the mistaken ideal of

papal supremacy. Its institutions were not in a settled condition, and

its religious life was not characterized by repose. A tremendous

struggle was going on. The surface was troubled, and there was a mighty

undercurrent of restlessness. It would be an ungracious and a foolish

thing for this generation, the heir of twice as many centuries of

Christian schooling as were the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to

boast as though Christian charity and morality and devotion to high

aims had waited until now to manifest themselves. The Middle Ages, from

1050 to 1300, offer a spectacle of stirring devotion to religious aims

in thought and conduct.

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[2152] Luard's ed., V. 448 sq.

[2153] For a terse description of the social, religious, and moral

condition of mediaeval England and the prevalence of disease, see

Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, p. 111, etc.

[2154] M. Paris, Luard's ed., IV. 538 sq.

[2155] Legenda, Temple Classics ed., II. 189.

[2156] Migne, 157. 1047,

[2157] Heisterbach, Dial., XII. 2, Strange's ed., II. 316.

[2158] See Creighton in Traill, I. 368 sq., and Geo. Pernet, Leprosy,

in Quart. Rev., 1903, pp. 384 sqq.

[2159] Migne, 158. 705 sqq., 176. 703-739.

[2160] Ep., 238, to Eugenius, Migne, 182. 430. De consid. I. 10.

[2161] Mon. Franc., Ep. XXVI. p. 116

[2162] Creighton, Hist. Lectures, p. 132

[2163] Brewer's ed., pp. 399 sqq.

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\* Solche Verh�ltnisse giebt es ja zwischen Individuen beiderlei

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11. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=14&scrV=23#ii.xvii.iii-p18.1

12. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Josh&scrCh=6&scrV=26#ii.ix.xii-p9.1

13. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Sam&scrCh=15&scrV=23#ii.iv.ii-p15.2

14. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Sam&scrCh=15&scrV=23#ii.iv.ix-p14.1

15. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=2Sam&scrCh=9&scrV=19#ii.xiv.vii-p15.1

16. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Kgs&scrCh=16&scrV=24#ii.ix.xii-p9.2

17. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=2&scrV=0#ii.xv.iii-p23.1

18. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=11&scrV=8#ii.xv.iii-p23.1

19. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=17&scrV=16#ii.xvi.x-p16.1

20. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=40&scrV=4#ii.xv.iii-p23.3

21. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=1#ii.iv.ix-p5.1

22. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=8#ii.iv.ix-p8.2

23. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=14&scrV=1#ii.xiv.iv-p31.1

24. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=24&scrV=5#ii.xv.iii-p23.6

25. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=24&scrV=7#ii.xvi.x-p18.3

26. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=25&scrV=15#ii.xv.iii-p23.4

27. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=27&scrV=1#ii.xiv.iv-p60.1

28. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=46&scrV=8#ii.iv.ix-p8.1

29. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=69&scrV=9#ii.x.v-p48.1

30. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=76&scrV=11#ii.x.i-p53.1

31. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=91&scrV=13#ii.vi.vi-p15.1

32. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=121&scrV=0#ii.xviii.i-p33.1

33. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=137&scrV=5#ii.ix.xii-p6.1

34. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=143&scrV=10#ii.xiv.vi-p24.2

35. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=3&scrV=8#ii.xviii.i-p29.1

36. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=9&scrV=5#ii.xvi.iv-p22.1

37. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=31&scrV=10#ii.xv.ii-p25.1

38. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Song&scrCh=1&scrV=2#ii.xiv.x-p21.1

39. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Song&scrCh=1&scrV=2#ii.xiv.xi-p47.1

40. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Song&scrCh=1&scrV=15#ii.xviii.i-p14.1

41. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=5&scrV=0#ii.xv.iii-p23.5

42. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=6&scrV=1#ii.xv.iii-p23.5

43. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=7&scrV=9#ii.xiv.i-p14.1

44. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=7&scrV=14#ii.xviii.i-p60.1

45. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=28&scrV=18#ii.xviii.vii-p46.1

46. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=56&scrV=9#ii.xviii.iii-p12.1

47. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=60&scrV=7#ii.xviii.i-p29.2

48. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=66&scrV=9#ii.xi.v-p70.1

49. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=48&scrV=10#ii.iv.ii-p15.3

50. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=3&scrV=8#ii.xvi.iii-p26.1

51. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Nah&scrCh=1&scrV=9#ii.vi.viii-p19.1

52. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Zeph&scrCh=1&scrV=15#ii.xviii.iv-p78.1

53. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=3#ii.xii.vii-p11.2

54. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=10#ii.xii.iii-p21.1

55. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=27#ii.xii.iii-p62.1

56. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=0#ii.vii.ii-p12.1

57. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#ii.iv.ix-p15.1

58. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#ii.iv.ii-p12.2

59. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#ii.iv.ii-p15.1

60. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=24#ii.x.x-p14.1

61. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=11#ii.iv.iv-p8.1

62. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=19&scrV=21#ii.x.x-p14.1

63. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=25#ii.xii.vii-p55.2

64. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#ii.xii.iv-p15.1

65. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=28#ii.xviii.i-p82.1

66. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=42#ii.xviii.i-p82.1

67. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=19#ii.xviii.i-p29.3

68. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=1#ii.x.x-p14.2

69. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=10&scrV=16#ii.xvii.iii-p14.1

70. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=0#ii.xvi.iv-p43.1

71. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=15#ii.vii.vii-p9.1

72. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=24&scrV=47#ii.xvi.vi-p18.1

73. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=33#ii.xvi.iii-p11.1

74. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=3#ii.xvi.iii-p5.1

75. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#ii.xiv.iv-p52.1

76. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=13#ii.xv.iii-p73.1

77. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=24#ii.xv.iii-p24.1

78. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=0#ii.xvi.iv-p16.1

79. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=56#ii.xvi.iv-p31.1

80. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=4#ii.xvi.iv-p53.1

81. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=0#ii.xvi.iv-p43.2

82. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=13&scrV=26#ii.xvi.v-p24.1

83. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=6#ii.xii.ii-p32.1

84. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=7#ii.xvi.iii-p24.1

85. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=22#ii.xviii.ii-p29.1

86. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=25#ii.xviii.iv-p87.1

87. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=23#ii.xvi.vi-p10.1

88. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=5#ii.xii.iii-p58.1

89. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=1&scrV=7#ii.xiv.vi-p24.1

90. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=4&scrV=32#ii.xiv.x-p30.1

91. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=8&scrV=18#ii.iii.iii-p6.1

92. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=14#ii.xii.iii-p66.1

93. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=4#ii.xiv.x-p22.1

94. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=3&scrV=28#ii.x.vi-p33.4

95. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=5#ii.xvi.ix-p53.1

96. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=19#ii.xii.iii-p68.1

97. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=17#ii.x.i-p68.2

98. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=9#ii.iv.iv-p8.2

99. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=32#ii.iv.iii-p13.1

100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=4#ii.xvi.iv-p21.1

101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=0#ii.xvi.viii-p8.1

102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=11#ii.xvi.iii-p23.1

103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=12#ii.xvi.ix-p49.1

104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=17#ii.ix.iii-p26.1

105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=2#ii.xvi.vi-p40.1

106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=30#ii.iv.iii-p13.2

107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=2#ii.xvi.iv-p20.1

108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=31#ii.xvi.viii-p24.1

109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=0#ii.iv.iv-p5.1

110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1843&scrV=0#ii.xii.i-p10.1

111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1867&scrV=0#ii.iv.iv-p5.1

112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1899&scrV=0#ii.i-p4.1

113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=24#ii.xvi.vii-p35.1

114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=14#ii.xiv.iv-p41.1

115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=15#ii.xvi.x-p18.1

116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1608&scrV=0#ii.x.vi-p33.3

117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1851&scrV=0#ii.x.i-p3.1

118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1888&scrV=0#ii.x.i-p3.2

119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1899&scrV=0#ii.x.i-p3.3

120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1899&scrV=0#ii.xviii.vii-p4.1

121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=5&scrV=19#ii.iv.iii-p13.3

122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=14#ii.xvi.ix-p20.1

123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=2#ii.iv.i-p6.1

124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=8#ii.x.i-p68.1

125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=3#ii.xii.vii-p55.1

126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=4&scrV=0#ii.xii.vii-p53.1

127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=4&scrV=17#ii.xii.vii-p52.1

128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=5&scrV=14#ii.xvi.viii-p4.1

129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=17#ii.iv.ii-p12.1

130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=19#ii.xvi.x-p18.2

131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=8#ii.ix.xiv-p47.1

132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=6#ii.iii.iii-p6.2

133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=2&scrV=15#ii.iii.iii-p6.2

134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=14&scrV=6#ii.x.vii-p41.1

135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3?scrBook=2Macc&scrCh=12&scrV=40#ii.xvi.x-p22.1

136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p11.1

137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p13.1

138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.vii-p18.1

139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.ix-p11.1

140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.v-p23.1

141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.iv-p16.1

142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p55.2

143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p8.1

144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p35.2

145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.iv-p14.1

146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.ii-p10.1

147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.xi-p44.1

148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p102.1

149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p35.1

150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iii-p49.1

151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.x-p28.2

152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p38.1

153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iii-p5.2

154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiii.iii-p47.1

155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p65.2

156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p7.1

157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvii.vii-p29.1

158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p38.2

159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.i-p26.1

160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.ii-p9.1

161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.ii-p18.1

162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iii.ii-p11.1

163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p86.1

164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p61.1

165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p81.1

166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p36.1

167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.vi-p17.1

168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.x-p65.1

169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.xi-p10.1

170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iv-p27.1

171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.vii-p34.2

172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvii.v-p26.1

173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p61.1

174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p26.2

175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p79.2

176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.vi-p14.1

177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vii-p47.1

178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p92.1

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p9.1

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p17.1

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iii.v-p17.1

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.iii-p12.1

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p74.1

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p24.1

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.ii-p16.1

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.ix-p5.1

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vii-p27.1

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.v-p17.1

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p41.1

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p26.1

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p9.1

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p38.1

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p23.2

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p42.1

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.iv-p13.1

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p69.1

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p50.1

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p53.1

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.ix-p7.1

200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.x-p7.1

201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.xi-p50.1

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p50.1

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p31.1

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p33.1

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p35.1

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.iv-p5.1

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.v-p12.1

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.vi-p25.1

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.vi-p26.1

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p101.1

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p60.1

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p71.1

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.vii-p21.1

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.v-p19.1

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.i-p84.1

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vii-p27.2

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p43.1

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p10.8

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p17.2

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.iii-p36.1

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iii-p8.1

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.v-p6.1

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p36.2

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p78.1

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p23.2

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p36.1

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.v-p7.1

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.viii-p16.1

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p59.1

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vii.vii-p37.1

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p23.1

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.vi-p22.1

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.vi-p31.1

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.i-p11.3

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.i-p25.1

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.i-p11.1

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.x-p10.1

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.viii-p26.2

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.i-p15.1

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.ii-p12.1

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.viii-p10.2

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvii.vi-p5.1

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.v-p21.1

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.iii-p18.1

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.iii-p19.1

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.ii-p27.2

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p27.1

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p35.1

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iv-p12.1

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iv-p25.1

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vi-p5.1

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p35.1

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.iv-p7.1

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p35.1

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p59.1

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.iii-p20.1

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.iii-p16.1

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.ix-p5.2

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vii.vii-p42.1

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p30.1

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.x-p59.1

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.viii-p10.1

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p10.1

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p70.1

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p23.1

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.vi-p9.1

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iii-p47.1

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iii-p5.1

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.vii-p34.1

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.iii-p36.1

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p21.1

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iii.vi-p9.1

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.i-p10.1

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p16.1

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.ix-p56.1

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.ix-p26.1

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p75.1

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.ii-p36.1

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p41.1

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p44.1

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p23.3

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p23.4

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iii-p49.2

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p35.3

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p32.1

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.vii-p8.1

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.viii-p26.1

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iv-p20.1

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.iv-p15.1

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.v-p24.1

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.vii-p23.1

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xii-p42.1

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p79.1

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p35.2

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p33.5

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.viii-p37.1

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p23.5

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.ii-p13.1

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p33.2

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p19.2

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p99.1

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p94.1

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p91.1

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.iv-p13.1

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vi.ii-p27.1

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.i-p10.2

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iv-p76.1

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.i-p11.4

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p28.1

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.viii.v-p12.1

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.i-p11.2

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvii.ii-p9.1

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.vii.vii-p33.1

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p20.1

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.v-p34.1

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p24.2

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iii.v-p17.2

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p55.1

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.vii-p56.1

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.iii-p16.1

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322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.v-p47.1

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324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p53.2

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiii.i-p14.2

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.x-p28.1

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p23.1

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p78.2

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.viii-p26.3

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iii-p19.1

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vii-p47.2

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p59.2

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.viii-p26.2

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xii-p15.1

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iv-p32.1

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vi-p14.1

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.iv-p34.1

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.v-p8.2

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.viii-p13.1

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.v-p10.1

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.ii-p18.2

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.viii-p26.1

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiv.viii-p13.2

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p10.1

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iii-p45.1

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iii-p43.1

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p9.2

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p9.3

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353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p33.2

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p33.1

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.v-p69.3

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.i-p38.1

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.v-p69.1

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xi-p29.1

359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p75.1

360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p9.1

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.v.i-p11.5

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p8.1

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p11.1

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vii-p73.1

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.iv-p6.1

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.v-p6.2

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p17.1

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p20.1

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p9.1

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p26.1

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.xi-p26.3

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p56.1

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.iv-p34.1

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p10.7

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.x-p42.1

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xi-p29.2

377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p7.1

378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.v-p10.1

379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.vi-p58.1

380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p23.1

381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.viii-p35.1

382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p40.1

383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p56.1

384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p58.1

385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.x.v-p56.2

386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xv.iv-p11.1

387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.iv.vi-p17.1

388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vi-p7.1

389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p8.2

390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xi.v-p69.2

391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ix-p46.1

392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xii.vi-p14.2

393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xiii.i-p14.1

394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ix-p28.1

395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p15.2

396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.v-p10.1

397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.xiv-p20.2

398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xviii.v-p32.1

399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ii-p15.1

400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.xvi.x-p9.4

401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.iii-p10.6

402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc5/cache/hcc5.html3#ii.ix.ix-p36.1